

Muqarnas

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Muqarnas

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GÉZA DÁVID

IN MEMORIAM: GYŐZŐ GERŐ (1924–2011)

Editors' note: We are honored to publish Professor Géza Dávid's touching memorial to the esteemed Professor Győző Gerő, who died in 2011. Professor Gerő was instrumental in advancing the archaeology and study of Ottoman architectural monuments in Hungary, as well as in preserving and safeguarding those monuments with great care and attention. His scholarly accomplishments and contributions as an archaeologist and Ottomanist, along with his exceptional personal qualities, are described below.

Győző Gerő, the dedicated and tireless researcher of Turkish monuments in Hungary, passed away during the night of October 10–11, 2011.

The grand old man of Ottoman-era archaeology in Hungary, Gerő was born in Budapest on May 16, 1924. In 1952, he earned his university diploma from the Department of Archaeology at Loránd Eötvös University, in the Hungarian capital. By then, he was already working at the Budapest History Museum, having joined its staff as a scientific assistant. He would remain there until his retirement in 1987, by which time he was a senior researcher. At the same time, he taught the archaeology of the Ottoman period at Loránd Eötvös University, reaching the rank of honorary associate professor there.

The archaeology of the Turkish period in Hungary was Gerő's chosen field of research, within which he concentrated mainly on architecture. Understandably, his work focused principally on two geographical areas, namely, today's Budapest and the southern Transdanubian region, although his interest extended to every part of the country. (For much of his career, it would have been practically impossible to investigate the somewhat scanty Ottoman-era remains located in territories that

formerly belonged to Hungary but are now outside its borders.) In Budapest, the Türbe of Gül Baba, the Király Bath, and the Rác Bath were the focus of his attention. He took part in the mapping and excavation of the walls of the Buda Castle, as well as those of the palace and the private bath of the pashas of Buda, and of the Ottoman elements of residential buildings within the Buda Castle District. Gerő was prompt in sharing his findings: as well as publishing studies in specialized periodicals, he compiled, as early as 1957, a slim but useful volume entitled *Buda török műemlékei* (The Turkish monuments of Buda), on the principal buildings of the one-time administrative center of the Ottoman vilayet of Budin.

The Ottoman monuments of Baranya County, in southwestern Hungary, were especially close to Gerő's heart. For many years, he and his wife, Mária G. Sándor, spent long periods at the guesthouse of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Pécs, concentrating on Turkish remains in the surrounding region. In Pécs, he took part in the restoration of the Yakovalı Hasan Pasha Mosque and the Türbe of İdris Baba, unearthed the ruins of the Memi Pasha Bath, and discovered the remains of mosques and dervish lodges. His works on the monuments of Pécs include *Pécs törökkori emlékei* (The Turkish-era monuments of Pécs) (Budapest, 1960), and *A Jakováli Haszán Pasa Dzsámi és Múzeum kiállítási vezetője* (The Yakovalı Hasan Pasha Mosque and Museum: A guide to the exhibition) (Pécs, 1979). In Szigetvár, Gerő investigated both the Sultan Süleyman Mosque and the Ali Pasha Mosque.

In the northern part of Hungary we should mention the town of Eger, where Győző Gerő tried to preserve the Valide Sultan Bath from further decay. His efforts in this regard, up to the time of his death, proved to be in

vain—although he managed to ensure that an inspection of its ruins was included in the itinerary of President Süleyman Demirel of Turkey during the latter's visit to Hungary.

Particularly noteworthy are three cases in which Gerő was able to identify buildings hitherto undiscovered or known only slightly, perhaps merely from drawings and prints. Two of these successes were in Baranya County and one—the earliest—was in Esztergom (in Komárom-Esztergom County). Perhaps the most spectacular was his detection of a one-time house of worship in Siklós, considered to be the Mosque of Malkoç Bey. It was at the time being used as a farm building for storing carts, but Gerő's keen eye noticed what the walls concealed. Because of his role in the first-rate restoration of the building (work that was awarded a Europa Nostra Prize), he was deservedly made an honorary citizen of the town. His second great find was his “conjuring up” of parts of the defenses of the castle of Szászvár, which served as the seat of a *nahiye*, or district, during the Ottoman period; up to that point, specialists had had no idea that these even existed. (The study in question was “Siedlungsgeschichte und Baugeschichte der bischöflichen Burg zu Szászvár. Szászvár—a püspöki vár településtörténete és építéstörténete. Die Bischofsburg zu Pécs. Archäologie und Bauforschung. Pécs püspökvár. Régészet és épületkutatás,” *ICOMOS Hefte des Deutschen Nationalkomitees* 22 [Budapest, 1999], 109–43.) Gerő's third great feat was deducing the original function of the Öziçeli Hacı İbrahim Mosque from those parts of it visible through the crumbling plaster of a residential building on the banks of the Danube. Gerő had to wait many years for the restoration of this mosque, which belongs to a building type unusual in Hungary. Here he was able to capitalize on his many decades of expertise, and at the opening of the restored building on March 21, 2008, it was he who gave the inaugural address. It was cold inside the unheated building and there was nowhere to sit down. He read out his speech unperturbed; he was eighty-two at the time.

Gerő was awarded a candidate of sciences degree (CSc) in 1975, for a study he wrote on the three main types of Turkish architectural monuments in Hungary, namely, mosques, *türbes*, and baths. The defining work of his career, it was published a few years later, and is

still the only systematic discussion of the topic: *Az oszmán-török építészet Magyarországon: Dzsámik, türbék, fürdők* (Ottoman-Turkish architecture in Hungary: Mosques, türbes, and baths), *Művészettörténeti füzetek* 12 (Budapest, 1980). An outstanding feature of this work is that it offers a thorough survey of the research into all individual buildings, listing depictions of the structures from the time they were built and from later eras, and attempting to discover possible parallels for them in the Balkans. Since the data available on those who constructed these edifices was rather scant, in the last chapter, entitled “Az alapító-megrendelő, műhely és mester kérdése a magyarországi török építészetben” (“The question of founders and patrons, workshops, and masters in Turkish architecture in Hungary”), he broadened his inquiries to investigate those who had commissioned them. We can agree wholeheartedly with his conclusion: “In the final analysis, then, we may state that [Ottoman] architectural art in the province of Hungary cannot be regarded as autonomous. Rather, it is connected most directly to the monuments in Ottoman Bosnia-Herzegovina, forming an organic unit with them, and as such can be regarded from the artistic point of view as belonging to that province. By taking this into account, we can establish its place in Ottoman-Turkish architecture.”

In addition to the above-mentioned works, Győző Gerő published many other scholarly studies in Hungary and abroad, including works on Turkish ceramics. The earliest of his articles on the latter subject is “Türkische Keramik in Ungarn, einheimische und importierte Waren,” *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art*, ed. G. Fehér (Budapest, 1978), 347–61. It was perhaps his last article in which he discussed the Esztergom Mosque (“The Place of Esztergom's Öziçeli Hacı İbrahim Cami in the Ottoman Architecture of Hungary,” *Thirteenth International Congress of Turkish Art: Proceedings*, eds. Géza Dávid and Ibolya Gerelyes [Budapest, 2009], 253–63). He participated in and gave presentations at many congresses in Hungary and elsewhere. In recognition of his work, he received the Ferenc Móra Prize, the Hungarian Historical Monument Protection Prize, the Pro Communitate Pécs Prize, and the Baranya County Scientific Prize. In 1997, he was awarded the Order of Merit (Liyakat Nişanı) of the Republic of Turkey

by President Süleyman Demirel for his major achievements in protecting and publishing Ottoman historical monuments in Hungary.

Whenever we met, he spoke enthusiastically about his scholarly plans for the near future. He would have liked to undertake further investigations of architectural remains, whether these belonged to the Ferhad Pasha Mosque in Pécs, or to the Ottoman prayer house the remnants of which now form part of the fabric of the church on Ágoston Square in the same city. He even thought of writing a larger treatment of his field, giving it the working title “Az oszmán-török építészet Magyarországon a kutatás legújabb eredményei alapján” (Ottoman-Turkish architecture in Hungary on the basis

of the latest research findings). This volume remained unfinished at his death, although he did write an outline of it.

Győző Gerő’s cheerful personality, his delightfully expressive use of the language, and his happy smile will long be missed by everyone who knew him. His devotion to his field of study and to the safeguarding of historical monuments from the Ottoman period in Hungary will be missed by experts in archaeology and in Ottoman studies internationally.

*Géza Dávid,
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HEBA MOSTAFA

THE EARLY MOSQUE REVISITED: INTRODUCTION OF THE *MINBAR* AND *MAQŞŪRA*

The earliest mosques gave expression to some of the most compelling facets of Islamic architecture. Decades of scholarship¹ have focused primarily on two seminal buildings, the Mosque of the Prophet (*al-Masjid al-Nabawī*, 622) in Medina, and the Great Mosque of Damascus (*Jāmi‘ Banī Umayya al-Kabīr*), which was constructed between 705 and 715, during the reign of the Umayyad caliph al-Walid b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwan (r. 705–15) (fig. 1). The mosques built during the intervening years at Kufa, Basra, and later Wasit (ca. 630–710),² are certainly defined by these seminal structures, but also overshadowed by their prominence.³ For this eighty-year period the scholarship has pointed to a relative stasis in formal and decorative development within the mosque. I, however, will argue that the mosque underwent significant changes in this period, largely in relation to its movable elements, such as the introduction of the *minbar* (pulpit from which the imam delivers sermons [fig. 2]) and the *maqşūra* (an enclosure screen in front of the qibla wall [fig. 3]). Although the physical remains of these movable elements did not survive within the archaeological record, it is in fact possible to unearth their history from primary source material.

I contend that in the period between circa 630 and 710 certain transformations in the area around the qibla and the *minbar*⁴ signaled a shift away from the simplicity of the Mosque of the Prophet, namely, the evolution of the *minbar* as a platform for the Friday sermon (*khuṭba*), the development of the enclosure screen (*maqşura*) in front of the qibla for the caliph, and the opening up of direct access to the palace via the qibla wall.⁵ These shifts represented a specific brand of Umayyad Arabo-Islamic authority, increasingly self-aware and evoking clear royal associations that served Islamic functions.⁶ The

austerity of the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina thus eventually gave way to a space charged with and representative of the nature of the emerging caliphate and the contested authority of Islam’s early rulers. Challenges to this authority were expressed in terms of a ruler’s position within the mosque or palace, emphasizing the perceived qualities of these elements as metonyms of authority. This is clear in the case of the Umayyad governor of Iraq, al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf al-Thaqafi (661–714), whose entitlement to an elevated position upon the “*minbar* and *sarīr* (a movable couch or throne used as a seat for the governor at both the mosque and palace)” was questioned by a rival during a conversation in which the authority of the governor was being challenged.⁷

THE EARLY MOSQUE AND THE PUBLIC AUDIENCE

It has been suggested that in the period following the death of the Prophet in 632, there was a deliberate attempt to maintain the simplicity of the mosque. According to this argument, the model of the Mosque of the Prophet was disseminated by the second caliph, ‘Umar b. al-Khattab (r. 634–44), in a bid to thwart unwanted innovation in mosque design that could lead to a perversion of orthodox ritual prayer.⁸ Imprinting a coherent architectural image for the emerging Islamic empire has also been suggested as a motivation.⁹ Further to this, it has been argued that the nature of the qibla area shifted as it took on more of the qualities of an audience hall and became more closely connected with the palace (*Dār al-Imāra* [House of Government]).¹⁰

There is evidence that development of early mosques in the provinces was driven by not only practical and



Fig. 1. View of the courtyard of the Great Mosque of Damascus, built 705–15 by the caliph al-Walid I, showing the current and heavily restored dome above the qibla bay. (Photo: Heba Mostafa)



economic reasons but also cultural ones. Sources describe the efforts taken to avoid a whimsical approach to the architecture of the mosque, that is, an unbridled absorption of foreign ritual, practice, form, and ornament that would undermine the vision of Islam's puritanical rituals and practices. These texts convey a general sense of anxiety surrounding innovation within the mosque. This is true in the case of the actions of Ziyad b. Abihi, governor, under the Umayyad caliph Mu'awiya b. Abi Sufyan (r. 661–80), of Basra, between 664 and 673, and then of Kufa as well, from 670 until his death in 673. Ziyad had the floors of the mosques at Kufa and Basra covered with pebbles to prevent the congregation from clapping dust from their hands following prayer on the dirt floor, lest the act eventually become a ritual of prayer.¹¹

←

Fig. 2. The *minbar* of the vizier Badr al-Jamali (1091–92) under the Fatimid caliph al-Mustansir (r. 1091–92) at the Mosque of Abraham, Hebron. Originally located in the Shrine of al-Husayn, Ascalon. (Photo: Heba Mostafa)



Fig. 3. An early *minbar* and *maqṣūra* (862) in carved teak wood, the Great Mosque of Kairouan. (Photo: © Bernard O’Kane)

There may also have been a desire to discourage features designed to elevate the status of a mosque’s patron. For example, ‘Amr b. al-‘As (d. 664), the governor of Egypt, was scolded for sitting upon a minbar, leaving the Muslims seated “at his heels.” The caliph ‘Umar ordered the wooden door to the palace of the governor of Kufa, Sa’d b. Abi Waqqas (d. 674), burnt down so that nothing would separate the governor from his subjects.¹² ‘Umar’s frugality and shunning of accumulated wealth may have also motivated many of his decisions regarding the austerity of the early mosque. He famously stated that accumulated wealth would “not affect [him] adversely, but it would be a temptation for those who came after [him].”¹³ It is not difficult to see how his austere manner may have driven his restraint. ‘Umar’s behavior reflects an awareness of the threat of surrounding cultural practices encroaching upon the nascent Islamic identity, and it seems to have manifested itself in attitudes towards the design of the mosque.

In early garrison towns the mosque served a critical function, providing not only a place for congregational prayer but also a public forum in which to discuss the affairs of the emerging community. Oleg Grabar described the early mosques at the garrison towns of Basra (635), Kufa (639), and Fustat (641–42) as “forums open on the sides somewhere in the center of the city.”¹⁴ Individual tribes within the garrison towns each had their own *masjid* (small neighborhood mosque),¹⁵ but it was at the centrally located congregational mosque that the Friday prayers took place and the entire community attended the all-important sermon.¹⁶ In this sense, the Friday mosque offered the ruler a critical public platform for the governance of the community, not unlike the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina.¹⁷ This becomes increasingly relevant in light of the fact that several of these early mosques were located in Iraq, a hotbed of ‘Alid counter claims to the Umayyad caliphate and later a major center of Shi‘i presence, particularly in the case

of Kufa, which was a de facto capital of the opposition.¹⁸ In fact, the development of the mosques of Iraq coincides or is bracketed by watershed moments from this period, such as the First and Second Civil Wars, in 656–61 and 680–92, respectively. It could be argued that as arenas of public debate and leadership the congregational mosques in these cities¹⁹ may have been affected by the decades of political upheaval, religious factionalism, and contested legitimacy that prevailed during the middle of the seventh century. This overlap is also relevant in the context of the overarching contested nature of authority in early Islam, particularly in light of the religious and political strife pervasive during the Umayyad period and the dependency of this authority upon the public audience in the mosque. A grisly yet powerful illustration of this can be found in the infamous sermon that the governor Ziyad b. Abihi gave in 665 following his appointment as governor of Basra in 664. Speaking from the minbar at the congregational mosque, he threatened to harvest the “ripened heads of his enemies,”²⁰ thus using the mosque as a platform to broadcast his intention to suppress dissent at any cost.

Within this snapshot of the early mosque, the significance of the shifts outlined above becomes apparent. Take, for example, the development of the mosque at Kufa, which began its history delineated by ditches that were marked out by shooting arrows towards the qibla, as well as the north, south, and east.²¹ A simply built structure of reeds,²² it became an actual building only under the governor al-Mughirah b. Shu‘bah²³ (d. 670), on the orders of the caliph ‘Umar.²⁴ The aforementioned Ziyad b. Abihi is credited with rebuilding the mosque and the *Dār al-Imāra* at both Basra (665)²⁵ and Kufa (670).²⁶ He replaced the earlier mosque at Basra and constructed his new mosque of plaster and baked brick (*al-jīṣ wal-ājurr*).²⁷ The ninth-century historian-geographer Ibn al-Faqih al-Hamadani captures the mixture of astonishment and criticism that characterized reactions to the construction of this mosque, one of the first that aspired to monumentality:

Ziyad built an edifice for the invocation of God of stone (*sakhr*) and plaster (*al-jīṣ*) not mixed with mud, Had it not been for the scarred hands of its erectors we would have thought it the work of demons.²⁸

Ziyad b. Abihi’s rebuilding of the *Dār al-Imāra* as well as the mosque in the two major provincial cities of early Islam may be seen as part of a wider policy to create a more permanent residence as Islam secured control of the conquered territories. The rebuilding may also have served other commemorative purposes. The mosque at Kufa reportedly incorporated material from the castles of nearby al-Hira, the former capital of the Lakhmids, who themselves were vassals of the Sasanids. This was perhaps a bid to evoke the past glories of the pre-Islamic Arab rulers of the al-Mundhir clan, which was associated with the spoliated doors.²⁹ Ziyad’s efforts, however, seem here to have transcended mere permanence and aspired to unprecedented monumentality, as illustrated by the aforementioned reaction to the construction of the mosque in Basra.

An intriguing aspect of the development of the mosque is its relationship to the governor’s palace or *Dār al-Imāra*. This relationship is one that evolved early, with the ensemble typically located in the center of the garrison towns at Kufa and Basra.³⁰ The decision to relocate the *Dār al-Imāra* directly behind the wall of the qibla is credited not only to Ziyad b. Abihi at Basra but also to the military commander and governor Sa’d b. Abi Waqqas at Kufa. Al-Tabari (d. 923) reports that the governor’s residence in Kufa was moved due to a theft in the treasury, located within the *Dār al-Imāra*, which at the time was situated behind the qibla but separated from the mosque by a street.³¹ On the advice of the caliph ‘Umar the move was intended to guarantee the safety of the treasury, since the mosque was in use both day and night.³² In the case of the *Dār al-Imāra* at Basra, Ziyad b. Abihi considered it inappropriate for the imam to walk through the congregation in order to lead the prayer; the relocation allowed the governor direct access from the palace into his maqsura.³³ The former *Dār al-Imāra* at Basra had originally been located in the open space (*raḥba*) near the mosque associated with Bani Hashim and known as *al-Dahnā’*.³⁴ This earlier *Dār al-Imāra* was thus connected to the premier clan of Quraysh, that is, the clan of the Prophet Muhammad. The removal of the governor’s palace from a public space linked to the Bani Hashim to an area that consolidated the relationship between the governor’s palace and his public platform in the mosque may perhaps

signal a shift away from the tribal authority of the Bani Hashim and toward the centrally appointed caliphal governor.

Unlike the garrison-town Friday mosques of Iraq, the post-conquest Friday mosques of Greater Syria were mostly appropriated sites at the city center, as was the case in Damascus and Jerusalem. At Damascus the predecessor of the Umayyad Friday mosque was founded in 634, during the caliphate of ‘Umar, on the site of the Church of St. John the Baptist (formerly the Temple of Jupiter).³⁵ Both Mu‘awiya and ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwan (r. 685–705) were thwarted by the terms of the post-conquest treaty in their attempts to secure the purchase of the *temenos* (temple enclosure) that housed the church-cum-mosque, with the church operating until the construction initiated in 705 by the Umayyad caliph al-Walid I.³⁶ As a result, the original post-conquest mosque did not change much from its foundation until it was rebuilt under al-Walid I,³⁷ who reportedly bribed and threatened the Christian community into agreeing to the sale of the church within the *temenos*.³⁸ Under Mu‘awiya, the post-conquest mosque in Damascus exhibited a relationship with the palace similar to that observed between the mosque and *Dār al-Imāra* in the garrison towns of Kufa and Fustat. This relationship, however, was a pre-existing one, since the *Dār al-Imāra* encompassed the former Byzantine governor’s palace, which was located at some distance behind the qibla wall. In other words, the link between the Damascus royal palace and the Friday mosque echoed a former Constantinopolitan imperial prototype, whose Byzantine provincial versions had been associated with governors.³⁹

Mu‘awiya, who was governor of Damascus from 640 to 661 before becoming caliph, further consolidated this relationship. According to the Damascene historian Ibn ‘Asakir (1105–75), Mu‘awiya’s palace while governor was either part of the former Byzantine governor’s palace or one he constructed himself in the pre-Islamic style at some point after his appointment in 640.⁴⁰ He reportedly refurbished his audience hall⁴¹ in response to a scathing remark by a Byzantine envoy that the “the upper part will do for birds and the lower for rats.”⁴² Descriptions of the remodeled domed audience hall, called the *khadrā’* (lit. green, metaphorically the “dome of

heaven”), suggest lavishness, with marble revetments and a garden setting of lush vegetation and fountains.⁴³ Mu‘awiya constructed his own maqsura at the mihrab of the Companions of the Prophet in the Damascus Friday mosque, which he later connected to his palace complex through a door in the qibla wall.⁴⁴ The palace was later bought by the caliph ‘Abd al-Malik from Mu‘awiya’s son⁴⁵ and became an integral part of the complex under ‘Abd al-Malik’s son and successor, al-Walid I.⁴⁶

In 702–4 the aforementioned governor al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf constructed a mosque and *Dār al-Imāra* in the newly founded city of Wasit, in Iraq.⁴⁷ These structures warrant a category of their own, as Wasit cannot be considered a post-conquest city in the strictest sense.⁴⁸ Like Mu‘awiya before him, in 703–4 al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf incorporated a *qubbat al-khadrā’* into the *Dār al-Imāra* to function as an audience hall, as at Damascus.⁴⁹ This was done at the order of Caliph ‘Abd al-Malik. The tenth-century historian Ibn Rusta describes the dome of the palace as a lofty structure (*qubba musharrafa khadrā’*) that “could be seen from thirty miles away.”⁵⁰ Al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf also brought doors for his palace and mosque from a group of sites with possible iconic pre-Islamic associations; the ensuing protests of the local inhabitants⁵¹ echoed the reactions provoked by his predecessor, Ziyad b. Abihi, when he built a new mosque “of stone and plaster” in Basra.

It has been argued that this transformation of the qibla space in the early mosque may be related to a process of politicization occurring during the decades following the death of the Prophet Muhammad.⁵² Certainly the development of the *Dār al-Imāra* under the early governors and caliphs suggests that it, together with the mosque, formed the foundation for an evolving conception of Arabo-Islamic rulership. The historian-geographer al-Mas‘udi (d. 956) captures for us a vivid description of how the mosque space and palace worked together to allow for complementary forms of reception: the setting of the mosque allowed congregants more open access to the ruler, in contrast to the more formal type of audience held in the palace. Al-Mas‘udi describes how the caliph Mu‘awiya typically held court five times a day, first at the mosque and continuing at the

palace.⁵³ Described below are the first two of such audiences:

Coming out he would ask a page (*ghulām*) to have his *kursī* ready and he would go to the mosque. After his ablutions he sat on the *kursī*, leaning back against the maqsura, with his guards standing by. Anybody could come to him, poor people, Arabs from the desert, women, children, and whoever else was destitute. To the one who complained about an injustice, Mu'awiya would order comfort. To the oppressed he sent guards. To the injured he would order an inquiry. And this continued until there was no one left. Next he returned to his palace, and sitting on the throne (*sarīr*), he let people in according to their rank, but forbade anyone to prevent him from answering salutations. This visitor would say: How is the Commander of the Faithful? May God give him long life. And Mu'awiya answered: With the grace of God. Once they were seated he would say: Oh ye who are called nobles, because, to the exclusion of others, you are honored with sitting in this audience hall (*majlis*), tell us the needs of those who have no access to us.⁵⁴

Mu'awiya negotiated the relationship between the public audiences held within the mosque and those held in the *Dār al-Imāra* with great care, through the use of different seats for each location—a *kursī* for the mosque and a *sarīr* for the palace—revealing their specific yet complementary functions. The caliph thus preserved the pre-Islamic model of open access to the tribal leader, while adopting the practices of the late-antique ruler seated within a lavish audience hall.⁵⁵ His nod towards open access even within his *majlis* is seen in the request he made of his nobles that they inform him of the “needs of those who have no access to us.” But when he co-opts the Byzantine governor’s palace and constructs what is described in the sources as a monumental dome—his *qubbat al-khadrā*⁵⁶—at his audience hall we are provided with perhaps the best illustration of his desire to address his parallel role as ruler of an empire.

An account by al-Tabari vividly captures the caliph ‘Umar’s reaction to Mu'awiya’s behavior as governor in Damascus. According to al-Tabari, the caliph chided Mu'awiya for his use of ceremonial and his general conduct as a ruler, saying, “O Mu'awiya, you go with a retinue, and you leave in the same way. I heard that you start the day in your residence while petitioners are at your door.” Mu'awiya responded, “O Commander of the Faithful, our enemy is close to us, and they have scouts

and spies, so I wanted, O Commander of the Faithful, for them to see that Islam has power.”⁵⁷ The confounded ‘Umar conceded that his actions were indeed warranted and that it was “either the ruse of an intelligent man or the deception of a clever man.” Nevertheless, expressing an awareness of what amounted to an irreconcilable position regarding expressions of authority at the mosque and public spaces of the city, ‘Umar retorted, “Woe unto you! Whenever we discuss something which I disapprove of your doing, you leave me not knowing whether I should order you to do it or forbid it.”⁵⁸ This conversation is extremely revealing not only of the sort of problems that early rulers of Islam confronted regarding expressions of their authority, but also of the direction the architecture of the mosque was taking. This is echoed in an account related by the medieval Arab geographer al-Muqaddasi (ca. 945/946–991), who described a conversation with an uncle in which the caliph ‘Abd al-Malik’s motivations for constructing the Dome of the Rock (691) were questioned and considered un-Islamic, due to the great expense incurred and the lavishness of the structure.⁵⁹ This was seen as a violation of the Prophet’s order not to build in imitation of fallen pre-Islamic empires.⁶⁰ In ‘Abd al-Malik’s defense, the uncle relates his actions to those of al-Walid I, the patron of the equally lavish Great Mosque of Damascus, and both men’s deeds are again explained in terms of psychological warfare against Byzantium. Here, buildings are considered necessary components in the war against the “seduction of the beauty of Christian churches,” as described by al-Muqaddasi.⁶¹

INTRODUCTION OF THE MINBAR

This brings us to the earliest element deemed crucial to the qibla space—the minbar. According to the sources, the first minbar was introduced in the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina circa 628–30.⁶² Likely commissioned from a Byzantine carpenter, it was introduced into the mosque space in response to a request by the Companions that the Prophet be seated above visiting delegations.⁶³ According to hadith, the Prophet both stood and sat on the minbar during the delivery of the *khuṭba* and when acting as judge. He also reportedly sat on a *kursī*,

or what was considered by commentators to be a throne.⁶⁴ Under the first three of the Rightly-Guided Caliphs, the minbar seems to have been perceived as a symbol of caliphal authority. This is exemplified by the order of the second caliph, ‘Umar, to his governor in Egypt, ‘Amr b. al-‘As, not to erect a minbar at his mosque in Fustat, as “Muslims should not be seated beneath [his] heels.”⁶⁵ That order has been interpreted as evidence of the evolution of the minbar as an exclusive caliphal prerogative, and by the time of the caliph al-Walid I, the minbar of the Prophet itself was being treated with the same veneration as other pre-Islamic thrones, such as that of the Sasanian ruler (*kisra*), despite opposition to its relocation from Medina to Damascus.⁶⁶

The location of the minbar in Friday mosques was not necessarily fixed throughout the Umayyad period. According to Ibn al-Faqih, Ziyad b. Abihi was the first to move the minbar in the mosque in Basra from the middle of the building to a location near the qibla.⁶⁷ His master, the caliph Mu‘awiya, likewise attempted to move the minbar of the Prophet to a location near the mihrab, “like all other *manābir* (sing. *minbar*),” but abandoned the task following an earthquake and lightning.⁶⁸ In another account, when he attempted to move it to Damascus, there was an eclipse of the sun.⁶⁹ When both events were associated with each other, Mu‘awiya proclaimed that he only meant to preserve it. He abandoned the task and covered it instead.⁷⁰ In another account, Marwan b. al-Hakam, governor of Medina (661–69 and 676–77), is credited with adding a wooden base and securing it to a built base near the qibla.⁷¹ This is further supported by evidence that under the Umayyads minbars were movable structures that may have been placed either in front of or within the mihrab, presumably once it became a niche mihrab.⁷²

Mu‘awiya was also reportedly the first to preach from a minbar at the haram in Mecca.⁷³ Brought by him from Syria during the Hajj, it was described as a small, three-stepped structure, which was not fixed in place, judging by a reference to the governor of Mecca, Khalid al-Qasri (d. 743), who ordered the minbar brought to the haram when needed.⁷⁴ It remained on site until it was replaced by a larger minbar commissioned by the Abbasid caliph Harun al-Rashid

(r. 786–809), who relocated Mu‘awiya’s minbar to Mount ‘Arafa in Mecca.⁷⁵ Mu‘awiya also reportedly attempted to relocate the staff of the Prophet to Damascus, on the pretense that neither the minbar nor the staff should remain in Medina, the home of the “enemies and murderers” of his ancestor, the third caliph, ‘Uthman b. ‘Affan (r. 644–56).⁷⁶ He was challenged again and compromised by instead adding six steps to the original two.⁷⁷ When Caliph ‘Abd al-Malik similarly attempted to move the minbar, he relented when he was reminded of his predecessor’s actions and of the hadith of the Prophet Muhammad that, “Whoever swears an oath upon my pulpit sinfully, his resting place shall be in the fire.”⁷⁸

His son al-Walid I expressed a similar interest, but failed to secure the minbar’s removal to his newly refurbished mosque in Damascus. Al-Walid’s brother and successor, Sulayman b. ‘Abd al-Malik (r. 715–17), declared his disapproval of the way both his father and brother were disparaged for their failed attempts to move the minbar, and condemned the inconsistency and “arrogance” of the people of Medina in the face of the rightful claims of the Umayyad caliphs to the Prophet’s minbar. He further emphasized his dismay at the treatment of his father and brother in this regard, stating, “We took over the world, and it is in our hands and we want to support one of the symbols of Islam sent to it by transporting it to our presence. This is not righteousness.”⁷⁹ According to Sulayman, the supremacy of Umayyad caliphal authority entitled them to the minbar of the Prophet, whose authority had been ceded to them as the world emperors they saw themselves to be. From Sulayman b. ‘Abd al-Malik’s declaration we can also infer that he saw a parallel between the station of the caliph in his capital’s mosque and the station of the Prophet upon his minbar, in what had now become a universal “symbol of Islam,” rather than the seat of the Prophet inextricably linked to Medina and its people. These accounts illustrate once again the tensions within the community regarding the perceived usurpation of symbols of the Prophet’s authority by the Umayyads, while highlighting how important it was to the Umayyads to have possession of the minbar of the Prophet.

‘Abd al-Malik ascended the minbar when consulting on important matters, such as when he imposed the death sentence upon Yahya b. Sa‘id b. al-‘As (d. 689),

following the rebellion in Damascus between 688 and 689.⁸⁰ Muttarrif b. al-Mughirah, who was made governor of al-Mada'in (Ctesiphon) in 697, likewise proclaimed from his minbar, before revolting against 'Abd al-Malik, that he would "sit to receive [the people] morning and evening," and urged the people to come to him with their grievances, again an echo of the practices of Mu'awiya at both mosque and palace. He then received people in his iwan, probably the *iwān Kisra* (the Sasanian "Arch of Chosroes" in Ctesiphon).⁸¹ The minbar, however, was not the only seat used by the caliph within the mosque. It is reported that 'Abd al-Malik also had his *sarīr* (couch or throne) brought into the mosque during his audiences and when he acted as judge, perhaps in imitation of Mu'awiya before him.⁸² The references to the *sarīr* in the sources suggest that it may have been some sort of bench, not unlike the type of thrones depicted in later Umayyad frescoes such as at Qusayr 'Amra.⁸³ 'Abd al-Malik is said to have stored the body of the governor 'Amr b. Sa'id b. al-'As, wrapped in a rug, beneath his *sarīr*, following his execution in the *khadrā'* palace in 688–89.⁸⁴ It seems to have been long enough to accommodate more than one person seated next to each other, as suggested by a reference to the anti-caliph Ibn al-Zubayr (d. 692) tossing 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr (d. 713) from it while seated next to him,⁸⁵ and another reference to 'Amr b. al-'As (d. 664) being seated next to Mu'awiya upon his *sarīr*.⁸⁶ In an honorific act, when the Prophet's Companion Abu Ayyub al-Ansari died in 674, he was reportedly carried upon the *sarīr* of Yazid b. Mu'awiya (r. 680–83), which suggests that it must also have been long enough to support a body.⁸⁷

The minbar was the place from which to point out caliphal misconduct, as can be inferred from the proclamations of 'Amr b. Sa'id, the Umayyad governor under the caliph 'Abd al-Malik.⁸⁸ Upon revolting and taking control of Damascus, he proclaimed from the minbar:

No one from Quraysh ever stood on this pulpit before me without asserting that heaven and hell were his, and that he would cause whoever obeyed him to enter heaven, and whoever disobeyed him to enter hell. But I tell you that heaven and hell are in the hand of God, nothing of that belongs to me, save that you have a claim to equal treatment and a good stipend from me.⁸⁹

By 665 the minbar had become the ultimate platform for the promotion of ideology. In that year Ziyad b. Abihi famously declared from his pulpit in the mosque of Basra that, "Indeed, lies from the pulpit remain well-known, so if you catch me in a lie it is permissible for you to disobey me."⁹⁰ He continued to proclaim the obligation of obedience from the people in return for justice on his part.⁹¹ Upon completing his speech, 'Abdallah b. Ahtam asserted that he had "been granted wisdom and unmistakable judgment," to which Ziyad b. Abihi responded, "You have lied. That was the Prophet of God, David," in reference to Koran 38:20.⁹² Ideologically charged conversations between rulers and the Muslim community occurring within the mosque in this period are to be expected, but the association with the minbar is certainly worth noting. The prominence of the minbar in these exchanges enforces the argument that the mosque space operated as the ultimate locus of audience, well before it became articulated in the architecture as such under later Umayyad caliphs, such as al-Walid I. The hegemonic nature of these sermons, with their threatening tenor, references to the Prophet Muhammad, and invocation of the authority of the Prophet-King David, only enhances the position of the minbar as the ultimate platform for spreading ideology.

The ruler, however, was not always in a position of power within the mosque space, and in these cases the maqsura took on a more utilitarian purpose. Take, for example, the events that occurred in Kufa when Ziyad b. Abihi was governor, a position he would hold in addition to his existing position as governor of Basra, splitting his time between both locations by residing for six months in each city.⁹³ Upon his arrival in Kufa he spoke to the community from the minbar only to be pelted with pebbles.⁹⁴ He responded by "making use of the maqsura"⁹⁵ and then adjudicating from upon a *kursī*⁹⁶ at the gate of the mosque, punishing the wrongdoers by cutting off their hands.⁹⁷ This event provides insights into the very practical impetus behind the introduction of measures meant to protect the ruler in the mosque space. I would argue here that the precedent of open access conflicted with the tendency towards autocratic rule, and the mosque responded accordingly.

The minbar naturally also became the place from which to present a crucial message in times of conflict,

or to curse an opponent, an act that stirred even more controversy given the sanctity of the seat. Mu'awiya only refrained from cursing 'Ali b. Abi Talib (who was eventually declared the fourth Rightly Guided Caliph) from the minbar in Medina following the death of the latter's son and the Prophet's grandson, Hasan b. 'Ali b. Abi Talib (d. 670), when Sa'd b. Abi Waqqas threatened to leave the mosque, never to return.⁹⁸ After Sa'd b. Abi Waqqas died, however, Mu'awiya not only cursed 'Ali b. Abi Talib unrelentingly but also ordered others to do so.⁹⁹ The Umayyads were not the only ones to curse their enemies from the minbar; the 'Alids did so as well. The anti-caliph Ibn al-Zubayr (d. 692) reportedly cursed his opponents from the minbar in Mecca following the death of one of his supporters, and refused to praise the Prophet to spite his enemies within the mosque, so as not to "bring pleasure to their hearts."¹⁰⁰

Caliphs were expected to conduct themselves appropriately at the minbar, and any transgression was heavily criticized. When al-Walid I visited the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina, he delivered the first sermon seated, and the second one standing.¹⁰¹ When the caliph's companion and advisor Raja' b. Haywah (d. 730) was questioned as to the validity of al-Walid I's standing and sitting during the delivery of his sermons, he answered, "Yes, Mu'awiya did it this way and so on." In fact, Mu'awiya is considered the first to have sat down between sermons.¹⁰² Raja' b. Haywah went on to explain that when 'Abd al-Malik was also challenged on his delivery of the Friday sermon, he insisted that 'Uthman had delivered it in a similar fashion. To this the challenger responded, "We have not seen any [Umayyad caliph] prouder than [al-Walid]."¹⁰³

The minbar was also where the oath of allegiance (*bay'a*) to a new caliph was sworn. In 661 Mu'awiya acceded to power in Jerusalem, most likely in the al-Aqsa Mosque, which he had rebuilt.¹⁰⁴ Mu'awiya "[refused] to go to Muhammad's throne," presumably a direct reference to his minbar in Medina, and instead placed his own "throne" (probably an allusion to his capital), in Damascus.¹⁰⁵ The communal nature of this event is emphasized by the description of "the emirs and many nomads" who gathered to pledge their allegiance to Mu'awiya.¹⁰⁶ It is also likely that Jerusalem was one of the locations where 'Abd al-Malik received the *bay'a*.¹⁰⁷

Mu'awiya is said to have solicited the *bay'a* for his son Yazid, whom he declared as heir apparent from the minbar in Medina, surrounded by his entourage from the *ahl al-Shām* (people of the Levant).¹⁰⁸

The minbar as a seat of authority seems to have been reserved exclusively for caliphs and their governors, who represented caliphal authority within provincial centers. It would seem that no one else could make proclamations from the minbar. After the death of Mu'awiya in 680, one of his followers and former commanders, al-Dahhak b. Qays al-Fihri (d. 684), stood next to the minbar bearing the caliph's shroud as he eulogized him.¹⁰⁹ There is also evidence to show that the role of the caliph as preacher (*khaṭīb*) within the mosque had become increasingly important as part of the Umayyad caliphs' image as rightful rulers.¹¹⁰ It has been suggested, for example, that the image of the ruler flanked by two attendants on the "Orans" drachm of Bishr b. Marwan (ca. 694–95) may have been a representation of the caliph preaching within the mosque. If so, this would be a further affirmation that the mosque space was cultivated as a metaphor for the vital role the caliph played within Islamic society while the qibla space emerged as the arena for the expression of this identity.¹¹¹

INTRODUCTION OF THE MAQṢURA

The introduction of ritual into the mosque space seems to have begun as early as the reign of the third caliph, 'Uthman, who belonged to the Banu Umayya clan of the Quraysh tribe of Mecca. He reportedly covered the Prophet's minbar in the Medina mosque with cloth in an act of veneration, possibly an echo of how the Ka'ba was venerated.¹¹² He is also credited with the introduction of the first maqsura, which he constructed at the mosque in Medina. Built of brick and pierced with windows, it seems to have been more monumental than a mere wooden partition, as has been generally assumed.¹¹³ The maqsura would become an almost fixed feature of the Friday mosque, its continuation justified by contemporary commentators not so much as a partition to separate the caliph from his congregation, but as a security precaution against assassination attempts.¹¹⁴ After 'Uthman, Mu'awiya constructed a maqsura at the

Great Mosque of Damascus in 664–65.¹¹⁵ Ibn al-Faqih largely ignored the earlier maqsura of ‘Uthman and considered Mu‘awiya to be the first caliph to introduce *maḥārib* (sing. *miḥrāb*) and *maqāṣir* (sing. *maqṣūra*),¹¹⁶ along with other innovations such as guards and eunuchs, in reference to the Great Mosque of Damascus. This is perhaps an allusion to the introduction of ceremonial into the mosque, likewise attributed to Mu‘awiya in other sources. The term *maqāṣir* is also used outside the context of the mosque, and may allude in general to some form of private enclosure or space, with connotations of distinction and privacy. Al-Azraqi, an early historian of Mecca writing during the ninth century, refers to *maqāṣir* constructed within the *Dār al-Nadwa* (House of Deputies) in Mecca for the use of women.¹¹⁷ The ninth-century historian al-Baladhuri (d. 892) refers to a further example of *maqāṣir* outside the context of the mosque: the construction of *maqāṣir* within city walls. However, the precise meaning of the term is not clear from the context.¹¹⁸

Ziyad b. Abihi, Mu‘awiya’s governor, constructed a maqsura at his Friday mosque in Kufa that was later renovated by the Umayyad governor Khalid al-Qasri.¹¹⁹ Other governors under the Umayyads also constructed maqsuras in Kufa and Basra.¹²⁰ Mu‘awiya’s governor in Medina, Marwan b. al-Hakam (623–83), the father of Caliph ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwan, rebuilt the maqsura at the Mosque of the Prophet in 664–65,¹²¹ prior to being discharged in 669.¹²² During his governorship of Medina (705–12), ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-Aziz (the future Umayyad caliph ‘Umar II [r. 717–20]) again rebuilt this maqsura, this time as a raised structure of teak wood, rather than of unbaked brick, as in the time of ‘Uthman. Although this may not seem to be in keeping with his austerity, the sanctity of the Mosque of the Prophet may have been a motivating factor in his decision.¹²³ The maqsura that ‘Abd al-Malik’s notorious governor al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf built in the Friday mosque at Wasit may have been topped with a dome, based on the thickened foundations.¹²⁴ What emerges from this brief survey of the use of the maqsura is that nearly every governor and caliph invested in building one for himself, in an unending cycle of refurbishment and perhaps also competition. This suggests that the maqsura may have operated as a metonym of authority within this context, in light of its

pre-Islamic use in the *Dār al-Nadwa* in Mecca and its association with demarcating seclusion and privilege within large, open-plan hypostyle mosque spaces.

This challenges the views of both the primary sources and contemporary scholarship, which present the caliph Mu‘awiya and later the caliph al-Walid I as the ones who introduced aspects of the “palace into the mosque.”¹²⁵ Rather, the evidence here suggests that the introduction of the maqsura was the result of a more gradual and ubiquitous process, going back to the caliphate of ‘Uthman b. Affan (an ancestor of the Umayyads), who departed from the austere policies of his predecessor, ‘Umar al-Khattab. That process related more to the evolving role of both caliphs and their respective governors as both imam and *khaṭīb* within Friday mosques, and to how they were perceived and treated by the public. Such a conclusion is further supported by evidence that shows how, over time, the maqsura came to function as a space reserved exclusively for the inner circle of the caliph. For example, under the Umayyad caliph al-Hakam II (r. 961–76) in Cordoba,¹²⁶ the maqsura had its own private entrance connected to the palace. As we have already seen, Mu‘awiya’s governor Ziyad b. Abihi reportedly relocated the *Dār al-Imāra* at Basra behind the qibla wall in order to provide the caliph, governor, or imam direct access to the front of the Friday mosque.¹²⁷ An entrance connected the maqsura at al-Walid I’s Great Mosque of Damascus with the *khadrā’* palace of Mu‘awiya.¹²⁸ Similarly in Wasit, a doorway connected the maqsura constructed by al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf to his newly built palace, also known as *al-khadrā’*,¹²⁹ in a direct echo of the ensemble at Damascus.

The presence of a private entrance allowing access between the palace and the maqsura would have essentially created an exclusive intermediary space that combined the security of the palace with the public spectacle aspect of the congregational mosque.¹³⁰ Al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf, like his predecessors, was able to privately exit the mosque to his palace using a similar entrance.¹³¹ It is also suggested in the sources that al-Hajjaj’s commanders and close circle would have gathered within the maqsura while his troops assembled outside.¹³² For example, it is implied that when armed conflicts spilled into the mosque, as they did during the revolt of ‘Amr b. Sa‘id b. al-‘As, the door of the maqsura was locked and had to be

broken down.¹³³ Seclusion is implied again in a later part of the account, when the maqsura was broken into again after the “sons of Marwan” (i.e., the Marwanid branch of the Umayyads) locked themselves within it.¹³⁴ What emerges here is an impression of the maqsura as an architectural feature that evolved over time to accommodate the inevitable tension between separation and exposure at the qibla of the mosque. The maqsura is also often connected to subsequent developments at the caliphal palace, for example, the introduction of the curtain or *ḥijāb* used to limit visual access to the later Marwanid Umayyad caliphs such as al-Walid II (r. 743–44) at his audience hall in the Khirbat al-Maḥjar (724–74).¹³⁵ Nevertheless, the maqsura does seem to present its own unique history within the context of the evolving nature of the public audience at the Friday mosque.

CONCLUSION

The evidence presented here suggests that the Friday mosques constructed during the period between the first mosque in Medina in 622 and the emergence of the prototypical domed Umayyad caliphal mosques (in Medina, Damascus, and Jerusalem) under al-Walid I reveal a process of experimentation intrinsically linked to the contested nature of early Islamic governance. That process resulted from the often-conflicting religious and political agendas of the early governors and Umayyad caliphs. The shift away from the austerity and simplicity of the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina seems to have occurred gradually, beginning perhaps as early as the second half of the seventh century under Ziyad b. Abihi in Kufa and Basra, rather than under the Umayyad caliphs in Damascus. This development is particularly worthy of attention. The mosque and palace complexes that Ziyad constructed in two vital urban centers of Iraq exuded an air of unprecedented monumentality—his mosque in Basra was described as resembling “the work of demons.” This is in striking contrast with attitudes towards architecture only a few decades earlier, when the wooden doors of the *Dār al-Imāra* at Kufa were burned upon the order of Caliph ‘Umar b. al-Khattab, and the governor ‘Amr b. al-‘As was scolded for sitting

upon a minbar in Fustat. Unlike his predecessors, Mu‘awiya’s governor Ziyad b. Abihi not only sat upon a minbar but also ruled from within a fortified *Dār al-Imāra* and prayed within a maqsura, previously believed to be a right reserved for caliphs. It seems possible that the actions of Ziyad b. Abihi at Kufa and Basra may have been related to his elevated position and the powers vested in him by Mu‘awiya, as exemplified by his inclusion in the clan of Umayya as the caliph’s kinsman and brother. Thus, in 665, while governor of Basra, Ziyad b. Abihi became Ziyad b. Abi Sufyan, losing the moniker for illegitimacy (*abihi*, son of his unknown father)¹³⁶ and the brand of shame resulting from his mother’s promiscuity.¹³⁷ This context, along with the shifts in attitude towards the mosque and palace under Mu‘awiya, may explain his ambitious architectural pursuits in contrast to his predecessors, shifts that paralleled those of his master in Damascus. This is not to argue that the efforts of caliph and governor were necessarily in competition with one another but they could be interpreted as part of a broader attempt at the Umayyad consolidation of authority through the establishment of secure centers from which to govern. They can also be interpreted as indicative of how architectural configurations such as the maqsura may not have been operating solely on a symbolic level but rather emerged as a result of the reality of governing within the mosque space.

The inherent vulnerability of the ruler standing unprotected within the Friday mosque was mitigated by a series of measures that allowed the mosque to continue to function as a platform for the promotion of a political agenda, a tradition necessitated by the immutable importance of preaching from the minbar. In the development of the maqsura and the relocation of the governor’s residence (*Dār al-Imāra*) or caliphal palace (the *Qubbat al-Khadra’* Palace in Damascus) behind the qibla we seem to find parallel attempts to resolve the tension between the conflicting needs for security and access to a public audience within the mosque. The open access to the ruler that had been allowed at the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina clearly could not be maintained in the turbulent political environment of the first decades of Islam. This, of course, is not to deny in any way the symbolic weight of both the minbar as a pseudo-throne

and a relic of the Prophet Muhammad, and the enclosure screen as a pre-existing and ubiquitous architectural feature of the early church and even the pre-Islamic *Dār al-Nadwa*. The maqsura did not emerge exclusively in response to these dynamics, nor does the evidence presented here negate the symbolic impact of creating a physical and psychological barrier between the caliph/governor and the congregation.

There also seems to have been a drive towards a more sophisticated maqsura, from the earliest brick version under ‘Uthman to the raised teak wood iteration of ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-Aziz and the massive and possibly domed maqsura of al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf at his mosque in Wasit. The maqsura may have been intended as a precaution against assassination attempts, but the history of maqsura construction suggests that at some point it transcended what may have originally been a purely functional role. It is probably not coincidental that every Umayyad caliph and governor invested in a maqsura in the mosques under their control. The governor al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf perhaps took this process further by adding a dome above his maqsura in Wasit, something that the window-pierced brick maqsura of the caliph ‘Uthman did not yet have. Al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf similarly added a *qubbat al-khadrā’* at his nearby palace, in emulation of its counterpart in the caliphal palace of Damascus, likely as an echo of the caliphal precedent in Damascus and perhaps as a stamp of Umayyad hegemony in a more general sense.

With the veneration of the Prophet’s minbar as a symbol of Islamic authority, this feature symbolically became the platform for the voice of authority. This is reflected by the increasing importance of preaching from the minbar, as expressed in Ziyad b. Abihi’s statement that “lies from the pulpit remain well-known.”¹³⁸ The attempts to relocate the minbar of the Prophet from Medina to Damascus only seem to have been successful once the Umayyad caliphs had secured their position as the legitimate leaders of the community. We recall how Sulayman b. ‘Abd al-Malik vented his frustration over the caliph’s inability to secure what had become a universal symbol of Islam. The untenable position of the early governors and caliphs seems to have been largely resolved through their use of architecture. The shift towards the more prescribed form of audience at

the Friday mosque at Damascus that was championed by the caliph Mu‘awiya still maintained vestiges of the Prophet’s audiences in the Medina mosque. For example, the use of the mosque space as a gathering place for tribesmen to rally freely under Mu‘awiya certainly evoked the Prophet’s model at his mosque in Medina. It is also important to consider how Mu‘awiya secured the *bay‘a* in Jerusalem among his fellow tribesmen even as he shunned the vestiges of *mulk* (sovereignty, kingship), such as a crown, during his accession and “refus[ed] to go to the throne of Muhammad” in Medina.¹³⁹

Furthermore, by the end of Mu‘awiya’s reign, little had changed at the mosque in Damascus, save for the introduction of various “seats” for use in the qibla space and the introduction of a maqsura, whatever its form may have been. The mosque still bore traces of the early post-conquest adaptations begun in 634, and of course the *Dār al-Imāra* underwent a major refurbishment.¹⁴⁰ This is paralleled by the work of his governor, Ziyad b. Abihi, who undertook ambitious architectural projects at both the mosque and *Dār al-Imāra* during the same period. What emerges here is a surprisingly consistent architectural setting, in terms of sophistication, for both caliph and governor. In this sense, the works of the governor Ziyad b. Abihi seem to warrant further examination in this specific context.

Nevertheless, by the end of the reign of the caliph Mu‘awiya a series of subtle transformations had occurred within the qibla space and with respect to how that space was used. The inclusion of a monumental *Dār al-Imāra* should also be noted, topped by a *qubbat al-khadrā’* at both the caliphal palace in Damascus and, later, at Wasit, under the governor al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf. These elements can be seen as operating together to address the complementary yet contradicting roles of the caliph and of the governor who was his representative. It seems the architecture was sensitively responding to complex and delicate issues regarding the nature of caliphal authority. The view in the sources that Mu‘awiya whimsically introduced ceremonial at the mosque therefore seems to have been an oversimplification. The tension expressed architecturally in early mosques connected with him was best articulated by the parting words of the caliph ‘Umar when he sparred with Mu‘awiya over the use of ceremonial within the city and

mosque: ‘Umar left “not knowing whether [he] should order it or forbid it.”

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NOTES

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1. Jeremy Johns, “The ‘House of the Prophet’ and the Concept of the Mosque,” in *Bayt al-Maqdis, Part Two: Jerusalem and Early Islam*, ed. Jeremy Johns, Oxford Studies in Islamic Art 9, pt. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 59–112, at 109.
2. Grabar counts a total of twenty-seven throughout the empire: Oleg Grabar, *Islamic Art and Beyond* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 110.
3. For the most recent examination of the architectural form of the early mosque, see Thallein Antun, *The Architectural Form of the Mosque in the Central Arab Lands, from the Hijra to the End of the Umayyad Period, 1/622–133/750*, British Archaeological Reports 2790 (Oxford: BAR Publishing, 2016).
4. S. D. Goitein, *Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition* (henceforth *EI2*) (Leiden, 1954–2002), s.v. “Minbar.” For a discussion of the later definition of the congregation mosque and its minbar as a seat of judicial-political authority, see Baber Johansen, “The All-Embracing Town and Its Mosques: *Al-Miṣr al-Ġāmi’*,” *Revue de l’Occident Musulman et de la Méditerranée* 32, no. 1 (1981): 139–61, at 143.
5. This, of course, is not to suggest that this pattern remained fixed throughout the empire, but it is considered to be the point after which these elements were more consistently found.
6. Jean Sauvaget, *La Mosquée omeyyade de Médine: Étude sur les origines architecturales de la mosquée et de la basilique* (Paris: Vanoest, 1947), and J. Perdersen, *EI2*, s.v. “Minbar.”
7. Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab wa-ma‘ādin al-jawhar*, 2 vols. (Cairo: al-Maṭba‘a al-Azhariyya, 1885), 2:105.
8. Johns, “House of the Prophet,” 109.
9. *Ibid.*
10. See Jean Sauvaget, “The Mosque and the Palace,” trans. Matthew Gordon, in *Early Islamic Art and Architecture*, ed. Jonathan Bloom, *The Formation of the Classical Islamic World* 23 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 109–147; and Sauvaget, *La Mosquée omeyyade de Médine*, 69–92.
11. Aḥmad b. Yahya al-Balādhurī, *The Origins of the Islamic State: Being a Translation from the Arabic Accompanied with Annotations, Geographic and Historic Notes of the Kitāb futūḥ al-buldān of al-Imān Abu-l ‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn-Jābir al-Balādhuri*, trans. Philip Khūri Hitti (Piscataway, N.J.: Gorgias Press, 2002), 436.
12. *Ibid.*, 438. Al-Baladhuri implies that the act may have been related to accusations that Sa’d b. Abi Waqqas was derelict in some of his duties. G. Féhervari, *EI2*, s.v. “Miḥrāb.”
13. Robert Hoyland, “New Documentary Texts and the Early Islamic State,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 69, no. 3 (2006): 395–416, at 404–5.
14. Grabar, *Islamic Art*, 111.
15. Al-Balādhurī, *Origins of the Islamic State*, 434. See also Jamel Akbar, “Khatta and the Territorial Structure of Early Muslim Towns,” *Muqarnas* 6 (1990): 22–32.
16. Al-Balādhurī, *Origins of the Islamic State*, 434. See also Grabar, *Islamic Art*, 110.
17. Michael Cook, “Did the Prophet Muhammad Hold Court?,” in *Court Cultures in the Muslim World: Seventh to Nineteenth Centuries*, ed. Albrecht Fuess and Jan-Peter Hartung (London: Routledge, 2010), 23–25.
18. For an in-depth discussion of this history, see Michael Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest* (Piscataway, N.J.: Gorgias Press, 2006), 74–78. See also Wilferd Madelung, *The Succession to Muhammad: A Study of the Early Caliphate* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), for a re-interpretation of this history.
19. For a discussion of the early mosque in the appropriated cities of the classical world and their use as public spaces, as well as their adoption of some of the properties of the pre-Islamic *agora*, see Hugh Kennedy, “From Polis to Madina: Urban Change in Late Antique and Early Islamic Syria,” *Past and Present* 106, no. 1 (February 1985): 3–27, at 15–16.
20. Muhammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh al-Rusul wa’l-Mulūk*, ed. M. J. de Goeje et al., 15 vols. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1879–1901), 2:73–76.
21. K.A.C. Creswell, *A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1958).
22. Al-Balādhurī, *Origins of the Islamic State*, 434.
23. Al-Balādhurī, *Origins of the Islamic State*, 436. See also Hichem Djaït, *Al-Kūfa, naissance de la ville islamique* (Paris: G.-P. Maisonneuve et Larose, 1986), 5–20.
24. Al-Balādhurī, *Origins of the Islamic State*, 440.
25. *Ibid.*, 436.
26. This occurred following his appointment as governor of Kufa by the caliph Mu‘awiya in addition to his existing role as governor of Basra: see Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Faqīh al-Ḥamadhānī, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, ed. Yūsuf al-Hādī, 3 vols. (Beirut: ‘Ālam al-Kutub, 1996), 1:230. See also Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 74–78.
27. Ibn al-Faqīh, *Kitāb al-Buldān* 1:230.
28. *Ibid.*
29. Al-Balādhurī, *Origins of the Islamic State*, 444.

30. Nezar AlSayyad, *Cities and Caliphs: On the Genesis of Arab Muslim Urbanism* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991), 46–53.
31. Creswell, *Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture*, 9.
32. Al-Ṭabarī, *The History of al-Ṭabarī = Ta'rikh al-Rusul wa'l Mulūk*, SUNY Series in Near Eastern Studies (Albany: State University of New York, 1985–2007). See also AlSayyad, *Cities and Caliphs*, 57, and Creswell, *Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture*, 9.
33. Ibn al-Faqīh, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, 1:230.
34. Ibid.
35. Jean Sauvaget, “Le plan antique de Damas,” *Syria* 26, no. 3 (1949): 314–58.
36. For a discussion of the history of the shared space at the Great Mosque of Damascus, see Finbar Barry Flood, *The Great Mosque of Damascus: Studies on the Makings of an Umayyad Visual Culture* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 1–5, and AlSayyad, *Cities and Caliphs*, 81–83. The co-existence of the church and mosque in early Islam has been argued for in light of textual evidence that mentions mosques being located in areas around churches rather than within the sanctuaries themselves. There is also little discussion of churches being converted into mosques: see Mattia Guidetti, “The Byzantine Heritage in the *Dār al-Islām*: Churches and Mosques in al-Ruha between the Sixth and Twelfth Centuries,” *Muqarnas* 26 (2009): 1–36. The addition of a mihrab in the Church of the Kathisma during the early Islamic period has been presented as evidence of a shared sacred space among Christians and Muslims: see Rina Avner, “The Kathisma: A Christian and Muslim Pilgrimage Site,” *ARAM* 18–19 (2006–7): 541–57. For a general history of the treatment of the Christian population under Islamic rule, see Sidney Harrison Griffith, *The Church in the Shadow of the Mosque: Christians and Muslims in the World of Islam* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2008).
37. Al-Balādhurī, *Origins of the Islamic State*, 191–92. See also Flood, *Great Mosque of Damascus*, 184.
38. Al-Balādhurī, *Origins of the Islamic State*, 192.
39. Flood, *Great Mosque of Damascus*, 147. The evidence suggests that the palace in Damascus in which Mu'awiya resided as governor ca. 639, following his appointment, was located behind the qibla wall of the *temenos*. The *Dār al-Imāra* at Kufa was relocated ca. 640, roughly two years after the foundation of the mosque in 638, following a fire. It is difficult to state with certainty whether one may have influenced the other, but in Kufa the relocation of the *Dār al-Imāra* involved joining the mosque and palace with no physical separation between the two (AlSayyad, *Cities and Caliphs*, 56–57), while there is no evidence that this was the case in Damascus. In fact, it has been convincingly argued that the mosque and *Dār al-Imāra* in Damascus were separated by a courtyard: see Flood, *Great Mosque of Damascus*, 147–59. What seems likely, however, is that the advantage of having direct access to the qibla wall from the *Dār al-Imāra* was recognized early in the development at both sites.
40. Flood, *Great Mosque of Damascus*, 147.
41. Ibid.
42. Nasser Rabbat, “The Meaning of the Umayyad Dome of the Rock,” *Muqarnas* 6 (1989): 12–21, at 12.
43. Flood, *Great Mosque of Damascus*, 148.
44. Ibid., 150.
45. Ibid., 147.
46. Ibid., 149 and 154.
47. Al-Balādhurī, *Origins of the Islamic State*, 449.
48. Other mosque-palace complexes were constructed throughout the empire, such as at the citadel of Amman in Jordan, and in the city of 'Anjar in Lebanon. For a history of the mosque and palace at Amman, see Antonio Almagro, *El palacio omeya de Amman* (Madrid: Instituto Hispano-Arabe de Cultura, Dirección General de Relaciones Culturales, 1983). See also Alastair Northedge, “Survey of the Terrace Area at Amman Citadel,” *Levant* 12 (1980): 135–54, and Alastair Northedge, “The Qasr of Amman,” *Art and Archaeology Research Papers* 15 (1979): 22–38. The palace at 'Anjar was first discussed by Creswell: see K.A.C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), 1:49–50. See also Maurice Chehab, “The Umayyad Palace at 'Anjar,” *Ars Orientalis* 5 (1963): 17–25; and Hafez K. Chehab, “On the Identification of 'Anjar ('Ayn al-Jarr) as an Umayyad Foundation,” *Muqarnas* 10 (1992): 42–48.
49. Creswell, *Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture*, 40–41. Creswell describes this excavation but it is unclear whether any evidence of physical remains exists or whether records of this excavation may be available.
50. Abū 'Alī Aḥmad Ibn 'Umar Ibn Rustah, *Kitāb al-A'lāk al-Nafisa, Mujallad VII*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, 2nd ed. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1891), 187. See also Jonathan M. Bloom, “The *Qubbat al-Khadrā'* and the Iconography of Height in Islamic Architecture,” in “Pre-Modern Islamic Palaces,” ed. Gülru Necipoğlu, special issue, *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993): 135.
51. Al-Balādhurī, *Origins of the Islamic State*, 450.
52. Sauvaget, *La Mosquée omeyyade de Médine*. For a discussion of this parallelism and its abandonment in the later Abbasid palace, see also Gülru Necipoğlu, “An Outline of Shifting Paradigms in the Palatial Architecture of the Pre-Modern Islamic World,” in “Pre-Modern Islamic Palaces,” ed. Gülru Necipoğlu, special issue, *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993): 3–27.
53. Oleg Grabar, “Ceremonial and Art at the Umayyad Court” (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1954), 23–24.
54. Ibid.
55. Ibid.
56. See Khalid Keshk, “When Did Mu'awiya Become Caliph?,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 69, no. 1 (April 2010): 31–42. Keshk proposes that before the battle of Siffin Mu'awiya had already consolidated his authority to the point where he was in fact “an acting caliph.” This suggests the possibility of a correspondence between the construction of the *qubbat al-khadrā'* and the timing of his accession.
57. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 18:218.
58. Ibid.

59. Shams al-Dīn Abī ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr al-Bannā’ al-Shāmī al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqasīm fi ma’rifat al-aqalīm*, 2nd ed. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1906), 159–71.
60. Koran 11:95: “As if they had never dwelt and flourished there! Ah! Behold! How the Madyan were removed (from sight) as were removed the Thamud!” (trans. Yūsuf Alī).
61. Al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqasīm*, 159–71.
62. Pederson, *EI2*, s.v. “Minbar.”
63. *Ibid.*
64. *Ibid.* The terms *kursī* (pseudo-throne) and *sarīr* (couch/bedstead) in the sources are not necessarily associated with a specific use at the mosque or palace. It is, however, worth noting that *sarīr*, which has also been interpreted as a bedstead, may have associations with certain funerary functions in early Islam, as some form of bier. See Muhammad Qasim Zaman, “Death, Funeral Processions, and the Articulation of Religious Authority in Early Islam,” *Studia Islamica* 93 (2001): 27–58.
65. G. Féhervari, *EI2*, s.v. “Miḥrāb.”
66. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’riḫh*, 18:101–2.
67. Ibn al-Faqīh, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, 231.
68. Al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqasīm*, 83.
69. Ibn al-Faqīh, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, 80.
70. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’riḫh*, 18:101.
71. Joseph Schacht, “An Unknown Type of Minbar and Its Historical Significance,” *Ars Orientalis* 2 (1957): 149–73, at 156.
72. *Ibid.*, 173.
73. Abū al-Walīd Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Azraqī, *Akḥbār Makka wa-mā jā’a fihā min al-āthār*, ed. Rushdī al-Ṣāliḥ Malḥas, 2 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Andalus, 1969), 2:100.
74. *Ibid.*, 3:108.
75. *Ibid.*, 3:100.
76. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’riḫh*, 18:101.
77. *Ibid.*
78. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’riḫh*, 18:102. For this hadith, see A. J. Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1960), 198.
79. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’riḫh*, 18:102. This conversation occurred with the governor (and later caliph) ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-Aziz (r. 717–720) during the pilgrimage.
80. *Ibid.*, 21:164.
81. *Ibid.* 22:128–29.
82. *Ibid.*, 21:163.
83. For a discussion of this type of bench/throne, see Garth Fowden, *Quṣayr ‘Amra: Art and the Umayyad Elite in Late Antique Syria* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 115–18.
84. Ahmad ibn Muhammad Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, *Al-‘Iqd al-farīd*, 3 vols. (Cairo: al-Matba’ al-Jamaliyya, 1913), 3:154.
85. *Ibid.*, 3:158.
86. *Ibid.*, 3:128.
87. *Ibid.*
88. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’riḫh*, 21:154–56.
89. *Ibid.*, 21:156.
90. *Ibid.*, 18:79–80.
91. *Ibid.*, 18:89–91.
92. *Ibid.*, 18:81.
93. *Ibid.*, 18:95 and 97.
94. *Ibid.*, 18: 95 and 97.
95. *Ibid.*, 18:99.
96. A chair, throne, or judgment seat. See *ibid.*, 18:97n307.
97. *Ibid.*, 18:95 and 97.
98. Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, *Al-‘Iqd al-farīd*, 3:127.
99. *Ibid.*, 3:127.
100. *Ibid.*, 3:156–57.
101. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’riḫh*, 23:181.
102. Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, *Al-‘Iqd al-farīd*, 3:126.
103. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’riḫh*, 23:181.
104. Andrew Marsham, *Rituals of Islamic Monarchy: Accession and Succession in the First Muslim Empire* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 88. See also 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 19.
105. *Ibid.*
106. *Ibid.*
107. H.A.R. Gibb, *EI2*, s.v. “‘Abd al-Malik.”
108. Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, *Al-‘Iqd al-farīd*, 3:131.
109. *Ibid.*, 3:132. This, however, is contradicted by al-Ṭabarī, who mentions that he ascended the minbar: see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’riḫh*, 18:214–15.
110. W. Luke Treadwell, “The ‘Orans’ Drachms of Bishr ibn Marwān and the Figural Coinage of the Early Marwanid Period,” in Johns, *Bayt al-Maqdis, Part Two*, 223–69, at 260–70.
111. *Ibid.*
112. Nadia Jamil, “Caliph and Qutb: Poetry as a Source for Interpreting the Transformation of the Byzantine Cross on Steps on Umayyad Coinage,” in Johns, *Bayt al-Maqdis, Part Two*, 11–57, at 54.
113. Robert Hillenbrand, *EI2*, s.v. “Masjdjid.”
114. Hillenbrand, *EI2*, s.v. “Masjdjid.” See also Creswell, *Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture*, 11.
115. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’riḫh*, 18:75. See also Ibn al-Faqīh, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, 159. Mu’awiya is credited in some sources with the introduction of the maqsura, either in response to a Kharijite attempt on his life or after witnessing a dog upon the minbar. In either case, a justification was considered necessary for its introduction, whether it was meant to provide security or to maintain ritual purity. See Hillenbrand, *EI2*, s.v. “Masjdjid,” and Henri Lammens, *Études sur le règne du calife omayyade Mo’âwia Ier* (Paris: P. Gauthner, 1908), 202.
116. See also Estelle Whelan, “The Origins of the Mihrab Mujawwaf: A Reinterpretation,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 18, no. 2 (1986): 205–23, at 210.
117. Al-Azraqī, *Akḥbār Makka*, 110.
118. Al-Balādhurī, *Origins of the Islamic State*, 445. The suggested translation here is “mansions,” but the intent of the author is not entirely clear.
119. Al-Balādhurī, *Origins of the Islamic State*, 437.
120. Hillenbrand, *EI2*, s.v. “Masjdjid.” See also al-Balādhurī, *Origins of the Islamic State*, 277 and 348.

121. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ*, 18:75.
122. *Ibid.*, 18:94.
123. Hillenbrand, *EI2*, s.v. "Masǧid."
124. This is at least what Creswell surmised from the excavations of the site: see Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 2:132–38. See also Fuad Safar, *Wāsit: The Sixth Season's Excavation* (Cairo: L'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1945), 25–32, and Johns, "House of the Prophet," 59.
125. Sauvaget, *La Mosquée omeyyade de Médine*, 117–21. For a critique of Sauvaget's findings, see Henri Stern, "Les origines de l'architecture de la mosquée omeyyade, à l'occasion d'un livre de J. Sauvaget," *Syria* 28, no. 3 (1951): 269–79. See also Elie Lambert, "Les origines de la mosquée et l'architecture religieuse des Omeiyades," *Studia Islamica* 6 (1956): 5–18; Edmond Pauty, "L'évolution du dispositif en T dans les mosquées à portiques," *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 2 (1932): 91–124. See as well Oleg Grabar, *The Formation of Islamic Art*, rev. ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 110–117, for a discussion of the mosque within this context. For a discussion of the spatial sympathy between mosque and church/synagogue as the signifier of the "mosque concept," the earliest mosque being a structure with an axial peristyle forecourt leading into an enclosed area, see Johns, "House of the Prophet," 101. See also Ann Marie Yasin, *Saints and Church Spaces in the Late Antique Mediterranean: Architecture, Cult, and Community* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), for a discussion of the role of sacred hierarchies in the formulation of spatial arrangements within the church space.
126. Nuha N. N. Khoury, "The Meaning of the Great Mosque of Cordoba in the Tenth Century," *Muqarnas* 13 (1996): 80–98, at 86–90.
127. Ibn al-Faqīh, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, 230.
128. Al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, 159.
129. Ibn al-Faqīh, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, 263.
130. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 1:42–58.
131. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ*, 22:113.
132. *Ibid.*, esp. n. 434.
133. *Ibid.*, 21:161.
134. *Ibid.*, 21:165.
135. Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "The Lion-Gazelle Mosaic at Khirbat al-Mafjar," *Muqarnas* 14 (1997): 11–18, at 16.
136. G. R. Hawting, *The First Dynasty of Islam: The Umayyad Caliphate, AD 661–750*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2000), 40–45.
137. *Ibid.* See also I. Hasson, *EI2*, s.v. "Ziyād b. Abihi."
138. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ*, 18:79–80.
139. Marsham, *Rituals of Islamic Monarchy*, 87.
140. Grabar, "Ceremonial and Art," 23–24.



BRILL



DIANA ISAAC BAKHOUM

THE FOUNDATION OF A TABRIZI WORKSHOP IN CAIRO: A CASE STUDY OF ITS INFLUENCE ON THE MOSQUE OF EMIR ALTUNBUGHA AL-MARIDANI

This article was the winner of the 2013 Margaret B. Ševčenko Prize, awarded by the Historians of Islamic Art Association.

The Bahri Mamluk period (1250–1382) in Cairo witnessed the spread of artistic and architectural styles that were clearly unique to the Cairene tradition. The new decorative forms were unprecedented not only stylistically but also technically, introducing new expertise and skills previously unfamiliar to Cairene craftsmanship.

The introduction of new techniques has generally been accounted for by the prosperity of trade or by diplomatic relations, where a general milieu of economic and political stability and peace encouraged the exchange of not only objects but also artists and artisans. The introduction of Persian influences to Cairene Mamluk architecture is a case in point. Ilkhanid influence on Mamluk art and architectural decoration is well documented, and accounts of chroniclers often refer to architects, masons, and calligraphers, as well as Sufis, who came to Cairo from the Ilkhanid domain.¹

THE FOUNDATION OF A TABRIZI WORKSHOP IN CAIRO: EMIR SAYF AL-DIN AITMISH AL-ASHRAFI AL-MUHAMMADI

Emir Sayf al-Din Aitmish al-Ashrafi al-Muhammadi (d. 1336) was one of the *mamlūks* (owned slaves) employed by Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad (r. 1293–94, 1299–1309, and 1310–41) in his diplomatic relations with the Ilkhanid state. He was originally purchased by al-Mansur Qalawun (r. 1279–90), who gave him to al-Ashraf Khalil (r. 1290–93), and was therefore commonly referred to as

Aitmish al-Ashrafi (a *nisba* [adjective indicating a person's place of origin, affiliation, or ancestry] indicating his connection to al-Ashraf Khalil) al-Mughuli (the Mongol). He first came to attention as a trusted envoy of al-Nasir Muhammad during the latter's exile in al-Karak in 1309–10. When al-Nasir Muhammad left al-Karak to regain the throne during his third rule, he appointed Aitmish as governor of the city, where he remained until 1311.²

Emir Aitmish is known to have had excellent diplomatic skills and was well acquainted with the Mongol language and Mongol lands, as well as Mongol laws, culture, and traditions, assets that were primary considerations for choosing him as a diplomatic envoy.³ He became a trusted member of Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad's circle, although never rising above the rank of an emir of forty.⁴ Following the proposed peace negotiations, the Ilkhanid ruler Abu Sa'id (r. 1317–35) stipulated that the Mamluks' representative be a man of "confirmed religion and honesty."⁵ Based on these credentials, Aitmish was sent by al-Nasir Muhammad on a number of diplomatic missions to the Ilkhanid state, which ultimately led to the Peace of Aleppo in 1322–23.⁶

Following the peace treaty, many decorative objects were exported to Cairo, some of which were intended as gifts for the sultan, while others may have been sold in local markets. The Egyptian historian Maqrizi (d. 1442) records the valuable gifts taken by Aitmish on his diplomatic missions, but the gifts he received in return for the sultan are frequently not documented.⁷

In his account of the year 1330, Maqrizi records that a *banna* (master mason) accompanied Aitmish from Tabriz and was responsible for the foundation of a court workshop in Cairo during the 1330s and 1340s, where he

trained artisans in the Tabrizi tradition. The craftsman was additionally accredited with the construction of the two minarets at the Mosque of Qawsun in Cairo (1329–30), which he built on the model of the minarets of the Mosque of ‘Ali Shah (ca. 1318–22) in Tabriz.⁸ Interestingly, ‘Ali Shah was the Ilkhanid vizier who signed the peace treaty that Aitmish brought back from Tabriz in 1323.⁹ Centuries later, the Ottoman traveller Evliya Celebi (d. ca. 1682) remarked that the minaret located at the southern entrance to the mosque was decorated with tiles.¹⁰

THE INFLUENCE OF THE WORKSHOP ON BUILDING AND DECORATION IN CAIRO

Michael Meinecke has conducted a detailed study of the influence of the Tabrizi workshop on tile decoration in Mamluk Cairo, and Laila Ibrahim has additionally examined the possible influence of the workshop on the stuccowork of the Khanqah of Emir Qawsun (1335) in Cairo. Aspects of their research will be briefly summarized and analyzed during the course of this study.

The minarets of the Mosque of al-Nasir Muhammad at the Cairo Citadel (originally built in 1313; reconstructed in 1335) are unparalleled in Egypt. Both are decorated with tiles of navy blue, turquoise, and white mosaic. Meinecke attributes these minarets to the same craftsman who worked on the construction of the Qawsun minarets. Behrens-Abouseif, quoting Ülkü Bates, additionally suggests that another source of inspiration may have been Anatolia, where tile mosaics were extensively used and often combined with masonry, as opposed to the brick common in Iran.¹¹

The form of these minarets, topped by a bulbous crown, was clearly an innovation in Cairo, inspired by those commonly seen in mosques and mausolea in Ilkhanid lands. The minaret of the Shrine of ‘Abd al-Samad in Natanz (1299–1312), and those crowning the entryway of the Friday mosque of Yazd (originally built in the twelfth century, but largely rebuilt between 1324 and 1365), are similar examples. Both structures were built in the Ilkhanid period, but the minarets at Yazd unfortunately do not retain much of their original decoration. The decoration at Natanz, however, is completely origi-

nal. The shape of the minarets, although not necessarily the types of tiles used, is clearly linked to the minarets of al-Nasir’s mosque at the Citadel.

The introduction of a new repertory rapidly led to the infiltration of Ilkhanid architectural decorative styles in Cairo, as well as the introduction of new techniques, primarily in tile decoration and stuccowork, another Ilkhanid specialty.

THE TILE DECORATION OF THE MOSQUE OF EMIR ALTUNBUGHA AL-MARIDANI

The use of color and glazed tile decoration became increasingly important during the Ilkhanid period, primarily for the embellishment of exteriors. In Cairo, the earliest known example of tile decoration appears on the minaret of the Khanqah of Baybars al-Jashankir (1306–10); it was also seen on the Mosque of al-Malik



Fig. 1. Cairo, Mosque of Emir Altunbugha al-Maridani (1334–39/40), general view. (Photo: © K.A.C. Creswell Photographic Collection, Rare Books and Special Collections Library, The American University in Cairo)



Fig. 2. Cairo, Mosque of Emir Altunbugha al-Maridani (1334–39/40). (Plan: courtesy of Nicholas Warner)

al-Jukandar (1319). Those precedents, which were technically still primitive, have largely been destroyed.

In the 1330s, however, one begins to recognize the evolution of a technically advanced tile decoration that was clearly foreign to the Cairene tradition; it was used monumentally and displayed in a variety of colors, two practices previously unknown in Egypt. Meinecke identified thirteen Bahri Mamluk monuments in Cairo with tile and faience mosaic decoration, most of which were built between 1330 and 1350.¹² One of these is the Mosque of Emir Altunbugha al-Maridani, which the contemporary historian al-Yusufi (d. 1358) praised as one of the most lavishly and finely decorated buildings in the city (fig. 1).¹³

The mosque, construction on which began in 1334 and was completed in 1339–40,¹⁴ follows the *rivāq* (an arcade carried on columns or pillars) plan, with an open

courtyard and a dome in front of the mihrab (a prayer niche found in religious buildings indicating the direction to the Ka'ba in Mecca). Three axial entrances lead into the courtyard, which is separated from the prayer hall by a fine *mashrabiyya* screen (a wooden screen that covered windows of medieval houses) (fig. 2). Despite the mosque's poor state of conservation today, it still manages to retain a great deal of its original splendor and remains one of the most beautiful mosques of fourteenth-century Cairo.

The tile decoration in the Mosque of al-Maridani, which is of a technically high standard, appears on only four architectural parts of the structure. Rectangular tile panels are found on the inner sides of the windows over the northeastern and southwestern entryways (figs. 3 and 4). Tile roundels occupy the inner (facing the courtyard) and outer (facing the street) sides of the



Fig. 3. Cairo, Mosque of Emir Altunbugha al-Maridani (1334–39/40), tile panel over northeastern entryway. (Photo: © Matjaž Kačičnik)

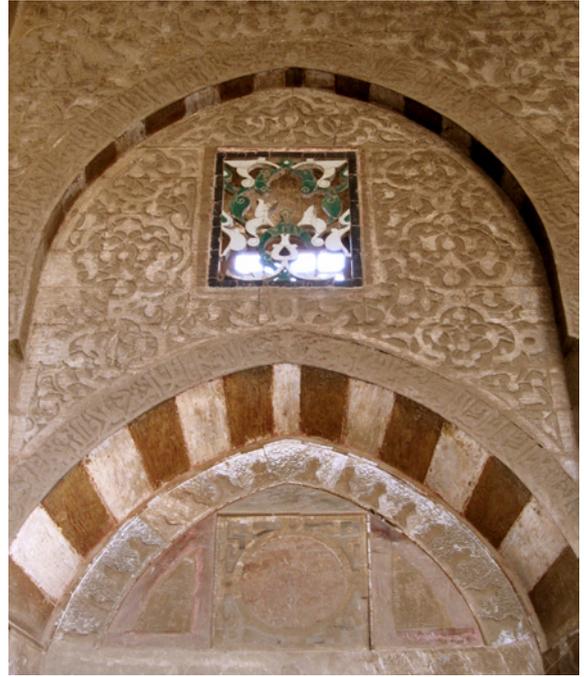


Fig. 4. Cairo, Mosque of Emir Altunbugha al-Maridani (1334–39/40), tile panel over southwestern entryway. (Photo: © Diana Bakhoum)



Fig. 5. Cairo, Mosque of Emir Altunbugha al-Maridani (1334–39/40), tile roundel facing the courtyard over northwestern entryway. (Photo: © Diana Bakhoum)

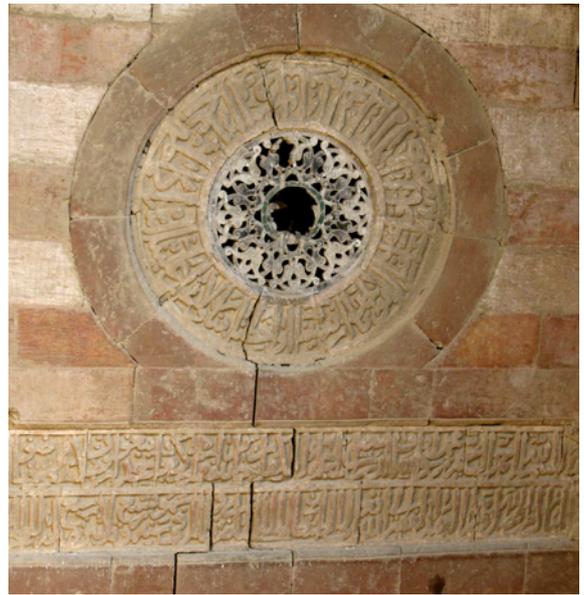


Fig. 6. Cairo, Mosque of Emir Altunbugha al-Maridani (1334–39/40), tile roundel facing the street over northwestern entryway. (Photo: © Diana Bakhoum)



Fig. 7. Cairo, Madrasa of Emir Qarasunqur (1300), stucco screen. (Photo: © Matjaž Kačičnik)



Fig. 8. Cairo, funerary complex of Sanjar al-Jawli (1303-4), stone screen. (Photo: © Matjaž Kačičnik)

central medallion of the northwestern entryway (figs. 5 and 6). All the panels are strategically placed in prominent positions above the entryways to the mosque.

The panels feature an arabesque design set on a vegetal scroll background. These patterns had earlier precedents in Cairene architecture, which were produced in stone or stucco, but in the Mosque of al-Maridani we find the earliest extant example in glazed tile. The design and structure of the rectangular tile panels are comparable to the stucco grille at the Madrasa of Emir Qarasunqur (1300) (fig. 7); they also very closely resemble the stone screen at the funerary complex of Sanjar al-Jawli (1303-4) (fig. 8). In terms of decorative repertory, it is quite obvious that the designs chosen for the

decoration drew upon local rather than international motifs. The panels look very different from other tile-work in Cairo; at the same time, there is no evidence of any Iranian parallels, in either design or technique. The same can be said of the tile roundels adorning the northwestern portal.¹⁵

The rectangular tile panels above the northeastern and southwestern entryways

As mentioned above, in both panels, vegetal scroll ornaments form the basis of the design. Above the northeastern entryway, white and navy blue tile panels were combined to form an overall arabesque design



Fig. 9. Cairo, Mosque of Emir Altunbugha al-Maridani (1334–39/40), tile panel over northeastern entryway. (Photo: © Matjaž Kačičnik)



Fig. 10. Cairo, Mosque of Emir Altunbugha al-Maridani (1334–39/40), detail of tile panel over southwestern entryway. (Photo: © Diana Bakhoum)

framed by a navy blue rectangle (fig. 9). The same technique was used in the panel above the southwestern entryway, this time to create a different arabesque composition, executed in white and turquoise glazed tiles surrounded by a cobalt blue rectangular framing (fig. 10).¹⁶ While both panels are the same width, the one above the northeastern entryway is longer, which allows for the display of a larger portion of the arabesque pattern.¹⁷

Tile roundels above the northwestern entryway

A tile roundel is found on each side of the northwestern entryway, one facing the courtyard, the other facing the street (figs. 11 and 12). At the center of the panel on the inner side, which combines three different colors—white, turquoise, and dark blue¹⁸—is a roundel with the name “Muḥammad,” a reference to the Prophet and perhaps also an allusion to Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad (fig. 11). The inscription is placed in a strategic location opposite the mihrab, where it is visible from different parts of the mosque.

The outer roundel combines the same three colors in a highly concentric design (fig. 12). According to a drawing by Jules Bourgoïn (1892), the central medallion contained the word *Allāh* in *naskh* script (a type of calligraphy in which the letters are rounded and clearly formed). Meinecke thus suggests that the general layout of this roundel with the surrounding inscription band resembles the roundel above the entryway of the Mosque of al-Aqmar (1125). He uses this example to support his hypothesis about the local origins of the design repertory for these panels.¹⁹

ANALYSIS

These panels are very fine and highly advanced examples of Cairene tilework. Due to the sophisticated technical skills needed for their production, similar panels are quite rare. One earlier example discussed by Meinecke is at the Sahib Ata Mausoleum in Konya (1283),²⁰ but the design is composed of a geometric pattern and was probably executed in one color. In terms of vegetal ornamentation, a number of Cairene precedents could



Fig. 11. Cairo, Mosque of Emir Altunbugha al-Maridani (1334–39/40), detail of tile roundel facing the courtyard over northwestern entryway. (Photo: © Diana Bakhoum)



Fig. 12. Cairo, Mosque of Emir Altunbugha al-Maridani (1334–39/40), tile roundel facing the street over northwestern entryway. (Photo © Diana Bakhoum)

be discussed, but these were mainly executed in stone or stucco.²¹

The main question is whether these panels are made up of separate pieces of tile attached together or whether they form one unit composed of different colors. Polychrome tiles were generally much harder to produce and required the presence of skilled master ceramists. A number of techniques were developed to prevent the colors from running over and rendering the designs illegible.²² In the tiles in question, one can see clear lines between the different colored pieces, which could be indicative of actual joints or might just be incised lines drawn to separate the oxides and prevent the colors from running over one another (figs. 13–16). Although the indented lines or incisions are quite defined on the decorated side of the panels, no joints are clearly visible on the rear side of the panels, which look as though they were produced out of a single block (fig. 17). It is, however, also possible that a plaster coating may have been added to the backs of the tile panels to strengthen the adhesive attachment of the different pieces to one another.

Another peculiarity of the panels is the use of *sgraffiato* (lit. “scratched” in Italian)²³ for the swirls of the vegetal ornamentation. This technique was first used

at the Gunbad-i Qabud Mausoleum (1196–97) at Maraḡha, where the background was scratched away, thereby making the glazed foreground stand out. It was later used in the Şifaiye Madrasa (1220) in Sivas, as well as at the mihrab of the ‘Ala’ al-Din Mosque (ca. 1235) in Konya.²⁴

It is still unclear where the craftsmen found their inspiration and techniques, but Anatolia, rather than Iran, may be a plausible source.²⁵ A very similar design is found in the tile panels framing the iwan of the Sirçalı Madrasa in Konya (1242–43). The pattern used at al-Maridani for the rectangular tile panels closely resembles the one executed at the Anatolian madrasa in turquoise and dark blue. In Konya, however, the design is composed of carved tile panels embedded in a plaster coating. The technique is not entirely different from the Cairene examples, except that the ones at al-Maridani are executed on a much larger scale and are not embedded in plaster. Given the scarcity of Anatolian Seljuq tilework parallels, however, further research is needed to support this hypothesis.

According to Meinecke, Azerbaijan may have been another possible source of inspiration. He suggests that the technique used in Konya was also found at the Mausoleum of Uljaitu (1305) at Sultaniyya and the tomb



Fig. 13. Cairo, Mosque of Emir Altunbugha al-Maridani (1334–39/40), detail of tile panel over northeastern entryway. (Photo: © Diana Bakhoum)



Fig. 14. Cairo, Mosque of Emir Altunbugha al-Maridani (1334–39/40), detail of tile panel over southwestern entryway. (Photo: © Diana Bakhoum)

tower (1322) at Barda. On the basis of the connection with Ilkhanid decoration, Meinecke thus suggests that the craftsmen working on these panels were those trained by the Tabrizi master brought to Cairo in 1323.²⁶

The two rectangular panels and the internal northwestern roundel should generally be considered integral parts of the overall decorative program of the mosque. The walls surrounding these panels are covered with a low-relief carved stone revetment, which would originally have been painted (figs. 3–5). Relief carvings such as these forming an overall wall pattern were not very common in Cairo and should therefore be examined in terms of their connection with the tile panels.²⁷ Meinecke thus suggests that the designs of the panels and their surrounds were products of the Tabrizi master, who, he consequently infers, worked at the royal court workshop, under the supervision of a *mu'allim* (literally “teacher,” but generally used in reference to a master craftsman), Ibn al-Suyufi,²⁸ the chief architect of the court, or the *ra'īs al-muhandisīn*.²⁹

In light of the dearth of definitive parallels, more evidence is needed to prove any hypothesis about the possible origin of these panels and the craftsmen who produced them. The fact that most other tilework in

Cairo was executed in tile mosaic makes these panels rare and highly significant for the architectural history of tile decoration in Cairo. The choice of four different designs with different sizes, shapes, and proportions could suggest an experimental approach rather than the adoption of a well-established tradition.

One major observation should be made at this stage. There is a clear discrepancy in complexity and quality of execution between the rectangular panels and the tile roundel facing the interior of the mosque, as opposed to the tile roundel facing the street, which displays a much higher level of sophistication, both technically and stylistically (fig. 12). The design of this roundel is the most complex of the four, and the connections of the different pieces are very intricate and finely executed. It could therefore be suggested that the tile roundel facing the street may have been produced by the Tabrizi master himself, and acted as a prototype to be copied by those training under his supervision. No concrete evidence, however, can prove this hypothesis. In the future, restoration and cleaning may help reveal new evidence that can guide us in determining the craftsman who produced these panels.



Fig. 15. Cairo, Mosque of Emir Altunbugha al-Maridani (1334–39/40), detail of tile roundel facing the courtyard over northwestern entryway. (Photo: © Diana Bakhoum)



Fig. 16. Cairo, Mosque of Emir Altunbugha al-Maridani (1334–39/40), detail of tile roundel facing the street over northwestern entryway. (Photo: © Diana Bakhoum)



Fig. 17. Cairo, Mosque of Emir Altunbugha al-Maridani (1334–39/40), tile roundel over the interior of the northwestern entryway, view from the backside of the panel. (Photo: © Diana Bakhoum)

THE INFLUENCE OF THE TABRIZI WORKSHOP ON STUCCO DECORATION

The team of artists, or workshop, that was responsible for the tile decoration on Cairene monuments has also been credited with the execution of stucco decoration.

By the first quarter of the fourteenth century, the tradition of Mamluk stucco decoration had become well established, and in Iran, stucco decoration reached its apogee under the Ilkhanids. Several buildings in Cairo feature stucco decoration that was alien to the tradition of the Mamluk period, some of which can still be observed today, though others are no longer extant.

One of the earliest examples is in the complex sponsored by al-Nasir Muhammad for himself. The mihrab of the Madrasa of al-Nasir Muhammad (1296–1304) at Bayn al-Qasrayn (fig. 18) is quite exceptional in Mamluk architectural decoration and clearly derives from Persian prototypes. With its pierced bosses, the high-relief carving on the conch of the mihrab closely resembles Ilkhanid stucco as well as *repoussé*³⁰ metalwork. Laila Ibrahim has suggested that the closest parallel is to be found in the mihrab of the Great Mosque (1277) at Urumiyya.³¹ Upon closer examination, however, one sees that the two mihrabs share the same bulbous qualities but not the same designs. The stucco mihrab found at the Pir-i

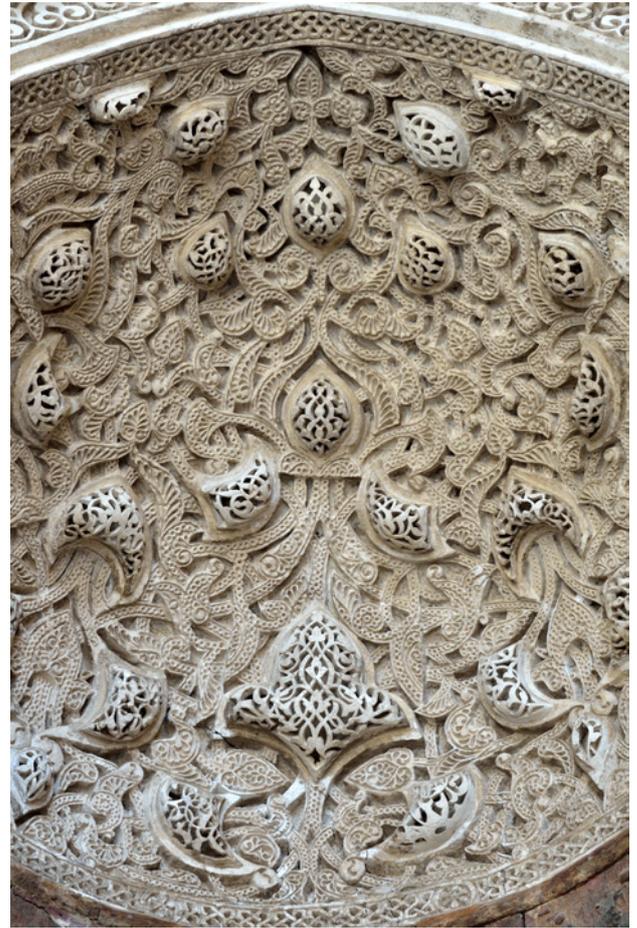


Fig. 18. Cairo, Madrasa of al-Nasir Muhammad (1296–1304), detail of conch of mihrab. (Photo: © Matjaž Kačičnik)

Bakran Mausoleum (1299–1312) (fig. 19), and particularly the spandrel design of the mihrab added by Uljaitu to the Great Mosque of Isfahan in 1310 (fig. 20), provide much closer parallels because they share similar arabesque designs.³² One should note, though, that Mamluk-Mongol relations had not been well established by the time the Madrasa of al-Nasir was completed in 1303. This suggests that unless the conch was decorated at least a decade later, the craftsmen who worked on it were likely to have been refugees rather than craftsmen brought as a result of diplomatic relations.³³

The now-ruined Qasr al-Ablaq (1313–14) of al-Nasir Muhammad at the Citadel, known to us through the *Description de l'Égypte*,³⁴ was also decorated with a medal-



Fig. 19. Linjan, Pir-i Bakran Mausoleum (1299–1312), conch of mihrab. (Photo: © Bernard O’Kane)

lion, probably in stucco, which is stylistically very close to the Ilkhanid tradition. The medallion is distinguished by the use of hollow appliqué bosses³⁵ similar to those discussed earlier in connection with the Madrasa of al-Nasir Muhammad. Such bosses were very rare in Cairo and their use is restricted to only a few but significant buildings. These bosses also occur in the spandrels of the mihrab of the Khanqah of Princess Tughay, also known as Khawand Umm Anuk (pre-1349), who was al-Nasir’s favorite wife.³⁶

A stucco roundel at the Khanqah of Emir Qawsun (1335) in Cairo features an inscription surround that is now in a ruined state (fig. 21). The major peculiarity of the surround is the use of the initial formula *mimma*

umila bi-rasm (made by special decree for), commonly known from portable objects, but most unusual on architectural monuments.³⁷ A careful study and analysis of the meaning of this formula suggest that the roundel was manufactured in a separate workshop, probably under royal control, to fulfil an order made by the sultan for his emir, the presence of the formula being an official recognition of this fact.³⁸ During the Mamluk period, marble and wooden panels were readily transferable from one monument to the other and the occurrence of this formula may suggest that the roundel was manufactured in a separate workshop rather than on site. It has therefore been suggested that this roundel was manufactured in the court workshop founded by the Tabrizi craftsman brought by Aitmish as a diplomatic gift.³⁹ J. M. Rogers has compared the stucco roundel in question with a very close parallel at the Madrasa-yi Shamsiyya at Yazd (dated by Wilber to 1365).⁴⁰ Pickett, however, proposes a much earlier dating and suggests that the madrasa was already finished in 1332, following the death of Shams al-Din (d. 1332), whose body was brought from Tabriz to be buried inside the building.⁴¹ On this basis, the madrasa could therefore be considered a major source of inspiration or a direct prototype for the Khanqah of Emir Qawsun in Cairo. Yazd was not only one of the major weaving centers of Iran, but also had an additional importance for the Mamluks as a slave market. The most plausible date for the establishment of Yazd as a slave market, as proposed by Rogers, is 1322, following the Peace of Aleppo. One of the conditions outlined in the treaty was that the Bahri Mamluks be allowed to purchase slaves from Ilkhanid domains and that al-Magd al-Sallami, a major slave merchant of the period, be allowed to travel between Egypt and the Ilkhanid state for this reason.⁴² In conclusion, one may thus suggest the possibility that Yazdi craftsmen also came to Cairo to work on the massive architectural projects undertaken in the city.

The question is whether there are similar links between the examples discussed above and the stucco decoration at al-Maridani. Various types of stucco ornament, including the medallions known as *bukhariyyas* (usually of a round or oval shape, with a palmette at either end and filled with patterns) (fig. 22), roundels,



Fig. 20. Isfahan, Great Mosque, spandrel detail of the mihrab added by Uljaitu in 1310. (Photo: © Bernard O'Kane)

and tree patterns (fig. 23), grace the upper portion of the walls of the prayer hall. There are, however, very few intact stucco roundels on the qibla wall. The density and quality of the decoration, as well as the size of the roundels, are not comparable to the examples at the Khanqah of Emir Qawsun. The *bukhariyyas* are finely executed but their decoration does not compare to those seen at the khanqah.⁴³ It is therefore very unlikely that the Tabrizi workshop exerted any influence on the stuccowork of the Mosque of al-Maridani.

Given the evidence available today, one could assume that the influence of the Tabrizi workshop on the Mosque of al-Maridani was relatively restricted in scale. The decoration of the tile panels as well as the decorations in stucco give the impression of being experimen-

tal and are not found later in any other monuments. Additionally, they have been used sparingly on the structure, mainly on the interior and not on the façade or minaret, for instance, where they would have made a clear statement regarding the involvement of a foreign workshop. On the other hand, parts of the decoration that had been a Cairene specialty and in which the craftsmen were already talented were executed according to very high standards of perfection. Nevertheless, one should always consider the extensive restorations carried out at the mosque; original parts of the decoration may have been lost, making it more difficult to be certain of the sources of inspiration. Restoration and cleaning may help reveal new evidence, but until these are carried out, no final conclusions can be reached.



Fig. 21. Cairo, Khanqah of Emir Qawsun (1335), stucco roundel. (Photo: © Matjaž Kačičnik)



Fig. 22. Cairo, Mosque of Emir Altunbugha al-Maridani (1334–39/40), stucco *bukhariyya*. (Photo: © Diana Bakhoum)



Fig. 23. Cairo, Mosque of Emir Altunbugha al-Maridani (1334–39/40), tree representations in stucco. (Photo: © Matjaž Kačičnik)

THE DECLINE OF THE TABRIZI WORKSHOP

The scarcity of available material could be misleading in the examination of the extent of the influence exerted by the Tabrizi workshop in Cairo. Based on the current evidence, one might assume that following the death of al-Nasir Muhammad, the influence of the Tabrizi workshop declined and that the tile decoration adorning the windows of the mausoleum of the Sultan Hasan complex (1356–63), for example, may have been one of the last undertakings of the workshop in Cairo. In terms of stucco decoration, the richly ornamented stucco roundels at the Mosque of Aslam al-Silahdar (1344–45) and the nearly contemporary Khanqah of Princess Tatar al-Hijaziya (1348) were the last products of stucco ornamentation for at least a decade.⁴⁴

Following the death of Abu Sa'īd in 1335, the Ilkhanid empire disintegrated rapidly, accompanied by a demise in the imperial building tradition. With the ensuing turmoil and with the Black Death of 1348, many artists fled to Cairo and brought with them new building techniques and motifs, which included complex muqarnas vaults and chinoiserie patterns. The stone architecture of Anatolia seems to have had lasting effects on Mamluk façade decoration. The disappearance of Persian styles of tilework in Cairo may have been the result of these circumstances.

Timurid architectural decoration and tilework were to exert more influence on the architecture of Mughal India than on the Western Islamic lands. Furthermore, there was an increasing interest in the use of stone as a building and decorative material in Cairo, which seems to have affected the use of tile mosaic for decoration. The architecture of the later Bahri Mamluk period, as well as that of the Burji Mamluks (1382–1517), thus relied heavily on stone decoration, and great advances were achieved in the decoration of dome structures, minarets, and portals, a factor that gave Cairo its unique architectural style.

This examination of the Mosque of al-Maridani in light of the historical events of the time has resulted in a better understanding of how foreign relations influenced the building of this period. The appropriation of foreign techniques, probably undertaken by local craftsmen who were influenced by local motifs, was possibly

intended as an exercise in experimentation, first to be tried in buildings sponsored by emirs, and then to be perfected in later architectural projects carried out by the sultan. Such efforts, however, were instrumental in imparting a unique sensibility to their monuments.

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NOTES

1. Abdallah Kahil, *The Sultan Hasan Complex in Cairo, 1357–1364: A Case Study in the Formation of Mamluk Style* (Beirut, 2008), 150.
2. Reuven Amitai, "Mamluks of Mongol Origin and Their Role in Early Mamluk Political Life," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 12, no. 1 (2008): 119–37, at 124.
3. Shihāb al-Dīn Abī al-Faḍl Aḥmad b. 'Alī Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqālānī, *Al-Durar al-kāmina fī a'yān al-mi'ah al-thāmina*, 4 vols. (Beirut, 1997), 1:453–54 (quoting al-Safadi).
4. Amitai, "Mamluks of Mongol Origin," 124.
5. Donald P. Little, "Notes on Aitamiš, a Mongol Mamluk," in *Die islamische Welt zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit: Festschrift für Hans Robert Roemer zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Ulrich Haarmann and Peter Bachmann (Beirut, 1979), 387–401, at 391.
6. Aitmiš died in Safad in 1336, a few months after being appointed governor. Amitai, "Mamluks of Mongol Origin," 124–25.
7. At the Khanqah of Baktimur was a Koran commissioned by Uljaitu (r. 1304–16) as a gift for al-Nasir Muhammad, which the sultan gave to his emir and son-in-law Baktimur as a sign of royal favor. Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks: A History of the Architecture and Its Culture* (Cairo, 2007), 35.
8. Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawā'iz wa-al-i'tibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-al-āthār*, ed. Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, 5 vols. (London, 2002), 4:1:223.
9. Michael Meinecke, "Die mamlukischen Fayencemosaikdekorationen: Eine Werkstatt aus Tabriz in Kairo (1330–1350)," *Kunst des Orients* 11 (1976–77): 85–144, at 91.
10. Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 172. Al-Jabarti recorded the collapse of the second minaret in 1801.
11. Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 177. See Ülkü Bates, "Evolution of Tile Revetment in Ottoman Cairo," in *First International Congress on Turkish Tiles and Ceramics* (Istanbul, 1989), 39–58, at 39, 45n5. This suggestion will be more relevant for the discussion of the tile panels at the Mosque of al-Maridani.
12. Meinecke, "Die mamlukischen Fayencemosaikdekorationen," 86–87.
13. Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 183.

14. Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-ma‘rifat duwal al-mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafa Ziyāda, 4 vols. (Cairo, 1934–72), 2:2:385. The mosque was restored by the Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l’Art Arabe in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. See Diana Bakhoun, “The Mosque of Emir Altunbugha al-Maridani in Light of Mamluk Patronage under al-Nasir Muhammad Ibn Qalawun” (M.A. thesis, The American University in Cairo, 2009), chap. 2.
15. Meinecke, “Die mamlukischen Fayencemosaikdekorationen,” 109.
16. Today, the panel above the southwestern entryway is in a fragmentary condition.
17. Meinecke, “Die mamlukischen Fayencemosaikdekorationen,” 109.
18. Meinecke has suggested that the use in this panel of two different shades of green, a bright turquoise and muted “bottle green,” was a major technical breakthrough. This is a rarity, which was introduced in Iran after the mid-fourteenth century. However, upon examining the panels, I have not been able to identify the different shades Meinecke mentions. A slightly different shade of green is found on the outer roundel of the northwestern entryway, in the border, which supposedly framed the word *Allāh* (fig. 16). *Ibid.*, 112.
19. *Ibid.*, 110.
20. Michael Meinecke, *Fayencedekorationen seldschukischer Sakralbauten in Kleinasien*, 2 vols. (Tübingen, 1976), 2:374.
21. Meinecke, “Die mamlukischen Fayencemosaikdekorationen,” 110; Meinecke, *Fayencedekorationen seldschukischer Sakralbauten*, 2:369.
22. One of the different techniques used for tile decoration involves incised compartments: oxides are separated by cutting deep lines in the raw paste and the motifs are outlined with light incisions revealing the color of the body. Other techniques include tile mosaic, in which monochrome panels are fired, cut, and assembled afterward; *cuenca y arista* (cavities and ribs), which involves molding compartments or forming small lines in relief to contain the enamels; and *cuerda seca* (dry cord), a more complex and advanced technique, in which a different substance with a different composition was used between the glazes to separate them, and then disappeared almost entirely after firing. *Cuerda seca* was especially popular in Spanish ceramics; it is generally inaccurate, however, to refer to it in the ceramics of the East, where the substance used to prevent the colors from running over was distinct, with a more matte, vitrified, and black appearance. The tile panels in the Mosque of al-Maridani are unique, and cannot be classified according to an existing tilework technique. See Jean Soustiel and Yves Porter, *Tombs of Paradise: The Shah-e Zende in Samarkand and Architectural Ceramics of Central Asia*, trans. Damien Janos (Saint-Rémy-en-l’Eau, 2003), 213–17.
23. This is a technique used in tilework in which patterns are incised onto a tile that was first covered with a slip and coated with a lead glaze.
24. Meinecke, *Fayencedekorationen seldschukischer Sakralbauten*, 1:21–22, 165.
25. As mentioned earlier, Bates proposed an Anatolian derivation for the minarets of al-Nasir Muhammad at the Citadel: Bates, “Evolution of Tile Revetment.”
26. Meinecke, “Die mamlukischen Fayencemosaikdekorationen,” 111.
27. Similar carved surfaces were in fact much more common in stucco; this type of overall decoration may be regarded as a possible precedent to the carved masonry domes of the later Mamluk period.
28. Al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭat*, 4:2:542.
29. Meinecke, “Die mamlukischen Fayencemosaikdekorationen,” 112.
30. A technique used in metalwork in which the metal is hammered into relief from the reverse side.
31. Laila ‘Alī Ibrahim, “The Great Ḥānqāh of the Emir Qawṣūn in Cairo,” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 30 (1974): 37–64, at 50.
32. Stucco mihrabs with bulbous elements were common in Iran as early as the tenth century. A good example is the mihrab at the Na’in Friday Mosque (ca. 960), as well as the much later mihrab at the Seljuq mausoleum of Gunbad-i Alaviyyan in Hamadan (datable to the mid-twelfth century).
33. Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 154–55.
34. The full title of the work is *Description de l’Égypte, ou Recueil des observations et des recherches qui ont été faites en Égypte pendant l’expédition de l’armée française*. This is a multi-volume work, compiled by scholars and scientists of the Scientific and Artistic Commission, who accompanied Napoleon Bonaparte on his expedition to Egypt in 1789. It included plates, maps, and essays, which offered a comprehensive description of Egypt’s archeology, topography and natural history.
35. These are bosses applied to the surface of the medallion.
36. According to Ibrahim, the examples proposed here cannot be attributed to the same craftsman, but it is very likely that all of these could have been made under his supervision in the newly founded court workshop. Ibrahim, “Great Ḥānqāh of the Emir Qawṣūn,” 57.
37. Ibrahim records three examples of the use of this formula in an architectural context, namely, a stone slab at the mausoleum of Tastimur in the Eastern Cemetery (1334), a wooden panel from the ceiling of the western iwan at the palace of Bashtak (1334–39), and two marble panels from the madrasa of Sarghitmish (1356). *Ibid.*, 50.
38. *Ibid.*, 50–57.
39. Very little is known about the organization of the craft in Mamluk Cairo and Ilkhanid Iran, and signatures of stucco workers are very rare. One recorded inscription (at the mosque of Bayazid at Bistam) characterized the stucco worker as the *jassas*; a second inscription at the same sanctuary characterizes him as the *bannā* (commonly used to refer to a master mason). There are other cases where the term *bannā* is used to refer to a ceramics craftsman: (a) a faience mihrab from Iran now in the Metropolitan Museum

- of Art in New York, dated to the first half of the fourteenth century and believed to have once adorned the mausoleum of 'Abd al-Samad in Natanz, signed "Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Babuy al-bannā," who was a known fourteenth-century tileworker from Kashan; (b) a star tile allegedly commemorating the construction of the mausoleum of 'Abd al-Samad in Natanz, signed "Ibrāhīm b. Ismā'īl al-bannā al-Isfahānī"; (c) a faience medallion in the iwan of the Sirçali Madrasa in Konya (1242–43), signed "Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān al-bannā al-Tūsi." Laila Ibrahim thus concluded that several crafts may have been practiced by the same master mason. *Ibid.*, 56–57.
40. J. M. Rogers, "Appendix II: The Origins of the Stucco Decoration—The Great Hanqah of Emir Qawsun in Cairo," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 30 (1974): 60–64, at 60–61.
 41. Douglas Pickett, *Early Persian Tilework: The Medieval Flowering of Kāshī* (London, 1997), 143. This dating is also confirmed by an inscription.
 42. Rogers, "Appendix II: The Origins of the Stucco Decoration," 63.
 43. The first recorded appearance of *bukhariyyas* in Cairo is in the domes of the Mausoleum of Salar and Sangar al-Jawli (1303). Ibrahim, "Great Ḥānqāh of the Emir Qawṣūn," 51.
 44. Michael Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien (648/1250 bis 923/1517)*, 2 vols., *Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Islamische Reihe* 5 (Glückstadt, 1992), 1129.



BRILL



SANDRA AUBE

THE UZUN HASAN MOSQUE IN TABRIZ: NEW PERSPECTIVES ON A TABRIZI CERAMIC TILE WORKSHOP

Tabriz, the former capital city of the Ilkhanid and Jalayirid rulers (r. 1256–1335 and 1335–1432, respectively), located at a commercial crossroad, was a significant intellectual and artistic center during the Turkmen Qara Qoyunlu (r. 1380–1468) and Aq Qoyunlu (r. 1378–1508) dynasties (fig. 1). The city remained a state capital until 1555, during the reign of the Safavid Shah Tahmasp I (r. 1524–76).¹

During the fifteenth century Tabriz was famous for its workshops (sing. *kitābkhāna*). Its manuscript production was renowned, as were its ceramics. By the end of the century, a Tabrizi craftsman was even said to have attempted an imitation of porcelain,² an episode that illustrates the dynamism of the city's workshops. As far as Cairo, Damascus, Bursa, and Shahr-i Sabz, potters bearing a *nisba* (element of a name indicating relation or origin) from Tabriz perpetuated the fame of its prestigious workshops.³ Turkmen rulers also built great architectural complexes in Tabriz.⁴ But between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, a number of earthquakes severely damaged this flourishing city, devastating its historical monuments.⁵ In addition to these natural disasters, in 1514 Tabriz was attacked and its treasures plundered by the Ottoman army.⁶

Consequently, very little is known about Tabriz's heritage. The remains of the Mosque of 'Ali Shah, the Rab'-i Rashidi complex of pious and charitable institutions (named after its founder, whose mausoleum was part of the complex), and the former Masjid-i Jami' appear to be a very faint echo of what may have been great architectural complexes erected by the Mongol rulers Ghazan Khan (d. 1304) and Rashid al-Din (d. 1318).⁷ In his famous depiction of the city, Matrakçı Nasuh

(d. 1564), a painter who followed the Ottoman sultan Süleyman during his military campaign in Iran and Iraq between 1533 and 1536, offered a glimpse of the magnificent heritage of Tabriz.⁸ As for the fifteenth century, the famous Blue Mosque built in 1465 by the Qara Qoyunlu has long appeared to be the last remnant of Turkmen architecture and decoration in the city. It was while studying this monument that scholarly attention first focused on the innovative distinctiveness of ceramic tile production in Tabriz—in the originality of its range of “blue-and-white” ornaments, its lusterware, and even its gilded cobalt tiles, some of which long constituted the only known examples of their type.⁹ The recovery of the Mosque of Uzun Hasan, however, has brought to light new evidence of similar examples. Restored by the Sazman-i Miras-i Farhangi (Organization for National Cultural Heritage) in 2006–7, this structure has been identified as the mosque built by the Aq Qoyunlu ruler Uzun Hasan (r. 1457–78).¹⁰ Its ceramic decoration, which will be presented below, leaves no doubt regarding this attribution while also confirming previous assessments as to the outstanding and original quality of Tabrizi tile production during the Turkmen dynasties.

THE FOUNDING OF THE UZUN HASAN MOSQUE AND THE NASRIYYA COMPLEX

The Mosque of Uzun Hasan (known locally as Masjid-i Hasan Padishah) formed a part of the Nasriyya Complex, located on a former plaza called the Maydan-i Sahibabad, on the north side of the river crossing Tabriz.¹¹ This



Fig. 1. Map showing Tabriz and related cities. (Map: Sandra Aube)

plaza has now vanished and, apart from the newly recovered Mosque of Uzun Hasan, only the Sahib al-‘Amr Mosque (founded during the time of the Safavid ruler Shah Tahmasp I) remains in the vicinity, on the north side of the former complex.¹²

We know from historical sources that the Maydan-i Sahibabad was founded during the time of the Qara Qoyunlu sultan Jahanshah (r. 1438–67), who built his own palace there in 1466.¹³ When the Aq Qoyunlu rulers seized the city in 1467, they added their own buildings and decorations to the palace.¹⁴ In 1472, the Venetian ambassador Josafa Barbaro described the mosaic panel decorations of the audience hall during the reign of Uzun Hasan.¹⁵ Some years later, Khunji Isfahani (d. 1519) mentioned the construction of a *mazār* (tomb) during Khalil’s reign (r. 1478) and further restorations (or perhaps a complete reconstruction?) undertaken by Uzun Hasan’s son and successor, Sultan Ya‘qub (r. 1478–90), between 1483 and 1486.¹⁶ Khunji Isfahani reports that there was an elevated octagonal palace, described as a “turquoise throne.” After Ya‘qub’s renovations were completed, the palace was apparently renamed the “Hasht Bihisht” (Eight Paradises);¹⁷ it has been proposed that the Hasht Bihisht may be the first known example of this plan type.¹⁸ At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Francesco Romano, a Venetian merchant, thoroughly described the amazing paintings decorating the palace.¹⁹ The Hasht Bihisht was the main palace con-

nected with the Nasriyya Complex, where the Uzun Hasan Mosque was erected.

Construction began on the architectural complex of Nasriyya in 1477–78, under the patronage of Uzun Hasan, and seems to have been completed seven years later, during the reign of Sultan Ya‘qub—that is to say, around 1484.²⁰ The complex comprised a mausoleum, a mosque, a madrasa, and a hospital. Karbala’i Tabrizi (fl. sixteenth century) describes the complex as a mosque (*jāmi‘-yi Naşriyya*), but his contemporary Qazvini also writes about a garden (*bāghcha-i Naşriyya*). The Nasriyya seems to have had a funereal purpose as well, since its patrons—Uzun Hasan and Ya‘qub—were said to be buried there.²¹ The best architects and craftsmen would have worked on the construction of the Nasriyya Complex, and a certain Darvish Qasim was apparently in charge of building the mausoleum erected in the middle of a garden.²² Khunji Isfahani refers to this structure as a red and blue monument (*surkh va kabūd*); this probably indicates a brick construction with brick or terra cotta ornamental patterns arranged with tiles in dominant blue tones.²³ On the north side of this mausoleum was an older shrine, the Pir-i Rumi, dated Rabi‘ I 874 or 884 (September–October 1469 or May–June 1479) by one stone inscription, and 768 (1366–67) by another.²⁴

The mosque attached to this complex replaced a Qara Qoyunlu mosque located in the same place. The new building was founded by Uzun Hasan. Yet Khunji



Fig. 2. Tabriz, Uzun Hasan Mosque, general view of the south side of the domed chamber. (Photo: Sandra Aube, 2014)

Isfahani describes the mosque's state of disrepair during the reign of Ya'qub, when the queen mother, Malika Saljuqshah Begum, funded its restoration: a new portico was built, decorated with tiles (*kāshī*) and surmounted by a cupola covered with blue tile revetments.²⁵ Surprisingly, the mosque is said to have been a stone construction, which, if true, would make it a rare example of such a structure in Aq Qoyunlu architecture of the region.²⁶ It seems more likely, however, that the reference to stone concerns the many marble panels decorating the walls (on which, see below).

During the Safavid era, the Uzun Hasan Mosque was damaged when the Ottomans besieged the castle in 1585: Tabrizi forces apparently used the Aq Qoyunlu mosque as one of their points of departure against the assailants. In 1635, when the Ottomans again pillaged the city, the Uzun Hasan Mosque seems to have mostly been spared, but the adjoining Safavid mosque that had previously been built on its east side was ruined. This latter mosque was restored in 1679. The earthquake of 1780, however, severely damaged the entire Nasriyya Complex.²⁷ The adjoining Safavid mosque was restored

once again in 1794, and the Uzun Hasan Madrasa was rebuilt in 1826, by Mirza Mahdi Qadi, a remote descendant of Uzun Hasan.²⁸ But from this time forward there is no longer any mention to be found of the original Uzun Hasan Mosque.

Today, only a part of the great domed chamber of the mosque is still standing.²⁹ Its east side is obviously missing, having been replaced by a Safavid and then a Qajar building. The west side of the room seems to have retained its three original alcoves, formed by two plain pillars and two massive corner pillars, whereas remnants of only two alcoves survive on the north and south sides (fig. 2). Together the four sides once constituted a square domed chamber (around 20 m wide) surrounded on each side by four pillars (two plain and two corner). But the cupola collapsed and today the height of the domed chamber reaches only three meters. This chamber used to be a prayer room and the mihrab niche has been preserved. Its spatial organization brings to mind the architecture of the Qara Qoyunlu Blue Mosque, as well as the Safavid Sahib al-'Amr Mosque in Tabriz, both of which are completely covered with cupolas, an archi-



Fig. 3. Tabriz, Uzun Hasan Mosque, window frame with *bannāʿī* decoration. (Photo: Sandra Aube, 2014)

tectural feature that is closer to Ottoman models than to Iranian architectural traditions.³⁰ Alongside this mosque one finds the ruins of the former madrasa that was rebuilt in the nineteenth century.³¹

A great number of ceramic revetments have been discovered in the rubble of the mosque. Some of them have been restored and replaced on the pillars (fig. 6), but most of the tiles are in storage. Their technical and stylistic features, presented below, clearly belong to the Aq Qoyunlu period.

CERAMIC TILES FROM THE UZUN HASAN MOSQUE

The exterior of the north wall of the mosque is ornamented with cobalt and turquoise *bannāʿī* bricks that probably framed the openings. The border is composed of a series of cobalt dots on a turquoise ground, framed by cobalt lines (fig. 3). The *bannāʿī* (lit. “builder’s” decorative brickwork) technique, which was widespread in the Iranian zone, was primarily used for external decorations. In the rubble of the mosque, some small square underglazed tiles have also been discovered painted

with a white quatrefoil motif outlined in black, on a cobalt background (fig. 4). Such “blue-and-white” tiles were perhaps arranged along with *bannāʿī* decorations on the outer walls, since the same kinds of tiles and composition are still to be found at the back of the Qara Qoyunlu Blue Mosque (fig. 5).³² The two Turkmen monuments contain exactly the same tiles and both were clearly made by the same team.

The strong links between both of these Turkmen monuments in Tabriz are also demonstrated by the internal decoration of the Mosque of Uzun Hasan. Ceramic tiles remain along the pillars and alcoves. The architectural decoration is composed of dadoes sectionally ornamented with underglazed painted tiles combined with stone polygons (figs. 6 and 16). Each projecting angle is highlighted with a stone column topped with a muqarnas. A calligraphic stone band is spread over the dadoes. The upper part of the pillars was mostly covered with mosaic tile panels. The mihrab itself is not tiled but is instead composed of a rectangular alabaster slab, ornamented with a simple sculpted arch (fig. 6). The panel above the mihrab is covered with square cobalt and gilded tiles; this technique was not

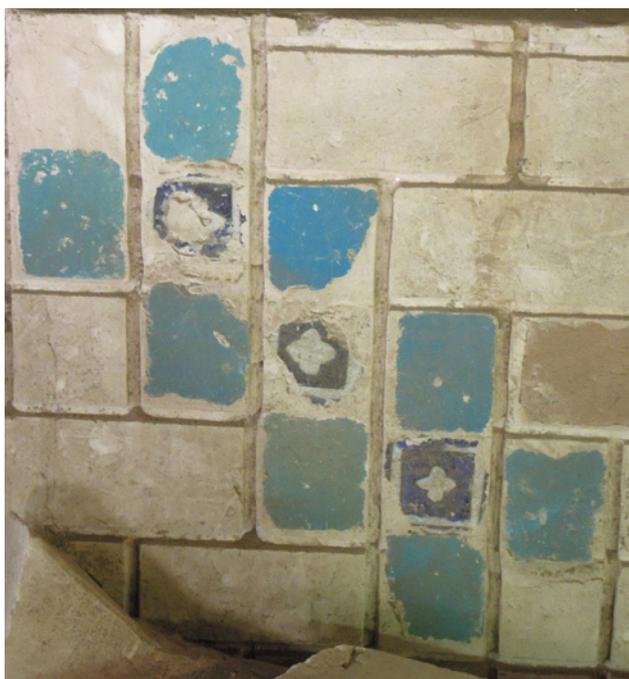


Fig. 4. Tabriz, Uzun Hasan Mosque, blue-and-white square tiles, restored into a brick panel (kept in the storeroom). (Photo: Sandra Aube, 2014)

common at that time, and its use on a wall instead of on dadoes is quite surprising (fig. 7).

Many mosaic tile panels have been found in the rubble of the Uzun Hasan Mosque (fig. 8). The palette employed floral and vegetal patterns characteristic of the Turkmen repertoire that developed during the second half of the fifteenth century.³³ Only some mosaic tile panels are still visible on the largely restored pillars. The top panels on the pillars display geometrical compositions fitted with fine vegetal designs that were typical of the fifteenth-century Iranian repertoire (fig. 9). Mixed with these compositions are small, lozenge-shaped blue-and-white tiles depicting vegetal patterns on a white background (figs. 9 and 10).

Examples of fifteenth-century blue-and-white tiles are very limited in Iran and Central Asia.³⁴ Yet many blue-and-whites were found in the Uzun Hasan Mosque. For example, the lozenge-shaped blue-and-whites (fig. 11) illustrate the wide range of “blue-and-white” tiles produced in Tabriz. In the ruins of the mosque a small section of a blue-and-white inscription was also discovered (fig. 12). The fragment shows a part of two white



Fig. 5. Tabriz, Blue Mosque, blue-and-white square tiles mounted into a *bannāʿī* panel, (exterior walls of the mausoleum). (Photo: Sandra Aube, 2004)



Fig. 6. Tabriz, Uzun Hasan Mosque, qibla wall featuring gilded cobalt tiles over an alabaster mihrab. (Photo: Sandra Aube, 2014)

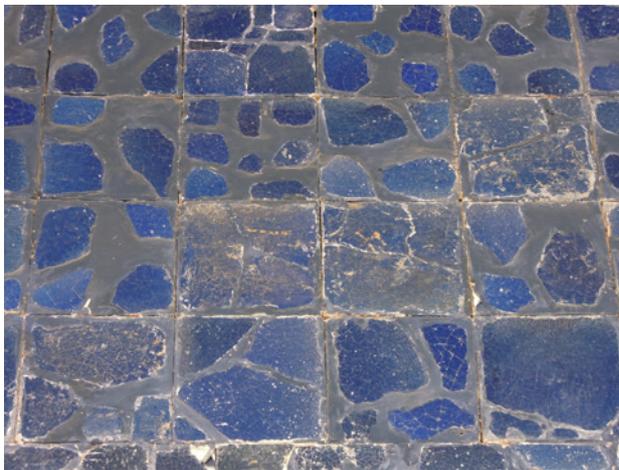


Fig. 7. Tabriz, Uzun Hasan Mosque, detail of square gilded cobalt tiles over the mihrab. (Photo: Sandra Aube, 2014)

cursive letters delineated by a black line on a cobalt background. Although this fragment is too small to read, it should probably be compared to a square blue-and-white tile kept in the Museum of Islamic Art in Doha (fig. 13).³⁵ Although these kinds of blue-and-white tiles have often been dated to the fourteenth century, the discovery of such evidence in Tabriz must call this dating into question, leading us to propose a new late-fifteenth century attribution. Also found in the rubble of the Uzun Hasan Mosque was one of the most unusual examples created in Tabriz: fragments of vegetal-shaped blue-and-white decoration in relief. Examples of such decorations were also found on the minarets of the Blue Mosque of Tabriz (fig. 14). For a long time, these few pieces were the only known evidence of this original type of decoration. However, more than two bags full of



Fig. 8. Tabriz, Uzun Hasan Mosque, fragment of a calligraphic mosaic tile panel (found in the ruins of the mosque). (Photo: Sandra Aube, 2014)



Fig. 9. Tabriz, Uzun Hasan Mosque, mosaic tile and blue-and-white decoration on the upper part of a pillar. (Photo: Sandra Aube, 2014)



10



11

Figs. 10 and 11. Tabriz, Uzun Hasan Mosque, two blue-and-white tiles (kept in the mosque's storeroom). (Photo: Sandra Aube, 2014)



Fig. 12. Tabriz, Uzun Hasan Mosque, fragment of a blue-and-white inscription (kept in the mosque's storeroom). (Photo: Sandra Aube, 2014)



Fig. 13. Square calligraphic underglazed tile painted with cobalt and black on a white background. Tabriz, Uzun Hasan Mosque (?), ca. 1480. Doha, Museum of Islamic Art, inv. no. PO.354.2004. (Photo: Sandra Aube, 2011, with the kind authorization of the Museum of Islamic Art, Doha)



Fig. 14. Tabriz, Blue Mosque, blue-and-white decoration (now kept inside the mosque) from the minarets. (Photo: Sandra Aube, 2004)

similar pieces have now been collected inside the Uzun Hasan Mosque (figs. 15 and 26). This remarkable discovery may constitute the most important extant grouping of this unusual architectural decoration.

The range of blue-and-white tiles is even larger. The remaining dadoes are composed of geometrical networks combining ceramic tiles and stone polygons. The composition is based on stars surrounded by lozenge shapes, pentagons, and double pentagons. On the qibla side, these compositions are filled with various other types of similar tiles (fig. 16); hence, the Uzun Hasan Mosque definitely displays an unexpected range of blue-and-white tiles.

A closer analysis of these blue-and-white dado tiles reveals that two different techniques of production were employed here. Most of these tiles have an underglazed decoration painted with white, cobalt, and black:



Fig. 15. Tabriz, Uzun Hasan Mosque, bags filled with hundreds of blue-and-white ceramic decorations featuring vegetal designs that were found in the rubble of the mosque. (Photo: Sandra Aube, 2014)



Fig. 16. Tabriz, Uzun Hasan Mosque, blue-and-white tiles in a geometrical network on the dadoes from the qibla side of the mosque. (Photo: Sandra Aube, 2014)

these are clearly the so-called blue-and-white tiles. But a very small number of tiles—although presenting the same shapes—have an overglazed decoration: they are painted in cobalt on a white glazed background and delineated by a black line (fig. 17). This corresponds to the “black line”³⁶ (or *cuerda seca*) technique. Evidence of “black line” tiles is, however, extremely rare in Turkmen lands, and one question still remains: Why did tile-makers employ two different techniques to decorate the same kind of tile with the same pattern? Although we do not have any clues at this point, these examples may at least reveal that “black line” decoration was not as sparsely employed as the lack of evidence to date had seemed to suggest.³⁷

One last feature is worth mentioning. All the borders framing the dadoes, as well as the polygons from

secondary spaces surrounding the courtyard, are ornamented with a still more surprising kind of tile. These tiles feature vegetal designs with a very fine relief. The lower parts are painted with a black slip under a transparent colored glaze. The range of colors is remarkable: in addition to a cobalt glaze (fig. 16: see tiles on the frame) and a turquoise one (fig. 18), some other panels employ a green glaze, as well as an exceptional yellowish brown one (fig. 19).

A few examples of black-and-green or black-and-turquoise ceramics are known from the late fifteenth century and are generally associated with the “Kubachi” label (a label encompassing different kind of ceramics that were primarily associated with the village of Kubachi in the Caucasus).³⁸ But this technique was rarely employed for ceramic tiles from the Aq Qoyunlu period.



Fig. 17. Tabriz, Uzun Hasan Mosque, detail of two tiles from the dadoes of the qibla: on the right is an underglazed tile painted with cobalt and black on a white background (“blue-and-white” type); on the left is an overglazed tile painted with cobalt surrounded by a black line on a white glazed background (“black line” type). (Photo: Sandra Aube, 2014)



Fig. 18. Tabriz, Uzun Hasan Mosque, detail of a dado decoration displaying low-relief painted tiles with a black slip under a light blue transparent glaze. (Photo: Sandra Aube, 2014)



Fig. 19. Tabriz, Uzun Hasan Mosque, detail of a dado decoration featuring low-relief painted tiles with a black slip under a green or a yellow transparent glaze. (Photo: Sandra Aube, 2014)



Fig. 20. Diyarbakır, interior of Safa Camii, detail of underglazed tiles painted in black under a turquoise glaze. (Photo: Sandra Aube, 2006)

Besides a series of rectangular tiles painted in black under a turquoise glaze framing the dadoes of the Safa Camii in Diyarbakır (ca. 1450; fig. 20),³⁹ the only other known examples are some tiles with inscriptions from the region of Yazd.⁴⁰ Yet all these tiles present a black motif instead of a colored design on a black background. Thus, the aesthetic of the Tabriz tiles evokes the contemporaneous group of “Cizhou” wares associated with Nishapur, the origins of which go back to the “silhouette” wares of the Saljuq period.⁴¹ Yet no ceramic tiles seem to have been previously associated with this group. Moreover there is no other known evidence, during this period, of tiles with a green or yellow transparent glaze such as the Tabriz ones.⁴²

Finally, it is worth mentioning one last tile fragment found in the rubble of the Uzun Hasan Mosque. This item displays a calligraphic design with a light relief effect and polychrome underglazed paintings (fig. 21). This unusual feature highlights even further the originality of the tile production of Tabriz. The evidence found in the Uzun Hasan Mosque is most certainly noteworthy.



Fig. 21. Tabriz, Uzun Hasan Mosque, epigraphic tile fragment with underglazed black, cobalt, and turquoise painting on a white slip with a slight relief effect. (Photo: Sandra Aube, 2014)

TABRIZ: A LABORATORY FOR EXPERIMENTS

The case of the Uzun Hasan Mosque highlights the continuity between the Qara Qoyunlu and Aq Qoyunlu workshops in Tabriz. Many original decorative features were brought to light through the example of the famous Blue Mosque of Tabriz, which was endowed in 1465 by Khatun Jan Begum, the wife of the Qara Qoyunlu ruler Jahanshah (r. 1438–67).⁴³ Several of its ceramic tiles were believed to be unique. It is now known, however, that the Blue Mosque and the Uzun Hasan Mosque share several traits; this observation is significant because it highlights the distinctiveness of Tabriz's ceramic tile workshops.

The alabaster slabs illustrate this parallel. The Uzun Hasan Mosque has the same elegant mihrabs as the Blue Mosque of Tabriz: two of them are conserved in the ambulatory of the oratory and another fragment is located in the mausoleum (fig. 22).⁴⁴ Moreover, in the Blue Mosque, the alabaster dadoes are surmounted by a long stone inscription;⁴⁵ this feature is repeated in the Mosque of Uzun Hasan, where similar sculpted stone inscriptions are found above the dadoes, although these are less detailed than in the Blue Mosque (see the fragment at the bottom of fig. 9).

In the mausoleum of the Blue Mosque, the walls and inner cupola were completely covered with hexagonal cobalt and gilded tiles (fig. 23).⁴⁶ This technique, which is similar to the one used in the Uzun Hasan Mosque, deserves special attention given their unusual placement. Although examples of such tiles are most often found on dadoes (see, for example, the Darb-i Imam in Isfahan, 1453 [fig. 24], and the Safavid shrine of Shaykh Safi al-Din in Ardabil, sixteenth century [fig. 25]), they were placed directly on the upper walls in both of the Turkmen mosques of Tabriz. The only known example of such a placement outside of Tabriz was in the domed chamber of the Masjid-i Shah (or Masjid-i Haftad va Du Tan Shahid [Mosque of the Seventy-Two Martyrs (of Karbala)]) in Mashhad. Interestingly, the portal of this Timurid mosque, built in 1451 by the amir Nizam al-Din Malikshah Yahya, is signed by an architect-mason (*bannā'*) from Tabriz: Ahmad Shams al-Din Muhammad Banna' al-Tabrizi.⁴⁷ What decisions did he personally

make regarding the decorative architectural elements? To what extent was he influenced by Tabrizi architecture? It is probably impossible to answer these questions. Nevertheless, the link with the Tabrizi style is certain.

The most significant parallel between the two Turkmen mosques of Tabriz is seen in the presence of blue-and-white tiles in each. As stated above, this large group contains some unique examples. The aforementioned small, square blue-and-white tiles (about 5 cm wide) arranged with *bannā'* decorations are seen in both monuments (fig. 14).⁴⁸ And the high-relief vegetal-shaped "blue-and-white" tiles found on the minarets of the Blue Mosque were believed to have been exceptional—until the recent discovery of numerous such items in the rubble of the Mosque of Uzun Hasan (figs. 15 and 26).⁴⁹ This feature demonstrates the originality of Turkmen ceramic tile production in Tabriz. Many other blue-and-white tiles have been attributed to the Blue Mosque of Tabriz in the archives of the late Professor Turabi Tabataba'i: lozenge-shaped and square tiles, as well as seventy triangular underglazed tiles painted with floral motifs in white and cobalt and outlined with black (fig. 27).⁵⁰ These numerous identifications, combined with the broad range of blue-and-whites newly discovered at the Uzun Hasan Mosque, confirm both the diversity and importance of blue-and-white production in Tabriz.

The parallels seen between these two mosques illustrate the continuities in the techniques handed down from master to disciple in Tabrizi ceramic workshops, whether their patronage was Qara Qoyunlu or Aq Qoyunlu. This artistic transmission is also apparent in the geometrical patterns used in Tabriz: both the Blue Mosque and the Mosque of Uzun Hasan employed decorative models found in the so-called Topkapı Scroll, which Gülru Necipoğlu examined in her seminal 1995 work on this document.⁵¹ Comprising 114 drawings intended as models for architectural decoration, the scroll might have been compiled in the *kitābkhāna* of the Topkapı Palace from different designs brought from Iran to Istanbul by Ottoman armies. Rediscovered inside the Topkapı Palace Inner Treasury in the 1980s, the drawings of this scroll (Ms. H.1956) have been attributed

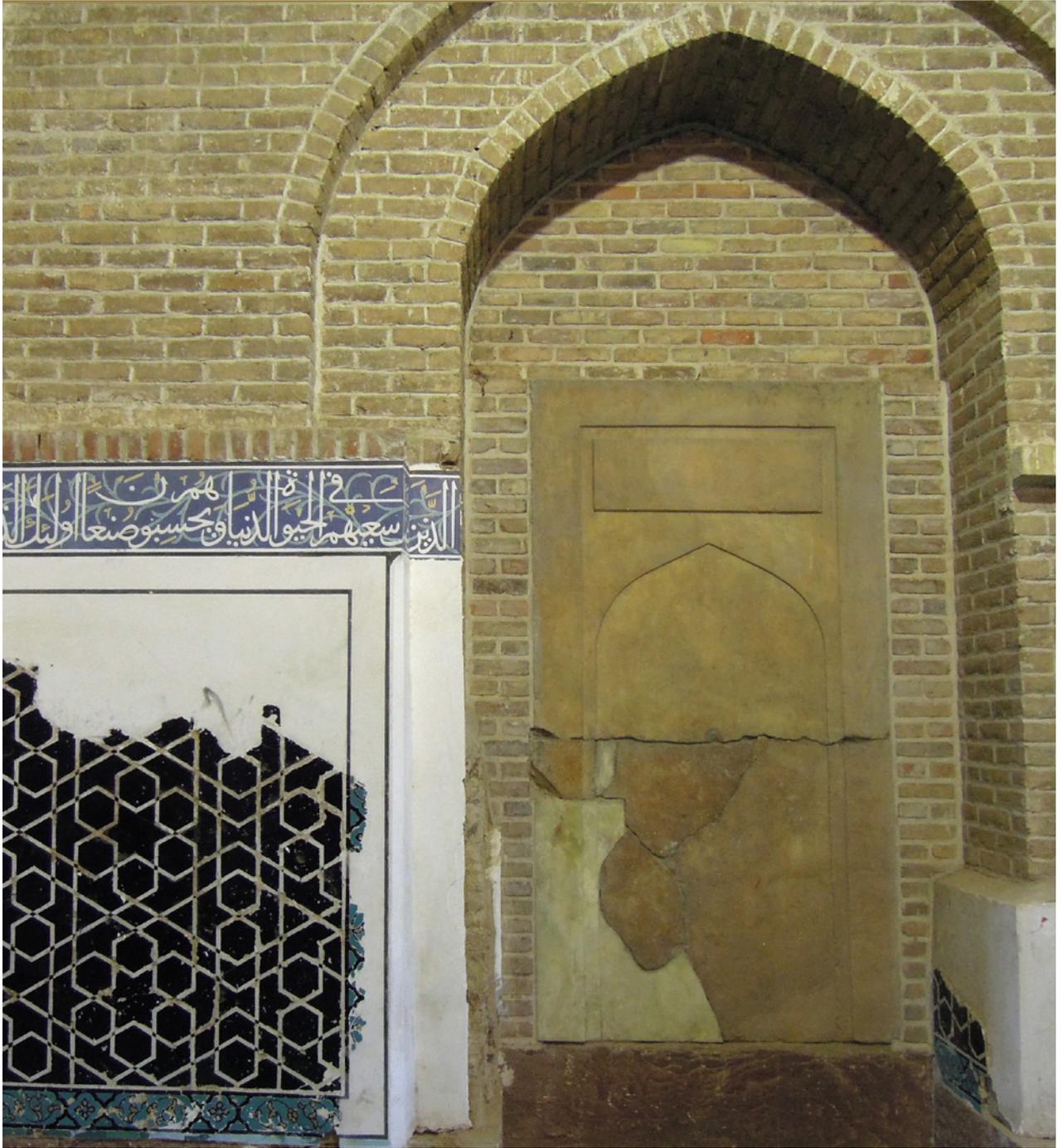


Fig. 22. Tabriz, Blue Mosque, fragment of the mihrab located in the western ambulatory of the oratory. (Photo: Sandra Aube, 2014)



Fig. 23. Tabriz, Blue Mosque, cobalt and gilded tile decorations inside the mausoleum. (Photo: Sandra Aube, 2014)



Fig. 24. Isfahan, Darb-i Imam, detail of gilded tiles from the former vestibule dadoes. (Photo: Sandra Aube, 2014)

by Necipoğlu to northwest Iran, probably Tabriz, as it was the most outstanding artistic center in the region. Necipoğlu proposes dating the scroll to the second half of the fifteenth century.⁵² This attribution is strongly convincing since many of these models can be identified in Qara Qoyunlu and Aq Qoyunlu monuments in Tabriz, as well as in other Turkmen decorations in Iran. For instance, drawing no. 28 from the Topkapı Scroll is used as a model for the geometrical composition covering the upper parts of the pillars of the Uzun Hasan Mosque in Tabriz (figs. 9 and 28); drawing nos. 1, 69b, and 42 are used to decorate both the Blue Mosque of Tabriz and the Masjid-i Jami' of Yazd (restorations from



Fig. 25. Ardabil, Shrine of Shaykh Safi al-Din, detail of gilded tiles on the dadoes surrounding the tomb. (Photo: Sandra Aube, 2015)



1457); and calligraphic compositions seen in the Blue Mosque of Tabriz echo drawings nos. 51, 65, 68, and 69, as well as 71, 74, 75, and 91. We can also mention drawing no. 8, repeated on the Turkmen-period minbar of the Taqi al-Din Dada Mosque in Bundarabad (ca. 1473–74) and on the dadoes of the *pīshṭāq* (monumental portal) of the Masjid-i Jami‘ of Yazd; drawing no. 41, employed on the Qara Qoyunlu minbar of the Masjid-i Maydan-i Sang in Kashan (ca. 1463–64); drawing no. 43, which is used for the Qara Qoyunlu-period dadoes of the Masjid-i Jami‘ in Bafruye (about 60 km North from Yazd, 1461–62); and drawing no. 47, used on the Darb-i Kushk in Isfahan (1496–97). Likewise, the relief effects proposed, for example, by drawing no. 49 are developed at the Blue Mosque of Tabriz, and the Darb-i Imam and Darb-i Kushk

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Fig. 26. Molded underglazed revetment painted in cobalt and black on a white slip. Tabriz, ca. 1465–84. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, The Madina Collection of Islamic Art, gift of Camilla Chandler Frost, inv. no. M.2002.1.305. (Photo: © LACMA/Public Domain High Resolution Images)



Fig. 27. Tabriz, Blue Mosque, some triangular blue-and-whites. Sèvres, Cité de la Céramique, MNC 18958. (Photo: Sandra Aube, 2009, with the kind permission of the Cité de la Céramique, Sèvres)

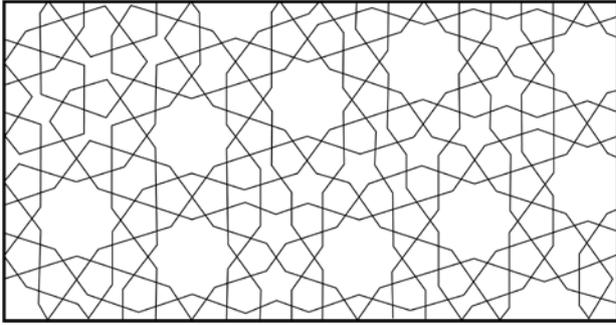


Fig. 28. Model no. 28 from the “Topkapı Scroll.” (Drawing: Sandra Aube, based on Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Topkapı Scroll: Geometry and Ornament in Islamic Architecture; Topkapı Palace Library MS H. 1956* [Santa Monica, Calif., 1995], p. 300)

in Isfahan, as well as in the Aq Qoyunlu mausoleum built for Zaynal Beg at Hasankayf (ca. 1473–74), and in some Timurid monuments as well.⁵³ Thus, there are plenty of examples that illustrate the use of the Topkapı Scroll models on Qara Qoyunlu and Aq Qoyunlu architectural ornament. This illustrates artistic transfers from Tabriz to western Iranian Turkmen territories. Most of these works are located in Tabriz, giving further credence to

Necipoğlu’s hypothesis that they originated there. Based on all these examples, it seems more accurate to date the Topkapı Scroll drawings to the third quarter of the fifteenth century, that is to say, to the transitional period from the Qara Qoyunlu dynasty to the Aq Qoyunlu dynasty in Tabriz.

The group of ceramic tiles associated with Tabriz provides further evidence for the innovative and characteristic features of Tabrizi workshops. Several of them are still unparalleled, while others provide new insights into the transmission of techniques in the region, such as the “black line” tiles, which establish for the first time that this kind of decoration was used in the Turkmen capital. Examples of “black line” tiles are found in eastern Iran, in Timurid Herat, Mashhad, and Khargird (at the Ghiyasiyya Madrasa, ca. 1436–43 [fig. 29]⁵⁴), but none of these have the same technical properties as the items from Tabriz. In western Iran, specimens of fifteenth-century “black line” tiles are extremely rare. The main evidence in Turkmen territories is located in the aforementioned Safa Camii in Diyarbakır (ca. 1450, fig. 30).⁵⁵ Some others are found in Timurid Iran: in the Masjid-i Jami’ of Simnan, in the Khanqah of Shahrukh located in the Shrine



Fig. 29. Khargird, Ghiyasiyya Madrasa, “black line” and blue-and-white tiles from the southwestern iwan. (Photo: Sandra Aube, 2015)

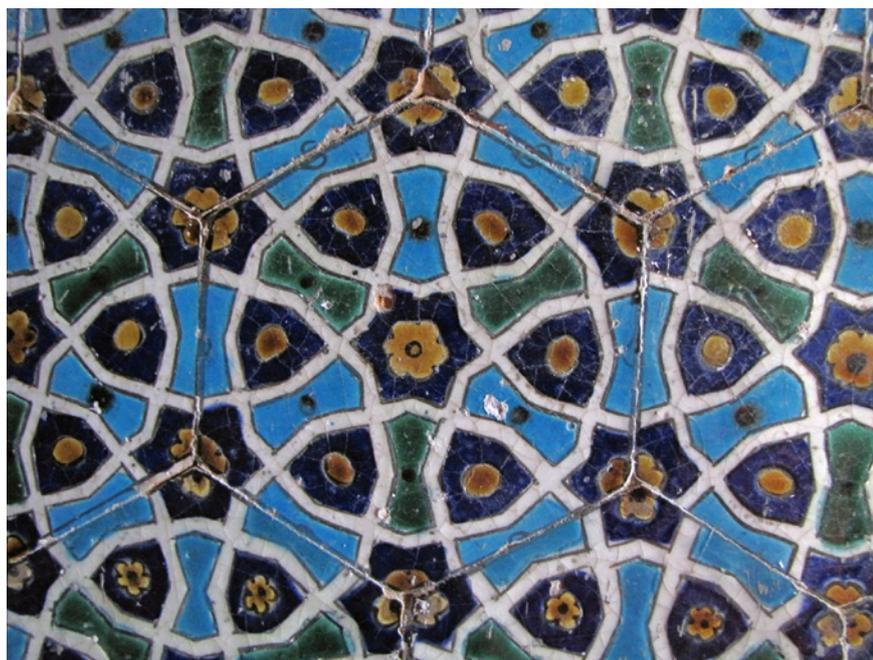


Fig. 30. Diyarbakır, Safa Camii, detail of one of the three types of “black line” tiles from the dadoes. (Photo: Sandra Aube, 2012)

of Imamzada Ja‘far at Damghan (all dated ca. 1405–47, fig. 31), and in the Imamzada Zayn al-‘Abidin in Sari (Mar‘ashi dynasty, late fifteenth – early sixteenth century).⁵⁶ The range of colors and technical features differs from the few exemplars recovered in Tabriz. It is clear, however, that a great amount of “black line” evidence is still missing, since the technique could not have simply disappeared from western Iran in the fifteenth century. The few examples found in Tabriz prove that the “black line” technique continued to be used in Aq Qoyunlu lands.

Moreover, it is worth recalling how little is known about blue-and-whites in Iran during the fifteenth century. Aside from the case of Tabriz, there are a limited number of Aq Qoyunlu examples. We can mention the inscription on the Mosque of Panja-yi ‘Ali in Qum (dated 1481–82, fig. 32),⁵⁷ but its style and quality are nonetheless different. In fact, the few examples comparable to Tabrizi blue-and-whites are from Timurid Khurasan. Several blue-and-white tiles of various shapes, along with mosaic tile panels and the already mentioned “black line” tiles, are found in the Ghiyasiyya Madrasa at

Khargird, commissioned by the Timurid vizir Pir Ahmad Khvafi and signed by the famous Qavam al-Din b. Zayn al-Shirazi (figs. 29 and 33).⁵⁸ The quality of these blue-and-whites seems to be superior to the Tabrizi specimens. Yet the shape and decoration of some of these specimens bring to mind examples from Tabriz: for instance, the lozenge-shaped tiles, or the square ones ornamented with a quatrefoil motif. In 1444–45, Pir Ahmad Khvafi also patronized the building of the Zayn al-Din Mausoleum in Taybad.⁵⁹ The largely restored spandrels of the entrance’s iwan feature lozenge-shaped blue-and-whites arranged with mosaic tiles that once again recall some of the Tabrizi items (fig. 34). Moreover, in the Zayn al-Din Mausoleum in Taybad we find another interesting analogy with the architectural decoration of Tabriz: its dadoes (on the entrance façade as well as in the domed shrine chamber) form a geometrical network centered on star motifs, combining ceramic panels with stone designs (fig. 35). This feature has close parallels with the decoration of the dadoes in the Uzun Hasan Mosque—although the techniques employed are different. Furthermore, in both monuments the projecting



Fig. 31. Damghan, Imamzada, detail of a “black line” tile from the Khanqah of Shahrukh. (Photo: Sandra Aube, 2014)



Fig. 32. Qum, Panja-i 'Ali Mosque, blue-and-white inscription. (Photo: Sandra Aube, 2014)



angles are ornamented with a marble column topped by a sculpted muqarnas. The same disposition is already employed in Timurid monuments from Transoxiana: these marble decorations are found on the dadoes in the so-called Bibi Khanum Mosque (1398–1406, fig. 36), as well as in the Ulugh Beg Madrasa in Samarkand (1417–21, fig. 37).

Parallels between Tabrizi and Timurid workshops are unsurprising. Both areas share a common cultural legacy. Moreover, during his military campaign in 1386, Tamerlane brought Tabrizi craftsmen back to his court at Samarkand.⁶⁰ It is also worth recalling the numerous exchanges between the courts of Tabriz and Herat—in

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Fig. 33. Khargird, Ghiyasiyya Madrasa, detail of blue-and-white tiles from the southwestern iwan. (Photo: Sandra Aube, 2015)



Fig. 34. Taybad, Zayn al-Din Mausoleum, detail of the spandrel decoration on the entrance iwan. (Photo: Sandra Aube, 2006)



Fig. 35. Taybad, Zayn al-Din Mausoleum, dadoes in the main domed chamber. (Photo: Sandra Aube, 2015)



Fig. 36. Samarkand, “Bibi Khanum” Mosque, detail of inscription above the dadoes in the main entrance. (Photo: Sandra Aube, 2015)

1420, for example, the Timurid Baysunghur subdued a rebellion in Tabriz and then deported craftsmen and intellectuals, and in 1458 the Qara Qoyunlu Jahanshah took Herat and returned to Tabriz accompanied by craftsmen. Indeed, as discussed above, the closest comparisons to the technical repertoire developed in Tabriz are found in Khusarani monuments. The case of the gilded tiles well illustrates this point. Although monochrome tiles with gilded decorations are not widespread

during the fifteenth century, some examples are found on dadoes: we find them inside the Darb-i Imam built in Isfahan during the time of the Qara Qoyunlu Jahanshah (1453, fig. 24), and on the dadoes of the Shirin Bika Aqa Mausoleum in Samarkand (1385–86).⁶¹ But there is only one known example of the unusual placement of gilded tiles on the upper walls, as seen in Tabriz, instead of the dadoes, namely, the Masjid-i Shah in Mashhad (1451), whose builder bore a Tabrizi *nisba*. The analogy



Fig. 37. Samarkand, Ulugh Beg Madrasa, fragment of dado decoration with marble column on projecting angles. (Photo: Sandra Aube, 2015)

between the Tabrizi and Khurasani styles is also well illustrated in the architectural decoration of the Çinili Köşk, built within the Topkapı Palace in Istanbul.⁶² Erected between ca. 1465–66 and 1472–73 for the Ottoman sultan Mehmet II (r. 1444–46 and 1451–81), this “Porcelain Pavilion” is covered with ceramic tile decorations. The style of the mosaic tile panels that decorate the main façade of the pavilion is quite recognizable from Iranian traditions. On each side and above the entrance door, the façade is framed by *bannā’ī* bricks arranged with square blue-and-white tiles (fig. 38). Inside, the dadoes are covered with cobalt or turquoise

gilded tiles; on some panels, hexagonal gilded tiles are framed by rectangular-shaped gilded tiles (fig. 39), while on other panels we find triangular gilded tiles. Several Turkmen manuscript paintings contain this kind of ceramic decoration,⁶³ but this feature was still uncommon in fifteenth-century Ottoman architecture in Turkey. Necipoğlu has hypothesized that craftsmen from Khurasan introduced these decorations in Istanbul. Her hypothesis was supported by an undated petition from Khurasani tile cutters (*kāshī tarāshān-i Khurāsān*) asking Sultan Mehmet II to provide further work.⁶⁴ Is it possible that this petition could be linked instead to



Fig. 38. Istanbul, Çinili Köşk, blue-and-whites. (Photo: Sandra Aube, 2006)

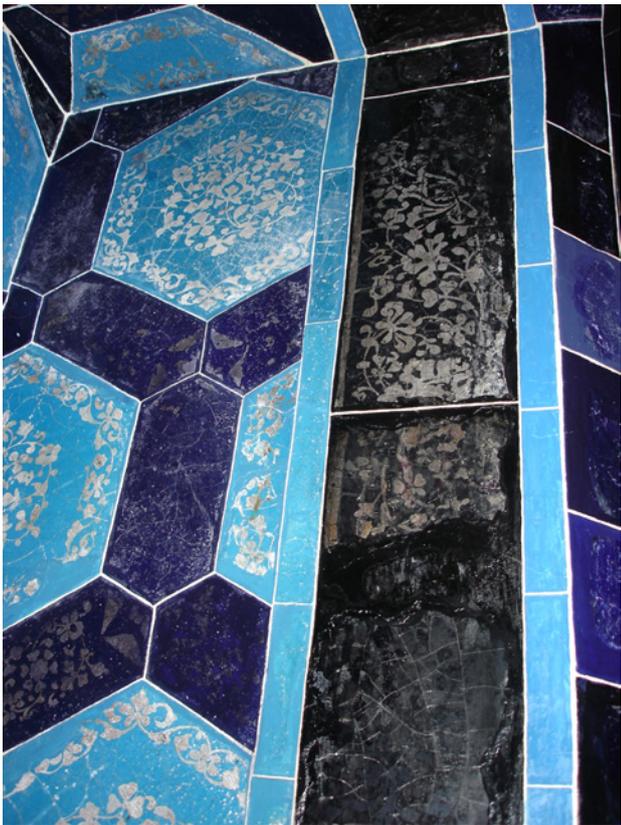


Fig. 39. Istanbul, Çinili Köşk, inner dadoes. (Photo: Sandra Aube, 2006)

the group of craftsmen working for Mehmet II on his mosque complex in Istanbul and at the Üç Şerefeli Mosque of his father, Murat II (r. 1421–44 and 1446–51), in Edirne? In light of the examples of ceramic tiles known from Tabriz, we may wonder how the styles and techniques employed at the Çinili Köşk might have been influenced by Tabrizi traditions instead of Khurasani ones (see, among others, the blue-and-white and gilded tiles).⁶⁵ In any event, by merely raising the question of their origin, we may highlight once more the close artistic correlations between Turkmen Tabriz and the Timurid Khurasani style, probably developed in Herat.

CONCLUSION

The characteristics seen in the two Turkmen mosques of Tabriz reflect the creativity of the ceramic tile workshop in Tabriz, which shares a common legacy with the Timurid style from Khurasan. On a broader scale, western Iranian art in the second part of the fifteenth century combines a regional tradition with some Timurid influences from eastern Iran—this holds true for both architectural decorations and the arts of the book.⁶⁶ In a certain way, it is these associations that create an original Turkmen style. These new tendencies were clearly introduced in Qara Qoyunlu and Aq Qoyunlu lands. Let us remember, for example, the specific nature of Aq Qoyunlu metalwork productions,⁶⁷ and the development of original calligraphies, such as the “western *nasta‘līq*,” a writing style that emerged in western Iranian manuscripts between the 1430s and the end of the fifteenth century and highlighted once again the distinctive traits and originality of Turkmen productions.⁶⁸ Nevertheless, this type of calligraphy does not seem to have been widespread outside the region. The same appears to be true for some of the ceramic techniques developed in the Tabrizi workshop. Although this center developed some extremely original techniques of ceramic tile production, they nonetheless had a limited distribution. The very large range of blue-and-white tiles seen in both the Uzun Hasan Mosque and the Blue Mosque in Tabriz illustrates this point, as do the astonishing small luster tiles located on the bases of the

pishtāq at the Blue Mosque.⁶⁹ These unusual features might have been technical experiments that ultimately had only limited influence. This is also true for the rare examples of experimentation with the “black line” technique, although it is clear that a great amount of “black line” evidence is missing in Iran.

This point opens up new perspectives on the history of ceramic tiles. For example, how might this finding lead us to reconsider past conclusions about the famed Masters of Tabriz working in Ottoman Bursa and Edirne? Or about productions introduced by Tabrizi craftsmen in Damascus?⁷⁰ More than ever, Tabriz appears as a preeminent artistic center—a laboratory for conducting experiments that was especially creative during the peak of the Turkmen dynasties. The discovery of a new range of Aq Qoyunlu ceramic tiles from Tabriz is obviously an important advancement in our knowledge of artistic transmission in the fifteenth century.

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NOTES

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1. For a recent study on the history of Tabriz and its intellectual influence, see Judith Pfeiffer, ed., *Politics, Patronage and the Transmission of Knowledge in 13th–15th Century Tabriz* (Leiden, 2014); for the later period, see Christoph Werner, *An Iranian Town in Transition: A Social and Economic History of the Elites of Tabriz, 1747–1848* (Wiesbaden, 2000).
2. Khvandamir reported that Hajji Muhammad Naqqash attempted to imitate Chinese porcelain paste. See Ghiyās al-Dīn Khvādamīr, *Tārīkh-i Ḥabīb al-siyar fī akhbār afrād bashar* (Tehran, 1971 [1350]), 4:348; and Yves Porter, *Le prince, l’artiste et l’alchimiste: La céramique dans le monde*

iranien, Xe–XVIIe siècle (Paris, 2011), 60–61. About the arts of the book in the *kitābhāna* of Tabriz, see Simon Rettig, “La production manuscrite à Chiraz sous les Aq Qoyyunlu entre 1467 et 1503” (PhD diss., Aix-Marseille Université [Aix-en-Provence], 2011); Barbara Brend, *Perspectives on Persian Painting: Illustrations to Amīr Khusrau’s Khamseh* (London, 2003); Eleanor Sims, with Boris I. Marshak and Ernst Grube, *Peerless Images: Persian Painting and Its Sources* (New Haven, 2002); Francis Richard, *Splendeurs persanes: Manuscrits du XIIe au XVIIe siècle* (Paris, 1997); Basil Robinson, “The Turkman School to 1503,” in *The Arts of the Book in Central Asia, 14th–16th Centuries*, ed. Basil Gray (Paris, 1979), 215–49; Ivan Stchoukine, “Les peintures turcomanes et safavides d’une Khamseh de Nizāmī achevée à Tabriz en 886/1481,” *Arts Asiatiques* 14 (1966): 3–16. On ceramic tile production in Tabriz, see Sandra Aube, “La céramique architecturale en Iran sous les Turkmènes Qarā Qoyunlu et Āq Qoyunlu (c. 1450–1500),” 3 vols. (PhD diss., Paris-Sorbonne University, 2010) (publication forthcoming: *La céramique dans l’architecture en Iran au XVe siècle: Les arts qarā quyūnlūs et āq quyūnlūs* [Paris, 2016]); Lisa Golombek, Robert Mason, and Gauvin Bailey, *Tamerlane’s Tableware: A New Approach to the Chinoiserie Ceramics of Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Iran* (Costa Mesa, Calif., 1996); Jean Soustiel, *La céramique islamique: Le guide du connaisseur* (Fribourg, 1985), chap. 11, esp. pp. 241–50.

3. See the workshop of Ghaybi al-Tawrizi in Cairo and the tile panels in the Tawrizi Complex in Damascus (ca. 1423), the “Masters of Tabriz” working in the Yeşil Camii Complex in Bursa and then in the Muradiye Camii at Edirne (ca. 1420–30), and the work of Tabrizi craftsmen in Timurid centers such as Mashhad or Shahr-i Sabz: Sheila Blair, “Tabriz: International Entrepôt under the Mongols,” in Pfeiffer, *Politics, Patronage and the Transmission of Knowledge*, 321–56; Aube, “La céramique architecturale en Iran sous les Turkmènes”; see also Khalida Mahi, “La céramique architecturale des ‘Maîtres de Tabriz’ dans les édifices ottomans des 15ème et 16ème siècles” (PhD diss., Aix-Marseille Université [Aix-en-Provence], December 2015).
4. Jean-Dominique Brignoli, “Les palais royaux safavides (1501–1722): Architecture et pouvoir” (PhD diss., Aix-Marseille Université [Aix-en-Provence], 2009), 135–45; Aube, “La céramique architecturale en Iran sous les Turkmènes,” 1:40–50; Ertuğrul Ökten, “Imperial Aqquyunlu Construction of Religious Establishments in the Late Fifteenth Century Tabriz,” in Pfeiffer, *Politics, Patronage and the Transmission of Knowledge*, 371–85.
5. Charles Melville recounts the numerous earthquakes that destroyed much of Tabriz and its surroundings in 1503, 1555, 1641, 1651, 1717, 1721, and 1780: Charles Melville, “Historical Monuments and Earthquakes in Tabriz,” *Iran* 19 (1981): 159–77, at 64–72; Nicholas N. Ambraseys and Charles P. Melville, *A History of Persian Earthquakes* (Cambridge, 1982), 55.
6. It is worthwhile to remember the booty that was brought from Tabriz to the Topkapı Palace in Istanbul in 1514: mentioned in Ludvik Kalus, “Les armures des Timourides, des Aqqoyunlus et des Shirvanshahs,” in *Timurid Art and*

- Culture: Iran and Central Asia in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Lisa Golombek and Maria Subtelny (Leiden, 1992), 158–67; Michael Rogers, “Kara Mehmed Çelebi (Kara Memi) and the Role of the *Ser-nakkâşân*,” in *Soliman le Magnifique et son temps*, ed. Gilles Veinstein (Paris, 1992), 227–38; Gülru Necipoğlu, “From International Timurid to Ottoman: A Change of Taste in Sixteenth-Century Ceramic Tiles,” *Muqarnas* 7 (1990): 136–59; and Gülru Necipoğlu, “Geometric Design in Timurid/Turkmen Architectural Practice: Thoughts on a Recently Discovered Scroll and Its Late Gothic Parallels,” in Golombek and Subtelny, *Timurid Art and Culture*, 48–66.
7. See Birgitt Hoffman, “In Pursuit of *Memoria* and Salvation: Rashid al-Din and His Rab‘-i Rashidi,” in Pfeiffer, *Politics, Patronage and the Transmission of Knowledge*, 171–85; Blair, “Tabriz: International Entrepôt,” 321–56; Donald Wilber, *The Architecture of Islamic Iran: The Il Khânid Period* (Princeton, N.J., 1955), 129–31; Donald Wilber and Mojtaba Minovi, “Notes on the Rab‘-i Rašidi,” *Bulletin of the American Institute for Iranian Art and Archaeology* 5, no. 3 (1938): 247–54.
 8. The painting is from the manuscript *Beyân-ı menâzil sefer-i İrâk-eyn-i Sulţân Süleymân Hân*, Istanbul University Library, Ms. T.5964, fol. 27b–28a; reproduced in Nurhan Atasoy, “Matrakçı Nasuh and Evliya Çelebi: Perspectives on Ottoman Gardens (1534–1682),” in *Middle East Garden Traditions: Unity and Diversity*, ed. Michel Conan (Washington, D.C., 2007), 197–217, esp. fig. 17, p. 212.
 9. See, specifically, the “blue-and-white” tiles published in Sandra Aube, “La Mosquée bleue de Tabriz (1465): Remarques sur la céramique architecturale Qarâ Qoyunlu,” *Studia Iranica* 37, no. 2 (2008): 241–77, at 259–61 and fig. 6, p. 263. See also Aube, “La céramique architecturale en Iran sous les Turkmènes,” 386–94. The information below concerning the Blue Mosque of Tabriz is from Aube, “La Mosquée bleue,” adapted into English in Sandra Aube, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, online edition, 2011, s.v. “Tabriz X. Monuments x(1). The Blue Mosque”: <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/tabriz-x-monuments>.
 10. Bihruz ‘Umrâni and Muḥammad Amîniyyân, “Gumâni zanî dar Maydân-i Şâhib Âbâd va majmûha Ḥasan Pâdishâh,” *Nashriyya-i Dânishkada-i Adabîyyât va ‘Ulûm-i Insânî, Dânishgâh-i İsfahân* 50 (1386 [2007]): 91–118.
 11. On the founding of the Maydan-i Sahibabad, see Abû Bakr-i Tîhrâni, *Kitâb-i Diyârbakriyya*, ed. Necâti Lugal and Faruk Sümer (Ankara, 1964), 524; and Hâfiz Ḥusayn Karbalâ’î Tabrizî, *Rawzât al-jinân va jannât al-janân* (Tehran, 1344–49 [1965–70]), 600. On the localization of the plaza, see Tîhrâni, *Kitâb-i Diyârbakriyya*, 523; Josafa Barbaro, “Travels of Josafa Barbaro,” in *A Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, ed. and trans. Charles Grey (London, 1873), 1–104, at 51; Fazl Allâh b. Rûzbahân Khunji İsfahâni, *Târîkh-i ‘Âlam-ârâ-yi Amîni*, ed. John E. Woods (London, 1992), 46. See also Walther Hinz, “Beiträge zur iranischen Kulturgeschichte. 1. Tabriz,” and Walther Hinz, “Nachtragsbemerkung über den Baumeister der Blauen Moschee zu Tabriz,” *Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 91 (1937): 58–64, and 421–22. For a synthesis on the Turkmen monuments in Tabriz from textual sources, see Brignoli, “Les palais royaux safavides,” 135–45; Aube, “La céramique architecturale en Iran sous les Turkmènes,” 1:46–51; Ökten, “Imperial Aqquyunlu Construction”; ‘Umrâni and Amîniyyân, “Gumâni zanî.”
 12. Karbalâ’î Tabrizî, *Rawzât al-jinân*, 600. Built by Shah Tahmasp I before the Ottoman invasion of 1535, the Sahib al-‘Amr Mosque was restored in 1679 and then rebuilt by Ja‘far Quli Khan in 1794, following the earthquake of 1780. See Melville, “Historical Monuments and Earthquakes in Tabriz,” 171; and Brignoli, “Les palais royaux safavides,” 137.
 13. Other buildings surrounded the Qara Qoyunlu palace, but it is not known how they were situated. On Jahanshah’s palace, see Tîhrâni, *Kitâb-i Diyârbakriyya*, 437 and 523.
 14. Karbalâ’î Tabrizî, *Rawzât al-jinân*, 598–99.
 15. See Barbaro, “Travels,” 51–52.
 16. Khunji İsfahâni, *Târîkh-i ‘Âlam-ârâ-yi Amîni*, 22, 46, 428 (cited by Karbalâ’î Tabrizî, *Rawzât al-jinân*, 598–99), and see Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Persan 101, fol. 105.
 17. Deduced by Sandra Aube, “La céramique architecturale en Iran sous les Turkmènes,” from Khunji İsfahâni, *Târîkh-i ‘Âlam-ârâ-yi Amîni*, 46.
 18. About the “Hasht Bihisht” type of palace and its development after the reign of Ya‘qub in Tabriz, see Brignoli, “Les palais royaux safavides,” 140–41.
 19. This substantial report is found in: Anonymous [Francesco Romano], “The Travels of a Merchant in Persia,” in Grey, *Narrative of Italian Travels*, 139–208, at 167–75.
 20. Karbalâ’î Tabrizî, *Rawzât al-jinân*, 91; Khunji İsfahâni, *Târîkh-i ‘Âlam-ârâ-yi Amîni*, 94, 442; Bûdâq Munshî Qazvîni, *Javâhir al-akhbâr: Bakhsh-i târîkh-i Īrân az Qarâ Qüyünlû tâ sâl-i 984*, ed. Muḥsin Bahrâm Nizhâd (Tehran, 1345 [2000]), 80; Qâḍî Aḥmad b. Mîr Munshî, *Calligraphers and Painters*, trans. Vladimir Minorsky (Washington, D.C., 1959), 33. See also the studies of ‘Abdal ‘Alî Kârang, *Âzâr-i bâstânî-i Âzarbâyyân: Âzâr va abniyya-i târîkhî-i sharistân-i Tabriz* (Tehran, 1351 [1972]), 8; and John E. Woods, *The Aqquyunlu: Clan, Confederation, Empire; A Study in 15th/9th Century Turko-Iranian Politics* (Chicago, 1976), 150; Melville, “Historical Monuments and Earthquakes in Tabriz,” 171.
 21. Karbalâ’î Tabrizî, *Rawzât al-jinân*, 600; Qazvîni, *Javâhir al-akhbâr*, 80. It should be noted that Sultan Ya‘qub was first buried at Qara Aghach before being transferred to the Nasriyya Mausoleum in Tabriz: Khunji İsfahâni, *Târîkh-i ‘Âlam-ârâ-yi Amîni*, 94.
 22. Qazvîni, *Javâhir al-akhbâr*, 80n4; Darvish Qasim is mentioned in Karbalâ’î Tabrizî, *Rawzât al-jinân*, 89–90.
 23. See a bayt (couplet) in Khunji İsfahâni, *Târîkh-i ‘Âlam-ârâ-yi Amîni*, 94 and 442, about the death of Sultan Ya‘qub. The term *surkh* seems to indicate a brick construction rather than tile decoration, since red was not used in ceramics at

- that time (unless it describes the interior wall decorations, which could have been red-colored paint instead of tiles?).
24. Karbalā'ī Tabrizī, *Rawḏāt al-jinān*, 527.
 25. Khunji Iṣfahānī, *Tāriḫ-i 'Ālam-ārā-yi Amīnī*, 92 and 428. Karang reports that Nadir Mirza described an architectural decoration made with mosaic tiles (*kāshihā-yi mu'arraḡ*), but I was not able to identify this source: see Kārang, *Āsār va abniyya*, 7–8.
 26. In the seventeenth century, the mosque is also described as being made of marble (reported by Melville, "Historical Monuments and Earthquakes in Tabriz," 171, from Kātib Çelebi's *Cihānnüma*). Stone construction was widespread in Aq Qoyunlu architecture in southeastern Anatolia. There is almost no Aq Qoyunlu architecture left in northwestern Iran; brick masonry was nonetheless preferred in Iran. On this Masjid-i Jami', see Karbalā'ī Tabrizī, *Rawḏāt al-jinān*, 600; Hinz, "Beiträge," 60; and Lisa Golombek and Donald Wilber, *Timurid Architecture of Iran and Turan*, 2 vols. (Princeton, N.J., 1988), 1:409–10.
 27. All these events are reported in Melville, "Historical Monuments and Earthquakes in Tabriz," 171.
 28. Mirza Mahdi Qadi was one of the sons of Mirza Muhammad Taqī, qadi of Tabriz, and a descendant of the Aq Qoyunlu ruler Uzun Hasan, who had made a generous endowment to his descendants through his daughter. Mirza Muhammad Taqī's ancestors are identified as having been in charge of this endowment since at least the reign of Shah Tahmasp II (1722–32), but during the reign of Nader Shah (r. 1736–47), these endowments were removed. See Werner, *Iranian Town in Transition*, 119–21.
 29. The Iranian team of the Miras-i Farhangī in Tabriz has finally restored this monument: see 'Umrānī and Amīniyyān, "Gumāni zanī."
 30. Aube, "La Mosquée bleue," 245–46. See also 'Umrānī and Amīniyyān, "Gumāni zanī." On Ottoman architecture, see, among others, Godfrey Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture* (London, 1971); Oktay Aslanapa, *Turkish Art and Architecture* (London, 1971); and, more recently, Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (London, 2005).
 31. 'Umrānī and Amīniyyān, "Gumāni zanī," 99.
 32. Aube, "La Mosquée bleue," 259, and fig. 5; Aube, "Tabriz X. Monuments."
 33. See, for example, a topped, ribbed half-vault found in the ruins of the Mosque of Uzun Hasan, which displays the same kind of composition and motifs as the entry door arch in the vestibule of the Blue Mosque: Aube, "La céramique architecturale en Iran sous les Turkmènes," 3:43B–C. For a typology of the Turkmen repertoire of designs seen on ceramic tile panels, see *ibid.*, vol. 1, chap. 2, pp. 39–58, and vol. 3, pp. 121–63 (illustrations).
 34. For examples of blue-and-white tiles from the fifteenth century in Iran and Central Asia, see Jean Soustiel and Yves Porter, *Tombeaux de Paradis* (Saint-Rémy-en-l'Eau, 2003), especially 210–12.
 35. I am very grateful to Dr. Leslee Michelsen, former head of the Curatorial and Research Section at the Museum of Islamic Art, Doha, for kindly granting me permission to publish this ceramic tile.
 36. Yves Porter has proposed the term "black line" in order to distinguish this technique from items made using the *cuerda seca* (Span., dry cord) technique: see Yves Porter and Gérard Degeorge, *L'art de la céramique dans l'architecture musulmane* (Paris, 2001), 279.
 37. For evidence of the "black line" in Iran during the fifteenth century, see Bernard O'Kane, "The Development of Iranian 'Black Line' Tiles and the Transfer of Tilework Technology," in *And Diverse Are Their Hues: Color in Islamic Art and Culture*, ed. Jonathan Bloom and Sheila Blair (New Haven, 2011), 175–203; and see the discussion in Sandra Aube, "Le mausolée Zeyn al-'Ābedin à Sāri: Contribution à l'étude des tours-tombeaux du Māzanderān au XVe siècle," *Studia Iranica* 44, no. 1 (2015): 33–54.
 38. See Lisa Golombek, Robert Mason, Patricia Proctor, and Eileen Reilly, *Persian Pottery in the First Global Age: The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Leiden, 2014), esp. chap. 4 (pp. 169–81).
 39. Khalida Mahi, "Tile Revetments from the 15th Century in Eastern Anatolia: A Problem of Attribution," in *At the Crossroads of Empires: 14th–15th Century Eastern Anatolia*, ed. Deniz Beyazit and Simon Rettig (Paris, 2012), 181–205; Aube, *La céramique dans l'architecture en Iran*, chap. 7 (forthcoming).
 40. See the tile from the Masjid-i Chaduk in Haftadur (1487), or the hexagonal tile kept at the Musée du Louvre in Paris (Département des arts de l'Islam, MAO 2071). Aube, "La céramique architecturale en Iran sous les Turkmènes," 1:89, 2:59–60, 3:20; and Aube, *La céramique dans l'architecture en Iran*, chap. 6 (forthcoming).
 41. See Golombek, Mason, and Bailey, *Tamerlane's Tableware*, 133–35. I am indebted to my anonymous reader for having drawing my attention to this group.
 42. No ware or tile painted in black under a yellow glaze is known, though we do have some examples of wares painted in black under a green glaze. See, for example, an inkwell made in Mashhad in 1444–45 now in the Royal Scottish Museum in Edinburgh, inv. 1888.570, published in Golombek, Mason, and Bailey, *Tamerlane's Tableware*, pl. 55, and Porter, *Le prince, l'artiste et l'alchimiste*, cat. no. 262, p. 284. As far as I know, however, there is no known tile made with this green glaze.
 43. Karbalā'ī Tabrizī, *Rawḏāt al-jinān*, 43; Tīhrānī, *Kitāb-i Diyārbakriyya*, 523; and Christoph Werner, "Ein Vaqf für meine Töchter: Hātūn Ġān Bēgum und die Qarā Quyūnlū Stiftungen zur 'Blauen Moschee' in Tabriz," *Der Islam* 80, no. 1 (2003): 94–109.
 44. For an illustration of these mihrabs, see also Aube, "La céramique architecturale en Iran sous les Turkmènes," 3:46B and 171–72 (pl. 171B is also published in Aube, "Tabriz X. Monuments," fig. 4).

45. For an illustration, see Aube, "La céramique architecturale en Iran sous les Turkmènes," 3:173.
46. See Aube, "La Mosquée bleue," fig. 10; and Aube, "Tabriz X. Monuments," fig. 10.
47. See Bernard O'Kane, *Timurid Architecture in Khurasan* (Costa Mesa, Calif., 1987), 227–37; and Golombek and Wilber, *Timurid Architecture of Iran and Turan*, 1:334–36. About its relationship to the Blue Mosque, see Aube, "La Mosquée bleue"; Aube, "Tabriz X. Monuments"; and Blair, "Tabriz: International Entrepôt."
48. For an illustration of this decoration in the Blue Mosque of Tabriz, see Aube, "La Mosquée bleue," fig. 5a–b; and Aube, "Tabriz X. Monuments," fig. 11.
49. One fragment of such a tile piece is kept in a storeroom of the Cité de la Céramique in Sèvres (France), inv. no. MNC 9597.1; another is held by the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, M.2002.1.305, mentioned in Aube, "La Mosquée bleue," 261n78.
50. Illustrations of all these tiles are available in Aube, "La Mosquée bleue," fig. 6; Aube, "Tabriz X. Monuments," figs. 13–15; and Aube, "La céramique architecturale en Iran sous les Turkmènes," 3:85–94. I am once again greatly indebted to the late Professor Turabi Tabataba'i for giving me access to his personal archives.
51. See the noteworthy publication of Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Topkapı Scroll: Geometry and Ornament in Islamic Architecture; Topkapı Palace Library MS H. 1956* (Santa Monica, Calif., 1995), as well as Necipoğlu "Geometric Design in Timurid/Turkmen Architectural Practice."
52. Necipoğlu does not exclude a later date (first half of the sixteenth century): Necipoğlu, *Topkapı Scroll*, 34–39.
53. For further details and examples regarding the influence of the Topkapı Scroll drawings on Qara Qoyunlu and Aq Qoyunlu tiles, see Aube, "La céramique architecturale en Iran sous les Turkmènes."
54. See Bernard O'Kane, "The Madrasa al-Ghiyāsiyya at Khar-gird," *Iran* 14 (1976): 79–92; O'Kane, *Timurid Architecture in Khurasan*, 119–30; and Golombek and Wilber, *Timurid Architecture of Iran and Turan*, 1:328–31.
55. For recent studies on the Safa Camii in Diyarbakır, see Mahi, "Tile Revetments from the 15th Century in Eastern Anatolia," 181–205; Aube, "La céramique architecturale en Iran sous les Turkmènes," 1:103–7, 2:232–36, 3:99–101.
56. See O'Kane, "Development of Iranian 'Black Line' Tiles," 188. Concerning the Mar'ashi Mausoleum in Sāri, see Aube, "Le mausolée Zeyn al-Ābedin à Sāri," 50–51.
57. About this monument, see Ḥusayn Mudarrisi Ṭabāṭabā'i [Hossein Modarressi Tabataba'i], *Turbat-i Pākān, Āṣār va bināhā-yi qadīm-i maḥdūda-i kunūn-i Dār al-Mu'imīn-i Qum = Historical Monuments and Archaeology in the Region of Qom*, 2 vols. (Qum, 1354 [1975]), 2:121–22, and pl. 179; O'Kane, *Timurid Architecture in Khurasan*, 72n49; Golombek and Wilber, *Timurid Architecture of Iran and Turan*, 1:404–5; Aube, "La céramique architecturale en Iran sous les Turkmènes," 2:93–96.
58. Regarding this monument, see, among others, O'Kane, "Madrasa al-Ghiyāsiyya at Khar-gird"; O'Kane, *Timurid Architecture in Khurasan*, 119–30; Donald Wilber, "Qavam al-Din ibn Zayn al-Din Shirazi: A Fifteenth-Century Timurid Architect," *Architectural History* 30 (1987): 31–44; and Golombek and Wilber, *Timurid Architecture of Iran and Turan*, 1:328–31.
59. Bernard O'Kane, "Tāybād, Turbat-i Jām and Timurid Vaulting," *Iran* 17 (1979): 87–104; and O'Kane, *Timurid Architecture in Khurasan*, 223–26; Golombek and Wilber, *Timurid Architecture of Iran and Turan*, 1:344–46, 2:288–93, fig. 96.
60. With Tamerlane bringing back craftsmen from all regions during his military conquests, Samarkand soon became an outstanding artistic center. After Tamerlane's death in 1405, his successor, Ulugh Beg, freed these craftsmen (1411), which led to a significant circulation of artisans, skills, techniques, and fashions throughout the Middle East: see Jean Aubin, "Comment Tamerlan prenait les villes," *Studia Islamica* 19 (1963): 83–122, at 104–5; and Lisa Golombek, "Timurid Potters Abroad," *Oriente Moderno*, n.s., 15 (76), no. 2 (1996): 580.
61. See Aube, "La céramique architecturale en Iran sous les Turkmènes," 3:8, for the architectural decoration of the Darb-i Imam. The gold has now vanished from the hexagonal green tiles of the Shirin Bika Aqa Mausoleum (Shah-i Zindeh, Samarkand). The original gilded tiles are mentioned in Golombek and Wilber, *Timurid Architecture of Iran and Turan*, 1:243.
62. Concerning the Çinili Köşk, see, among others, Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, 1991), 212–17; Necipoğlu, "From International Timurid to Ottoman," 136–59; and John Carswell, *Iznik Pottery* (London, 1998), 27.
63. See, for instance, Norah Titley, *Persian Miniature Painting and Its Influence on the Art of Turkey and India* (London, 1983), pl. 5; Thomas W. Lentz and Glenn D. Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision: Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century* (Los Angeles, 1989), 238; Basil W. Robinson, *Persian Paintings in the India Office Library* (London, 1976), pl. 98.
64. The petition is kept in Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi, E.3152; see Necipoğlu, "From International Timurid to Ottoman," 137.
65. Bernard O'Kane has already remarked that the Çinili Köşk seems closer to Tabrizi than Herati traditions: "Its foreignness to the traditions of Ottoman architecture is not in dispute, but although tileworkers from Khurasan are known to have completed a pavilion in the Topkapı Palace, the decoration of the Tiled Kiosk is closer to Tabriz than to Herat, indicating Aqqoyunlu as much as Timurid links": see Bernard O'Kane, "From Tents to Pavilions: Royal Mobility and Persian Palace Design," in "Pre-Modern Islamic Palaces," ed. Gülru Necipoğlu, special issue, *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993): 249–68, at 252. Moreover, we know from the historian Mu'ali that designers from Khurasan worked on the Mehmet Fatih Camii in Istanbul (ca. 1463–1470): regarding this architectural decoration, see Necipoğlu, "From International Timurid to Ottoman," 137; Nurhan Atasoy and Julian Raby,

- Iznik: La poterie en Turquie ottomane* (Paris, 1994), 88; and Carswell, *Iznik Pottery*, 27. This decoration is stylistically close to ceramic tiles displayed at the Üç Şerefeli Camii in Edirne (rebuilt or completed in 1437–48). Perhaps, then, these two ceramic tile decorations on structures built for Sultan Mehmet II might be connected to the Khurasani petitioners.
66. About Turkmen architectural decorations, see Aube, “La céramique architecturale en Iran sous les Turkmènes,” 1:272–308. About the arts of the book, see, among others, Brend, *Perspectives on Persian Painting*, 105–6 (on exchanges between Herat and Turkmen courts); David J. Roxburgh, ed., *Turks: A Journey of Thousand Years, 600–1600* (London, 2005), 200; and Rettig, “La production manuscrite à Chiraz.”
67. In his study of Aq Qoyunlu metalworks from southeast Anatolia, James Allan demonstrates how this production was characterized by local legacies as well as Mamluk and Timurid influences: James W. Allan, “Metalwork of the Turcoman Dynasties of Eastern Anatolia and Iran,” *Iran* 29 (1991): 153–59. See also Sylvia Auld’s interesting contributions on the metalwork productions of Mahmud al-Kurdi in the fifteenth century and its hypothetical links with western Iran and Tabriz: Sylvia Auld, “Master Mahmud: Objects Fit for a Prince,” in *Arte veneziana e arte islamica: Atti del primo Simposio internazionale sull’arte veneziana e l’arte islamica*, ed. Ernst J. Grube, Stefano Carboni, and Giovanni Curatola (Venice, 1989), 185–201; Sylvia Auld, “Maître Mahmûd et les métaux incrustés au XVe siècle,” in *Venise et l’Orient, 828–1797*, ed. Stefano Carboni (Paris, 2006), 212–25.
68. See the discussion of “western *nasta’liq*” in Rettig, “La production manuscrite à Chiraz,” 1:144–55, and in the three following articles by Priscilla Soucek in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 1/2 (1982), s.vv., “‘Abd-al-Raḥmān K’ārazmī,” “‘Abd-al-Raḥīm K’ārazmī,” and “‘Abd-al-Karīm K’ārazmī.”
69. Aube, “La Mosquée bleue,” 266–69, and fig. 9.
70. For recent research on the “Masters of Tabriz,” see Mahi, “Tile Revetments from the 15th Century in Eastern Anatolia”; Blair, “Tabriz: International Entrepôt”; Aube, “La céramique architecturale en Iran sous les Turkmènes”; and Aube, *La céramique dans l’architecture en Iran*, chap. 7 (forthcoming). See also Mahi, “La céramique architecturale des ‘Maîtres de Tabriz.’”



BRILL



ELOÏSE BRAC DE LA PERRIÈRE

MANUSCRIPTS IN BIHARI CALLIGRAPHY: PRELIMINARY REMARKS ON A LITTLE-KNOWN CORPUS

Leafing through an auction catalogue or visiting an exhibition, one occasionally comes across a specimen of an Indian Koran copied in the Bihari script, usually grouped with other “curiosities” of the same sort, such as Chinese, Indonesian, or African manuscripts.¹ Many of these Indian Korans were dismembered, their pages scattered among various public and private collections. Although the manuscripts that make up this group are remarkably homogenous, and strongly resemble one another in many respects, there is little information available on them, and only recently have studies on the subject begun to be published.²

This corpus was incorrectly considered of secondary significance, probably due to the limited number of manuscripts known and published, and also to the period that it represents, Sultanate India (thirteenth to sixteenth centuries). The scarcity of information regarding book production during this time is probably one of the reasons behind these lacunae.³ But it is important to note that the dating of the Bihari Korans extends far beyond this period, into the nineteenth century. The uniformity of the corpus, at least at first glance—the highly repetitive character of the script and decorations, for example—also constitutes one of the difficulties in analyzing it. It is not easy to detect the specific features that could help to establish a chronology in this category of manuscripts, the vast majority of which lack colophons or precise information that might serve to determine at least relative dates. Furthermore, identifying where they were produced has proved to be an even more arduous task because the manuscripts themselves offer no clues on this matter, either textually or materially, and historical sources reveal nothing about precisely where on

the Indian subcontinent this type of manuscript could have been made.

This article presents research that is still in progress. I will attempt to define the main issues raised by the Korans in Bihari script, which, as we will see, constitute a corpus in themselves, with exceptional textual and formal characteristics. The systematic inventory of these manuscripts was still incomplete at the time of writing, in particular the inventories of the rarely published Indian collections and of the Central Asian collections, which contain several specimens.⁴ The information provided in this article is based on a corpus of one hundred and thirty-seven manuscripts in Bihari script, all of which, with only two exceptions, are Korans. Almost half of the corpus is made up of codices containing the complete text of the Koran or a set of *ajzā*’ (sing. *juz*’, a thirtieth of the entire text, referring to the division of the Koran into thirty parts, to be recited over the course of one month),⁵ and the other half is made up of isolated folios.

BIHARI SCRIPT

The study of the main corpus, which I delimited based on the formal criterion of the Bihari script, obviously leads to questions regarding this distinctive writing form, which was specific to the Indian subcontinent. No in-depth analysis of Bihari script has yet been published, and the bibliography on this subject consists of only a few pages.⁶ While the scope of this article necessarily excludes a paleographical analysis of the Bihari script, which will be the subject of a more specialized study in

the near future, the main characteristics of this style will be enumerated below.

The origin of the term *Bihari* has been the subject of various hypotheses.⁷ The word does not appear in the textual sources, but this is not necessarily because it is a late creation: from the Sultanate period onwards, written information is scant regarding the book arts and various calligraphies in India.⁸ What sources there are do not mention Korans copied in Bihari, but we do possess their material reality, which is to say, the numerous manuscripts that have survived up to the present and that in themselves constitute proof of the importance of this calligraphy among Arabic writing styles in India.

According to Abdullah Chaghatai, this calligraphic form was named after a finish applied to paper, but the references that he provides do not suffice to confirm his assertion,⁹ which is likely based on the phonetic proximity between the words *bihār* and *āhār*, the latter designating a paper stiffener (a starch-based preparation) in Persian. Among all the hypotheses on the topic, the one that connects the term to the Bihar region of northwest India seems the most plausible. However, Jeremiah Losty, who also favors this explanation, thinks that this region would not have been very conducive to such calligraphic developments, since it was not among the great intellectual centers of Islamic culture.¹⁰ In a book published in 1992, David James also supported this point of view.¹¹ These claims nonetheless deserve to be reconsidered: according to Siraj-al-Juzjani's *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāsiri* (Nasirian Tables), which dates from the second half of the thirteenth century, there were many books in the fortified city of Bihar (present-day Biharsharif), which contained a number of madrasas at that time.¹² The use of the script is attested in the second half of the fourteenth century by the Gwalior Koran (Aga Khan Museum [AKM], Ms. AKM00281), as dated by its colophon.¹³ Since this period, Bihari seems to have been reserved for copies of the Koran.¹⁴

The script reveals distant links with the script of Ghurid Korans (eleventh and twelfth centuries),¹⁵ but this connection remains to be studied with greater precision and using a larger corpus of Ghurid Korans than is currently available. We also find several interesting extensions of the Bihari script in monumental epigraphy, but none of these seems to date back to a period earlier than

the fourteenth century.¹⁶ The majority of architectural remnants showing this type of writing originate from the northeast region of the Indian subcontinent and from regions that were under the domination of the Jaunpur and Bengal sultanates.¹⁷ In 1990, in an article devoted to Indian epigraphy, Mohammad Yusuf Siddiq remarked:

“...[T]he twelfth and thirteenth centuries were the traditional period for Arabic writing; in that period a gradual transition took place from the use of extremely angular styles to more adaptable cursive ones. It was, however, not an abrupt change. During the transitional period we find semi-angular, semi-Kufic styles where elements of both Kufic and Naskh can be seen, and these peculiar kinds of writing often resemble the so-called Bihari style of the Subcontinent.”¹⁸

The very peculiar physiognomy of Bihari calligraphy places it in between angular and cursive scripts, especially in its earliest forms. Old manuscript catalogues refer to it, though they do not use the term *Bihari*, and even today we are unsure of the exact origin of this style, which has been described as “transitional,” on the cusp between angular and cursive scripts.¹⁹ A revealing example is found in an Indian album copied in 1278 (1862), in which fourteen different calligraphic styles are presented separately, and Bihari and Kufic are placed on a single page, folio 35a.²⁰

In Bihari calligraphy, the script spreads forward in a thick horizontal line along the line of writing, while the lower strokes remain short. Most striking is the contrast between the fine vertical strokes of the letters and their horizontal bases, which are always broad. The loops of some letters, such as the emphatics *ṣād*, *ḍād*, *zāʾ*, and *tāʾ*, are amplified. The letter *nūn* stretches below the line into a wide but shallow loop. The final *mīm* has a tail at an oblique angle in relation to the line of writing, whereas the *rāʾ* at the end of words has a small tail that curls back under the letter. The *dāl* and its dotted equivalent, *dhāl*, are especially broad and open. Some letters, such as *fāʾ*, *qāf*, *wāw*, and *mīm* at the start of a word, have a head that ends in a point, which gives this part of the letter an almost triangular form. Vowels are placed horizontally over letters, the *fatha* is a long, fine line, and the tail of the *damma* follows the same model. Letter and word spacing is variable: large intervals between words or between letters within a word alternate with

groups that appear crowded, almost crushed together. Letters are often written above or inside other letters. This peculiar visual rhythm, which appears deceptively irregular, together with the alternation between letters with sharp angles and exaggerated loops, produces the overall effect of untidiness, at least at first glance.²¹ However, a careful examination of the calligraphic line enables us to realize that there is a meticulous system at work, one that reflects a binary dynamic: angular and curved shapes, empty and full spaces, bold and fine lines.

Bihari should be compared to two scripts whose use was developed in India during the Sultanate period. First, there is a *naskhī* script reserved for the hermeneutical system in the manuscripts of this corpus, the *naskhī-divāni*,²² a calligraphy that seems to be derived from administrative scripts and shows obvious similarities with the script used on the scroll of Muhammad b. Tughluq's decree, made in Delhi in 725 (1325) (Keir Collection, Ms. VI.39).²³ Bihari also resembles another script that was administrative in origin, the *tughrā* style,²⁴ which underwent some original developments in Indo-Islamic epigraphy during the Sultanate period, especially in the Bengal region. A stone engraving kept at the Varendra Research Museum (Rajshahi, Bangladesh) illustrates the relationship between these two scripts: the part of the writing that occupies the horizontal support line shows very clear similarities with Bihari (in particular, the drawing of the *ṣād*), whereas the upper strokes are excessively elongated and other letters occasionally cross through them, as is usual in the *tughrā* style.²⁵

It thus seems conceivable that the sources of Bihari script are to be found in chancery scripts, or that it was first developed, at least as early as the fourteenth century, by copyists who were working for the administration of the sultans.

PRESENTATION OF THE CORPUS AND TYPOLOGY

As mentioned above, one hundred and thirty-seven manuscripts in Bihari script were examined in this study. With two exceptions, a *fiqh* (Islamic law) text and a poetic compilation, they are all Korans, nearly three-

quarters of which can be dated between the last quarter of the fourteenth century and the end of the sixteenth century. The latest manuscripts were copied in the nineteenth century, but these represent a very small part of the corpus (two works in all). Twenty-one manuscripts are dated by colophons and in only three is the place of production mentioned. Based on stylistic and palaeographical clues that will be discussed in greater detail below, most of these manuscripts can be dated to the fifteenth century, most likely the first half.

The corpus can be divided into three distinct groups of a very unequal number of manuscripts.

1. *The Pioneer Group*

Five manuscripts can be attributed to the last quarter of the fourteenth century: three Korans²⁶ and two non-Koranic texts, the *Kulliyāt* (Complete Works) of the poet Sa'di (d. 1292)²⁷ and one copy of the *Al-Ḥāwī al-Ṣaghīr* (The Small Collection) by Najm al-Din 'Abd al-Ghaffar b. 'Abd al-Karim al-Qazwini al-Shafi'i (d. 1266 or 1267), a work on Shafi'i jurisprudence.²⁸ Two of these manuscripts are dated by their colophons, and the other three can be ascribed to the fourteenth century, thanks to an examination of the palaeography and a study of their illuminations.

Al-Ḥāwī al-Ṣaghīr, probably the oldest, is dated 781 (1379) (fig. 1). In this manuscript, the large central script is characterized by a particularly broad and uniform stroke: the letters are distinctly drawn, and the lines do not spread out horizontally, as in the later versions. There are broad spaces between words, making the text appear light and uncluttered.²⁹ This script does not share all the characteristics of Bihari as it appears in most manuscripts from the fifteenth century onwards. The letters are more simply drawn, there is no excessive variation in their size, and none are written inside other letters. This form of Bihari is similar to some examples of monumental engraving from India datable to the late thirteenth century that employ particularly thick lines.³⁰ The heavy, massive appearance of the writing and its horizontality (the ascending and descending shafts of the letters are not very developed) suggest a link between these older writing forms and the Bihari script. Two folios from a Koran formerly in the Chester Beatty Library³¹ are copied in a similar form of Bihari that

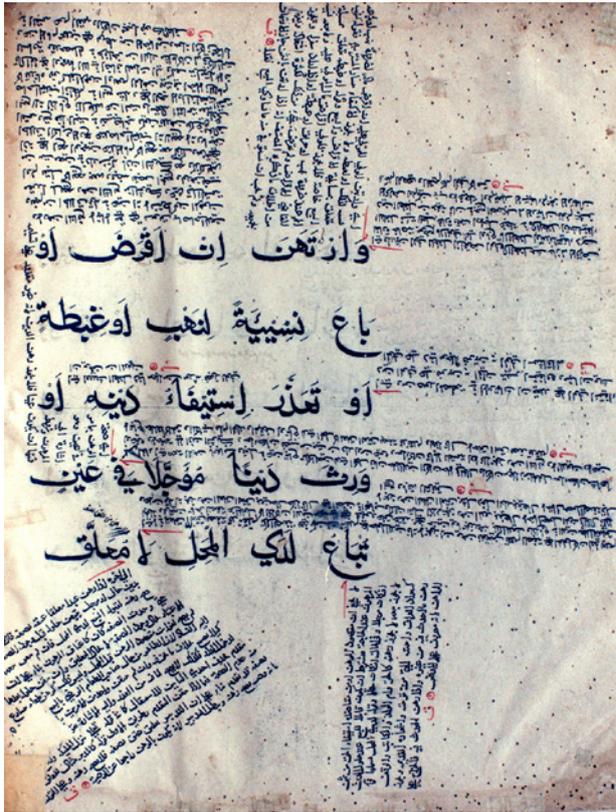


Fig. 1. *Al-Hāwī al-Ṣaghīr* by Najm al-Din al-Qazwini al-Shafi'i, 781 (1379). Hyderabad, Salar Jung Museum, acc. no. 1098, fol. 29a. (Photo: © Salar Jung Museum)

appears nowhere else in the corpus. It seems reasonable to suggest a dating that is close to that of *Al-Hāwī al-Ṣaghīr*, or the last quarter of the fourteenth century.

The other manuscripts in this pioneer group include two Korans, belonging, respectively, to the Aga Khan Museum (the aforementioned Ms. AKM00281; figs. 2 and 3) and to the Keir Collection (Ms. Pl.1; fig. 4), as well as the copy of the works of Sa'di dated 791 (1388), the present location of which is unknown.

The Koran in the Aga Khan Museum, which was copied and illuminated in Gwalior Fort on 7 Dhu 'l-Qa'da 801 (July 11, 1399),³² is the earliest illuminated Indo-Islamic manuscript to be dated by a colophon. Several of its defining characteristics foreshadow the style that would define fifteenth-century Bihari manuscripts, both in their calligraphy and their page designs and illumina-



Fig. 2. Koran, Gwalior, 7 Dhu 'l-Qa'da 801 (July 11, 1399). Toronto, Aga Khan Museum, Ms. AKM00281, fols. 166b–167a. (Photo: courtesy of the Aga Khan Museum)

tions. The lines of the text alternate between different colors, namely, blue, red, and gold,³³ and pages are arranged as one frame set within another frame, the first containing the text of the Koran and the second a few glosses or decorations. In addition, we find in the Gwalior Koran a number of illumination motifs also present in Bihari Korans that may be dated to the fifteenth century.³⁴ The writing in the Gwalior Koran is very regular and exaggeratedly horizontal. The letters are thick, and some are drawn in distinctive ways, such as the final *nūn*, with a loop that spreads out to become quite broad, once again in a horizontal movement that closely follows the line of writing, or the *mīm*, with a relatively short tail drawn diagonally. All these characteristics to-



Fig. 3. Koran, Gwalior, 7 Dhu 'l-Qa'da 801 (July 11, 1399). Toronto, Aga Khan Museum, Ms. AKM00281, fols. 303b–304a. (Photo: courtesy of the Aga Khan Museum)

gether suggest that this may be an archaic form of Bihari. This writing does not contain imbricated letters or very broad ones, such as *ṣād*, *ḍād*, *zā'*, *ṭā'*, and *dāl*, and the rhythm of the calligraphic sentence is monotonous. This form of Bihari does not show the dexterity and skill of the Bihari Korans of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Furthermore, its decorations remain deeply rooted in earlier traditions, which can be dated to the first half of the fourteenth century.³⁵ The Gwalior Koran is a fundamental reference point for understanding the illuminated manuscripts of pre-Mughal India and their mutations and transformations up to the mid-sixteenth century, but it is a complex work that raises more questions than any other regarding the conditions under which prestigious manuscripts like it were produced, the artisans who made it, their sources of inspiration

and, of course, its commissioners and, more generally, its intended recipients. This manuscript will only be examined here in terms of its links with the rest of the production of manuscripts copied in Bihari.³⁶

The Koran from the Keir Collection is copied in a Bihari script close to that used for the Gwalior Koran, although it is drawn more delicately, prefiguring the developments that this writing form would undergo in the fifteenth century.³⁷ Composed of 440 folios measuring 31.5×24 centimeters, its format is close to that of the Gwalior Koran, whose folios measure 29×22 centimeters. In both of these manuscripts, the text is copied on either thirteen lines per page, or on nine lines for pages decorated with frontispieces. Finally, the *juz'* dividing both of these Korans into thirty parts open onto richly ornamented double-frontispieces. These formal simi-



Fig. 4. Koran, north India, end of fourteenth century. Keir Collection, acc. no. VII.42. (Photo: with the kind permission of Ranros Universal SA)

larities are reinforced by textual parallels that will be discussed further below.

2. Classical Bihari Korans

The second group of manuscripts consists of Korans in the Bihari script that I will describe as “classical,” i.e., those whose page layout, calligraphy, and ornamentation follow a set of rules that were already well established at the time of their production. The copies belonging to this second group of manuscripts form a particularly homogenous family: they are finely worked, feature elegant and confident calligraphy, and are made of high-quality materials. The paper, pigments, ink, and gold are still in very good condition. It seems that this

production diminished in quality over time: the least polished manuscripts of the group were produced in the late fifteenth century, and this downward trend only continued in the following century.

The page layout (fig. 5) is composed of a double or triple outline, made up of frames set within each other, creating three defined spaces. The central rectangle contains the text of the Koran itself. The first frame contains words taken from the central Koranic text but they are vocalized differently: these are Koranic variants, called canonical “readings” (*qirāʾāt*), which were accompanied in these manuscripts by a system of abbreviations indicating the names of the readers or reciters.³⁸ The variant readings were transcribed in the codex starting at an early date,³⁹ but bibliographical references about these



Fig. 5. Koran copied in a Bihari script, north India, first half of fifteenth century. Paris, Institut du Monde Arabe, AI 84-19. (Photo: © Institut du Monde Arabe)



Fig. 6. Detail of fig. 5, right margin, zigzagging lines in a Koran copied in a Bihari script, north India, first half of fifteenth century. Paris, Institut du Monde Arabe, AI 84-19. (Photo: © Institut du Monde Arabe)

variants in the context of their material manifestations—the manuscripts—are scant.⁴⁰ From the available examples, we know that these variants, which always appear in the margins or in the interlinear spaces, were either fully written out or else abbreviated using a system that referred to each of the possible readings for a given term.

Finally, in the outer frame, we find a gloss comparing different levels of the text: words attributed to the Prophet (*hadiths*), texts related to the recitation or the

choice of suras (*faḍā'il*),⁴¹ and other guidelines that are highlighted by the ornamentation of the page, such as Koranic divisions used as aides for recitation or signals for prostration (*sajda*), inscribed inside medallions and illuminated mandorlas. In this group of manuscripts, the marginal gloss found in the outer frame is systematically written in a complicated manner, most often in zigzagging lines (fig. 6), and, in the later manuscripts, in crisscrossing lines. It is always copied in the same script, the *naskhī-dīvānī*, which originated in the chanceries, as discussed at the beginning of this paper. With some rare exceptions, this gloss is contemporaneous with the copying of the main text. All these glosses are of utmost importance because their existence shows that the manuscript was planned as a global work that would indivisibly join the Koranic text to its hermeneutical system.

A number of the decorative elements found in classical Bihari Korans suggest that they were produced in the fifteenth century even though none is dated by a colophon.⁴² Seven other manuscripts in the corpus (on which see no. 3 below) are dated to the fifteenth century by a colophon, but none of these contains exactly the same type of decoration as the manuscripts in the classical group, and none was produced with as much care or with materials of such fine quality. The fact that the classical group is at once stylistically homogenous and of excellent quality tends to prove that these works were all produced in the same area, perhaps even in a single workshop, for wealthy patrons.

3. Common Bihari Korans

The calligraphy, ornamental style, and iconographical lexicon of this third group are unmistakably affiliated with classical Bihari Korans, but the quality of the execution is inferior, though it varies considerably within the group. Compared to the classical Bihari Korans, the script in these works is less elegant and less inventive, and the materials are of lower quality. Gold is applied in a very diluted solution, and the colors are duller—the reds especially are less orange and less luminous. The brushstrokes are less exact, and the illumination is overall less skillful. The page layout no longer relies on a complex system of imbricated frames, which was one of the distinctive characteristics of the preceding group.

The first frame, which contained variant readings of the Koranic text, has here generally disappeared, and the *qirā'āt* are rarely included. The earliest examples of these manuscripts are datable to the fifteenth century, while the last specimens are from the nineteenth century.⁴³

RECURRING CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CORPUS AND ITERATIVE PROCESSES

The Korans grouped together in this corpus have distinctive features that make it possible to propose certain hypotheses regarding the context of their production. I will now enumerate their formal and functional characteristics.

Formal Attributes

It is difficult to draw a general conclusion about the dimensions of these manuscripts, which have been damaged over time, and, in any case, there is a great deal of variety among their formats. If, however, we calculate the proportions between the two or three frames drawn on a page (the frame surrounding the central Koranic text, the one that surrounds variants, and the frame around the glosses), this ratio suggests the existence of a common norm, which varied slightly depending on the historical period and the care taken in producing a given manuscript.⁴⁴ This initial observation was based on a limited sample of approximately thirty per cent of the corpus. In order to confirm that these recurring ratios were indeed based on a set of shared guidelines, the



Fig. 7. Koran copied in a Bihari script, frontispiece, north India, fifteenth century. London, Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, Ms. QUR237, fols. 613b–614a. (Photo: Nour Foundation, courtesy of the Family Trust)



Fig. 8. Frontispiece of a Koran copied in a Bihari script, north India, fifteenth century. Montreal, McGill University, Department of Rare Books and Manuscripts, Ms. A29, fol. 1b. (Photo: courtesy of McGill University)

same calculations will be applied to all the manuscripts in the corpus once the necessary information regarding their measurements has been gathered.

Line rulings

The pages of Koranic manuscripts in Bihari script are constructed with an uneven number of written lines: almost 40 percent of them have thirteen lines per page while most of the other works have either eleven or fifteen lines per page (approximately 25 percent for both of these cases). The remaining line rulings are variable, and manuscripts with an even number of lines are ex-

ceptional (only two in a corpus of one hundred and thirty-seven manuscripts). We can also note that most of the manuscripts datable to the late fourteenth century and the first half of the fifteenth century have thirteen lines per page. This observation confirms that the manuscripts are strongly normative, and were produced according to rules issuing from a single canon. This ruling pattern remains the most common throughout the fifteenth century, but in the later manuscripts from the second group, and in those of the third group, the rulings are more variable, with eleven or fifteen lines per page in most cases.



Fig. 9. Double-page frontispiece of a Koran copied in a Bihari script, north India, fifteenth century. Montreal, McGill University, Department of Rare Books and Manuscripts, Ms. A29, fols. 2b–3a. (Photo: courtesy of McGill University)

Ornamentation

The ornamentation of these manuscripts has no exact equivalent elsewhere in the Islamic world. The extremely repetitive character of the decoration in the corpus is striking. The general composition is almost always the same, a frontispiece or double-frontispiece framing an initial text (fig. 7). Mandorlas and other initial circular figures, such as the *shamsa*, are rare (fig. 8), as are all other forms of initial decorations such as the *sarlawh*, which heads the opening text, or the illuminations that cover the entire part of the page contained within the frame. The most common layout for frontispieces, recur-

ring in the overwhelming majority of cases, is a composition in imbricated rectangles, sometimes bordered with a frieze of blue fleurons pointing inwards (fig. 9). The same established iconographical lexicon is used over and over to fill in frames and marginal medallions. This includes certain motifs that are not found in the Islamic repertory outside of India. In particular, there are delicate long-petaled flowers (fig. 10), several types of which may be seen in other Indian manuscripts from the same period, such as an anthology in the British Library, Ms. Or.4110, datable to the early fifteenth century and probably produced in Jaunpur (fig. 11). Other elements seem to be exclusively reserved to these Indian

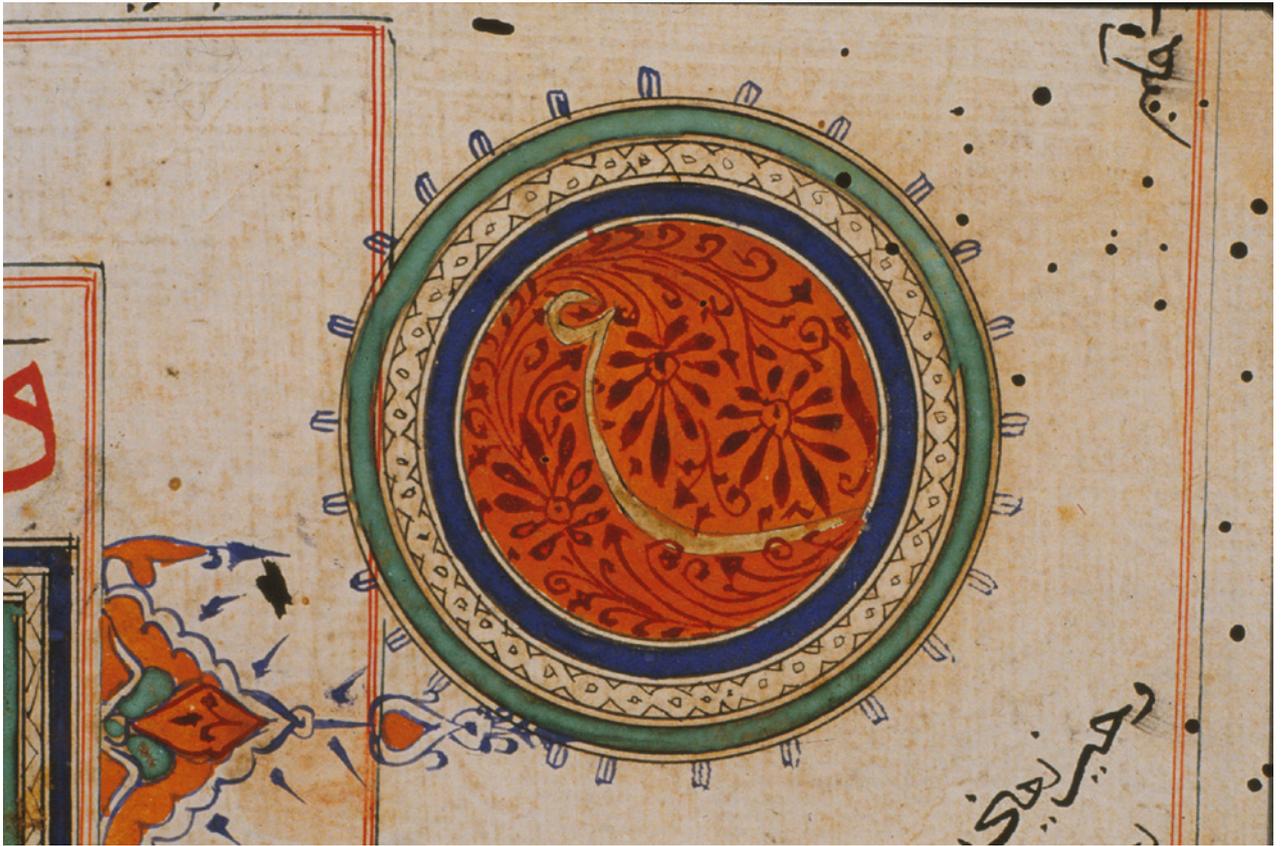


Fig. 10. Detail showing a leaf pattern on a medallion of a Koran copied in a Bihari script, north India, first half of fifteenth century. Paris, Institut du Monde Arabe, AI 84-19. (Photo: © Institut du Monde Arabe)

Korans. These may have been transferred from older iconographies, derived from Islamic figurative manuscript painting, which took on an entirely new value, devoid of their initial and purely ornamental usage. The grassy pyramid motif that is scattered over the backgrounds of many Bihari Korans is a good example of this. A renewed version of the tufts of grass dotting the ground in outdoor scenes in fourteenth-century Persian painting is here used to fill in space between lines and letters (fig. 12).⁴⁵ Finally, the chromatic scale of the ornaments, while quite vivid, remains limited. It varies very little, if at all, from one manuscript to the next. Most of the colored space is occupied by a very orange shade of vermillion and a very peculiar indigo. Another feature of Bihari manuscripts should be noted here, namely, al-

ternating lines of different colors. The distribution of colors is apparently random, with no particular meaning; it does not seem to be governed by any rules, other than being limited to a range of black, gold, red, and blue.

The older Korans, such as the Aga Khan manuscript copied in Gwalior, the Koran from the Keir Collection, or that of the Museum of Islamic Art (MIA) in Doha (figs. 13 and 14),⁴⁶ contain the richest and most original decorations, quite distinct from the rest of the corpus. The ornamentation is different in each of these three manuscripts and has no equivalent in the Islamic world. The elements that make up the ornamentation in each, although separately recognizable, together form very unusual compositions.



Fig. 11. Leaf pattern on a full-page decoration of an anthology, probably Jaunpur, beginning of fifteenth century. London, British Library, Ms. Or.4110, fol. 152b. (Photo: © British Library Board)



Fig. 12. Detail showing tufts of grass in a Bihari Koran, north India, fifteenth century. Montreal, McGill University, Department of Rare Books and Manuscripts, A29. (Photo: courtesy of the McGill University)

Functional Attributes

Three observations relating to the entire corpus will help us understand how these codices were used. First, nearly a quarter of all the manuscripts contain an inter-linear Persian translation. Second, three of the complete manuscripts in the corpus, and probably others as well,⁴⁷ are divided into four parts by double-frontispieces that mark the following suras: Sura 1, *al-Fātiḥa*; Sura 7, *al-A'rāf*; Sura 19, *Maryam*; and, finally, Sura 38, *Ṣād*. This subdivision is infrequent outside the pre-Mughal Indian sphere in contemporaneous or earlier periods, with the notable exception of a Ghurid Koran kept in Tehran (Museum of Ancient Iran [Muze-yi Īrān-i Bāstān, part of the National Museum of Iran], Ms. 3500).⁴⁸ The parallel is an interesting one because this Ghurid Koran shares other similarities with the Bihari corpus. It, too, contains a Persian version copied between the lines of the text of the Koran.⁴⁹ Although they are filled in with decorations, the wide frames on the pages of the Ghurid Koran recall the illuminated frames in certain Bihari Korans,⁵⁰ and the ornamentation shares some features with that of the Bihari manuscripts.⁵¹ While it is tempting to deduce a relationship of filiation between Ghurid and Sultanate Korans, these similarities are not precise enough and the examples at



Fig. 13. Full-page decoration in a Bihari Koran, end of fourteenth century or beginning of fifteenth century. Doha, Museum of Islamic Art, MS.259.2003. (Photo: © Museum of Islamic Art)



Fig. 14. Full-page decoration in a Bihari Koran, end of fourteenth century or beginning of fifteenth century. Doha, Museum of Islamic Art, MS.259.2003. (Photo: © Museum of Islamic Art)

our disposal are not sufficiently numerous to warrant any more definite conclusions at this stage. There are more obvious similarities with other manuscripts dating from the second half of the thirteenth century, which is to say, after the Ghurid period. This is particularly true of the Koran in Doha (MIA 259.2003) (figs. 13 and 14) and of a monumental Koran kept in Dushanbe,⁵² both in Bihari script, with decorations that closely resemble those of the Koran (QUR573) from the Khalili Collection dated 667 (1269).⁵³

Returning to the functional attributes of the manuscripts in the corpus, we should note that close to a tenth of the Bihari Korans contain a book of divination, a *fālnāma*, usually found at the end of the manuscript.⁵⁴ This is likely an underestimation because almost half of the manuscripts are fragmentary or missing their last leaves, and publications rarely mention the existence of the *fālnāma*. The example of the Gwalior Koran is revealing: although the manuscript was published and exhibited on a number of occasions over the last four decades, until recently it had never been mentioned that a book of divination was appended to the text.⁵⁵ This is all the more surprising because it is extremely rare to find a *fālnāma* annexed to a Koran before the fifteenth century. The Gwalior Koran and the Keir Koran are probably the oldest known works with this type of appendix. The latter probably precedes the Gwalior work by a few years, as indicated by the script and the illumination style, and may thus contain the earliest *fālnāma* appended to a Koran that we know of at present. The other Bihari manuscripts with this feature are later; many of them were probably made in the sixteenth century and the latest are from the nineteenth century. The practice of appending a Koranic *fāl* had already become more common in the Islamic world; in this respect, there is nothing exceptional about its presence in the later manuscripts, unlike the first two examples. The uniform character of the production of the Bihari Korans and the fragmentary nature of the classical Korans of the fifteenth century suggest that the production of Korans with a *fāl* was probably uninterrupted between the first two examples mentioned, i.e., the Gwalior and Keir Korans, and those from the sixteenth century. The use of the Koranic *fālnāma* in the Indian context is thus an old

practice and one that is linked to a corpus for which the page layout rules seem to have been rigorously established at least as early as the late fourteenth century.

Koranic manuscripts in Bihari writing took on some very particular characteristics at this point: the *fāl*, reading markers (*qirā'āt*), broadly developed glosses, and a Persian translation may all appear together in a manuscript, giving the object a practical dimension and transforming it into a type of manual on how to use a Koran. The normalization of this complex hermeneutical system leads us, of course, to wonder who—whether persons or institutions—the intended recipients of these manuscripts were, and under what conditions they were produced. It is quite possible that these Korans, or at least some of them, were copied and perhaps also decorated in places of religion and transmission such as madrasas or shrines (sing. *dargāh*), for an educated public. Unfortunately, no source evokes this type of production, and the colophons and secondhand notes in the manuscripts give no indications that might support such a hypothesis. The texts, however, frequently mention the type of intellectual environment in which these kinds of works may have been created, and these were often Sufi centers.

Questions arise when we consider the close affinities between these works and other objects possessing apotropaic virtues, such as talismanic tunics, which may feature not only a type of Bihari script but also the same ornamental repertory and palette.⁵⁶ These tunics also form a very homogenous group, though far more limited in number,⁵⁷ the earliest examples of which probably date from the sixteenth century. None of these tunics has been dated, nor are any likely to be dated easily. The dates suggested by publications on the subject are always later than the fifteenth century, although there is no solid proof for such a hypothesis. It is not impossible that some of these tunics might date from the fifteenth century: their decoration has similarities to that of classical Bihari Korans, as well as to the secular arts of the book.⁵⁸ A talismanic roll containing exactly the same type of decoration as the talismanic tunics further suggests a date earlier than the sixteenth century: according to the auction catalogue in which it was published, this roll, now kept in an unknown collection, contains a

chronogram with the year 798 (1395),⁵⁹ though this date still needs to be verified. There are only a few formal similarities between classical Bihari Korans and the group of tunics, but they are striking, the two most important being the calligraphy used on the borders of the tunics for the ninety-nine names of God (*asmā' al-ḥusna*), which is close to Bihari, and the chromatic scale, dominated by red and blue, which recalls the colors seen in classical Bihari Korans. Both the tunics and the pages of the Korans contain concentric circular motifs that may simultaneously denote an aesthetic taste that was popular at a given time, a decorative technique shared by a group of artists, and/or a particular symbolism whose meaning we cannot yet precisely define. Circular motifs appear frequently in India (e.g., the Buddhist mandala, or Jain cosmology in the *Aḍhāī-dvīpa* [Two and Half Continents]), and it is interesting to compare the compositions on these tunics with *yantra*, or diagrams with apotropaic virtues. The Victoria and Albert Museum has in its collections a cloth battle flag showing a Jain *yantra* that should be mentioned here.⁶⁰ Dated 1447, it comes from the Gujarat region and measures 86 cm × 59.4 cm. Nearly its entire surface is covered with a grid pattern filled with numeric formulae and sacred mantras; this use of space recalls that seen on Islamic talismanic tunics. The relative proportion of Bihari Korans containing *fālnāma* remains to be determined, but did the production of Bihari Korans more generally involve an esoteric use of the codices? In other words, did copying a Koran in the Bihari script imply that it would be used for magic or divinatory purposes, at least during the period when such works were produced in great number and following highly codified criteria?

The page layout for these words is constructed in such a way as to emphasize a complex hermeneutical system. Given the scholarly character of these Korans, the different levels of reading that they require, and the varied uses, both exoteric and esoteric, to which they may have been put, I am inclined to think that these works were very likely produced in centers of religion and of transmission of knowledge linked to Sufi orders, and that they were intended for erudite readers who would have been sufficiently wealthy to acquire illuminated—sometimes sumptuously illuminated—codices such as these.

A ROUGH CHRONOLOGY

Analyzing the available corpus makes it possible to establish a relative chronology for Korans in Bihari script and, more broadly, for Korans produced in India during the pre-Mughal period. With no colophons in the majority of these manuscripts and without any other form of information regarding the commissioners, those who carried out the work, and the place of production, this task is especially difficult. The following hypotheses have been formulated through a meticulous diachronic study of the decorations, as well as through the establishment of stylistic parallels with the secular arts of the book.

The Gwalior Koran is what we may call a “pivotal” work, a manuscript that connects the main groups of Koranic manuscripts from the Sultanate period. As mentioned above, very few manuscripts from earlier periods are known to us today, and among these only three are incontestably dated by colophons. The first is apparently the work of a certain Abu Bakr Ya‘qub b. Nasir al-Din, copied in Lohri (Sind) on 17 Rabi‘ I 776 (August 26, 1374). This Koran, mentioned by A. Chagatai more than thirty years ago, was at that time kept in the National Museum in Kabul.⁶¹ I recently managed to track down this manuscript, which is still in the museum in Kabul (inv. no. 86-17). Unfortunately, given the newness of this discovery, I was not able to use it for this article. The other two manuscripts are the work of Shafi‘i jurisprudence dated 781 (1379) (fig. 1), and the copy of Sa‘di’s *Kulliyāt* made by Nur al-Din b. Mahmud and dated 791 (1388).⁶²

In the other two manuscripts that fit into this group there is no mention of a date or a place: one of them has been published by David James, the other is kept in the Keir Collection. Only the first two folios of the manuscript published by David James in 1980 are known. The text on these folios shows a similar layout and script to those found in the *Al-Ḥāwī al-Ṣaghīr* in Hyderabad; a date circa 1380 is thus conceivable.⁶³ The last manuscript, the Koran from the Keir Collection (fig. 4), is at least contemporaneous with the Gwalior manuscript (figs. 2 and 3), and perhaps even precedes it by a few years. The archaic Bihari style of writing, and the style of

the decorations, close to Muzaffarid illumination, suggest a date circa 1370–80.⁶⁴

The Gwalior Koran, the last representative of this pioneering group of manuscripts, may at the same time be seen as an ancestor in a family tree that would unfurl its branches over the following two centuries. It already shows several of the fundamental characteristics of the later Bihari Korans—the writing, of course, which takes on a fully mature form here, but also the polychromy of the lines of text, which would be seen in several later Korans (and already existed, in a simpler form, as red and black lines, in the Keir Koran), as well as the page layout made up of embedded frames described earlier in this article. Its decorative program is, nonetheless, very original, and only some of its frontispieces contain iconographical elements that would later be seen in the illumination of other Bihari Korans, with a more standardized ornamentation: backgrounds finely checkered in red and studded with stylized tufts of grass, blue lanceolate borders, and edgings made up of peacock-feather motifs side by side. The spectrometric analyses carried out on the manuscript have not determined whether these are the result of contemporaneous re-paintings or later additions to the original illuminations,⁶⁵ but it is entirely possible, even probable, that from the start the Gwalior Koran borrowed from a varied repertory of distinct styles, some of which lasted into the following century or beyond in India.

In the group of fifteenth-century manuscripts (fig. 5)—direct descendants of the Gwalior Koran—we find the greatest number dated by colophons, seven in all, which remains rare nonetheless. This branch is divided into two further groups. The first contains seven Korans in various styles and with illuminations of varying quality. Some of these manuscripts, such as the one from the Archaeological Museum of Bijapur (Ms. 912, dated 888 [1483]), are skillfully illuminated, while others, like the Ahmadabad manuscript (Hazrat Pir Muhammad Shah Dargah Sharif Library, dated 894 [1488]), are cruder. The dating of these fifteenth-century Korans encompasses a long period. Most of them are thought to have been produced in the second half of the century, but the earliest manuscript, now found in Leiden (University Library, Ms. Or. 18.320), is dated 811 (1408). The second subgroup is that of the classical Bihari Korans, which are remarkable for their homogeneity and for the quality of their

production. Except for Ms. A29, from McGill University, they are all fragmentary. None is dated with certainty, but based on their decorations we may attribute them to the fifteenth century. The developments seen in these manuscripts are for the most part meticulous and inventive, even if they are governed by norms that give them a rather rigid character. In this group, alongside the Bihari script, we encounter new calligraphies artfully used. These refined writing styles, the work of confirmed artists, can be studied in parallel with the evolution of the contemporaneous monumental epigraphy of pre-Mughal India, which shows especially skillful and imaginative discoveries. These two types of Bihari Korans thus apparently coexisted in the fifteenth century. It is likely that the major differences between them are related to the nature of their patronage.

The remaining manuscripts can be dated between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. None of these shares the high quality of the fourteenth-century production and the finest specimens dated to the fifteenth century, nor are they as exquisite as the group of classical Bihari Korans. As mentioned previously, this group seems to decrease in quality over the decades, starting in the sixteenth century. Most examples can be attributed to the sixteenth century, with five manuscripts that are dated. The principal characteristics of the classical Bihari Korans are maintained, but the materials used are of poorer quality: the layouts are simplified, the illuminations less delicate, and the script more awkward. These manuscripts appear to have been mass-produced. The only Bihari Koran conserved at the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF) (Ms. Arabe 7260) is a good example of this group.⁶⁶ Though there is no colophon, a note on folio 636a written in a second hand indicates the date 2 Muharram 1012 (June 12, 1603), its *terminus ante quem*, while a commentary in the margins, identified as the *Mawāhib ‘alayhi* by Kamal al-Din Husayn Kashafi (d. 1504), composed in Herat in the late fifteenth century, gives its *terminus post quem*.⁶⁷ The manuscript, which contains 639 folios with a ruling of eleven lines per page, measures 45 cm × 35 cm; it is thus a rather imposing codex. The main text is at the center of the pages and embellished with an interlinear Persian version. The glosses, in *naskhī-dīvānī* script, are arranged in the form of crosses in a marginal frame, which is where the reading signals—here absent—would have been

copied in earlier Bihari Korans. The BnF manuscript also has a *fālnāma* included at the end. It is decorated with a rich decorative program that includes frontispieces, a finispiece, and illuminated double-pages marking *juz*, as well as cartouches and marginal medallions. The gold, however, is quite diluted and often clumsily applied and, more broadly speaking, the drawing strokes seem stiff. The Bihari script is used but it is inelegant and sometimes faltering. Despite having been produced with a great deal of care, this work nevertheless has some awkward features.

DETERMINING WHERE THE CORPUS WAS PRODUCED

In the absence of elements of comparison that could help ascertain the origin of the manuscripts, it is nearly impossible to determine where they were produced. This is true for nearly the entire corpus, with a few rare exceptions.

Other than the Gwalior Koran and the older manuscript discussed by Chagatai, which apparently contains a mention of the Sind city of Lohri, only a later Koran dated 1003 (1594–95) has a colophon indicating where it was made: it is specified that the work was copied by a certain Shaykh ‘Abdallah al-Sa’if in *balād Bihār* (country/province of Bihar).⁶⁸ A note in this Koran mentions the existence of an earlier codex, completed in 897 (1491). We may then surmise that the manuscript from the year 1003 (1594–95) was based on a model from approximately one century earlier. It contains a *fālnāma*, which occurs a number of times in this third group of the corpus, and it has all the other characteristics of the Bihari corpus. Its origin, i.e., “*balād Bihār*,” cannot but remind us of the term *Bihari* in reference to the script of this name. The Bihar region, which was incorporated into the Jaunpur Sultanate⁶⁹ between 1394 and 1479, could arguably be the birthplace of Bihari calligraphy and, perhaps, of the first examples of Koranic manuscripts copied in this writing style. Jaunpur, which was at the height of its power in the mid-fourteenth century, was an eminently intellectual city described in the sources as “the Shiraz of India.”⁷⁰ Furthermore, the Jaunpur Sultanate abutted the Bengal territories, where the earliest specimens of Bihari script used in monumental

epigraphy are to be found. While this hypothesis remains plausible, it is nevertheless necessary to keep in mind the overall dearth of manuscripts whose places of production are known; moreover, the three Korans whose places of production we know come from three distant cities. Thus, we are not able to support this notion more than any other.⁷¹

INDIAN KORANS IN MUḤAQQAQ SCRIPT

The initial research that was carried out in order to assemble this first corpus of Bihari manuscripts also brought to light another set of works that might belong to a more distant branch on the family tree of Bihari Korans, rather like cousins to the other groups. These are Korans copied in a script that we find indiscriminately defined as *muḥaqqaq*, *thuluth*, or *rayḥānī*. This script is nonetheless distinct from the latter two calligraphic styles, especially *thuluth*, the main characteristics of which it does not share. Although the existing vocabulary of calligraphic styles is too limited to express with accuracy the variety of developments in different scripts, the script in question here seems closer to the *muḥaqqaq* style.⁷² From a formal point of view, Bihari and *muḥaqqaq* share some features⁷³ and, in the same way, there is a subtle but incontestable relationship between Koranic manuscripts copied in Bihari and those copied in *muḥaqqaq* in India during the fifteenth century.⁷⁴

There are far fewer Korans in *muḥaqqaq* script than in Bihari: so far I have been able to gather nine *muḥaqqaq* manuscripts, but there is still further research to be done. We can make out two broad trends among those Korans in *muḥaqqaq*. On the one hand, there are *muḥaqqaq* manuscripts with decorations in the same style as the classically made Bihari manuscripts (with the same ornamental repertory and chromatic palette).⁷⁵ On the other hand, *muḥaqqaq* manuscripts were produced with a great deal of care—and, in some cases, are of exceptional quality. Some of these are “plurifunctional,” like the Bihari Korans, and also share some elements of their ornamental lexicon. The best example of this type is a superb Koran now in the Walters Art Museum (WAM) in Baltimore: Ms. W563 (figs. 15 and 16).⁷⁶ Although it is painted in a style using later iconographic

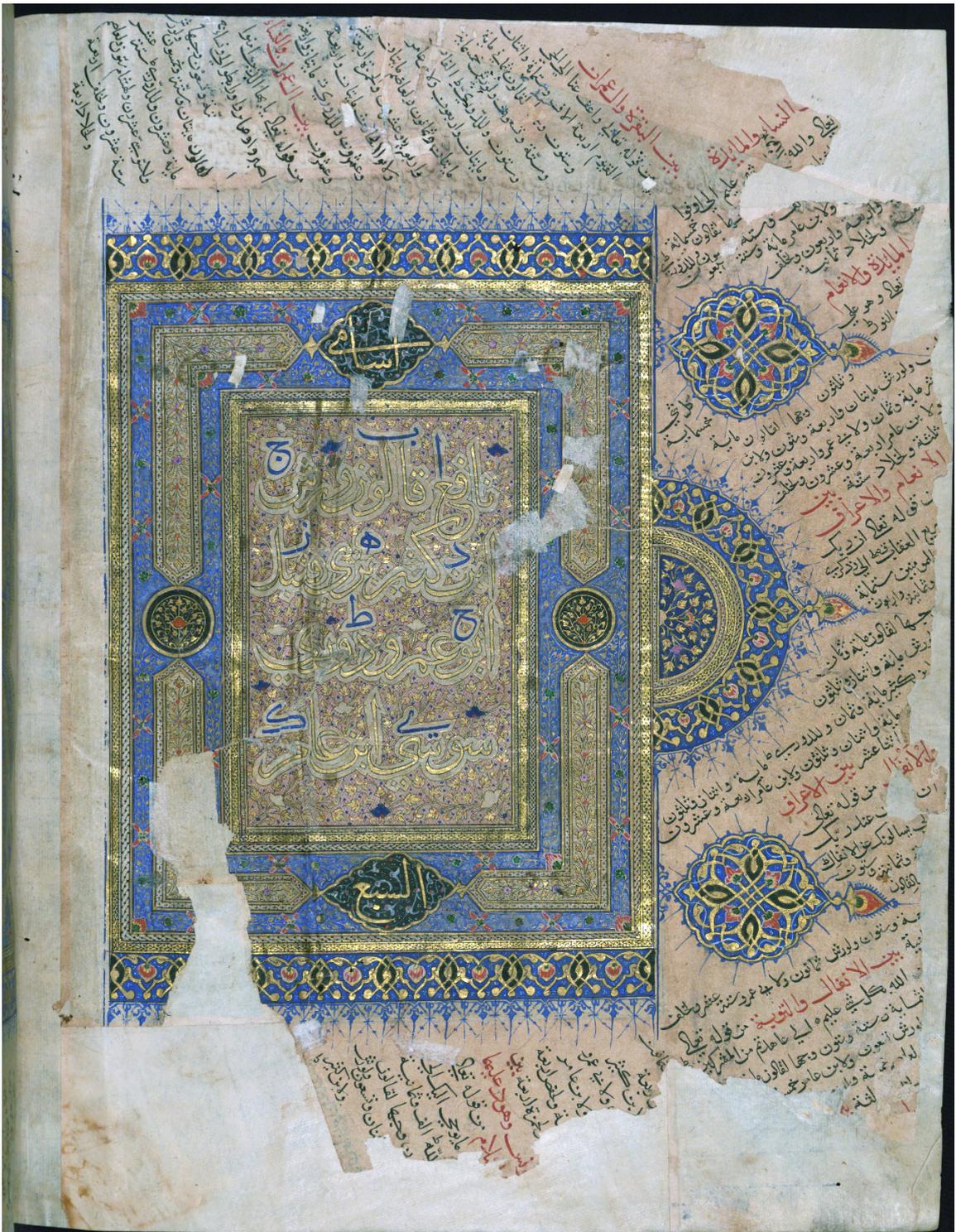


Fig. 15. Koran (Bihari calligraphy in the margins), India, second half of fifteenth century. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, Ms. W563, fol. 3b. (Photo: courtesy of the Walters Art Museum)



Fig. 16. Koran, India, second half of fifteenth century. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, Ms. W563, fol. 4b. (Photo: courtesy of the Walters Art Museum)

elements that may be dated circa 1430–1450, it also shares a number of similarities with the Gwalior Koran (figs. 2 and 3).⁷⁷ This manuscript should be considered alongside the group of classical Bihari Korans. To begin with, as with several Korans from this group and the Gwalior Koran, the WAM Koran shows a four-part division marked by double frontispieces on folios 8b–9a (Sura 1, *al-Fātiḥa*), 137b–138a (Sura 7, *al-Aʿrāf*), 274b–275a (Sura 19, *Maryam*), 408b–409a (Sura 38, *Ṣād*), 549b–550a (Sura 113, *al-Falaq*, and Sura 114, *al-Nās*). This division is all the more remarkable given how infrequent it was in the Islamic world. The Bihari script is used in the WAM manuscript, making it the only *muḥaqqaq* Indian Koran with this particular feature: Bihari was chosen for the repetition of verse 6 of Sura 2 (*al-Baqara*) in the margins of one of the first frontispieces (folios 7b–8a)—but the script entirely disappears from the manuscript after this occurrence. In addition, the first folios of the work (folios 3a–b, 4a–b, 5a–b, 6a–b, and 7a) contain a gloss on Koranic readings copied in a *nashī-dīvānī* script that is very close to that found in manuscripts from the first half of the fifteenth century, both secular and religious.⁷⁸ This script is not used after folio 8b, when it is replaced instead by a small, elegant, and more common *nash* script. We may, of course, wonder why the scripts were abandoned. Were these deliberate choices? A belated decision on the part of the master of the project? A rectification following the orders of the commissioner of the work? A change in the initial composition plan? Or are they simply the marks of different copyists who followed their own various practices—which may imply that the copying took place in a workshop? Whatever the case may be, these transformations, which are silent and discreet, occur subtly, over the course of the first folios, without any obvious point of rupture. The overall page construction still follows the same principles and the chromatic scale remains identical. The inks show no notable change, and the pictorial program is perfectly coherent.

The WAM Koran also contains a *fālnāma*. Unlike in the Bihari manuscripts, this *fālnāma*, copied in rather sloppy calligraphy, is placed near the beginning of the work (folio 2a), and has no form of decoration. It was apparently added later, during restorations to the work at an early period,⁷⁹ and it probably reproduces a text

that existed in the initial version of the manuscript. It is thus interesting to observe that, as with the Gwalior Koran and the classically made Bihari manuscripts, this copy in *muḥaqqaq* contains, in addition to a *fālnāma*, a Persian interlinear translation, marginal reading variants, and glosses related to recitations as well as to readers and reciters of the Koran.

There are some iconographical motifs in this work that can be found elsewhere only in Koranic manuscripts in Bihari writing prior to the sixteenth century. The decorations of the WAM Koran are, however, far more homogenous than those of the Gwalior Koran. The WAM Koran establishes a link between the Gwalior Koran, an earlier work, partially anchored in the fourteenth century, and some other Indian Korans in *muḥaqqaq* that have not been dated with certainty but whose ornamentation is similar to fifteenth-century Persian illumination—more sober but still highly skillful and made with high-quality materials.⁸⁰ With one exception,⁸¹ a Koran belonging to a private collection that shows great decorative similarities with the WAM manuscript, the *muḥaqqaq* Indian Korans do not feature the combination of functional characteristics that is specific to Bihari Korans.⁸²

One last manuscript in *muḥaqqaq* needs to be mentioned in this study, even though it differs on a number of points from the preceding works. This Koran, from the British Library, (Ms. Add.18163), is a large codex of 752 folios whose original decorative program was never completed.⁸³ This manuscript is marked by different phases of intervention and shows the traces of multiple hands, both in copying and illumination. The chronicle of its creation, which extends into the nineteenth century, is far from transparent. Three things, however, lead me to mention this manuscript as part of the present study. First, *muḥaqqaq* script was used for copying the text, even if it has a number of peculiarities that deserve more thorough examination. Second, we must note the physiognomy of the illuminations found in the first section of the manuscript, the only part containing decorations that are contemporaneous with the text, covering forty-eight folios. These illuminations, in the form of marginal mandorlas, are very similar to Iranian manuscripts from the second half of the fourteenth century, particularly the decorations of Inju and Muzaffarid

manuscripts; we may then posit that the original codex was made fairly early in the first half of the fifteenth century, probably the first decade.⁸⁴ These skillfully made illuminations are clearly the work of talented artists who were, it may be supposed, attached to a court. Lastly, the seal of Mahmud Shah I, popularly known as Mahmud Begada, sultan of Gujarat from 1459 to 1511, appears on folio 338a and is dated 894 (1488), giving us a precise *terminus ante quem*.

While no formal element establishes with certainty that this manuscript was copied in India before being taken to the library of the sultan of Gujarat (which might indicate that this is a Persian copy exported to India⁸⁵), the seal proves that the manuscript, even though it is incomplete, was considered interesting enough to be kept among the works of this library. Similarly, the WAM Koran also bears a seal, that of the Ottoman sultan Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512), who reigned during approximately the same period (folio 8a). Based on an account by the Ottoman chronicler Tursun Beg dated 1490, Simon Rettig has suggested that this manuscript may have been among the embassy gifts sent by Sultan Muhammad Shah III (r. 1463–82) of the Bahmani dynasty in the Deccan to the Ottoman sultan Mehmed II (r. 1452–81).⁸⁶

This information, when considered in conjunction with the quality of these works, reinforces the hypothesis that they were destined specifically for a royal court, and perhaps even produced in a court workshop. It is still a delicate task to determine which sultanate might have hosted a workshop capable of producing works of such quality in the mid-fourteenth century. It is not likely to have been Gujarat, since in this case the paintings in Mahmud Begada's Koran probably would not have been left in their nearly embryonic state. The Bahmani sultanate of the Deccan is another possibility that cannot be neglected, as the unique palette used in some illuminations, and especially those of the Baltimore Koran, recalls the colors used in Deccani painting of the sixteenth century.⁸⁷ Unfortunately, we know nearly nothing about the painted manuscripts that may have been produced in this sultanate during earlier periods, but the diplomatic and commercial relations that it maintained with the Ottoman Empire are attested, and this might explain how the WAM Koran came to be in Sultan Bayezid II's library.

Another avenue to consider is the neighboring Malwa sultanate: the production of painted manuscripts and the existence of a royal workshop in the capital, Mandu, have been confirmed for the late fifteenth century.⁸⁸ Manuscripts from Mandu show a very broad stylistic variety, probably due to the presence of painters of diverse origins within the sultan's *kitābkhāna* (workshop). Later works from the sixteenth century attributed to this sultanate show obvious stylistic links with Deccani painting, in particular a shared palette, the same one mentioned above.⁸⁹ If Mandu could offer the services of trained painters from different regions of the Islamic world, or at least a varied sampling of manuscripts of high quality, it is quite possible that the sultans of neighboring territories may have employed its artists.

Finally, the more or less obvious resemblances between the *muḥaqqaq* and Bihari Korans might be explained by the fact that the latter were certainly the most frequently used model on the Indian subcontinent during part of the medieval period. These Korans in Bihari script were destined for a specific readership that sought a book as an object with specific textual and formal characteristics, to which they probably attributed apotropaic virtues, as suggested by the links between this group of manuscripts and talismanic tunics in the same style. Was this also true of the Korans in *muḥaqqaq* script from the same period? Based on the quality of the manuscripts, which must have made them very expensive, we may wonder if they might have been commissioned by those at the highest levels of state. It is plausible that such patrons wished to own luxurious works with decorations that were inspired by the most beautiful Persian specimens, which were fashionable in Sultanate India, but simultaneously maintained the virtues attributed to the more common works, Bihari Korans, which were doubtlessly publicly displayed and used during ceremonies in holy places such as Sufi sanctuaries.

CONCLUSION

This preliminary study of Korans in Bihari script has generated more questions than it has answered. Nonetheless, it reveals the existence of a large group of manuscripts that were produced following immutable rules.

These rules were perpetuated over time because they gave tangible form to the usages of mystical circles and were thus disseminated to large audiences. The highly conservative character of these works is not unusual in the Indian context, where the arts of the book, in both the Islamic and non-Islamic traditions,⁹⁰ demonstrate a certain conformism in the early centuries of their development that is manifested in the use of an iconographical repertory tending towards archaism.⁹¹ Here, however, there are distinct signs of not only older inspirations in the iconography but also the implementation of a system of page layout certainly destined for a specific recitation practice.

A large number of manuscripts belonging to the corpus of my study have lost their margins, and thus probably the variants and accompanying glosses that they contained. This process of deterioration over time may not always have been as accidental as it at first seems. From the frequency with which missing margins are encountered, the care apparently taken in cutting them off, and the way in which the text of the Koran was reinserted into blank margins, we may infer that excising these texts from the margins of the manuscripts was a way of materially eradicating certain practices, such as the use of *qirā'āt* or the consultation of the *fāl*. This may perhaps have occurred because these practices had been discredited or because they no longer had any meaning for those who were currently in possession of the manuscripts. In other words, this excision reintroduced the works into a more orthodox and more ordinary corpus. Likewise, the variant readings offered in the margins seem to have progressively disappeared from the Bihari manuscripts beginning in the late fifteenth century. It is probable that this phenomenon corresponds to the evolution of certain rituals within the institutions where these Korans may have been used, though we should not exclude the possibility of their use in a private context. These more anthropological perspectives should not be ignored in future research seeking to better comprehend the history of this corpus of manuscripts.

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NOTES

Author's note: Some of the questions addressed within this article were discussed in my presentation at the Third Biennial Symposium of the HIAA, held in New York in October 2012.

1. Concerning Indonesian Korans, I must mention Annabel Gallop's fundamental work on this corpus. While more articles have been devoted to the African Korans (for a synthesis of which, see Constant Hamès, "Les manuscrits arabo-africains: Des particularités?," in "La tradition manuscrite en écriture arabe," ed. Geneviève Humbert, special issue, *Revue des Mondes Musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 99–100 [November 2002]: 169–82), these works have generally been marginalized in exhibitions and publications about the production of Koranic manuscripts.
2. Eloïse Brac de la Perrière, *L'art du livre dans l'Inde des sultanats* (Paris, 2008), 81–86, 117–21, and 132–37; and Eloïse Brac de la Perrière, "Le Coran de Gwalior: Nouvelles perspectives sur l'histoire des Corans enluminés dans l'Inde pré-moghole," *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 6 (2015): 219–38.
3. Brac de la Perrière, *L'art du livre*.
4. I wish to thank Maria Szuppe (CNRS, UMR 7528—Mondes iranien et indien) for this information.
5. This division is very frequently marked in Indian Koranic manuscripts.
6. The principal definitions of this style are found in M. Abdullah Chaghatai, *Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition* (henceforth *EI2*) (Leiden, 1954–2002), s.v. "*Khatt*—IV. India," which is the section devoted to Muslim India (it is nevertheless very incomplete and contains a number of inaccuracies). See as well Mohammad Yusuf Siddiq, "An Epigraphical Journey to an Eastern Islamic Land," *Muqarnas* 7 (1990): 83–108; Eloïse Brac de la Perrière, "Bihārī et naskhī-diwānī: Remarques sur deux calligraphies de l'Inde des sultanats," in "Écriture, calligraphie et peinture," ed. Houari Touati and Abraham L. Udovitch, special issue, *Studia Islamica* 96 (2003): 81–93; Mohammad Yusuf Siddiq, "Calligraphy and Islamic Culture: Reflections on Some New Epigraphical Discoveries in Gaur and Pandua, Two Early Capitals of Muslim Bengal," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 68, no. 1 (2005): 21–58; Sheila S. Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy* (Edinburgh, 2006), 386–89; and Brac de la Perrière, *L'art du livre*, 132–37.
7. Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy*, 386.
8. Brac de la Perrière, *L'art du livre*, 31–56.
9. Chaghatai, *EI2*, s.v. "*Khatt*—IV. India."
10. "Why it would be named after this region of India, however, is unclear, for no great Islamic centre flourished there, unless Jaunpur could also be included in Bihar in Persian terminology.": Jeremiah P. Losty, *The Art of the Book in India* (exh. cat.) (London, 1982), no. 21, illus. p. 38. In *Islamic Calligraphy*, Blair employs arguments that are quite close to those of Losty, *Art of the Book in India*: see Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy*, 386.

11. David James, *After Timur: Qurʾans of the 15th and 16th Centuries* (London, 1992), 102: "It is usually assumed that the name of the script was derived from that of the province of Bihar in eastern India, but Bihar was not particularly important as a centre of Islam."
12. Iqtidar Husain Siddiqui, *Indo-Persian Historiography up to the Thirteenth Century* (Delhi, 2010), 134.
13. Toronto, Aga Khan Museum, Ms. AKM00281. Brac de la Perrière, "Le Coran de Gwalior," 219–38.
14. The British Library possesses a codex that is evocative from this point of view: a *Maʿālim al-tanzīl* (Signposts of the Revelation) commentary on the Koran by al-Baghawi (d. 1222), dated 10 Muharram 815 (April 22, 1412), in which the quoted Koranic passages are formally distinct from the rest of the text because they are copied in Bihari: British Library, inv. no. IOL 4154; C. A. Storey, "i. Qurʾanic Literature," in vol. 2. of *A Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts* (London, 1930), no. 1083.
15. Francis Richard brought this to my attention several years ago. This opinion is shared by Sheila Blair, who studied the writing in a Ghurid Koran dating from 1188–89 (publication forthcoming). According to Blair, "the script had several features in common with *bihari*, notably its thick round bowl for endings and tapering *alif* that ends with a little foot to the left." Personal communication, December 2012. I wish to thank Sheila Blair for bringing this information to my attention.
16. Siddiq, "Epigraphical Journey," esp. figs. 2, 13, 20, and 22.
17. See Siddiq, "Calligraphy and Islamic Culture."
18. Siddiq, "Epigraphical Journey," 1081n9.
19. See, for example, Khan Sahib Maulvi Zafar Hasan, *Specimens of Calligraphy in the Delhi Museum of Archaeology*, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India 29 (Calcutta, 1926), no. 3, p. 5: "A Qurʾan written in characters of a transitional style between Kufic and Naskh and said to have belonged to the 8th century H. (14th C AD). This style (commonly known as *Khaff-i-Bihār*) is believed to have evolved at a very early period in India, and the fact that not a single specimen of it has been illustrated in Moritz's *Arabic Palaeography* confirms the belief that it was not known in Arabia, Persia or Egypt." See also Maulavi Muinuddin Nadwi, *Arabic Mss. Quranic Science*, pt. 1–11, vol. 18 of the *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore*, 25 vols. (Calcutta, 1908–42): note on Koran no. 3 in Bihari script: "written in characters of a transitional style between Kūfic and Naskh and said to have belonged to the 8th century H. (14th C AD)."
20. Hyderabad, Salar Jung Museum, no. 48 (not reproduced).
21. E.g., Storey, *A Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts*, vol. 2, no. 1051.
22. Brac de la Perrière, "Bihārī et naskhī-dīwānī," 81–93.
23. Reproduced in Basil W. Robinson, *Islamic Painting and the Arts of the Book: The Keir Collection* (London, 1976), no. VI.39. Concerning this document, see Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy*, 383–85; and Claus-Peter Haase, ed., *A Collector's Fortune: Islamic Art from the Collection of Edmund de Unger* (Munich, 2007), 29, no. 18.
24. Siddiq, "Epigraphical Journey," 93–97.
25. Siddiq, "Epigraphical Journey," fig. 17. This is an early and still clumsy manifestation of what would become the very elegant "bow and arrow" Bengal style.
26. Toronto, Aga Khan Museum, Ms. AKM00281; Dallas, Keir Collection, VII.42; and David James, *Qurʾans and Bindings from the Chester Beatty Library: A Facsimile Exhibition* (London, 1980), no. 82 (formerly Chester Beatty Library; the inventory number given by James does not correspond to any of the library shelf numbers).
27. Sotheby's, April 18, 1983: no. 72. The only available photograph of it is not clear enough to form the basis for a more precise description.
28. Hyderabad, Salar Jung Museum, acc. no. 1098
29. Brac de la Perrière, *L'art du livre*, pl. 48.
30. See the engraving on a polylobed arch found in Sultanganj, near Godagari (Bengal), now kept at the Varendra Research Museum: Siddiq, "Calligraphy and Islamic Culture," pl. X, p. 30.
31. James, *Qurʾans and Bindings from the Chester Beatty Library*, no. 82.
32. Toronto, Aga Khan Museum, Ms. AKM00281.
33. Black ink is not used for the main text. This characteristic is shared by only one other codex in the corpus, a manuscript sold at Christie's on October 9, 2009, no. 396.
34. Eloïse Brac de la Perrière, Frantz Chaigne, and Mathilde Cruvelier, "The Qurʾan of Gwalior, Kaleidoscope of the Arts of the Book," in *Treasures of the Aga Khan Museum: Arts of the Book and Calligraphy*, ed. Margaret S. Graves and Benoît Junod (Istanbul, 2010), 114–23; and Frantz Chaigne and Mathilde Cruvelier, "The Ornamentation of the Gwalior Qurʾan: Between Diachronic Legacies and Geographic Confluences," in *Le Coran de Gwalior: Polysémie d'un manuscrit à peintures*, ed. Éloïse Brac de la Perrière and Monique Burési (Paris, 2016), 17–56.
35. Brac de la Perrière, Chaigne, and Cruvelier, "The Qurʾan of Gwalior," 117–20, and Brac de la Perrière, "Le Coran de Gwalior," 226–29.
36. On the Gwalior Koran, which was the subject of an international research program in 2008–12 (Paris, CNRS-UMR 8167), see the monograph *Le Coran de Gwalior: Polysémie d'un manuscrit à peintures*, ed. Eloïse Brac de la Perrière and Monique Burési (Paris, 2016); see also Brac de la Perrière, "Le Coran de Gwalior," 219–38.
37. Haase, ed., *A Collector's Fortune*, no. 19, illus. p. 30.
38. Rudi Paret, *EL2*, s.v. "Kirāʾa"; and Frederick Leemhuis, *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān* (Leiden, 2004), s.v. "Readings of the Qurʾān." See also Régis Blachère, *Introduction au Coran* (Paris, 1977), 124–31 ("Primauté des Sept 'Lecteurs'").
39. In certain manuscripts in Kufic script, variant readings are marked by colored dots: Yasin Dutton, "Red Dots, Green Dots, Yellow Dots and Blue: Some Reflections on the Vocalisation of Early Qurʾanic Manuscripts," *Journal of Qurʾanic Studies* 1, no. 1 (1999): 115–40.

40. See Ghazaleh Esmailpour Qouchani and Sabrina Alilouche, "Les gloses marginales et le *fālnāma* du Coran de Gwalior, témoignages des usages multiples du Coran dans l'Inde des sultanats," in Brac de la Perrière and Burési, *Le Coran de Gwalior*, 85–110.
41. Rudolf Sellheim, *EI2*, s.v. "Faḍīla."
42. Brac de la Perrière, *L'art du livre*, 162–68.
43. Korans dated to the fifteenth century: Leiden, University Library, Or. 18.320: 811 (1408–9); Karachi, National Museum, N. m. 1957-1033: 1447; Christie's, May 1, 2001, no. 18: 1475; Archaeological Museum of Bijapur, Ms. 912: 888 (1483); Montreal, McGill University Library, Rare Books Division, A30: 892 (1487); London, British Library, Delhi Arabic IB - Ex IO Islamic 4142: 15 Rabi' II 857 (April 25, 1453); Ahmadabad, Hazrat Pir Muhammad Shah Dargah Sharif Library: 894 (1488). Korans dated to the sixteenth century: Montreal, McGill University, A31: 4 Ramadan 908 (March 3, 1503); Sotheby's, Oct. 6, 2010, no. 16: 919 (1513); Hyderabad, Salar Jung Museum, no. 100: Rabi' II 926 (March 1520); London, British Library, IO Isl 3402: 990 (1582) or 995 (1587); Christie's, Oct. 11, 2005, no. 9: 1003 (1594–95). Korans from the seventeenth century: Abu Dhabi, UAE, Abdul Raman Bahrom Collection, no. 1: 1011? (1602?); Abu Dhabi, UAE, Abdul Raman Bahrom Collection, no. 2: 1065 (1654). Korans from the eighteenth century: London, British Library, IO Islamic 4144: 25 Shawwal 1194 (October 24, 1780); Abu Dhabi, UAE, Abdul Raman Bahrom Collection, no. 3: 1180 (1766). Koran dated to the nineteenth century: Hyderabad, Salar Jung Museum, no. 48: 1278 (1862).
44. This exercise was applied to a sampling of each of the three groups I have listed: Brac de la Perrière, *L'art du livre*, 120–21.
45. These "tufts of grass" are also found in secular manuscripts attributed to India, such as a copy of Sa'dī's *Dīwān* (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Supplément persan 1711), dating to the sixteenth century, or the *Intikhāb-i Shāhnāma* of the New York Public Library, bearing the date 906 (1501) and a mention of Jaunpur (New York Public Library, Spencer coll., Indo-Pers. Ms.1): <http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47e3-7605-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99>. On this manuscript, see Barbara Schmitz, *Islamic Manuscripts in the New York Public Library* (New York, 1992), 219–21, figs. 225–26, and Brac de la Perrière, *L'art du livre*, 279, no. 15. These motifs are characteristic of Indian production, but they also recall the tufts of grass seen in Aqqoyunlu painting (second half of the fifteenth century). Another rather similar specimen may be found in the *Kashf al-Asrār* from Istanbul, Egypt, or Syria, ca. 1400 (Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Lala Ismail 565): see Duncan Haldane, *Mamluk Painting* (Warminster, 1978), pl. 10 (fol. 22v), pl. 12 (fol. 35v); and Richard Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting* (New York, 1977), 156–60.
46. The Doha manuscript is especially interesting because it was the oldest, in addition to being one of the only pre-Mughal manuscripts to have been preserved with its original binding, though it is only partially intact. A document related to Samarkand ca. 838 (1434) was discovered inside the binding, making it possible to date the Koran to the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century: Crofton Black and Nabil Saidi, *Islamic Manuscripts* (London, 2003?), cat. 22, 2000, no. 14. When I last consulted the manuscript in February 2013, these documents had, unfortunately, disappeared.
47. These three are the Gwalior Koran, the Keir Koran VII.62, and the British Library Delhi Arabic IB Koran (formerly IO Islamic 4142). I was not able to examine all the complete manuscripts in the corpus (sixty-seven Korans), and catalogue descriptions often neglect to mention this division into four parts.
48. This is the Koran copied by Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Nīshapūrī in 584 (1188–89) for Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sam. I wish to thank Finbarr B. Flood for bringing to my attention this connection between certain decorative modes in the Gwalior Koran and the Ghurid Korans. On this subject, see Finbarr B. Flood, "Roots and Routes: The Gwalior Qur'an and the Ghurid Legacy to Post-Mongol Art," in Brac de la Perrière and Burési, *Le Coran de Gwalior*, 153–69.
49. The first Persian translations of the Koran date from the tenth century: Travis E. Zadeh, *The Vernacular Qur'an: Translation and the Rise of Persian Exegesis* (Oxford, 2012), 11. The Bihari Korans containing interlinear translations are thus the heirs of an old and well-established tradition: Zadeh, *Vernacular Qur'an*, 21. On Persian translations in India, see Siddiqui, *Indo-Persian Historiography*, 29–30.
50. One of the most interesting examples of this type is the Koran in Doha (MIA 259.2003), in which the large gilded frames of the frontispieces recall those of the Ghaznavid Korans. Brac de la Perrière, *L'art du livre*, no. 35, pls. 40 and 41; and *Reading Qur'anic Manuscripts: In the Museum of Islamic Art* (Doha, 2011), 16.
51. In particular, a background covered with flowering branches in the Gwalior Koran is also one of the backgrounds found in the Ghurid Koran. Finbarr B. Flood, "A Ghaznavid Narrative Relief and the Problem of Pre-Mongol Persian Book Painting," in *Siculo-Arabic Ivories and Islamic Painting 100–1300, Proceedings of the International Conference, Berlin, 6–8 July 2007*, ed. David Knipp (Munich, 2011), 269, fig. 15; and Brac de la Perrière, Chaigne, and Cruvelier, "The Qur'an of Gwalior," 117, fig. 3.
52. The Dushanbe manuscript is unpublished. I am grateful to Christiane Gruber for letting me know of its existence.
53. James David, *The Master Scribes: Qur'ans of the 10th to 14th centuries AD* (New York, 1992), no. 17, pp. 78–81.
54. This is the case for the following manuscripts: Toronto, Aga Khan Museum, 00281; Montreal, McGill University, A29; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arabe 7260; London, British Library, Delhi Arabic IB; Dallas, Keir Collection, PL1; Hyderabad, Salar Jung Museum, no. 92; Sotheby's, October 18, 2001, no. 25; Christie's, October 11, 2005, no. 9.
55. Massumeh Farhad and Serpil Bağcı, eds., *Falnama: The Book of Omens* (London and Washington, D.C., 2009),

- 309n9. The identification of the manuscript's place of production as Shiraz is erroneous.
56. On Indian talismanic tunics, however, the Bihari script is used only to emphasize a few words, the term *Allāh*, and the ninety-nine names of God, *asmā' Allāh al-ḥusnā*. The rest of the text is copied in lowercase Ghubari script. Regarding these tunics, see Eloïse Brac de la Perrière, "Les tuniques talismaniques indiennes d'époque pré-moghole et moghole à la lumière d'un groupe de corans en écriture *bihārī*," *Journal Asiatique* 297, no. 1 (2009): 57–81.
 57. Only around fifteen tunics of this type have been catalogued. See my inventory in Brac de la Perrière, "Les tuniques talismaniques indiennes," 62–63, to which may be added one tunic from the Archeological Museum of Delhi (Red Fort).
 58. The general parallel between this and the arts of the book is still significant. See *ibid.*, 71–72.
 59. Bonhams, October 15, 1998, no. 15. It is not possible to verify the chronogram from the photograph.
 60. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, IM 89-1936.
 61. Chaghatai, *EI2*, s.v. "*Khaṭṭ*—IV. India."
 62. Sotheby's, April 18, 1983, no. 72. In this case, the resemblance between this script and Bihari is still too slight for us to be sure that it is indeed the same form of calligraphy.
 63. James, *Qur'ans and Bindings from the Chester Beatty Library*, no. 83.
 64. On the links between Sultanate and Muzaffarid painting, see Brac de la Perrière, *L'art du livre*, 219–20.
 65. Although the manuscript was analyzed in a laboratory, the extent of the re-paintings and restorations does not allow me to be more precise. On the analyses that have been completed on the Gwalior Koran, see Nourane Ben Azzouna and Patricia Roger-Puyo, "The Gwalior Qur'an: Archaeology of the Manuscript and of Its Decoration, a Preliminary Study," in Brac de la Perrière and Burési, *Le Coran de Gwalior*, 57–84.
 66. On this manuscript, see Thierry Aubry and Francis Richard, "Un cas intéressant de restauration d'un Coran indien de la fin du XVIe siècle (BnF, manuscrit arabe 7260)," in *La Conservation, une science en évolution, bilan et perspectives: Actes des troisième journées internationales d'études de l'ARSAG, 21–25 avril 1997* (Paris, 1997), 109–15; Marie-Geneviève Guesdon and Annie Vernay-Nouri, *L'art du livre arabe: Du manuscrit au livre d'artiste* (Paris, 2001), no. 50; François Déroche, *Le livre manuscrit arabe: Préludes à une histoire* (Paris, 2004), pl. 29. The complete manuscript is available online: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84272593.r=arabe+7260.langFR>.
 67. Aubry and Richard, "Un cas intéressant de restauration d'un Coran indien," 110.
 68. Christie's, October 11, 2005.
 69. Jaunpur was founded in 1359 by Firuz Shah Tughluq, sultan of Delhi, during the conquest of Bengal. In 1394, Malik Sarwar, one of the favorites of the sultan of Delhi, became governor of Jaunpur. He oversaw a large territory stretching from Kol (Aligarh) in the west to Bihar and Tirhut in the east. Between 1401 and 1440, Ibrahim Shah Sharqi ruled the Jaunpur sultanate; his patronage was fruitful, as evidenced by the archaeological remains of monuments built during his reign. This dynasty was finally overthrown by Bahlul Lodi, sultan of Delhi, in 1484.
 70. Mian Muhammad Saeed, *The Sharqi Sultanate of Jaunpur: A Political and Cultural History* (Karachi, 1972), 170.
 71. The *nisbas* connected to the names of the two copyists do not provide any additional information: we owe the copying of the Delhi Arabic Koran 13.b at the British Library (ex-India Office Library Islamic 4143), datable to the fifteenth century, to a certain Muḥammad Dihlāwī, and the copying of another manuscript at the British Library, *Ma'ālim al-Tanzīl* (ex India Office Library 4154), dated 10 Muharram 815 (April 22, 1412), to Mubārak b. Maḥmūd b. Nizām al-Shīrāzī.
 72. Due to a number of peculiarities, the *muḥaqqaq* script found in this group of Indian Korans has posed some identification difficulties in the past. For a more precise description of its characteristics, see Simon Rettig's palaeographical analysis of the Koran from the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore (W.563), "A 'Timurid-like Response' to the Qur'an of Gwalior? The Manuscript W563 at the Walters Art Museum," in Brac de la Perrière and Burési, *Le Coran de Gwalior*, 194–96.
 73. For example, the Koran from the Khalili Collection, QUR413, in James, *After Timur: Qur'ans of the 15th and 16th Centuries*, 108, no. 29, 109, fol. 62b, and 110–11, fols. 50b–51a.
 74. In some classical Bihari Korans, the lines copied in *muḥaqqaq* are inserted into the Bihari text, either to mark a subdivision within the Koranic text, like *ajūz*, or simply for aesthetic reasons. See, for example, the Schøyen Collection, Ms. 4595, downloaded from <http://www.schoyencollection.com/palaeography-collection-introduction/arabic-script/bihari-script/ms-4595>.
 75. See the *muḥaqqaq* Koran, whose decoration follows the model of the classical Bihari Korans: Christie's October 15, 1996, no. 53.
 76. <http://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/html/W563/description.html>. Again, see the analysis of the codicology and painting of this manuscript in Rettig, "A 'Timurid-like Response' to the Qur'an of Gwalior?," 192–93.
 77. It is also interesting to note that on fol. 116b of the Gwalior Koran, restored at an early date, the Bihari text was replaced by a text in *muḥaqqaq*.
 78. The writing seems to fit in between what can be seen in the British Library Anthology Or.4110 (Brac de la Perrière, *L'art du livre*, pl. 47) and that used for the glosses of classical Bihari Korans. Among the most obvious characteristics, the *dāl* is very open and especially large, the bar stroke of the *kāf* stands out clearly from the base with a small indentation at its extremity, and the *alif* has a minuscule tail on its lower part that points in the direction of the writing. These characteristics are described in Brac de la Perrière, "Bihārī et naskhī-dīwānī," 89.

79. The manuscript has the marks of significant deterioration on its first folios.
80. See Paris-Drouot, Million sale, June 4, 2012, no. 174.
81. That is, the WAM Koran, W563.
82. On this Koran, today in a private collection, see Christie's, April 8, 2008, no. 274 and Sotheby's April 6, 2011, no. 190.
83. This Koran is reproduced in Martin Lings and Yasin Hamid Safadi, *The Qur'ān: Catalogue of an Exhibition of Qur'ān Manuscripts at the British Library, 3 April–15 August 1976* (London, 1976), no. 144, illus. p. 83. The most important information can be found in Losty, *Art of the Book in India*, 38.
84. See the marginal mandorla on folio 26a. Elaine Wright has already eloquently highlighted the parallels between these Indian decorations and those of a manuscript produced in Shiraz in the fourteenth century, which itself presents a succession of Inju and Muzaffarid decorations: Elaine Wright, "An Indian Qur'an and Its 14th-Century Shiraz Model," *Oriental Art Magazine* 42, no. 4 (1996–97): 8–12.
85. The original way in which the *muḥaqqaq* script is executed and the peculiar rendering of the illuminations on the first folios suggest, however, that this is indeed a work produced in Sultanate India.
86. Rettig, "A 'Timurid-like Response' to the Qur'an of Gwalior?," 201–3. On the links between India and the Ottoman Empire, see Giancarlo Casale, *The Ottoman Age of Exploration* (New York, 2010). In the entire bibliography on the subject, information on the fifteenth century remains scarce. Rettig's hypothesis is thus all the more interesting.
87. Mark Zebrowski, *Deccani Painting* (Berkeley, 1983), and, more recently, *Sultans of the South: Arts of India's Deccan Courts, 1323–1687*, ed. Navina Najat Haidar and Marika Sardar (New York, 2011), 12–64. This chromatic scale contains a range of pinks and mauves.
88. Regarding the manuscripts attributed to the royal workshop of Mandu, see Losty, *Art of the Book in India*, no. 10, no. 40, no. 42.
89. Brac de la Perrière, *L'art du livre*, 200–201.
90. Jain, in particular. See Nalini Balbir, "Kalpasūtras et Corans: Réflexions sur l'écriture et la peinture de manuscrits jaina du Gujarat aux XIVE–XVIe siècles," in Brac de la Perrière and Burési, *Le Coran de Gwalior*, 127–38.
91. Brac de la Perrière, *L'art du livre*, 215–25.



KEELAN OVERTON

BOOK CULTURE, ROYAL LIBRARIES, AND PERSIANATE PAINTING IN BIJAPUR, CIRCA 1580–1630

In the nascent yet burgeoning field of Deccani art history, Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah II (r. 1580–1627), the sixth ruler of the ‘Adil Shahi dynasty (1490–1686), has attracted considerable scholarly attention. Ibrahim ruled for nearly fifty years, and many of the masterpieces of Deccani architecture date to his reign, including the Ibrahim Rauza (ca. 1627–35), popularly dubbed “The Taj of the South.” In Mark Zebrowski’s pioneering *Deccani Painting* (1983), Ibrahim was heralded as “the greatest patron of the arts the Deccan produced,”¹ a sentiment repeated a decade later in the second installment (1994) of Yale’s Islamic art survey and several subsequent publications.² In addition to panegyric praising Ibrahim’s proficiency in music, calligraphy, and poetry, the presumption of his prolific patronage has stemmed from his sixteen contemporary portraits; in other words, the ruler’s place as subject has secured his stature as patron.³ An exquisite portrait of “Ibrahim hawking,” now preserved in St. Petersburg,⁴ graced the cover of Zebrowski’s book and was later described as “one of the greatest images in Indian or Islamic art.”⁵

Ibrahim’s elevation as a “genius” patron has been fueled equally by his religious tolerance and eclecticism, which have inspired comparison to the Mughal emperor Akbar (r. 1556–1605).⁶ Nominally a Sunni, Ibrahim adopted Hindi titlature (*Jagat Gurū*, World Teacher) and founded a composite religious system devoted to the Prophet Muhammad, the Hindu goddess Saraswati, and the Deccan’s most famous Sufi saint, Sayyid Muhammad Gisu Daraz (d. 1422). It is an oft-repeated staple of scholarship that the ruler’s *Kitāb-i Nawras* (Book of Nawras),⁷ an innovative collection of fifty-nine songs in Dakhni,⁸ opens with invocations to the Prophet, goddess, and saint.⁹ Such syncretic proclivities have led

scholars to conclude that “Ibrahim was the product of a hybrid civilization. It is hard to label him either a Muslim or a Hindu.”¹⁰

Notwithstanding the noted risks of scholarly veneration¹¹—culminating in Richard Eaton and Phillip Wagner’s insistence “to qualify the conventional image of Ibrahim II as something of a beads-and-flowers hippie *avant le temps*”¹²—the ruler remains the axis mundi of Bijapuri art. In the catalogue accompanying the Metropolitan Museum of Art’s recent exhibition on the Deccan (2015), it is argued, “Ibrahim’s court attracted some of the most talented artists of the age, *who gave expression to the sultan’s inner vision* and whose works offer a glimpse into an opulent and sensuous world [emphasis added].”¹³ Building on (and dramatizing) such sentiment, a reviewer for the *New York Times* offered a conclusion replete with “neo-Orientalist undertones”:¹⁴ “One source of the Deccan’s instability may have been, as the show’s subtitle of ‘opulence and fantasy’ suggests, that *the sultans had a greater interest in culture and leisure than governing* [emphasis added].”¹⁵ While acknowledging the deserved iconic status of Ibrahim’s *Kitāb-i Nawras* and the contemporary description of Bijapur as an “elixir of mirth and pleasure,”¹⁶ this article attempts to investigate the ruler as but one link in a long chain of intercultural production, rather than the singular source of inspiration, and the Deccan itself beyond the tropes of “otherworldliness,” “leisure,” and “mystery.”

Much of the recent emphasis on Ibrahim’s syncretism and patronage can be traced to a portrait of the goddess Saraswati, the focus of his spiritual devotion, seated on a gold throne (fig. 1).¹⁷ Although the major iconographical elements of “Saraswati enthroned” rely heavily on the ruler’s *Kitāb-i Nawras*, the composition is fundamen-

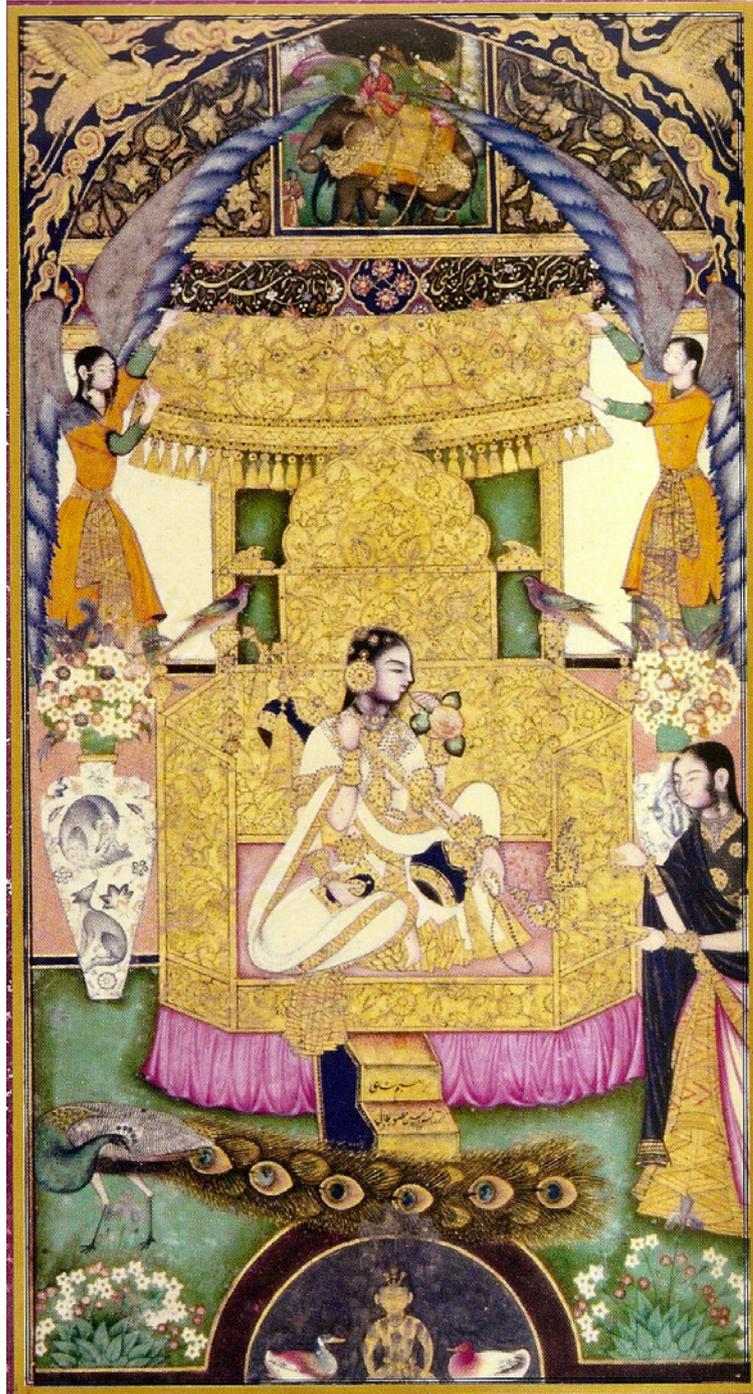


Fig. 1. "Saraswati enthroned," signed by Farrukh Husayn, Bijapur, ca. 1595–1609. Jaipur, Brigadier Sawai Bhawani Singh of Jaipur, City Palace, JC-1/RJS.1326-RM 177. (From Chandramani Singh and Madhvendra Narayan, *From the Collection of Maharaja of Jaipur: Six Multicoloured Prints, Surat Khana, Jaipur, 16th–17th Century, Mughal and Deccani* [Jaipur: Jaigarh Public Charitable Trust, 2003], pl. C)

tally rooted in the conventions of late sixteenth-century Persian painting. The explanation for this Bijapuri-Iranian fusion rests in the peregrinations of its maker, Farrukh Husayn (as he signs on the steps), whose identity has been the subject of debate since Robert Skelton's seminal 1957 thesis that the Mughal Farrukh Beg and Bijapuri Farrukh Husayn were one and the same.¹⁸ The prevailing consensus supports Skelton¹⁹ and favors the following biography: Farrukh perhaps hailed from Shiraz²⁰ and subsequently migrated to Khurasan, where he was associated with the Mashhad library-atelier of Ibrahim Mirza (d. 1577). The painter and his brother Siyavush then became "trusted companions" (*mu'tamidān*) of the Safavid heir apparent Hamza Mirza (d. 1586).²¹ In Khurasan, Farrukh adopted many of the stylistic traits of Muhammadi (fl. late-sixteenth century), and the two artists may have worked together.²² Farrukh next traveled to the independent kingdom of Kabul, ruled by Mirza Muhammad Hakim (d. 1585), Akbar's half-brother and rival.²³ In December 1585, the artist entered Akbar's service at Rawalpindi and spent approximately a decade at the Mughal court, where he was known as Farrukh Beg.²⁴ Around 1595–1600, he migrated to Ibrahim's Bijapur, where he signed "Farrukh Husayn" and became a leading court portraitist.²⁵ By 1609 at the latest, he had reentered Mughal service under Jahangir (r. 1605–27), where he was again known as Farrukh Beg.

An investigation of Farrukh's decade-long tenure in Bijapur leads to the ostensible crux of medieval and early modern Deccani history: the ongoing conflict between local-born Muslims (*Dakkanī*) and foreigners (*gharībān*) from western Islamic lands.²⁶ Farrukh's meteoric success in Bijapur was conditioned by a court hierarchy dominated by Iranian immigrants, and it is the contention here that a deeper understanding of the painter's Bijapur period requires contextualization within this diasporic climate. I begin with a preliminary mapping of book culture at the 'Adil Shahi court. Which Perso-Islamic intellectual patterns, archetypes, and prerogatives prevailed? How did they foster Ibrahim's participation in connected systems of sovereignty between Iran and the subcontinent? The goal is to balance the narrative between Ibrahim as an isolated and eccentric "genius" patron (as understood through panegyric, the *Kitāb-i Nawras*, and a narrow prism of album portraits)

and 'Adil Shahi Bijapur as a courtly culture enmeshed in wider Perso-Islamic systems (as attested by the material record in its broadest sense, including seals, coins, titlature, library collections, metalwork, bookbinding, and wall painting).²⁷ In many ways, Farrukh and his portraits bridge the divide between Ibrahim and his court while stimulating larger questions about agency, reception, and translation across the Indo-Persian world. In turn, the art historical conversation shifts away from the often impenetrable question of original hand, at least partially. For the general field of Deccani studies, artist and oeuvre also challenge the deep-rooted Deccani-Westerner binary, which is applicable in certain contexts but tends to be unilaterally emphasized.²⁸

CONNECTED SYSTEMS OF IRANIAN PEREGRINATION AND PATRONAGE

Unlike their consistently Shi'i contemporaries in Qutb Shahi Golconda, the rulers of 'Adil Shahi Bijapur vacillated between Sunnism and Shi'ism, and routinely shifted their allegiances between local and foreign factions. Since the mid-twentieth century, some scholars have argued that Ibrahim's reign witnessed the tipping of the scales in favor of the former. Evidence in support of this theory has included the ruler's restoration of Hanafi Sunnism in 1583, as well as his broken (*shikasta*) Persian, use of Hindi titlature (*Jagat Gurū*), devotion to Saraswati, and the collection of songs (*Kitāb-i Nawras*) he wrote in the Deccani vernacular (Dakhni).²⁹ As recently as 2006, it was argued that "the height of Persian and Shi'i influence was during the reign of 'Ali 'Adil Shah (r. 1558–80), who had the Shi'i khutba read in mosques. A brief Sunni restoration, coupled with a move away from Persian influence, took place under his grandson [actually his nephew] Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II (d. 1618) [actually d. 1627]."³⁰

The above conclusions are problematic on several levels. First, they presume a linear relationship between religious sectarianism and culture, that is, Shi'ism = Persian and Sunnism = non-Persian. Second, although the first decade of Ibrahim's rule was indeed marked by a series of *Dakkanī* regencies led by former African slaves (*habashī*, deriving from *al-Habash*, Abyssinia or Ethio-

pia), the *Khān-i Khalīl* (Table of the Friend of God) of Nur al-Din Muhammad Zuhuri (d. 1616) and Malik Qummi (d. 1616) confirms that by the turn of the seventeenth century the ruler's inner entourage was dominated by six Iranian émigrés (the biases of the Iranian authors notwithstanding).³¹ The first individual, Shah Navaz Khan (Khvaja Sa'd al-Din 'Inayatullah Shirazi, d. ca. 1611), hailed from Shiraz and was a student of the renowned polymath Mir Fathullah Shirazi (d. 1590),³² a pupil of Jamal al-Din Mahmud, in turn a student of Jalal al-Din Davani (d. 1501). Fathullah spent time in Bijapur during the reign of 'Alī I (r. 1558–80), and his presence may explain his student's migration to the city (talent lures talent). Shortly after Ibrahim assumed power in 1590, in the wake of the regencies described above, Shah Navaz Khan became prime minister (*jumda al-mulk*). In addition to being an accomplished mathematician and astronomer, he supervised the construction of Bijapur's sister city, Nawraspur, in 1599, encouraged Ibrahim's education in Persian language and literature, and established a welcoming climate for foreigners (*gharībān*).³³ Several itinerant poets enjoyed Shah Navaz Khan's patronage, and tenure at his court seems to have been a critical stop in poetic peregrinations among Iran, the Deccan, and the Mughal north. Mirza Abu Talib Kalim Kashani (d. 1651), for example, composed a lengthy inscription in *maṣnavī*, classified as "architectural panegyric," for the prime minister's Nawraspur palace, Qasr-i Nawras Bihisht.³⁴

Like Shah Navaz Khan, the calligrapher Khalilullah Butshikan (Idol Destroyer, in reference to his namesake, the prophet Ibrahim) (d. 1626) played a significant role in Bijapur's political and cultural circles. Khalilullah began his career in Khurasan, followed Shah 'Abbas (r. 1588–1629) to Qazvin, and migrated to Bijapur circa 1596.³⁵ He served as Ibrahim's ambassador to Iran on two occasions (1613–14 and 1618–20), and Shah 'Abbas was particularly enamored of his calligraphy, even composing a quatrain in his honor.³⁶ Khalilullah's stature as Ibrahim's leading calligrapher in *nasta'liq* is attested by his writing of an imperial copy of the *Kitāb-i Nawras*, which was presented to Ibrahim in 1027 (1617–18) and earned the calligrapher the title *pādishāh-i qalam* (King of the Pen).³⁷ He subsequently copied a fine manuscript

of Nizami's *Khamsa* (Quintet), as confirmed by his signature reading *Mīr Khalīl mulaqqab pādishāh-i qalam*.³⁸

Khalilullah's counterpart in the field of painting was Farrukh Husayn, who painted at least five portraits of Ibrahim during his tenure in Bijapur between circa 1595 and 1609. Farrukh's "Ibrahim hawking" (St. Petersburg) and "Ibrahim playing the tambur" (fig. 2) are celebrated icons of Deccani painting. Closely related to the former is a lesser-known portrait of the ruler holding a *ṣafīna* (small oblong album) while seated on a throne in a landscape (fig. 3). Farrukh's final two portraits of Ibrahim depict him riding Atish Khan, his favorite elephant, praised throughout the *Kitāb-i Nawras*.³⁹ A variant of one of the elephant compositions appears as a wall painting in the artist's "Saraswati enthroned" (fig. 1), which has been heralded as a "masterful representation of the idealized vision of self, state, and culture that Ibrahim espoused," despite its inaccessibility.⁴⁰

The final three courtiers described in the *Khān-i Khalīl*—Haidar Zehni, Malik Qummi, and Zuhuri—were the leading Iranian literati of Ibrahim's court. Zuhuri served as Ibrahim's poet laureate from circa 1601 until his death in 1616, and he often collaborated with his father-in-law, Malik Qummi (d. 1616). Probable partnerships between the two include the *Khān-i Khalīl* itself and *Nawras*, both part of the trilogy known as *Sih Naṣr* (Three Essays), as well as an imitation (*nāḍīra*) of Nizami's *Makhzan al-Asrār* (Treasury of Secrets) entitled *Manba' al-Anhār* (Source of the Rivers).⁴¹ Although not mentioned in the *Khān-i Khalīl*, two additional Iranian intellectuals in Ibrahim's Bijapur deserve mention yet require little introduction: Muhammad Qasim Hindushah Astarabadi (known as Firishta, d. 1611) and Rafi' al-Din Shirazi (d. 1620). Firishta composed his well-known history *Gulshān-i Ibrāhīmī* (Rose Garden of Ibrahim) upon the ruler's request (the two recensions are dated 1015 [1606–7] and 1018 [1609–10]). Shirazi's major work was his *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk* (History of Kings, completed between 1608 and 1611), a history of the 'Adil Shahi dynasty and contemporary Indian and Iranian courts that has been largely neglected in favor of Firishta.

The careers of the Iranian migrants discussed above were all characterized by continual peregrination in



Fig. 2. "Ibrahim playing the tambur," ascribed to Farrukh Beg (Farrukh Husayn) at the Mughal court by Muhammad Husayn Zarin Qalam, Bijapur, ca. 1595–1609. Folio from the Salim/Jahangir Album, north India, ca. late 1590s–1620s. Prague, Nápstrek Museum of Asian, African and American Cultures, A. 12182. (Photo: courtesy of the Nápstrek Museum)

search of patronage, both within Iran and across the subcontinent.⁴² Malik Qummi, Firishta, and Zuhuri, for example, spent their initial years in the Deccan at the Nizam Shahi court of Ahmadnagar and only later migrated to Ibrahim's Bijapur.⁴³ The poet Kalim perhaps best exemplifies the interconnectedness of knowledge systems and peripatetic networks. His courts of tenure and associates included 'Adil Shahi Bijapur (with Shah Navaz Khan), Safavid Isfahan (ca. 1618–20), Qutb Shahi

Golconda (possibly with Mir Muhammad Amin Shahristani/Ruh al-Amin)⁴⁴, and Mughal India, until his death in 1651 in Lahore.⁴⁵

The widespread celebrity of Iranian intellectuals in the early modern Deccan and the relative ease with which they circulated were conditioned by heightened proximity and diplomacy associated with military conflict. In his account of his mission to the Deccan in 1591–93, the Mughal poet Fayzi (Abu'l-Fayz b. Mubarak, d. 1595) praised both Malik Qummi and Zuhuri and singled them out for recruitment, and Malik Qummi appears to have briefly entered the service of 'Abd al-Rahim Khan-i Khanan (d. 1627) after the Mughal general's siege of Ahmadnagar in 1595.⁴⁶ Once Malik Qummi had settled in Bijapur, his works continued to circulate via the hands of fellow peripatetic Iranians. The Shirazi savant Mir Jamal al-Din Husayn Inju (d. 1625–26), whom Akbar had dispatched as ambassador to Ibrahim in 1600, reportedly transported Malik Qummi's work back to Agra and presented it to the still smitten Khan-i Khanan.⁴⁷

For his part, Ibrahim had to contend with steady Mughal incursions into the Deccan, initiated by Akbar in the 1590s, and the northern empire's dismissal of him as a mere *khān* rather than *shāh*.⁴⁸ Concurrently, the Bijapuri ruler exchanged embassies with Shah 'Abbas, who faced his own military engagement with the Mughals in Qandahar.⁴⁹ In one letter transported by Khalilullah in 1612–13, Ibrahim described Bijapur and the Deccan as part of the Safavid Empire, declared that the names of the Safavid monarchs were recited in the Friday sermon, and titled himself a *manṣabdār* (subordinate, lit. "holder of rank") ruling on "His Majesty's behalf."⁵⁰ Such letters underscore the fluidity and practicality of sectarianism during Ibrahim's reign. Although Hanafi Sunnism was restored in Bijapur in 1583, it was in Ibrahim's best interest to join his Shi'i Deccani neighbors—especially Muhammadi Quli Qutb Shah (r. 1580–1612) and Muhammad Qutb Shah (r. 1612–26) of Golconda—in the cultivation of brotherhood with Safavid Iran.⁵¹ As aptly summarized by Sanjay Subrahmanyam, this Deccani-Safavid alliance was more symbolic than practical: "It was clear of course that no military alliance was really possible that might straddle the distance between Chaul and Dabhol, and the ports of Fars, but other forms of

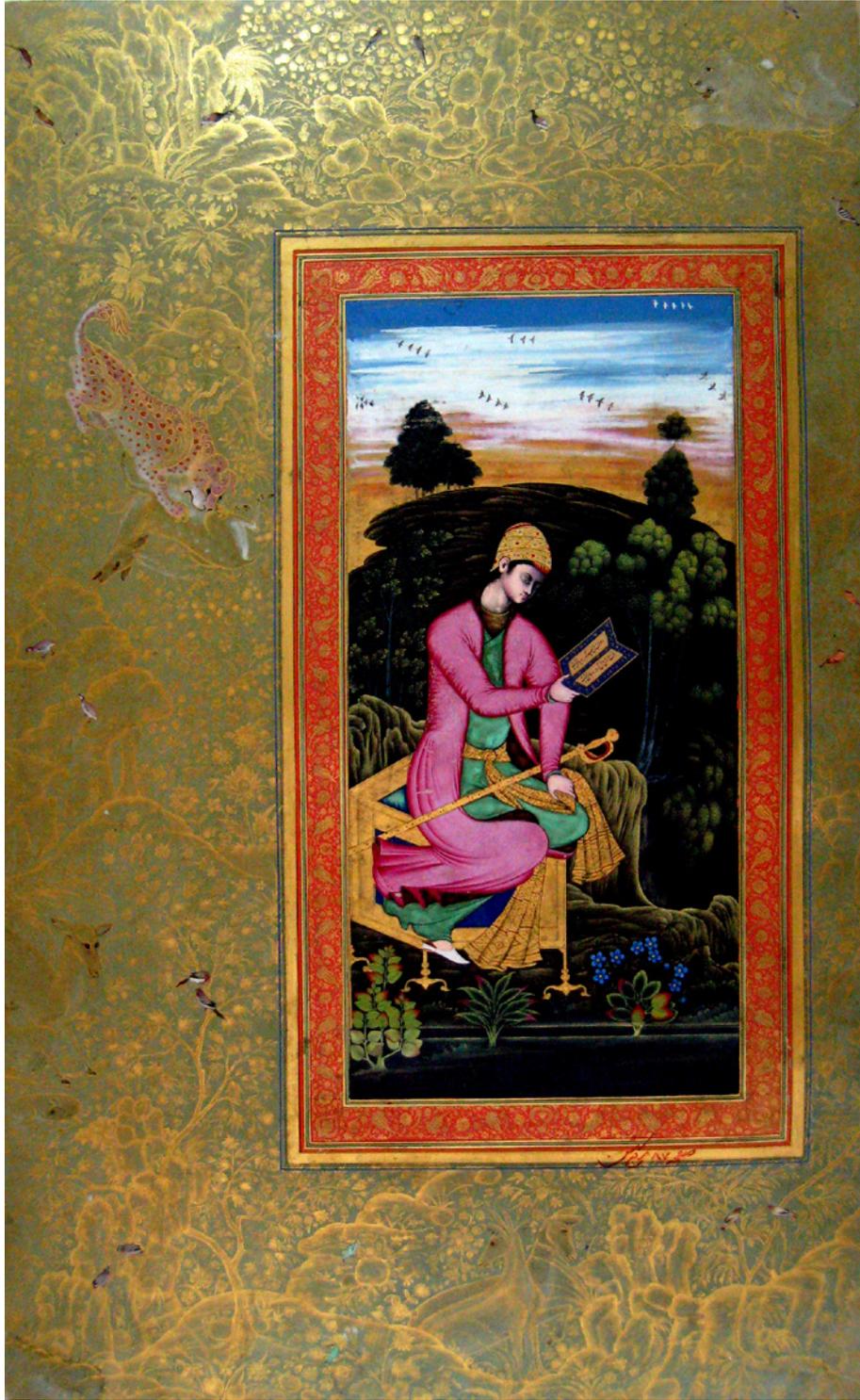


Fig. 3. "Ibrahim offering obeisance to Jahangir," attributed to Farrukh Husayn, Bijapur, ca. 1595–1609. Folio from the Salim/Jahangir Album, north India, ca. late 1590s–1620s. Tehran, Gulistan Palace Library, no. 1663, fol. 87. (Photo: Keelan Overton)

real and symbolic affinity tied the predominantly Shi'i sultans of the Deccan to Iran rather than to the Sunni Mughals who were gradually encroaching upon them from the north."⁵² It is to these "other forms of real and symbolic affinity" that we now turn.

BOOK CULTURE IN IBRAHIM'S BIJAPUR

A perusal of Ibrahim-era portraiture underscores the privileged status of books, and, by extension, erudition, in Bijapuri iconography. A number of single-page paintings conform to the Indo-Persian trope of a noble youth holding a book symbolic of his intellect, and many are remarkable for the detail afforded to the depiction of the codices. In "A youth with swans and rabbits,"⁵³ a courtier holds a book whose Persian-style binding is embellished with red stones, and in "Mullah,"⁵⁴ a sensitive portrait of one of Bijapur's religious dignitaries, the book's endband (stitching reinforcement at the head and tail of the text block, often in a chevron pattern) is subtly indicated by a red line. In "Ibrahim feeding a hawk,"⁵⁵ a luxurious red velvet case protecting an esteemed volume is held by an attendant behind the ruler, and in "Ibrahim visiting a Sufi saint,"⁵⁶ the pages of the book next to the saint are bookmarked for future reading by the binding's envelope flap.

Despite the prominence of bound codices in Ibrahim-era portraiture, only a handful of manuscripts dating to the ruler's reign are extant.⁵⁷ The text surviving in the highest number is the *Kitāb-i Nawras*, and the most well-known manuscripts include a copy by 'Abd al-Rashid dated 990 (1582–83) (appendix, no. 15) (fig. 4),⁵⁸ one by 'Abd al-Latif Mustafa with a terminus ante quem of 5 Muharram 1022 (February 24, 1613) (appendix, no. 16),⁵⁹ and the aforementioned luxury example by Khalilullah, transcribed after 1617 (appendix, no. 17).⁶⁰ Other surviving Ibrahim-era manuscripts include an unillustrated *Ikhtiyārāt-i Badī'i* (Selections of Badī'i) dated 990 (1582–83) (appendix, no. 10); an illustrated *Pem Nem* (Toils of Love) datable to circa 1591–1604 (thirty-four miniatures);⁶¹ an illustrated *Ni'matnāma* (Book of Delights) (two miniatures, one of which is a portrait of Ibrahim);⁶² the above-mentioned unillustrated *Khamsa* of Nizami copied by Khalilullah after 1617;⁶³ and an illustrated



Fig. 4. Flyleaf with a type D Bijapuri notation dated 17 Jumada I 1037 (January 24, 1628). Folio from a *Kitāb-i Nawras* of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II, copied by 'Abd al-Rashid, Bijapur, dated 990 (1582–83) (see appendix, no. 15). Hyderabad, Salar Jung Museum, M. 177, fol. 1r. (Photo: courtesy of the Salar Jung Museum)

Shāhnāma (Book of Kings) datable to circa 1600–10 (approximately two dozen paintings are known).⁶⁴ The *Ni'matnāma* portrait of Ibrahim confirms the importance of text-image relationships in Bijapuri painting while demonstrating that the city's *nawras*—"nine

moods,” based on the *rasas* of Indian aesthetic theory, or “new arrival,” from the Persian *naw* and *rasīdan*—and Persianate cultures were anything but exclusive. The Persian couplet above the ruler reads, “The master/lord of all existing things, who made this workshop / Had as his intention love, [but] he made *nawras* a pretext.”⁶⁵ As elsewhere, the precise meaning of *nawras* remains elusive. If a Persian interpretation is favored, the “pretext” in question could be defined as aesthetic freshness and innovation, qualities that indeed exemplify Ibrahim-era art.

Although a few of the manuscripts listed above have been the focus of individual studies, the current understanding of Ibrahim-era painting is framed by single-page album portraits, especially of the ruler himself, of the type described at the beginning of this article. The majority of these paintings have been ruptured from their original parent albums, and the result is that it can be difficult to move beyond formal analysis and connoisseurship toward an emic understanding of function and reception. To date, the *Kitāb-i Nawras* has provided the most useful launching point for deeper understanding. In “Ibrahim playing the tambur” (fig. 2), the ruler’s iconography—red nails, necklace of *rudraksha* (dried berries) beads, *tanbūr* (long-necked lute), and elephant Atish Khan—parallels his verbal self-portrait in songs 15 and 56,⁶⁶ and in “Saraswati enthroned” (fig. 1), verses from song 56 appear in the composition.⁶⁷ While acknowledging that the *Kitāb-i Nawras* was synonymous with Ibrahim both at home and abroad,⁶⁸ the present goal is to explore additional knowledge systems that permeated Bijapuri culture and in turn impacted sovereignty and artistic production. Toward this end, the books collected into Ibrahim’s and the city’s libraries present a valuable resource, because many bear precisely what the detached album portraits do not: concrete data concerning provenance and traceable connections to the ruler himself. It is through an examination of book culture that we can begin to map patterns of intellectual taste and circulation in Bijapur, trace the literary fluency of the court, and further consider Ibrahim’s multivalent identities.

As was the case at virtually all early modern Islamic courts, the formation of a comprehensive library of Arabic and Persian classics was a prerogative of ‘Adil Shahi

kingship. The seals of Ibrahim’s bibliophile predecessors—Isma‘il (r. 1510–35) and ‘Ali I (r. 1558–80)—are known,⁶⁹ and Shirazi observed both the latter’s fondness for books and the size of his collection and *kitābkhāna* (comprising “sixty men, calligraphists, gilders of books, book-binders and illuminators”).⁷⁰ The likelihood that Ibrahim inherited a well-oiled library bureaucracy is attested by acquisitions and protocols dating to the regency period (1580–90). As early as 1586, when the ruler was just fifteen, his books were being marked with a distinct *ex libris* (fig. 5) and a small, oval seal inscribed *Ibrāhīm nawras* (fig. 6). Given Ibrahim’s youth and recent accession, the word *nawras* might again warrant a Persian interpretation, hence translating the legend as “Ibrahim freshly sprouted” (into youth, *nawjavān*) or “Ibrahim newly arrived” (as Bijapur’s king).⁷¹ Regardless of precise meaning, the use of *nawras* during the volatile regency period raises questions of agency. Who was responsible for developing it as a word and concept at this early stage?

At present, it is possible to track approximately seventy books associated with Ibrahim specifically and/or Bijapur’s royal library (*kitābkhāna-i ‘āmira* or *kitābkhāna-i ma‘mūra*) during his reign. Approximately 50 were among the 430 books discovered in Bijapur’s Asar Mahal (completed 1647)⁷² in 1853 and subsequently transferred to the India Office Library (now British Library).⁷³ Although the Asar Mahal collection was once part of Bijapur’s royal library, it cannot be considered representative of the institution’s original quality, size, or scope (in 1604, upon the marriage of his daughter to Akbar’s son, Ibrahim gave 2,000 books alone to the Mughal ruler).⁷⁴ The majority of the books are fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Arabic texts on Sufism, ethics, logic, and law (noticeably absent are Korans and historical texts),⁷⁵ and the collection includes just seventeen Persian volumes and only a single literary classic (Nizami’s *Makhzan al-Asrār*).⁷⁶ Although some of the Asar Mahal volumes were rated first class (*aval*) by Bijapur’s librarians,⁷⁷ few, if any, can be classified as “luxury” codices in holistic art-historical terms, that is, utilizing the finest materials (paper, pigments, gold, leather) and including exceptional calligraphy, illumination, painting, and/or binding.⁷⁸ We can presume that these manuscripts remained in the Asar Mahal until the British discovery

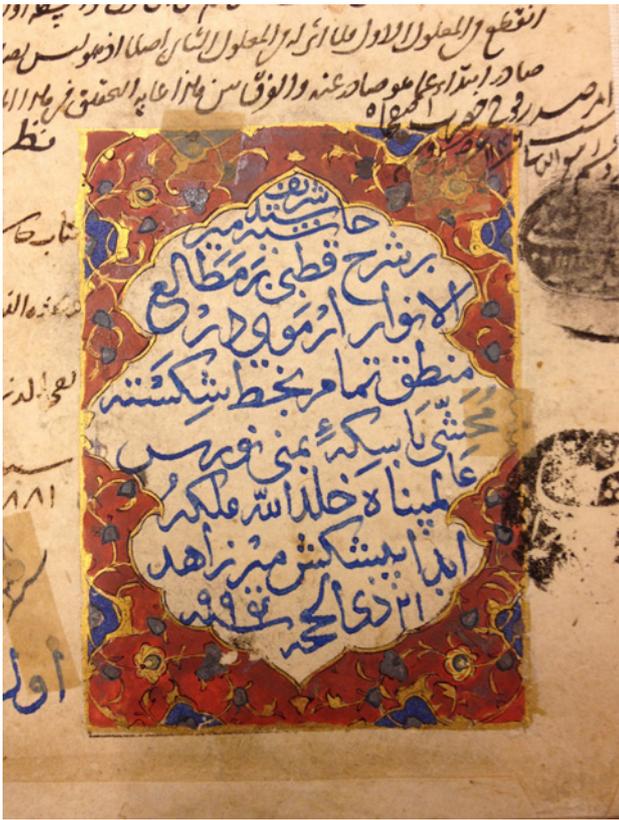


Fig. 5. Illuminated ex libris of Ibrahim II dated 21 Dhu'l-Hijja 994 (December 2, 1586). Partially visible to the left is the word *avval* and a type B Bijapuri notation dated 8 Rabi' I 1003 (November 21, 1594). Folio from a Gloss by Jurjani on the Commentary by Qutb al-Din al-Razi on the *Maṭāli' al-Anwār* of Urmawi, apparently copied by Taqi al-Din al-Husayni (d. 1476–77). London, British Library, Loth 525/B 181 (former B 181A), fol. 3r. (Photo: courtesy of the British Library)

precisely because they were not lavish enough to incite removal.⁷⁹

To locate the finest books in Ibrahim's possession, we must look outside of the British Library's Asar Mahal collection. Based on textual evidence summarized below (see "Ibrahim's marks of ownership"), I have to date identified seventeen manuscripts once owned by the ruler and now in collections across the globe: nine Persian literary classics, one Persian medical treatise, three Arabic volumes (two Korans, one *dīwān*), and four Bijapuri texts (Persian or Dakhni) (appendix, nos. 1–17).⁸⁰

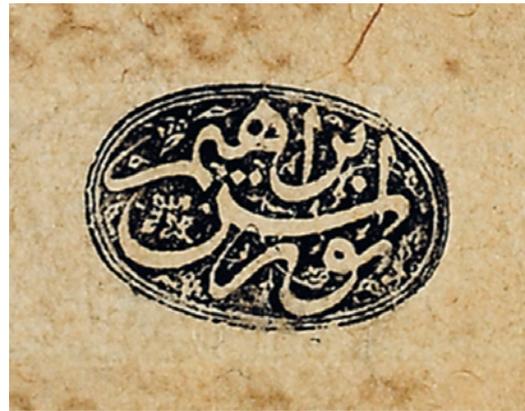


Fig. 6. Impression of the oval seal of Ibrahim II (inscribed: *Ibrāhīm nawras*; dimensions: 13 x 20 mm). Folio from a Koran, Shiraz, ca. 1570 (see appendix, no. 11). Hyderabad, Jagdish and Kamla Mittal Museum of Indian Art, 76.851, Ms. 1. (Photo: courtesy of the Jagdish and Kamla Mittal Museum of Indian Art)

As a whole, these books are of a far higher aesthetic quality than those in the Asar Mahal collection. A few deserve an art-historical, first-class valuation (*avval*) and include the work of famous calligraphers and illuminators (Yaqut al-Musta'simi, d. 1298; Shah Mahmud Nishapuri, d. 1564–65; Jalal al-Din Baghnavi, fl. in late sixteenth-century Shiraz). Others have illustrious provenances in Greater Iran (Abu Sa'id, r. 1458–69; Rustam b. Maqsud, r. 1493–97; Shah Isma'il, r. 1576–78) and/or subsequently entered royal collections in India ('Alamgir, r. 1658–1707; Tipu Sultan, r. 1782–99). In addition to these seventeen bound manuscripts, two album folios with calligraphy framed by marbled borders (appendix, nos. 18–19) bear evidence of Ibrahim's ownership.⁸¹

Notwithstanding its severe limitation in number, this dispersed corpus rounds out the better known Asar Mahal collection and in turn underscores the dual function of books in Bijapur's courtly culture: as prerequisites in established intellectual curricula (primarily Asar Mahal texts) and as luxury enterprises in the visual arts (mainly dispersed examples). Moreover, Ibrahim's nine imported Persian classics (from Shiraz, Herat, and Isfahan)—in tandem with the Khalilullah *Khamsa* and illustrated *Shāhnāma* produced in Bijapur—suggest that Persian



Fig. 7. “Rustam recognizing the dying Sohrab.” Vault A, North Arch, Kumatgi, Bijapur, early seventeenth century. See fig. 8 for a line drawing of this now badly damaged wall painting. (Photo: Keelan Overton)

literature occupied a privileged place at the ‘Adil Shahi court, as it did at all Persianate courts of the day.

The latter assertion is borne out by related visual evidence suggesting the widespread popularity of Persian classics in Bijapur. At Kumatgi, a pleasure palace located approximately ten miles east of the capital, two wall paintings in the central bath hall, which is datable to Ibrahim’s reign, illustrate iconic episodes from the *Shāhnāma* and *Khamsa*.⁸² The *Shāhnāma* scene is located directly across from the entrance and depicts Rustam’s agony—his tearing open of his shirt—upon realizing that he has stabbed his son, Sohrab, who identifies himself by pointing to the armband given to him by his mother, Rustam’s wife (figs. 7 and 8).⁸³ This same scene was chosen for illustration in the Bijapur

Shāhnāma,⁸⁴ and its privileged location in the bath hall stimulates questions about meaning and relevance.⁸⁵ The second wall painting shows an emaciated Majnun in the wilderness being visited by his mother and his uncle Salim ‘Amiri (fig. 9).⁸⁶ While the Rustam-Sohrab tragedy appears to have been a rather exceptional selection for a palatial wall painting, the Majnun example conformed to architectural trends throughout contemporary India.⁸⁷

Ibrahim’s marks of ownership

In addition to illuminating patterns of Persianate literary taste in Bijapur, Ibrahim’s books include marks of ownership that shed light on the ruler’s self-representation outside of the *Kitāb-i Nawras* framework. This evi-



Fig. 8. Line drawing of “Rustam recognizing the dying Sohrab” (see fig. 7). (From Henry Cousens, *Bijāpūr and Its Architectural Remains, With an Historical Outline of the ‘Ādil Shāhi Dynasty* [repr., Delhi: Bharatiya Publication House, 1976], pl. cxiii)

dence can be divided into three categories: seal impressions (versus the actual matrices, none of which have been identified), *ex libris*, and scribal notations by librarians.⁸⁸ Like many rulers of the day, Ibrahim (or at least his librarians) employed several seals. One of the most common—appearing in both *Asar Mahal* (British Library) volumes and dispersed ones—was the aforementioned oval example inscribed *Ibrāhīm nawras* (fig. 6). A second far larger, circular seal (fig. 10) has been erroneously associated with Ibrahim Mirza of Mashhad (d. 1577), and its known impressions are currently limited to the dispersed corpus.⁸⁹ Its long inscription is a Koranic verse concerning the prophet Ibrahim (Abraham):

And who turns away
From the religion of Abraham
But such as debase their souls



Fig. 9. “Majnun in the wilderness visited by his uncle and mother.” Vault B1, South Arch, Kumatgi, Bijapur, early seventeenth century. As with fig. 7, this wall painting is badly damaged. (Photo: Keelan Overton)



Fig. 10. Impression of the circular seal of Ibrahim II (inscribed with Koran 2:130; diameter: 41 mm). Folio from a *Divān* of Jami, copied by Shah Muhammad al-Katib al-Shirazi, probably Shiraz, dated 971 and 972 (1563–65) (see fig. 19 and appendix, no. 1). Doha, Museum of Islamic Art, Ms. 260. (Photo: Keelan Overton)



Fig. 11. Dish, Bijapur, ca. 1600. Copenhagen, The David Collection, 11/1992. (Photo: Pernille Klempe)



Fig. 12. Tympanum with Koran 2:130, Ibrahim Rauza, Bijapur, ca. 1627. (Photo: Ameen Hullur)

With folly? Him We chose
 And rendered pure in this world:
 And he will be in the Hereafter
 In the ranks of the Righteous (2:130).

The inscription reads from top to bottom in bold *thuluth*, and elongated letters (*kashida*) in the words *millat*, *fi*, and *iṣṭafaynahu* create a series of four horizontal registers (see how the *yā*' of *fi* extends backwards across the middle of the seal). Like the *nawras* example, the Koranic seal is double-ruled, and its background features an even spiral accented with small leaves and floral blossoms. Stylistically, the seal closely resembles a number of Bijapuri bronze dishes with stacked *thuluth* inscriptions, often including exaggerated horizontal extensions, on delicately spiraling grounds (fig. 11).⁹⁰

The codification of Bijapuri epigraphic arts acknowledged, Ibrahim's Koranic seal is unique in several respects. Unlike the seals of his contemporaries, it features neither a date nor the monarch's full name or titlature. The seal's allusion to Ibrahim is just that: the chosen Koranic verse honors his namesake, the prophet Ibrahim, by way of his pure path (*millat-i Ibrāhīm*). In doing so, it alludes to the Bijapuri Ibrahim's repentance (*tawba*), which was spearheaded by the city's "landed" and "reformer" Qadiri and Shatarri Sufis in reaction to his syncretic Hindu-Muslim spirituality.⁹¹ This assertion is supported by the same verse's prominent position in the tympanum over the east door of the Ibrahim Rauza, the ruler's tomb (fig. 12).⁹² Recent analysis of the tomb's epigraphic program reveals the widespread and deliberate selection of verses honoring the prophet Ibrahim Khalilullah (Friend of God) and encouraging the life of a *hanif* (a pure believer who submits to God and true monotheism).⁹³ The exclusive selection of 2:130 for Ibrahim's large seal must therefore be contextualized in light of the ruler's reorientation toward orthodox Islam, a process desirable for public broadcasting in propagandist visual terms.⁹⁴

The two ex libris and four types of scribal notations (types A–D) present in Ibrahim's books constitute further raw data through which to explore the ruler's identity/identities. Each ex libris can be associated with one of the royal seals (*nawras* or Koranic). The first is in the form of an illuminated rectangle, cartouche, or *shamsa*



Fig. 13. Flyleaf with the illuminated ex libris of Ibrahim II dated 27 Rabi' II 10[0]3 (January 8, 1595) and a type B Bijapuri notation dated 27 Rabi' II 1003 (January 8, 1595). Folio from a *Dīvān* of Jami, possibly an autographed copy, probably Herat, dated 5 Rajab 871 (February 10, 1467) (see appendix, no. 2). Hyderabad, Salar Jung Museum, M. 276, fol. 1r. (Photo: courtesy of the Salar Jung Museum)

(sunburst) framing a stacked inscription written directly on the plain paper (fig. 13; see also fig. 5).⁹⁵ The primary color scheme is red and blue—alternating between the inscription and illumination—and the latter includes simple floral designs and minimal gold. Although the illumination is unremarkable in comparison to Timurid and Mughal ex libris, the inscription is notable for its length and detail pertaining to the codex in ques-

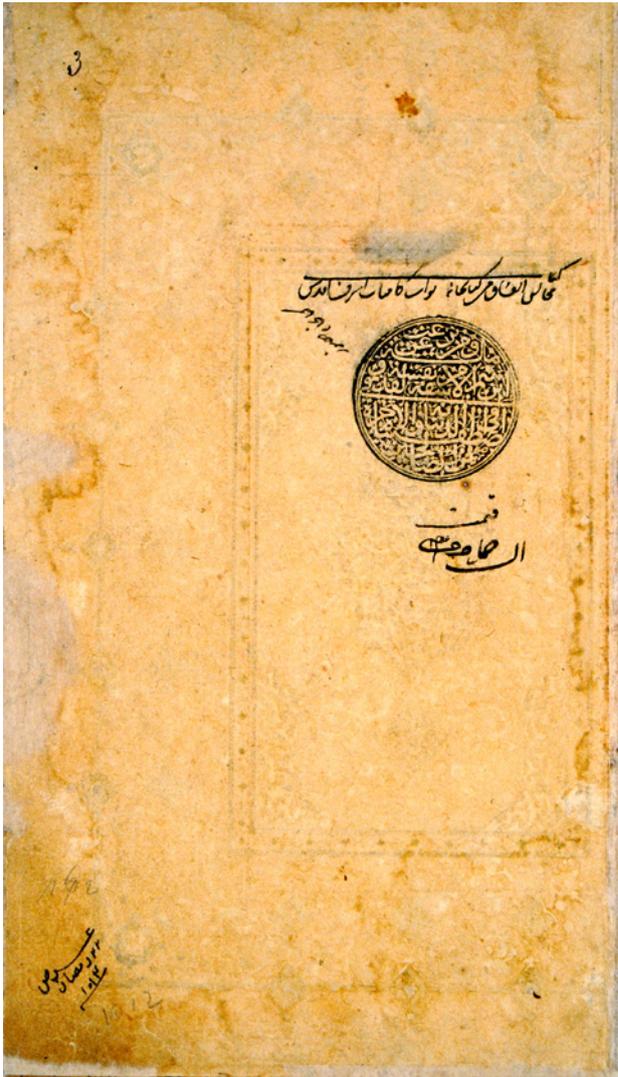


Fig. 14. Flyleaf with the Koranic seal ex libris of Ibrahim II, type B Bijapuri notation dated 22 Ramazan 1014 (January 31, 1606), and type C Bijapuri notation in *raqam* equivalent to 1,555 rupees. Folio from a *Majālis al-'Ushshāq* of Kamal al-Din Husayn Gazurgahi, copied by Ahmad al-Hafiz, Shiraz, ca. 1580s (see appendix, no. 3). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, SP 1559, fol. 3r. (Photo: courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France)

tion, hence necessitating modification for each application.⁹⁶ It always opens with the name and author of the book and type of script (*khatt*), but what follows is rarely consistent. It can describe the binding (*jild*) and include the phrase “collected into the library of the Refuge of the World (*Ālampanāh*) Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah, may God



Fig. 15. Flyleaf with the Koranic seal ex libris of Ibrahim II, type A Bijapuri notation (largely effaced), and type B Bijapuri notation dated 20 R[...] 1014 (1605–6). Folio from a *Kulliyāt* of Sa‘di, Iran, late sixteenth century (see appendix, no. 6). London, British Library, Add. 17961, fol. 2r. (Photo: © The British Library Board)

perpetuate his kingdom,” a variant of which can alone comprise many ex libris (fig. 13).⁹⁷ Alternatively, it can record the volume’s provenance (as a gift, *pishkash*, from a specific individual) and the presence of the *nawras* seal (*muhashshā bā sikka* [?] *nawras*) (fig. 5).⁹⁸ In sum, this ex libris blends conventions of such owner-



Fig. 16. Flyleaf with the Koranic seal ex libris of Ibrahim II, Type B Bijapuri notation dated 28 Ramazan [...].4, and the word *nawras*. Also visible is the seal impression of Ibrahim's father and predecessor 'Ali I (circular, triple ruled, with the names of the Twelve Imams). Folio from a *Khamsa* of Amir Khusraw Dihlavi, Yazd (?), 1430–40 (see appendix, no. 8). Doha, Museum of Islamic Art, Ms. 302, fol. 1r. (Photo: courtesy of the Museum of Islamic Art)

ship marks (illumination, the name of the ruler) with codex-specific detail usually reserved for notations. All currently known examples are dated and reveal its consistent use for the duration of Ibrahim's reign.⁹⁹

The inscriptional content of the second ex libris (figs. 14–16) is abbreviated and formulaic, but its design is exceptional for its inclusion of Ibrahim's Koranic seal as the central unit of a tripartite composition lacking illu-

mination.¹⁰⁰ Above the seal is an inscription in two lines separated by a lengthy extension (*kashīda*) of the letter *bi* in the opening word *kitāb* (book). It typically reads, "Book of the . . . from the library of," followed by a series of honorifics (*ashraf*, most noble; *aqdas*, most holy; *a'lā*, most sublime; *arfa'*, most high; *humāyūn*, blessed) culminating in Ibrahim's name (*Ibrāhīm 'Ādilshāh*) in the top line (where it is sometimes effaced, as in fig. 14). The



Fig. 17. Flyleaf with the Koranic seal of Ibrahim II and a type A Bijapuri notation in the inverted triangle format. Folio from a *Yūsuf va Zulaykhā* of Jami, copied by Shah Mahmud Nishapuri, Tabriz, dated 950 (1543–44) (see appendix, no. 5). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, SP 1919, fol. 2r. (Photo: courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France)



Fig. 18. Flyleaf with a type A Bijapuri notation dated 11 Rajab 1029 (June 12, 1620) and the word *nawras*. Folio from a *Laylā va Majnūn* of Hatifi, copied by Shah Mahmud Nishapuri, Herat, dated 969 (1561–62) (see appendix, no. 9). St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, VR-995, fol. 1r. (Photo: © The State Hermitage Museum. Photo by Vladimir Terebenin)

final component of the ex libris is the phrase *kitābkhāna-i ḥudūr*, which is inverted on a diagonal to the upper left of the seal (sometimes overlapping the impression, as in fig. 16). Read in conjunction with the seal, it can be preliminarily interpreted as “library in the presence of [Ibrahim],” in other words, a privy library.

The titlature outlined above presents an important Persian counterpart to the locally inspired Hindi title, *Jagat Gurū*, by which Ibrahim is most commonly known. The term *‘alampanāh* was a popular *laqāb* (epithet, title) also employed at the contemporary Safavid, Mughal, and Ottoman courts.¹⁰¹ Similarly, the honorifics *ashraf*, *aqdas*, *a‘lā*, *arfa‘*, and *humāyūn* reflect global trends in Persian titlature from the Timurid to Ottoman courts and beyond, and, in the case of Shah ‘Abbas, were often combined with *‘alampanāh*.¹⁰² Used at the onset of Ibrahim’s reign, this titlature placed him on equal footing with contemporary Islamic sovereigns while perhaps serving as yet another level of symbolic affinity with Iran specifically.¹⁰³

The first scribal notation (type A) is associated with the royal library (*kitābkhāna-i ‘āmira*), ranges from two to nine lines (often in the shape of an inverted triangle, as in fig. 17), and may have been written by a variety of hands (compare the precision of fig. 17 to the sloppiness of fig. 18). In addition to describing the book’s physical appearance (script, binding, rulings, paper), it can record its provenance (*bābat* [estate] and/or *pīshkash* [gift]), the date it entered the royal library, the presence of a particular seal (Ibrahim’s *nawras* or Koranic examples, or that of a different owner),¹⁰⁴ and, less frequently, its ranking (*avval*, *duvvum*, *sivum*) and/or presence in a subcollection. The second notation (type B) is an *‘arzdīda* (inspection notice) typically dated 1003 (1594–95) or 1014 (1605–6) (figs. 13 and 14). The third (type C) is a monetary valuation sometimes rendered in *raqam*, an accountant’s system of numerical symbols, which is rare in the known corpus (fig. 14).¹⁰⁵ The fourth and final notation (type D) comprises two to five lines of fine *nasta‘liq* written by a single librarian who appears to have subsequently worked for Ibrahim’s successor, Muhammad (r. 1627–56) (see the date of 1037 [1628] in fig. 4).¹⁰⁶ Its simplest form records Ibrahim’s titlature and possession of a “special” book (fig. 21), while its longer iteration repeats information in the type A and

offers critical updates. The type D in Ibrahim’s *Yūsuf va Zulaykhā* (appendix, no. 5), for example, reiterates portions of the now-cropped type A on the subsequent folio (see fig. 17) while adding two lines about a refurbishment: “Newly bound with yellow lining and red binding.”¹⁰⁷

Bijapur’s libraries

The marks of ownership summarized above reveal that Ibrahim’s books were preserved in at least two, and probably three, repositories. The main distinction appears to have been between Bijapur’s royal library (*kitābkhāna-i ‘āmira*) and Ibrahim’s wardrobe (*jāmadārkhāna*). The precise location of the royal library is unknown, but we can assume that it was the source of the 2,000 volumes, some with paintings “entirely the work of masters,” that Ibrahim presented to Akbar in 1604.¹⁰⁸ As for the *jāmadārkhāna*, we can presume a smaller collection and a greater degree of physical proximity to the ruler (within his palace?). Upon entry into the *jāmadārkhāna*, many books were decorated with the illuminated ex libris and impressed with the *nawras* seal.¹⁰⁹ Some were subsequently transferred to the *kitābkhāna-i ‘āmira*, as documented in type A and/or type D notations. A large-scale relocation of books seems to have occurred in 1615, on the eve of Ibrahim’s final decade of rule. Other transfers took place after his death in 1627 (see fig. 4, where the type D notation is dated 1037 [1628]).

One particular first-class fifteenth-century manuscript—Glosses by the Timurid scholar Sayyid Sharif Jurjani (d. 1413) on the commentary by Qutb al-Din al-Tahtani al-Razi (d. 1364) on the *Maṭāli‘ al-Anwār* (Rising of Lights) of Siraj al-Din Mahmud Urmawi (d. 1283)¹¹⁰—bears three dated ownership marks spanning three decades that support the hypotheses above. The earliest is Ibrahim’s illuminated ex libris with the following stacked inscription in blue (fig. 5):

Glosses (*hāshiya*) of Mir Sayyid Sharif on the commentary (*sharḥ*) of Qutbi on the *Maṭāli‘ al-Anwār* of Urmawi, completed in logic. In *shikasta* script. Annotated (*muhashshā*) with the [?] *nawras* seal (*sikka*) [indeed visible on fol. 3v] of the Refuge of the World (*‘Alampanāh*), may God perpetuate his kingdom. Gift (*pīshkash*) of Mir Zahid, on the twenty-first of Dhu’l Hijja, year 994 [December 2, 1586].¹¹¹

The second is a type B notation (*‘arzdāda*) written next to the ex libris and dated 8 Rabi‘ I 1003 (November 21, 1594). The third and final mark is a nine-line type A notation in the inverted triangle format on the previous folio (fol. 2r). It confirms the book’s earlier presence in the *jāmadārkhāna*, where it presumably received the illuminated ex libris and *nawras* seal, and its accession into the *kitābkhāna-i ‘āmira* on 5 Rajab 1024 (July 31, 1615).¹¹² This transfer took place with the permission of the keeper of the wardrobe (*bi parvānigī-i jāmadārkhān*) and was carried out by one Farrukh Aqa, presumably a young page (*khursāla*) in Ibrahim’s entourage.

Since most of the *jāmadārkhāna* books are of average quality in aesthetic terms, this repository may have been a mundane functional collection, a source of canonical books of the “textbook” sort that Ibrahim would have consulted regularly as part of his intellectual syllabus. The inclusion of the phrase *kitābkhāna-i ḥuḍūr* in the ruler’s Koranic seal ex libris suggests that an additional, more luxurious collection was also kept in his immediate presence. The value of the *kitābkhāna-i ḥuḍūr* volumes likely explains their physical separation from the more routine *jāmadārkhāna* ones.

The Paris *Majālis al-‘Ushshāq* (Assemblies of Lovers) (appendix, no. 3)—including a double-page illumination signed by Jalal al-Din Baghnavi (fols. 3v–4r) and seventy-five paintings attributable to Shiraz circa 1580—supports these preliminary conclusions.¹¹³ In addition to the Koranic seal ex libris (with the standard phrase *kitābkhāna-i ḥuḍūr*), it includes a type C notation recording its value as 1,555 rupees (fig. 14).¹¹⁴ This high valuation suggests that the Paris *Majālis* was especially esteemed and therefore suitable for the *kitābkhāna-i ḥuḍūr*.¹¹⁵ The volume traveled fairly quickly from its place of production (Shiraz) to Bijapur, as attested by its type B notation (*‘arzdāda*) dated 22 Ramadan 1014 (January 31, 1606) (fig. 14). It may have been a treasured gift to Ibrahim from one of Bijapur’s leading Shirazi émigrés (Shah Navaz Khan?). Alternatively, it could have come directly from a Shirazi atelier of the type known to have supplied the Ottoman court.¹¹⁶

The recently identified *Laylā va Majnūn* (appendix, no. 9) copied by the famed Shah Mahmud Nishapuri in Herat further complicates our understanding of Bijapur’s library collections.¹¹⁷ According to its type A nota-

tion (see fig. 18), it entered the royal library (*kitābkhāna-i ma‘mūra*) on 11 Rajab 1029 (June 12, 1620) from the *ḥuḍūr nawras* (*bābat-i ḥuḍūr nawras*). The notation further records that it was impressed with the *nawras* seal, and the word *nawras* is written prominently on the upper edge of the same folio (fig. 18).¹¹⁸ This volume therefore reveals that both the *nawras* and Koranic seals were used to impress luxury manuscripts kept in Ibrahim’s presence (*ḥuḍūr*). Was the *ḥuḍūr nawras* a subcollection within the *kitābkhāna-i ḥuḍūr*? Why were some luxury manuscripts associated with *nawras* (vis-à-vis the seal and word itself), while others were marked with the Koranic seal or Koranic seal ex libris?¹¹⁹ Finally, why were no volumes impressed with the latter seal present in the Asar Mahal at the time of the British discovery in 1853? At present, we can only speculate while acknowledging the existence of a sophisticated library administration and a collection of books divided among several repositories depending on rank, value, and probable use.

Value, reception, and refurbishment

The application of Ibrahim’s Koranic seal presents an opportunity to explore further the reception and valuation of certain books in his collection. Two of the ruler’s finest manuscripts were marked with multiple impressions of this seal. His *Dīvān* of Jami copied by Shah Muhammad al-Katib al-Shirazi and dated 971 and 972 (1563–65) features nineteen such impressions (appendix, no. 1).¹²⁰ The first appears on the opening flyleaf (fol. 1r) above a largely effaced type A notation in the inverted triangle format.¹²¹ The remaining eighteen are located in the borders of all but one of the book’s nineteen illustrated folios (fig. 19). In a few instances, they slightly overlap the rulings and picture plane.

The second example of multiple seal impressions occurs in Ibrahim’s *Dīvān* of al-Hadira (Qutba b. Aws) dated 629 (1231–32) (appendix, no. 13).¹²² Here the number of impressions is far less (just two), but their placement speaks volumes. The first appears in the border of the incipit page (opening page of text) next to the bismillah (fig. 20), and the second in the border adjacent to the colophon reading “end of the poetry of al-Hadira ... written by Yaqut al-Musta‘simi” (fol. 36v). The great



Fig. 19. Illustrated folio with the Koranic seal of Ibrahim II. Opening from a *Dīvān* of Jami, copied by Shah Muhammad al-Katib al-Shirazi, probably Shiraz, dated 971 and 972 (1563–65) (see appendix, no. 1). Doha, Museum of Islamic Art, Ms. 260, fols. 77v–78r. (Photo: Keelan Overton)

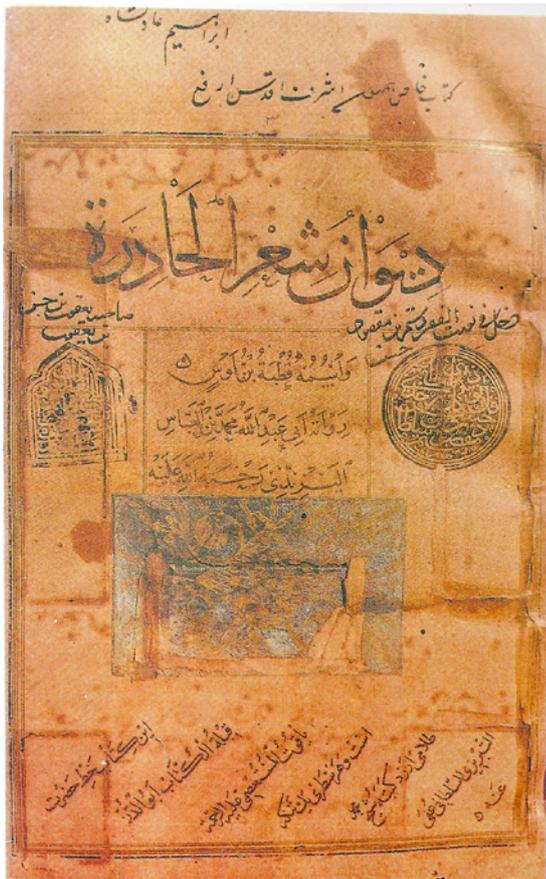
‘Abbasid calligrapher Yaqut (d. 1298) was widely eulogized in Persian poetry at Ibrahim’s court,¹²³ and the presumption of his hand likely explains the two seal impressions bookmarking the text.¹²⁴ The manuscript’s high value is further confirmed by the two-line type D notation appearing at the top of the title page: “Special book of the blessed, most noble, most holy, most high, Ibrahim ‘Adilshah” (fig. 21).¹²⁵

In possessing a volume thought to be the work of Yaqut, Ibrahim found himself on equal footing with its previous bibliophile owners, who also left their marks on the title page (fig. 21). A signed reader’s note

written diagonally across the lower edge suggests that the manuscript circulated at the early Timurid court.¹²⁶ Two royal seals in the middle of the folio—the circular one belonging to Rustam b. Maqsud (r. 1493–97) and the niche-shaped one to a descendant of Ya‘qub (r. 1478–90)—confirm its subsequent presence in Aqqoyunlu Tabriz.¹²⁷ Thereafter, the book migrated southeast to Safavid Qazvin, as documented by the seal of Isma‘il II (r. 1576–78) on the previous folio.¹²⁸ The latter court of tenure reveals that the volume likely entered Bijapur (and India in general) for the first time during Ibrahim’s reign (beginning 1580), presumably via the hands of an



Fig. 20. Incipit page with the Koranic seal of Ibrahim II. Folio from a *Dīwān* of al-Hadira (Qutba b. Aws), said to be copied by Yaqut al-Musta'simi, dated 629 (1231–32) (see appendix, no. 13). Rampur, The Raza Library, 5207, fol. 4v. (Photo: courtesy of The Raza Library)



Iranian immigrant previously engaged at the Safavid court.

Like the adoption of titlature echoing that of Shah 'Abbas, the use of multiple seal impressions may have been part of a larger cultural effort to align Bijapur symbolically with Iran. The excessive impressions of Shah 'Abbas's 1017 (1608–9) Ardabil waqf seal are well known. Well over half of the twenty-nine illustrated folios in Ibrahim Mirza's *Haft Awrang* (Seven Thrones) of Jami dated 963–72 (1556–65) were stamped with this seal,¹²⁹ and the same can be said for five of the eight illustrated folios in the *Mantiq al-Ṭayr* (Language of the Birds) dated 892 (1487).¹³⁰ In the Deccan, redundant seal impressions also appear in the Qutb Shahi context, as attested by the seal of Muhammad Qutb Shah (r. 1612–26) on each of the five illuminated title pages in the renowned Timurid *Khamsa* of Nizami dated 835 (1431–32).¹³¹ Considered together, these Safavid, 'Adil Shahi, and Qutb

←

Fig. 21. Title page with a type D Bijapuri notation and various Aqqoyunlu and Timurid (?) seals and notations. Folio from a *Dīwān* of al-Hadira (Qutba b. Aws), said to be copied by Yaqut al-Musta'simi, dated 629 (1231–32) (see appendix, no. 13). Rampur, The Raza Library, 5207, fol. 3v. (From W. H. Siddiqi, *Raza Library: Monograph* [Rampur, U.P.: Rampur Raza Library, 1998], pl. 7)

Shahi practices sharply contrast with contemporary Mughal ones. Although the seals of Jahangir's librarians and disciples appear frequently in his manuscripts, the emperor's seal was used rather sparingly, and he preferred to compose his own lengthy inscriptions on fly-leaves, illuminated frontispieces, and/or colophons.¹³² Given that Ibrahim spent the majority of his reign thwarting threats from the Mughals and the Abyssinian military leader Malik 'Ambar (d. 1626), it can be tempting to suggest that his incessant seal impressions were symptomatic of both value and fear, the latter paralleling Safavid anxieties.¹³³ Although the Doha *Dīwān* and Rampur *Dīwān* seem to have evaded confiscation, some (many?) of Ibrahim's books were accessioned into the Mughal library upon, or shortly after, the conquest of Bijapur in 1686 (appendix, nos. 5, 8–10).

A final mark of ownership closely related to Ibrahim's Koranic seal is found not on the pages of his books but rather on their bindings, many of which were likely practical refurbishments in the Bijapuri workshop (the binding taking the brunt of a codex's damage and often requiring replacement).¹³⁴ The mark in question is a large (height: 95 mm), diamond-shaped medallion (likely *turanj* in contemporary usage) with scalloped edges that frames an inner circle with stacked *thuluth* inscriptions in four registers on a spiral ground (fig. 22). This central epigraphic portion is immediately recognizable as a replica of Ibrahim's Koranic seal (see fig. 10), albeit slightly larger (diameter: 47 mm versus 41 mm).¹³⁵ We can presume that the original seal and stamp matrices—the first for impression on paper, the second for pressing into leather, and not to be confused as a single object—were produced by the same designer/engraver/workshop, whose style can in turn be associated with contemporary examples of Bijapuri metalwork (see fig. 11).¹³⁶ To date, a comparable phenomenon of a royal seal refashioned as a binding stamp, with *minimal* alteration to the seal's epigraphic design, has not been identified.¹³⁷

Ibrahim's "scalloped seal stamp," as I prefer to call it, has hitherto been identified on only one binding: the example sheathing the Koran transcribed by Muhammad Mu'min b. 'Abdullah Murvarid (appendix, no. 12).¹³⁸ This important manuscript is well recognized by both Islamicists and South Asianists as

the only known Koran ostensibly copied for Abu Sa'īd (r. 1458–69) and later owned by Tipu Sultan of Mysore (r. 1782–99).¹³⁹ The stamp is not visible on the binding's covers (fig. 23), whose eclectic central panel combines the favored geometry of Timurid Herati illumination¹⁴⁰ with Safavid-style floral embellishment, the latter carrying over into the twelve stamps of the outer border (four cornerpieces [*kunjī*] and eight cartouches [*katība*]).¹⁴¹ Instead, it is found in the center of each doublure (fig. 24), where it is framed by two small pendants (*turanj va sar turanj* or *turanj va barg*, as in appendix, no. 16) and four corner pieces, a typical arrangement.

Thanks to their protected internal placement, the two stamp impressions are in excellent condition. Every detail remains in sharp relief, including the fine spiral ground familiar from the original seal and the bold floral scroll of the "new" scalloped frame, replete with cleverly placed curves. In addition to implying the sophistication of Bijapuri metallurgy and bookbinding, the stamps break a 350-year silence (ca. 1440–1790) in the Koran's biography, illuminate an earlier sojourn on the subcontinent (its first?), and confirm that volumes of the highest pedigree made their way to Ibrahim's Bijapur.¹⁴² The latter underscores the city's cultural and commercial centrality despite its physical location in a region deemed peripheral (at least in contrast to the Mughal, Ottoman, and Safavid "centers").

The decision to commemorate Ibrahim's possession of this esteemed Koran on the *inside* of its new Bijapuri binding was anything but standard. When ownership is recorded on a binding, it generally takes the form of an elongated horizontal stamp on the *exterior* of the fore-edge flap or spine.¹⁴³ Moreover, such inscriptions name the owner in explicit terms, rather than Koranic allusion, and begin with the common *ex libris* phrase *bi-rasm-i kitābkhāna-i* (or a variant thereof).¹⁴⁴ At present, the closest parallel to the St Andrews binding (more specifically, its doublures) can be found in a Koran made for the Mamluk sultan Qansuh al-Ghawri (r. 1501–16) while he was still amir.¹⁴⁵ The composition of the Mamluk doublures is familiar—a large medallion framed by axial pendants—and the epigraphic commemoration again appears in the central element. In this instance, however, the owner/amir is named in the conventional terms described above (*bi-rasm-i khizāna-i*), the inscrip-

tion is continuous between the front and back doublures (instead of being repeated), and the technique in question is gilded filigree (rather than a gold-blocked stamp).

Although Ibrahim's scalloped seal stamp remains a confounding unicum—What explains the cross-fertilization with the royal seal? Who developed this “dual-purposing”? Were there any precedents?—it nonetheless magnifies the incessant seriality, and hence significance, of the Koranic verse in question (2:130). This verse was not only selected for a prominent tympanum of Ibrahim's tomb (fig. 12), but was also cast as his royal seal (fig. 10), and that circular form was in turn elevated to an *ex libris* (figs. 14–16) and replicated as the central portion of a laborious binding stamp (fig. 22). These visual variations of a single verse—in stone, metal, paper, and leather—leave open the question of additional iterations, perhaps including a metal dish of the standard type (fig. 11). For the moment, we are left with a poignant and pervasive verbal portrait of Ibrahim as a *hanīf* on the pure path, one that stands in sharp contrast to his figural image as a syncretic seeker (as perpetuated in “masterpiece” paintings such as figs. 1 and 2).

There can be little doubt that the metal binding stamp—an outstanding work of art in its own right—was used to mark and beautify other books in Ibrahim's possession, and the future discovery of additional volumes will yield exciting results.¹⁴⁶ Moving forward, the sole known application in the St Andrews Koran provides a concretely Bijapuri point of reference for the study of “Deccani” metalwork (fig. 11),¹⁴⁷ while underscoring that we have hardly scratched the surface of understanding the Bijapuri codex in holistic terms. For this reason, we must be wary of attributions of the type recently applied to the *Khamsa* transcribed by Khalilullah in Bijapur (see page 94)—“The manuscript's extremely fine Safavid binding indicates that the manuscript made its way [from Bijapur] to the Safavid court in Isfahan”¹⁴⁸—which presumes that style is fixed in place, rather than potentially in the hand of the maker. In the interconnected Perso-Deccani context in question, the *Khamsa's* *Safavid-style* (not necessarily Safavid) binding could have been made in Bijapur by an Iranian immigrant operating in a conservative Persianate mode, much like the painter Farrukh Husayn, as we

shall see.¹⁴⁹ It was perhaps vis-à-vis such an Iranian émigré that the St Andrews Koran and other esteemed books arrived in Bijapur in the first place, and that suggestion leads us to the question of how the city's collections were built.

Building collections: Gharībān contributions

In contrast to the genial nature of Mughal collecting, wherein a new ruler absorbed the library of his predecessor/father and genealogical seals were common, ‘Adil Shahi collecting appears to have been more of an individual, rather than dynastic, enterprise.¹⁵⁰ Only a handful of manuscripts in Ibrahim's known collection were previously owned by his predecessor and father, ‘Ali I (r. 1558–80), or subsequently acquired by his successors (Muhammad, r. 1627–56; ‘Ali II, r. 1656–72).¹⁵¹ The former circumstance raises questions about how, where, and from whom Ibrahim obtained his books. The extant scribal notations reveal that, with the exception of volumes acquired during military conflict (especially the conquest of Muhammadabad/Bidar in 1619), the majority were gifts from individuals or their estates. The notations therefore function as a veritable “Who's Who” of Bijapur's courtly culture, particularly its Iranian contingent.

Given Zuhuri and Malik Qummi's praise of Shah Navaz Khan's literary knowledge and other sources' insistence that the prime minister played an instrumental role in Ibrahim's linguistic and literary education, it is not surprising that this illustrious immigrant had a significant impact on Bijapur's libraries.¹⁵² In 1617, Shah Navaz Khan's son (*farzand*) presented at least thirteen books as gifts (*pīshkash*) to the *kitābkhāna-i ‘āmira*, a process at times overseen by one Salim Khan.¹⁵³ We can presume that Shah Navaz Khan himself had acquired many of these volumes in Iran and, more specifically, in Shiraz. A few are impressed with the prime minister's seal,¹⁵⁴ the majority belong to the Shiraz school of philosophy,¹⁵⁵ and some were copied in the city and/or associated with its rulers. Examples include a first-class sixteenth-century manuscript of Davani's gloss on the commentary by ‘Ala al-Din Qushji (d. 1470) on the *Tajrīd al-Kalām* (Abstract of Theology) of Nasir al-Din Tusi (d. 1274), with Davani's preface dedicated to the Aqqoyun-



Fig. 22. Impression of the scalloped seal binding stamp of Ibrahim II (dimensions: H: 95 mm). Detail from the front doublure (fig. 24) of the Bijapuri binding, ca. 1580–1627, of the Koran copied by Muhammad Mu'min b. 'Abdullah Murvarid (see appendix, no. 12). University of St Andrews Library, Ms. 19 O. (Photo: courtesy of the University of St Andrews Library)

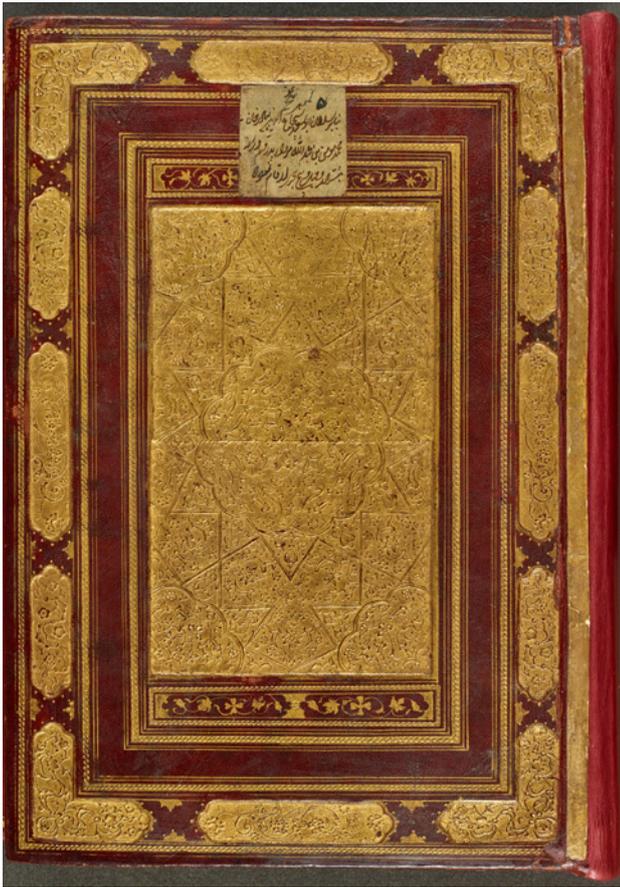


Fig. 23. Front cover of the Bijapuri binding, ca. 1580–1627, of the St Andrews Koran (see appendix, no. 12). University of St Andrews Library, Ms. 19 O. (Photo: courtesy of the University of St Andrews Library)



Fig. 24. Front doublure of the Bijapuri binding, ca. 1580–1627, of the St Andrews Koran (see appendix, no. 12). Each doublure features an impression of the scalloped seal stamp of Ibrahim II (fig. 22). University of St Andrews Library, Ms. 19 O. (Photo: courtesy of the University of St Andrews Library)

lu ruler Sultan Khalil (r. 1478), who was earlier the governor of Shiraz (1471–78),¹⁵⁶ a late sixteenth-century Shirazi copy of Davani's gloss on the *Tahdhīb al-Manṭiq wa'l-Kalām* (Manual of Logic and Theology) of Sa'd al-Din Taftazani (d. 1389);¹⁵⁷ a volume dated 3 Rabi' II 984 (June 30, 1576) of Jurjani's gloss on the commentary by Qutb al-Din al-Razi on the *Maṭāli' al-Anwār* of Urmawi;¹⁵⁸ and a second-class copy of the supergloss by Sayyid 'Ali (d. 1455) on the preceding glosses of Jurjani.¹⁵⁹ The Shah Navaz Khan group also included one book with an illustrious Deccani provenance: a manuscript dated 4 Rabi' I 824 (March 8, 1421) of the commentary by Muhammad b. Abi Bakir al-Damamini (d. 1424) on the

Mughnī al-Labīb (a compendium of Arabic grammar) of Ibn Hisham (d. 1360) impressed with two seals of Bidar's famous merchant-turned-statesman Mahmud Gavan (d. 1481).¹⁶⁰

In addition to Shah Navaz Khan, the names that appear frequently as donors in the scribal notations include Mir Muhammad Tahir Mousavi, Mir Muhammad Amin, Rustam Khan, Mulla Payanda, Shaykh 'Alam Allah, and Shah Abu'l Hasan. While the identities of these individuals remain to be unraveled, the final name likely referred to Shah Abu'l Hasan Qadiri (d. 1635), a "reformer" Sufi who arrived in Bijapur during the first year of Ibrahim's reign (1580) and has been credited with per-

suading the ruler to revert to orthodox Islam.¹⁶¹ According to the type A notation in a mid-fifteenth-century copy of the commentary by Shams al-Din Mahmud Isfahani (d. 1345) on the *Tawālīʿ al-Anwār* of ʿAbdullah b. ʿUmar Baydavi (d. 1286),¹⁶² the saint appears to have presented the book to the *jāmadārkhāna* no later than 4 Rajab 1003 (March 15, 1595), the date recorded in a type B notation (*ʿarzdāda*) immediately below. The volume was assigned a first-class valuation, impressed with Ibrahim’s *nawras* seal (as described in the type A notation), and adorned with the ruler’s illuminated ex libris in the form of a large red *shamsa* (the inscription was never completed).¹⁶³ By the order of the *jāmadārkhān*, the codex was subsequently transferred to the *kitābkhāna-i maʿmūra* on 2 Ramadan 1024 (September 25, 1615), an event that seems to have signaled the composition of the type A notation.

That this volume was a gift from the Qadiri reformist saint in question, rather than some other Shah Abuʿl Hasan, is reinforced by its provenance, which in turn illuminates networks of taste, collecting, and knowledge within the Deccan’s *gharībān* circles. According to its colophon, the manuscript was transcribed by Jaʿfar b. Jaʿfar al-Riza al-Urayzi al-Husayni on 30 Rabīʿ I 861 (February 25, 1457) for Shah Habib al-Din Muhibullah (d. ca. 1506), a member of the Niʿmatullahi Sufi family based in Bidar.¹⁶⁴ In the early fifteenth century, Ahmad I Bahmani of Bidar (r. 1422–36) invited Shah Niʿmatullah Vali of Kirman (d. 1431), the spiritual head of the order, to relocate to the Deccan.¹⁶⁵ The shaykh declined, sending his grandson Nurallah (d. ca. 1430) in his stead, and his son Shah Khalilullah (d. ca. 1442–54) eventually led a second migration (arriving some time before 1435).¹⁶⁶ One of Shah Khalilullah’s sons, Shah Muhibullah (for whom the volume in question was copied and whose seal appears on the flyleaf discussed above), married the daughter of ʿAlauddin Ahmad II (r. 1436–58), became Bidar’s most prominent religious figure, and received statesmen such as Mahmud Gavan at his feet.¹⁶⁷ The link between Shah Muhibullah of mid-fifteenth-century Bidar and Abuʿl Hasan of late sixteenth-century Bijapur is that the latter’s family had also migrated to Bidar (in this case, from Baghdad) during the Bahmani period.¹⁶⁸ In fact, it was a combination of Niʿmatullahis from Mahan/Kirman/Taft, Qadiris from Baghdad, and other émi-

gré families that contributed to Bidar’s rapid rise as a “pan-Islamic” Qadiri center in the fifteenth century.¹⁶⁹ It is therefore not surprising that a manuscript owned by a leading Niʿmatullahi shaykh of Bahmani Bidar would have been acquired by a prominent Qadiri saint of ʿAdil Shahi Bijapur a century later.

Books with illustrious Bahmani provenances also entered the Bijapur library in a different manner, namely, as war booty from the conquest of Bidar in 1619. At least three such codices—a mid-fifteenth century copy of the first half of the *Hidāya* (Guidance) of Burhan al-Din Marghinani (d. 1196), a commentary on his own *Bidāyat al-Mubtadī* on Hanafite law;¹⁷⁰ an anthology including Taftazani, transcribed by one of his pupils;¹⁷¹ and a fifteenth-century manuscript of the *Tāj al-Maṣādir* (Crown of Sources), a dictionary of Arabic infinitives, by Abu Jaʿfar Bayhaqi (Bu Jaʿfarak; d. 1150)¹⁷²—were previously in the possession of Mahmud Gavan, as confirmed by his double-ruled, circular seal.¹⁷³

The current corpus of approximately seventy volumes associated with Ibrahim and/or Bijapur’s royal library during his reign allows us to draw some broad conclusions about book culture and intellectualism in the Deccani city. First, Bijapuri collecting patterns were deeply informed by transregional precedents and tastes. During the Bahmani period, which witnessed the initial influx of many Iranian immigrants to the Deccan, the stage was set for the long-term appreciation of prominent Timurid and Turkmen thinkers.¹⁷⁴ The Khurasani polymath Taftazani was the teacher of Mir Fazlullah Inju, the prime minister of Firuz Shah Bahmani (r. 1397–1422), and Davani of Shiraz dedicated his *Shawākil al-Hūr* (The Hour’s Haunches) to Mahmud Gavan. Second, Bijapur’s royal library was far from a provincial backwater but rather a vibrant, cosmopolitan institution. As in the Bahmani period, this reality was in large part conditioned by peripatetic *gharībān*, whether those residing in Bijapur (and some associated with Ibrahim’s inner circle) or passing through temporarily (as ambassadors, military officials, merchants, artists, or poets). These “foreigners” physically transmitted the canonical texts of Arabic and Persian literature to Bijapur, and the result was a courtly culture poised to participate in knowledge systems prevalent at the major Islamic courts of the day (Mughal, Safavid, and Ottoman).¹⁷⁵

The degree to which this *gharībān*-dominated book culture can be linked to Ibrahim specifically remains to be determined. The large number of Sufi texts, including the *Majālis al-'Ushshāq*, could be indicative of the ruler's mystical inclinations; alternatively, they could simply reflect widespread popularity. In some cases, the marks of ownership do seem to communicate a more precise, and perhaps intimate, relationship between Ibrahim and his collection. Consider, for example, the volumes preserved in the *kitābkhāna-i huḍūr* (appendix, nos. 3, 6, 8) or *jāmadārkhāna* (wardrobe) (appendix, no. 15), described as *khāṣṣ* (special, outstanding) (appendix, nos. 4, 10, 13), bearing multiple seal impressions implying high worth and associated paranoia (appendix, nos. 1, 13), and sheathed in bindings with the scalloped seal stamp (appendix, no. 12). As a whole, Ibrahim's book collection likely served two purposes for him personally: to contribute universality, depth, and discipline to his daily intellectual syllabus,¹⁷⁶ one that was influenced by learned *gharībān* such as Shah Navaz Khan and Shah Abu'l Hasan, and to position him as a monarch who participated in a chief prerogative of Perso-Islamic kingship, that is, the formation of a coveted and comprehensive library.

This consideration of Ibrahim's book collection has thrown into sharp relief the ruler's cultural fluency and mutability. Nominally a Hanafi Sunni, Ibrahim surrounded himself with notable Shi'i Iranian émigrés, intervened on behalf of Shi'i causes,¹⁷⁷ employed a *Nād-i 'Alīyyān* seal,¹⁷⁸ and issued coinage with the simultaneous legends *Ghulām-i Murtaẓā 'Alī* and *Ibrāhīm Ablā Balī* (Hindi, "Strength of the Weak") (fig. 25). As *Ablā Balī* and *Jagat Gurū*, Ibrahim excelled in creative endeavors of a personal and Deccan-centric kind, as exemplified by his *Kitāb-i Nawras* and trifold devotion to the Prophet Muhammad, Saraswati, and Gesu Daraz. As *'Ālampanāh*, *Ghulām-i Murtaẓā 'Alī*, and *Khalilullah* (the title held by his namesake), he participated in the universal paradigms of Islamic kingship and, in this capacity, was also cast as a repentant *hanīf* (recall his Koranic seal and its mutations; see figs. 10, 12, 14–16, 22). These multifarious identities were not rigid binaries but rather complementary and *strategic* conversations. Indeed, Ibrahim's (and his court's) skills of reconciliation and inclusivity must have played a central role in securing his kingship

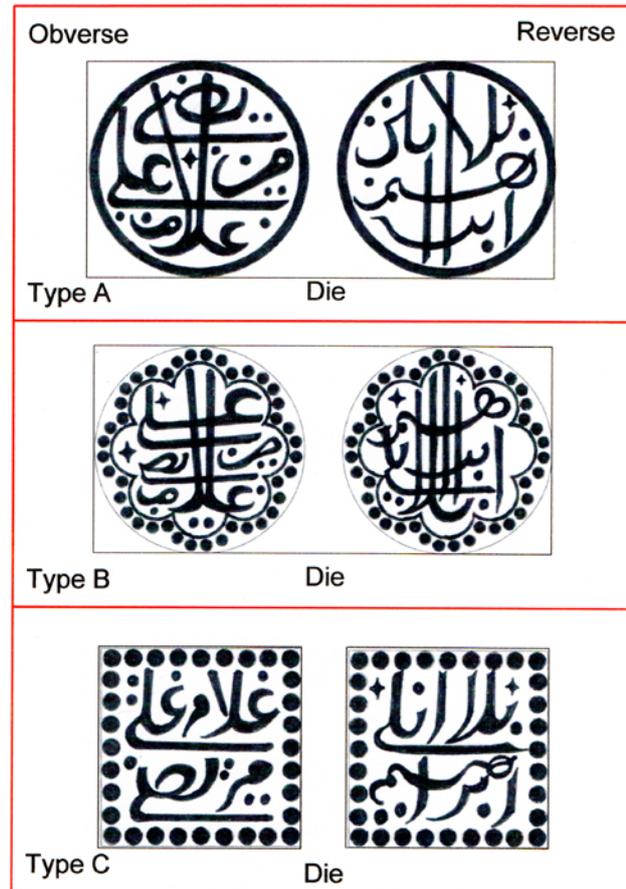


Fig. 25. Copper coins of Ibrahim II (legends: *Ghulām-i Murtaẓā 'Alī* [obverse] and *Ibrāhīm Ablā Balī* [reverse]). (Diagram: courtesy of Klaus Rötzer)

for nearly five decades (1580–1627), a phenomenon also equated with Akbar's longevity.

“SARASWATI ENTHRONED” (AS BILQIS):
FARRUKH HUSAYN'S TRANSLATION
OF THE SOLOMONIC METAPHOR

With an understanding of Perso-Islamic intellectual patterns in Ibrahim's Bijapur, we now turn to the question of how such systems may have impacted its painting ateliers. Perhaps the most effective way to map this relationship is through an actual immigrant, Farrukh Husayn, the artist singled out for praise in the *Khān-i Khalīl*.

At stake are the following questions: To what degree did a Khurasan-trained painter integrate Persian conventions into his Deccani repertoire? How did he negotiate his personal itinerant experience with the local paradigms espoused by Ibrahim? Finally, did his Bijapuri production in any way complement the Perso-Islamic knowledge systems outlined above?

During his decade-long tenure in Bijapur (ca. 1595–1609), Farrukh painted at least five album portraits of Ibrahim and two manuscript illustrations. Four of these paintings—“Saraswati enthroned” (fig. 1), “Ibrahim playing the tambur” (fig. 2), and two portraits of the ruler riding an elephant¹⁷⁹—appear fundamentally

rooted in *Kitāb-i Nawras* iconography. The remaining three—“Ibrahim hawking” (St. Petersburg), “Ibrahim offering obeisance to Jahangir” (fig. 3), and “Abu’l Ghays al-Yamani and the lion” (fig. 26)¹⁸⁰—immediately strike the viewer as conservatively Persian in both style and content.

The painting that initially seems the most indebted to the *Kitāb-i Nawras* and Deccani context—“Saraswati enthroned” (see fig. 1)—is in fact a brilliant exercise of visual translation and hence facilitates the exploration of Bijapuri art in light of the complementary (local/translocal) conversations called for above.¹⁸¹ To depict the foreign (to him) subject of a Hindu goddess, Farrukh

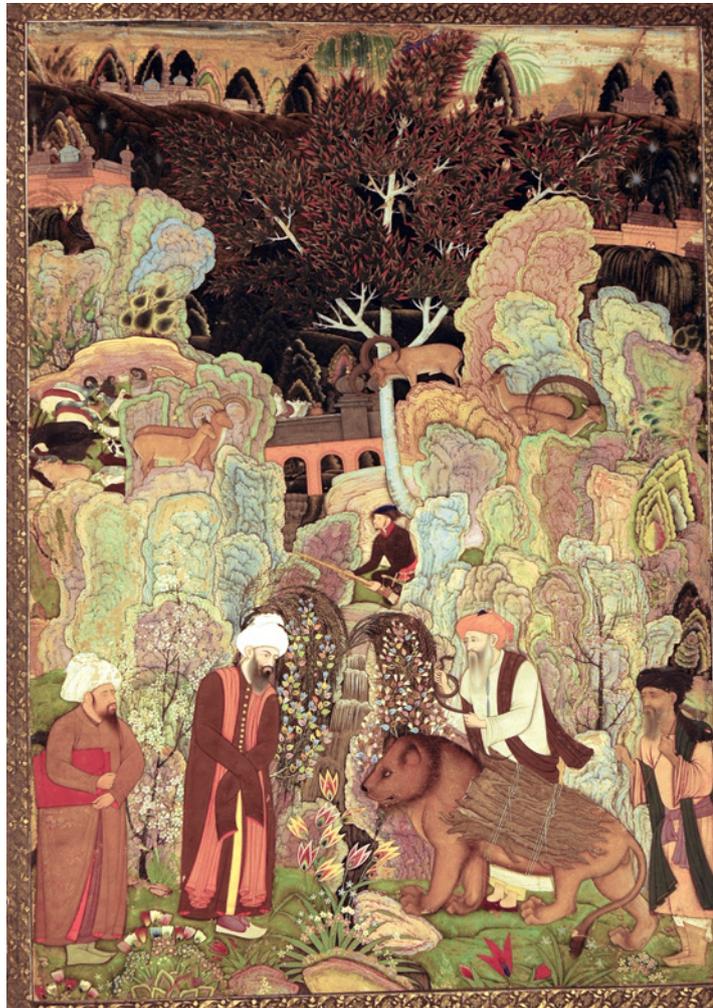


Fig. 26. “Abu’l Ghays al-Yamani and the lion” (“Sufis/Saints in a landscape”), attributed to Farrukh Husayn, probably Bijapur, ca. 1595–1609. St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Dorn 489, fol. 24v. (Photo: courtesy of the National Library of Russia)

relied heavily on Ibrahim's book of songs, wherein Saraswati has four arms, wears a white dress, and sits on a throne (song 53). The *Kitāb-i Nawras* was also sourced for the verses in *nasta'liq* that appear just beneath the arch (song 56: "Ibrahim whose father is guru Ganapati [Ganesh], and mother the pure Saraswati").¹⁸² Additional details of local dress and accoutrement—striped gold *patkas* (sashes), large necklace pendants (known as *urbāsī*), thick arm bracelets—contribute a Bijapuri spirit to the scene.

Upon sustained inspection of the painting, however, one increasingly exits the Bijapuri sphere of the patron and enters the peripatetic referents of its Iranian artist. The composition is neither a "fantastic" nor "dreamlike" landscape (of the type unilaterally associated with Deccani painting), nor is it populated with the naturalistic elements favored by the Bijapuri painter 'Ali Riza.¹⁸³ Apart from a handful of album paintings and manuscript illustrations from the *Pem Nem*, "Saraswati enthroned" is one of the few Ibrahim-era compositions framed by an architectural backdrop (landscapes being preferred, at least in the current known corpus). Whereas the palatial settings in the *Pem Nem* are conspicuously Bijapuri (low-springing ogee arches, bulbous domes on lotus-petal bases, projecting eaves and balconies),¹⁸⁴ the arrangement in "Saraswati enthroned" is resolutely Persianate. The architectural backdrop recalls Farrukh's earlier manuscript illustrations (especially "Babur receives a courtier," fig. 27,¹⁸⁵ and "The Prophet's bier"¹⁸⁶) but is aggressively condensed into three zones: a foreground garden with a fountain outlined in burgundy and rendered parallel to the picture plane; a large arch suggestive of a deep iwan; and the rear wall of the palace. Saraswati sits on a magnificent throne adjacent to the fountain (note the throne's similar placement in fig. 27), a peacock strolls by, and an attendant approaches with a bejeweled ostrich egg vessel. The spandrels of the arch feature swans amid Chinese-style clouds, and the rear wall includes, from bottom to top, a dado of brickwork, an unadorned white zone, the aforementioned *Kitāb-i Nawras* verses, and a mural painting of Ibrahim riding an elephant. The lower zones of the wall are punctuated by a door leading to an exterior green space, yet another one of Farrukh's favorite tropes (see fig. 27, where the white wall is embel-

lished with tinted drawings of the type seen on the vases in "Saraswati enthroned").

Like the formulaic Persian-style composition, additional details in "Saraswati enthroned" stand out as disconnected from Bijapuri iconography and the *Kitāb-i Nawras*.¹⁸⁷ The sizable gold throne with a high scalloped back is at odds with the low-lying *takht* (lit. "throne") ubiquitous in Deccani painting,¹⁸⁸ and the prominent *parīs* shading the goddess with a gold brocade are a curious addition.¹⁸⁹ The latter winged creatures provide the most conspicuous clue for understanding Farrukh's masterful recasting of his Hindu-Deccani subject into more familiar terms. The iconography of *parīs* shading an enthroned figure (with their wings or other items) immediately recalls Solomonic imagery. In his *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'* (Tales of the Prophets), Abu Ishaq Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Tha'labi (d. 1035) describes Solomon's divan as protected by birds who shade the sun and create shadows with their wings.¹⁹⁰ Such textual accounts have led Priscilla Soucek to conclude, "The use of flying creatures who hover over the ruler's head is one of the most characteristic themes in Solomonic imagery."¹⁹¹ In "Saraswati enthroned," three sets of winged creatures (parakeets, *parīs*, cranes) constitute a veritable "living baldachin" above the goddess.¹⁹² The parakeets, in particular, recall the bejeweled pigeons perched on Solomon's throne who sang every hour.¹⁹³

The Solomonic allusions of "Saraswati enthroned" are confirmed by comparison with contemporary Shirazi painting, specifically, the illustrated frontispieces of Solomon and Bilqis enthroned in luxury manuscripts.¹⁹⁴ The architectural backdrop of the Bilqis painting in a *Shāhnāma* of circa 1580–85¹⁹⁵ closely parallels that of "Saraswati enthroned"; it, too, has a small fountain in the foreground and a door in the rear leading to a green exterior. Like Saraswati, Bilqis sits on an extravagant throne and faces left toward an approaching female attendant carrying a vessel, as a pair of *parīs* hover above (in this instance, they swoop down carrying gold vessels). Even more explicit parallels can be drawn between "Saraswati enthroned" and the Bilqis side of a *Khamsa* frontispiece of circa 1580.¹⁹⁶ In both images, the wings of the *parīs* flanking the throne rise upward and nearly touch, thereby echoing the large arch above. In addition, both thrones feature a high scalloped back, vertical pan-



Fig. 27. “Babur receives a courtier,” attributed to Farrukh Beg (Farrukh Husayn), Kabul or Lahore, ca. 1580s. Folio from a *Bāburnāma*, Lahore, ca. 1589. Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.: Purchase—Smithsonian Unrestricted Trust Funds, Smithsonian Collections Acquisition Program, and Dr. Arthur M. Sackler, S1986.230.

els enclosing the figure and topped with finials, dangling fabric along the lower edge, and small steps.¹⁹⁷ In a related, yet earlier, Tabrizi drawing of Solomon’s ascension,¹⁹⁸ two *parīs* shade him with a piece of rectangular cloth in keeping with the brocade held above the goddess in “Saraswati enthroned.” In all of these Safavid examples, the *parīs* wear short-sleeve jackets on top of long robes, again of the type visible in the Bijapuri painting (with the addition of the Deccani *patka*).

The precise mechanics of Farrukh’s casting of Saraswati in Solomonian terms remain to be determined. Did the artist rely on an actual Shirazi model in one of Bijapur’s libraries? To date, a Shirazi depiction of Solomon and/or Bilqis enthroned has not been located in a Bijapuri repository,¹⁹⁹ but there is a high probability that such imagery existed in the city, especially given the prominence of Shirazis in elite society (Shah Navaz Khan, Rafi al-Din Shirazi) and the existence of illustrated

Shirazi manuscripts in the royal library (*Dīvān* of Jami, *Majālis al-Ushshāq*; appendix, nos. 1, 3, 4). Even if Farrukh did not have a direct model at his disposal in Bijapur—and that seems unlikely—others would have circulated nearby. Qutb Shahi Golconda was a vital center of Shiraz-inspired manuscript production, and at least three major Golconda manuscripts—a *Sinbadnāma* of circa 1575,²⁰⁰ a *Dīvān* of Muhammad Quli (r. 1580–1612),²⁰¹ and a *Falnāma* (Book of Omens) of circa 1610–30²⁰²—include paintings of Solomon and Bilqis enthroned. We can presume a high degree of cultural flow between Bijapur and Golconda during Farrukh's tenure, for Ibrahim and Muhammad Quli shared a fondness for Persian classics and ordered their best émigré poets (Malik Qummi, Zuhuri, Ruh al-Amin) to compose imitations of Nizami.²⁰³ Moreover, important paintings and manuscripts were exchanged between the two courts. Shortly after its creation in circa 1605, the most famous of Bijapur's yogini paintings was assembled into an album for Muhammad Quli,²⁰⁴ and at least one of Muhammad Quli's books—an anonymous commentary on the *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* (Seals of Wisdom) of Ibn 'Arabi (d. 1240)²⁰⁵—entered Bijapur's royal library.

Farrukh also may have been prescient of Shirazi prototypes from his artistic training in Iran. Skelton has argued that the artist hailed from Shiraz and was perhaps raised in the household (under Mawlana Darvish Husayn) that hosted Zuhuri prior to the poet's departure for India (Skelton's next conclusion being that Zuhuri later lured Farrukh to Bijapur).²⁰⁶ That Farrukh was at least proficient in Shirazi models is suggested by his signature on the throne's steps in "Saraswati enthroned," which echoes the placement of 'Abd al-Jalal's in the Topkapı *Khamsa* frontispiece.²⁰⁷ Unlike 'Abd al-Jalal's simple *'amal* formula, however, Farrukh signed with the more extensive *ḥarrarahu* (?) *Farrukh Ḥusayn muṣavvir-i Ibrāhīm 'Adilshāhī* ([drawn by?] Farrukh Husayn the painter [in the service of] Ibrahim Adil Shah [II]).²⁰⁸ The *ḥarrarahu-muṣavvir* formula was common in late sixteenth-century Khurasani circles, and Farrukh had employed it about fifteen years earlier in his portrait, dated 992 (1584–85), of the ruler of Kabul, "Mirza Muhammad Hakim with Hajji Yaqut" (fig. 28).²⁰⁹

Farrukh's translation of the Solomonic metaphor in "Saraswati enthroned" was but one reflection of a Bija-

puri courtly culture steeped in such allusions. The dated inscription on the south side of the Ibrahim Rauza describes Ibrahim's wife Taj Sultan as "dignified like Zubayda and exalted like Bilqis," and the first four verses on the turban worn by the ruler in the Copenhagen *Bust Portrait of Ibrahim*²¹⁰ read: "He is Khalil / The celestial sphere has no pearl in the shell like you / Faridun and Jamshid have no offspring like you / Throne of Solomon [rest of inscription effaced]."²¹¹ With the exception of the opening *huwa 'l khalil* (a common reference to Ibrahim via his namesake),²¹² these verses were extrapolated from the *Sāqīnāma* (Book of the Cupbearer) of Hafiz (d. 1392).²¹³ Of relevance here is the fact that the final words alluding to Solomon vis-à-vis his throne (*takht-i Sulaymān*) were deliberately changed from Hafiz's original reference to *Sikandār* (Alexander), thereby solidifying the Solomonic metaphor. Similar Solomonic language characterizes the poems in the *Sih Naṣr*. In *Nawras*, Ibrahim's castle is compared to that of Solomon, and the *Khān-i Khalil* proclaims, "Just as the wind carried aloft the throne of Solomon [*takht-i Sulaymān*], so, also, the throne of his [Ibrahim's] fame is wafted on the shoulders of breath."²¹⁴ A less explicit Solomonic reference can be found in the central bath hall of Kumatgi, the aforementioned pleasure palace east of Bijapur. One of the building's ceiling paintings depicts alternating peacocks and *parīs*, the latter dressed in Persian garb (one with a topknot, one with a lobed Persian crown) and carrying a variety of vessels.²¹⁵ Such imagery held widespread Solomonic allusion in bath halls throughout the subcontinent.²¹⁶

Given the pervasiveness of the Solomonic archetype in Ibrahim's Bijapur,²¹⁷ the formal dependency of "Saraswati enthroned" on Shirazi prototypes, and the fact that such Persianate models were commonly composed in double format, we are left with a final important question: In its original codex, was "Saraswati enthroned" possibly the left-hand side of a double-page composition?²¹⁸ If so, did the right-hand folio depict a male counterpart cast in a Solomonic light, perhaps Ibrahim himself or the elephant god Ganapati (Ganesh)? Would this male figure have been enthroned in a landscape surrounded by lions, leopards, hares, and other animals, as opposed to the architectural setting favored for Bilqis? At present, we can only speculate, but because the



Fig. 28. "Mirza Muhammad Hakim with Hajji Yaqut," signed by Farrukh Husayn, Kabul, dated 992 (1584–85). Folio from the Salim/Jahangir Album, north India, ca. late 1590s–1620s. Tehran, Gulistan Palace Library, no. 1663, fol. 199. (Photo: Keelan Overton)

Kitāb-i Nawras verses selected for “Saraswati enthroned” positioned Ganapati as Ibrahim’s father and Saraswati as his mother, I currently favor the elephant god as the subject of a possible right-hand page.

“Saraswati enthroned” is one of the most successful known visual reconciliations of Bijapur’s local and translocal cultures. Its duality parallels the coinage described above (*Ibrāhīm Ablā Balī* and *Ghulām-i Murtażā ‘Alī*; see fig. 25), but the effect is subtler. The painting would have been immediately legible to its patron (Ibrahim), yet simultaneously familiar to the court’s Iranian notables, particularly its Shirazi savants. On a more personal level, “Saraswati enthroned” was a quintessential example of what is perhaps best termed “a painter’s painting.” While conforming to the expectations of the Deccani patron, as dictated by the *Kitāb-i Nawras*, it concurrently spoke an internal dialogue perhaps appreciated in full only by Farrukh himself. In this classic example of peripatetic visual translation, the artist synthesized more than two decades of artistic experience: his possible upbringing in Shiraz, formative training in Khurasan, tenure on the Mughal periphery in Mirza Hakim’s Kabul, decade in Lahore at Akbar’s court, and present circumstances in Ibrahim’s Bijapur. When we set aside the painting’s obvious Shirazi (Solomon and Bilqis) and Bijapuri (*Kitāb-i Nawras*) iconographies, we are left with an image whose technical precision in illumination, drawing, and calligraphy finds its closest parallels in the manuscript illustrations of Safavid Khurasan, particularly those attributed to Muhammadi and his school.²¹⁹ Farrukh’s exactitude is exemplified by his handling of the throne, which is not filled with loosely painted floral designs in the typical Shirazi manner²²⁰ but rather with intricate, voluminous drawing recalling the borders of the Freer Jami (see the serrated leaves overlapping blossoms, and the lotuses with feathery edges).²²¹ The artist’s apparent use of the *ḥarrarahumuṣavvir* formula was apropos, for the painting does indeed synthesize a wide range of artistic skill and specialization best conveyed by these two words in combination.

“YOUTH WITH ṢAFĪNA”: FARRUKH HUSAYN’S MEDIATION OF MUHAMMADI

As early as 1957, Robert Skelton emphasized Farrukh’s Khurasani training and drew stylistic parallels to Muhammadi, a topic that has been expanded by Abolala Soudavar in particular.²²² Muhammadi is best known for his portraits of smiling, moon-faced youths holding cups, *ṣafīnas*, and flowers (particularly narcissus).²²³ That this genre of portraiture became popular in India and was there specifically associated with Farrukh is confirmed by seven paintings with Mughal ascriptions to the painter (*‘amal-i nādir al-‘aṣr Farrukh Beg* [work of the Wonder of the Age, Farrukh Beg]) in a *Khamṣa* of Amir Khusraw Dihlavi copied in Herat and dated 978 and 979 (1570–72).²²⁴ The intimate gestures in the manuscript’s “Entangled pair” (fig. 29) can be compared to those in Muhammadi’s “Young man offering a wine cup to a girl,”²²⁵ while “Standing woman with cup”²²⁶ is closely related to several of the Khurasani artist’s portraits of ladies holding wine cups or flowers.²²⁷ Since the faces and backgrounds of the *Khamṣa* paintings have been heavily overpainted and extended, it is difficult to assess the viability of Farrukh’s hand.²²⁸ Their ascriptions nonetheless confirm that, within Mughal circles, Farrukh was closely aligned with Muhammadi and the Khurasan School.

Farrukh’s affinity with Muhammadi during his subcontinent sojourns is further demonstrated by a group of four closely related portraits of a standing youth holding narcissus (fig. 30).²²⁹ The subject retains the sinuous and elegant form of the Muhammadi type but now sports three conspicuously Deccani items of dress and accoutrement: a flat turban wrapped in a gold sash, a long gold *patka*, and a gold belt that could secure the former or a sword. One of these portraits was inscribed in the picture plane *‘amal-i Farrukh Beg*,²³⁰ while another (fig. 30) was assembled into the famed Salim/Jahangir Album,²³¹ where it was surrounded by excellent illumination and ascribed to Farrukh by the emperor himself (“drawn by Farrukh Beg in his seventieth year”).²³² Regardless of actual hand (Farrukh or a follower),²³³ the four paintings confirm the widespread appeal of the Muhammadi poetic type in Mughal and



Fig. 29. "Entangled pair," ascribed to Farrukh Beg (Farrukh Husayn) at the Mughal court, probably Khurasan or Lahore, ca. 1580–95. Folio from a *Khamsa* of Amir Khusraw Dihlavi, Herat, dated 978 and 979 (1570–72). Cambridge University, King's College, Pote 153, fol. 101v. (Photo: courtesy of King's College)



Fig. 30. “Youth with narcissus,” ascribed to Farrukh Beg (Farrukh Husayn) at the Mughal court by Jahangir (see his shaky handwriting above), probably Bijapur, ca. 1595–1609. Folio from the Salim/Jahangir Album, north India, ca. late 1590s–1620s. Tehran, Gulistan Palace Library, no. 1663, fol. 86. (Photo: Keelan Overton)

Deccani circles and further position Farrukh as its chief ambassador-conduit from Khurasan to India.

Farrukh’s mediation of Muhammadi provides a suitable foundation upon which to explore “Ibrahim offering obeisance to Jahangir” (fig. 3), his most sophisticated portrait of the Bijapuri ruler in the guise of the Persianate collector and intellectual, as discussed earlier. Of Farrukh’s five portraits of Ibrahim, the Tehran example (fig. 30) has received the least attention, perhaps because it lacks conspicuous Bijapuri references (by way of the *Kitāb-i Nawras*) and its landscape is not as impressive as the celebrated St. Petersburg “Ibrahim hawking.” It is, however, closely related to this masterpiece, and there can be little doubt that the two portraits were painted in tandem. In both, Ibrahim’s youthful, heavily shaded face features rosy highlights, and he wears a pink robe accented with gold rosettes in combination with a Bijapuri turban sash and *patka*. In the St. Petersburg image, he holds a formidable hawk while seated on a richly caparisoned horse,²³⁴ and in the Tehran one, he sits on small gold throne and tilts his head toward an inscribed *şafina*. Both landscapes invite the patient viewer to pore over their meticulous brushwork (note the incessant stippling), atmospheric waterfalls, dark hills streaked with golden highlights, and delicate trees perched incongruously on cliffs, but the St. Petersburg portrait is more elaborate and colorful (the Tehran example has been cropped and repainted on its lower edge).

The Tehran painting’s presentation of Ibrahim as a poetic youth is firmly grounded in the Muhammadi figural type genre described above, as well as the Khurasani artist’s expanded pastoral compositions in *nīm qalam* (lit. “half pen,” or tinted drawing). These landscapes depict princes participating in the leisurely prerogatives of kingship (feasting, poetic recitation, music making), as emphasized by various props (cup, *şafina*, instrument).²³⁵ The popularity of the Muhammadi *nīm qalam* model persisted through the turn of the seventeenth century, when it was translated into fully saturated paintings. In “Youth and dervish in conversation,”²³⁶ a prince holding a *şafina* sits before an ascetic in a tripartite composition (lower vegetation and stream, middle mountains, upper sky) closely paralleling that of “Ibrahim offering obeisance.” Yet another Safavid point of

comparison is Riza ‘Abbasi’s “Seated page,”²³⁷ which includes a similar throne and *şafīna*-holding subject, as well as the artist’s explicit inscriptional debt to Muhammadi: “likeness of the work of Master Muhammadi of Herat.”²³⁸

The widespread popularity of the *şafīna* genre in the early modern Indo-Persian world hinged on the codex’s varied functions. As a generic metaphorical prop, it conveyed its holder’s status as a literary aesthete, and in this symbolic context, its surface was often unadorned (London “Seated page”) or minimally embellished (Toronto “Youth and dervish”). Alternatively, when inscribed with legible writing, the *şafīna* functioned as a canvas for explicit messages presented by its bearer.²³⁹ In this case, a reciprocal and interactive dialogue was intended between the internal subject and an external recipient/viewer/reader.

It is to the latter performative category that Ibrahim’s *şafīna* belongs. Its two lines of sizable *nasta‘līq* read: “Fortunate is that head, on which your foot rests/ Luck [is] in that heart in which there is room for you.”²⁴⁰ This couplet was drawn from Nizami’s *Makhzan al-Asrār* (Treasury of Secrets), and through this verbal allusion to the physical act of prostration, Ibrahim conveyed his unequivocal allegiance to the portrait’s recipient: Jahangir.²⁴¹ By implying that his head was literally beneath Jahangir’s foot, the Bijapuri ruler joined countless deferential individuals who knelt before the emperor and/or kissed his foot, forms of internal ritual and international diplomacy that were routinely visualized in Mughal painting and pervasive throughout the subcontinent and elsewhere.²⁴² Ibrahim presented this pledge of obeisance to his Mughal rival in light of the northern empire’s increasing incursions into the Deccan and positioning of its rulers as mere tributaries (*khāns* versus *shāhs*).

Two layers of related circumstantial evidence suggest that Ibrahim’s visual-verbal acquiescence was both understood and well received by its intended Mughal recipient. Jahangir was undoubtedly familiar with the poem in question, for Nizami was widely popular at Indian courts of the day and the emperor owned a fine Bukhara copy of the *Makhzan al-Asrār* dated 944 (1538).²⁴³ While ownership does not necessarily guarantee use and understanding, the fact that this volume

was written by Jahangir’s favorite calligrapher, Mir ‘Ali (fl. ca. 1505–45), and refurbished in the Mughal atelier, strengthens the assumption that the emperor was indeed familiar with the poem in question.²⁴⁴ That Jahangir sanctioned Ibrahim’s message and appreciated the portrait in general is further implied by the painting’s assembly into the Salim/Jahangir Album.²⁴⁵

The question of who exactly bore responsibility for the portrait’s sophisticated interpolation of text and image returns us to the literary culture discussed earlier and the elusive issue of agency. Was this successful diplomatic painting a group effort—among the painter (Farrukh), the subject (Ibrahim), and various Iranian savants (Shah Navaz Khan, Zuhuri, Malik Qummi)—or should we assign credit to the artist alone? It may not be farfetched to imagine that Farrukh would have been capable of recasting poetic verse as political allegory.²⁴⁶ The extrapolation of Hafiz in the Copenhagen *Bust Portrait of Ibrahim* suggests, however, that such word-image combinations may have been common practice in the Bijapuri atelier, as in most Indo-Persian *kitābkhānas* of the day.

As far as Ibrahim is concerned, we can infer a degree of involvement, or at least accommodation. The ruler appears to have favored Nizami and imitations of his work, as attested by the Bijapuri *Khamsa* copied by Khalilullah, the collected *Khamsa* of Amir Khusraw and *Laylā va Majnūn* of Hatifi (appendix, nos. 8, 9), and the commissioning of the *Manba‘ al-Anhār* after the *Makhzan al-Asrār*.²⁴⁷ Some viewers of the portrait—Bijapuri ones, at least—may therefore have interpreted the couplet in a positive light, as emblematic of Ibrahim’s literary fluency and patronage, rather than just his political fragility. A second level of intimacy vis-à-vis the ruler-subject can be found in his red nails, which derive from his *Kitāb-i Nawras* iconography (cf. fig. 2). Once again, Farrukh successfully integrated his patron’s local and translocal identities (in this case, the emphasis being on the latter). Moreover, while positioning Ibrahim as compliant and metaphorically on his knees, he simultaneously cast him as a literary connoisseur capable of subtly extrapolating Nizami. It is difficult to imagine a more complementary and graceful image of submission.

While the precise agent or agents responsible for the poetic and political subtleties of “Ibrahim offering obei-

sance to Jahangir” may never be known, we can be confident that Farrukh himself developed the painting’s visual mechanics. Like “Saraswati enthroned,” “Ibrahim offering obeisance to Jahangir” was a culmination of decades of itinerant artistic experience. The portrait was far from Farrukh’s first depiction of a ruler in a pastoral-leisurely guise of the type associated with Muhammadi. His first documented forays into this genre occurred at the Kabul court of Mirza Hakim (d. 1585), where he created two tinted drawings of Akbar’s half-brother. “Mirza Muhammad Hakim and Hajji Yaqt” (fig. 28) depicts the ruler and his eunuch-counselor in animated conversation in a springtime landscape. Farrukh’s lengthy upper inscription, dated 992 (1584–85), identifies the subjects and clarifies the garden setting (Shahrara Garden, Kabul). On the lower left, he has signed the drawing “*ḥarrarahu al-muznib Farrukh Ḥusayn-i muṣavvir*,” a typical Khurasani formula likewise used by Muhammadi (also see the earlier discussion concerning “Saraswati enthroned”).²⁴⁸ In “Mirza Muhammad Hakim and two pages,”²⁴⁹ two courtiers flank the seated ruler, a similar willow tree with birds engulfs the background, and Farrukh has signed his name on a rock (*rāqimahu Farrukh Ḥusayn*). Both portraits are rendered in Muhammadi’s favored technique of *nīm qalam* and include his codified vocabulary of forms (willow and almond trees, foreground stream with rocks, moon-faced youths, and striped turbans with fluttering endings).

When Farrukh painted “Ibrahim offering obeisance to Jahangir” fifteen to twenty years later in Bijapur, his Kabul portraits surely loomed large in his mind. For Ibrahim’s pose, the artist recycled that of Mirza Hakim in his portrait dated 992 (1584–85) (fig. 28). He again perched his subject on the edge of a gold throne, and although he altered aspects of the lower body (legs not crossed), he repeated the upper part (right arm across the body and left hand gripping a waist sash, with the elbow jutting forward). What remained was to translate the Kabul ruler’s headgear and waist sash into their Bijapuri equivalents, replace the cup with an inscribed *ṣafīna*, and paint a more dynamic background. While the latter suggests a new direction in Farrukh’s landscapes—the dark hills with golden accents appear here, and in other Bijapuri works, for the first time²⁵⁰—it simultaneously reflects his long-standing interest in

enlivening his compositions with a variety of trees in different scales.

As noted above, Farrukh’s “Ibrahim offering obeisance to Jahangir” was ultimately incorporated into the Salim/Jahangir Album. There it was appreciated in tandem with the artist’s five other pastoral portraits of individuals and figural types: his two Kabul drawings of Mirza Hakim (fig. 28); “Youth holding narcissus” (fig. 30); “Falconer,”²⁵¹ which has been argued to be Jahangir, albeit as Prince Salim;²⁵² and a second portrait of the Bijapuri ruler, the Prague “Ibrahim playing the tambur” (fig. 2). Although the latter is routinely positioned as the iconic visualization of Ibrahim’s verbal self-portrait in his *Kitāb-i Nawras*, it, too, is rooted in the conventions of Persian painting—specifically, enthronement scenes in which a seated ruler gazes down at courtiers (often overlapped to imply depth) while an attendant or attendants stand behind. Farrukh employed comparable figural groupings in his earlier manuscripts’ illustrations, including “Babur receives a courtier” (fig. 27) and “Youth holding a wine cup listens to the recitation of verses,” from a *Dīvān* of Hafiz.²⁵³ The Prague “Ibrahim playing the tambur” (fig. 2) and the Rampur “Youth holding a wine cup” are virtually identical in their handling of the main subject’s posture (seated Indian-style against large bolsters, with conspicuously flayed toes) and inclusion of a prominent tree trunk next to the standing attendant. The most significant differences rest in the background (landscape versus architecture).

Considered together, Farrukh’s six portraits in the Salim/Jahangir Album—which span at least two decades (ca. 1585–1605)—confirm a well-known fact: as both prince and emperor, Salim/Jahangir was especially fond of Persianate painting. The individual who played a formative role in influencing this taste was Aqa Riza, who was in the prince’s envoy by 1588–89 and then led his Allahabad studio (ca. 1600–1604). Prior to entering central Mughal lands, Aqa Riza appears to have worked in Mirza Hakim’s Kabul with Farrukh,²⁵⁴ an assumption borne out by close parallels between Aqa Riza’s portrait of Mirza Hakim²⁵⁵ and Farrukh’s two drawings of the same subject (see fig. 28).²⁵⁶ Aqa Riza was likely the initial supervisor of the Salim/Jahangir Album and responsible for some of its exceptional borders and paintings.²⁵⁷ Given his probable tenure in Kabul with Farrukh, we

can imagine that he was instrumental in selecting his colleague's six Persianate portraits for inclusion.²⁵⁸ We might further wonder if Aqa Riza was responsible, in theory or execution, for framing some of Farrukh's works in exceptional Khurasani-style landscapes.²⁵⁹ Until the Salim/Jahangir Album is published in full, such speculations can be neither confirmed nor denied. It seems likely, however, that the personal connection between these two Iranian migrants played a significant role in the formation of this illustrious *muraqqa'* (album), thereby underscoring the importance of the artist-artist relationship in Indo-Persian production, not just the artist-ruler one.²⁶⁰ If a lack of Safavid court benefaction often created the "push" out of Iran, itinerant colleagues frequently provided the initial "pull" to India and subsequently influenced circulation and patronage patterns within the subcontinent.²⁶¹

CONCLUSION

The landscapes of "Ibrahim offering obeisance to Jahangir" (fig. 3) and "Ibrahim hawking" lead us to a final work attributed to Farrukh: "Abu'l Ghays al-Yamani and the lion" (fig. 26). In this painting, the artist essentially reversed the landscape of "Ibrahim hawking": the pastel-colored mountains now engulf the composition and the gold-streaked hills are limited to the background. A large *chinār* (plane tree) frames the scene, and Farrukh's other staple trees and flowers are rendered throughout. In addition to numerous birds and animals, several anecdotal passages are visible: a hunter sits patiently while a ram peers down at him (a humorous element), two shepherds rest with their flock, and a man leads a pair of oxen bearing two women seated sidesaddle, one holding a baby, across a bridge (the latter two passages are in minute scale). Four large male figures stand in the foreground, and one holds a snake and is accompanied by a lion carrying wood. Skelton has identified the scene as a possible illustration to Jami's *Nafaḥāt al-Uns min Ḥaḍarāt al-Quds* (The Breaths of Divine Intimacy), a collection of 611 Sufi biographies composed in 883 (1478) for Mir 'Ali Shir Nava'i (d. 1500) of Herat.²⁶² The *Nafaḥāt al-Uns* section on Abu al-Ghays Jamil al-Yamani relates

how, after a lion had killed his ass, the saint made the animal carry his wood and used a snake to whip him.²⁶³

Four aspects of this unsigned painting have prompted its attribution to Farrukh, and, more specifically, to his Bijapur period (ca. 1595–1609): the cityscapes with distinctly Bijapuri basalt architecture (note the bulbous domes with gold finials and lotus-petal bases, and the slender minarets or towers with comparable forms), the hunter wearing a Deccani sword hilt-belt (cf. fig. 30), the precise and vibrant landscape filled with the artist's favorite trees (*chinār*, willow, almond, and unidentifiable examples that are overlapped and stippled), and similarly, his stock figural types.²⁶⁴ If the painting is indeed a product of Farrukh's Bijapur period,²⁶⁵ it further confirms his freedom to embrace Khurasani paradigms as he saw fit in his adopted Deccani sphere. In this instance, the Khurasani references occur on two levels. The four men in the foreground immediately recall the figural types of late Timurid Herat, as practiced by Bihzad (d. 1535–36) and his immediate circle (see their gaunt faces, long beards, turbans with fluttering edges, plain scarves, and robes with extended sleeves).²⁶⁶ If the image was conceived as an illustration to Jami's *Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, we may wonder if Farrukh deliberately adopted Bihzadian figures to lend a degree of contemporaneity between text and image. Concurrently, he placed his Timurid-style figures in an exuberant landscape recalling those of Safavid Herat and Mashhad in more recent memory (late sixteenth century).²⁶⁷ The painting's overwhelmingly Khurasani, archaic, and foreign (to Bijapur and India more generally) aesthetics are underscored by comparison with the same scene in the Mughal *Nafaḥāt al-Uns* dated 1012 (1604–5) and copied by the celebrated 'Abd al-Rahman 'Anbarin Qalam.²⁶⁸ The Mughal illustration includes standard Akbari figural types and a staid landscape, with the inclusion of the dead ass in the background.

Farrukh's "Abu'l Ghays al-Yamani and the lion" stimulates a series of new questions while returning the discussion to Bijapur's culture of Persian intellectualism. What is the likelihood that an illustrated copy of Jami's *Nafaḥāt al-Uns* was produced at Ibrahim's court? Although only a handful of Ibrahim-era manuscripts survive (*Kitāb-i Nawras*, *Pem Nem*, *Ni'matnāma*, *Shāhnāma*, *Khamsa*), just two of which are Persian clas-

sics, the extant record must not be read at face value. This article has shown that Persian literature permeated many aspects of courtly culture and artistic production in Bijapur: recall Zuhuri and Malik Qummi's imitation of the *Makhzan al-Asrār*, the portraits of Ibrahim extrapolating Nizami and Hafiz, the Kumatgi paintings of Rustam and Majnun. Moreover, it must be remembered that Bijapur's library, which was substantial enough to supply Akbar with 2,000 books in 1604, suffered considerably during later centuries. With an increased understanding of Ibrahim's marks of ownership and Bijapur's library practices, new volumes will surely come to light, including those misattributed to other courts and Ibrahim's.²⁶⁹

If we return to the book culture outlined above, the possibility of an Ibrahim-era manuscript devoted to Jami's *Nafahāt al-Uns* is left open. Ibrahim's mystical inclinations are well known, and the extant corpus of his books suggests an interest in Jami and, by extension, the Sufi literary culture of late fifteenth-century Herat (appendix, nos. 1, 2, 5). The ruler also appears to have been fond of a second compilation of Sufi biographies written in late Timurid Herat, the *Majālis al-'Ushshāq* of Gazurgahi (d. 1470), as attested by his two heavily illustrated Shirazi volumes, one of which was assigned the high value of 1,555 rupees (appendix, nos. 3, 4). That Jami's biography of Sufi saints was known on the subcontinent and selected for luxurious production is further confirmed by the Mughal *Nafahāt al-Uns*.

Despite the mysteries surrounding it—part of a manuscript (albeit lacking a text block), a single-page unicum intended for an album, or an image whose fate and function simply shifted with time and circumstance?—"Abu'l Ghays al-Yamani and the lion" exemplifies the privileged place of Perso-Islamic systems in Ibrahim's Bijapur. Between circa 1600 and 1610, at least nine illustrious Iranian immigrants (Shah Navaz Khan, Rafi' al-Din Shirazi, Firishta, Malik Qummi, Zuhuri, Haider Zehni, Kalim, Khalilullah, and Farrukh Husayn) occupied key positions in the fields of government, history writing, poetry, and the visual arts.²⁷⁰ Given this exceptional pool of expatriate Iranian talent, it is hardly surprising that the 'Adil Shahi court participated in widespread patterns of Perso-Islamic sovereignty, as evinced in titlature, diplomacy, collecting, and portrai-

ture. Although scholarship to date on Ibrahim-era painting has emphasized local Dakhni texts such as the *Pem Nem* and *Kitāb-i Nawras*, and while the latter has conditioned an emphasis on the ruler's personality and patronage,²⁷¹ the material presented here calls for increasingly integrative and decentralized approaches moving forward. The intersections between Bijapur's local and translocal ideologies, as conspicuously juxtaposed in Ibrahim's coins (fig. 25) and delicately synthesized in Farrukh's paintings (figs. 1–3), and the expansion of Bijapur's patronage base to include its Iranian diaspora yield intriguing insights into a courtly culture poised at the crossroads of Indo-Persian experience.

In terms of art-historical practice, "Abu'l Ghays al-Yamani and the lion" also urges a degree of pause and revision, as it underscores the limitations of the extant visual record, complicates notions of agency and schools of production, and warns against the formation of rigid binaries (Mughal versus Deccani, naturalistic versus fantastical, Sunni versus Shi'i, *āfāqī* versus *Dakkani*). Like many of Farrukh's paintings, it is a complex intermingling of artistic reference that is most appropriately investigated as an "object of translation."²⁷² The mediations inherent to it rest first and foremost with its itinerant maker rather than in its place of physical production. While it can be tempting to classify its "fanciful" landscape as quintessentially Deccani, many of its tropes—including pastel-hued cliffs with tortuous surfaces and a variety of meticulously rendered trees—were far from "new" but rather established practices of the artist.²⁷³ The painting is therefore less a product of place (Bijapur? Agra?) or patron (Iranian notable? Ibrahim himself?) and more a reflection of an artist's mobility within a cultural network linking Greater Iran, the Mughal empire, and the Deccan.

Although this article has sought to illuminate connections between Bijapur's visual culture and its Iranian diaspora, it has only begun to explore the resonance of Persianate painting in the Deccani city. In addition to Farrukh's Khurasan-inspired works, a number of Ibrahim-era images can be compared to contemporary Safavid painting, as practiced in Qazvin and Isfahan by artists like Riza 'Abbasi. In "The kiss,"²⁷⁴ a princely type kisses a woman as she places her hands erotically in his lap, and in "Siesta,"²⁷⁵ an effeminate prince reclines lan-

guidly as attendants fan him and rub his feet.²⁷⁶ Were these androgynous, corporal, and informal figures independent Bijapuri developments, or were they indicative of increased aesthetic dialogue with the Safavid center?

The latter question underscores that this article has investigated visual translation primarily as a one-way street: from Iran and Khurasan to Bijapur via immigrants like Farrukh. It is imperative to emphasize, however, that many of these itinerants returned to their homeland, whether as temporary ambassadors or long-term residents. The case of the calligrapher-cum-diplomat Khalilullah, who traveled to the Safavid court on two occasions and was encouraged to return perma-

nently by Shah 'Abbas,²⁷⁷ leaves little doubt that portable examples of Bijapuri art (books, calligraphies, paintings, bejeweled items, metalwork, textiles) made their way into Safavid collections, whether as diplomatic gifts or endowments to religious institutions.²⁷⁸ Such circumstances leave open the question of the Bijapuri impact on Safavid art, a topic of increasing significance from the mid-seventeenth century onward.²⁷⁹ Future research will ideally balance the scales of cultural exchange and bring the dialogue full circle.

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APPENDIX

Manuscripts and Album Folios belonging to Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II (r. 1580–1627) in Global Collections
(excluding the British Library's Asar Mahal collection)

* = not studied firsthand

Manuscripts: Persian

Title	Details of the Codex	Ibrahim II's Marks of Ownership (and/or the Bijapur Library)	Provenance ^a and Select Bibliography
1. <i>Dīvān</i> of Jami	– Shah Muhammad al-Katib al-Shirazi – Probably Shiraz, dated 971 and 972 (1563–65) – 2 double-page illuminated frontispieces and 19 paintings attributed here to Shiraz, ca. 1565–80	19 impressions of Ibrahim's Koranic seal: – opening flyleaf, largely effaced (fol. 1r) – 18 illustrated folios (fig. 19) (one illustrated folio does not bear the seal, fol. 217v) Type A notation: illegible, effaced (fol. 1r)	Sotheby's 1988, lot 208; Christie's 2000, lot 79; Overton 2011, 334
2. <i>Dīvān</i> of Jami	– Autograph copy? Attributed by Ashraf as "most probably by the poet himself" – Probably Herat, dated 5 Rajab 871 (February 10, 1467) – Illuminated <i>unvān</i> (fols. 2v, 8v)	Ibrahim's illuminated ex libris: dated 27 Rabi' II 10[0]3 (January 8, 1595): " <i>Dīvān</i> of Jami in <i>naskh ta'liq</i> . Newly bound with red binding with gold lines. Collected into the library of the Refuge of the World, Ibrahim 'Adil Shah, may God protect his kingdom, on the 27th of Rabi' al-Thani, in the year 103 [<i>sic</i>]" (fol. 1r, fig. 13) Type B notation: dated 27 Rabi' II 1003 (January 8, 1595) (fol. 1r, fig. 13)	Ashraf 1967, no. 1568; Overton 2011, 335
3. <i>Majālis al-'Ushshāq</i> of Kamal al-Din Husayn Gazurgahi	– Ahmad al-Hafiz – Shiraz, ca. 1580s – 75 paintings, attributed by Uluç to Shiraz ca. 1580; most faces repainted in the Deccani style of ca. 1700 – Double-page illumination signed by Jalal al-Din Baghnavi (fols. 3v–4r), attributed by Uluç to Shiraz, ca. 1580 – The original Shirazi binding has been tampered with (see Uluç)	Ibrahim's Koranic seal ex libris (fol. 3r, fig. 14) Type B notation: dated 22 Ramazan 1014 (January 31, 1606) (fol. 3r, fig. 14) Type C notation: "Price" (<i>qīmat</i>), followed by a valuation in <i>raqam</i> equivalent to 1,555 rupees (fol. 3r, fig. 14)	Richard 1993–94, 100, fig. 11; Richard 1997, cat. no. 135; Richard 2000, fig. 6–8, 243–45; Uluç 2006, 191118; Overton 2011, 336–37

Title	Details of the Codex	Ibrahim II's Marks of Ownership (and/or the Bijapur Library)	Provenance ^a and Select Bibliography
4. <i>Majālis al-Ushshāq</i> of Kamal al-Din Husayn Gazurgahi London, British Library, IO Islamic 1138	– Shiraz, late sixteenth century – Illuminated double-page frontispiece (fols. 1v–2r) – 49 paintings attributed by Robinson to Shiraz, ca. 1590–1600; attributed by Richard to Isfahan, ca. 1600	Type D notation: “Special book of the <i>Majālis al-Ushshāq</i> of the most noble, most holy, Ibrahim ‘Adilshah. Collected into the royal library” (fol. 1r)	‘Abd al-Khaliq: oval seal dated 116[2?] (1748–49), regnal year 1 (fol. 1r) Tipu Sultan (r. 1782–99) Ethé 1980, no. 1871; Robinson 1976, no. 464; Richard 2000, 243–44; Overton 2011, 337
5. <i>Yūsuf va Zulaykhā</i> of Jami Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, SP 1919	– Shah Mahmud Nishapuri – Tabriz, dated 950 (1543–44) (fol. 54v) – Illuminated ‘ <i>unvān</i> (fol. 2v) and title pieces, attributed by Richard to Bijapur – 2 paintings (fols. 17r, 32v) attributed by Richard to Bijapur, reign of Ibrahim II (this attribution is supported here)	Ibrahim’s Koranic seal (fol. 2r, fig. 17) Type A notation, directly below the Koranic seal, in five lines, cut off on the left edge but completed and expanded in the type D (fol. 2r, fig. 17) Type D notation, middle of the folio, in six lines: “ <i>Yūsuf va Zulaykhā</i> of Mawlana Jami in beautiful <i>nasta’liq</i> . Written by Shah Mahmud Nishapuri. With the large seal [Koranic] of the Refuge of the World [Ibrahim]. Eggplant binding with gold lines. Gift of the estate of Shah Mirza Naqib, head of the royal library collection. Newly bound with yellow lining [double] and red binding” (fol. 1r)	‘Alamgir (r. 1658–1707): a notation records that the book entered the Mughal library as “booty from the victory of Bijapur”; seal of Qabil Khan <i>khānāzāda-i ‘Ālamgīr</i> dated 1097 (1685–86) (fol. 1v) Blochet 1928, vol. 3, no. 1701; Seyller 1997, 297; Simpson 1997, 388; Richard 2000, figs. 9–12, 245–46; Overton 2011, 338–39
6. <i>Kulliyāt</i> of Sa’di London, British Library, Add. 17961	– Attributed by Rieu to Iran, “the close of the 16th century” – Double-page illumination (fols. 2v–3r) – No paintings	Ibrahim’s Koranic seal ex libris (fol. 2r, fig. 15) Type A notation, largely effaced, only two precisely written lines remain visible; assumed to have read: “ <i>Kulliyāt</i> of Sa’di in <i>nasta’liq</i> . Gilded binding with the large seal. Collected into the royal library” (fol. 2r, fig. 15) Type B notation: dated 20 R[...] 1014 (1605–6) (fol. 2r, fig. 15)	Rieu 1966, 599; Overton 2011, 340–41

Title	Details of the Codex	Ibrahim II's Marks of Ownership (and/or the Bijapur Library)	Provenance ^a and Select Bibliography
7. <i>Shāhnāma</i> of Firdawsi London, British Library, IO Islamic 3254	– Qazvin or Isfahan, late sixteenth century – Double-page illumination (fols. 1v–2r) – 49 paintings attributed by Robinson as “a transitional style between Qazvin and Isfahan . . . provincial work”; two paintings are unskilled Indian additions	Ibrahim’s Koranic seal (fol. 1r) Type A or D notation, partially effaced: “Collected into the royal library” (fol. 1r)	Ethé 1980, no. 880; Robinson 1976, nos. 953–1001; Overton 2011, 341
8. <i>Khamsa</i> of Amir Khusraw Dihlavi Doha, Museum of Islamic Art, Ms. 302	– Attributed by Black and Saidi to Yazd (?), 1430–40 – 10 paintings, attributed by Black and Saidi to Yazd (?), 1430–40	Ibrahim’s Koranic seal ex libris (fol. 1r, fig. 16) Type B notation: dated 28 Ramadan [...]4 (1014 in light of other examples?) (fol. 1r, fig. 16) The word <i>nawras</i> : upper edge (fol. 1r, fig. 16)	‘Ali ‘Adil Shah I (r. 1558–80): circular seal with a radiating inscription naming the Twelve Imams (fol. 1r) Mughal library: a purchase note records acquisition in Aurangabad on 1 Rabi‘ I 1107 (October 10, 1695) (fol. 1r) Muhammad Shah (r. 1719–48): seal dated 1156 (1743), regnal year 26 Black 2005, no. 27; Overton 2011, 342
*9. <i>Laylā va Majnūn</i> of ‘Abdullah Jami Hatifi St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, VR-995	– Shah Mahmud Nishapuri – Herat, dated 969 (1561–62) – Illuminated <i>‘unvān</i> (fol. 1v)	Type A notation, dated 11 Rajab 1029 (June 12, 1620), in a variety of hands, with sloppy addendums, legible portions read: “Book of the <i>Laylā va Majnūn</i> of Hatifi in <i>naskh ta‘liq</i> . Gilded binding. Impressed with the <i>nawras</i> [?] seal. Written by Mahmud al-Nishapuri. Estate of the special <i>nawras</i> (<i>bābat-i ḥużūr nawras</i>). Collected into the royal library on the 11th of Rajab 1029” (fol. 1r, fig. 18) The word <i>nawras</i> : upper edge (fol. 1r, fig. 18)	‘Alamgir (r. 1658–1707): seal of Qabil Khan <i>khānazāda-i</i> <i>‘Ālamgīr</i> Nadir Shah (r. 1736–47): presumably booty from the sack of Delhi Adamova 2012, no. 5, 287–90

Title	Details of the Codex	Ibrahim II's Marks of Ownership (and/or the Bijapur Library)	Provenance ^a and Select Bibliography
*10. ^b <i>Ikhtiyārāt-i Badī</i> of 'Ali b. Husayn al-Ansari	– Bijapur, dated 990 (1582–83)	Ibrahim's Koranic seal (fol. 1r) Type D notation: "Collected into the royal library" (fol. 1r) Type D notation, considerable stacking of words: "Special book of the <i>Ikhtiyārāt-i</i> <i>Badī</i> of the blessed, prosperous, most noble, most holy, most high, Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II" (fol. 43r)	Muhammad Khan, son of Dilavar Khan 'Adil Shahi: written for his library 'Alamgir (r. 1658–1707): seal of Qabil Khan <i>khānāzāda-i</i> <i>'Ālamgīr</i> dated 1097 (1685–86) (fol. 1r) Seyller 1997, 343; ^c Ḥasīr Raḍawī 1921, no. 229; Overton 2011, 346

Manuscripts: Arabic

11. Koran	– Shiraz, ca. 1570	Ibrahim's <i>nawras</i> seal (flyleaf, fig. 6) Type B notation, dated 14 Safar 1003 (October 28, 1594) (flyleaf)	Overton 2011, 343
Hyderabad, Jagdish and Kamla Mittal Museum of Indian Art, 76.851, Ms. 1			
12. Koran	– Muhammad Mu'min b. 'Abdullah Murvarid – dated 845 (1441–42) (reworked, not original) – Binding: Bijapur, ca. 1580–1627 (reign of Ibrahim II)	2 impressions of Ibrahim's scalloped seal binding stamp (one on each doublure, figs. 22, 24)	Abu Sa'id (r. 1458–69): said to be the original patron in the colophon (requiring further assessment) Tipu Sultan (r. 1782–99): note adhered to the front cover and flyleaf inscription East India Company: inscriptions dated August 15, 1805 and 1806, the latter recording the presentation of the Koran to the University of St Andrews Lentz and Lowry 1989, cat. no. 141; Overton 2011, 102–15; Overton forthcoming (Research conducted at St Andrews in August 2016 [at the time of press] has significantly altered and enhanced understanding of the manuscript and will be presented in the co- authored Overton forthcoming.)
University of St Andrews Library, Ms. 19 O			

Title	Details of the Codex	Ibrahim II's Marks of Ownership (and/or the Bijapur Library)	Provenance ^a and Select Bibliography
13. <i>Dīwān</i> of al-Ḥadira (Qutba b. Aws)	– colophon signed by Yaqut al- Mustaʿsimi and dated 629 (1231–32) (spurious?)	2 impressions of Ibrahim's Koranic seal (opening and closing pages of text: fol. 4v, fig. 20, and fol. 36v)	Early Timurid court, ca. 1400 (?): reader's note by Shaykh Muhammad al-Tabrizi al-Sultani (fol. 3v)
Rampur, Raza Library, 5207		Type D notation: "Special book of the blessed, most noble, most holy, most high, Ibrahim 'Adil Shah" (fol. 3v, fig. 21)	Aqqoyunlu Tabriz: – Rustam b. Maqsud (r. 1493–97): seal (fol. 3v) – a descendant of Ya'qub (r. 1478– 90): seal (fol. 3v) Shah Isma'il II (r. 1576–78): seal (fol. 3r) Siddiqi 1998, pl. 7; Quṭba b. Aws 2010, esp. 43–44, 76; Overton 2011, 96–101, 343

Manuscripts: Bijapuri Texts (Persian or Dakhni)

14. <i>Nujūm al-'Ulūm</i> of 'Ali 'Adil Shah I	– Bijapur, dated 978 (1570–71) – 400 paintings	Misc. notation (does not appear to be the standard type A): "Book of the <i>Nujūm</i> <i>al-'Ulūm</i> by order of the king of Bijapur, Ibrahim, the world teacher (<i>Jagat Gurū</i>), bought by Navab Sayyid Rustam Khan" (fol. 1r)	Navab Sayyid Rustam Khan (period of Ibrahim II): purchase note on fol. 1r
Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, Ms. 2			Leach 1995, 2:819; Hutton 2006, 50–69; Flatt 2011; Overton 2011, 344
15. <i>Kitāb-i Nawras</i> of Ibrahim II	– 'Abd al-Rashid – Bijapur, dated 990 (1582–83) (questioned)	Type D notation, dated 17 Jumada I 1037 (January 24, 1628): " <i>Kitāb-i Nawras</i> in Rayhān. Written by 'Abd al-Rashid. Newly bound with a red binding with a gold medallion (<i>turanj</i>) [in reference to the central stamp] and chain (<i>zanjīra</i>) [in reference to the outer thin border]. From the wardrobe. Collected into the royal library on the 17th of Jumada I in the year 1037. Thirty-two pages. Colored lines (?) ^d (fol. 1r, fig. 4)	Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II/Aḥmad 1956, 84–86; Haidar 2011, 26– 27, fig. 3; Overton 2011, 344
Hyderabad, Salar Jung Museum, M. 177			

Title	Details of the Codex	Ibrahim II's Marks of Ownership (and/or the Bijapur Library)	Provenance ^a and Select Bibliography
*16. <i>Kitāb-i Nawras</i> of Ibrahim II Hyderabad, Central Records Office	– ‘Abd al-Latif Mustafa – Bijapur, before 5 Muharram 1022 (February 24, 1613) (the type D notation provides terminus ante quem)	A third seal of Ibrahim II: circular, inscribed ‘ <i>ahd Ibrāhīm ‘Ādil moḥur tabdīl</i> (title page) Type D notation: “ <i>Kitāb-i Nawras</i> written by the most noble, most holy, most high, the Shadow of God [Ibrahim]” (title page) Type D notation, dated 5 Muharram 1022 (February 24, 1613): “ <i>Kitāb-i Nawras</i> in the two pens [in reference to <i>naskh</i> and <i>suls</i>] of ‘Abd al-Latif. Newly bound with a gilt binding with a gold medallion (<i>turanj</i>) and pendants (<i>barg</i>) [in reference to a central stamp framed vertically by two smaller ones] and rope (<i>tanāb</i>) and chain (<i>zanjīra</i>) [in reference to the outer thin borders]. Forty pages. Collected into the royal library on the 5th of Muharram in the year 1022” (title page) ^e	Ibrāhīm ‘Ādil Shāh II/Aḥmad 1956, 84–86; Haidar 2011, 26–27, fig. 3; Overton 2011, 344
17. <i>Kitāb-i Nawras</i> of Ibrahim II Dispersed: *Delhi, National Museum, 69-22/1-6; Cleveland Museum of Art, 2013.284.b	– Khalilullah – Bijapur, ca. 1617–18 – Likely the copy presented to Ibrahim by Khalilullah in 1027 (1617–18) – Finely illuminated text blocks with drawings of birds and animals in landscapes	*Flyleaves have not been located	Ibrāhīm ‘Ādil Shāh II/Aḥmad 1956, 37, 92; Skelton 1982, no. 43; Haidar 2011, figs. 5–12; Haidar and Sardar 2015, cat. no. 45

Album Folios

*18. ^f Opening calligraphic folio, from an album with marbled borders Delhi, National Museum, Ms. 55.45, page 61 (fol. 31r)	Per Jake Benson, 2015: – Ms. 55.45 is comprised of at least three albums – the folio in question features the <i>bismillah</i> and a portion of Koran 2:58 – the folio in question is likely the opening of a distinct marbled album	Ibrahim's Koranic seal: central calligraphic field, directly below the <i>bismillah</i> (the irregular piece of uncolored paper bearing the calligraphy and Ibrahim's seal was framed in a thin gold border and in turn enclosed in a perfect rectangle of borders and rulings) The word <i>nawras</i> : in the peach border framing the central field (same orientation as Ibrahim's seal)	Mir Hafiz Khan: seal dated 1155 (1742–43) or 1175 (1761–62) (the same seal is visible on the Ms. 55.45 folio reproduced as cat. no. 77 in Haidar and Sardar 2015)
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Title	Details of the Codex	Ibrahim II's Marks of Ownership (and/or the Bijapur Library)	Provenance ^a and Select Bibliography
*19. Calligraphic folio, originally part of the <i>Qit'āt-i</i> <i>Khushkhaṭṭ Album</i> ^g	Per Jake Benson, 2015: – Ms. 55.45 is comprised of at least three albums – the folio in question bears a series of prayers in Arabic – the folio in question is from the <i>Qit'āt-i Khushkhaṭṭ Album</i> , which is generally attributed to Ahmadnagar, late sixteenth century (research ongoing). The majority of this album is preserved in the University of Edinburgh (Or. Ms 373)	Probable type A notation, on a strip of white paper in the lower left corner of the outermost marbled border: “From the wardrobe. Collected into the royal library on the 6th of [loss]” ^h Misc. notation, beneath the above, in the gold ruling: “Two pens” (in reference to <i>naskh</i> and <i>suls</i> , as in no. 16)	Haidar and Sardar 2015, cat. nos. 18–19 (dispersed folios attributed to the <i>Qit'āt-i</i> <i>Khushkhaṭṭ Album</i>)

- a When available, evidence of provenance (e.g., seal, inscription) is briefly described.
- b I thank John Seyller for kindly sharing photographs.
- c Seyller's citation of the Buhar catalogue as no. 181 requires correction to pp. 181–82 (no. 229).
- d Since Ibrahim died in September 1627 and he was the author of the book in question, it is safe to presume that the *jāmadārkhāna* (wardrobe) mentioned in the notation was indeed his and that the volume was transferred to the royal library upon or shortly after the accession of his son Muhammad.
- e I thank Jake Benson for his comments on these bookbinding terms.
- f I am sincerely grateful to Jake Benson for bringing this folio (and no. 19 below) to my attention, sharing photographs, and offering his insight on the original albums. These critical folios expand our scope of inquiry into Bijapuri collecting beyond the manuscript alone.
- g Benson's essay on the *Qit'āt-i Khushkhaṭṭ Album* is forthcoming in Overton, *Iran and the Deccan*.
- h Since the type D notation was continued by a librarian who worked for Ibrahim's son and successor, Muhammad (see no. 15, fig. 4, where it is dated 17 Jumada I 1037 [January 24, 1628]), we must leave open the possibility that this type A notation post-dates 1627. However, because it describes a type of transfer common during Ibrahim's reign (from the wardrobe to the royal library), I currently favor his ownership (as with no. 15).

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NOTES

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1. Mark Zebrowski, *Deccani Painting* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1983), 67. This exhaustive monograph remains a critical source on all things Deccani.
2. The Yale survey describes Ibrahim as “probably the most brilliant patron in the Deccan.” Sheila S. Blair and Jonathan M. Bloom, *The Art and Architecture of Islam, 1250–1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 296. The Cambridge survey of Deccani art concludes: “Ibrahim elevated Bijapur painting to a level of expressive power and technical refinement that rivalled the greatest Mughal and Safavid works, but with an atmosphere of mystery that had no place in the classic phases of the other schools. Ibrahim was a dreamer, with an almost morbid sensitivity to art and music.” George Michell and Mark Zebrowski, *Architecture and Art of the Deccan Sultanates*, New Cambridge History of India, ed. Gordon Johnson, pt. 1, vol. 7 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 163.
3. In her inspiring 2006 monograph, Deborah Hutton devoted a section to eight contemporary portraits of Ibrahim. Deborah Hutton, *Art of the Court of Bijapur* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2006), 96–107. I have assigned sixteen portraits to Ibrahim’s reign, or immediately thereafter. Keelan Overton, “A Collector and His Portrait: Book Arts and Painting for Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah II of Bijapur (r. 1580–1627)” (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2011), app. 2, “Contemporary Portraits of Ibrahim.”
4. St. Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Studies, E-14, fol. 2.
5. See Michell and Zebrowski, *Architecture and Art of the Deccan Sultanates*, 169, where it is also reproduced as pl. 1.
6. See, among others, Zebrowski, *Deccani Painting*, 67; Michell and Zebrowski, *Architecture and Art of the Deccan Sultanates*, 163. These comments parallel the early twentieth-century assessment of Basil Gray, “Deccani Paintings: The School of Bijapur,” *Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 73, no. 425 (August 1938): 74.
7. The word *nawras* was ubiquitous at Ibrahim’s court. Depending on the pronunciation of the first syllable (*naw* or *noh*), it can be translated as “nine moods” (based on the *rasas* of Indian aesthetic theory), “nine juices” (alluding to a wine recipe combining nine flavors), or “newly arrived” (from the Persian “new,” *naw*, and “to arrive,” *rasīdan*, in reference to a fresh garden or something generally innovative). Hutton, *Art of the Court*, 110, underscores that the term’s popularity rested in its widespread appeal across Bijapur’s composite culture. Local Indian audiences likely interpreted it through the *rasas* concept (as a specific emotion conveyed by a work of art), whereas members of the Iranian diaspora (see Hutton’s quoting of Zuhuri) may have been more sensitive to the notion of freshness and newness (in light of linguistic parallels such as *Nawrūz*, lit. “new day,” in reference to the Iranian New Year). At some point, the word evolved into a linguistic trope, as demonstrated by its designation of everything from coins (*hun-i nawras* [*hun* is Sanskrit for “pagoda”]) to the royal flag (*‘alam-i nawras*) to palaces (Qasr-i Nawras Bihisht/Nawras Mahal) to cities (Nawraspur). On the latter palace and city, see Hutton, *Art of the Court*, 111–19.
8. Dakhni is a Deccani vernacular and early form of Urdu. For an overview of Dakhni literature, including some of the Bijapuri texts discussed here, see D. J. Matthews, “Eighty Years of Dakani Scholarship,” *Annual of Urdu Studies* 8 (1993): 91–107. Each song in the *Kitāb-i Nawras* is set to a specific *raga* (melody), and the book also includes seventeen couplets (*dohras*).
9. Ibrāhīm ‘Adil Shāh II, *Kitāb-i Nauras* [*Kitāb-i Nawras*], ed. and trans. Nazīr Aḥmad (New Delhi: Bharatiya Kala Kendra, 1956), 128.
10. Michell and Zebrowski, *Architecture and Art of the Deccan Sultanates*, 163.
11. As early as 1995, John Seyller concluded, “Abundant visual and literary evidence has encouraged some scholars to stress the role of the patron’s personality in the development of style, particularly in the case of the Muslim states of the Deccan and the Mughal empire. In this view, the patron Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah II (reg 1579–1627) of Bijapur not only had the means and desire to summon talent to his court but also the force of personality to transmit his own poetical and musical interests to his painters, who translated them into melancholic colour schemes, fantastic landscape forms and sensitive rhythms of drapery and pattern [emphasis added].” John Seyller, “Indian Subcontinent, S XII, 2: Patronage: Painting,” in *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. Jane Turner (New York: Grove’s Dictionaries, 1995), 739–40. Deborah Hutton subsequently emphasized the phenomenon of “historiomachy,” in which modern scholarship

- transforms prominent historical figures into heroes or villains, and further challenged Ibrahim's presumed patronage of Bijapuri monuments such as the Ibrahim Rauza. See Hutton, *Art of the Court*, 18, 125–32, building off of Seyller and Carl Ernst's assessment of "historiomachy" in *Eternal Garden: Mysticism, History, and Politics at a South Asian Sufi Center* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992), 20, 285n61.
12. Richard M. Eaton and Phillip B. Wagoner, *Power, Memory, Architecture: Contested Sites on India's Deccan Plateau, 1300–1600* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 161n84.
 13. Navina Haidar and Marika Sardar, et al., *Sultans of Deccan India, 1500–1700: Opulence and Fantasy* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2015), 79. While I challenge aspects of this presentation of Ibrahim, such criticism is minor in light of the exhibition's groundbreaking presentation of Deccani art and the catalogue's significant scholarly contributions. It also goes without saying that curators face tremendous external and internal pressures in public outreach and branding when developing international "blockbuster" exhibitions of this scale.
 14. I borrow this phrase from 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 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 382.
 15. Roberta Smith, "'Sultans of Deccan India,' Unearthly Treasures of a Golden Age at the Met," review of the exhibition "Sultans of Deccan India, 1500–1700: Opulence and Fantasy" at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, *New York Times*, April 23, 2015, <http://nyti.ms/1PnDJ7S> (accessed November 15, 2015). Like many of the reviews summarized in the final section of Roxburgh, "After Munich" (pp. 377–84), this example includes several neo-Orientalist recursions, particularly the trend toward formalism and aestheticization (note the use of terms such as "dazzling," "ravishing," "beautiful," and "lavishness," which are of course intended to appeal to the general public approaching the material for the first time). These criticisms aside, the reviewer aptly recognizes the technical sophistication of the artworks on display and acknowledges the rarity of their presentation in a single venue.
 16. Nur al-Din Muhammad Zuhuri (d. 1616), quoted at the beginning of Hutton, *Art of the Court*, 1. See Zuhūrī, *Sih Naṣr*, in Muhammad 'Abdul Ghani, ed. and trans., *A History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court, with a Brief Survey of the Growth of Urdu Language (Bābur to Akbar)*, 3 vols. (Allahabad: Indian Press, 1930), 3: 397–98.
 17. The painting was first published in Chandramani Singh and Madhvendra Narayan, *From the Collection of Maharaja of Jaipur: Six Multicoloured Prints, Surat Khana, Jaipur, 16th–17th Century, Mughal and Deccani* (Jaipur: Jaigarh Public Charitable Trust, 2003), pl. C, where the authors argue, "Ibrahim Adil Shah was a great devotee of Saraswati, the goddess of speech. His book *Kitab-i-Nauras* begins with an invocation to the goddess. The painting could be the *unwan*-opening page of the book or an independent work commissioned by the Sultan."
 18. Robert Skelton, "The Mughal Artist Farrukh Beg," *Ars Orientalis* 2 (1957): 393–411. I am indebted to Robert for his inspiration, hospitality, encouragement, and encyclopedic insight throughout my dissertation project and the years following.
 19. Among others, see John Seyller, "Farrukh Beg in the Deccan," *Artibus Asiae* 55, nos. 3–4 (1995): 319–41; Abolala Soudavar, "Between the Safavids and the Mughals: Art and Artists in Transition," *Iran* 37 (1999): 49–66; Milo C. Beach, "Farrukh Beg," in *Masters of Indian Painting*, vol. 1, 1100–1650, ed. Milo C. Beach, Eberhard Fischer, and B. N. Goswamy, 2 vols., *Artibus Asiae Supplementum* 48 (2011): 187–210. See also Skelton's current thinking in "Farrukh Beg in the Deccan: An Update," in *Sultans of the South: Arts of India's Deccan Courts, 1323–1687*, ed. Navina Najat Haidar and Marika Sardar (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2011), 12–25; Keelan Overton, "Farrukh Ḥusayn," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam Three*, forthcoming 2016. Despite this relative consensus, only the following is incontrovertible, and presented here according to five distinct stages of production/patronage. First, Farrukh Beg was a "trusted companion" of the Safavid heir apparent Hamza Mirza (evidence: *Tārīkh-i 'Ālam-ārā-yi 'Abbāsī*). Second, Farrukh Ḥusayn was affiliated with the Kabul ruler Mirza Hakim in 1584–85 (evidence: two signed portraits, one dated—Tehran, Gulistan Palace Library, no. 1663, fols. 199 [fig. 28], 234). Third, in 1585, Farrukh Beg entered Akbar's service, and works ascribed to him subsequently appeared in major Mughal manuscripts (evidence: *Akbarnāma* text and ascribed manuscript illustrations, including, but not limited to, London, Victoria and Albert Museum, IS.2:117-1896 [*Akbarnāma*], and Washington, D.C., Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, S1986.232 and S1986.231 [*Bāburnāma*]; the *Bāburnāma* illustration reproduced here [fig. 27] does not bear an ascription). Fourth, Farrukh Ḥusayn was one of the most accomplished painters in Ibrahim's Bijapur (evidence: *Sih Naṣr* text, two signed paintings—"Saraswati enthroned" [fig. 1] and the St. Petersburg "Ibrahim hawking," with a partial signature discussed in Seyller, "Farrukh Beg in the Deccan"—and a second portrait of Ibrahim ascribed to the artist at the Mughal court [fig. 2]). Finally, Farrukh Beg was prominent at Jahangir's court circa 1609–19 (evidence: *Jahāngīrnāma* and *Iqbāl-nāma-i Jahāngīrī* [Book of Fortune] texts and several ascribed paintings [figs. 2, 30]).
 20. As first proposed in Skelton, "Mughal Artist," 401–2, and further elaborated in Soudavar, "Between the Safavids and the Mughals," 60.
 21. Soudavar, "Between the Safavids and the Mughals," 55.
 22. Soudavar suggests that both Muhammadi and Farrukh contributed one painting to Ibrahim Mirza's renowned *Haft Awrang* (Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art, 46.12). Abolala Soudavar, "The Age of Muhammadi," *Muqarnas* 17 (2000): 65–66. He also attributes twenty-nine paintings in Hamza Mirza's *Haft Awrang* (Istanbul, Topkapı Pal-

- ace Library, H. 1483) to Farrukh circa 1580–83, and one to Muhammadi, arguing that this manuscript was begun at the court of Ibrahim Mirza and refurbished under Hamza Mirza. Soudavar, “Between the Safavids and Mughals,” 56–57; Soudavar, “Age of Muhammadi,” 65. Hamza Mirza’s library-atelier was at one point controlled by the vizier Mirza Salman (d. 1583), and Soudavar posits (“Between the Safavids and Mughals,” 59) that the vizier’s assassination in 1583 may explain Farrukh’s migration to Kabul. For the most recent analysis of Muhammadi’s production under Mirza Salman, see Abolala Soudavar, “The Patronage of the Vizier Mirza Salman,” *Muqarnas* 30 (2013): 213–34.
23. On the independent kingdom of Kabul under Mirza Hakim, see Munis D. Faruqi, “The Forgotten Prince: Mirza Hakim and the Formation of the Mughal Empire in India,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 48, 4 (2005): 487–523.
 24. Farrukh’s Akbar-period production may prove to be his most ambiguous. Some of his ostensible (per ascriptions) *Bāburnāma* and *Akbarnāma* illustrations could have been painted in Khurasan or Kabul, and were simply recycled in these later Mughal manuscripts. See the critical observation in Susan Stronge, *Painting for the Mughal Emperor: The Art of the Book, 1560–1660* (London: V&A Publications, 2002), 44; also Beach, “Farrukh Beg,” 196, 200. I thank Susan Stronge for ongoing conversations about this artist.
 25. For the artist’s departure from Akbar’s court to Ibrahim’s, the date of which is again based on circumstantial evidence, see Seyller, “Farrukh Beg in the Deccan,” 340; Beach, “Farrukh Beg,” 204.
 26. Throughout this article, I employ the term *gharībān* over the more commonly used *āfāqī*. The latter is largely a product of twentieth-century scholarship, as underscored in Roy Fischel, “Society, Space, and the State in the Deccan Sultanates, 1565–1636” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2012), 180n4, building upon the earlier work of Richard Eaton, *A Social History of the Deccan, 1300–1761: Eight Indian Lives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 68n27; Eaton, “‘Kiss My Foot,’ Said the King: Firearms, Diplomacy, and the Battle for Raichur, 1520,” *Modern Asian Studies* 43, 1 (January 2009): 294n10. Contemporary chroniclers generally describe the immigrants in question as *gharībān*, which Fischel translates as “foreigners,” thus distinguishing between *gharīb* (foreigner) and *gharbī* (westerner). On the so-called Deccani-Westerner rift originating during the Bahmani period (1347–1527), see Richard Eaton in Haidar and Sardar, *Sultans of the South*, 4–6. For variants of the term *Dakkanī*, see Fischel, “Society, Space, and the State,” 53.
 27. It is not within the scope of this article to comment on all aspects of Bijapur’s cosmopolitan culture. For recent scholarship on Europeans affiliated with Ibrahim, see Deborah Hutton and Rebecca Tucker, “A Dutch Artist in Bijapur,” in *The Visual World of Muslim India: The Art, Culture and Society of the Deccan in the Early Modern Era*, ed. Laura Parodi (London: I. B. Tauris, 2014), 205–32 (on the painter Cornelis Claesz de Heda); Keelan Overton, “*Vida de Jacques de Coutre*: A Flemish Account of Bijapuri Visual Culture in the Shadow of Mughal Felicity,” in Parodi, *Visual World of Muslim India*, 233–64 (on the jewel merchant Jacques de Coutre). Sanjay Subrahmanyam has written extensively on Bijapur-Portuguese connections. See, for example, Sanjay Subrahmanyam, “An Infernal Triangle: The Contest between Mughals, Safavids and Portuguese, 1590–1605,” in *Iran and the World in the Safavid Age*, ed. Willem Floor and Edmung Herzig (London: I. B. Tauris, 2012), 121–48. Subrahmanyam’s scholarship inspired much of my 2011 dissertation, aspects of which are continued and developed here.
 28. This binary is challenged in Subah Dayal, “The Career(s) and Memory of Neknam Khan in Seventeenth-Century Deccan” (paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, Washington, D.C., January 2014, and chapter 3 of her dissertation entitled “Landscapes of Conquest: Patrons and Narratives in the 17th-Century Deccan” (University of California, Los Angeles, 2016). I thank the author for sharing her work in advance of publication.
 29. For Asad Beg’s description of Ibrahim’s “broken” Persian, see P. M. Joshi, “Asad Beg’s Mission to Bijapur, 1603–1604,” in *Mahamahopadhyaya Prof. D.V. Potdar Sixty First Birthday Commemoration Volume*, ed. Surendra N. Sen (Poona: D.K. Sathe, 1950), 191.
 30. Sajjad H. Rizvi, “Bijapur,” in *Medieval Islamic Civilization: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Josef W. Meri and Jere L. Bacharach, 2 vols. (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2006), 1:108. Khandalavala had earlier argued, “He [Ibrahim] restored Sunni rites and saw to it that Deccanis and Abyssinians replaced the Persians who held all the high offices of state. He also changed the official language from Persian to Deccani.”: Karl Khandalavala, “Five Miniatures in the Collection of Sir Cowasji Jehangir,” *Marg* 5, 2 (1952): 26.
 31. For an English translation of the *Khān-i Khalīl* section in question, see Zuhūrī, *Sih Naṣr*, ed. and trans. Ghani, 453–67. On Zuhuri, see Paul Losensky, *Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition* (henceforth *EI2*), s.v. “Zuhūrī Turshīzī” (the same author’s expanded article on Zuhuri is forthcoming in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*). On Malik Qummi, see Munibur Rahman, *EI2*, s.v. “Malik Qummi.”
 32. For Fathullah Shirazi, see Ali Anooshahr, “Shirazi Scholars and the Political Culture of the Sixteenth Century Indo-Persian World,” *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 51, 3 (2014): 331–52.
 33. Shah Navaz Khan’s impact on Ibrahim’s Persian education is discussed in T. N. Devare, *A Short History of Persian Literature at the Bahmani, the Adilshahi, and the Qutbshahi Courts: Deccan* (Poona: S. Devare, 1961), 83–86. On his palace at Nawraspur, see Hutton, *Art of the Court*, 111–15. For panegyric in praise of Shah Navaz Khan, see Devare, *Short History*, 166–67.
 34. Paul Losensky, “‘Square like a Bubble’ Architecture, Power, and Poetics in Two Inscriptions by Kalim Kāshāni,” *Journal of Persianate Studies* 8 (2015): 42–70. I am grateful to the author for sharing his essay in advance of publication.

35. Mahdī Bayānī, *Aḥvāl va āsār-i khushnīvisān*, 2 vols. (Tehran: Intishārāt-i ‘Ilmī, 1363 [1985]), 1:177–80, no. 697 (s.v. “Khalīlullāh Shāh—Mīr”); Nazir Ahmad, “Shāh Khalīlullāh Khushnawīs: The Royal Calligraphist of the ‘Adilshahi Court,” *Islamic Culture* 44 (January 1970): 35–55. Hamidreza Ghelichkhani’s assessment of the calligrapher is forthcoming in Keelan Overton, ed., *Iran and the Deccan: Persianate Art, Culture, and Talent in Circulation, c. 1400–1700* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press).
36. Sotheby’s, London, *Arts of the Islamic World*, April 9, 2014, lot 60.
37. Most of the known pages from this dispersed manuscript are preserved in the National Museum, New Delhi. See Haidar and Sardar, *Sultans of Deccan India*, cat. no. 45; Navina Haidar, “The *Kitab-i Nauras*: Key to Bijapur’s Golden Age,” in Haidar and Sardar, *Sultans of the South*, figs. 5–11.
38. Sotheby’s, *Arts of the Islamic World*, April 9, 2014, lot 60.
39. Private collection and former Sitaram Sahu collection (now missing), reproduced in Haidar and Sardar, *Sultans of Deccan India*, cat. no. 31, fig. 50. A drawing of Atish Khan (Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art, F1997.16) has also been attributed to Farrukh. Milo Cleveland Beach, *Imperial Image: Paintings for the Mughal Court* (Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art, 2012), no. 50. In the same publication, also see a drawing of the Madonna and Child (no. 51) attributed to Farrukh’s Bijapur or Mughal periods, ca. 1605–10 (a related painting is preserved in Delhi, National Museum, 58.20/26). For a complete survey of works attributed to Farrukh, not all of which are discussed here, see the various sources cited in n. 19.
40. Haidar and Sardar, *Sultans of Deccan India*, 100. The color plate in Singh and Narayan, *Six Multicoloured Prints*, is the best available reproduction. The painting is in a private royal collection and unavailable for study.
41. An early copy of the *Manba‘ al-Anhār* is preserved in a *Kulliyāt* (Collected Works) of Zuhuri bearing seals of Shah Jahan (r. 1628–58) dated 1045 (1635–36) and 1046 (1636–37). See Hermann Ethé, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office* (London: India Office Library & Records, 1980), 820–22, no. 1500, no. 2; Devare, *Short History*, 85–86, 202 (no. 8), 219. For a *maṣnavī* by Malik Qummi in the meter of *Khusraw va Shīrīn*, see Ethé, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts*, 820, no. 1499; Devare, *Short History*, 201 (no. 5). Zehni was also reportedly asked to compose a response (*javāb*) to Nizami’s *Makhzan al-Asrār*. Devare, *Short History*, 86.
42. The variety of “push-pull” factors determining migration are discussed in Sanjay Subrahmanyam, “Iranians Abroad: Intra-Asian Elite Migration and Early Modern State Formation,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 51 (1992): 340–63.
43. For the rise of Mahdawi millenarianism in 1580s Ahmadnagar, and associated negative implications for Shi‘i Iranian émigrés such as Firishṭa, see Subrahmanyam, “Infernal Triangle,” 126.
44. Mir Muhammad Amin’s circulation patterns paralleled those of Kalim. Originally from Shahristan, near Isfahan, he migrated to the Deccan around 1600, rose to the post of *mir jumla* (prime minister) of Golconda during the reign of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah (r. 1580–1612), briefly returned to Iran, and subsequently excelled under both Jahangir and Shah Jahan.
45. On Kalim, see Wheeler Thackston, “The Poetry of Abū Tālib Kalim; Persian Poet-Laureate of Shāhjahān,” 2 vols. (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1974).
46. For Fayzi’s praise of Malik Qummi and Zuhuri, and suggestion that they be “called to the Mughal court,” see Muzaffar Alam and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, “A Place in the Sun: Travels with Faizi in the Deccan, 1591–93,” in *Les sources et le temps / Sources and Time: A Colloquium, Pondicherry 11–13 January 1997*, ed. François Grimal (Pondicherry: Institut français de Pondichéry, Ecole française d’Extrême-Orient, 2001), 294. On Malik Qummi and Khan-i Khanan, see Devare, *Short History*, 204–5, relying on the *Ma‘āṣir-i Raḥīmī* (Memoirs of ‘Abd al-Rahim) of ‘Abd al-Bāqī Nihāwandī; Rahman, “Malik Qummi.”
47. Devare, *Short History*, 205, building on the firsthand account of ‘Abd al-Bāqī, *Ma‘āṣir-i Raḥīmī*. For Mir Jamal al-Din’s role as Akbar’s ambassador to Bijapur, including his arrangement of the marriage of Ibrahim’s daughter to Prince Daniyal, see Muzaffar Alam and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, “The Deccan Frontier and Mughal Expansion, ca. 1600: Contemporary Perspectives,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 47, 3 (2004): 380–82. Mir Jamal al-Din’s inordinately long delay in Bijapur prompted Akbar to dispatch a second envoy, Asad Beg, as extensively discussed in Alam and Subrahmanyam, “Witnessing Transition: Views on the End of the Akbari Dispensation,” in *The Making of History: Essays Presented to Irfan Habib*, ed. K. N. Panikkar et al. (New Delhi: Tulika, 2000): 104–40.
48. Ahmadnagar was annexed by the Mughals in 1636, Bijapur in 1686, and Golconda in 1687. On Bijapur’s tenuous political circumstances in the shadow of Mughal felicity, and the associated visual record, see Overton, “*Vida de Jacques de Coutre*.”
49. The extensive literature on Safavid-Deccani diplomacy includes Ahmad, “Shāh Khalīlullāh”; Iskandar Munshī, *History of Shah ‘Abbas the Great = Tārīkh-i ‘Ālam-ārā-yi ‘Abbāsī*, trans. Roger M. Savory, 3 vols. (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1978), 2:1079–80, 1172 (Khalīlullāh’s two missions); Riazul Islam, *A Calendar of Documents on Indo-Persian Relations, 1500–1750*, 2 vols. (Tehran: Iranian Culture Foundation, 1979–82), 2:131–37; Nazir Ahmad, “‘Adilshāhī Diplomatic Missions to the Court of Shāh ‘Abbās,” *Islamic Culture* 43, 1 (April 1969): 143–61; Nazir Ahmad, “Letters of the Rulers of the Deccan to Shah ‘Abbas of Iran,” in *Medieval India: A Miscellany* (Aligarh: Asia Publishing House, 1969), 280–300; Syed Muhammad Raza Naqvi, “Shah Abbas and the Conflict between Jahangir and the Deccan States,” in *Medieval India: A Miscellany*, 272–79.
50. This letter is most recently discussed in Subrahmanyam, “Infernal Triangle,” 128–29. Also see Islam, *Calendar of Documents*, 2:131–35 (Dn. 298.1).

51. A brief summary of Qutb Shahi-Safavid diplomacy is provided in Laura Weinstein, "Variations on a Persian Theme: Adaptation and Innovation in Early Manuscripts from Golconda" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2011), 35–38.
52. Subrahmanyam, "Infernal Triangle," 128–29.
53. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, In 07A.17, reproduced in Elaine Wright et al., *Muraqqa' Imperial Mughal Albums from the Chester Beatty Library* (Alexandria, Va.: Art Services International, 2008), cat. no. 52.
54. London, British Library, Johnson Album 25, no. 14, reproduced in Keelan Overton, "Ali Riza (The Bodleian Painter)," in *Masters of Indian Painting*, vol. 1, 1100–1650, ed. Beach et al., fig. 9; Haidar and Sardar, *Sultans of Deccan India*, cat. no. 41.
55. Staffordshire, Earl of Harrowby Collection, reproduced in Overton, "Ali Riza (The Bodleian Painter)," fig. 3.
56. London, British Museum, 1997.1108.01, reproduced in *ibid.*, fig. 12; Haidar and Sardar, *Sultans of Deccan India*, cat. no. 46.
57. This is not to say that other texts were not commissioned and written during Ibrahim's reign. In addition to the well-known chronicles and panegyric (Firishita, Shirazi, Malik Qummi, Zuhuri), a treatise on perfumery (*Itṛīyya-i Nawras Shāhī*) was composed for the ruler. A copy dating to the reign of Muhammad 'Adil Shah survives in the British Library. Ethé, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts*, no. 3076/B 490.
58. Hyderabad, Salar Jung Museum, M. 177. See the text page reproduced in Haidar, "Kitāb-i Nauras," fig. 3. The date of 990 has been debated.
59. Hyderabad, Central Records Office.
60. Dispersed. For Delhi, National Museum, 69-22/1-6 and Cleveland Museum of Art, 2013.284.b, see Haidar and Sardar, *Sultans of Deccan India*, cat. no. 45.
61. London, British Library, Add. 16880. This Sufi romance by Hasan Manjhu Khalji was extensively analyzed in Deborah Hutton, "The *Pem Nem*: A Sixteenth-Century Illustrated Romance from Bijapur," in Haidar and Sardar, *Sultans of the South*, 44–63, building upon her earlier discussion in *Art of the Court*, 73–83. Also see the most recent publication in Haidar and Sardar, *Sultans of Deccan India*, cat. no. 29.
62. Hyderabad, State Museum. See Ghulam Yazdani, "Two Miniatures from Bijapur," *Islamic Culture* 9 (1935) H: 212–16; Robert Skelton, "Documents for the Study of Painting at Bijapur in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries," *Arts Asiatiques* 5, 2 (1958): 99–100; Zebrowski, *Deccani Painting*, 76, fig. 52.
63. Sotheby's, *Arts of the Islamic World*, lot 60.
64. Dispersed. See the forthcoming essay by Laura Weinstein, "The Shahnama in the Deccan: A Dispersed Bijapur Shahnama of ca. 1610," in *Shahnama Studies III*, ed. Charles Melville and G. R. van den Berg (Leiden and Boston: Brill), and her assessment in cat. nos. 34–37 in Haidar and Sardar, *Sultans of Deccan India*, 106–9.
65. *Ustād-i kā'ināt ki in kārkhāna sākht / maqṣūd 'ishq būd ki nawras bahāna sākht*. I am grateful to Wheeler Thackston for this amended translation of Zebrowski, *Deccani Painting*, 76.
66. Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh II, *Kitāb-i Nauras* [*Kitāb-i Nawras*], ed. and trans. Aḥmad, 134–35, 146–47. Analyses of the Prague painting include Hana Knížková, "Notes on the Portrait of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II of Bijapur in the Náprstek Museum, Prague," in *Facets of Indian Art: A Symposium Held at the Victoria and Albert Museum on 26, 27, 28 April and 1 May 1982*, ed. Robert Skelton et al. (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1986), 116–23; Zebrowski, *Deccani Painting*, 95–96; Hutton, *Art of the Court*, 101–2; Haidar, "Kitāb-i Nauras."
67. Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh II, *Kitāb-i Nauras* [*Kitāb-i Nawras*], ed. and trans. Ahmad, 125, 146.
68. For Jahangir's comments on Ibrahim's songs, see Wheeler Thackston, ed., *The Jahangirnama: Memoirs of Jahangir, Emperor of India* (Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art, 1999), 164.
69. The circular seal accompanying a notation dated 24 Ramadan 920 (November 12, 1514) in a two-volume anthology dated 838–40 (1435–36) (Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, Ms. 124) is commonly associated with Isma'il (per the date of the notation). See Arthur J. Arberry, Mujtabā Minuvī, and Edgar Blochet, *The Chester Beatty Library: A Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts and Miniatures*, vol. 1, MSS. 101–150, ed. J. V. S. Wilkinson (Dublin: Hodges Figgis, 1959), 53; Barbara Brend, *Perspectives on Persian Painting: Illustrations to Amīr Khusrāu's Khamsah* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 79; Overton, "Collector and His Portrait," 46–47. This seal and its host folio are available for viewing on the Chester Beatty Library's "Islamic Seals Database," <http://www.cbl.ie/islamicseals/View-Seals/346.aspx> (accessed November 15, 2015). At least two seals can be associated with 'Ali I; see the impressions in London, British Library, Loth 463/B 185, and Doha, Museum of Islamic Art, Ms. 302 (appendix, no. 8). These seals, and many other Bijapuri and Deccani examples, are translated and analyzed in Keelan Overton and Jake Benson, "Deccani Seals: Sources for the Study of Indo-Persian Book Arts and Collecting, c. 1400–1680," in *Empires of the Near East & India: Voices from the Safavid, Ottoman, and Mughal Societies*, ed. Hani Khafipour (Columbia University Press, 2017).
70. Rafī' al-Din Shirazi, quoted from P. M. Joshi, "Ali 'Adil Shah of Bijapur (1558–1580) and His Royal Librarian: Two Ruq'as," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, n.s., 31–32 (1956–57): 97. This oft-cited passage is also discussed in Saleemuddin Qureshi, "The Royal Library of Bijapur," *Pakistan Library Bulletin* 11, 3–4 (September–December 1980): 2–3; Zebrowski, *Deccani Painting*, 61; Hutton, *Art of the Court*, 51; Overton, "Collector and His Portrait," 47–48.
71. I thank Wheeler Thackston for his comments on Persian interpretations of *nawras*.
72. For the Asar Mahal, a pillared hall facing onto a large tank, see Mark Brand, "Bijapur under the Adil Shahis (1490–1686)," in *Silent Splendour: Palaces of the Deccan, 14th–19th Centuries*, ed. Helen Philon (Mumbai: Marg Publications, 2010), 70–73, fig. 6.

73. On the Asar Mahal collection, see Qureshi, "Royal Library"; Otto Loth, *A Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office* (London, 1877). Volumes in this repository are henceforth identified as Loth xyz/B xyz (Loth's Arabic catalogue is ordered chronologically by the former; the "B" number follows and indicates Bijapur/Asar Mahal volumes). Chapter 2 of my dissertation ("Collector and His Portrait") built upon Qureshi's critical scholarship but diverged in three ways: it focused on collecting during Ibrahim's reign, identified the ruler's marks of ownership, and used the latter to locate dispersed volumes (thereby expanding the scope of inquiry beyond the British Library's Asar Mahal collection). I sincerely thank Ursula Sims-Williams for recently taking and sharing photographs of critical Asar Mahal volumes, and for accommodating (along with her colleagues) several research visits over the years.
74. Skelton, "Mughal Artist," 98.
75. Qureshi, "Royal Library," 13.
76. Ethé, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts*, nos. 3060–76.
77. Consider London, British Library, Loth 525/B 181 (originally published by Loth as B 181A, see p. 144), where the word *aval* is written prominently on fol. 3r (fig. 5). For this ranking system at the Mughal court (first, second, and third class, each with varying grades), see John Seyller's magisterial "The Inspection and Valuation of Manuscripts in the Imperial Mughal Library," *Artibus Asiae* 57, 3–4 (1997): 273–76, esp. table 1.
78. I have not examined each manuscript firsthand and acknowledge that there may be exceptions to this general observation.
79. Upon the Mughal conquest of Bijapur in 1686, many of the Asar Mahal manuscripts were inspected by Qabil Khan, a librarian under 'Alamgir (r. 1658–1707) (see appendix, nos. 5, 9, 10). 'Alamgir seems to have adopted the Asar Mahal library partially as his own, for some of the manuscripts bear his marks of ownership, predating the conquest of Bijapur by decades. The library was systematically inspected during the reign of Nizam al-Mulk (r. 1724–48), the founder of the Asaf Jahi dynasty of Hyderabad, and manuscripts dating to the early eighteenth century confirm that it was active until this period. The library suffered its most extensive destruction during Bijapur's Maratha period (1760–1818) and not during 'Alamgir's conquest, as commonly assumed. See Qureshi, "Royal Library"; Loth, *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts*.
80. The appendix here ("Manuscripts and Album Folios belonging to Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II [r. 1580–1627] in Global Collections") is a revised and expanded version of appendix 3 in Overton, "Collector and His Portrait." With the exception of the dispersed *Kitāb-i Nawras* copied by Khalilullah (no. 17), all of the codices contain at least one of Ibrahim's marks of ownership. Because the Khalilullah *Khamsa* was presented to Ibrahim and earned the calligrapher the title *pādishāh-i qalam*, the ruler's possession is presumed.
81. The two folios are currently part of a single album preserved in the National Museum, Delhi (Ms. 55.45), but research by Jake Benson, who kindly brought them to my attention, reveals that they originally belonged to two separate albums. It is currently unclear if Ibrahim owned these single sheets alone or their entire respective albums. On the art of marbling in the Deccan, see Jake Benson, "The Art of *Abri*: Marbled Album Leaves, Drawings, and Paintings of the Deccan," in Haidar and Sardar, *Sultans of Deccan India*, 157–59. Benson's essay on one of the albums in question (the example preserving no. 19) is forthcoming in Overton, *Iran and the Deccan*.
82. Kumatgi and its wall paintings are discussed in Overton, "Collector and His Portrait," chap. 3.
83. As the wall painting is in very poor condition, the line drawing reproduced in Henry Cousens, *Bijāpūr and Its Architectural Remains, With an Historical Outline of the 'Ādil Shāhi Dynasty* (repr., Delhi: Bharatiya Publication House, 1976), pl. cxiii (see fig. 8), proved critical to my identification of the scene.
84. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1985.404.1, reproduced in Haidar and Sardar, *Sultans of Deccan India*, cat. no. 34.
85. For a discussion of the Rustam-Sohrab wall painting in light of the Bijapuri *Shāhnāma* and the collected Qazvin or Isfahan manuscript (appendix, no. 7), see Overton, "Collector and His Portrait," 135–39, figs. 132–37.
86. *Ibid.*, 143–44, figs. 149–52.
87. For a *Jahāngīrnāma* illustration with a wall painting of Layla visiting Majnun (St. Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Studies, E-14, fol. 21r), see Susan Stronge, *Made for Mughal Emperors: Royal Treasures from Hindustan* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2010), pl. 95. Jahangir's self-identification with Majnun is discussed in Ebba Koch, "The Mughal Emperor as Solomon, Majnun, and Orpheus, or the Album as a Think Tank for Allegory," *Muqarnas* 27 (2010): 278–311. For contemporary Rajput murals with Majnun, see Edward Leland Rothfarb, "The Architecture of Raja Bir Singh Dev of Orchha (r. 1605–27): Continuity, Adaptation and Invention" (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2010), figs. 189 (Datia), 190 (Bairat). For a Qutb Shahi history describing the decoration of palaces with "likenesses of Abdullah Qutb Shah and rulers from other kingdoms, scenes of hunting and royal sport, and images of the literary couples Yusuf and Zulaikha and Layla and Majnun," see Marika Sardar, "Golconda and Hyderabad under the Qutb Shahis (1495–1687)," in Philon, *Silent Splendour*, 87.
88. An overview of these ownership marks is provided in François Déroche, Annie Berthier, Muhammad Isa Waley, et al., *Islamic Codicology: An Introduction to the Study of Manuscripts in Arabic Script* (London: Al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation, 2006), 311–44. The study of Islamic seals is gaining momentum and visibility. Major contributions of recent years include Venetia Porter, Shailendra Bhandare et al., *Arabic and Persian Seals and Amulets in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 2011); Annabel Teh Gallop and Venetia Porter, *Lasting Impressions: Seals from the Islamic World* (Kuala Lumpur: Islamic

- Arts Museum Malaysia, in association with the British Library and the British Museum, 2012); Muḥammad Javād Jiddī, *Dānishnāma-i Muhr va ḥakkākī dar Īrān* (Tehran: Kitābkhāna, Mūzih va Markaz-i Asnād-i Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Islāmī, 1392 [2013]); and the Chester Beatty Library's Islamic Seals Database, <http://www.cbl.ie/islamicseals/> (accessed November 15, 2015). John Seyller's meticulous cataloguing of Indian seals, and their related inscriptions, for over two decades requires little introduction (see some of his findings in "Inspection and Valuation"). The author and many others continually build upon his foundational work; see, for example, the exemplary Adel T. Adamova and Manijeh Bayani, *Persian Painting: The Arts of the Book and Portraiture* (London: Thames & Hudson Ltd, 2015), 435–42. As this article was in press, Jake Benson informed me of an important essay on Qutb Shahi seals: 'Alī Ṣafarī Āqqal'a, "Muhrhā va yāddāshthā-yi Sultān Muḥammad Qutbshāh va muhr-i Sultān 'Abdullah Qutbshāh dar barkhi nuskhahā-yi Kitābkhāna-i Qutbshāhiyān," *Awrāq-i 'Atiq* 4 (2015): 221–50.
89. This seal was correctly attributed to Ibrahim II in Seyller, "Inspection and Valuation," 297; and Francis Richard, "Some Sixteenth-Century Deccani Persian Manuscripts in the Bibliothèque nationale de France," in *The Making of Indo-Persian Culture*, ed. Muzaffar Alam, Françoise 'Nalini' Delvoye, and Marc Gaborieau (New Delhi: Manohar, 2000), 244. It was nevertheless misattributed to Ibrahim Mirza in Christie's, *Islamic Art and Manuscripts*, London, April 11, 2000, lot 79, 52–53 (concerning appendix, no. 1); and Crofton Black and Nabil Saidi, *Islamic Manuscripts* (Catalogue 22) (London: Sam Fogg Rare Books and Manuscripts, 2005), 72–73, no. 27 (concerning appendix, no. 8), which further misidentifies the book with Ibrahim I (r. 1535–58). My current understanding is that this seal does not appear in any of the British Library's Asar Mahal manuscripts.
 90. Also see New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1983.227; Paris, Musée du Louvre, MAO 2089, among others. The approximately twenty vessels of this type are the focus of ongoing research by Abdullah Ghouchani and Navina Haidar. See their preliminary findings, with Marika Sardar, in "Inscribed Sacred Vessels," in Haidar and Sardar, *Sultans of Deccan India*, 259–67.
 91. Richard Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur, 1300–1700: Social Roles of Sufis in Medieval India* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1978), 110–11. For Ibrahim's devotion to the Prophet, Saraswati, and Gesu Daraz, see Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II, *Kitāb-i Nawras* [*Kitāb-i Nawras*], ed. and trans. Ahmad, 128.
 92. Abdullah Ghouchani and Bruce Wannell, "The Inscriptions of the Ibrahim Rauza Tomb," in Haidar and Sardar, *Sultans of the South*, 290 (E-1-9).
 93. Bruce Wannell, "The Epigraphic Program of the Ibrahim Rauza in Bijapur," in Haidar and Sardar, *Sultans of the South*, 255–56, 259, 266.
 94. For Koranic verses appearing on royal seals (for example, all of Sura 112), see Porter et al., *Arabic and Persian Seals and Amulets*, 17, 60.
 95. In some cases, the illumination was completed but the inscription never added. See London, British Library, Loth 422/B 177A; Loth 426/B 203, fol. 4r; Loth 428/B 223A, fol. 3r.
 96. The short inscriptions in Timurid ex libris begin with the phrase *bi-rasm-i* (by the order of) or *li-khizāna al-kutub* (for the treasury of books), followed by the ruler's name and titles alone. For the ex libris of Baysunghur (d. 1433), see David Roxburgh, *The Persian Album, 1400–1600: From Dispersal to Collection* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), fig. 19. An even more concise inscription appears in Shah Jahan's ex libris in his eponymous album (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 55.121.10.39). See *Masterpieces from the Department of Islamic Art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, ed. Maryam D. Ekhtiar et al. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2011), no. 250A.
 97. Consider the Baysunghur example: Roxburgh, *Persian Album*, fig. 19.
 98. Additional provenance recorded in the illuminated ex libris is as booty from the conquest of Muhammadabad/Bidar. See, for example, London, British Library, Loth 299/B 323, fol. 1v.
 99. London, British Library, Loth 525/B 181, fol. 3r (fig. 5) is dated 21 Dhu'l Hijja 994 (December 2, 1586); Hyderabad, Salar Jung Museum, M. 276, fol. 1r (fig. 13) is dated 27 Rabi' II 10[0]3 (January 8, 1595); and London, British Library, Loth 299/B 323, fol. 1v is dated 12 Sha'ban 1027 (August 3, 1618).
 100. The elevation of a seal to an ex libris (or the incorporation of a seal into an ex libris) is a rare but not unparalleled phenomenon. For a Timurid-Ottoman comparison, see Roxburgh, *Persian Album*, 77, where he writes, "Further signs of the Ottomans' historical attitude are two discs of paper cut out and glued into the illuminated medallions added above and below Baysunghur's ex libris. These paper circles are the impressions of the library seal of Ibn Husayn (d. 1513–14), son of Sultan Husayn (d. 1506), the last ruler of the Timurid dynasty. The seals have been elevated by the Ottomans from a mark of ownership to an ex libris." A similar process can be seen on the second *shamsa* folio of the Shah Jahan Album (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 55.121.10.40), where the innermost circle elsewhere reserved for Shah Jahan's titles (55.121.10.39) features the seal of 'Alamgir (r. 1658–1707), clearly a later owner of the album.
 101. For this *laqāb* and Shah 'Abbas, see Christie's, *Art of the Islamic and Indian Worlds Including Art from the Collection of Dr. Mohammed Said Farsi*, London, October 5, 2010, lot 249, discussed further in Overton, "Collector and His Portrait," 276. In the Mughal context, the phrase *khusraw-i 'Ālampanāh* appears on a silver Jahangir-period rupee dated 1019 (1610–11), and Mughal officials often styled themselves *ghulamān-i 'Ālampanāh* (slaves of the Refuge of the World).
 102. Christie's, *Art of the Islamic and Indian Worlds*, lot 249. For a manuscript that passed before "the vision of the most noble, most holy" (*naẓar-i ashraf-i aqdas*), in reference to Jahangir, see A. H. Morton, "Notes and Seal Imprints," in

- Barbara Brend, *Muhammad Juki's Shahnamah of Firdausi* (London: Royal Asiatic Society and Philip Wilson Publishers, 2010), 167, no. 10.
103. An inscription at the Gulbarga *dargāh* (tomb complex) of Ibrahim's spiritual guide Gesu Daraz (d. 1422) opens with the following: *ḥazrat-i navāb-i kāmyāb-i gardūn iqtidār-i humāyūn-i arfā'-i aqdas-i a'lā Ibrāhīm 'Ādilshāh* (the prosperous, as potent as the celestial sphere, blessed, most high, most holy, most sublime, Ibrahim 'Adilshah). It then records how the young ruler made a pilgrimage to the shrine on 3 Muharram 989 (February 6, 1581), just a year after his accession, and that his "mother" (actually his aunt, Chand Bibi) ordered the digging of a well and planting of an orchard at the *dargāh* in Muharram 994 (December–January 1585–86). See Major T. W. Haig, "Inscriptions in Gulbarga," in *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, ed. E. Denison Ross (Bombay: Education Society's Press, 1907–8), 5.
104. The type A notation dated 992 (1584–85) in London, British Library, Loth 463/B 185, fol. 3r, includes the confounding phrase *bā sikka āya wa man yarghabu / buzurg 'Alī 'Ādilshāh*. This description seems to refer to two distinct seals, which are physically separated in the notation by their mention on two different lines. The first features a verse (*āya*) with the phrase *wa man yarghabu* (I thank Peyvand Firouzeh for her reading) and must refer to Ibrahim's Koranic example with 2:30 (indeed opening with *wa man yarghabu*). Curiously, this seal is neither impressed on the flyleaf nor mentioned in Loth (the manuscript needs to be rechecked in full), and I am currently unaware of its impression in any of the British Library's Asar Mahal manuscripts. The second seal is visible below the type A notation and is indeed the large seal of 'Ali I. This triple-ruled, circular example features explicit Shi'i content, including textual and visual references to Zulfiqar (the sword of 'Ali, d. 661); the phrase *wa man yarghabu* is definitely not part of its legend. We are likely dealing with a mistake on the part of a librarian, a circumstance supported by a thick "slash" through the phrase *āya wa man yarghabu* (indicating inaccuracy) and the underlining of *buzurg 'Alī 'Ādilshāh* (indicating accuracy). For visualizations of Zulfiqar on seals, including an Ottoman example of circa 1600, see Gallop and Porter, *Lasting Impressions*, 176–77.
105. On *raqam*, see Seyller, "Inspection and Valuation," 256, whom I thank for kindly sharing his *raqam* chart.
106. For additional type D notations naming Muhammad 'Adil Shah and written below his circular seal, see the 1555 *Khamsa* of Nizami (Ahmedabad, Lalbhai Collection) and a commentary on the Koran (London, British Library, Loth 97/B 299, fol. 1r), among others. I thank Pramod Kumar for sharing information on the former.
107. *Āstār-i zard / jild-i surkh naw basta*.
108. Skelton, "Mughal Artist," 98.
109. This is not a firm rule. London, British Library, Loth 299/B 323, includes the illuminated ex libris (fol. 1v) but no *nawras* seal (at least on the existing folios). The word *nawras* is, however, written prominently on fol. 1r (see the same phenomenon in appendix, nos. 8 and 9, figs. 16 and 18).
110. London, British Library, Loth 525/B 181. On the legacy of this text in Safavid and Ottoman circles, see Francis Robinson, "Ottomans-Safavids-Mughals: Shared Knowledge and Connective Systems," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 8, 2 (1997): 177, 180. For a supergloss on this text completed in Bursa in 918 (1512) for the library of Selim I (r. 1512–20) (Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W. 591), visit <http://art.thewalters.org/detail/18627/book-on-logic-2/> (accessed June 1, 2016).
111. The word *avval* is written in the same hand and blue ink as the ex libris and located to its lower left.
112. Two lines written on a diagonal (an oversight or afterthought?) further record the date of the original gift (21 Dhu'l Hijja 994), as first documented in the illuminated ex libris (fig. 5).
113. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, SP 1559, previously analyzed in Ivan Stchoukine, *Les peintures des manuscrits saffavides de 1502 à 1587* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1959), no. 146; Francis Richard, *Splendeurs persanes: Manuscrits du XI^e au XVII^e siècle* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1997), cat. no. 135; Richard, "Some Sixteenth-Century Deccani Persian Manuscripts," 244–45, figs. 6–8; Lale Uluç, "The Majālis al-'Ushshāq: Written in Herat, Copied in Shiraz, Read in Istanbul," 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, 2000), 574n18; Lâle Uluç, *Turkman Governors, Shiraz Artisans and Ottoman Collectors: Sixteenth Century Shiraz Manuscripts* (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2006), 191. A detail of Jalal al-Din's signature is reproduced in Francis Richard, "La signature discrète d'un doreur persan à la fin du xv^e s.: Mīr 'Azod al-Mozahheb," *Revue des Études Islamiques* 61–62 (1993–94): fig. 2.
114. The valuation is in *raqam* and opens with *qūmat* (price). John Seyller has confirmed Francis Richard's original reading in *Splendeurs persanes*, 197. E-mail correspondence, April 3, 2014.
115. In the Mughal context, most illustrated manuscripts were valued between 500 and 1,500 rupees, and manuscripts appraised at 1,500 or higher were all ranked first class (*avval*). Seyller, "Inspection and Valuation," section entitled "The Valuation of Manuscripts," 255–73.
116. As discussed throughout Uluç, *Turkman Governors*.
117. St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, VR-995. My identification of this book's Bijapuri provenance was made possible by the reproduction of fol. 1r in Adel Adamova, *Persian Manuscripts, Paintings and Drawings from the 15th to the Early 20th Century in the Hermitage Collection*, trans. J. M. Rogers and ed. Simon Hartly (London: Azimuth Editions, 2012), 287. Adamova emphasizes that Shah Mahmud Nishapuri is typically associated with Tabriz (under Tahmasp, r. 1524–76) and Mashhad, where he died in 972 (1564–65), but presents convincing evidence that the *Laylā*

- va *Majnūn* in question is his work in Herat. On the calligrapher, see Marianna Shreve Simpson, *Sultan Ibrahim Mirza's Haft Awrang: A Princely Manuscript from Sixteenth-Century Iran* (New Haven: Yale University Press; Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1997), 254–69; Sheila Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 433–36.
118. Fol. 1r (see fig. 18) also contains a finely written valuation of 200 rupees (beginning with *qimat*, but not in *raqam*). This valuation may be a Bijapuri notation and is distinct from the surrounding Mughal ones (thanks to John Seyller for his comments). For further information, see Adamova, *Persian Manuscripts*, 289, requiring some corrections informed by Seyller, “Inspection and Valuation.”
119. The answer could rest in chronology; that is, the *nawras* seal may have been developed before the Koranic one. The earliest known application of the *nawras* seal is December 1586 (fig. 5), whereas the earliest Koranic impression is 1605–6 (figs. 14, 15) (the discovery of additional volumes may certainly modify these numbers). Ibrahim’s Shirazi Koran (appendix, no. 11) further refutes any presumed parallel or consistency between the content of the volume and the selected seal (for the Koran’s *nawras* seal, see fig. 6).
120. Doha, Museum of Islamic Art, Ms. 260, discussed further in Overton, “Collector and His Portrait,” 89–96. The manuscript’s Koranic seal impressions have been erroneously associated with Ibrahim Mirza: “The only name in this quotation [Qur’an 2:130], Abraham or Ibrahim, could refer to Sultan Ibrahim Mirza a son of Bahram Mirza, and the nephew of Shah Tahmasp who reigned from 1524 to 1576. . . . It is likely that this manuscript was either produced in the workshop of Sultan Ibrahim Mirza or entered his library in his lifetime.”: Christie’s, *Islamic Art and Manuscripts*, April 11, 2000, lot 79.
121. Overton, “Collector and His Portrait,” fig. 41.
122. Rampur, Raza Library, 5207. For the library’s publications, see W. H. Siddiqi, *Raza Library: Monograph* (Rampur, U.P.: Rampur Raza Library, 1998), and Qutba b. Aws, *Dīwān shī’r al-Ḥādīra*, copied by al-Yāqūt al-Musta’šimī, with an introduction and commentary by Mukhtār al-Dīn Aḥmad (Rampur, U.P.: Maktaba Riḍā, 1431 [2010]). I thank Abusad Islahi for bringing the latter to my attention. My examination of the manuscript in 2010 was brief (see preliminary findings in Overton, “Collector and His Portrait,” 96–101). The discussion here sets aside the question of authenticity (see note below) and focuses on the volume’s presence in Ibrahim’s collection.
123. One excerpt from the *Sih Naṣr* reads, “If Yaqut were living, [he] too would have [his] head bowed down [before Ibrahim] like the letter *vov*.” Zuhūrī, *Sih Naṣr*, ed. and trans. Ghani, 439.
124. Yaqut’s original *Dīwān al-Ḥādīra* was widely copied and forged, particularly during the Timurid period, and the Rampur manuscript’s early date of 629 (1231–32) immediately raises suspicion (e-mail correspondence with Nourane Ben Azzouna, October–November 2010, whom I thank for sharing her expertise). Also see Nourane Ben Azzouna, “Manuscripts Attributed to Yāqūt al-Musta’šimī (d. 698/1298) in Ottoman Collections: Thoughts on the Significance of Yāqūt’s Legacy in the Ottoman Calligraphic Tradition,” in *Thirteenth International Congress of Turkish Art Proceedings*, ed. Géza Dávid and Ibolya Gereleyes (Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2009), 113–23, esp. 116. For another example of a forgery, see Nourane Ben Azzouna, “The Gulistān of Sa’dī Attributed to Yāqūt al-Musta’šimī and Its Multiple Identities: From the Mongols to the Mughals and Beyond,” *Ars Orientalis* 42 (2012): 139–49. For an overview of Yaqut and his legacy, see Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy*, 243–60.
125. *Kitāb-i khāṣṣ-i hum[ā]yūn-i ashraf-i aqdas-i arfa’ / Ibrāhīm ‘Ādilshāh*. In this context, *khāṣṣ* (lit. “royal”) refers to something particularly special or outstanding in a royal collection. See Morton, “Notes and Seal Imprints,” 170, where the term is discussed as “another form of appreciation” in luxury Mughal manuscripts. The *Dīwān*’s title page was first reproduced in Siddiqi, *Raza Library: Monograph*, pl. 7, where the author observed (p. 2) that the volume “once decorated the Royal Library of Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur.” Also see Qutba b. Aws, *Dīwān shī’r al-Ḥādīra*, 43.
126. “This book is in the script of the ‘Qibla of calligraphers’ (*qiblat al-kuttāb*) . . . Yaqut al-Musta’šimī . . . and each line is worth one piece of gold, written by Shaykh Muhammad al-Tabrizi al-Sultani.” It is possible that the scribe in question was Shaykh Muhammad b. al-Hajj Muhammad al-Tughra’i (fl. late fourteenth to early fifteenth century), an expert in writing *tughra*, who was known as Musharriji al-Tabrizi (after his father Hajji Muhammad Bandgir of Tabriz) and who signed both “Shaykh Muhammad” and “Hajji Muhammad.” I thank Marianna Shreve Simpson for sharing her thoughts on this matter. This Shaykh Muhammad worked for several Timurid rulers and princes—including Timur (r. 1370–1405) and Khalil Sultan (r. 1405–9) at Samarkand, and Shah Rukh (r. 1405–47) and Baysunghur (d. 1433) at Herat—and his dated works span 1405–7. Biography drawn from Roxburgh, *Persian Album*, 119–21. Yaqut’s *Dīwān al-Ḥādīra* was copied by Shams Baysunghuri, an accomplished calligrapher under Baysunghur, in 829 (1426). Istanbul, Ayasofya 3936, discussed in Ben Azzouna, “Manuscripts Attributed to Yāqūt,” 116. It is possible that a second copy of the text—the Rampur example—could have circulated at Baysunghur’s court and there caught the attention of Shaykh Muhammad. These hypotheses demand confirmation.
127. Each seal is accompanied by an identifying notation. I thank Denise Teece for responding to queries about these seals (e-mail correspondence, April 2010).
128. Inscribed *Ismā’īl bin Ṭahmāsp al-Ḥusaynī al-Mūsavī*.
129. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art, 46.12. See Simpson, *Sultan Ibrahim Mirza's Haft Awrang*, 345 (15.b).
130. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 63.210. See Yumiko Kamada, “A Taste for Intricacy: An Illustrated Manuscript of *Manṭiq al-Ṭayr* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art,”

- Orient* 45 (2010): 129–76; Ekhtiar et al., *Masterpieces from the Department of Islamic Art*, no. 127A-D.
131. St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, VR-1000, discussed most recently in Adamova, *Persian Manuscripts*, no. 1. In addition to the five impressions of Muhammad's 1020 (1612) seal, the manuscript features one impression of his more elaborate example dated 1021 (1612–13) on the opening frontispiece (for a reproduction, see *ibid.*, 45). Just below this impression is the seal of 'Abdullah Qutb Shah (r. 1626–72) dated 1037 (1627–28). An analysis of Qutb Shahi seals and inscriptions is forthcoming in Overton and Benson, "Deccani Seals."
 132. Seyller, "Inspection and Valuation," documents three of Jahangir's seal impressions: the first dates to his tenure as Prince Salim (p. 311); the second is dated 1015 (1606–7) (p. 336); and the third is dated 1025 (1616) (p. 289). The Muhammad Juki *Shāhnāma* is exceptional, because it bears two impressions of Jahangir's 1015 seal. Morton, "Notes and Seal Imprints," 170–71. For seals of Jahangir's *murīds*, see Seyller, "Inspection and Valuation," 255n44.
 133. Shah 'Abbas's librarians clearly feared the looting of volumes from the Ardabil shrine. An inscription accompanying the waqf seal reads, "Whosoever wishes to read [this work] may do so, provided that he does not take it outside the shrine; anyone who takes it will be [considered] responsible for the blood [martyrdom] of Imam Husayn, may God's blessings be upon him, 1017." Simpson, *Sultan Ibrahim Mirza's Haft Awrang*, 35. This paranoia was warranted, given the imminent Uzbek threat and the Freer Jami's eventual accessioning into the Mughal library. For the Mughal seals and notations on fol. 304v, see Simpson, *Sultan Ibrahim Mirza's Haft Awrang*, 345–46 (15.c–d); Seyller, "Inspection and Valuation," 285–86.
 134. Although very few Bijapuri bindings survive (only a handful can be identified), scribal notations provide useful insight into acts of refurbishment. See figure 4, where the type D notation reads "newly bound with a red binding with a gold (*ṭalā*) medallion (*turanj*; in reference to the central element) and chain (*zanjīra*; in reference to the outer thin border)," and figure 13, where Ibrahim's illuminated ex libris reads "newly bound with red binding with gold lines." Some of Ibrahim's books were also refurbished with new paintings and illumination, as was common. See the Paris *Yūsuf va Zulaykhā* (appendix, no. 5).
 135. In addition to size, the most conspicuous difference between the paper seal impression and the leather stamp one is that the latter is not double-ruled. Minor variations in the calligraphy can also be discerned.
 136. On the interplay among engraving, bookbinding, and painting/drawing at the Ottoman court of Mehmed II (r. 1448–81), see Julian Raby and Zeren Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding in the 15th Century: The Foundation of an Ottoman Court Style*, ed. Tim Stanley (London: Azimuth Editions, 1993), 47–80, in particular.
 137. Jiddi, *Dānishnāma-i Muhr va hakkākī*, 550–64 and figs. 497–99, explores the relationship between seals and binding stamps, but the marks in question belong to bookbinders (*ṣahāf* or *ṣahāfbāshī*), and I do not see an example of direct replication comparable to the Ibrahim case study. For signed Mamluk stamps, see Gulnar K. Bosch et al., *Islamic Bindings & Bookmaking* (Chicago: Oriental Institute Museum, University of Chicago, 1981), nos. 2, 36, 41.
 138. University of St Andrews Library, Ms. 19 O. Francis Richard ("Some Sixteenth-Century Deccani Persian Manuscripts," 244) was the first to emphasize a connection between Ibrahim's seal and the St Andrews binding. My research is indebted to his initial and most critical observation.
 139. The Koran's richly illuminated incipit pages were displayed in the momentous 1989 Timurid exhibition. See Thomas W. Lentz and Glenn D. Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision: Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art; Washington, D.C.: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, 1989), cat. no. 141, color illus. 252. The same opening was previously exhibited in 1976 and published in Martin Lings and Yasin Hamid Safadi, *The Qur'an: Catalogue of an Exhibition of Qur'an Manuscripts at the British Library, 3 April–15 August 1976* (London: World of Islam Publishing Co. for the British Library, 1976), cat. no. 127 (no illustration). A detailed interdisciplinary and technical analysis of the codex is forthcoming by the author, Bruce Wannell, and Kristine Rose Beers—"Between Herat, Bijapur, and Mysore: The Qur'an in the University of St Andrews Library," in Overton, *Iran and the Deccan*—and will address the colophon and inconsistencies in dating, among other issues. I thank Kristine Rose and Rachel Sawicki for their initial structural assessment of the binding in March 2011, which informed preliminary conclusions in Overton, "Collector and His Portrait," 108–12.
 140. For examples of Timurid illuminated frontispieces with a central lobed medallion set in a twelve-pointed star extending into an interlace of polygons, see Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, cat. no. 102, color illus. 203 (Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, Ms. 1500), and the 837 (1434) Koran copied by Shams al-Baysunghuri (Istanbul, Turkish and Islamic Museum, TİEM 294), forthcoming as the cover image of Massumeh Farhad and Simon Rettig, eds., *The Art of the Qur'an: Treasures from the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Books, 2016).
 141. For a comparable handling of the border stamps, and associated terms in Persian, see 'Alī Ṣafarī Āqqal'a, Muḥammad Bāhir, and İraj Afshār, *Nushkashinākh: Pizhūhishnāma-i nushkashināsī-i nusakh-i khaṭṭī-i Fārsī* (Tehran: Markaz-i Pizhūhishī-i Mīrās-i Maktūb, 2011), 398.
 142. That esteemed volumes continued to enter Bijapuri collections after Ibrahim's reign is confirmed by the 1555 *Khamsa* of Nizami (Ahmedabad, Lalbhai Collection), which bears Muhammad's seal and a type D notation.
 143. An exception to this convention can be found in a Maghribi Koran dated 745 (1344) (Jerusalem, al-Haram al-Sharif Islamic Museum), whose front and rear covers include border panels recording the name of the Marinid ruler-copyist

- Abu al-Hasan (r. 1331–52) and his donation of the manuscript to the Bayt al-Maqdis. See Khidr Ibrahim Salamah, *The Qur'an Manuscripts in the al-Haram al-Sharif Islamic Museum, Jerusalem* (Reading: Garnet Publishing Limited, 2001), no. 3, esp. 70–73.
144. For a fore-edge flap reading *bi-rasm-i khizāna-i* (by the order of the treasury of), followed by the name of the Ottoman ruler Mehmed II (r. 1444–46; 1451–81), see Raby and Tamndi, *Turkish Bookbinding*, no. 33. Similarly, the spine of a Mamluk Koran features the following stamped inscription: “by order of the library of the most just and most noble Abu Muzaffar Shah Isma‘il [r. 1501–24].” See Arthur Upham Pope and Phyllis Ackerman, eds., *A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present*, 3rd ed., 16 vols. (Tehran: Soroush Press, 1977), vol. 5, p. 1983, and vol. 10, pl. 966; David James, *Qur’āns of the Mamlūks* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 1988), cat. no. 20.
 145. Istanbul, Turkish and Islamic Museum, TIEM 508, reproduced and discussed in Alison Ohta, “Filigree Bindings of the Mamluk Period,” *Muqarnas* 21 (2004): fig. 11 and 272–73.
 146. The largely effaced type A notation in Ibrahim’s *Kulliyāt* of Sa’di (appendix, no. 6) reads: “Gilded binding / with the large seal” (see fig. 15). Although the phrases “gilded binding” and “with the large seal” are likely meant to be read as separate descriptions (the latter referring to the Koranic seal *ex libris* located below), we cannot discount the possibility that some type A notations would have described the exceptional scalloped seal stamp in question. The volume has been rebound.
 147. See the many objects assigned this broad attribution in Haidar and Sardar, *Sultans of Deccan India*, 258–67.
 148. Sotheby’s, *Arts of the Islamic World*, lot 60.
 149. Alternatively, a local-born Deccani artist could have simply copied a Safavid Persian model.
 150. I again refer the reader to Seyller, “Inspection and Valuation.” For the Mughal genealogical seal, see Gallop and Porter, *Lasting Impressions*, 140–43; Annabel Teh Gallop, “The Genealogical Seal of the Mughal Emperors of India,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 3rd ser., 9, 1 (1999): 77–140.
 151. As elsewhere, the future identification of additional volumes may necessitate amendments to these preliminary conclusions. For a first-class Asar Mahal volume bearing the Zulfiqar seal of ‘Ali I and an Ibrahim II-period type A notation describing this large seal, see n. 104 above. Ibrahim’s illustrated *Khamsa* of Amir Khusraw (appendix, no. 8) bears an even larger circular seal of ‘Ali I, this one inscribed with the names of the Twelve Imams (fig. 16) (I thank Abdullah Ghouchani for his insights; e-mail correspondence, June 22, 2015).
 152. Devare, *Short History*, 83–86.
 153. The scribal notations generally read *pīshkash-i farzand-i* (sometimes shortened to *farz-i*) *Navāb Shāh Navāz Khān*.
 154. For example, London, British Library, Loth 526/B 181A (originally published by Loth as B 181B, see p. 144), fol. 1r.
 155. For some of these thinkers in the Persian syllabus at the Mughal court, see Muzaffar Alam, “The Pursuit of Persian: Language in Mughal Politics,” *Modern Asian Studies* 32 (1998): 326–27.
 156. London, British Library, Loth 417/B 243. The word *avval* is written prominently at the top of fol. 1r, just above the three-line type D notation dated 27 Shawwal 1026 (October 27, 1617). The type A notation on fol. 2r includes the phrase *jam‘ kitābkhāna-i ma‘mūra / avval shuda* (collected into the royal library, first [class]).
 157. London, British Library, Loth 539/B 140.
 158. London, British Library, Loth 526/B 181A. For this same text, also see Loth 525/B 181, discussed above, and fig. 5.
 159. London, British Library, Loth 528/B 210. The type A notation includes the phrase *jam‘ kitābkhāna-i ‘āmira duvvum*.
 160. London, British Library, Loth 967/B 7. One of the seals is dated 876 (1471–72). On Mahmud Gavan, see Eaton, *Social History of the Deccan*, 59–77.
 161. Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur*, 108–12.
 162. London, British Library, Loth 428/B 223A, fol. 3r. One Mulla Payanda also presented the same commentary. Loth 427/B 206.
 163. With the exception of Ibrahim’s *nawras* seal, all of this material appears on the opening flyleaf (fol. 3r). The word *avval* is written at the top of the folio and at the end of the type A notation below (in turn followed by the type B notation). Ibrahim’s illuminated *ex libris* occupies the lower half of the page, and five seals are impressed on the left edge.
 164. For a transcription of the colophon, see Loth, *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts*, 111. Shah Muhibullah’s circular seal is second from the top on the flyleaf described above (fol. 3r). The volume apparently passed to his son Waliullah (*Valī Allah*), as attested by the octagonal seal immediately below. I thank Jake Benson for reading both of these seals.
 165. Ahmad I also patronized the construction of Shah Ni‘matullah’s tomb in Mahan, and the ruler’s own tomb at Ashtur-Bidar is decorated with verses by the saint. For the latter, see Helen Philon, “The Murals in the Tomb of Ahmad Shah near Bidar,” *Apollo* 152, no. 465 (2000): 3–10; Peyvand Firouzeh, “Sacred Kingship in the Garden of Poetry: Aḥmad Shāh Bahmanī’s Tomb in Bidar (India),” *South Asian Studies* 31, 2 (2015): 187–214. Peyvand Firouzeh’s recent dissertation (“Architecture, Sanctity and Power: Ne‘matollāhī Shrines and Khānaqāhs in Fifteenth-Century Iran and India,” University of Cambridge, 2015) is an eagerly awaited study of the visual culture of Ni‘matullahi Sufism between Iran and India. Her essay on the Shirazi calligraphers of Khalilullah’s tomb is forthcoming in Overton, *Iran and the Deccan*.
 166. I thank Peyvand Firouzeh for sharing a detailed unpublished document (“Mausoleum of Khalilollāh, near Bidar”) that reassesses and clarifies many of the dates associated with the Ni‘matullahi saints who migrated to the Deccan, and their associated architectural monuments.
 167. Eaton, *Social History of the Deccan*, 60.
 168. Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur*, 108–9.
 169. *Ibid.*, 54–58.

170. London, British Library, Loth 211/10 Islamic 605. This manuscript was not discovered in Bijapur's Asar Mahal, which explains its accession number of "10 Islamic 605" rather than the "B" preface assigned to all Asar Mahal volumes. As part of the British Library's Tipu Sultan (r. 1782–99) collection, it presents an intriguing case study in the movement of manuscripts between Indian courts (and possibly beyond) of the fifteenth through eighteenth centuries. The volume, which was copied on 9 Shawwal 861 (August 30, 1457) and embellished with an illuminated title page, entered Mahmud Gavan's collection in Bidar (his seal appears in the margin of fol. 6r and is glossed "seal of Khwaja Jahan"), was accessioned into Bijapur's royal library (*kitābkhāna-i 'āmirā* or *kitābkhāna-i huẓūr-i 'āmirā*) upon the conquest of Bidar in 1027 (1619) (see the notations on fol. 3r and fol. 283v), received the oval seal dated 1145 (1732–33) of one 'Abd al-Majid Khan (see fol. 6r; this seal appears in several other British Library volumes), and "finally" (in terms of its subcontinent peregrinations) entered the library of Tipu Sultan in Mysore. An additional hexagonal seal on fol. 6v likely dates to the mid-fifteenth century and may belong to the Ni'matullahi Sufi order of Bidar. This seal is also present in a second Ibrahim volume acquired upon the conquest of Bidar and embellished with the ruler's illuminated ex libris (Loth 299/B 323).
171. London, British Library, Loth 426/B 203, 234.
172. London, British Library, Loth 994/B 38.
173. The distinguishing feature of this seal is the prominently rendered *Maḥmūd*, with the letter *hā'* dramatically extended (*kashida*) across the length of the circle.
174. Overton, *EL3*, s.v. "Bahmanī, forthcoming.
175. For the legacies of these texts, see Robinson, "Ottomans-Safavids-Mughals," app. 1–3.
176. The Ottoman sultan's syllabus is discussed in Shahab Ahmed and Nenad Filipovic, "The Sultan's Syllabus: A Curriculum for the Ottoman Imperial Medreses Prescribed in a Fermān of Qānūnī I Süleymān, dated 973 (1565)," *Studia Islamica* 98–99 (2004): 183–218. For authors mentioned here, see pp. 191–92, 197.
177. During 'Ashura in 1596, Ibrahim ordered the house arrest of an anti-Shi'i Shattari Sufi who had disrupted the celebrations. Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur*, 116.
178. Reproduced in Ravinder Lonkar, *'Adil Shahi Farmans* (Pune: Diamond, 2007), 4–5.
179. Private collection and former Sitaram Sahu collection (now missing), reproduced in Haidar and Sardar, *Sultans of Decan India*, cat. no. 31, fig. 50.
180. This painting is also known as "Sufis/Saints in a landscape." I use the more specific title proposed in Skelton, "Farrukh Beg in the Deccan: An Update."
181. This discussion of "Saraswati enthroned" expands my original Solomonic/Bilqis interpretation in Overton, "Collector and His Portrait," 163–68.
182. Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II, *Kitāb-i Nauras* [*Kitāb-i Nawras*], ed. and trans. Ahmad, 146.
183. For the characterization of Deccani painting as reveling in "dream and fantasy," in contrast to the "logic and verisimilitude" of the Mughal School, see Michell and Zebrowski, *Architecture and Art of the Deccan Sultanates*, 1. This particular "branding" of the Deccan persists, as demonstrated by the tagline of the Metropolitan Museum of Art's 2015 exhibition, *Opulence and Fantasy*. The Bijapuri painter 'Ali Riza is discussed in Overton, "'Ali Riza (The Bodleian Painter)."
184. See, in particular, fol. 87, reproduced in Hutton, "*Pem Nem*," fig. 10.
185. Washington, D.C., Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, S1986.230.
186. Tehran, Gulistan Palace Library, no. 1663, fol. 170, most recently discussed in Skelton, "Farrukh Beg in the Deccan: An Update," 20, fig. 8.
187. Mark Brand has argued that the setting of "Saraswati enthroned" is Bijapur's Farakh Mahal/Chini Mahal. Brand's argument and the one presented here (in favor of a generic setting codified in late sixteenth-century Persian painting) are not mutually exclusive but rather differ in their emphasis on maker versus audience. Whereas Farrukh undoubtedly drew upon established Shirazi and Khurasani tropes to create his composition, local audiences may have interpreted the scene through a Bijapuri lens. E-mail correspondence with Mark Brand and Deborah Hutton, based on the former's conference presentation entitled "Nauras after Bijapur: Re-Constructing the Sultanate of Ibrahim Adil Shah II," January 2015, Delhi.
188. See, for example, Hutton, "*Pem Nem*," figs. 32, 33.
189. Haidar, "*Kitāb-i Nauras*," 37–38, suggests that the angels could have been drawn from song 17 of the *Kitāb-i Nawras*, in which the *dargāh* of Gesu Daraz is described as being attended by angels. I prefer to interpret them within the Solomonic Shirazi paradigm.
190. Serpil Bağcı, "A New Theme of the Shirazi Frontispiece Miniatures: The Divan of Solomon," *Muqarnas* 12 (1995): 104–5.
191. Priscilla Soucek, "Solomon's Throne/Solomon's Bath: Model or Metaphor?," *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993): 122.
192. The phrase "living baldachin" is borrowed from Ebba Koch, "Notes on the Painted and Sculptured Decoration of Nur Jahan's Pavilions in the Ram Bagh (Bagh-i Nur Afshan) at Agra," in Skelton et al., *Facets of Indian Art*, 59.
193. Bağcı, "New Theme of the Shirazi Frontispiece Miniatures," 104.
194. This Shirazi paradigm is discussed in Bağcı, "New Theme of the Shirazi Frontispiece"; Uluç, *Turkman Governors*, 291–301; Marianna Shreve Simpson, "The Illustrated Shāhnāma in Sixteenth-Century Shiraz," in *In Harmony: The Norma Jean Calderwood Collection of Islamic Art*, ed. Mary McWilliams (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Art Museums, 2013), esp. 88–90, figs. 7, 8.
195. Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum, H. 1475, reproduced in Uluç, *Turkman Governors*, fig. 229.
196. Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum, A. 3559, fols. 1v–2r, reproduced in Bağcı, "New Theme of the Shirazi Frontispiece," fig. 5a–b.

197. The throne does not include the superstructure comprised of stacked colored bands visible in some Shirazi paintings. Uluç, *Turkman Governors*, fig. 229.
198. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art, F1950.1.
199. We can, however, locate a Shirazi prototype in the contemporary Qutb Shahi royal library. A Solomon and Bilqis frontispiece (fols. 1v–2r) opens a finely illuminated and illustrated *Shāhnāma* bearing Muhammad Qutb Shah's 1021 (1612–13) seal (Cambridge University Library, Ms. Add. 269, fol. 1r). The place of production is unknown, but it is likely Shiraz, and Muhammad's seal provides the *terminus ante quem*. For a reproduction of the flyleaf, see Āqqal'a, "Muhrahā va Yāddāshthā-yi Sulṭān Muḥammad Qutbshāh," fig. 8.
200. London, British Library, IO Islamic 3214. See Weinstein, "Variations on a Persian Theme," 124–25, figs. 4.31–4.32; Weinstein, cat. no. 97, in Haidar and Sardar, *Sultans of Deccan India*, 203–4. Here the thrones are held aloft by demons in landscapes, thereby conforming to an earlier Shirazi mode, pre-1565.
201. Hyderabad, Salar Jung Museum, Urdu Ms. 153. See Weinstein, "Variations on a Persian Theme," 190–91, figs. 5.13–5.14; Weinstein, "The Dīwān of Muhammad-Quli Qutb Shah and the Birth of the Illustrated Urdu *Dīwān*," in Parodi, *Visual World of Muslim India*, figs. 8.3, 8.4. The paintings are neither at the front of the manuscript nor side-by-side, and the depiction of Bilqis, like that of Saraswati, conforms to the post-1565 mode (the throne on the ground in an architectural setting).
202. London, Khalili Collection, Ms. 979, fol. 21v, in which Solomon and Bilqis are seated on a single throne. See J. M. Rogers, *The Arts of Islam: Masterpieces from the Khalili Collection* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2010), no. 251.
203. For the *Khamsa-i Rūḥ al-Amin* of Mir Muhammad Amin Shahristani (Ruh al-Amin), which he dedicated to Muhammad Quli, see Ethé, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts*, 841–42, nos. 1539–40.
204. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, In. 11A. 31. See David James, "The 'Millennial' Album of Muhammad-Quli Qutb Shah," *Islamic Art* 2 (1987): 243–54; Hutton, *Art of the Court*, 87–89, pl. 16.
205. London, British Library, Loth 650/B 401. Three Qutb Shahi seals appear on the opening flyleaf (fol. 1r). Muhammad Quli's impression is at the top, followed by those of Ibrahim (r. 1550–80) and Muhammad dated 1021 (1612–13).
206. Skelton, "Mughal Artist," 401–2, is a persuasive argument, but the evidence remains circumstantial.
207. 'Abd al-Jalal signed on the steps of Solomon's throne. Bağcı, "New Theme of the Shirazi Frontispiece," fig. 6.
208. The opening line of Farrukh's signature has been read variously as *kutuba*, *kamtārīn*, and *harrarahu* (Beach, "Farrukh Beg," 189, no. 11; Haidar, "*Kitab-i Nauras*," 34–35; Overton, "Collector and His Portrait," 195, 207–8). I continue to favor the latter, which is based on the best available color reproduction (Singh and Narayan, *Six Multicoloured Prints*). On *harrarahu*, which was often employed by calligraphers and can be translated literally as "penned this," "inked this," "outlined by," or "written by," depending on context, see Simpson, *Sultan Ibrahim Mirza's Haft Awrang*, 253n3. Given that the artistic product in question is a painted portrait, I here favor the generic "drawn by."
209. On Muhammadi's use of the *harrarahu-muṣavvir* formula in two tinted drawings of ca. 1580, see Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts*, no. 94, fig. 37. Also see *ibid.*, 177, where the author argues, "the word *mosavver* . . . was here used to oppose the word *harraraho*, which has calligraphic connotations."
210. Copenhagen, David Collection, 105/2007.
211. I am grateful to Wheeler Thackston and Bruce Wannell for their amended translations of Zebrowski, *Deccani Painting*, 73. Also see the most recent translation by Abdullah Ghouchani at the onset of cat. no. 27 in Haidar and Sardar, *Sultans of Deccan India*, 93.
212. For this phrase on a *farmān* dated 1034 (1624–25), see Lonkar, *'Adil Shahi Farmans*, 5–6.
213. I thank Navina Haidar for sharing the *Sāqīnāma* source, as identified by Abdullah Ghouchani, in advance of the publication of the Metropolitan Museum of Art's catalogue: Haidar and Sardar, *Sultans of Deccan India*, cat. no. 27.
214. Zuhūrī, *Sih Naṣr*, ed. and trans. Ghani, 326, 443.
215. Overton, "Collector and His Portrait," 146–47, figs. 157–61.
216. Ebba Koch, "Jahangir and the Angels: Recently Discovered Wall Paintings under European Influence in the Fort of Lahore," in Koch, *Mughal Art and Imperial Ideology: Collected Essays* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001), 12–37; Koch, "Notes on the Painted and Sculptured Decoration."
217. This circumstance was far from unique in the Deccan. On the Solomonic paradigm in Bahmani kingship, see Helen Philon, "The Great Mosque at Gulbarga Reinterpreted as the Hazar Sutun of Firuz Shah Bahmani (1397–1422)," in Parodi, *Visual World of Muslim India*, 116. Like Ibrahim, Muhammad Quli also cast himself in Solomonic terms. The title of his *Dīwān* reads: "Divan of the Solomonic royal highness, may God perpetuate his reign." Weinstein, "Variations on a Persian Theme," 175.
218. Overton, "Collector and His Portrait," 168–69.
219. Consider the same burgundy-outlined fountain, tinted drawings of foxes, peach brickwork, and soaring cranes amid Chinese-style clouds in "A Devout Man Being Beheaded Unjustly," from a *Būstān* (Orchard) of Sa'di dated 987 (1579), reproduced in Soudavar, "Patronage of the Vizier," fig. 12.
220. See the throne in Uluç, *Turkman Governors*, fig. 229.
221. For the fullness of the floral patterns in the borders of the Freer Jami, see Simpson, *Sultan Ibrahim Mirza's Haft Awrang*, 65. Farrukh employed similar patterns in the gold robe of the "Falconer" (Tehran, Gulistan Palace Library, no. 1663, fol. 47), reproduced in Beach, "Farrukh Beg," fig. 6 (cropped to the picture plane); Muḥammad 'Alī Rajabī, *Iranian Masterpieces of Persian Painting* (Tehran: Tehran Museum of Contemporary Art, 2005), 443 (full

- folio). “Falconer” is signed in the picture plane *kamtārīn banda-hā Farrukh muṣ[avvir]*. The letters *vav* and *rā* of *muṣavvir* are cut off on the left edge, but the still visible *mīm* and the beginning of the *ṣad* imply that this word was indeed *muṣavvir*, as published in Badrī Ātābāy, *Fihrist-i Muraqqa‘āt-i Kitābkhāna-yi Sālṭanatī* (Tehran: Chāp Zibā, 1353 [1974]), 357.
222. Skelton’s theory is supported in B. W. Robinson, “Muḥammadī and the Khurāsān Style,” *Iran* 30 (1992): 17–29; Soudavar, “Between the Safavids and the Mughals”; Amina Okada, *Indian Miniatures of the Mughal Court* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1992), 116–24, among others.
223. Safavid court painters such as Shaykh Muhammad had earlier codified the *ṣafīna* and/or narcissus genre of portraiture. Sheila Canby, *The Rebellious Reformer: The Drawings and Paintings of Riza-yi Abbasi of Isfahan* (London: Azimuth Editions, 1996), figs. 17, 20.
224. Cambridge University, King’s College, Pote 153. The seven paintings of figural types appear at the end of each poem (as singles or in pairs) and bear no relation to the text itself. In one instance, the word *bahādur* appears to follow Farrukh’s name but has been effaced. I am grateful to Yasmin Faghihi for facilitating my study of the manuscript in December 2014.
225. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 14.595. Also see Washington, D.C., Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, S1986.295.
226. Cambridge University, King’s College, Pote 153, fol. 149r, reproduced in Skelton, “Mughal Artist,” pl. 2, fig. 4; Soudavar, “Between the Safavids and the Mughals,” pl. xviii; Robinson, “Muḥammadī,” pl. ix, all of which emphasize the painting’s Muḥammadi-Khurasani style.
227. See, for example, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 14.588; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 55.121.42.
228. It is likely that the seven ostensible Farrukhs were added to the manuscript at the Mughal court, at which time they were overpainted and extended, often poorly. Scribal notations appearing to be Mughal are dated 998 (1589–90) and 1004 (1594–95), and the folios with the paintings in question bear the remnants of two seals, suggesting their value and appeal. I thank John Seyller for his preliminary comments on these marks.
229. All four (San Diego Museum of Art, 1990.318; Tehran, Gulistan Palace Library, no. 1663, fol. 86 [see fig. 30]; private collection, Jaipur; private collection, city unknown) are discussed in John Seyller, “Muhammad ‘Ali,” in Beach et al., *Masters of Indian Painting*, vol. 1, 100–1650, 286–87, fig. 6 (private collection). On Farrukh’s figural types, see Asok Kumar Das, “Farrukh Beg: Studies of Adorable Youths and Venerable Saints,” in *Mughal Masters: Further Studies*, ed. Asok Kumar Das (Bombay: Marg Publications, 1998), 96–111, which reproduces many of the paintings discussed here.
230. San Diego Museum of Art, 1990.318.
231. I use the title Salim/Jahangir Album to refer to the codex commonly known as the Gulshan Album or *Muraqqa‘i Gulshan*, the latter inspired by the nineteenth-century notations in red ink on folios in the Gulistan Palace Library. Although this album is typically associated with Jahangir, it was in fact begun in the late 1590s, while he was still Prince Salim. Milo Cleveland Beach, “Jahangir’s Album: Some Clarifications,” in *Arts of Mughal India: Studies in Honour of Robert Skelton*, ed. Rosemary Crill et al. (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 2004), 111–18, esp. 117.
232. Soudavar, “Between the Safavids and the Mughals,” 60–61.
233. For the attribution of the private collection example to Muhammad ‘Ali, see Seyller, “Muhammad ‘Ali,” 286–87.
234. For a Khurasani comparison in which the horse has been transformed into a composite, see Rajabī, *Iranian Masterpieces*, 515 (Tehran, Riza ‘Abbasi Museum). The closest “Mughal” (yet tellingly by an Iranian immigrant) example of the ruler-horse-hawk triumvirate is ‘Abd al-Samad’s “Hunting scene” of ca. 1585 (Los Angeles, Catherine and Ralph Benkaim Collection), where the horse’s raised legs similarly imply his speed through space. See Sheila Canby, “‘Abd al-Samad,” in Beach et al., *Masters of Indian Painting*, vol. 1, 100–1650, fig. 11.
235. See, for example, Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art, F1946.15a–d; Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 14.587.
236. Toronto, Aga Khan Museum, 00074.
237. London, British Museum, 1920.0917.0.298.3.
238. Canby, *Rebellious Reformer*, no. 113. On Riza’s debt to Muḥammadi, also see Soudavar, “Age of Muḥammadi,” 69.
239. Artists also used the *ṣafīna* and other paper surfaces (scrolls, flat sheets) to record their signatures and/or commentary. Among many examples, consider the self-portrait of Mir Sayyid ‘Ali (Los Angeles County Museum of Art, M.90.141.1) and Dust Muhammad’s portrait of Shah Abu’l Ma‘ali (Toronto, Aga Khan Museum, M. 126). The latter is discussed in Laura Parodi and Bruce Wannell, “The Earliest Datable Mughal Painting: An Allegory of the Celebrations for Akbar’s Circumcision at the Sacred Spring of Khwaja Seh Yaran near Kabul (1546 AD) [Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Libr. Pict. A117, fol. 15a],” *Asian Art*, November 18, 2011, asianart.com, <http://www.asianart.com/articles/parodi/index.html> (accessed November 2013).
240. *Dawlat-i ān sar ki barū pāy-i tūst / bakht dar ān dil ki darū jāy-i tūst*.
241. As argued in Overton, “*Vida de Jacques de Coutre*,” 250–52, where I proposed the retitling of the painting from the previous “Ibrahim reading” to the more specific “Ibrahim offering obeisance to Jahangir.” The couplet in the painting is identical to that in the sole copy of Nizami’s *Makhzan al-Asrār* known to have been in the Bijapur library (former Asar Mahal; see Ethé, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts*, no. 3061/B 132). I have not had the opportunity to consider the couplet’s wording in the recently surfaced *Khamsa* of Nizami copied by Khalilullah.
242. On Krishna Raya’s insistence that Isma‘il ‘Adil Khan (r. 1510–34) come to Vijayanagara to kiss his foot, see Eaton, “‘Kiss My Foot,’ Said the King,” 306–8.

243. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Supplément persan 985. Seyller, "Inspection and Valuation," 336–37.
244. For Jahangir's comments on a Mir 'Ali *Būstān* (Orchard) kept in his presence and routinely read, see Seyller, "Inspection and Valuation," 245. Mir 'Ali's popularity at the Mughal court is discussed in Seyller, "Inspection and Valuation," 272; Wheeler Thackston, "Calligraphy in the Albums," in Wright, *Muraqqa'*, 154–56.
245. We may never know when exactly "Ibrahim offering obeisance to Jahangir" was integrated into the Salim/Jahangir Album. It could have been a gift from Ibrahim to Jahangir upon the latter's accession in 1605, a suitable moment for the expression of fidelity.
246. See Soudavar, "Patronage of the Vizier," for his crediting of Muhammadi with masterful word-image combinations.
247. Zuhuri and Malik Qummi's approach to the couplet in question in their imitation (*Manba' al-Anhār*) remains to be explored.
248. See, for example, Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts*, no. 94 and fig. 37.
249. Tehran, Gulistan Palace Library, no.1663, fol. 234, reproduced in Beach, "Farrukh Beg," fig. 1.
250. It is not within the scope of this article to consider the impact of Bijapuri painting traditions on Farrukh's practice.
251. Tehran, Gulistan Palace Library, no. 1663, fol. 47.
252. Beach, "Farrukh Beg," 200, 209n33, who further argues that "Falconer" should be dated to Farrukh's first Mughal period under Akbar (1585–ca.1595), rather than his second under Jahangir (at least 1609 onward).
253. Rampur, Raza Library, Ms. I.1 (P.3277), reproduced in Barbara Schmitz and Ziyaud-Din A. Desai, *Mughal and Persian Paintings and Illustrated Manuscripts in the Raza Library, Rampur* (New Delhi: Aryan Books International, 2006), pl. 174 (listed as p. 314); Seyller, "Farrukh Beg in the Deccan," fig. 8 (listed as fol. 156v).
254. Milo C. Beach, "Aqa Riza and Abu'l Hasan," in Beach et al., *Masters of Indian Painting*, vol. 1, 1100–1650, 218, 229n17; Skelton, "Farrukh Beg: An Update," 20–23.
255. Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 14.609, reproduced in Beach, "Aqa Riza and Abu'l Hasan," fig. 1; Skelton, "Farrukh Beg in the Deccan: An Update," fig. 10.
256. Skelton further suggests that a second portrait associated with Aqa Riza and commonly identified as Babur (London, British Museum, 1921-10-11-03) is in fact Mirza Hakim. In this instance, the subject sits on a small throne and holds up a book of verses. Skelton, "Farrukh Beg: An Update," fig. 11.
257. Beach, "Aqa Riza and Abu'l Hasan," 218–22.
258. In addition to the six single-page portraits discussed here, two manuscript illustrations in the Salim/Jahangir Album have been attributed to Farrukh: "Royal garden party" (Tehran, Gulistan Palace Library, no. 1663, fol. 219) and "The Prophet's bier" (Tehran, Gulistan Palace Library, no. 1663, fol. 170). Beach, "Farrukh Beg," nos. 16–20, attributes five additional manuscript illustrations in the album to the artist. Whether six, eight, or thirteen, Farrukh's frequency in this renowned codex was significant, perhaps surpassing even that of Aqa Riza.
259. The gold border of "Ibrahim offering obeisance to Jahangir" (fig. 3) includes delicate *chinārs*, wispy willows, paired animals and birds, and dramatic vertical cliffs. The latter create a smooth visual transition between the outer frame and gold-streaked inner painting.
260. On personal networks, see Anooshahr, "Shirazi Scholars and the Political Culture."
261. Additional push-pull factors are discussed in Subrahmanyam, "Iranians Abroad."
262. Skelton, "Farrukh Beg in the Deccan: An Update," 14–15, fig. 5.
263. Nūr al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Jāmī, *Nafahāt al-Uns min Ḥaḍarāt al-Quds*, ed. and trans. Maḥmūd 'Ābidī (Tehran: Iṭtilā'āt, 1370 [1991]), no. 549, 563–65. For a related late sixteenth-century Shirazi painting of a man riding a lion and holding a snake, from a volume of Sa'di, see Sotheby & Co., *Catalogue of Valuable Persian and Indian Manuscripts and Miniatures*, London, July 19, 1935, lot 35 (source shared by Robert Skelton in 2009). The story of a mystic who tamed a lion and used a snake as a whip also appears in the *Maṣnavī* of Jalal al-Din Rumi (d. 1273).
264. For the first attribution to Farrukh's Bijapur period, see Skelton, "Mughal Artist," pl. 7, fig. 15. The bearded, pious gentleman leaning forward with his arms crossed and obscured in long sleeves was the subject of two portraits ascribed to Farrukh in Mughal circles. See London, Victoria and Albert Museum, IM 10-1925 and IM 11-1925, reproduced in Stronge, *Painting for the Mughal Emperor*, pls. 91, 92 (as in fig. 30, pl. 91 is inscribed by Jahangir: "The work of Farrukh Beg in his seventieth year"). The artist used comparable figural types in "Youth holding a wine cup" (Rampur, Raza Library, Ms. I.1/P.3277, fol. 156v), and "The Prophet's bier" (Tehran, Gulistan Palace Library, no. 1663, fol. 170), among others.
265. We cannot discount the possibility that Farrukh could have painted the work at Jahangir's court (ca. 1609 onward) and simply recycled elements of Bijapuri iconography.
266. See Ekhtiar et al., *Masterpieces from the Department of Islamic Art*, no. 127B ("Mantīq al-Ṭayr"), and 128 ("Dancing Dervishes").
267. For a mountainous landscape filled with ebullient foliage, humorous animals and birds, and anecdotes of pastoral life (e.g., the milking of cows, and a hunter spotting prey), see, among others, Muhammadi's "Throwing down the imposter" (Herat, ca. 1581), reproduced in Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts*, 233.
268. London, British Library, Or 1362, fol. 354v. The majority of this manuscript is preserved in the British Library. For six detached paintings remounted over pages of the *Farhang-i Jahāngīrī* (Dictionary of Jahangir) of Mir Jamal al-Din Husayn Inju Shirazi (Akbar's envoy to Ibrahim), see

- Linda Leach, *Mughal and Other Indian Paintings from the Chester Beatty Library*, 2 vols. (London: Scorpion Cavenish, 1995), 1:310–20. For valuations on some of the manuscript's individual paintings, see Seyller, "Inspection and Valuation," 277 (also 290 for his full entry on the volume). Leach, *Mughal and Other Indian Paintings*, 311n6–7, references two other possible subimperial copies of the text. The only other known contemporary illustrated manuscript of the *Nafahāt al-Uns* is the Ottoman example dated 1003 (1595) (Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, T 474), reproduced in Elaine Wright, *Islam: Faith, Art, Culture: Manuscripts of the Chester Beatty Library* (Dublin: Scala Publishers, 2009), figs. 128, 176.
269. Recall the erroneous associations of the Doha *Dīvān* of Jami and Doha *Khamsa* of Amir Khusraw (appendix, nos. 1, 8) with Ibrahim Mirza of Mashhad, and similar confusion surrounding the provenance of the St. Petersburg *Laylā va Majnūn* of Hatifi (appendix, no. 9).
270. The emphasis here on Bijapur's Iranian diaspora (and related Persian literary culture) does not discount the contributions of local artists, officials, and savants (and related vernaculars), which were of course significant and likewise deserve further consideration. It is worth repeating, in part, the important conclusion of Phillip Wagoner: "Although art historians have long recognized the vibrantly composite nature of Deccani art...there is still a tendency to see the courts of the Deccan as primarily Persianate and Islamic spaces, where it was generally 'Westerners' from the Iranian world who set the culture tone...But if we wish to better understand the rich complexity of the social and cultural tapestry that is the Deccan, we must move beyond Persian sources alone and recognize as well the relevance of previously ignored sources in local 'Indic' vernaculars." Phillip B. Wagoner, "The Multiple Worlds of Amin Khan: Crossing Persianate and Indic Cultural Boundaries in the Qutb Shahi Kingdom," in Haidar and Sardar, *Sultans of the South*, 97.
271. A notable exception being Deborah Hutton's examination of Taj Sultan's involvement in the Ibrahim Rauza. Hutton, *Art of the Court*, 125–32.
272. I borrow the language and theoretical systems espoused in Finbarr Barry Flood, *Objects of Translation: Material Culture and Medieval "Hindu-Muslim" Encounter* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2009).
273. Okada, *Indian Miniatures*, 123, contends that the painting "abounds with Deccan-style touches new to his [Farrukh's] world, such as the small castles in the background, the unusual handling of exuberant vegetation, and the vertiginous mounds of rocks whose tortured shapes recall the baroque rocks of Persian painters Dust Muhammad and Sultan Muhammad as well as the fanciful landscapes of many Deccan miniatures." Although Farrukh amplified these motifs in "Abu'l Ghays al-Yamani and the lion," they appear regularly in his earlier works. See "The Prophet's bier" (Tehran) and "Akbar's entry into Surat" (London, Victoria and Albert Museum, IS.2.117-1896), among others. The dark, gold-streaked hills in the background of "Abu'l Ghays al-Yamani and the lion" (also see fig. 3) are a potentially "new" element in Farrukh's Bijapuri landscapes. Comparable hills appear in the work of 'Ali Riza ("The Bodleian Painter") and may indicate a Bijapuri assimilation on Farrukh's part. For a potential relationship between the two artists, see Overton, "'Ali Riza (The Bodleian Painter)," 379–82.
274. Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum, H. 2138, fol. 37v, reproduced in Skelton, "Farrukh Beg in the Deccan: An Update," fig. 3.
275. Berlin, Museum of Islamic Art, no. I. 4595, fol. 36, reproduced in Almut von Gladiss and Claus-Peter Haase, *The Radiance of Islamic Art: Masterpieces from the Museum of Islamic Art in Berlin* (Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 2008), 49.
276. The subject of the languid prince receiving a foot rub is a common trope of Khurasani painting and also visible in "Royal garden party," attributed to Farrukh (Tehran, Gulistan Palace Library, no. 1663, fol. 219).
277. For the quatrain that Shah 'Abbas composed for Khalilullah, see Sotheby's, *Arts of the Islamic World*, lot 60.
278. For an exemplary Golconda Koran endowed as waqf to the Shrine of Imam Riza by Ibrahim Qutb Shah (r. 1550–80) in 970 (1562), see Maryam Ḥabībī, "Qur'an-i khaṭṭī shumāra-i 106 bi khaṭṭ-i 'Abd al-Qādir Ḥusaynī Shīrāzī dar mūzih-i Āstān-i Quds-i Raḥavī," *Art Quarterly* 8 (1393 [2014]): 20–27, forthcoming in an English translation by Arash Khazeni in Overton, *Iran and the Deccan*. For a related Koran copied by the same scribe, see Haidar and Sardar, *Sultans of the South*, cat. no. 98.
279. Consider the artist Shaykh 'Abbasi and shared *chihil sūtūn* (lit. "forty columns," or more generally, a pillared hall) traditions. On Shaykh 'Abbasi, see Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts*, 367–68. For Bijapur's Asar Mahal, which is contemporary to Isfahan's Chihil Sutun (1647), see Brand, "Bijapur under the Adil Shahis," 70–73, fig. 6.



BRILL



CHARLES MELVILLE

NEW LIGHT ON SHAH 'ABBAS AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF ISFAHAN

The Iranian city of Isfahan, located in a rich oasis on the western side of the Dashti-i kavir (Great Desert) and close to the geographical center of the country, has long been the site of urban settlement, favored not only by its position at a nodal point on the ancient routes from the Caucasus down to the Persian Gulf, but crucially by the Zayanda Rud (or Life-giving River) on which it stands—one of the few perennial streams on the Iranian Plateau and a vital resource for irrigation and agriculture. As is the case with many other provincial centers, Isfahan has at different times been more than merely a regional capital, but has served as the principal seat of a major ruling dynasty. This was particularly so under the Seljuks in the twelfth century,¹ but never more so than under the Safavids (1501–1722), when Shah 'Abbas (r. 1588–1629) made Isfahan his capital around the turn of the seventeenth century. The definitive date of this move remains a subject of scholarly debate,² and is one of the topics to be addressed here. Under 'Abbas and his successors, the city saw a rapid expansion, particularly in the districts south of the old center and on either bank of the Zayanda Rud, most dramatically with the development of the Maydan-i Naqsh-i Jahan (Square on the Plan of the World) and the palace quarter to the west of it. This is still the area with the greatest concentration of architectural monuments of the Safavid epoch and the district with the main buildings described by contemporary chroniclers (fig. 1).³ Despite the attention paid to the city and the descriptions that abound in both the travel literature of the period and later scholarly studies, there remains considerable imprecision in establishing when individual buildings were started and completed. This is partly due to the nature of construction work, which might continue over a lengthy period and not be adequately recorded in the fabric of the

buildings themselves, but also to the tendency of the documentary sources to record a description of all ongoing architectural patronage under one or two fixed dates. When a new source of information is found—such as the work on which this study is based—it is not always easy to harmonize the evidence it provides with the existing body of information. In the present case, indeed, fresh information may raise as many issues as it resolves. This paper aims to address some of these questions, with respect to the main architectural developments inaugurated during the long and prosperous reign of Shah 'Abbas, concluding that building work was almost continuous throughout the first two decades of the seventeenth century rather than being concentrated in a few discrete phases.

The starting point for this discussion is Robert McChesney's seminal article "Four Sources on Shah 'Abbas's Building of Isfahan,"⁴ which made accessible the descriptions of 'Abbas's development of the city in Afushta'i Natanzi's *Nuqāwat al-āthār fi dhikr al-akhbār* (The Choice Traces in Mentioning Events), Munajjim Yazdi's *Tārīkh-i 'Abbāsī* (The History of 'Abbas), Iskandar Beg Munshi's celebrated *Tārīkh-i 'Ālam-ārā-yi 'Abbāsī* (The History of the World-Adorning 'Abbas), and Junabadi's less well-known *Rawḍat al-ṣafawiyya* (The Safavid Garden). Two of these texts have been made more accessible since McChesney's article through the publication of printed editions.⁵ As he noted, "the third volume of Fadli al-Isfahani's *Afḍal al-tawārīkh*, if located, may also provide new information about 'Abbas's great urban design."⁶ Since then, the *Afḍal al-tawārīkh* (The Best of Histories) has been located,⁷ although not yet fully utilized, and a more substantial study of the manuscript did indeed suggest that the work might contain further details of the embellishment

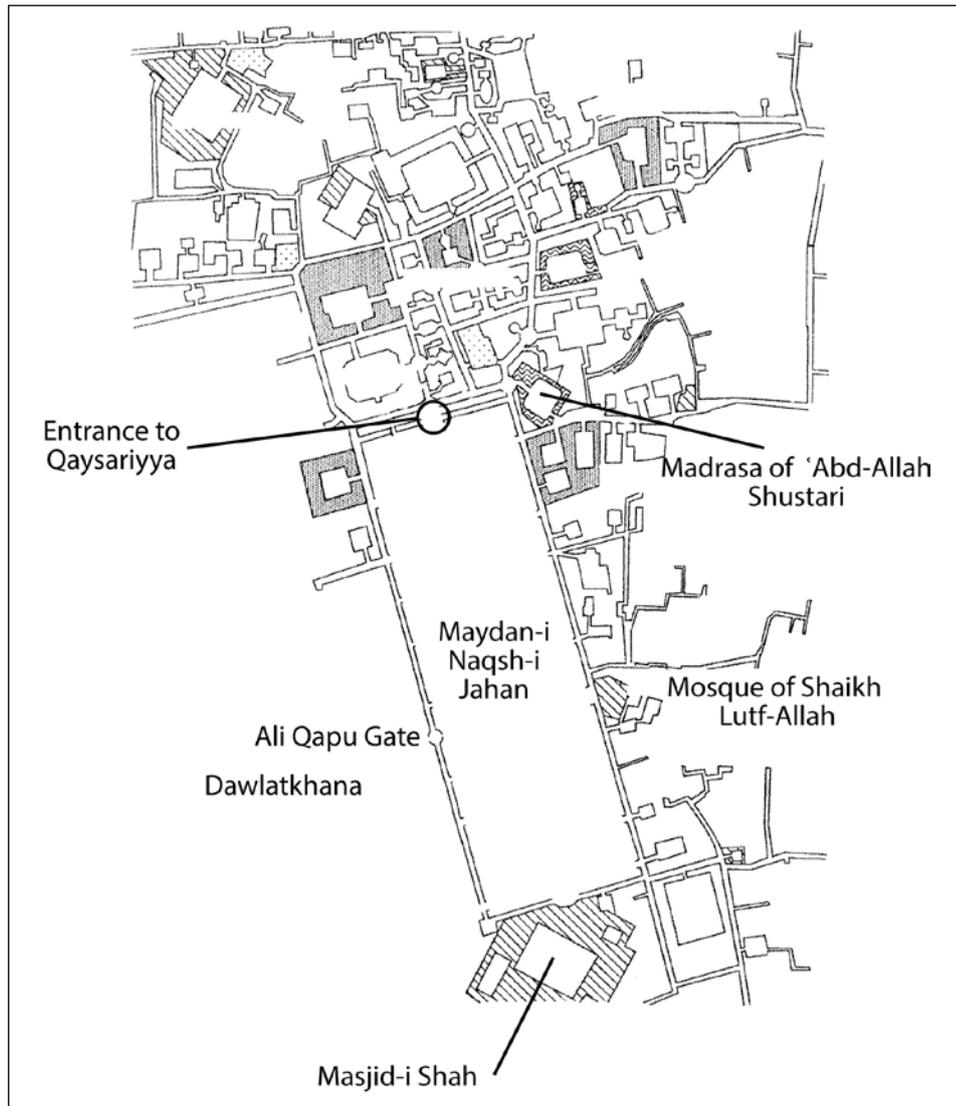


Fig 1. The Maydan-i Shah, showing the main monuments referred to by Fazli Beg. Map derived from Masashi Haneda, "The Character of the Urbanisation of Isfahan in the Later Safavid Period," in *Safavid Persia: The History and Politics of an Islamic Society*, ed. Charles Melville, *Pembroke Papers 4* (London, 1996), 374, fig. 2. (Map: C. Scott Walker, Harvard Map Collection)

of the new Safavid capital.⁸ The opportunity provided by a visiting fellowship at the Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture at Harvard University in early 2014, together with work on the edited text of the chronicle of Fadli b. Zayn al-'Abidin Khuzani Isfahani (hereafter Fazli Beg),⁹ has prompted a return to this question, with the aim of identifying additional evidence of 'Abbas's building program in Isfahan and indeed elsewhere.

It turns out that Fazli's history of 'Abbas does not provide as much new data on the urban development of Isfahan as on other aspects of his reign. On reflection, however, it is clear that, combined with details already published in my earlier article, much of the "new" information provided by Fazli Beg is not without interest and gives a sense of the scope for further research. There are indeed many fresh passages to be found in the *Afḍal al-*

tawārīkh that will be of interest to historians of Islamic architecture: they concern not only Isfahan, but other important building complexes in Ardabil, Farahabad, and Mashhad, which will be the subject of future studies. Here, we will focus on Isfahan. In view of the considerable volume of work already written on this topic, the modest aim of this paper is to present the relevant passages in Fazli's chronicle as an addition to the existing documentary evidence.¹⁰

THE *AFDAL AL-TAWĀRĪKH* AND OTHER SAFAVID CHRONICLES

First, a very brief introduction to the *Afdal al-tawārīkh* and its importance as a source for the history of 'Abbas, with regard to its previous misidentification and the extent to which it offers a different view of the reign from that found in the other Persian chronicles.¹¹ As previously noted, for many years the manuscript Dd.5.6, housed in the library of Christ's College, Cambridge, was miscatalogued as a copy of Iskandar Beg Munshi's *Tārīkh-i 'Ālam-ārā-yi 'Abbāsī* before being identified by the present author as the third volume of a little-known chronicle of the first Safavid rulers of Iran; like the other two extant volumes, which cover the reigns of, respectively, Shah Isma'il (r. 1501–24) and Shah Tahmasp (r. 1524–76), it is a unique copy. Consisting of 579 folios (1158 pages), the manuscript deals with the long and crucial reign of Shah 'Abbas in very great detail.

The author, whose name is given in a crossed-out passage on fol. 20r, belonged to a well-established family of bureaucrats and officials, and the work contains many references to other Khuzani family members.¹² He was born in 1593 and served in various capacities in the provincial administration, mainly in the Caucasus, between 1608 and 1624, which accounts for the enormous wealth of data on the province and on Safavid relations with Georgia.¹³ He then gained a post in Kirman in 1625, possibly short-term, after which he evidently remained at court. After the death of Shah 'Abbas and the political purges that soon followed the accession of his grandson, Shah Safi I (r. 1629–42), Fazli Beg left Iran for India. There, he continued to work on his chronicle, which was never completed; in fact, all three volumes are in some way defective and bear the signs of continuing revisions.

Ms. Dd.5.6 is dated 1045 (1635); volume 2 (now in the British Library, Or. 4678) was completed in the author's own distinctive hand in India in 1049 (1639). This example of Fazli Beg's handwriting allows us to identify his authorship of the numerous marginalia in the volume on 'Abbas. The fact that this was not only written outside Iran, but was never finished, helps to explain both why it had no impact on later Safavid historiography and why the author takes a more independent and distinctive line, remote from the pressures of court patronage. It may also explain discrepancies in details, although factual divergences are common enough in medieval historical writing and it is often impossible to decide where the "truth," or greater accuracy, lies.

The misidentification of the Christ's manuscript is not surprising, given that the first two pages of the text are indeed copied from Iskandar Beg Munshi's *'Ālam-ārā-yi 'Abbāsī*, no doubt to replace pages missing from the beginning of the volume at the time of its sale to Jean-Baptiste Gentil in Fayzabad (Faizabad, Awadh) in the 1770s. The relationship with Iskandar Beg's work does not end there, however; apart from the fact that it is the only other contemporary chronicle to cover the whole reign, it follows the *'Ālam-ārā* closely in terms of its annalistic structure and the choice and sequence of topics covered. Furthermore, Fazli Beg himself refers to his relationship with Iskandar Beg and explains how the latter began his work on the *'Ālam-ārā-yi 'Abbāsī* in 1010 (1601) and he himself began work on the *Afdal al-tawārīkh* over the winter of 1025–26 (1616–17), a point seemingly reflected in the manuscript (fol. 375r), suggesting a heavy reliance on Iskandar Beg up to this date, which also marked the completion of the first volume of the *'Ālam-ārā-yi 'Abbāsī*.¹⁴ Both sources share the same flawed chronological system, which tries unsuccessfully to combine the hijri lunar calendar with the twelve-animal solar calendar and the regnal year of the shah.¹⁵ For all the great wealth of information it contains, Fazli Beg's chronicle provides very few dates. He was no Venerable Bede, and events or information that he places in one annal are often reported by Iskandar Beg—and other sources—in a different year. There are few ways to control this and anyway, there is no guarantee that dates, when given, are reliable; for now, it is enough to observe that some of Fazli Beg's information departs quite significantly from that given by Iskandar Beg,

calling into question, at least, the reliability of what has been universally considered up till now to be the principal contemporary source for the reign of Shah ‘Abbas. In some cases the *Afḍal al-tawārīkh* does not merely complement or expand the information found elsewhere, but contradicts it in ways that complicate what we currently understand about the building program of Isfahan.

Since most of these conflicts concern chronology, a very rapid survey of the characteristics of the other “four sources” is desirable, since any resolving of the discrepancies between them must be informed by an appreciation of the context in which these four authors were writing and their respective merits as historians.¹⁶

Afushta’i Natanzi’s chronicle covers the period from the death of Shah Tahmasp in 984 (1576) to 1007 (1598).¹⁷ He began his work in 1590, at the age of 60, inspired by Shah ‘Abbas’ expedition to Shiraz that year to deal with the rebellious Ya‘qub Khan, and ends it with ‘Abbas’s defeat of ‘Abd al-Mu‘min Khan Uzbek and reconquest of Herat in August 1598, both major stages in the shah’s taking control of his kingdom.¹⁸ For the present purposes, it is important, therefore, to note that he was actively composing his work at the time of the shah’s first visit to Isfahan, that he was an exact contemporary of the events he describes and must have been an eye-witness to some of them, and that he had access to well-placed sources of information. In terms of its structure, Natanzi’s chronicle is episodic, not organized in annals, but he does give dates, rather sparingly, with reference to the hijri lunar calendar, and follows a broadly chronological narrative, although this is not always clear, nor consistent with other accounts.¹⁹ As reported by McChesney, Natanzi records building activities in Isfahan in the years 998–99 (1590–91), 1002 (1593), and 1004 (1595–96).

Junabadi’s *Rawḍat al-ṣafawiyya* is similar in many respects to Natanzi’s chronicle, notably in that he appears not to have been a court official or in government employment, and shared with Natanzi an interest in poetry.²⁰ The *Rawḍat* covers the history of the Safavids from the reign of Shah Isma‘il I until ‘Abbas’s conquest of Baghdad in 1034 (1624). The work was begun in 1023 (1614) and completed in 1036 (1626–27); he mentions that he was writing about Isfahan in 1026 (1617), a little after the events concerned.²¹ More importantly, like Natanzi’s, his work is episodic in its treatment of history

and follows only a loose chronological framework, with relatively few precise dates.²² As noted by McChesney, Junabadi concentrates his information about the development of Isfahan in one main section, under the year 1012 (1603–4), following an earlier, “undated” passage.²³ Like Natanzi, therefore, Junabadi was also a contemporary of the reign of ‘Abbas, for the knowledge of which he claims his own direct experience and participation in events.²⁴

Iskandar Beg’s chronicle of the reign of Shah ‘Abbas needs no introduction, long being regarded and used as the standard primary source for the period.²⁵ Unlike the work of Natanzi and Junabadi, his chronicle is organized in annals, though the significant problems with his chronology have already been noted. Nevertheless, his narrative of the reign can generally be equated with the sequence of events provided by other authors, including Fazli Beg (who provides even fewer precise dates than Iskandar Beg). For the present purposes, it is useful to underline the fact that, not unlike Junabadi, Iskandar Beg concentrates his account of ‘Abbas’s construction of Isfahan under two annals, namely 1006 (1597–98) and 1020 (1611), giving the impression of two distinct moments of building activity, of which he also provides a separate summary list.²⁶ Iskandar Beg was a *munshī* (secretary-scribe), closely connected with the court and the bureaucracy, and therefore well placed for access to reliable information. Nevertheless, despite being his junior, Fazli Beg considers the material he received from his own relatives, such as his brother Muhammad Beg, to be much superior, for instance, in his account of the reception of the Ottoman Mehmed Pasha in 1017 (1609).²⁷ Like those of Junabadi, Iskandar Beg’s descriptions of the construction of Isfahan were written by 1025 (1616), after which neither author refers to the matter again.

All these documentary sources present chronological problems, which to a large extent can be calibrated against the detailed framework provided by the court astrologer Jalal al-Din Munajjim Yazdi, whose work is arranged in annals according to the Islamic hijri lunar calendar, with other chronological or astrological indications, in the form of a diary—hence its apt secondary title, *Rūznāma-yi Mullā Jalāl* (The Journal of Mulla Jalal). It does indeed read at times like a daily record of events at court and, bearing in mind his professional qualification and the fact that he was in regular attendance on

the shah,²⁸ his evidence carries great authority. Unfortunately, his diary continues only down to late 1020 (February 1612);²⁹ although it is rich in dated information, the details he provides are not always internally consistent. It remains, however, a valuable corrective to the work of less punctilious authors, such as Iskandar Beg and Fazli Beg. As noted by McChesney, Yazdi gives a more continuous account of the building works in Isfahan, under the years 1000 (1591–92), 1005 (1596), 1006 (1598), 1011 (1602–3), and 1020 (1611).

All these sources, therefore, are more or less contemporary and involved in the events they recorded; Fazli Beg actually represents the next generation, writing somewhat later, though still within 'Abbas's reign, largely on the strength of evidence from family members who were themselves important figures in the Safavid bureaucracy.

A CHRONOLOGICAL SURVEY OF BUILDING WORK IN ISFAHAN

With these points in mind, let us start with the information provided by the *Afḍal al-tawārīkh* on the construction of the new Safavid capital, drawing attention to where this differs from or expands upon existing evidence.

998–1001 (1590–93)

First, it is noteworthy that, unlike some later authors, Fazli confirms the early interest of 'Abbas in developing Isfahan that was reported by Natanzi.³⁰ In 998 (1590), Fazli records that the shah went to Isfahan and stayed at the Mahdi Palace in the Naqsh-i Jahan (*'imārat-i mahdī-yi naqsh-i jahān*) created by Shah Isma'īl, where he drew up plans for buildings and gardens.³¹ Qadi Ahmad Qummi (d. ca. 1606) also refers to the shah entering Isfahan and residing in the *dawlatkhāna* (palace) of the Naqsh-i Jahan, an exemplar of the gardens of paradise.³² We note here already something of a persistent problem of terminology and a lack of precision in the descriptive sources; it is not clear what distinguishes an *'imārat* (single edifice) from a *dawlatkhāna* (perhaps a palace complex) containing the royal residence and offices, and later, a *sarā* (palace).

The first chronological discrepancy arises here, for Fazli makes this statement in connection with 'Abbas's lengthy sojourn in the city on his way south to deal with affairs in Fars, that is, in early 1590, before setting off for Shiraz in June, whereas Natanzi mentions 'Abbas's plans for the city on his return from Yazd and before heading back to Qazvin in late December 1590.³³ This is only a minor difference, but it does mean that Fazli's statement, if correct, is evidence that the shah initiated development of the city during his first visit there.

We may concur with Stephen Blake that this should be seen in the context of 'Abbas's assertion of control over southern Iran, a major concern in the early years of his reign.³⁴ This does not necessarily mean, however, that the capital was shifted at the same time and that Qazvin ceased to be the center of government from this date, although there appears to be a statement to this effect in the account by the later chronicler, Junabadi.³⁵ Apart from questions of terminology and the fluid use of epithets such as *Dār al-Mulk* and *Dār al-Saltāna* (seat of rulership) for both these (and other) cities, it is interesting to note that on his return to Qazvin in January 1591, 'Abbas drew up plans for new streets and buildings around the Bagh-i Sa'adatabad,³⁶ which suggests that he had not lost interest in developing Qazvin.

Junabadi specifically mentions that the *maydān* (square) in Isfahan was at this time extended to the front of the shrine (*imāmzāda*) of Harun-i Vilayat;³⁷ the square was thus enlarged and developed, thereby improving it for polo, *qabaq* (literally "gourd," referring to the wooden target used for a royal archery game), and other sports. This certainly makes sense, and is consistent with the account in Natanzi, who also mentions the preparation of the *maydān* for *qabaq*, polo, and equestrian sports, along with the rebuilding of the old bazaars (the word *ta'mūr*, "rebuilding," does not indicate new construction). It seems this much can logically be associated with the existing urban space, rather than a fresh development. It is also clear from the context of his report, and the date 999 (1590–91) immediately preceding this narrative, that Junabadi is associating these first building plans with 'Abbas's presence in the city at the time of the Fars campaign.³⁸

We will consider the arguments surrounding this issue shortly. Meanwhile, Natanzi states that the whole first stage of development of the bazaars and extension of the *maydān* was finished in a short time, which may

be accurate if it refers to the area round the Harun-i Vilayat. Fazli continues that before leaving Isfahan for Qazvin, 'Abbas acquiesced to the request by some of the notables of Isfahan, such as Muhammad Amin Husayniyya and Mir Taqi al-Din Muhammad, the *kalāntar* (mayor), to destroy the castle of Tabarak, to prevent rebels from using it as a stronghold to dominate the city.³⁹

Three years later, according to Fazli, in his annal for 1001 (1592–93), 'Abbas was again in the city and bestowed many favors on the people, granting a one-year remission of taxes. He drew up a plan for the construction of a lofty building (*'imārat*; within the *dawlatkhāna?*), the bazaar, the *maydān*, and the *qayṣariyya* (covered bazaar).⁴⁰ It is unclear to what extent, if at all, this refers to the old city center, or to the development of a new area round the Naqsh-i Jahan garden, but his information is essentially similar to that provided by both him and especially Natanzi for 1590 (as above). Fazli places this in the context of the shah's presence in Isfahan on his return from eastern Iran after abandoning his intention to visit Mashhad, which Natanzi puts in Muharram 1001 (autumn of 1592), stating that 'Abbas went to Isfahan in view of his concern to develop the city (*binā bar tavajjuhī kih nisbat bih 'imārat wa tartīb-i dār al-saltāna-yi Iṣfahān dārad*).⁴¹ Yazdi, whose chronology is generally much more rigorous and reliable, does not mention any visit to Isfahan at this time, but he does give details of work planned a year earlier, in Safar 1000 (November 1591), before 'Abbas left for Yazd and soon afterwards for Ardabil.⁴² Yazdi gives essentially the same information as Fazli Beg, referring to 'Abbas drawing up plans for the *maydān* of Isfahan, the bazaar, and the *qayṣariyya*;⁴³ it is reasonable to assume that both accounts refer to the same single occasion, but not clear which date (1591 or 1592) is to be preferred.

Interestingly, however, Fazli continues that 'Abbas ordered that the old *qayṣariyya* (*qayṣariyya-yi kuhna*, i.e., the bazaars in the old center) should be destroyed; after touring and feasting in the gardens of Isfahan, he set off back to the *Dār al-Saltāna*, Qazvin, for the winter.⁴⁴

This echoes the earliest report, by Natanzi, on the rebuilding of the bazaars and construction of a new

qayṣariyya but perhaps implies that 'Abbas's intention from the outset was indeed a radical relocation of the center of the city's commercial activity, rather than a simple redevelopment of the old quarter. Only Junabadi gives a hint of the rivalries and opposition caused by the creation of 'Abbas's new quarter, but he does so in terms of 'Abbas's original intention to modernize and restore the old quarter, which, he says, was misconstrued by the powerful owners of the shops there, leading the shah to desist from this plan and start afresh elsewhere.⁴⁵ Among those mentioned is Mir Muhammad Amin, the *naqīb* (leader of the sayyids) already encountered in connection with the destruction of the castle of Tabarak. Junabadi dates this opposition to 1012 (1603–4), that is, in the context of the completion of the shah's definitive shift to the Maydan-i Naqsh-i Jahan; but it serves as an introductory background to the move and makes it clear that 'Abbas's original building activities were at least partly directed at the Harun-i Vilayat area, as argued by Blake.⁴⁶

Before progressing further, it might be useful to summarize the position so far. Natanzi, Yazdi and Fazli Beg all provide very similar, laconic statements about 'Abbas's initial orders concerning Isfahan, given over various early visits to the city between 998 and 1001 (1590–93), involving repairs, extensions, and possibly some destruction, as well as new building, in the bazaar area, the *maydān*, and the *qayṣariyya*. Junabadi, writing in 1026 (1617), states that at least some of this activity concerned the old commercial center, as indeed is logical. Blake's contention that these developments were connected exclusively with the area round the Harun-i Vilayat has attracted considerable opposition,⁴⁷ and it is worth reviewing the evidence once more, before turning to the subsequent passages that clearly refer entirely to the development of the Maydan-i Naqsh-i Jahan.

In support of Junabadi's observation about the extension of the old *maydān* (*maydān-i kuhna*), we may note that it should be taken together with his later statement about opposition to 'Abbas's plans for the old center, and that the two reports are compatible and consistent. If, as seems to be the case, his remarks about the concerns of the local notables have been accepted in the secondary literature, it is necessary to accept the remarks also about the expansion of the *maydān* near the

shrine of Harun-i Vilayat: an extension of this square presumably would have necessitated some modification to the surrounding buildings. If it were simply a case of accepting or rejecting Junabadi's testimony (and rejecting it is to deny him any credibility as a source), it would be a straight choice, but other evidence must be taken into account.

In the first place, we are told that Shah Ismaʿil also made some adjustments to the *maydān* at the start of his reign, on the occasion of his stay in the city in 915 (1509–10), after passing the winter in Shiraz: the *maydān* seemed narrow (*tang*) and he ordered that it be broadened. He spent a week there riding (*asb tākhtan*) and shooting at *qabaq*, before heading for Hamadan.⁴⁸ This is echoed by his exact contemporary, the author Amini Haravi: the shah pitched his tents there (Isfahan) and enjoyed riding (*asb tākhtan*) and practicing archery (*qabaq andākhtan*) in the *maydān* there.⁴⁹ We may also note the same author's statement that Ismaʿil's earlier prolonged residence in Isfahan for his winter and summer quarters in 910 (1504–5) had been profitable for the merchants' business while the shah and his entourage (*khadam va ḥashar*) were there. "The ruined houses were restored through the auspicious arrival of the royal army (*lashkar-i Īrān*); the palace (*sarā*) and recently destroyed places were revived and the shah made the *ḥarīm* of Isfahan a mansion (*nishīman*)."⁵⁰ The same year saw the elimination of the rebel Muhammad Karra, who, after being captured in Yazd, was brought in a cage to the *maydān* in Isfahan and burned alive.⁵¹ The question is, which *maydān*? Iskandar Beg places this in the Maydan-i Naqsh-i Jahan, and this is followed by later scholars, including Blake.⁵² This seems to me illogical, if for no other reason than that such an event would best achieve its desired effect in a heavily populated public place, and forces a choice: is Iskandar Beg, writing after the construction of the new *maydān*, more accurate in his account of the reign of Shah Ismaʿil, than Junabadi, writing at exactly the same time, about the reign of Shah ʿAbbas? It would be more natural for Junabadi also to refer automatically to the new, recently completed *maydān* for ʿAbbas's patronage, but he specifically mentions the old one.⁵³ Unfortunately, in view of our defective knowledge about the *maydān-i kuhna*, it is all too easy to airbrush it out of history along with its physical

disappearance.⁵⁴ It is important to note that it was still used for polo games well into the reign of ʿAbbas.⁵⁵ The same absence of information means that we have no real idea of the shape or development of the Maydan-i Naqsh-i Jahan before ʿAbbas's constructions there, other than that it was a *maydān* in the garden area (*bāgh*). The question of antecedents, particularly the matter of the orientation of the new *maydān*, is best tackled by Masashi Haneda, but his comments are also pertinent to the question of its demarcation and the buildings that may have ringed it.⁵⁶

If Ismaʿil's patronage of the city, such as it was, seems incontrovertibly to refer to the old city center, it is also clearly the case that he himself resided outside the urban core in the Bagh-i Naqsh-i Jahan, where he evidently rebuilt or restored the existing structures later associated with his name, including the *ḥarīm* (private quarters) and *sarā* mentioned by Amini above, and referred to as the *ʿimārat-i mahdī* by Fazli Beg.⁵⁷

It appears that little changed in Isfahan during the reign of Shah Tahmasp, although by the end of Muhammad Khudabanda's reign (1578–87) there was evidently considerable destruction of the original *dawlatkhāna*, or palace buildings, which had become uninhabitable,⁵⁸ necessitating ʿAbbas's earliest instructions for refurbishments.

This is not to say that there are no problems with Junabadi's account of the extension of the old *maydān*, chiefly that he says it was 300 *jarīb* long, a dimension he also gives later for the Naqsh-i Jahan square, suggesting a confusion in his mind between the two spaces;⁵⁹ the figure he gives is anyway a gross exaggeration.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, I believe the main problem is with the interpretation of his evidence, which concerns only the *maydān* and its enlargement, rather than with the information itself. It is consistent to suppose that Natanzi also refers to this space, and some rebuilding round it. Fazli Beg specifically refers in his annal for 1001 (1592–93) to orders for the destruction of the old *qayṣariyya*, which must be seen in the context of continuing development there, as one would expect from the newly active shah. At the same time, however, for reasons well-rehearsed elsewhere, there seems little doubt that ʿAbbas quickly appreciated the opportunities for developing the Bagh-i Naqsh-i Jahan as a focus for the royal residence and

surrounding amenities, and started to draw up plans for a new *qayşariyya* and, with it, the extension of the markets towards the new square.⁶¹ The identity of the *dawlatkhāna* clearly refers to the construction or reconstruction of the royal palace in the Bagh-i Naqsh-i Jahan, previously used by Shah Isma‘il and earlier rulers.⁶² That these developments proceeded apace is clear from the accounts that follow (see below).

In other words, we can perhaps already discern a twin focus in ‘Abbas’s activities, one involving the bazaars and commercial district round the Harun-i Vilayat and the other the development of the residential and imperial area to the south—similar to other examples of royal quarters being located in garden areas away from the busy urban center, but now also consistent with the Safavid vision of incorporating them into an integral part of the seat of government.⁶³

1002–1005 (1594–97)

Returning to Fazli Beg’s text, the following year, 1002 (1593–94), the shah organized a trip to Isfahan as a way to entertain the Uzbek chief Nur Muhammad Khan, together with the Khwarazmian Hajji Muhammad Khan, both of whom had taken refuge at the court in Qazvin.⁶⁴ The visit is dated from 9 Safar 1002 (November 4, 1593) to 2 Jumada I 1002 (January 24, 1594) by Munajjim Yazdi, who does not mention either the Central Asian guests or any construction work, confining himself to recording a *bon mot* concerning riddles uttered by ‘Abbas on the roof (*sic*) of the Bagh-i Naqsh-i Jahan.⁶⁵ The visit is recorded in considerable detail by Natanzi, together with important information about the construction of a new palace on the *maydān*, which unequivocally refers to the new square, and also mentions another building round it; his dating of the visit is also rather precise, referring to the dispatch of Alpan Beg in early Safar (November) to build a suitable residence beside the Naqsh-i Jahan *dawlatkhāna*, which he accomplished on the eastern (*sic*) side of the building in a short space of time.⁶⁶ The shah himself left Qazvin on 1 Rabi‘ I (November 25) and arrived a week later at Dawlatabad, just outside the city, having meanwhile dispatched Hajji (or Hajim) Khan to Rayy. A magnificent *istiqbāl* (welcoming party) at the Tuqchi Gate had to be postponed due to a heavy downpour, and the shah entered the city five days later;

the 15,000 troops lined up to greet him assembled “in the *maydān* in the Bagh-i Naqsh-i Jahan.” Here, the shah, having left the *dawlatkhāna* and entered the *maydān*, went onto the roof of the madrasa of Khwaja Malik Mustawfi, “which is situated opposite the Bagh-i Naqsh-i Jahan,” to watch the parade; this is presumably the roof referred to by Munajjim Yazdi. The discharge of volleys from the 15,000 musketeers caused darkness and terror. The event ended with ‘Abbas pouring fruit down from the roof as largesse for the stampeding crowd below.⁶⁷

Fazli Beg is the only author to contribute additional information to this account, providing further details of the shah’s progress to the city via displays of lights (*chirāghān*) in the main towns on the way, organized by Alpan Beg, the Yasa‘ul-bashi (aide-de-camp) going on ahead of the party, and an *istiqbāl* at the caravanserai at Sardehan, flanked by 30,000 troops (*sic*) for the benefit of the Chinggisid chiefs.⁶⁸ Beyond the Tuqchi Gate, the ground was spread with carpets and precious textiles.⁶⁹ Fazli Beg continues:

The buildings (*‘imārāt*) of Naqsh-i Jahan had been appointed for the accommodation (*nuzūl*) of the Chinggisids and when they had arrived for feasting and conviviality (*ṣuḥbat*), Alpan Beg was to accompany them to his own residence (*makān-i khud*), while the shah would hasten to the buildings (*‘imārāt*). As had been decreed, the most and the best of it (the palace?) had been built.⁷⁰

The shah then spent several days relaxing in Isfahan, and:

during that time drew up the plans for the Chahar Bagh and the building of the Guldasta. [...] The *qayşariyya* and the *chahār bāzār*, which had been founded beforehand, were half finished; more planners (*ṭarrāḥihā*) then came to the shah’s attention and they designed a *ḥammām* in the Guldasta;⁷¹ prostitutes and singers were then given permission, on the orders of Alpan Beg, to entertain the Chinggisid sultans while they waited for news from Khurasan.⁷²

These texts by Natanzi and Fazli Beg indicate clearly that—whatever the initial developments may have been around the old *maydān*—the *qayşariyya* and the *chahār-bāzār* must be associated with the development of the northern side of the Bagh-i Naqsh-i Jahan. As for the palace complex, however, the *dawlatkhāna* was evidently still inadequate for royal entertainment, and

it was necessary to erect a separate building to house the shah's guests, while the *maydān* itself in this garden quarter was perhaps still not fully delineated and certainly contained no new structures suitable for the shah to use as a vantage point to survey the square. The madrasa of Malik Mustawfi, opposite the palace grounds, was evidently situated near the later location of the Shaykh Lutf-Allah Mosque, which must have been constructed close to the same site.⁷³

According to Fazli Beg, the shah brought Shaykh Lutf-Allah with him on the journey from Qazvin, and drew up the plan for the mosque opposite the Ala (*sīc* 'Ālī) Qapu (Gate) of the *dawlatkhāna*, which is very tall and well arranged. Overseers (*sar-kārān*) were appointed, as Fazli adds in a marginal note at this point, to:

bring it to completion and to call it the Masjid-i Shaykh Lutf-Allah. The great Shaykh himself was appointed to supervise the rooms and nighttime prayer halls (*shabistāns*) and the places allocated for ascetics and worshippers. After it was completed, the Friday prayer and other religious obligations would be performed there, the reward for which would be a legacy for the fortunate era of the shah (*haẓrat-i a'lā*); and it was decreed that, for the renewal of the performance of retreat and worship, a sum would be allocated for the needs of his mosque from each of the incomes of the properties and commercial establishments of the crown land administration (*khāṣṣa-yi sharīfa*), and every year the tax collectors of the settlements (*qaṣabāt*) round Isfahan should give the amount requested by the Refuge of the Sadarat (*ṣadāratpanāh*, i.e., the Shaykh).⁷⁴

This very precise account, if accurate, provides evidence (missing elsewhere) showing not only that Shaykh Lutf-Allah was indeed closely associated with the construction and even design of the mosque from the outset, but that this development occurred a decade earlier (in 1593–94) than usually assumed: the conventional date for the construction is 1011 (1602–3), supported by inscriptions from 1012 (1603–4) and 1028 (1618).⁷⁵ It also gives explicit details about how the project was to be funded.

Since this is the first passage in Fazli's chronicle that departs radically from the other literary sources, the question arises of his reliability. First, a general observation that applies equally well to how we read all our sources—including Junabadi's text, which has caused such dissension over the question of the Maydan-i Har-

un-i Vilayat: as noted above, it is not reasonable to pick and choose the information that seems to agree with what we think we know, and reject what does not fit, any more than it is logical to accept a "new" piece of information and then reject everything that contradicts it. Rather, as our knowledge base increases, we have more elements of the puzzle to fit together into a coherent narrative. As for Fazli's statements about the city this year (1002 [winter 1593–94]), we should note first that it is internally consistent with his previous reports, and second that it is logically acceptable. The context of the first of many visits of Chinggisid khans from Transoxania (as well as other potentates) provides a rational pretext for the need to develop appropriate accommodation in a royal residential district that was just beginning to take shape, and is consistent with the evidence of the earlier author, Natanzi. The existence of a madrasa opposite the *dawlatkhāna* must have suggested to 'Abbas a suitable site for developing a royal counterpart symbolizing religious as well as secular authority—and here there is also a context that makes such a development at this moment understandable.

Fazli Beg's account of the visit to Isfahan follows immediately on his report of the suppression of the Nuqtavi heresy (a Sufi movement founded in 1397 by Mahmud Pasikhani) of Darvish Khusraw, which saw the shah abdicate for three days in favor of Yusuf the quiver maker.⁷⁶ Shaykh Lutf-Allah is named by Fazli Beg as one of the senior 'ulama whom 'Abbas involved in deciding the fate of the Nuqtavis and carrying out their punishment.⁷⁷ What better moment to follow up this crisis with a powerful endorsement of Shi'i orthodoxy and begin to give this concrete form in the shape of religious patronage. It is notable that Fazli states that the mosque would be used to perform Friday prayer, the legitimacy of which had been a rumbling issue throughout the first Safavid century.⁷⁸ Sussan Babaie has already noted how the conjunction of such factors helps account for the development of the mosque;⁷⁹ here, we merely suggest that Fazli's description underlines the fact that these factors were already applicable in 1594. Although the bulk of the information comes in an authorial marginal note and was therefore written some time later than the other contemporary accounts, this does not alter the fact that it is embedded at a point in the text clearly

written much earlier. Finally, we may note that his kinsman Mirza Hidayat Najm-i Sani was among those senior officials involved in the arrangements for the shah's visit that year and would have been a source of eyewitness information.⁸⁰

We can therefore accept that plans for the development of the *maydān* in the Bagh-i Naqsh-i Jahan area were already well under way by the end of 1594, with some projects in progress (the *qayṣariyya* and *chahār-bāzār*, the *dawlatkhāna*), and others being initiated at this date (the Chahar Bagh, and Mosque of Shaykh Lutf-Allah), as 'Abbas began to assert his authority in both the political and religious spheres. From the start, by these instructions, the shah may well have been initiating a coherent vision for long-term development of the city,⁸¹ anticipating a transfer of the capital from Qazvin, but this did not take place until the building works were more advanced.

The chronological problems remain, however, as we note that Munajjim Yazdi dates the design of the Chahar Bagh to the shah's visit in late Safar 1005 (October 1596),⁸² a visit not specifically mentioned by either Fazli Beg or Iskandar Munshi.⁸³ As there are several such discrepancies in the dating of specific building projects, it is perhaps easier to assume that they reflect different stages, from first conception to foundation to completion, rather than a one-to-one correlation between a building and a particular date, as many of them must have been several years in the making.

Of more concern is the need to reconcile the information provided by Natanzi, who under the year 1004 (1595–96) provides an extremely detailed account of building works in Isfahan and especially the decoration of the walls surrounding the *maydān*, and Munajjim Yazdi.⁸⁴ The latter refers briefly to the shah's visit to Isfahan in Jumada I 1004 (January 1596), and the astonishing display of lights and fireworks that greeted him—the main topic also of Natanzi's account, with dates that more or less match, although they do not agree.⁸⁵ By contrast, Natanzi does not mention any visit in 1005 (1596–97); indeed, he appears to pass over this year entirely, following the shah's visit to Isfahan in 1004 with the start of the expedition to Khurasan in 1006 (1597–98).⁸⁶ This permits Yazdi's account to stand uncontested (rather than supposing that both refer to the same

visit under different years), although we may note that Iskandar Beg puts the design of the Chahar Bagh in 1006 (see below), and quotes the same chronogram that Yazdi gives for 1005.⁸⁷ In other words, much of Yazdi's information for 1005 is unique, and it is perhaps not impossible that it could equally well be associated with the following year.

1006–1011 (1598–1603)

According to Munajjim Yazdi, Isfahan became (*muqarrar shud*) the Safavid capital in mid-Rajab 1006 (mid-February 1598), due to the need to counter persistent Uzbek raids on the Yazd district. The date of the transfer is also recorded by Iskandar Beg over the winter of 1006 (1597–98), the first time he mentions the subject of 'Abbas's vision for the city. Both authors give several details about the work accomplished or initiated that year, which there is no need to repeat.⁸⁸ There is no particular reason to accept Blake's belief that this occurred earlier, although it is entirely plausible that the move may have been in 'Abbas's mind from the outset. Junabadi's statement that the town became a *Dār al-Mulk* may be taken to reflect its reclamation as an official center of regional government after falling out of imperial control in the previous reign. Fazli Beg provides additional information about the progress and continuation of construction in the city, once more mainly in a marginal note.

After *Nawrūz* (New Day, i.e., the first day of the Persian solar year),⁸⁹ the shah set off for Isfahan (here as always, Fazli provides a detailed list of the senior officials who went out to greet him, including Mirza Hidayat). He goes on, "The splendid buildings of the *dawlatkhāna*, the gardens, the hammams, the *chahār-khiyābān* and the *sūq* having been designed, problem-tackling architects (*mu'āmirān-i mushkil-guzān*) were appointed to bring them to completion." In the margin, Fazli adds the following more precise information, as far as I know, not found elsewhere:⁹⁰

The shah went to a madrasa opposite the bathhouse (*ḥammām*) at the end of the *chahār-sūq*, which is by the *qayṣariyya* and the polo *maydān*, beside the 'Ali Qapu, and determined that it should be completed according to the wishes (*farmūda*) of Mawlana 'Abd-Allah-i Sani Shushtari. They should make a water channel (*nahr*, the Fadin Canal)

that ran from the *maydān* and the gate of the *qayṣariyya* on the Naqsh-i Jahan to flow through the madrasa. This was begun on the shah's orders and in two years it was completed. A post was established for students and researchers according to the decision of the Refuge of Excellence, Mawlana 'Abd-Allah, who would teach in that lofty dome every day and a place (*makān*) was assigned beside the mosque (*ṭaraf-i masjid*).⁹¹ It was decided that, with the permission of the Divan of the Lofty Razawi-Deputyship of Guidance (*Dīwān al-Hidāyat al-Wilāyat al-'Alīyyat al-Raḍawīyya*), the clerks of the land holdings and commercial enterprises of the crown estates (*khālīṣa*), which he himself had set up in Isfahan, should treat this as an urgent matter. It was known as the madrasa of Mawlana 'Abd-Allah and the *'ulamā* and *fuzalā* prayed and studied and discussed learning there.

Once more, as in the case of the Lutf-Allah Mosque, Fazli provides clear information about the establishment of a major Shi'i religious building in the environs of the *maydān*, this time for one of Shaykh Lutf-Allah's main contemporaries and rivals, 'Abd-Allah Shushtari (d. Muharram 1021 [March 1612]), a scholar from Najaf. Fazli also indicates how the building was to be financed from the royal budget, with reference to a specific council (*dīvān*) whose task was to advise on matters of Imami doctrine, in this case presumably questions of independent reasoning (*ijtihād*).⁹² Assuming his report is accurate, we may conclude that the construction of the madrasa was completed circa 1008 (1600).

Fazli makes no specific reference to the change of capital this year and his rather general statement in the body of the text implies that work was still continuing on the royal projects in the palace area and especially on the northern side, not that they were inaugurated or completed at this time. It also suggests that 'Abbas was actively trying to bring these projects to completion. We may note in passing that on his triumphant return from the conquest of Herat in Rajab 1007 (February 1599) lavish tents and awnings were erected in the Bagh-i Naqsh-i Jahan for a prolonged spell of feasting.⁹³ Shortly afterwards, in connection with the festival of lights organized to mark the shah's visit to Isfahan in 1009 (1600), Fazli Beg records the *qayṣariyya* and the *chahār-bāzār* of the *maydān* in Isfahan as being recently completed.⁹⁴

According to Munajjim Yazdi, 'Abbas arrived in Isfahan on 14 Rabi' II 1009 (October 23, 1600) and stayed there over the winter and for Nawruz, leaving for his

pilgrimage on foot to Mashhad in early 1010 (late summer 1601).⁹⁵ Fazli Beg also has 'Abbas in Isfahan for Nawruz at the beginning of the Year of the Ox, in March 1601 (which fell in 1009), but incorrectly records this in his annal for 1010. He mentions that the shah feasted and relaxed in the city, in the gardens and buildings that had been designed.⁹⁶

Munajjim Yazdi has some interesting information about 'Abbas's activities in Isfahan during the winter of 1009 (1600–1601), first about a trip he made along the banks of the Zayanda Rud to explore the possibilities of bringing its water to Isfahan,⁹⁷ and, more interestingly, about his visit to the parks and gardens on 10 Shawwal (April 14, 1601), as well as his outing to see the Uzbek and Georgian envoys and watch a polo game on the Maydan-i Harun-i Vilayat.⁹⁸ Whatever else one may conclude about the rival development of the new *maydān*, this remark makes it clear that the old *maydān* was still functioning and could serve as a polo pitch.

In fact, Munajjim Yazdi provides further details of the progress of 'Abbas's plans in his annal for 1011 (1602–3), following the shah's return from his Balkh campaign (November 1602). He mentions the completion of the *maydān* at the entrance to the palace, surrounded by two rows of shops and other amenities, as well as the *qayṣariyya* and buildings in the bazaar, which was the focus of attention in the first phase of development. To signal and confirm the completion of the project, Yazdi records that on Thursday, 27 Jumada II 1011 (December 12, 1602), the bazaaris (merchants of the marketplace) moved their operations from the Maydan-i Harun-i Vilayat.⁹⁹ They occupied the new quarters, which were endowed in the name of the Infallible Imams, along with the parks and gardens of the Chahar Bagh. He also mentions that by 12 Rajab (December 26), all this construction work, including the Allahverdi Khan Bridge, was completed.¹⁰⁰ Essentially the same information is given by Junabadi, including the hints about opposition from the interested parties in the old *maydān* area (but no report that they moved to the new *maydān*), and also in the context of 'Abbas's return from the disastrous Balkh campaign, although he concentrates his account of the development all into one text, dated 1012 (1603–4). His report, written fifteen years later, is anachronistic,

not least in referring also to the Masjid-i Shah (Friday mosque), which was not begun for another eight years after 1012.¹⁰¹

Fazli Beg has nothing much to add to these accounts (especially the combined summaries of the whole development of the city by Iskandar Beg and Junabadi), but he does document ‘Abbas’s continuing efforts to develop the capital, once again in the context of the shah’s return from the Balkh campaign in the winter of 1602–3. He writes that after celebrating the Nawruz of 1603 and dispatching Hasan Khan to recapture the fort at Nihavand, the shah busied himself with the “restoration of gardens and the organization (*tartīb*) of buildings, striving for an increase of lofty constructions. Casting his eye on the location that had been the old *Dār*

al-Saltāna of the [Seljuk?] sultans of Iran, he put it in order and, buying many properties from the owners of those districts, he planned gardens and cultivation.”¹⁰² It is not clear whether this refers to an area round the old city center, or, as might be assumed, locations within the new palace precincts to the southwest.

By this date then, early 1603, there is concrete, consistent and reliable evidence of the completion of the commercial buildings at the northern end of the square and the perimeter development of Maydan-i Naqsh-i Jahan (except on its southern edge), the construction of the Madrasa of ‘Abd-Allah Shushtari, and the start of work on the Mosque of Shaykh Lutf-Allah, while other projects seem to have continued to be under construction (see table 1 and fig. 1; see also table 2 on page 171).

Table 1. Fazli Beg’s chronology of the construction of Isfahan.

Hijri annal	Date AD	Description	Alternative dates	Source
998	Early 1590	‘Abbas draws up plans for buildings and gardens; orders for Tabarak to be demolished.	Late 1590	Natanzi
1001	1592–93	Plans for <i>dawlatkhāna</i> , <i>maydān</i> , bazaar, and <i>qayṣariyya</i> ; old <i>qayṣariyya</i> to be demolished.	October 1591	Yazdi
1002	1593–94	Buildings in Bagh-i Naqsh-i Jahan for visitors; plans for Chahar Bagh, Guldasta, and hammam in Guldasta; <i>qayṣariyya</i> and <i>chahār-bāzār</i> “half finished”; founding of Mosque of Shaykh Lutf-Allah.	1005/1596 1006/1598	Yazdi Munshi
1006	1598	<i>Dawlatkhāna</i> , gardens, hammam, and <i>chahār-bāzār</i> urged towards completion; work starts on Madrasa of ‘Abd-Allah Shushtari.	1012/1603	Junabadi
1008	1600	Madrasa completed (implied).		
1009	1600–1601	<i>Qayṣariyya</i> and <i>chahār-bāzār</i> recently completed.		
1011	1602–3	Restoration of buildings and some new constructions; old palace area restored; purchases land for development. Begins development of ‘Abbasabad for Tabrizis.	1020/1611	Yazdi
1013	1605	Begins development of New Julfa for Armenians.		
1016	1607–8	Work starts on Allah Verdi Khan Bridge.	1006/1598 completed 1011/1602	Munshi Yazdi
1017	1608	‘Abbas inspects progress on bridge.		
1018	1609	Urges progress on bridge and further constructions.		
1019	1611	<i>Dawlatkhāna</i> and <i>qayṣariyya</i> noted as finished.		
1020	1611	Founding of Masjid-i Shah (Friday mosque) (under 1019/1610).		
1033	1624	Urges progress on completion of mosque.		

Fazli's evidence confirms what one would actually expect to be the case, that work continued on various projects and was not all completed by 1603. Our other sources, by contrast, do not refer to any further construction work until the years 1020–21 (1611–12).

1012–1020 (1603–1611)

Shah 'Abbas was absent from the capital between September 1603 and November 1607, when he was on his successful campaign in northwest Iran against the Ottomans.¹⁰³ Nevertheless, according to Fazli, after Nawruz of 1013 (March 1605), 'Abbas gave orders to resettle the silk-weaving (*julāhī*) Armenians of Chukhur-Sa'd (Yerevan), who had been earmarked for deportation to Isfahan. The shah instructed Mirza Muhammad, the vizier of Isfahan, and Mir Jamal al-Din Muhammad Sukhta of the *khālīsa* (crown estates) administration to give a district for buildings and houses to "those who were merchants" on the far side of the Zayanda Rud, opposite the Tabrizi community. Fazli notes that two years earlier (i.e., in 1011 [1602–3], according to his chronology),

by royal command, Hajji 'Inayat-Allah and Sayyid Hasan Mutafarriqa Tabrizi were brought from Iraq and drew up the plan for 'Abbasabad. Each of the groups mentioned was allocated 3, 10 or 20 *jaribs* (each *jarīb* being 62 cubits) for building, according to his needs. The shah purchased the area for development from the Isfahani owners of the nearby Shamsabad and Bidistan¹⁰⁴ and other villages, and gave them [the incomers] the land. Each according to his circumstances spent from 3,000 to 100 tumans on construction, and 2,000 houses or more were planned on a grid (*tarh*) and on a street most of them having water running through the middle of the houses; hammams and gardens were designed and they strove to bring it to completion.

Each of the Armenians built a house according to his circumstances and ability and set up his trade and management of his affairs. Khwaja Safar and Khwaja Nazar, who were mayors (*kalāntars*) and nobles among the Julfans, on entering Isfahan, came opposite the Tabrizi community [i.e., on the other side of the Zayanda River], and they too built lofty buildings. Lands and excellent properties were given in quarters near the city also for those who engaged in agriculture and cultivation, and houses were arranged for them.¹⁰⁵

Once more, Fazli throws new light on the development of this district and its timing, although his account is somewhat imprecise, combining the development of 'Abbasabad, to the west of the city, for the Tabrizis, with new Julfa, to the south, for the Armenians. Either way, Fazli here provides much more precise information about the development of 'Abbasabad, including its planners; his account is much earlier than the equally precise information provided by Yazdi, according to whom the Tabrizi quarter was established six years later, at the end of Safar 1020 (May 13, 1611).¹⁰⁶

The evacuation of the Armenians in 1605 is well documented.¹⁰⁷ If correct, Fazli shows that the Tabrizis were already there before the arrival of the Armenians in 1605, possibly as a result of the prolonged Ottoman occupation of the city and the slow return of the inhabitants in the wake of 'Abbas's reconquest of Tabriz in 1012 (1603).¹⁰⁸ The alternative, discussed by McChesney, is their arrival in the aftermath of the campaigns around Tabriz in 1019 (1610).¹⁰⁹ The movement of Tabrizis to Isfahan seems equally likely on either occasion, in view of the destruction of property and the effects of the shah's scorched earth policy. This would require a straight choice between the exactly contemporary evidence of Yazdi and the somewhat later but more circumstantial report of Fazli Beg. It is possible that there is some confusion here between the development of the urban suburb (*shahr*) of 'Abbasabad and the gardens, later called Hazar Jarib, situated further away to the south, at the end of the Chahar Bagh, the development of which is described much earlier by both Yazdi and Iskandar Beg.¹¹⁰ However, the Hazar Jarib was situated south of (behind) New Julfa, whereas Fazli's account of the location opposite the Tabrizis on the other side of the river seems unequivocal, so it is not easy to discern whose is the correct version of events.

In the course of his general description of building works in the city in 1012 (1603), Junabadi also gives an account of the Bagh-i 'Abbasabad, clearly to be identified with the site south of the river, and connected to the north via the Chahar Bagh and the Allahverdi Khan Bridge (see below).¹¹¹ Like Iskandar Beg, he says he will refer to the development of the suburbs of "Tabrizabad," Julfa, and Shamsabad in due course, but he does not do so in a way that explains these developments in relation

to each other. He mentions only Julfa and thus implies that Tabrizabad followed later, perhaps supporting the evidence of Yazdi and Iskandar Beg (although we might accuse Yazdi also of simply conflating earlier developments into a single account under 1020 [1611–12]).¹¹²

Similar issues are raised by another piece of detailed evidence provided by Fazli Beg that is not consistent with information given in other sources. According to the *Afḍal al-tawārīkh*, the Year of the Sheep, 1016 (1607–8), was a critical one for ‘Abbas’s building ambitions; his annal contains accounts of work in Ardabil, Mashhad and Mazandaran, which will be the subject of a separate study. In the late autumn of 1607, ‘Abbas returned to Isfahan after a prolonged absence on campaign in northwestern Iran and a devotional visit to Mashhad to give thanks for his successes, travelling over the stone causeway across the salt desert, which had now been completed.¹¹³ Once in Isfahan, he was presented with a petition from Allahverdi Khan, governor of Fars, to build a bridge over the Zayanda Rud. Fazli clearly presents this as the Khan’s initiative—most other sources mention that it was the shah’s idea and that he assigned the work to Allahverdi Khan. The shah gave permission for the work to be started and urged every effort to be made to complete it. In a marginal note, Fazli adds that

the architectural work on that elevated construction should be entrusted to Mir Jamal al-Din Muhammad Jabiri, son of one of the great Isfahani families and in the service of Allahverdi Khan. Good builders and carpenters with their tools were sought from the province of Fars and its environs. The design of the building of the bridge was to be on three levels (storeys), such that the eyes of the beholders were astonished. No one had ever seen such a good building over the water, which could become a place for the world to stroll (*sayrgāh-i ‘ālam*), with structures that allowed people to decamp [from their homes] for a few days and nights and stay there without becoming weary of it. It was all built of marble and yellow dolomite (*yaraqān*) stone and grey granite (*abgha*), which the pen is powerless to describe. By the good fortune of the shah, it took [only] five years to complete.¹¹⁴

This account is interesting for a number of reasons, first for the details about the architect, previously unknown, and also for the date.¹¹⁵ Munajjim Yazdi, essentially reliable with his chronology, puts the completion of the work five years earlier, in 1011 (1602);¹¹⁶ Iskandar Beg,

much less reliable (consolidating all his information together into two single accounts), dates the completion of the work even earlier, in 1006 (1598), though from a later perspective, in connection with the laying out of the Bagh-i ‘Abbasabad.¹¹⁷ Junabadi also, like Iskandar Beg, links the construction of the bridge—which he describes in some detail—to the development of ‘Abbasabad and the Chahar Bagh continuing across the river, in his account of the year 1012 (1603), i.e., implying agreement with the earlier date given by Yazdi, except that his general description is undifferentiated as to the sequence of building; he says it took three to four years to complete.¹¹⁸ Fazli’s account is also clearly linked to, and a logical consequence of, the development of Julfa on the other side of the river, mentioned previously. Support for his (later) date is that he continues to provide evidence of the work in progress on the bridge after 1607 (see below). It may be possible to reconcile the details given by Munajjim Yazdi and Fazli Beg by suggesting that the project was begun in 1011 (1602), following Yazdi, and brought (almost) to completion five years later, in 1016 (1607), following Fazli Beg. A similar solution, in reverse, could be applied to the development of the ‘Abbasabad quarter for the Tabrizis, supposing its initiation in 1011 (1602–3) (following Fazli Beg) and its completion in 1020 (1611) (following Yazdi). The logical necessity of the bridge for the development of the Bagh-i ‘Abbasabad and Chahar Bagh, the district of New Julfa, and, to a lesser extent, the urban suburb of ‘Abbasabad, suggests that 1011 (1602) is the correct date for the initiation of work on the bridge, which in reality must have taken several years to complete.

The bridge clearly became a major amenity even before its completion, and we find ‘Abbas himself enjoying it. After overseeing more projects at Farahabad in Mazandaran, he returned to Isfahan in early 1017 (1608),¹¹⁹ where he spent several days touring the city and saw that work was in progress on the Allahverdi Khan Bridge as planned—before going to inspect the site of his Kuhrang River (*Āb-i Kūhrang*) project, the goal of which was to divert its water into the Zayanda Rud (more than doubling its flow).¹²⁰ The coincidence of the work on the bridge and the investigation of the potential for increasing the flow of the river is understandable, as a successful diversion would surely have affected the design of

the bridge. But it is neutral in terms of deciding when the project was begun, for Yazdi documents 'Abbas's interest in the scheme from 1012 (1603), which is consistent with his date for the founding of the bridge the previous year;¹²¹ Fazli Beg, who first mentions the scheme in 1016 (winter of 1607–8),¹²² is similarly consistent. The shah was also reported to have been at the end of the bridge, the plan for the footings of which had been laid out (*tarḥ-i asās-i ān mīrīkhtand*), discussing the honest handling of financial transactions with the I'timad al-Dawla (chief minister), Hatim Beg Urdubadi.¹²³ Later, in the autumn, when the latter returned from overseeing work on the Kuhrang scheme, he organized a great feast on the bridge that Allahverdi Khan had started, to celebrate the fact that *some of it* had been completed (evidently enough for it to be serviceable):¹²⁴

for a week the Shah relaxed and partied with the nobles and great ones of Isfahan, as well as the poor, the needy, and the ragamuffins (*rinds*). Each level (*suffa*) and iwan of the building above the bridge was assigned to one of the ladies (*khātūns*) and sultans and intimates (*muqarrab*); each was decorated [differently], from *majlis* (gathering) to *majlis* and occasion to occasion, each one adorning the party face to face with the other, so it became the envy of the gardens of paradise.

These details suggest that Fazli's account is essentially reliable and consistent with the chronology of the period. He reports the shah again strolling with his entourage, including the refugee Ottoman Jalali (*Celālī*) rebels, in the gardens and walking at the end of the Allahverdi Khan Bridge during the Nawruz holidays of 1609, and urging the sultans and the pillars of state to arrange buildings and gardens to develop and beautify the paradise-like city.¹²⁵ The shah's interest in these projects and impatience to see the work finished shines clearly through all these accounts.

'Abbas then spent another substantial period away from the capital,¹²⁶ during which time he could not personally supervise construction work in Isfahan. Shortly after the shah's return in early 1611, the Uzbek chief Wali Muhammad Khan sought refuge with 'Abbas. He was welcomed in spectacular style by the shah and, on entering Isfahan via the Tuqchi Gate, was escorted into the city.¹²⁷ All authors give extended accounts of the reception of the Khan and his entourage, which included a

tour of the city and its newly constructed buildings proudly shown off: the *dawlatkhāna* and the *qayṣariyya*, from the roof of which the visitors watched a mighty artillery display before descending to a feast in the famous Mahdi Palace (*khāna-yi mahdī*) in the Bagh-i Naqsh-i Jahan.¹²⁸ Fazli Beg expands on this detail, mentioning that the shah had allocated a place for the Khan to stay in the private quarters of the *dawlatkhāna* (*dawlatkhāna-yi khāṣṣ*), but Wali Muhammad Khan was not content with this,¹²⁹ and it was determined that carpets would be spread out in the *'imārat-i mahdī*, which the late Shah Isma'īl had built in the Naqsh-i Jahan.¹³⁰ It will be recalled that Fazli also notes that this is where 'Abbas stayed on his first visit to the city (see above), though its separate existence is not identified in other sources: it was presumably the prototype of the later *dawlatkhāna*. Fazli remarks that 'Ali-Quli Khan, charged with organizing the Uzbek visit, had already been instructed to spread carpets in the Bagh-i Naqsh-i Jahan palace (*'imārat*) and arrange a place for them by the royal workshops (*kār-khānajāt*). The shah himself rose to propose they retire to rest, and 'Ali-Quli Khan suggested that they be taken to the lofty buildings that had been prepared for them.¹³¹ Many other details are supplied by Fazli—including the placing of entertainers in the upper rooms of the shops overlooking the *maydān*—and by other sources.¹³² The main point to emphasize is that, by this date, the bulk of the new construction in the city was complete and in use, including the second line of shops facing the *maydān*, and that 'Abbas used the opportunity provided by the Chinggisid's visit to show off the new capital in all its splendor.

This year (1020) is of particular importance in the documentary sources because it is the date usually given for the foundation of the Masjid-i Shah or Friday mosque on the *maydān*. Yazdi mentions the decision to start work on Friday, 15 Safar (April 29, 1611), and has the further information that on Thursday, 5 Rabi' 11 (June 17), the 'ulama congregated and determined the direction of the qibla.¹³³ Iskandar Beg also mentions the founding of the mosque this year, before the arrival of Wali Muhammad Khan.¹³⁴ There remains some residual ambiguity about the year, as some of the chronograms quoted to mark this event (and the visit of Wali Muhammad Khan) yield the date 1019, the year also given by Junabadi for

the Khan's visit,¹³⁵ but the correct date seems to be clear, namely 1020.¹³⁶

Fazli Beg nevertheless places the founding of the Friday mosque in his annal for the Year of the Rat, 1021 (1612–13), although the chronogram he cites for the work by the poet Wafa'i, cited also by Munajjim Yazdi and Iskandar Beg, yields the date 1020. The indications he provides about the shah's movements and whereabouts between 1019 and 1021 are evidently confused and cannot be reconciled entirely with the data provided by other authors.¹³⁷ Chronology aside, compared with the level of information he usually gives about the shah's enthusiasm for the construction of his capital, Fazli's account of the founding of the Friday mosque on the *maydān* is rather slight, although not without interest. He writes:

It occurred to the shah to draw up plans (*tarḥ andāzad*) for a Friday mosque opposite the *qayṣariyya* in the *Dār al-Saltāna* of Isfahan, which would remain a memorial of the mighty Padshah—for there was a mosque opposite the Lofty Gate (*Ālā Qāpū*) for the teaching of Shaykh Lutf-Allah, but nothing comparable for the *qayṣariyya* [i.e., his concern was for symmetry]. At an auspicious moment, the foundation for the lofty *masjid-i jāmi'* was laid; the oversight (*sarkāri*) of the noble site was entrusted to Muhibb-'Ali Beg, Lala (tutor) of the *ghulāms* (slave corps), controller of the buildings (*taḥvildār*) of the royal household and superintendent (*amin*) of the affairs of the city.

In a subsequently erased passage, Fazli notes that it was not completed by 'Abbas's death, but only in the reign of his successor, Shah Safi.¹³⁸ As noted in the secondary sources, information about Isfahan dwindles from this point, and indeed 'Abbas's interests became increasingly preoccupied with other things—not least, his development of the new royal establishments of Ashraf and Farahabad in Mazandaran, to which he resorted repeatedly in the last decade of his reign.¹³⁹ In addition, he spent long periods on campaign in northwestern Iran, the Caucasus, and Iraq. Although he visited Isfahan a few times after 1612, it was seldom for long and, apart from quite detailed descriptions of the welcome he was given by local officials, there are almost no references to any persisting interest in the city's development. One exception briefly noted by Fazli Beg is in connection with the shah's triumphant return to Isfahan in Ramadan 1033 (July 1624), after his conquest of Baghdad.¹⁴⁰

'Abbas spent some time receiving delegations, visiting the gardens and the buildings of the capital, dispensing justice, and rotating the office holders. Also, "he ordered a great effort to be made to complete the noble Friday mosque, which the shah had built in the *Dār al-Saltāna* of Isfahan [and] Lala Beg was overseeing."¹⁴¹ This confirms that the work was still continuing and that the shah maintained his interest, but as it happens, this was to be the last time he came to Isfahan, and thereafter his attention and creativity in urban development was focused almost entirely on Mazandaran. The only aspect of the construction of Isfahan in which he seemed to take a persistent interest was the project to divert water from the Ab-i Kuhrang to the Zayanda Rud, to guarantee ample water for the city,¹⁴² and, less immediately, to enhance communications between Farahabad and Isfahan by completing the extension of the stone causeway that cut across the edge of the salt desert through the Mazandaran jungle.¹⁴³ It is indeed rather remarkable, given the enormous energy the shah devoted to constructing a worthy capital at Isfahan, how quickly he moved on to other projects once this was as good as accomplished, and how little time he felt like spending in the city. The change from public display to more private seclusion as an aspect of his building projects is also noteworthy. Magnificent as his development of Farahabad may have been, it was hardly a public statement of his majesty or his policies, tucked away in one of the most inaccessible parts of his kingdom.

CONCLUSIONS

My aim in this paper has been to present the materials found in Fazli Beg's chronicle that refer to 'Abbas's development of Isfahan, focusing on information that supplements or questions the pool of existing data, referred to as necessary for comparison. Table 1 (on page 166) provides a chronological summary of this information and table 2 presents it according to the main buildings discussed. Fazli Beg provides several items of information not mentioned by other contemporary Persian sources, falling into two groups: first, details not given elsewhere—such as the construction work on the madrasa (cum-mosque?) of 'Abd-Allah Shushtari in 1006

Table 2. Fazli Beg's information on specific buildings.

Buildings/sites	Development history
<i>Qayşariyya</i> and <i>chahār-bāzār</i>	Planned on 'Abbas's visit in 1592. Half completed in 1594. Architects still working on it in 1598. Completed winter 1600–1601.
<i>Dawlatkhāna</i>	Planned on 'Abbas's visit in 1592. Buildings in palace precinct for visitors in 1593–94. Architects still working on it in 1598. Completed by 1611.
Maydan-i Naqsh-i Jahan	Planned on 'Abbas's visit in 1592.
Chahar Bagh	Planned in 1593–94.
Guldasta and hammam	Planned in 1593–94.
Mosque of Shaykh Lutf-Allah	Founded 1593–94.
Madrasa of 'Abd-Allah Shushtari	Development of existing building in 1598. Completed two years later, 1600.
'Abbasabad residential quarter	Started in 1602–3.
New Julfa	Founded in 1605.
Allahverdi Khan Bridge	Founded in 1607–8; took five years.
Masjid-i Shah (Friday mosque)	Founded 1611. Still in progress 1624.

(1598); and secondly—and more numerous—details that supplement information provided by other authors. This would include the dates for the founding of the Masjid-i Shaykh Lutf-Allah (1002 [1593–94]), the suburb of 'Abbasabad for the Tabrizis (1011 [1602]), and the Allahverdi Khan Bridge (1016 [1607]). In each case the date he provides differs substantially from previously received information, and it is not always possible to suggest where the correct interpretation lies.

All the sources consulted were contemporary with the events they describe, although Fazli Beg was of a slightly later generation than the others. For much of the crucial period he was in the Caucasus (1608–24), rather remote from events in Isfahan, and only completed his compilation in India. Nevertheless, he clearly had access to authoritative information from members of his family who held important administrative posts in Isfahan, and his evidence is both internally consistent and reported in a coherent historical context. Apart from the specific new information he provides, the main value of Fazli Beg's narrative is that, unlike the work of Iskandar

Beg and Mirza Beg Junabadi, who concentrate all their accounts of the city's development into a couple of composite descriptions, he gives a strong sense of the continuous construction of the city and the work done on different buildings over a long period, together with the shah's tireless energy in pushing the projects forward on all his visits to the city.

Whether we are willing to accept his data when they conflict with the apparently extremely precise records of the court astronomer Munajjim Yazdi may have to await further research. In the meantime, perhaps the best way to reconcile conflicting data is to be cautious about accepting dates for the "completion" of substantial building projects, which probably continued over several years.

Fazli Beg confirms the shah's interest in developing Isfahan from the time of his earliest visit in 1590, although he sheds almost no light on the vexed question of the initial activity around the old city center and the Maydan-i Harun-i Vilayat. For the rest, his evidence supports Sussan Babaie's belief in Shah 'Abbas's systematic

vision for the design of the new capital and its implementation over two decades.

There is plenty of scope for further work here, not only in harmonizing the new construction data brought to the mix by the *Afḍal al-tawārīkh*, but also in studying other details about the personnel charged with running the city and about leading figures in the bureaucracy and the religious establishment, all of which can throw light on how the city worked.

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NOTES

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1. See the fine study by David Durand-Guédy, *Iranian Elites and Turkish Rulers: A History of Isfahān in the Saljūq Period* (London and New York, 2010), esp. 23–26 and 75–88, for a brief account of the city and its advantages as a capital. A concise but detailed history of the city is also given by Masashi Haneda and Rudi Matthee, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, s.v. "Isfahan vii. Safavid Period."
2. See, for instance, Michel Mazzaoui, "From Tabriz to Qazvin to Isfahan: Three Phases of Safavid History," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Suppl. 3 (1977): 514–22, and the sources mentioned below in n. 10.
3. In addition to the works already cited, popular but informed descriptions of the city, with lavish illustrations, are given by Laurence Lockhart, *Persian Cities* (London, 1960), 18–31; Wilfrid Blunt, *Isfahan: Pearl of Persia* (London, 1966; repr. 2009); and Francis Richard, *Le siècle d'Ispahan* (Paris, 2007), to mention just a few.
4. R. D. McChesney, "Four Sources on Shah 'Abbas's Building of Isfahan," *Muqarnas* 5 (1988): 103–34.
5. Munajjim Yazdī, *Tārīkh-i 'Abbāsī, yā, Rūznāma-i Mullā Jalāl*, ed. Sayf Allāh Vahīdīniyā (Tehran, 1987) [hereafter cit. as Yazdī]; Mīrzā Bēg Junābadī, *Rawḍat al-ṣafawīyya*, ed. Ghulām Rizā Ṭabāṭabāī Majd (Tehran, 1999) [hereafter cit. as Junābadī, *Rawḍat*].
6. McChesney, "Four Sources," 105.
7. Charles Melville, "A Lost Source for the Reign of Shah 'Abbas: The *Afzal al-tawārīkh* of Fazli Khuzani Isfahani," *Iranian Studies* 31, no. 2 (1998): 263–65.
8. Charles Melville, "New Light on the Reign of Shah 'Abbās: Volume III of the *Afzal al-tawārīkh*," in *Society and Culture in the Early Modern Middle East: Studies on Iran in the Safavid Period*, ed. Andrew J. Newman (Leiden, 2003), esp. 71, 80–81.
9. Fazlī Bēg Khūzānī Iṣfahānī, *A Chronicle of the Reign of Shah 'Abbas*, ed. Kioumars Ghereghlou, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Gibb Memorial Trust, 2015) [hereafter cited as Fazlī, *Afḍal*].
10. The paper also benefits from other more recent studies of the city and its architecture by Stephen P. Blake, *Half the World: The Social Architecture of Safavid Isfahan, 1590–1722* (Costa Mesa, Calif., 1999); Stephen P. Blake, "Shah 'Abbās and the Transfer of the Safavid Capital from Qazvin to Isfahan," in Newman, *Society and Culture*, 145–64, which essentially reproduces the argument of *Half the World*, chap. 2; and Sussan Babaie, *Isfahan and Its Palaces: Statecraft, Shi'ism and the Architecture of Conviviality in Early Modern Iran* (Edinburgh, 2008). See also Sussan Babaie's review of Blake's *Half the World* in *Iranian Studies* 33, nos. 3–4 (2000): 478–82. A further study by Masashi Haneda, "The Character of the Urbanisation of Isfahan in the Later Safavid Period," in *Safavid Persia: The History and Politics of an Islamic Society*, ed. Charles Melville, *Pembroke Papers* 4 (London, 1996), 369–88, has a useful discussion. Many relevant papers are collected in the special issue, "Studies on Isfahan, Parts I and II," ed. Renata Holod, *Iranian Studies* 7, nos. 1–4 (1974), and its bibliography, at 734–55.
11. For a fuller treatment of these topics, see Kioumars Ghereghlou and Charles Melville, "Editors' Preface," in Fazlī, *Afḍal*, 1:xi–lxvi.
12. See also Masashi Haneda, "La famille Hūzānī d'Isfahan (15^e–17^e siècles)," *Studia Iranica* 18, no. 1 (1989): 77–92.
13. Especially utilized in several articles by Hirotake Maeda, e.g., recently, "Exploitation of the Frontier: The Caucasus Policy of Shah 'Abbas I," in *Iran and the World in the Safavid Age*, ed. Willem Floor and Edmund Herzig (London, 2012), 471–89.
14. See Melville, "New Light," 72–73; Ghereghlou and Melville, "Editors' Preface," xlv et seqq.
15. R. D. McChesney, "A Note on Iskandar Beg's Chronology," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 39, no. 1 (1980): 53–63.
16. These brief comments supplement the remarks made by McChesney, "Four Sources," 104–5.
17. Afūshṭā'ī Naṭanzī, *Nuqāwat al-āthār fī dhikr al-akhbār: Dar tārikh-i ṣafawīyya*, ed. Iḥsān 'Ishrāqī, 2nd ed. (Tehran, 1373 [1994]) [hereafter cit. as Naṭanzī, *Nuqāwat*].
18. Sholeh A. Quinn, *Historical Writing during the Reign of Shah 'Abbas: Ideology, Imitation, and Legitimacy in Safavid Chronicles* (Salt Lake City, 2000), 20, 54–57, and chap. 5, comparing Natanzi's treatment of the fall of Ya'qub Khan with other contemporary sources.

19. See Charles Melville, "From Qars to Qandahar: The Itineraries of Shah 'Abbas I (995–1038/1587–1629)," in *Études safavides*, ed. Jean Calmard (Paris and Tehran, 1993), 195–224, at 200–205.
20. Ṭabāṭabā'ī Majd's introduction to Junābadī, *Rawḍat*, 17–20; so far the work has been little studied or used in the secondary literature. It is not discussed by Quinn, *Historical Writing*, and mentioned only briefly in Sholeh Quinn and Charles Melville, "Safavid Historiography," in *Persian Historiography*, ed. Charles Melville (London, 2012), 215–16, 226.
21. Junābadī, *Rawḍat*, 762.
22. See *ibid.*, 905–15, for Ṭabāṭabā'ī Majd's helpful list of the author's chronology.
23. R. D. McChesney, "Postscript to 'Four Sources on Shah 'Abbas's Building of Isfahan,'" *Muqarnas* 8 (1991): 137–38, and the discussion below.
24. Junābadī, *Rawḍat*, 903.
25. Iskandar Bēg Munshī, *Tārīkh-i 'Ālam-ārā-yi 'Abbāsī*, ed. Īraj Afshār, 2 vols. (Tehran, 1334 [1956]) [hereafter cit. as Munshī]; translated by Roger M. Savory, *History of Shah 'Abbas the Great*, 3 vols. (Boulder, Colo., 1978–86).
26. Munshī, 110–11, trans. Savory, 536; trans. McChesney, "Four Sources," 112.
27. Fazlī, *Afḍal*, 488/fol. 237r; further examples in Gheregloou and Melville, "Editors' Preface," xlvii–l.
28. As confirmed by other contemporary authors.
29. Fortunately, on the other hand, this year seems to mark the effective culmination of 'Abbas's building program in the city.
30. Naṭanzī, *Nuqāwat*, 376, trans. McChesney, "Four Sources," 106.
31. Fazlī, *Afḍal*, 74/fol. 39r.
32. Qāzī Aḥmad Qummī, *Khulāṣat al-tavārīkh*, ed. Iḥsān 'Ishrāqī (Tehran, 1363 [1984]), 903. In his account, which ends the following year (1000), he makes no reference to ordering construction work, either at the outset or on his return to Isfahan at the end of the expedition (p. 922), or later, when 'Abbas goes briefly to Isfahan at the start of 1000 (October 1591) (p. 1089).
33. Dates in Melville, "Qars to Qandahar," 202–3, table 1.
34. Blake, *Half the World*, 25–26. For a recent treatment of this whole episode, see Rudi Matthee, "Loyalty, Betrayal and Retribution: Biktash Khan, Ya'qub Khan and Shah 'Abbas I's Strategy in Establishing Control over Kirman, Yazd and Fars," in *Ferdowsi, the Mongols and the History of Iran: Art, Literature and Culture from Early Islam to Qajar Persia; Studies in Honour of Charles Melville*, ed. Robert Hillenbrand, A. C. S. Peacock, and Firuza Abdullaeva (London, 2013), 184–200.
35. Junābadī, *Rawḍat*, 714; cf. Blake, "Shah 'Abbas and the Transfer," 150–51, and his comments on the interpretation of this text, contra McChesney, "Postscript," 137–38.
36. Fazlī, *Afḍal*, 90/fol. 48r–v. For Qazvin, see Maria Szuppe, "Palais et jardins: Le complexe royal des premiers safavides à Qazvin, milieu xvie–début xviiie siècles," *Res Orientales* 8 (1996): 143–77, and the discussion in Babaie, *Isfahan and Its Palaces*, 47–55.
37. Junābadī, *Rawḍat*, 714. This locale was developed under Isma'īl I, with the construction of the Imamzada built by Durmish Khan in Rabi' I 918 (June 1512): see Luṭf Allāh Hunarfar, *Ganjīna-yi āsār-i tārikhī-i Isfahān* (Isfahan, 1344 [1965]), 360–62. Isma'īl enjoyed a lengthy stay in Persian Iraq in 917–18 (from winter 1511 to spring 1513): see, e.g., Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, ed. M. Dabir-Siyaqi, 4 vols. (Tehran, 1362 [1983]), 531; Khvāndmīr, *Habibu's-siyar: Tome Three, The Reign of the Mongol and the Turk, Part Two: Shah-rukh Mirza—Shah Ismail*, ed. and trans. W. M. Thackston, Sources of Oriental Languages and Literatures 24 (Cambridge, Mass., 1994), 599; Rosemarie Quiring-Zoche, *Isfahan im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (Freiburg, 1980), 64–65.
38. McChesney, "Postscript," 138, wrongly states that the preceding date is 996, but rightly supposes that Junabadi "had a later time in mind."
39. Fazlī, *Afḍal*, 90/fol. 48r. Also in Munshī, 438, trans. Savory, 612, without naming the petitioners.
40. Fazlī, *Afḍal*, 120/fol. 62r.
41. Naṭanzī, *Nuqāwat*, 451; Munshī, 454–55, trans. Savory, 627–28. Iskandar Beg entered 'Abbas's service at this time. Yazdī, 117–18, is uncharacteristically vague about 'Abbas's movements at this point. Fazli Beg makes no reference to 'Abbas visiting Isfahan in his annal for 1000.
42. Date in Yazdī, 113; cf. McChesney, "Four Sources," 108. Naṭanzī, *Nuqāwat*, 395–96, also mentions 'Abbas's visit to Isfahan in Muharram 1000 (November 1591), without detail apart from a large-scale hunt.
43. Yazdī, 113–14, McChesney, "Four Sources," 108, without the two chronogram poems.
44. Fazlī, *Afḍal*, 120/fol. 62r.
45. Junābadī, *Rawḍat*, 759, trans. McChesney, "Four Sources," 112, and his lengthy commentary on this issue, 117–19, including the identification of the leading personalities mentioned.
46. See further Blake, "Shah 'Abbas and the Transfer," 156–57.
47. Babaie provides cogent criticisms of Blake's reliance on Junabadi in her review of *Half the World*, 479–80.
48. Khvāndmīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, 500; trans. Thackston, 587. Blake, *Half the World*, 16; Blake, "Shah 'Abbas and the Transfer," 148, quotes Ghulam Sarwar, *History of Shah Isma'il Safawi* (Aligarh, 1939), 50, and L. Hunarfar, "Maydān-i Naqsh-i Jahān-i Isfahān," *Hunar va Mardum* 105 (1971): 9–10. Quiring-Zoche, *Isfahan*, 64; Babaie, *Isfahan and Its Palaces*, 76.
49. Amīnī Haravī, *Futūḥāt-i shāhī*, ed. Muḥammad Rizā Naṣīrī (Tehran, 1383 [2004]), 314.
50. *Ibid.*, 249.
51. Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, 480; trans. Thackston, 580. The shah had his winter and summer quarters there that year: Khvāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, 481, 482, trans. Thackston, 581; Quiring-Zoche, *Isfahan*, 62; Amīnī, *Futūḥāt*, 246–55.
52. Munshī, 31, trans. Savory, 49. Also referred to by Blake, *Half the World*, 15; Blake, "Shah 'Abbas and the Transfer," 148; cf. Babaie, *Isfahan and Its Palaces*, 76, 78.
53. Junābadī, *Rawḍat*, 183, merely mentions that Karra was burned in the *maydān* of Isfahan, without further specifica-

- tion. Fażlī, *Afḍal*, vol. 1 (Eton Pote Ms. 278, Cambridge University Library), fol. 144r, also merely mentions the *maydān*. It seems probable that the *maydān-i kuhna* was effectively the only *maydān* at that time.
54. A helpful discussion of the old *maydān* is given by Lisa Golombek, "Urban Patterns in Pre-Safavid Isfahan," *Iranian Studies* 7, nos. 1–2 (1974): 18–44, at 29–31, and fig. 4.
 55. See n. 98 below.
 56. See Masashi Haneda, "Maydān et Bāg: Reflexion à propos de l'urbanisme du Šāh 'Abbās," in *Documents et archives provenant de l'Asie Centrale*, ed. Akira Haneda (Kyoto, 1990), 87–99.
 57. Babaie, *Isfahan and Its Palaces*, 105n29, seems to argue against any development of the *maydān* under Isma'īl.
 58. Naṭanzī, *Nuqāwat*, 233, under 996 (1588), wrongly interpreted by Babaie, *Isfahan and Its Palaces*, 124; there is no record of 'Abbas going to Isfahan at this time: cf. Blake, *Half the World*, 60, 86–88; for Farhad Beg's constructions in the Bagh-i Naqsh-i Jahan before the accession of 'Abbas, cf. *Nuqāwat*, 239–41.
 59. Junābadī, *Rawḍat*, 714; McChesney, "Four Sources," 112; also noted by Babaie in her review of Blake's *Half the World*, 479.
 60. According to A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant in Persia: A Study of Land Tenure and Land Revenue Administration* (Oxford, 1953; repr. 1969), 407, an Isfahani *jarīb* is 1,495 square yards; this would yield a total for the *maydān* of nearly 450,000 square yards or 375,000 square meters, whereas in fact the Maydan-i Naqsh-i Jahan is not quite 90,000 square meters.
 61. For a discussion of the *qayşariyya*, see McChesney, "Four Sources," 117–19.
 62. For this, see Babaie, *Isfahan and Its Palaces*, 123–25, and the sources quoted.
 63. *Ibid.*, esp. 42–47.
 64. The standard narrative is by Munshī, 464, 468, 473, trans. Savory, 637, 642, 646, with the previous background. For a detailed account of Nur Muhammad's reception in Qazvin, see Fażlī, *Afḍal*, 132–33/fols. 67v–68v. The visit seems not to have been recorded by Junabadi.
 65. Yazdī, 125–27. Iskandar Beg says the shah spent the winter in Isfahan, returning to Qazvin at the end of Pisces (late March). The question of the roof is noted below.
 66. If this is correct, it suggests that the existing *dawlatkhāna* was set back from the perimeter of the *maydān* and that the new accommodation fronted the square.
 67. Naṭanzī, *Nuqāwat*, 536–40, only partly trans. in McChesney "Four Sources," 106–7.
 68. Sardehan Caravanserai is some 14 *farsakhs* or 50 miles north of the city, indicating the great honor shown to the visitors. The caravanserai is discussed briefly by Maxime Siroux, "Les caravanserais routiers safavids," *Iranian Studies* 7, nos. 1–2 (1974): 348–75, at 361–62.
 69. Fażlī, *Afḍal*, 145–46/fol. 74r–v. He makes no reference to the rain and gives no dates.
 70. *Ibid.*, 146/fol. 74v. Fażlī's language is not the most elegant and his meaning is not always entirely clear. Perhaps 'Abbas left to make sure the lodgings were properly prepared, or maybe for his own separate accommodation.
 71. The identification of this Guldasta is uncertain. On Kaempfer's "*planographicum*," the rose garden in the precincts of the palace (labelled r) is called the "*Guldistuun*" (*sic*), which should be taken to mean *gulistān*, not a mistake that a Persian author would make. It does, nevertheless, have an octagonal palace (*palatio*) at its center, in the form that one might associate with a Guldasta. Kaempfer's information and plan date from his visit in 1684–85. See Engelbert Kaempfer, *Amoenitatum Exoticarum Politico-Physico-Medicarum Quibus continentur variae relationes, observationes & descriptiones rerum Persicarum...* (Lemgo, 1712), 177–79, 188. He makes no mention of a hammam there and it seems a strange place for 'Abbas to identify for development early on. The presence of the hammam suggests rather a location on the north side of the Naqsh-i Jahan Square, by the 'Abd-Allah Madrasa. Alternatively, and more probably, the Guldasta was perhaps the building in a garden of the same name, one of the *bāghs* along the Chahar Bagh: see Hunarfar, *Ganjīna*, 486–87. This was where the corpse of Shah Sulayman was washed and prepared for burial in Qum: see Hunarfar, *Ganjīna*, 660, which suggests that the Guldasta garden perhaps featured a small bath.
 72. Fażlī, *Afḍal*, 146/fol. 74v.
 73. Blake, *Half the World*, 158–59; see Hunarfar, *Ganjīna*, 657. Abu'l-Qāsim Rafi'ī Mihrābādī, *Āṣār-i Millī-i Isfahān* (Tehran, 1352 [1974]), 38, suggests that the madrasa should be equated with the *madrasa-yi 'Arabān*, a little to the north in the Imamzada Ahmad district near the Saru Taqī Bazaar (cf. *ibid.*, 222, 270, 481–82), but this would not give a view over the *maydān*.
 74. Fażlī, *Afḍal*, 146/fol. 74v. The text is not entirely clear: cf. Melville, "New Light," 81.
 75. McChesney, "Four Sources," 123–24; Blake "Shah 'Abbas and the Transfer," 157; Babaie, *Isfahan and Its Palaces*, 96–97. See further Rula Jurdi Abisaab, *Converting Persia: Religion and Power in the Safavid Empire* (London, 2004), 81–87, with references to the career of Lutf Allah and the religious context of the period.
 76. Yazdī, 120–22, dates this episode to late 1001 (late summer 1593).
 77. Fażlī, *Afḍal*, 142–45/fols. 72v–74r. See Melville, "New Light," 83–84; and Kathryn Babayan, *Mystics, Monarchs, and Messiahs: Cultural Landscapes of Early Modern Iran* (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 2002), 3–7, 100–108.
 78. Abisaab, *Converting Persia*, e.g., 56, 71–72.
 79. Babaie, *Isfahan and Its Palaces*, 56, 95–96, 98.
 80. Haneda, "La famille Hūzānī d'Isfahan," 83. He is mentioned as deceased in 1020 (1611–12) (Fażlī, *Afḍal*, 584/fol. 293r), having been previously reported as departing for the hajj, via Shiraz, in 1016 (1608) (Fażlī, *Afḍal*, 467/fol. 226r). Iskandar Beg describes the suppression of the Nuqtavis after mentioning 'Abbas's trip to Isfahan.
 81. Babaie, *Isfahan and Its Palaces*, 70–71.
 82. Yazdī, 151, trans. McChesney, "Four Sources," 108–9.

83. Munshī, 522, 529, trans. Savory, 698, 706, refers to the shah being in Isfahan once or twice in his annal for the Year of the Monkey (1596–97), as does Fażlī, *Afḍal*, 216–17, but both their chronologies are very vague and confused as to the correct hijri year.
84. Naṭanzī, *Nuqāwat*, 573–79, trans. McChesney, “Four Sources,” 107–8. It is interesting that the list of towns he gives from which troops were to be recruited is the same as that given by Fażlī, *Afḍal*, 89/fol. 47v, in the year 999.
85. Yazdī, 147; he also mentions the orders to erect the portico (*sar-i dar*) over the *dawlatkhāna* at an auspicious hour, under the supervision of Manuchihr Khan Beg, a member of the *ghulāmān-i khāṣṣa-yi sharīfa* (slaves of the royal household), but this perhaps refers already to the shah's return to Qazvin.
86. Naṭanzī, *Nuqāwat*, 579. Munshi also omits almost all the details of 'Abbas's movements that are recorded by Yazdī under 1005; cf. n. 83 above.
87. Yazdī, 151; Munshī, 545, trans. Savory, 725.
88. Yazdī, 161–63; Munshī, 544–45, trans. Savory, 724–25; McChesney, “Four Sources,” 109, 110–11. Yazdī's account otherwise mainly concerns bringing water supplies into the city.
89. He says Nawruz of 1007, March 1599, presumably intending 1006. Yazdī, 162, indicates that 'Abbas was already in Isfahan for Nawruz in 1598. Soon afterwards, the shah set off on his expedition to recapture Herat.
90. Fażlī, *Afḍal*, 244/fol. 109v. For the madrasa, see Blake, *Half the World*, 158, with references cited, esp. Hunarfar, *Ganjīna*, 470–75. Mihrābādī, *Āṣār-i Millī*, 496, proposes the date 1007 (1599) on the strength of his more detailed account of Shushtari's encounter with the shah and invitation to Isfahan, where he resided fourteen years before his death in 1021.
91. This sentence is not very clear and the identity of the “mosque” is uncertain. Blake's note (*Half the World*, 158) confusingly represents Iskandar Beg's two texts (Munshī, 831, 1110), but it is possible that in referring to the madrasa on the northern side of the *maydān* this 'Abd-Allah Madrasa is intended; cf. McChesney, “Four Sources,” 111 and n. 26.
92. Abisaab, *Converting Persia*, 81.
93. Junābadī, *Rawḍat*, 747–48; for the date and further details of this visit, see Yazdī, 91–92.
94. Fażlī, *Afḍal*, 294/fol. 133r.
95. Yazdī, 201; Munshī, 605, trans. Savory, 796, leaves him in Isfahan without noting details of a hunting trip round Qumishah and Shahr-i Kurd. For the pilgrimage, see Charles Melville, “Shah 'Abbas and the Pilgrimage to Mashhad,” in Melville, *Safavid Persia*, 191–229.
96. Fażlī, *Afḍal*, 297/fol. 133v; Munshī, 609, trans. Savory, 799, no details.
97. Yazdī, 201. Earlier, in 1006 (1598), he reports the diversion of one canal from the river to the Bagh-i 'Abbasabad and other gardens: Yazdī, 162, trans. McChesney, “Four Sources,” 109.
98. Yazdī, 203; also noted by Blake, *Half the World*, 22. Yazdī also reports a ceremony of spreading flowers on the water at the royal hammam.
99. The edited text, 237, reads *maydān bīrūn vilāyat*, clearly a misreading.
100. See Yazdī, 236–37, trans. McChesney, “Four Sources,” 109, for the whole account, which there is no need to reproduce here; see also below for the discussion of the bridge and 'Abbasabad.
101. Junābadī, *Rawḍat*, 758–62, trans. McChesney, “Four Sources,” 112–14. Junābadī, 765, briefly notes 'Abbas's return to Isfahan from his trip to Mashhad, undated, but early in 1012 (June 1603); see next note.
102. Fażlī, *Afḍal*, 327–29/fols. 150r–151r, at the start of his annal for 1012, but this was still in 1011 (start of the Year of the Hare). He follows this with 'Abbas's expedition to Azarbaijan, neglecting entirely (as does Iskandar Beg) to mention another trip to Mashhad in May–June 1603, before returning to Isfahan and inspecting the possibilities for diverting the Ab-i Kuhrang to the city; on which, see Yazdī, 328–29; cf. Melville, “Shah 'Abbas and the Pilgrimage to Mashhad,” 195, 197.
103. 'Abbas departed from Isfahan on 7 Rabi' II 1012 (September 13, 1603) and returned on 26 Rajab 1016 (November 16, 1607); Yazdī, 245, 330; Munshī, 638, 755, trans. Savory, 828, 947.
104. Presumably the same as Bidabad.
105. Fażlī, *Afḍal*, 372–73/fol. 172r–v. This passage is translated by Hirotake Maeda, “The Forced Migrations and Reorganisation of the Regional Order in the Caucasus by Safavid Iran: Preconditions and Developments Described by Fazli Khuzani,” in *Reconstruction and Interaction of Slavic Eurasia and Its Neighboring Worlds*, ed. Osamu Ieda and Tomohiko Uyama (Sapporo, 2006), 237–71, at 262–63.
106. Yazdī, 413, trans. McChesney, “Four Sources,” 110. See p. 180 in the present volume for the excellent map created by Farshid Emami for his article “Coffeehouses, Urban Spaces, and the Formation of a Public Sphere in Safavid Isfahan.”
107. For the settlement of the Armenians in Isfahan, see E. Herzig, “The Deportation of the Armenians in 1604–1605 and Europe's Myth of Shah 'Abbas I,” in *History and Literature in Iran: Persian and Islamic Studies in Honour of P. W. Avery*, ed. Charles Melville, Pembroke Persian Papers 1 (London, 1990): 59–71; Fażlī's statement that this was decided at Nawruz of 1605 (or shortly before, see *Afḍal*, 370/fol. 171r) is consistent with the other evidence adduced by Herzig. It is worth remarking that Junābadī gives information not confirmed elsewhere about the initial stages of this: Herzig, “Deportation of the Armenians,” 62–63; cf. Junābadī, *Rawḍat*, 771.
108. Munshī, 638–43, trans. Savory, 828–33.
109. McChesney, “Four Sources,” 125, citing Munshī, esp. 825, trans. Savory, 1032. Cf. Blake, *Half the World*, 185. For 'Abbas's efforts to assist the Tabrizis after the defeat of the Ottomans in 1019, see also Fażlī, *Afḍal*, 470–71/fol. 275r.

110. Yazdī, 162, refers to the Bagh-i ‘Abbasabad in 1006 (1598); Munshī, 544, 545, trans. Savory, 724, 725, mentions the garden being laid out in the same year, and says that he will discuss the development of the town later—which, as noted in McChesney’s discussion, “Four Sources,” 124–25, he does not do.
111. Junābadī, *Rawḍat*, 760–61, trans. McChesney, “Four Sources,” 113. See also Blake, *Half the World*, 74–75, 185–86.
112. Junābadī, *Rawḍat*, 762. Similarly, referring to the orders for the construction of Julfa during the Azarbaijan campaign of 1012 (1603), he says (p. 772) that he will mention this in its own place, but does not do so.
113. Fazlī, *Afḍal*, 465/fol. 225r; six years previously, in 1010, it was constructed for the pilgrimage on foot (see Melville, “Shah ‘Abbas and the Pilgrimage to Mashhad,” 212–13), and later extended into Mazandaran (see below).
114. Fazlī, *Afḍal*, 466 /fol. 225v; cf. Melville, “New Light,” 71. Thanks to Kioumars Ghereghlou for help with translating the building materials used.
115. Quiring-Zoche, *Isfahan*, 237–42, provides an account of the Jabiri Ansari family, without reference to this figure.
116. Yazdī, 237; trans. McChesney, “Four Sources,” 109. Cf. above.
117. See above; Munshī, 544–45, trans. Savory, 724; McChesney, “Four Sources,” 111.
118. Junābadī, *Rawḍat*, 761–62, trans. McChesney, “Four Sources,” 113–14, and his discussion, 125.
119. Yazdī, 339, dates his return to Isfahan as 7 Safar (May 23) this year, via an inspection of the work on the causeway across the salt lake, and his re-entry following his excursion to Silakhur, on 23 Rajab (November 2) (*ibid.*, 349).
120. Fazlī, *Afḍal*, 476/fol. 230r.
121. Yazdī, 244; cf. Melville, “Qars to Qandahar,” 217.
122. Fazlī, *Afḍal*, 472/fol. 229r.
123. *Ibid.*, 478/fol. 231v. Yazli excised a sentence to the effect that this was the previous year, before the shah went to Mazandaran.
124. *Ibid.*, 483/fol. 234r. The phrase “some of which” is added in the margin.
125. *Ibid.*, 497/fol. 241r, start of the annal for 1018, though Nawruz fell at the end of 1017 this year. Yazdī, 360–61, confirms ‘Abbas’s presence in Isfahan for Nawruz, in honor of which he arranged a festival of lights in the Bagh-i Naqsh-i Jahan, had flowers scattered at the end of the bridge, and decreed the Chahar Bagh open for women only on Wednesdays.
126. Leaving for the north after once more inspecting the Kuhrang water project: Fazlī, *Afḍal*, 508/fol. 247v. Yazdī, 363, 398, has Rabi’ 11 1018 (July 1609) for the shah’s departure and Shawwal 1019 (December 1610) for his return; the movements are echoed, without dates, by Iskandar Beg. Fazlī, *Afḍal*, 575/fol. 287v, however, has the shah in Farahabad in the winter of 1610–11, returning to Isfahan only after Nawruz of 1020 (March 1611).
127. Yazdī, 414–15, gives the dates 4–15 Rabi’ 11, 1020 (June 16–27, 1611) for the khan’s stay in the city, though his detailed account of the visit (441–45), is rather less precise and somewhat inconsistent, saying the shah went to visit Wali Muhammad Khan on 13 Rabi’ 11, which would be over a week after he arrived and only two days before he left. Yazdi was an eyewitness to and participant in the khan’s visit and his record should be reliable, but the printed text has various inconsistent dates and there are numerous departures from the Ms. Or. 6263 in the British Library: cf. Melville “Qars to Qandahar,” 209–13.
128. Yazdī, 442.
129. A crossed out phrase mentions that he felt it would be the cause of impoliteness and impudence (*gustākhi*).
130. Fazlī, *Afḍal*, 584/fol. 293v.
131. *Ibid.*, 584/fol. 293v–294r.
132. Especially Junābadī, *Rawḍat*, 831–33, who says they stayed one month: Munshī, 836–40, trans. Savory, 1044–48. I am preparing a paper on the entire journey of Wali Muhammad Khan; Fazli’s account of the visit altogether extends over pp. 576–95.
133. Yazdī, 411, 414; cf. McChesney, “Four Sources,” 111–12, omitting the latter statement.
134. Munshī, 831, trans. Savory, 1038–39, without dates.
135. Fazlī, *Afḍal*, 585, and Junābadī, *Rawḍat*, 830, for the visit (he does not mention the founding of the mosque); Valī Qulī Shāmlū, a later source, gives 1019 for both the visit and the foundation of the mosque, in *Qīṣaṣ al-khāqānī*, ed. Sayyid Ḥasan Sādāt Nāsirī (Tehran, 1992), 198.
136. According to the inscriptions recorded in the mosque, the first date mentioned is 1025 (1616): Hunarfar, *Ganjīna*, 427–29.
137. The most reliable of these is Yazdi, whose chronicle ends this year with the shah in Mazandaran late in 1020 (early 1612). Later authors make no mention of the shah being in Isfahan again until early 1022 (late spring 1613). Fazli’s account of the founding of the mosque is placed between a return from Qazvin and departure for Mazandaran, which seems to fit better with other indications for 1020; the very uneven length of his annals for 1019–1021 also suggests the possibility of the disorganization of his material for these years.
138. Fazlī, *Afḍal*, 617–18/fol. 313r–v.
139. Melville, “Qars to Qandahar,” 213–17; Blake, “Shah ‘Abbas and the Transfer,” 157–58.
140. The date given by Munshī, 1012, trans. Savory, 1234, writing exactly contemporary with these events.
141. Fazlī, *Afḍal*, 876/fol. 483v. As is often the case, Fazli’s sentence is grammatically tortuous, which makes his precise meaning unclear.
142. The shah visited the site in 1028 (1619), on which see Melville, “Qars to Qandahar,” 216–17, and again in 1030 (1621): Munshī, 949–50, 959, trans. Savory, 1170–71, 1180. Fazlī, *Afḍal*, 746/fol. 383r, refers to ‘Abbas’s decisions about the scheme, involving Jamal al-Din Muhammad Sukhta Khuzani, the *kalāntar* of Isfahan, in 1026 (1617), and further financial dispositions in 1037 (1628) are mentioned in Fazlī, *Afḍal*, 963/fol. 552r.
143. Fazlī, *Afḍal*, 877–78/fol. 484r–v, under 1033 (1624). Iskandar Beg puts this in 1031 (1622): Munshī, 989–91, trans. Savory, 1211–12.



BRILL



FARSHID EMAMI

COFFEEHOUSES, URBAN SPACES, AND THE FORMATION OF A PUBLIC SPHERE IN SAFAVID ISFAHAN

On a summer evening in June 1619, foreign envoys residing in Isfahan gathered at the northern side of the city's new plaza, Maydan-i Naqsh-i Jahan (Plan of the World Square), to attend a reception with the Safavid ruler Shah 'Abbas I (r. 1587–1629). The shah arrived in the Maydan mounted on horseback. After strolling around the square, which had been illuminated by numerous lanterns (*chirāghān*), the envoys were led to a brilliant space in the market: with myriad hanging lamps, reflected in a central basin, it resembled a starry sky. Seated in the alcoves, the emissaries were then entertained by young boys dancing and performing acrobatic feats. After the meal, a bitter black liquid called “cahue” was served in porcelain cups, but most of the ambassadors refused to drink it, preferring wine.¹

The bitter, dark beverage was, of course, nothing but coffee, and the setting a recently erected coffeehouse in Isfahan, a bustling metropolis of seventeenth-century Eurasia and the royal seat of the Safavid dynasty (1501–1722). The dual sense of aversion and exoticness that coffee aroused in European visitors of the time is perhaps best articulated by the Englishman Thomas Herbert (d. 1682), who described coffee as a drink “black as soot, thick and strong scented,” that “please[s] neither the eye nor taste.”² Nevertheless, just two or three decades earlier few even in Isfahan were familiar with coffee. Indeed, before the sixteenth century, no one in the world had tasted the beverage, save for the inhabitants of the southern shores of the Red Sea—i.e., the Yemen and Ethiopia—whence coffee began to spread around the globe. It was first in the Yemen, sometime in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, that the ground, roasted seeds of the berries plucked from the coffee tree (*Coffea arabica*, a plant native to highlands of southern Ethio-

pia) were mixed with boiling water to make a beverage destined to spread far beyond southern Arabia. A taste for coffee was initially cultivated among members of certain Yemeni Sufi orders, who found the awakening effect of coffee useful for their nightly rituals (*dhikr*), and the substance was subsequently disseminated by merchants, who turned coffee into a lucrative commodity.³ With coffee came a novel social institution: the coffeehouse, a new phenomenon in the realms of the Ottomans in the eastern Mediterranean, and later, in Safavid territories in Iran. Over the course of the sixteenth century, as physicians discussed coffee's medicinal properties and jurists debated its legal status, coffeehouses grew in number and popularity, proliferating despite periodic bans issued by authorities anxious about the socio-political milieu engendered by the new institution. By the middle decades of the sixteenth century, major cities circling the eastern Mediterranean basin, from Cairo to Istanbul, were dotted with coffeehouses. By the early 1600s the habit of coffee drinking had spread eastward to Iraq and Iran. Prior to its popularity in Europe, the coffeehouse had been integrated into the social and urban fabric of southwest Asia.

And yet, despite coffee's novelty, early-seventeenth-century European visitors often regarded it as a long-established substance that had originated in ancient times: the Italian aristocrat and adventurer Pietro della Valle (d. 1652), one of those present at the above-mentioned royal reception held in 1619, believed that coffee had been known in Antiquity.⁴ In a similar vein, Herbert was certain that coffee pre-dated the Prophet Muhammad.⁵ An equally inaccurate and prejudiced notion underlies the Orientalist discourse of the nineteenth century, according to which Near Eastern coffeehouses

epitomized the quintessential indolence of Oriental men, who wasted their time chatting and smoking in these venues. In keeping with the Orientalist view, some recent studies have conceptualized coffee through a similar lens: as an exotic substance with essentially different social implications across the boundary that demarcates East from West. In this view, the “Oriental café”, unlike its “Western” counterpart, is an emblem of continuity over millennia, a distinct category that should be analyzed within a fundamentally different framework.⁶ At the core of this approach is an attempt to reconcile what is assumed to be the static and unchanging nature of Asian societies—a key trope of Orientalism and colonialism—with the rapid rise of a socially transformative substance such as coffee and the proliferation of a novel social institution: the coffeehouse.

In recent years, nevertheless, the study of coffeehouses, particularly in Ottoman territories, has witnessed new methodological approaches. As elsewhere, the emerging scholarly discussion has been influenced by Jürgen Habermas’s conceptualization of the public sphere and the role of the coffeehouse in the genesis of what he calls a bourgeois public sphere (*bürgerlichen Öffentlichkeit*) in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe.⁷ The extent to which the Habermasian model provides an adequate framework for analyzing the public sphere in early modern European societies, let alone other settings and time periods, has of course been contested.⁸ Yet, as several studies have shown, the notion of a public sphere—broadly understood as a terrain of social interactions distinct from both state institutions and the private realm—can indeed provide new insights into the workings and transformations of the pre-modern societies of Eurasia.⁹ More important, the concept of the public sphere allows us to account for material conditions and social dynamics particular to each society, and to adopt a comparative approach that goes beyond the prevalent critiques of Orientalism.¹⁰ At any rate, rather than considering a monolithic public sphere, a more nuanced approach is to conceptualize it as a site of overlapping publics and divergent social groups. If the coffeehouse constituted a public sphere, it was not an abstract domain of rational-critical debate, but rather a material site closely entangled with concrete aspects of everyday life and spatial configurations.

This indeed provides a more useful model for understanding coffeehouses as public sites in all historical contexts, including, as we shall see, Safavid Isfahan. And in analyzing Eurasian societies in the early modern period, one needs to consider public spheres as interconnected realities, informed in the context of an unprecedented circulation of commodities and humans throughout the globe.

The intertwining of a local context with broader global transformations was a quintessential characteristic of Safavid Isfahan, where the introduction of the coffeehouse was concomitant with the restructuring of the political order, flowering of long-distance trade, and integration of diverse social groups into a unified built environment.¹¹ Initiated as state-sponsored establishments, Isfahan’s coffeehouses were one of the main sites where the Safavid king represented himself to, and interacted with, the city’s cosmopolitan publics.¹² (‘Abbas even received ambassadors in an urban coffeehouse, as the opening anecdote of this essay illustrates.) Scholarship has shown how both the royal palaces and urban spaces of Isfahan were marked by a distinct notion of kingship based on “two opposing ideas of humility and absolutism,” and how this peculiar image of authority was mediated through rituals, feasting, and ceremonies.¹³ Yet this performative function did not remain a royal prerogative and was appropriated by the emergent publics of the Safavid capital. If the space of the coffeehouse acted as a stage set, it was not merely a venue for representations of kingship; it also hosted varied forms of cultural subversion and, at times, political dissent. The coffeehouse opened up a novel arena of public life operating, both physically and socially, between the spheres of royal authority and that of ordinary domestic existence.

This essay explores the ways in which the formation of a public sphere in Safavid realms, and particularly in the capital city of Isfahan, was closely associated with new architectural forms and conceptions of urban space. Through an analysis of the topography, urban configuration, and physical structure of the major coffeehouses of Isfahan, I show how these establishments contributed to the creation and expansion of a distinct public arena in the city, and how they altered the social meaning and perceptual character of the urban spaces along which they were erected. This will particularly be

illustrated through a reconstruction of the drinking houses that existed in the Maydan-i Naqsh-i Jahan and the Chaharbagh, the two grand urban spaces of seventeenth-century Isfahan (fig. 1). This analysis not only leads to a fuller picture of the morphology of Safavid coffeehouses but also elucidates a less appreciated aspect of urban development in the age of Shah 'Abbas.

Recent historical studies have shed light on various aspects of coffee and other stimulants in early modern Iran, such as the role of commerce in their dissemination and the social functions of the coffeehouse.¹⁴ Building upon these studies, this essay probes the less-known architectural and urban features of Safavid coffeehouses. In doing so, it balances on-site investigations with an examination of visual evidence, such as earlier architectural drawings and nineteenth-century photographs. Together with evidence culled from a wide array of textual sources—court chronicles, biographical dictionaries, literary works, and travel narratives—the remaining physical traces of Isfahan's coffeehouses permit us to sketch out their architectural layout and their relation to urban spaces.

DISSEMINATION OF COFFEE AND THE COFFEEHOUSE

Coffee was introduced into Safavid territories in the last quarter of the sixteenth century through overland trade routes. By the middle decades of the seventeenth century, however, coffee was primarily shipped from the Yemeni port of Mocha to the shores of the Persian Gulf, a trade route along which European maritime companies as well as local sailors were active.¹⁵ Medicinal treatises reveal a great deal about the perceptions of coffee and the coffeehouse in the early years of its dissemination. As Aladin Goushegir notes, the earliest Persian-language text to discuss coffee appears to have been a treatise by the physician 'Imad al-Din Shirazi (d. after 1577). In a brief section at the end of his manual, 'Imad al-Din describes coffee's medicinal properties and refers to its method of preparation and popularity in Mecca, implying that pilgrimage was one of the channels through which coffee was introduced to Iran.¹⁶ The writings of the succeeding generation of physicians and pharmacologists reflect the rapid rise of coffee as a pop-

ular beverage. In an untitled epistle on coffee, tea, and other substances (composed ca. 1600), Salik al-Din Muhammad Hamavi Yazdi, a physician active in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, discussed the medicinal properties of coffee in greater detail, while offering a more extensive account of the origin and spread of the substance. Describing coffee as the fruit of a tree native to the Yemen, Hamavi relates the popular narrative about the discovery and brewing of coffee by the disciples of the Sufi shaykh Abu'l-Hasan Shadhili (d. 1258), concluding that now,

in Arab cities and particularly in Mecca [...] drinking coffee is common, and illuminated abodes and ornamented houses (*masākin-i nayyira va manāzil-i muzayyan*) have been constructed for this pastime. Those who seek pleasure gather there and all engage in carnal desires (*mushtahīyāt-i nafsāni*) by the decree of nature. Gradually the practice has spread to the lands of Iran (*mamālik-i 'Ajam*). In chief cities plenty of edifices have been built, where accoutrements of pleasure are prepared and assemblies of the wits and companions take place.¹⁷

The author further notes that “in Arab cities everyone and in most cities of Iran people of healthy temperament are accustomed to drinking coffee.”¹⁸ A remarkable aspect of this account is how the dissemination of coffee is associated with the development of public “houses” for its consumption: from the outset, coffee was known as a social beverage consumed in exquisite public structures.

Other sources suggest that inhabitants of Safavid territories first encountered coffee and coffeehouses in the Arabic-speaking regions of the Ottoman Empire, particularly the cities of Iraq. According to Hamavi, imbibers (*arbāb-i mashārib*) referred to coffee as the “wine of the Arabs” (*khamr al-'Arab*).¹⁹ In a prose piece, the famed Safavid painter and litterateur Sadiqi Beg Afshar (d. 1610) alludes to Yemeni coffee, and refers to “companions of the coffeehouse” and “youthful coffee-vendors” as among the primary joys of Baghdad in winter.²⁰ Indeed, the first dated mention of a coffeehouse in a Safavid chronicle refers to an incident that transpired in 1596 in Ottoman-controlled Baghdad.²¹ The existence of coffeehouses in Baghdad is confirmed by the account of the Portuguese traveller Pedro Teixeira, who reported seeing several coffeehouses in the city in 1604. Teixeira specifically highlighted a coffeehouse by the Tigris

- 1) Maydan-i Naqsh-i Jahan
- 2) Qaysariyya Market
- 3) Palace Complex (Dawlatkhana)
- 4) The Chaharbagh (Khiyaban-i Chaharbagh)
- 5) Allah Verdi Khan Bridge
- 6) Hizar-jarib Garden
- 7) Neighborhood of 'Abbasabad
- 8) New Julfa (Armenian Quarter)
- 9) Shrine of Harun-i Vilayat / Takhtgah
- 10) Old Maydan
- 11) Hasanabad (Khvaju) Bridge
- 12) Sa'adatabad Garden
- 13) Lunban Mosque



Fig. 1. Plan of Isfahan, ca. mid-seventeenth century, showing the main elements of the city and the sites studied in this article. (Plan: © Farshid Emami)

River, with multiple windows and upper-floor galleries, as “a very pleasant resort,” further adding that there were many more coffeehouses in the city and “throughout Turkey and Persia.”²²

These reports indicate that by the early seventeenth century, coffee was ubiquitous in Ottoman lands and quite popular in elite milieus of Safavid Iran. The introduction of the coffeehouse in Safavid domains thus coincided with the period of territorial expansion and material prosperity that ensued after the accession of Shah ‘Abbas. With the intensification of mercantile interactions came an influx of commodities and substances that particularly converged in Isfahan, which became the capital in the 1590s.²³

COFFEEHOUSES OF THE CHAHARBAGH

Chronicles of the reign of Shah ‘Abbas suggest that coffeehouses were part of the original building program of the Chaharbagh, the famed promenade of Isfahan (constructed ca. 1596–1602). In his *Rawzat al-ṣafavīyya* (completed ca. 1626), the chronicler Mirza Beg Junabadi reports that “taverns and coffeehouses” (*maykhānahā va qahvakhānahā*) were prepared for “wine-drinking companions and poor opium-consuming people.”²⁴ Likewise, in the narrative of the court astrologer and chronicler Jalal al-Din Munajjim Yazdi, the coffeehouse plays a central role: on December 26, 1602, upon the completion of the Chaharbagh, Shah ‘Abbas spent the evening in the coffeehouse, and there he composed a three-verse poem containing a chronogram indicating the year of the project’s inauguration.²⁵ As I will discuss below, several European reports also refer to venues for drinking coffee along the Chaharbagh in the seventeenth century.

The Chaharbagh (also known as *khīyābān-i chahār-bāgh*) was a ceremonial pathway and public promenade that constituted the fulcrum of the new Safavid developments in the southern outskirts of Isfahan.²⁶ Four kilometers long and forty-seven meters wide, it stretched from a gate of the medieval walled city (Dawlat Gate) to an enormous royal garden known as the ‘Abbasabad Garden or Bagh-i Hizar-jarib (Thousand Acres Garden) in the foothills on the south side of the Zayanda

River (fig. 1). The Allah Verdi Khan Bridge, completed circa 1607–12, connected the two portions of the promenade, which was bisected by the river.²⁷ In terms of physical layout, the Chaharbagh was conceived as an “elongated garden,” lined with four rows of plane trees (*chinār*), covered with pools and flowerbeds, and bordered with pairs of monumental gatehouse pavilions leading to gardens of various forms and functions (fig. 2).²⁸ While the Chaharbagh functioned as a thoroughfare, connecting the newly developed neighborhoods of New Julfa (inhabited by Armenian merchants) and ‘Abbasabad (settled by merchants from Tabriz) to the city’s commercial center, it was first and foremost a public promenade. The public character of the Chaharbagh was particularly apparent in its northern part, which stretched between the Dawlat Gate and the Allah Verdi Khan Bridge. Adjoining the palace complex (*dawlatkhāna*) and closer to the more populated areas of the city, the northern part of the Chaharbagh featured public institutions such as coffeehouses and Sufi convents, giving it a distinct social character. The southern portion of the Chaharbagh, between the bridge and the Hizar-jarib Garden, was lined with gardens erected by the military and bureaucratic elites.²⁹

Yet in its present state, Isfahan’s Chaharbagh Avenue retains little trace of its original landscape elements, gatehouse pavilions, and drinking houses. Indeed, the chief Safavid monument still standing on the Chaharbagh is the madrasa-cum-mosque complex erected by the last effective ruler of the Safavid dynasty, Shah Sultan Husayn (r. 1694–1722)—almost a century after the completion of the project under ‘Abbas I.³⁰ Interestingly, the most telling visual clue to the original layout of the Chaharbagh and its coffeehouses can be gleaned from a plan of the madrasa drawn up by the French architect Pascal Coste, who surveyed the building in 1840.³¹ Coste’s plan depicts not only the entire complex (with the linear market and caravanserai) but also a portion of the Chaharbagh with its now-lost plane trees, canals, pools, stairs, and waterfalls (fig. 3). The most remarkable aspect of the Coste plan for this study, however, is the area in the northwest of the complex, south of the market’s entrance portal, which he labeled as a *café* (no. 35 on the plan); a cursory glance at the plan and façade of this part of the building reveals that the covered space



Fig. 2. Old photograph of the Chaharbagh, taken ca. 1880s, showing the axial walkway bordered by plane trees, looking north from the middle of the northern section of the Chaharbagh. Tehran, Iranian Cultural Heritage Organization Documentation Center. (Photo: Ernst Höltzer)

designated as a coffeehouse was not originally laid out as part of the complex. Rather, it appears that it was an existing structure incorporated into the madrasa. Moreover, it is evident in Coste's plan that only this part of the building is aligned with the flowerbeds and stairs of the Chaharbagh, suggesting that it was laid out together with these landscape elements.³²

This hypothesis about the earlier provenance of the coffeehouse is further confirmed by the madrasa's endowment deed (*vaqf-nāma*), which mentions "the entire land and building (*arṣah va a'yān*) of the coffeehouse

located next to the auspicious madrasa" as one of the endowed properties and explicitly asserts that the establishment, which was "standing in the lands" of the complex, "had been purchased for [the use of] the madrasa" (*bi jahat-i madrasa-yi maḥkura ibtīyā' shuda būd*).³³ The passage reveals that the pre-existing coffeehouse was regarded as a piece of private property at the time of the construction of the madrasa, not a royal estate. Another piece of evidence that hints at the existence of a coffeehouse before the erection of the madrasa is a schematic plan of the Chaharbagh (fig. 4a) drawn

in the 1680s by the German physician and adventurer Engelbert Kaempfer (d. 1716). Despite its sketchiness, it shows that a series of self-contained structures (two of them bearing the label *kaf*)³⁴ stood in the same part of the Chaharbagh before the construction of the Shah Sultan Husayn Madrasa in the early eighteenth century.³⁵ Moreover, the existing building, as it stands today, does not seem to have a sound structural relationship with the rest of the complex.³⁶ Thus, while the coffeehouse's external decoration is consistent with the rest of the madrasa, textual, visual, and physical evidence suggests that the structure itself had its origin in an earlier period, or was at least refurbished on the basis of a pre-existing construction.

A close study of Kaempfer's plan shows that the extant coffeehouse was not a self-contained structure but was rather paired with another building on the western side of the Chaharbagh; in his plan both structures bear the same label.³⁷ The plan further indicates that to the south of this pair was another pair of structures (i.e., those labeled "*kaf*"), which in all likelihood would have flanked the other octagonal basin depicted further to the south on Coste's plan (fig. 4b), in the area of the Chaharbagh illustrated in an engraving by Coste (fig. 4c).³⁸ The existence of this second pair of coffeehouses is corroborated by the account of the Dutch painter and traveler Cornelis de Bruyn (d. 1726), who visited Isfahan in 1703–4, a few years before the construction of the madrasa; in his sequential description of the Chaharbagh, he refers to "two other buildings" farther to the south of the first area with coffeehouses, "where they retire to smoke."³⁹ Indeed, such a symmetrical configuration conforms to the overall layout of the promenade, where the bordering pavilions were all arranged in pairs flanking a sequence of large and small pools (figs. 1 and 5b). By the same token, it would be reasonable to assume that the southern pair of pavilions resembled the standing structure in terms of overall layout. These visual and textual records allow us to sketch out a hypothetical reconstruction of the Chaharbagh coffeehouses (fig. 5).⁴⁰ Located at the very center of the northern part of the promenade, they lay at the corners of Bagh-i Tut (Mulberry Garden) and Bagh-i Angur (Grape Garden), where roads leading east and west linked the Chaharbagh to the adjoining areas (fig. 5b).⁴¹

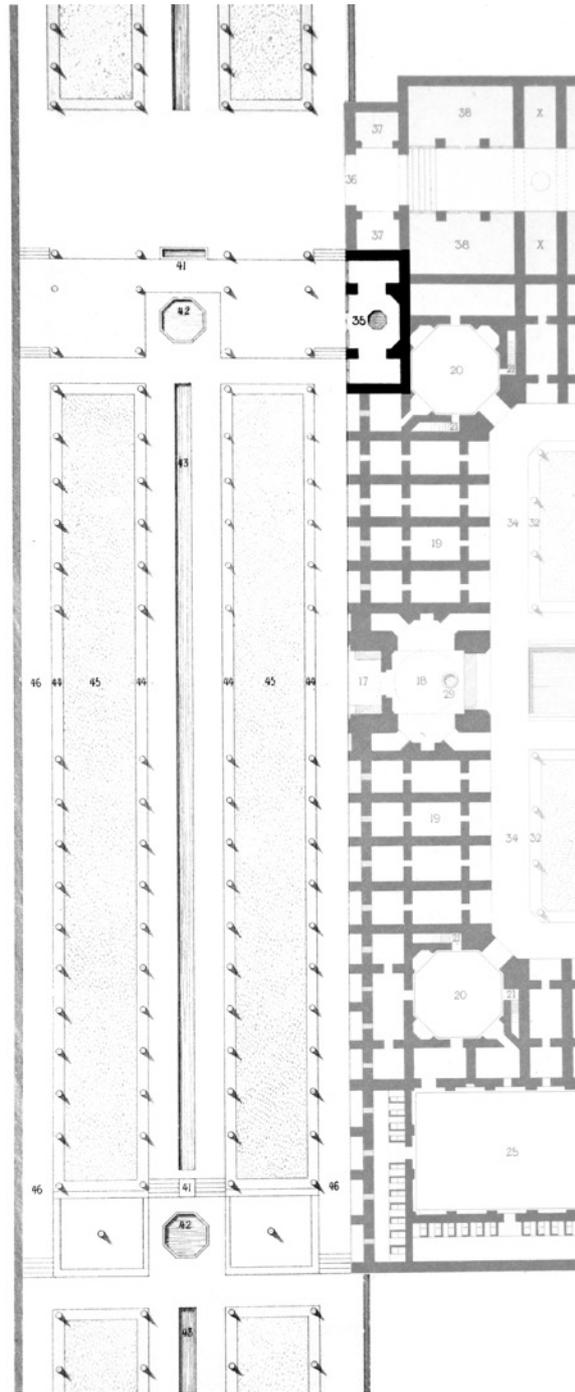


Fig. 3. Excerpt from a plan of the Shah Sultan Husayn Madrasa, showing the original layout of the Chaharbagh and the coffeehouse (no. 35), as surveyed by Pascal Coste in 1840. (After Pascal Coste, *Monuments modernes de la Perse* [Paris, 1867], pl. xix–xx)

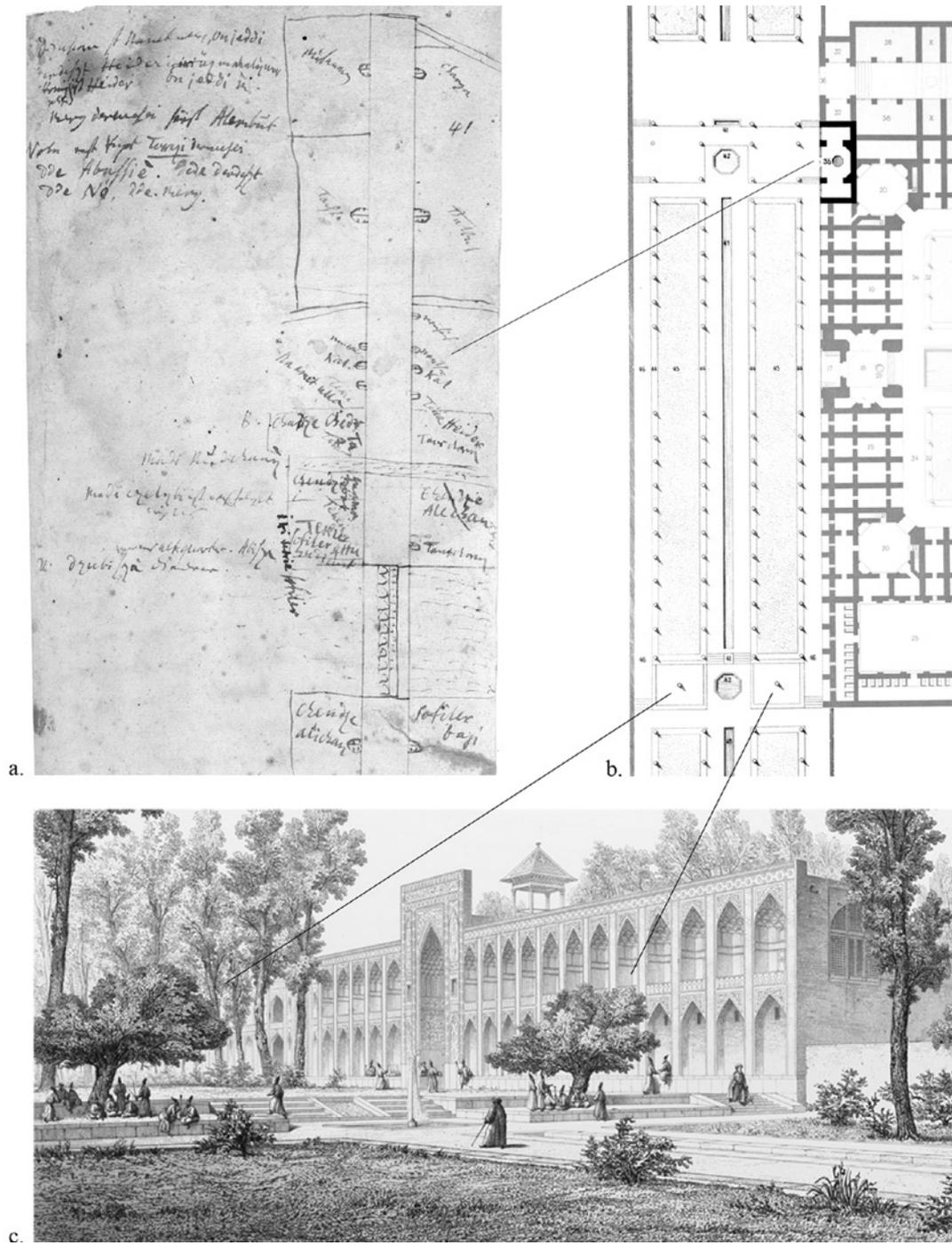


Fig. 4. a) Engelbert Kaempfer, schematic plan of the northern part of the Chaharbagh. London, British Library, Ms. Sloane 5232, fol. 42a. (Photo: provided by the British Library); b) Plan of the Chaharbagh Madrasa (see fig. 3); c) Engraving after a drawing by Pascal Coste, showing the Chaharbagh with the Shah Sultan Husayn Madrasa in the background. Before the construction of the madrasa, there were drinking pavilions on either side of the Chaharbagh, in front of the two platforms depicted in Coste's drawing. (After Pascal Coste, *Monuments modernes de la Perse* [Paris, 1867], pl. xviii)

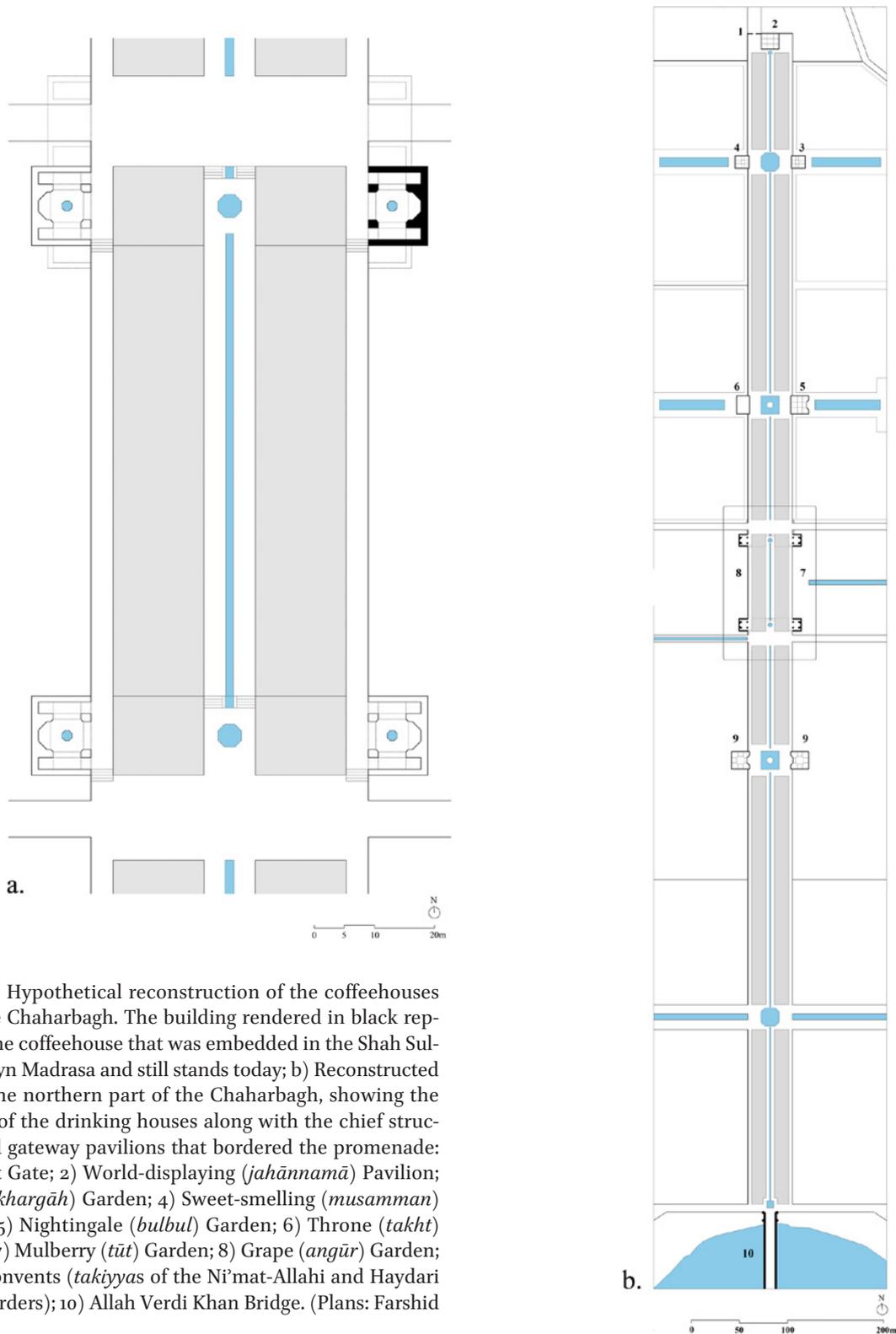


Fig. 5. a) Hypothetical reconstruction of the coffeehouses along the Chaharbagh. The building rendered in black represents the coffeehouse that was embedded in the Shah Sultan Husayn Madrasa and still stands today; b) Reconstructed plan of the northern part of the Chaharbagh, showing the location of the drinking houses along with the chief structures and gateway pavilions that bordered the promenade: 1) Dawlat Gate; 2) World-displaying (*jahānnamā*) Pavilion; 3) Tent (*khargāh*) Garden; 4) Sweet-smelling (*musamman*) Garden; 5) Nightingale (*bulbul*) Garden; 6) Throne (*takht*) Garden; 7) Mulberry (*tūt*) Garden; 8) Grape (*angūr*) Garden; 9) Sufi convents (*takiyyas* of the Ni'mat-Allahi and Haydari dervish orders); 10) Allah Verdi Khan Bridge. (Plans: Farshid Emami)

Literary sources, however, suggest that initially these structures functioned not just as coffeehouses but also as wine taverns. Our first source is a biographical compendium of poets completed in the 1620s by Taqi al-Din Muhammad Awhadi Balyani (d. ca. 1629). In his entry on Baba Shams-i Tishi of Shiraz, Awhadi relates that in 1603 (1012) Shah 'Abbas had a wine tavern (*maykhāna*) set up for Baba Shams in the Chaharbagh of Isfahan, noting that now he is still "inebriated from the cup of leisure" in that royal wine-house (*maykhāna-yi shāhanshāhī*), and that "whoever drinks wine in that tavern is exempt [from punishment]." This exemption was in effect, he further adds, "even if there was a prohibition on wine."⁴² Interestingly enough, Awhadi, who was a contemporary witness, does not refer to any coffeehouses. In fact, unlike later literary sources, throughout his voluminous compendium the terms coffee and coffeehouse barely figure at all. (Since he moved to India in 1606, it is likely that he was not very familiar with coffee or had simply missed the popularization of urban coffeehouses in Iran.⁴³) The second source is a later biographical dictionary of poets, completed in the 1670s by Muhammad Tahir Nasrabadi (d. ca. 1688). Nasrabadi describes Shams as an ordinary person (*avāsīṭ al-nās*) specializing in "the knowledge of music," but relates that it was a *coffeehouse* that was built for Shams-i Tishi, and that a wine-house (*sharābkhāna*) was set up beside (*pahlū-yi*) it.⁴⁴ Regarding the special dispensation granted for wine drinking, Nasrabadi gives a more detailed account: Shah 'Abbas decreed that anyone who drank at this tavern would have his hand stamped and that the magistrate's fellows would know not to harass anyone so marked.⁴⁵ According to Awhadi, the reason for this order was Shah 'Abbas's interest in a young boy named Ganji who worked for Shams-i Tishi.⁴⁶

These two literary reports corroborate the conclusions reached on the basis of architectural drawings and sketches, suggesting that when Junabadi mentioned the establishment of "coffeehouses and taverns" on the Chaharbagh in his chronicle, it was not a figurative but a literal statement. Nasrabadi's reference to a tavern erected beside a coffeehouse is indeed consistent with the proposed reconstruction, whereby two pairs of pavilions stood near one another. Based on these accounts, we can surmise that the conception and erection of a tavern coincided with the introduction and populariza-

tion of coffee, and hence both establishments were included in the program. Moreover, the existence of a tavern may not have been unrelated to the presence of a vineyard in this area of the Chaharbagh. According to the account of the French jewel merchant and traveler Jean Chardin, as well as Kaempfer's map, the garden located on the western side of the thoroughfare in the area of the drinking houses was known as Bagh-i Angur (Grape Garden).⁴⁷

The juxtaposition of a coffeehouse and a wine tavern on the Chaharbagh of Isfahan is emblematic of the close historical affinity between the two social institutions. As elsewhere in the early modern world, in terms of social milieu, the coffeehouse was first and foremost akin to the tavern (or similar establishments serving alcoholic or non-alcoholic beverages).⁴⁸ When the coffeehouse first appeared in Mecca, in the early sixteenth century, it was often compared to the tavern, and, as Hattox notes, the origin of the coffeehouse as a social institution should probably be sought in the wine tavern, rather than Sufi circles.⁴⁹ The perceived similarity between the two beverages is also reflected in the etymology of the word itself: before the emergence of "modern coffee," the Arabic term *qahwa* referred to a type of thick wine with an acrid taste.⁵⁰ In the early years of its introduction to Safavid Iran, too, the coffeehouse was reminiscent of the tavern, as a couplet by Sadiqi Beg suggests:

I did not sit in the coffeehouse for the sake of coffee;
It is with the thought of wine that I drink coffee every moment.

*Bi qahvakhāna na az bahr-i qahva jā kardam
Bi yād-i bāda kasham jā-m-i qahva rā har dam.*⁵¹

Yet compared to the urban centers of neighboring empires, in Safavid realms wine appears to have been consumed with greater liberty in public spaces.⁵² As Matthee has shown, despite the Islamic prohibition on intoxicating drinks, except for periodic bans, public consumption of wine was generally allowed by the Safavids.⁵³ In the 1620s, 'Abbas even ordered Qazi b. Kashif al-Din, another physician active in Isfahan in the first half of the seventeenth century, to compose an epistle on the benefits and rules of drinking wine.⁵⁴ Rather than substituting for wine, coffee was seen as complementing it.⁵⁵ Indeed, the proximity of a coffeehouse to a wine tavern provided a convenient amenity for the revelers

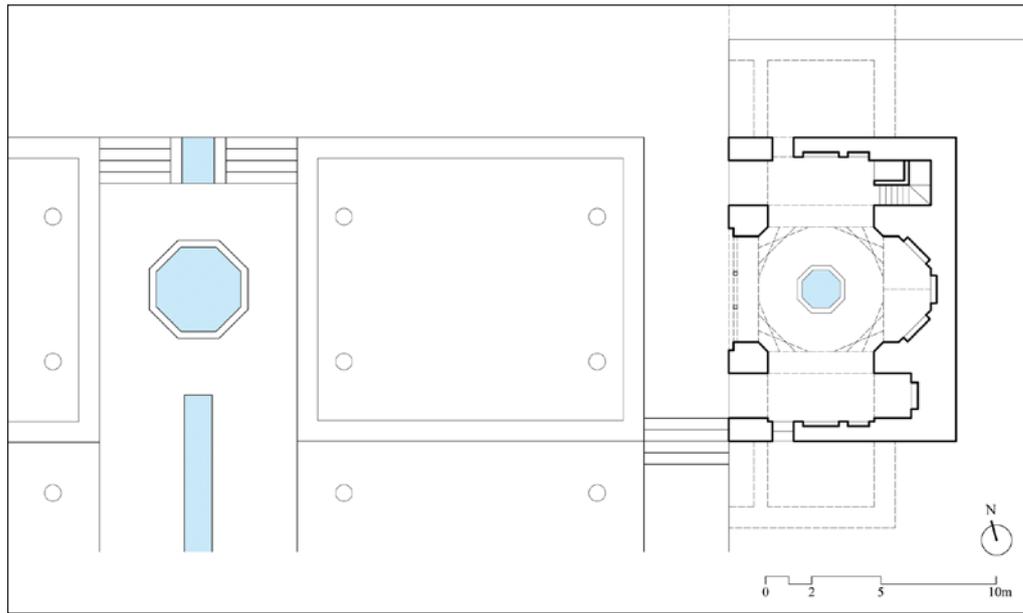


Fig. 6. Plan showing the Chaharbagh coffeehouse along with the adjoining platform and landscape elements. Drawn on the basis of old photographs and surveys of the madrasa. (Plan: Farshid Emami)

of Isfahan: in his description of the benefits of coffee, Qazi b. Kashif al-Din had noted the ameliorating effect of the substance on a hangover (*daf-i khumārī*).⁵⁶ And of course frequenters of the Chaharbagh tavern remained exempt from the sporadic prohibitions on wine drinking, although, as Awhadi pithily wrote, in Safavid Isfahan “no one cares” (*kas rā bi kas kār nīst*).



Fig. 7. Interior view of the extant structure along the Chaharbagh (which once served as a coffeehouse), showing the central hall and the upper-floor gallery. (Photo: Farshid Emami, 2013)

Whether initially conceived as coffeehouse or tavern, the extant structure along the Chaharbagh still offers a glimpse of its original form and sensory experience.⁵⁷ Measuring approximately thirteen by ten meters on perimeter, it consists of a double-height domed space, square in plan and about twelve meters high, surrounded by recesses on three sides (fig. 6). While the two lateral recesses are rectangular, opposite the entrance is a semi-octagonal alcove (*shahnishin*) carved with niches in the walls. Judging from Coste’s plan, an octagonal basin once stood at the center of the coffeehouse. The dome is supported by four piers with chamfered sides, from which spring pendentives covered with a pattern of intersecting arches that, together with the load-bearing connecting arches, form a base on which the dome rests (fig. 7). A staircase in the northeast corner provides access to a U-shaped gallery overlooking the central hall and offering screened views of the Chaharbagh landscape outside. In its present state, the structure is connected to a small room on the south side, which probably functioned as the service area of the coffeehouse, where coffee was brewed for clients.⁵⁸

Composed of a full-height arch flanked by two vertical bays, the coffeehouse’s elevation reflects the tripar-

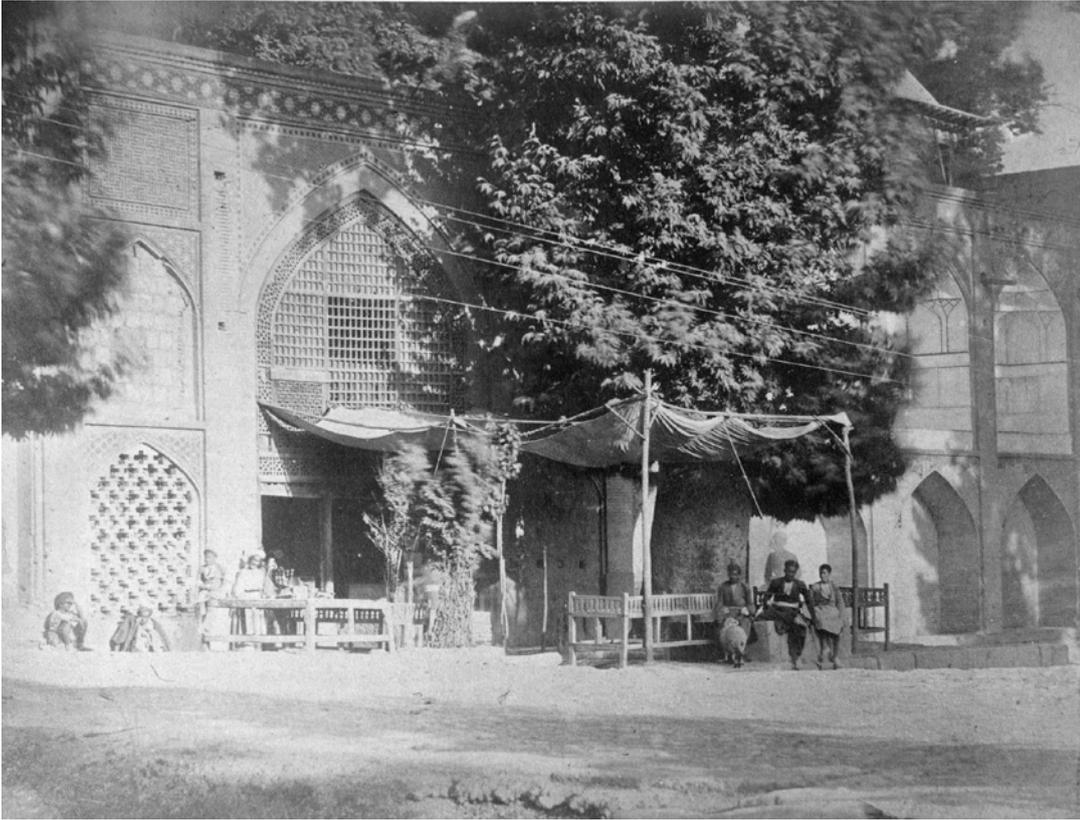


Fig. 8. Old photograph showing the Chaharbagh coffeehouse in the late nineteenth century. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Archives, Smithsonian Institution. (Photo: Antoin Sevruguin, ca. 1880)

tite layout of the interior (fig. 8). The central arch has an elaborate wooden latticed screen through which air and light penetrated into the covered hall. Supported by two wooden columns, the screen featured glass panes and sashes (*urusī* or sliding panels). The lateral bays contain two arched windows of the same size, screened with perforated brickwork and surmounted by square tile panels bearing identical Koranic inscriptions in square *kufic* script. Added during the construction of the madrasa, the epigraphic panels, as I will discuss later, were an explicit proclamation of the coffeehouse's integration into a religious institution in the early eighteenth century.

In terms of architectural typology, the plan of the coffeehouse represents a variation of the cross-in-square model, the most common scheme for residential buildings and garden pavilions since pre-Islamic times.⁵⁹ What distinguishes the layout of the Chaharbagh drink-

ing pavilion from its contemporary or earlier prototypes is the omission of one of the four sides of the cross-shaped central space, a modification that provides a more direct link between the covered internal hall and the outside landscape. Indeed, the main novelty of the structure does not lie in its plan (variations of the cruciform layout were indeed common) or its façade per se, but rather in its urban configuration—that is, the manner in which the pavilion's open plan sits along an elongated promenade/thoroughfare to serve as a public institution. Rather than self-contained pavilions, the Chaharbagh's coffeehouses were street buildings with a single elevation. Here the perforated wooden façade does not screen a private reception hall from an enclosed courtyard but rather provides a transparent interface for a public building, from whose alcoves one could peer into the urban space. Like the mid-seventeenth-century Ipshir Pasha Coffeehouse in Ottoman

Aleppo, the Chaharbagh coffeehouses present a new conception of urban elevation: a perforated curtain filtering light, air, and views of the outside landscape

The urban significance of the drinking houses is also reflected in the way they were laid out in relation to the open-air space of the Chaharbagh. As old photographs and Coste's drawings show (fig. 3), a square platform stood in front of each drinking house.⁶⁰ Between each pair of platforms, along the canal that ran down the middle of the Chaharbagh, lay a small octagonal pool, preceded by a water chute and flanked by two flights of stairs—all created through a sculptural terracing of the land's sloping. As one strolled down the stone-paved axial pathway of the Chaharbagh, these pools and their flanking platforms marked the presence of coffeehouses/taverns: together, they formed a visual axis perpendicular to the axial walkway, directing one's gaze toward the bordering structures. The area was given a further distinct character by a dramatic shift in planting: on the platforms were willow trees, which broke the rhythm of the regularly-spaced plane trees and, with their slender hanging branches, created a contrast of shade, texture, and color. On a hot summer day, seated in the shade of the weeping willows, patrons of the drinking houses would sip coffee, drink wine, or smoke tobacco while relishing the richest sensory experience that the Chaharbagh landscape had to offer. The dappled light of the sun filtering through the leaves, they enjoyed air cooled by fountains and scented by flowers, along with the gurgling sound of water flowing on the carved surfaces of the water chutes—all mingled with the scents of coffee and tobacco, which were as exotic in seventeenth-century Isfahan as they were anywhere else in the early modern world.

The direct spatial and visual connection between the covered space and an open-air sitting area, which suited the public function of taverns/coffeehouses, was remarked upon by multiple European visitors. Kaempfer noted that those in charge of the drinking houses spread carpets and mats on the bordering platforms, where people could sit, watch shows, and listen to poets and storytellers, all while drinking and smoking; only when the weather was hot would they move to the cooler adjoining rooms.⁶¹ It also appears that the coffeehouses were later outfitted with outdoor furniture. While in Is-

fahan in the early 1700s, de Bruyn observed that this area of the Chaharbagh was covered with "benches, wooden chairs, and tables," and "in the evening you always see a great number of Persians, smoking and drinking coffee." De Bruyn also noted the distinct character of the Chaharbagh in the vicinity of the coffeehouses: "the ground here has a slope, where there are trees which afford the finest shade in the world."⁶²

The public character of the Chaharbagh drinking houses, however, does not mean that they were used by all social classes in a similar fashion. Lying to the west of the Chaharbagh was the elite neighborhood of 'Abbasabad and across the river was the Armenian quarter of New Julfa (fig. 1).⁶³ With these well-to-do residential areas in its vicinity, it is no surprise that the Chaharbagh coffeehouses were used by the upper strata of Safavid society as a public stage for the demonstration of social status.⁶⁴ This performative function was explicitly commented upon by the English traveler John Fryer, who when he visited Isfahan in 1677 found the Chaharbagh similar to London's Hyde Park: "a place to see and to be seen."⁶⁵ He further noted that at nightfall all "the Pride" of Isfahan was met in the Chaharbagh: "the Grandees were airing themselves, prancing about with their numerous trains, striving to outvie each other in Pomp and Generosity."⁶⁶ Fryer's observation illustrates how the physical setting of the Chaharbagh made certain socially-coded behaviors possible: "Near these Ponds, or *Tanks*, are Coffee-Houses, which furnish them when they dismount, with Coho, Tea, or Sherbets; while they sit in State, and smook Tobacco with their Attendance about them."⁶⁷ Riding on horseback on the lateral pathways of the Chaharbagh—the central alley was exclusively for pedestrians—an elite Isfahani would dismount for a cup of coffee while a servant attended his horse.⁶⁸ One such member of the merchant class matching Fryer's description is illustrated in a painting attributed to Mu'in Musavvir (active ca. 1630s–90s), which portrays a middle-aged merchant named Mirza Muhammad-Taqi Tabrizi, mounted on horseback and accompanied by a groom (fig. 9).⁶⁹ As Massumeh Farhad has noted, the figure's epithet suggests that he was a scion of the Tabrizi émigré families who resided in the neighborhood of 'Abbasabad. The painting is a visual representation of the manner in which an upper-class Isfahani was

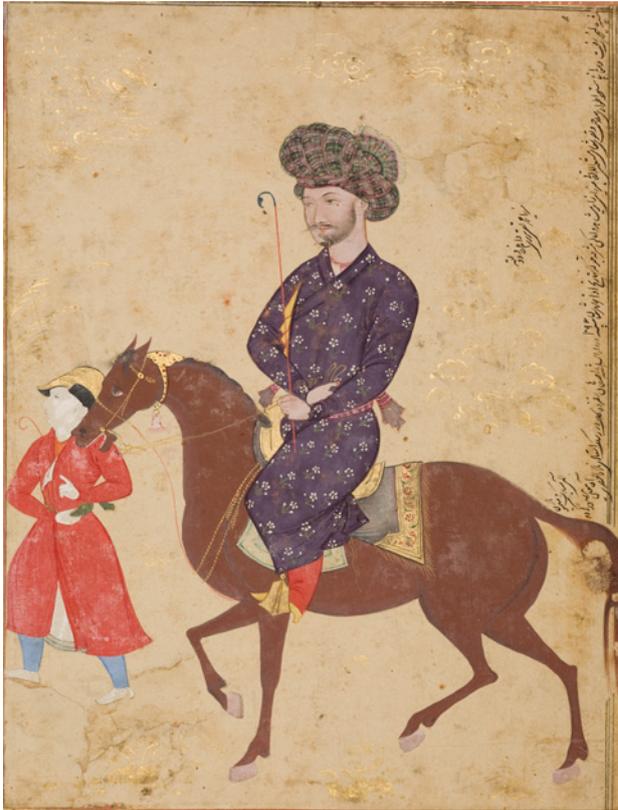


Fig. 9. Mu'in Musavvir (attributed), "Portrait of Muhammad Taqi Tabrizi." London, The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art. (Photo: Nour Foundation, courtesy of the Khalili Family Trust)

seen in public spaces such as the Chaharbagh on a day-to-day basis. It was not merely the ability to afford a drink, but also the very design of the Chaharbagh and its drinking houses, with their interconnected indoor and outdoor spaces, that enabled the elites of Isfahan to enact their social status in the public domain.

Another unique function imparting a novel social character to the Chaharbagh coffeehouses was its exclusive use by women once a week. In 1609, Shah 'Abbas decreed that on Wednesdays the Chaharbagh and Allah Verdi Khan Bridge would become an entirely feminine domain, so that the women of the court would not, as he had allegedly feared, be deprived of "the delight of strolling and conversing (*siyr u suhbat*) on the Chaharbagh." According to Munajjim Yazdi, on such days men were prohibited from entering the area and only female

vendors (*zanān-i ahl-i ħirfa*) were allowed in.⁷⁰ Since the main "vending spots" of the Chaharbagh were its drinking houses, it is reasonable to assume that on such days coffee and wine were also served by women. Yet the female participants of these weekly outings were not limited to royal ladies and their servants. Della Vale reports that one Wednesday his wife was invited to join the noble women of Isfahan for an outing with the court ladies.⁷¹ The presence of the local nobility, members of other religions (Della Valle's Nestorian Christian wife and her peers), and female vendors suggests that on such days the domain of women was relatively extensive. As public spaces used by both genders, albeit segregated by day of the week, the coffeehouses of the Chaharbagh were not exclusively masculine spaces; they also provided a rare venue for women to socialize in a public setting.⁷²

These manifestations of class and gender reflect the myriad ways in which the presence of the coffeehouses affected the meaning and uses of the Chaharbagh as a public space. Consider the elongated space stretching between the Dawlat Gate and the Zayanda River (fig. 5): the novelty of the coffeehouses did not lie in their layout or decoration per se, but rather in the way they sat at the heart of a public promenade, and in the way their covered rooms and open-air platforms created a public venue for utterly new social pastimes such as drinking coffee and smoking tobacco. In its incipient form, a *khīyābān* was not merely a planted road or an elongated garden for age-old leisurely activities: it was a promenade lined with street cafés, if you will, a public space accommodating and shaping the social practices and habits of a new age.

THE COFFEEHOUSES AT THE MAYDAN-I NAQSH-I JAHAN

In the urban landscape of seventeenth-century Isfahan, the Chaharbagh coffeehouses stood out for their association with the institution of the wine tavern and for their integration into a monumental promenade. Yet, the city's most famous coffeehouses were those erected on the Maydan-i Naqsh-i Jahan (also known as the Maydan-i Shah, or Royal Square). In his detailed description

of the Safavid capital, Chardin refers to those establishments as “the most beautiful and the most spacious coffeehouses in the whole city.”⁷³ The significance of the Maydan’s coffeehouses is also reflected in the references made to them in literary sources. In a versified travel narrative, for instance, the poet Bihishti of Herat describes the coffeehouses along with the palace complex and royal market, a reflection of their perceived significance in Safavid Isfahan.⁷⁴

Chronicles suggest that, as in the Chaharbagh, the coffeehouses of the Maydan were integral to its main building program. Munajjim Yazdi’s account is indicative of the commercial nature of the development program, which comprised coffeehouses, the Qaysariyya (royal market), stores, caravanserais, and bathhouses.⁷⁵ Likewise, in Junabadi’s flowery description, one can get a sense of the close association of the coffeehouses with the Maydan and its elements: “through the *maydān* flowed a large canal resembling the stream of paradise, and pleasant coffeehouses were built along it of marble, brick, and stucco. In those coffeehouses, the tulip-faced and rosy-cheeked ones served coffee, symbolizing the darkness surrounding the fountain of life.”⁷⁶

European reports render a vivid picture of the Maydan coffeehouses. According to Chardin, the rooms were very high and large, open from top to bottom, with scaffoldings inside made like the benches of tailors (*établissements des tailleurs*), allowing one to sit or lean easily.⁷⁷ Similarly, according to the French traveler and merchant Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, the coffeehouses of the Maydan consisted of rooms opening onto the square, where people go to smoke tobacco or drink coffee. These rooms, he wrote, had amphitheater-style seating, and, in the center, a simple basin with running water, used for filling water pipes.⁷⁸ Fryer, too, compares the coffeehouses to theaters: “they are modeled after the nature of our theatres, that every one may sit around, and suck choice Tobacco.” An oft-quoted passage in Chardin’s travelogue, which gives a generic description of Safavid coffeehouses, was most probably based on his observations of the Maydan establishments: “Several of them, especially those in the big cities, have a water basin in the middle. Around the rooms are platforms, which are three feet high and approximately three to four feet wide, more or less according to the



Fig. 10. Elevated view of the northeast side of the Maydan-i Naqsh-i Jahan, showing the restored arcades where the coffeehouses were once located. (Photo: Farshid Emami)

size of the location, and are made out of masonry or scaffolding, on which one sits in the Oriental manner.”⁷⁹ Sources suggest that the coffeehouses were located on the northern side of the Maydan-i Naqsh-i Jahan, in the arcades stretching on either side of the entrance portal of the Qaysariyya. Modified over the past century and taken over by shops, the present condition of the Maydan’s north side gives little clue to its original form and function (fig. 10).

To reconstruct the original layout of the coffeehouses it is essential to situate them in the broader framework of the Maydan’s development. As Eugenio Galdieri proposed in 1970 on the basis of an archaeological investigation, the arcades surrounding the Maydan were constructed in two stages: in the first phase, the plaza was circled by a one-story arcade leading to a row of shops on the outer perimeter; the row of shops facing the plaza as well as upper-level loggias (sing. *bālākhāna*) were added during a second stage of construction.⁸⁰ In a detailed study of four Safavid chronicles, Robert McChesney proposed a textual basis for Galdieri’s hypothesis, arguing that in the first phase, finished before 1595, the Maydan was primarily intended for festivities and sports, and that it was in the second phase, completed by 1602–3, that the plaza took on a commercial character.⁸¹

The nature and historical circumstances of this two-stage development, however, are not entirely clear, par-

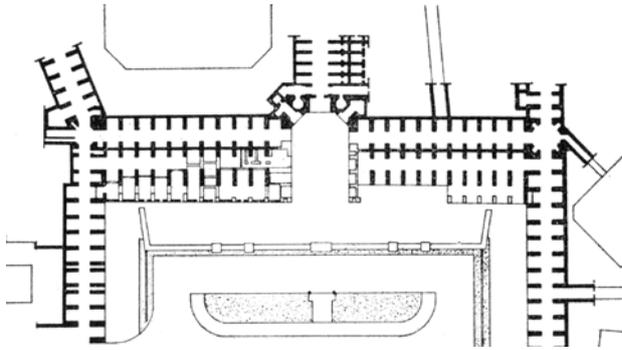


Fig. 11. Schematic plan by Galdieri of the northern side of the Maydan, showing original Safavid constructions and later additions. (After Eugenio Galdieri and Roberto Orazi, *Progetto di sistemazione del Maydān-i Šāh* [Rome, 1969])

ticularly with respect to the northern side of the Maydan, where the coffeehouses were once located.⁸² As Markus Ritter notes, in the northern side “the building mass surrounding the plaza is twice as deep as the other sides”; here an additional one-story gallery stands in front of the main gallery, which is lined with two rows of shops and encircles the plaza (fig. 11).⁸³ Judging from physical additions and restorations, Galdieri erroneously suggested that this extra arcade dated from a later time. Galdieri’s plan (fig. 11) thus reflects the state of the northern side of the Maydan in the 1960s, when the arcades containing the coffeehouses had long been modified and integrated into the market.⁸⁴ Yet, as Ritter remarks, a sketch plan of the Maydan drawn by Della Valle reveals that the additional gallery already existed in the early 1600s, during the reign of Shah ‘Abbas.⁸⁵ Among modern scholars, Heinz Gaube and Eugen Wirth were probably the first to identify the three-bay-wide gallery on the north side as the original site of the coffeehouses described in European reports. They particularly highlighted the distinctive vaulting of this area, which is characterized by an alternation between tunnel vaults and domes.⁸⁶ Every four bays surrounding a central hall, they noted, formed a quadripartite layout, which constituted one of the original coffeehouses.⁸⁷

Yet the key to the original layout of the coffeehouses lies in a plan of the Maydan drawn up in 1932 by the

French architect Eugène-Elie Beaudouin.⁸⁸ In contrast to Galdieri’s plan, this plan depicts the coffeehouses as six interconnected octagonal spaces stretching on the eastern side of the Qaysariyya portal (fig. 12). The above-mentioned sketch plan by Della Valle confirms that the coffeehouses were located in exactly this part. Moreover, this layout is consistent with the peculiar vaulting scheme of this area, as noted by Gaube and Wirth. (In the eastern four bays the original vaults of the coffeehouses are still preserved.) It is thus reasonable to assume that Beaudouin’s plan was based on the existing condition of the area in the early 1930s, i.e., prior to the modern renovation of the Maydan.⁸⁹ More important, the plan matches another sketch by Della Valle (fig. 13), which depicts the coffeehouse where Shah ‘Abbas held an audience with foreign ambassadors in 1619.⁹⁰ Della Valle’s drawing shows two of the six octagonal halls that constituted the coffeehouses on the north side of the Maydan.

These visual records, together with the physical remains and textual descriptions, allow for a rough reconstruction of the Safavid coffeehouses of the Maydan-i Naqsh-i Jahan (fig. 14). Occupying the entire western wing of the plaza’s northern side—what is today known as the Bazar-i Sarrafha (Money-Changers’ Market)—“the coffeehouse complex” consisted of six domed halls with chamfered corners (each approximately seven meters across and six meters high). The domed chambers were lit through an aperture in the ceiling and, judging from Della Valle’s sketch, featured octagonal basins at the center. Alternating with these domed halls were lower barrel-vaulted spaces (measuring five by four-and-a-half meters), which both separated and connected the domed halls (fig. 15). (Shah ‘Abbas sat in one of these alcoves to receive ambassadors). Della Valle’s sketch (fig. 13) suggests that these interconnecting alcoves were lined on both sides with platforms, traces of which still remain in situ. This reconstruction conforms to the description of Della Valle, who noted that with no barriers between them, the coffeehouses appeared as one complex.

The overall scheme of the coffeehouses can be described as a series of cruciform spaces with overlapping alcoves on the sides. By using two different types of vaulting and by chamfering the corners of the main

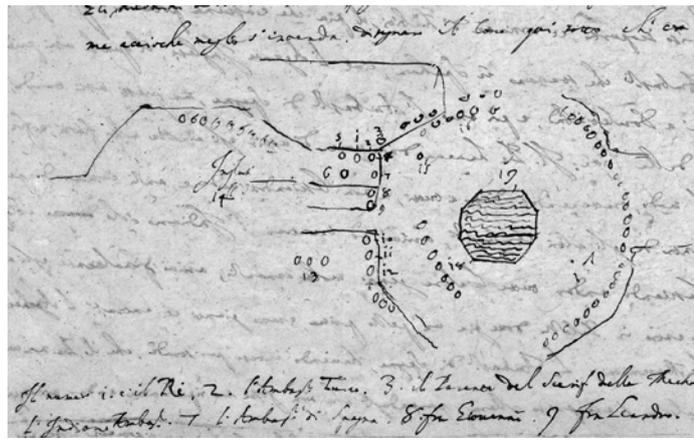
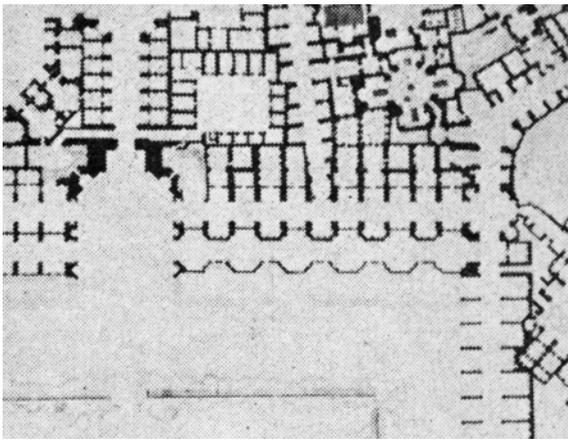


Fig. 12. Excerpt from the plan of the Maydan-i Naqsh-i Jahan drawn up by Eugène-Elie Beaudouin in 1932, showing the original layout of the coffeehouses on the northeast side of the plaza. (After Eugène-Elie Beaudouin, "Ispahan sous les grands chahs, XVIIe siècle," *Urbanisme, revue mensuelle de l'urbanisme français* 2, no. 10 [January 1933], 25)

Fig. 13. A sketch from the diary of Pietro della Valle, showing the layout of the coffeehouse where Shah 'Abbas held a reception for foreign envoys in 1619. Vatican, Vatican Library (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana), Ott. lat. 3382, fol. 126v. (Photo: courtesy of the Vatican Library)

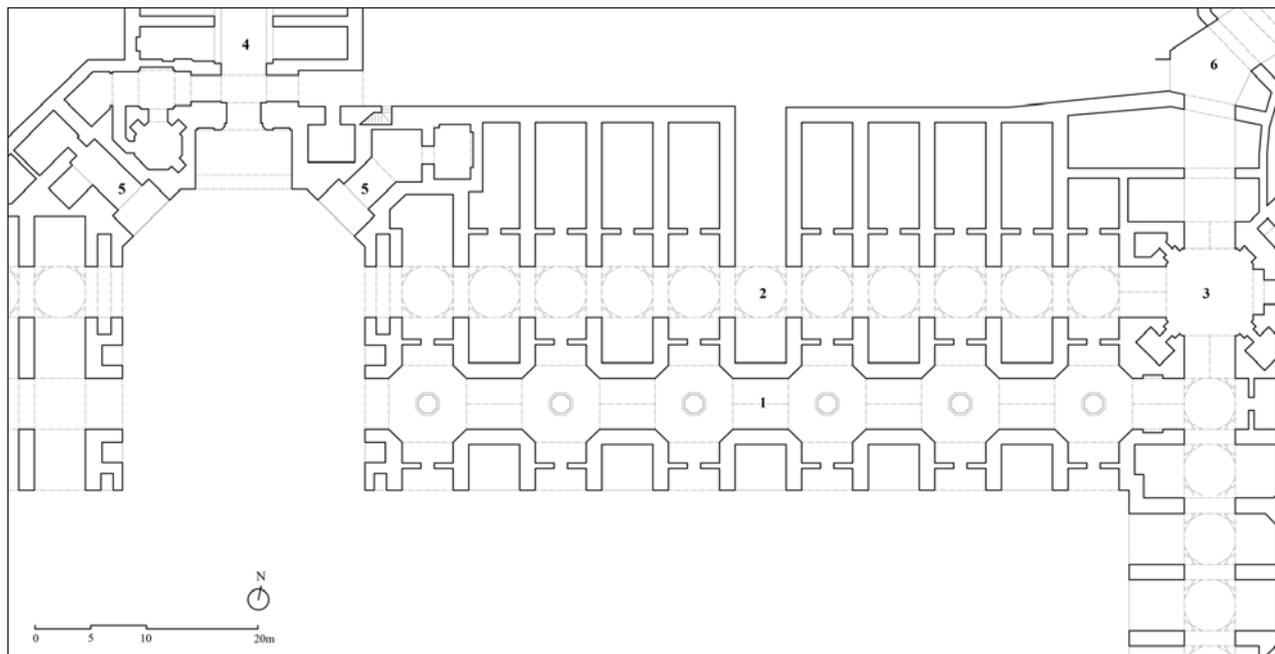


Fig. 14. Plan showing the northeast side of the Maydan-i Naqsh-i Jahan along with the reconstructed layout of the coffeehouses: 1) row of coffeehouses consisting of six octagonal rooms alternating with alcoves; 2) Bazar-i Qannadha (Confectioners' Market); 3) Chaharsuq-i Shah; 4) Qaysariyya Market; 5) sherbet houses; 6) covered market leading to the Old Maydan. (Plan: Farshid Emami)

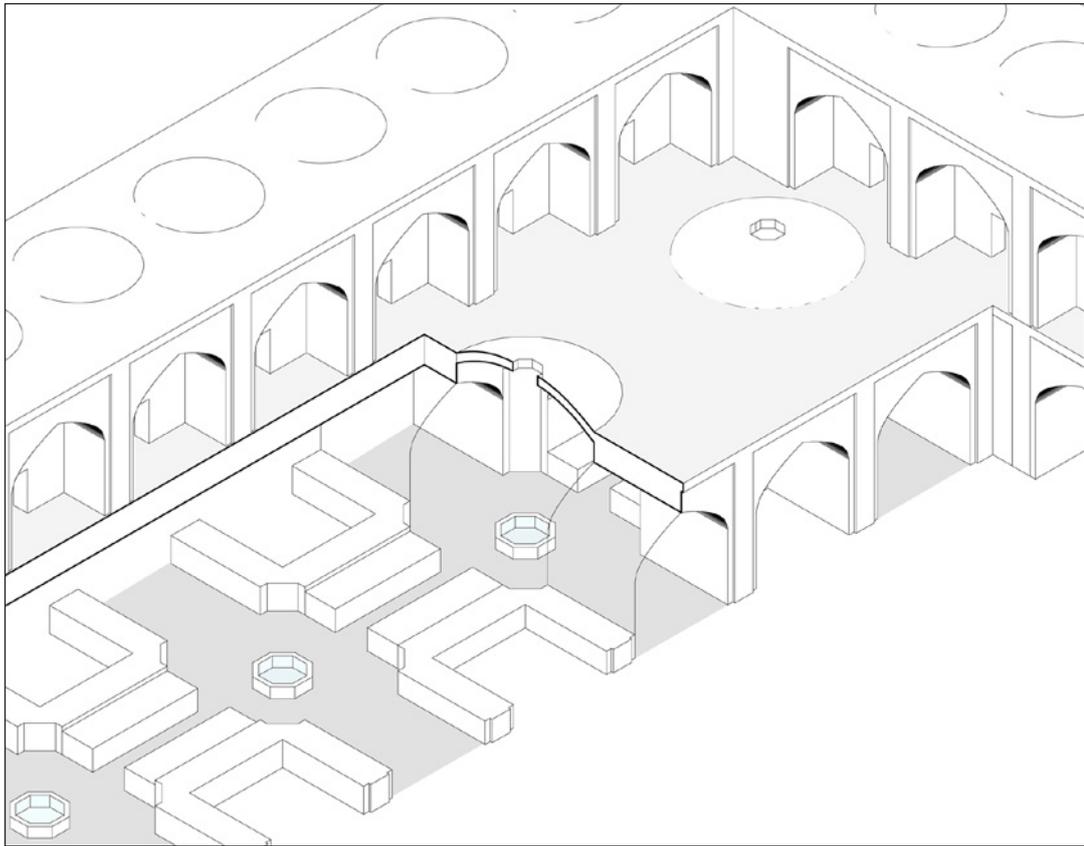


Fig. 15. Axonometric view showing the overall structure of the coffeehouses as they originally stood on the northeastern side of the Maydan-i Naqsh-i Jahan. (Drawing: Farshid Emami)

halls, the unknown architect of the complex masterfully created a new spatial configuration, suitable for the function of the drinking houses, without discarding the modular framework that underlines the overall design of the shops surrounding the Maydan. In addition to the eastern and western entrances, the coffeehouses were directly accessible from the open-air space of the plaza, and probably from the Bazar-i Qannadha (Confectioners' Market) to the north. Alternating with the entrance bays on both sides were alcoves facing the Maydan in the south and the gallery in the north. Earlier plans indicate that small niches were carved into the walls, which would have provided ample space for storing china cups and other utensils.

In his description of the Maydan's drinking houses (*Schenke, Tavernen*), Olearius referred to three distinct types of establishments—the wine tavern (*shīrakhāna*),

the Chinese teahouse (*chāy-i khatā'ī-khāna*), and the coffeehouse (*qahvakhāna*)—and gave a fairly different picture of the prevalent milieu in each of them: the wine tavern was mostly frequented by “low people” (*unzüchtige Leute*), who would watch the lewd dancing of young servers; in the teahouse, meanwhile, they drank a “foreign warm drink,” and played chess and backgammon; and the coffeehouse was where tobacco smokers and coffee drinkers could be found. In all three, Olearius observed, poets and storytellers could be seen seated on tall chairs in the middle of the room, reciting with a stick in their hands.⁹¹ No other source refers to these types, but since Olearius, who visited Isfahan in the 1630s, is one of our earliest sources, it is likely that at least initially such a functional categorization did exist in the Maydan's establishments.⁹² If so, as with the Chaharbagh drinking houses, here we can see a similar juxta-

position of the wine tavern and the coffeehouse. Also remarkable is the reference to a teahouse: sources suggest that tea was another “soft drug” popularized in the very same period, and although less common than coffee, it was consumed in elite circles.⁹³ Writing in the early 1600s, Hamavi reports that the royal gardeners of Shah ‘Abbas had even experimented with cultivating tea seeds, a deed indicative of the existence of a penchant for domesticating exotic substances.⁹⁴ Thus, even if the drinking houses on the northern side of the Maydan were formally identical and spatially interconnected, they were probably further distinguished by the type of drinks served in them.

There is no evidence in Safavid literary sources for the three types of establishments described by Olearius. The sources nevertheless suggest that the coffeehouses of Isfahan, including those on the Maydan-i Naqsh-i Jahan, were known as distinct locales. In Nasrabadi’s oft-quoted compendium of poets, one finds references to several coffeehouses (*qahva* or *qahvakhāna*) with little indication of their exact locations. The Arab Coffeehouse (*qahvakhāna-yi ‘Arab*) was probably one of the first established in Isfahan; Nasrabadi relates two anecdotes about Shah ‘Abbas’s ad hoc conversations with poets in this establishment.⁹⁵ The coffeehouse’s name suggests that it was probably run by a person from Arab lands, which hints at the role individuals from abroad likely played in introducing coffee and its drinking customs. Some coffeehouses were known for their attractive coffee-servers (sing. *qahvachi*): one poet was infatuated with a server named Tufan (Deluge), and the son of Haji Yusuf Qahvachi had at least two admirers among Isfahani poets.⁹⁶ The central Asian litterateur Muhammad Badi‘ Maliha of Samarqand, who visited Isfahan in 1679–81, refers to a coffeehouse in the Maydan-i Shah called Agha Qiyasa, which was “the seventh coffeehouse” on the Qaysariyya side.⁹⁷ While the drinking establishments of the Maydan were similar in form and spatially unified, the fact that they were known after their proprietors or servers indicates that each coffeehouse had a distinct character, probably attracting a regular clientele.

It has been suggested that the architecture of the coffeehouse had its origins in public baths (sing. *hammām*), particularly the cloakroom (*sarbīna* or *maslakh*), which commonly consisted of octagonal spaces surrounded by

platforms.⁹⁸ This formal affinity is of course not without social implications. As in other Islamic contexts, the public bath was a social space in the urban centers of medieval Iran, where people gathered not just for bathing but also to meet and talk. What differentiated the architecture of the Maydan coffeehouses from that of the public baths was their dynamic relationship with the surrounding urban spaces. In contrast to bathhouses, which were introverted buildings constructed lower than ground level, the coffeehouses of the Maydan-i Naqsh-i Jahan were open and permeable structures, interconnected with the open-air space of the Maydan and the nearby markets. Accessible from multiple directions, they integrated the rhythm and flow of movement in and around the city’s main plaza into their very spatial structure.

The original articulation of the main elevation of the coffeehouses and the bays facing the Maydan, however, are not entirely clear. According to the Russian traveller Kotov, who was in Isfahan in 1624, on two sides of the coffeehouses there were “wooden lattices from where the Kizuilbashi [*sic*] watch the sport but pay no money.”⁹⁹ The two renditions of the northern side of the Maydan, produced some time between 1670 and 1674, are the only available contemporary depictions. The engraving published in Chardin’s travelogue (fig. 16) depicts the coffeehouses as single-story structures with openings set at two-bay intervals.¹⁰⁰ Above the bay along the entrance of each coffeehouse stands a small lantern marking the main spaces. A comparison with the existing appearance of the portal and late nineteenth-century photographs suggests that, despite its obvious errors in perspective, the engraving provides a fairly accurate depiction of the overall shape of the structure and its major components. Moreover, it gives a sense of the way in which the water canal and trees encircling the Maydan were laid out in relation to the configuration of the coffeehouses.¹⁰¹

Regardless of their original appearance, there can be no doubt that the coffeehouses offered the most spectacular view of the Maydan. Clustered in the south side of the plaza, the triad of monumental structures—the Shah Mosque, the Ali Qapu, and the Shaykh Lutfallah Mosque—was best viewed from the north, where the coffeehouses were located (fig. 17). This placement was not lost on contemporary observers. In a prose piece

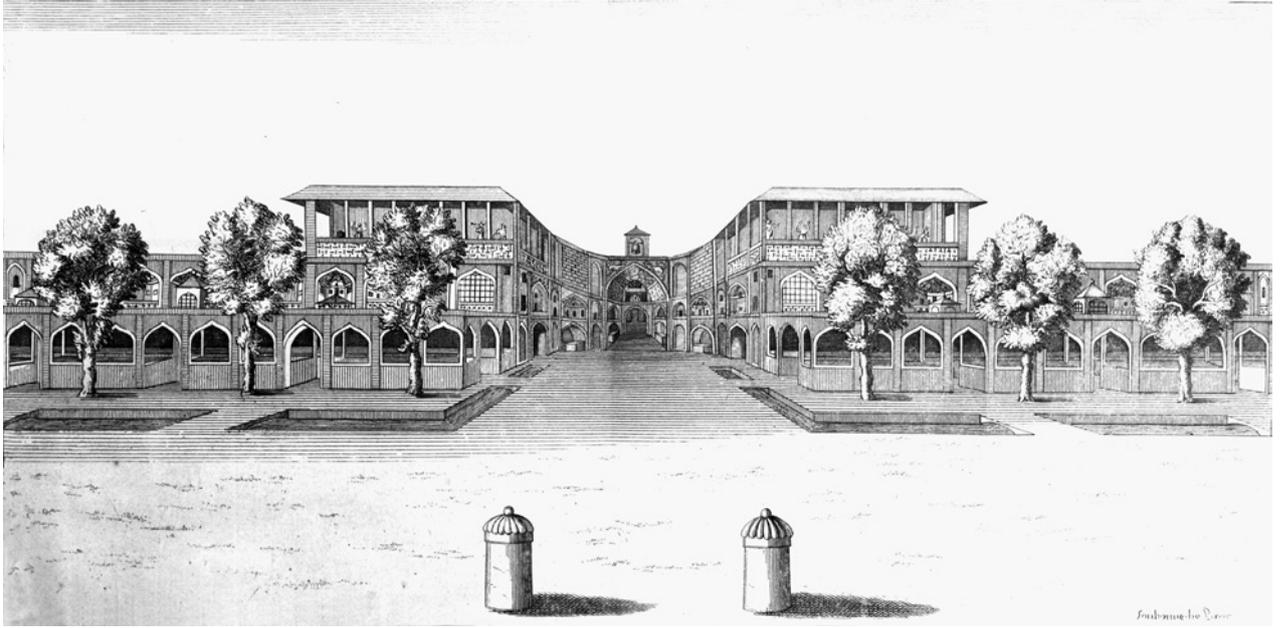


Fig. 16. Engraving showing the northern side of the Maydan-i Naqsh-i Jahan, with the entrance portal of the Qaysariyya Market at the center and the arcades containing the coffeehouses on the right-hand side. (After Jean Chardin, *Voyages du chevalier Chardin, en Perse*, 4 vols. [Amsterdam, 1635], 2: N. xxxvii)



Fig. 17. View looking south on the Maydan-i Naqsh-i Jahan, showing the 'Ali Qapu (right), Shah Mosque (center), and Shaykh Lutfallah Mosque (left). (Photo: Farshid Emami)

(*inshā'*) composed in the middle decades of the seventeenth century, for instance, the poet I'jaz Hirati mentioned that the coffeehouses faced "the mihrab of the Shah Mosque."¹⁰² Similarly, in a poem on Isfahan completed in 1674, Mir Nijat described the Shah Mosque and the Maydan before referring to the coffeehouses themselves, which "appeared in front [of the Maydan], like the arches of the brows of the cruel beloved."¹⁰³

The most impressive feature of the Maydan coffeehouses, however, was not their physical shape but rather their nighttime appearance. The sources refer in particular to elaborate lighting structures hung from the ceilings inside the establishments. According to Kotov, "above the height of a man is stretched plaited iron wire like a net or a chessboard, and in every hole is placed a glass bowl and in these is poured rose water with oil and they light these glasses with oil."¹⁰⁴ The observation of the Russian merchant is repeated by Fryer: "at night here are abundance of lamps lighted, and let down in glasses from the concave part of the roof, by wires or ropes, hanging in a circle."¹⁰⁵ Since its first use by the Yemeni Sufi orders, coffee drinking had always been associated with nighttime activities and prolonged waking hours.¹⁰⁶ In that sense, the coffeehouses had a tremendous impact on the appearance and uses of the Maydan as a public space: illuminating the plaza, they extended the social life of the city's main public square beyond the working hours of daytime. Nocturnal activity was particularly intense during the month of Ramadan, when Kotov observed that "in the *kafs* and on the *maidan* they play and dance and have all sorts of games the whole night, with candles and tapers and lamps."¹⁰⁷ It is hard to conceive of any substance other than coffee that would be conducive to such a prolonged nighttime euphoria. At night, with other shops closed, the arcades of the northern side of the Maydan would have appeared as a row of bright arches, lit by a myriad of lamps burning in the coffeehouses.¹⁰⁸

To nighttime or daytime revelers of Isfahan, coffee and tobacco were just two of the pleasures available in the northern area of the Maydan. Indeed, it was probably no coincidence that directly behind the coffeehouses was the market of confectionaries (*bāzār-i qannādhā*), offering sweets (such as *nabāt* or *halvā*) that could be consumed with coffee (Safavid physicians deemed it

unhealthy to drink coffee on an empty stomach).¹⁰⁹ Moreover, according to Kaempfer, "sherbet houses" flanked the Qaysariyya portal (fig. 14).¹¹⁰ It was the concentration of these functions that turned the north side of the Maydan into the primary hub of social life in Safavid Isfahan. Here, the monumentality of the royal palace and mosques gave way to the messy reality of everyday life, day and night. Exotic substances such as coffee, tea, and tobacco imbued all mercantile and social activities with the distinctive tastes of the early modern world.

From the intense commercial and artisanal activity going on in the northern side of the Maydan one can conclude that perhaps more than the literati, the coffeehouses attracted craftsmen and merchants. (Several of the poets who frequented these establishments were in fact engaged in crafts as well.) If men of letters were the main clients of the coffeehouses by day, the establishments probably hosted a more diverse roster of patrons at night. The immediate urban context of these establishments also points to an ethnically diverse and cosmopolitan clientele. Visiting Isfahan's markets in its heyday, Olearius noted that "there is not any nation in all Asia, nor indeed of almost of Europe, who sends not its merchants to Isfahan," and mentioned traders from Khurasan, Bukhara, and China, as well as Turkish, Jewish, Armenian, Georgian, English, Dutch, French, Italian, and Spanish ones.¹¹¹ A Persian-language scroll on Isfahan's caravanserais (composed in the second half of the seventeenth century) conveys a similar sense of the staggering ethnic and confessional diversity of the merchants who traded in the nearby commercial spaces: Jews of Shiraz, Armenians of Aleppo, Hindu Indians, Sunni Arabs, and Ottomans (*Rūmīyān*), as well as Samarqandi merchants. To this list of Asian tradesmen, one could also add the agents of the Dutch and English East India Companies who were stationed in their respective compounds in the northeast of the Qaysariyya Market, just a short walk north of the coffeehouses.¹¹² Armenians in particular were very much integrated into the commercial fabric of Isfahan. At the time of Della Valle's visit, there were ten shops in the Qaysariyya run by the Armenians of Julfa, as well as a shop belonging to a Venetian.¹¹³ To be sure, all these merchants would have been able to spare a few coins to puff some to-

bacco or savor a few sips of coffee, engaging in pastimes that had become pervasive around the globe.¹¹⁴

A broader knowledge of the configuration of the coffeehouses and their relationship with the open space of the plaza allows for a new interpretation of the entire Maydan. The addition of a second ring of shops looking onto the plaza fundamentally transformed the relationship between the surrounding built mass and the open-air space of the plaza. “The initial project,” wrote Galdieri, “did not foresee a row of privileged shops open towards the square.”¹¹⁵ With this addition, rather than a unified monolithic space, the Maydan was now experienced as a continuous promenade, delineated by shops on one side and the water canal and a row of trees on the other. It was a space whose defining boundaries were formed, almost literally, by the flow of consumer goods and substances. The coffeehouses constituted an integral component of this emergent form of the public space. Indeed, they may have been the very motive for reshaping the space of the Maydan by adding a row of shops with a “street front.”

THE COFFEEHOUSES OF ISFAHAN

In addition to the Maydan and the Chaharbagh, Takhtgah (literally the “throne-place”) was another locale of Safavid Isfahan famed for its coffeehouses. Adjoining the shrine of Harun-i Vilayat (the city’s most popular site of pilgrimage), Takhtgah was located on the south side of the Maydan-i Harun-i Vilayat or Old Maydan (*maydān-i kuhna*), the pre-Safavid square of Isfahan (see fig. 1). One of the earliest references to Takhtgah can be found in a biographical dictionary dating from the early years of the reign of ‘Abbas, in which the author refers to “Takhtgah-i Harun-i Vilayat located at the end of the *maydān*,” and relates an anecdote about two poets “who were exploring the *maydān* atop Takhtgah.”¹¹⁶ In his biographical compendium, Maliha refers to a poet whom he met in “the coffeehouse of Takhtgah-i Sifahan”; with his back to the steel screen of Harun-i Vilayat’s tomb, he would sit on a porch (*suffa*) that lay opposite the ‘Ali Mosque (*masjid-i ‘Alī*). Maliha further remarks that in Isfahan there is no place finer than Takhtgah, where “one hundred coffeehouses are located side-by-

side.”¹¹⁷ Maliha’s description is echoed by Chardin, who referred to Takhtgah as one of “the famous places of the city,” with numerous *cabarets* of coffee and *kūknār* (a beverage made from the opium poppy). In Takhtgah, Chardin noted, one could always find large crowds of people gathering to drink, converse, or visit the shrine.¹¹⁸

Maliha’s reference to two still-extant spots—the porch overlooking the tomb chamber of Harun-i Vilayat and the portal of the ‘Ali Mosque—leaves little doubt that the elongated space delineated by the main façade of the mosque and the east façade of the shrine complex was known as Takhtgah in Safavid times and that it featured drinking houses in the seventeenth century, if not earlier.¹¹⁹ Indeed, the symmetrical configuration of the blind arched panels on the façades of the two structures suggests that they were laid out to form an articulated space, with the shrine porch and the mosque portal standing at the center (fig. 18). Old photographs, and a view drawn by the French painter Eugène Flandin in 1840, indicate that the arched panels featured doorways leading to now-altered covered spaces (fig. 19). Hovering above the complex was the still-extant 50-meter-high minaret of the ‘Ali Mosque, the tallest structure of old Isfahan. Despite massive transformations, one can still imagine Takhtgah, with its tile mosaic ornaments and lined with drinking houses.

Since the two structures defining the area were built during the reign of Shah Isma‘il (r. 1501–24), it is likely that the construction of Takhtgah dates from the same period and that wine or other drinks were served there before the introduction of coffee and tobacco.¹²⁰ Nevertheless, compared to the coffeehouses of “new Isfahan,” it appears that the establishments at Takhtgah were of a relatively different character. The sources refer to a widespread use of opium in this locale. In fact, as Chardin relates, the houses bordering the Old Maydan were known primarily as opium dens (*kūknārkhāna*) rather than coffeehouses.¹²¹ Located adjacent to the shrine of Isfahan’s “patron saint,” venerated by all the city’s sects and minorities (including the Jews and Christians), these establishments were probably frequented by a broader spectrum of the populace, especially the residents of the old city. Moreover, if the Old Maydan of Isfahan was indeed the model for the new plaza that Shah ‘Abbas constructed, then it is likely that Takhtgah

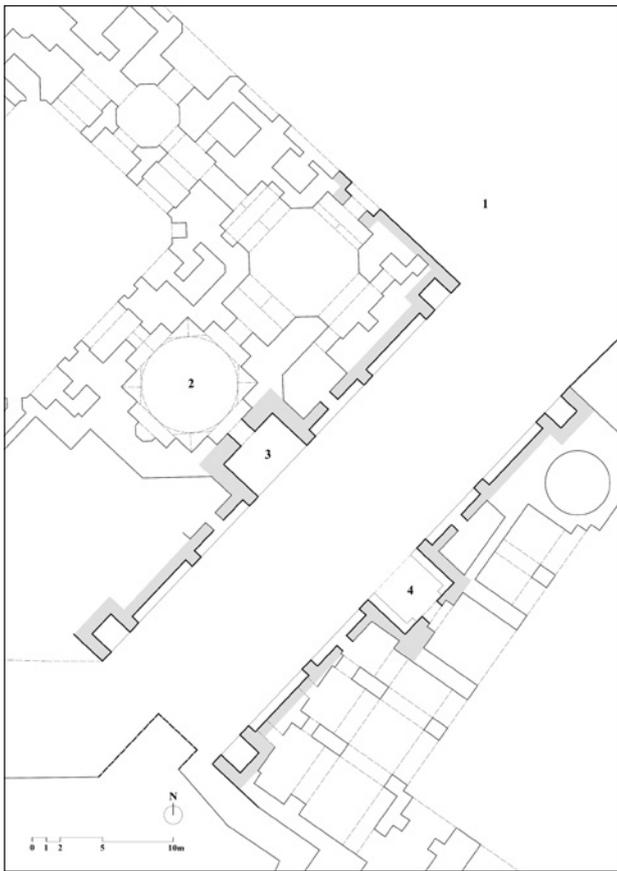


Fig. 18. Restored plan of Takhtgah: 1) Maydan-i Haruni Vilayat (Old Maydan); 2) tomb chamber of Harun Vilayat; 3) porch (*şuffa*) overlooking the tomb chamber; 4) entrance portal of the 'Ali Mosque. (Plan: Farshid Emami)

was the inspiration for building a row of coffeehouses on the Maydan-i Naqsh-i Jahan.

Except for Takhtgah, which lay at the heart of the old city, other coffeehouses of seventeenth-century Isfahan were located in new Safavid developments. Maliha refers to one near the gate of Chaharbagh-i Sa'adatabad, a tree-lined avenue (*khīyābān*) on the eastern border of the now-vanished Sa'adatabad Garden, laid out under Shah 'Abbas II (r. 1642–66) (see fig. 1). This coffeehouse might have been one of the two structures that flanked the southern gate of the avenue, as depicted in the plan drawn by Beaudouin in 1932.¹²² Similar coffeehouses were located in other suburban areas. In his compendium, Maliha refers at least three times to a coffeehouse



Fig. 19. Eugène Flandin, drawing showing an impressionistic view of Takhtgah, ca. 1840. (After Eugène Flandin, *Voyage en Perse de MM. Eugène Flandin et Pascal Coste, Perse moderne* [Paris, ca. 1850], pl. LXIII)

outside the Jubarah Gate, which was located north of the walled city.¹²³

Coffee was also available on the Hasanabad (now Khavaju) Bridge, which was completed in 1659 (fig. 20). Visiting Isfahan in the early eighteenth century, de Bruyn saw many Isfahanis who, in “an infinite number of both sexes,” flocked to the bridge in the evening, smoking and drinking coffee.¹²⁴ De Bruyn’s observation illustrates how social interactions on the bridge were enlivened by coffee and tobacco. Coffee was either prepared in one of the closed rooms on the lower level of the bridge, or perhaps sold by wandering vendors. Equally significant is de Bruyn’s reference to the presence of both sexes, which belies the notion of strict segregation by



Fig. 20. Hasanabad (Khvaju) Bridge. (Photo: Farshid Emami)

gender in later Safavid times, suggesting that as late as the early eighteenth century, and despite the measures taken under later Safavid monarchs, social pastimes such as drinking coffee, smoking tobacco, and strolling in public spaces were enjoyed by both male and female urbanites.¹²⁵

From the early seventeenth century onward, the coffeehouse also became an integral component of commercial and charitable complexes. Chardin alludes to a coffeehouse in the district of Hasanabad, which the secretary of the provinces (*munshī al-mamālik*) Mirza Razi had built, along with a bazaar, caravanserai, mosque, and bathhouse.¹²⁶ Similarly, in a complex developed by the vizier Saru Taqi, there appears to have been a coffeehouse alongside the market. Its form, which closely resembles those on the Maydan-i Naqsh-i Jahan, hints

at its original function.¹²⁷ According to an endowment deed dating from the early 1700s, there was a coffeehouse, along with a bakery and candle-making shop (*shammā'ī*), “behind the Chihil Sutun.” These were likely located along the public pathway running on the northern and western borders of the Chihil Sutun Garden and connecting the Maydan-i Naqsh-i Jahan to the Chaharbagh.¹²⁸ The coffee trade also left its mark on urban topography. Judging from the aforementioned British Library scroll, coffee was one of the major commodities imported to Isfahan’s markets. A 1924 map of Isfahan indicates that there was an entrance known as the Coffee Gate (*darvāza-yi qahva*) on the eastern border of the city. Moreover, a market branching off from the main bazaar was known as the coffee bazaar (*bāzār-i qahva*), which led to a coffee market (*tīmcha-yi qahva*),



Fig. 21. Views of the structure in the rear area of the Lunban Mosque in Isfahan, probably the coffeehouse built by the poet Nasrabadi in the 1670s. (Photos: Farshid Emami)

where this commodity was probably traded and stored.¹²⁹ Perhaps coffee beans were also roasted and ground here, to be distributed in Isfahan's coffeehouses. According to Kaempfer, one could see "all over Persia and in the bazaars and in the roads day laborers" engaged in the roasting and grinding of coffee beans.¹³⁰

Another famed coffeehouse of Isfahan, located in the vicinity of the Lunban Mosque, was built by the poet Nasrabadi, who in his autobiography tells us that it was after the passing of his dear friends that he decided to abandon the coffeehouse he used to frequent and seek seclusion in the Lunban Mosque.¹³¹ Located to the west of 'Abbasabad, the Lunban area was closer to the poet's ancestral home in the southwestern outskirts of Isfahan (fig. 1). Maliha, who met Nasrabadi in 1679, reports that the latter walked from his home to the coffeehouse everyday.¹³²

Nasrabadi's coffeehouse is probably the modest structure that is still standing in the rear area of the mosque (fig. 21). Although the building is undated, it is aligned with the seventeenth-century additions to the complex and its brick decoration is consistent with that

of the mosque, suggesting that the coffeehouse was built as part of the same building campaign. Inscribed in a tile panel on a portal of the mosque is a poem by Nasrabadi himself, indicating that the renovation of the mosque was completed in 1669; it was around the same year that the poet, according to his autobiography, decided to build a coffeehouse and seclude himself in the Lunban area.¹³³ A study of old plans and photographs shows that the coffeehouse originally faced a verdant rectangular courtyard on the southeastern side of the mosque. The building's tripartite layout is reminiscent of the coffeehouses on the Chaharbagh. Despite its dilapidated state, one can imagine the view of old plane trees framed in the arched iwan of the coffeehouse.

PROVINCIAL AND SUBURBAN COFFEEHOUSES

Not long after they became established in Isfahan, coffeehouses began to proliferate in provincial cities. Testifying to their spread, Chardin pronounced coffeehouses "the most beautiful places in the cities" of Safavid Iran.

In Tabriz, he saw several public houses for drinking coffee and smoking tobacco (cabarets á Cahvé et Tabac).¹³⁴ The author of a local history of Yazd completed in the third quarter of the seventeenth century mentions several coffeehouses in the city, and refers to tarrying in the coffeehouse as “the habit of the time” (*‘ādat-i ahl-i zamāna*).¹³⁵ Maliha, who travelled city by city from Samarqand to Isfahan around 1680, also visited several provincial coffeehouses. Indeed, so central were coffeehouses to his itinerary that McChesney suggests Maliha actually traveled “by way of the coffeehouses of those cities.”¹³⁶ As in Isfahan, it was in the coffeehouses that he would encounter the literati.¹³⁷

Little is known about the layout of the coffeehouses in provincial cities, but the sources suggest that, as in Isfahan, they were also situated in major urban spaces. In Kashan, the Agha Qiyasa Coffeehouse was located on the Maydan-i Sangin, the main public square of the city, originally developed in the mid-fifteenth century.¹³⁸ In Yazd, there were coffeehouses in the Maydan-i Khvaja and the Maydan-i Vaqt-i Sa‘at; even the cistern (*chāhkhāna*) of the famous Friday Mosque of the city had been turned into a coffeehouse.¹³⁹ A review of the plan of Yazd reveals the degree to which the addition of coffeehouses had transformed the meaning and function of the city’s main public spaces, such as the Friday Mosque’s courtyard and the *maydāns*. In Mashhad, there was one coffeehouse near the shrine of Imam Riza; according to Maliha, it was located “opposite the steel screen (*shabakah*) of the imam’s tomb.”¹⁴⁰ This coffeehouse was probably built on the urban spaces of Mashhad developed around the shrine under ‘Abbas I. As in the capital, these large-scale projects were not merely representations of imperial order but also conduits through which new social habits were disseminated across Safavid domains.¹⁴¹

By the mid-seventeenth century, the coffeehouse had become an integral component of caravanserais, too. According to Maliha, coffee was served in a caravanserai outside a gate of the city of Sabzavar in Khurasan.¹⁴² Traveling from the Gulf shore to Isfahan, Fryer stayed in a caravanserai near the city of Ashkdez, where he took up residence “in a convenient room, formerly designed for a Coffee-House, having a Tank of Water in the middle, with broad Seats around, either to Lie or Sit on.”¹⁴³

A similar sense can be gleaned from Kaempfer’s travel journal, which refers to at least four coffeehouses along the route from Isfahan to Bandar Abbas on the shore of the Persian Gulf.¹⁴⁴

A Safavid coffeehouse is preserved in the Mahyar Caravanserai, located some fifty kilometers south of Isfahan (fig. 22). According to Fryer, coffee was served here in the Safavid period.¹⁴⁵ With a double string of shops and a five-sided recess at the entrance, the design of the Mahyar Caravanserai is unusual, though it closely resembles the northern side of the Maydan-i Naqsh-i Jahan (fig. 23). Here, merchants and travelers heading north towards Isfahan were presented with an overture of the tastes and sights of the capital. Situated at the end of a row of shops, the caravanserai’s café is accessible both from the covered lane in the rear and directly from outside. The coffeehouse has a tripartite layout, with a central hall flanked by two alcoves. Also noteworthy is the pairing of the coffeehouse with a bakery; together they would have provided an apt mix of light meals and drinks to refresh weary travelers.¹⁴⁶ As the example of the Mahyar Caravanserai shows, the coffeehouse perhaps played an integral role in shaping a new conception of caravanserais, too; no longer a castle-like impregnable structure, the roadside inn had also become more integrated into the surrounding landscape.

THE MILLIEU OF ISFAHAN’S COFFEEHOUSES: VISUAL AND LITERARY REPRESENTATIONS

While the proliferation of coffeehouses in provincial cities and commercial complexes testifies to the rapid dissemination of coffee in Safavid Iran, nowhere was the institution as intertwined with Safavid society and culture as in the cosmopolitan capital. The coffeehouses of Isfahan provided venues for rendezvous and hosted literary gatherings—which at times involved heated debates.¹⁴⁷ Several poets and artists spent their entire days in coffeehouses, and some practiced their crafts there too: Mulla Ghururi, who earned a living through drawing marginal rulings in manuscripts (*jadval-kashī*), for instance, “resided in the coffeehouse” (*dar qahvakhāna sākin būd*).¹⁴⁸ Coffeehouses were not only the main sites of literary circles in Safavid realms but also acted as hubs

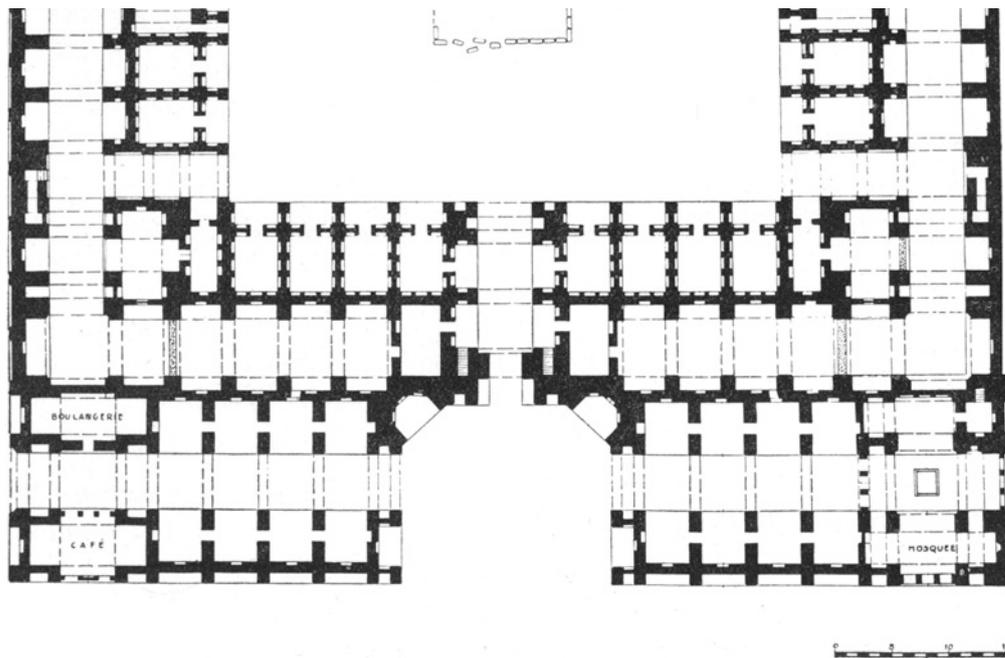


Fig. 22. Plan of the Mahyar Caravanserai, with the coffeehouse in the southwest corner. (After Maxime Siroux, *Caravansérails d'Iran et petites constructions routières* [Cairo, 1949], 59)



Fig. 23. View of the main façade of the Mahyar Caravanserai in 1937. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Archives, Smithsonian Institution. (Photo: Myron Bement Smith)

in a broader network of cultural exchange in the Persianate world. To meet with the city's preeminent men of letters, a learned Samarqandi visitor such as Maliha did not require an invitation to a courtly assembly or a literary salon (*majlis*) at a private mansion—he need only step into a coffeehouse.¹⁴⁹ In a similar vein, it was in Isfahan's coffeehouses that artworks began to be sold on an open market to a broader range of clients: to purchase a single-page painting of Sadiqi Beg, an Indian merchant would only have to look for the artist himself in the coffeehouse.¹⁵⁰ The coffeehouse was thus central to the formation of interconnected regional and trans-regional publics and audiences, whose patronage and engagement had a lasting impact on the formats and contents of both literary and artistic creations. The integration of coffeehouses into orderly urban spaces, in Isfahan and elsewhere, would no doubt have accentuated their public function.

The habit of drinking coffee altered the rhythms of everyday life in and around the urban spaces of Isfahan. In his aforementioned treatise, Qazi b. Kashif al-Din recommended a few cups in the morning, and two to three cups after a meal.¹⁵¹ The popularization of coffee drinking likely increased the consumption of certain other substances, too. To achieve humoral balance according to the prevalent Galenic precepts, coffee was often consumed with a wide range of spices, including cloves (*qarranful*), nutmeg (*jauz*), and ginger (*zanjabīl*).¹⁵² Eating habits and the order of meals were also affected by coffee: by the end of the seventeenth century a new type of meal that was taken in the morning had become known as *taht al-qahva* (literally, “before coffee”).¹⁵³ Many merchants and artisans working in the markets of Isfahan probably started their days in coffeehouses, with coffee and something sweet, in a manner that was becoming more and more cosmopolitan.

In coffeehouses patrons were entertained by storytellers (sing. *qişşakhvān*). Performed around the clock in covered illuminated structures, storytelling was now unaffected by cycles of day and night or the vicissitudes of the climate, as it had been in medieval times.¹⁵⁴ In addition to Firdawsi's *Shāhnāma* (Book of Kings), which had its own professional narrators (sing. *Shāhnāma-khvān*), there were popular romances such as the *Hamzanāma* (Story of Hamza) and the *Abū-Muslimnāma*

(Story of Abu-Muslim), as well as a growing number of newly forged narratives, which cast the deeds of the early Safavid kings as quasi-mythical heroic adventures. Yet storytelling was not merely a static oral recitation but was also accompanied by music and theatrical enactments. Nasrabadi tells us about a certain Sabuhi, who was not only good at reciting the story of Hamza and the *Shāhnāma* but was also unparalleled in adorning the scene (*majlis-ārāʿī*) and a master in music.¹⁵⁵ Likewise, Mulla Mu'min, who recited the *Shāhnāma* in coffeehouses, was known for his peculiar demeanor and appearance: “he would wear a gown with printed designs (*qabā-yi bāsma*), which he embroidered in various colors, while placing the scroll [that he used for reciting] in his headgear.”¹⁵⁶ In all likelihood, storytellers who used illustrated figural screens (sing. *şūratkhvān*) were also active in coffeehouses.¹⁵⁷ The centrally planned architecture of the coffeehouses, with their surrounding raised platforms, provided an apt setting for such performances. The coffeehouses of the Maydan-i Naqsh-i Jahan, in particular, would have allowed multiple storytellers to perform simultaneously.

Gradually, coffee and the coffeehouse permeated the capital's literary parlance, and verses with coffee-related imagery began to appear. The new poetic imagery was largely derived from wine culture. The cultural trope of praising the young male *sāqī* (cup-bearer) was carried on into the coffeehouse, as indicated by the multiplicity of references to the fetching servers of Isfahan's coffeehouses. Shams, who ran the drinking house on the Chaharbagh, hired good-looking youths as servers, and also composed new songs for each of them.¹⁵⁸ Nasrabadi relates several anecdotes about poets infatuated with the youthful servers of Isfahan's coffeehouses. In the homoerotic milieu of the coffeehouse, the *sāqī*—the conventional beloved of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish poetry—had found a new counterpart in the *qahvachī* (coffee server).¹⁵⁹

From the early seventeenth century onwards, a similar dynamism between wine and coffee imagery emerges in Safavid visual culture. One of the earliest examples—and indeed one of the first visual representations of coffee in Iran—is a 1630 work by the famed painter Riza 'Abbasi (d. ca. 1635). Typical of Riza's later style, it depicts a youth kneeling on a golden landscaped



Fig. 24. Riza 'Abbasi, "Kneeling youth offering coffee." Tehran, Gulistan Palace Library, Ms. 1668 (Muraqqa'-i Gulistan or Gulshan), fol. 37. (Photo: courtesy of the Gulistan Palace Library)

background, offering a tray with three Chinese-style blue-and-white cups filled with coffee (fig. 24).¹⁶⁰ While the overall posture and facial features of the subject follow conventional renditions of youthful cup-bearers, certain unprecedented features set this painting apart: unlike wine, coffee is served on a tray (*sīnī*), and the traditional long-necked crystal flask (*ṣurāhī*), often depicted half-filled with red wine, is here replaced with a drab metal coffee pot (*qahva-jūsh* or *qarā-āftāba*).¹⁶¹ Yet perhaps the most distinctive feature of the painting lies in the rendition of the figure's hand gesture: in contrast to shallow wine cups (*pīyāla* or *qadah*), which are customarily held from below with the forefinger and thumb poised in a delicate fashion, here the porcelain coffee cup (*finjān*) is gripped from above, with all the fingers placed around the rim, a gesture clearly suggesting that the beverage was hot, as do the undulating lines of steam rising from the cups. (Indeed, sources confirm that coffee was consumed very hot.) As Sheila Canby notes, the stance of the figure, the direction of his gaze, and even the swirls of steam rising from the cups, are all suggestive of a space extending beyond the picture plane. Exuding an instantaneous aura, the painting captures the moment the server has knelt, poured coffee, and placed the pot back down, before offering a cup to a client seated on the ground, as the direction of his gaze suggests. For the person being served, the aroma of coffee mingled with the scent of the narcissus tucked in the back of the server's sash, a sensory experience further augmented by the sight of the server's shining garment. (Note also the yellow wad underneath the server's knees, which was probably laid on the ground to preserve his delicate garment.) Rather than the wine flask and shallow cup, here the coffee pot and porcelain cups point to the role of the represented figure.

Although the extent to which such portraits were drawn from life is contested, in this particular painting a sort of naturalism is definitely at work. Even if the stylized rendition of the youth's face—as manifest in his bowed brows and fair complexion, as well as the tresses on his temples (*zulf*)—points to established tropes of beauty, the hand gestures, coffee cups, tray, and metal pot capture the new realities of everyday life for the elites of Isfahan, reflecting a yearning for desire and beauty in an evolving mundane context. The painting

represents an attempt at incorporating new objects—and the bodily gestures associated with them—in a repertoire of familiar forms. Whether based on a live model or an impression, it is more likely that an urban coffeehouse of Safavid Isfahan, rather than a courtly or private assembly, was the source of inspiration for Riza's painting.¹⁶² Moreover, the idealized facial features of the servant do not necessarily mean that contemporary beholders regarded the picture as a generic depiction; like one of the much admired coffee-servers praised in poetry of the time, the image may have been seen as a likeness of an individual server.¹⁶³

In addition to these cultural tropes, the painting reflects another novel aspect of Safavid coffee culture: the utensils used for drinking coffee. Beginning in the seventeenth century, a relatively new shape of vessel—porcelain coffee cups—began to be imported and manufactured in far greater quantities, which is indicative of the rapid development of coffee drinking as a social habit.¹⁶⁴ For instance, the records of the Dutch East India Company indicate that in 1634 100,000 coffee cups were shipped to Bandar Abbas (Gomboron), the chief entrepôt of Safavid Iran on the Persian Gulf.¹⁶⁵ The elements forming the moment rendered in Riza's painting thus point to a broader web of maritime trade that emerged in the early modern period. Perhaps it was not just coffee that reached the Safavid capital from afar through a ship sailing from Mocha to Bandar Abbas; the porcelain coffee cups depicted in the painting may also have arrived in Isfahan from China by way of a Dutch vessel.

Riza's painting is thus emblematic of the unprecedented ways in which seventeenth-century Safavid visual culture engaged with aspects of urban life. In both words and images, what was largely a metaphoric topos in medieval Persianate culture was now expressed with a more pronounced degree of realism.¹⁶⁶ The emerging practice had multiple roots, to be sure, but one could argue that it was the very space of the coffeehouse that fostered an audience for such single-figure paintings, while encouraging a higher degree of social realism by contributing to the rapid expansion of material life. The youth in Riza's painting might have been seen as a depiction of a real server in one of Isfahan's coffeehouses—perhaps on one of the Chaharbagh outdoor

platforms—whose new spatial conception paralleled the transformations occurring in Safavid visual and literary culture.

THE COFFEEHOUSE AND THE PUBLIC SPHERE: EXPANSION, APPROPRIATION, AND DEMISE

European reports hint at a subversive political atmosphere in Isfahan's coffeehouses. In these establishments, wrote Chardin, "people engage in conversation, for it is there that news is communicated and where those interested in politics criticize the government in all freedom and without being fearful."¹⁶⁷ A similar narrative is found in Fryer's description: "Hither repair all those that are covetous of News, as well as Barterers of Goods; where not only Fame and common Rumour is promulged, but Poetry too, for some of that Tribe are always present to rehearse [*sic*] their Poems, and disperse their Fables to the Company."¹⁶⁸ Even more telling is a passage in Tavernier's travelogue, which is indicative of the great opportunity for free political discussion spawned by the coffeehouse, as well as the attempts of the state to control the public sphere:

All the *Persians* that have any spare time, fail not every day to resort to those places between seven and eight in the Morning, where the Owner of the Room presently brings them every one their Pipe and their Dish of Coffee. But the Great *Shah 'Abbas*, who was a man of a great understanding, finding those places were only so many Meeting-houses, where men assembled to talk and prattle of State-affairs, a thing which no way pleased him; to break the neck of those petty cabals, he ordered that a *Moullah* should be sure to be betimes at every place before the rest of the People came thither, and that he should entertain those Tobacco-whiffers, and Coffee-quaffers, sometimes with a point of the Law, sometimes with History, sometimes with Poetry. This custom is still observed: so that after this entertainment has lasted two or three hours, the *Moullah* rising up, crys to everyone in the Coffee-Room, *Come my Masters, in good time, let's all now retire every man to his business.* Straight every one retires upon the *Moullah's* words, who is liberally entertained all the while by the society.¹⁶⁹

Tavernier's evocative description of those "talk[ing] and prattl[ing] of State-affairs" as well as "petty cabals"

signals a vibrant subversive milieu, achieved through conversation. Equally remarkable were the measures taken by Shah 'Abbas, indicating that such activities were seen as a serious threat to the authority of the monarch. Shah 'Abbas's frequent visits to coffeehouses were also noted by Kotov, who wrote that "the shah himself rides out to disport himself almost everyday and goes to the *kafs*."¹⁷⁰

Obviously, the unplanned presence of the patriarch in the coffeehouse was not simply for the purpose of entertainment: it was also an instrument of control and surveillance. The imbrication of the realms of the ruling authority and the public sphere appears to have been a distinctive feature of the institution in early seventeenth-century Safavid society. During the reign of 'Abbas I, coffeehouses were instrumental in representing the shah as a highly visible ruler; they constituted one of the main, and perhaps the most significant, spaces of the city in which the monarch appeared, and interacted with, the public. As stages for representation of power, then, the coffeehouses of Isfahan played an important role in the promulgation of an image of the omnipresent Safavid king, who relied on visibility to legitimate his power.¹⁷¹ In Habermasian terminology, the coffeehouse not only was an institution of the public sphere, but also acted as a stage for "representative publicness."¹⁷²

In reality, however, this was not a consistent practice. Over the last two decades of his reign, Shah 'Abbas spent limited time in Isfahan. Nor was the omniscience of the Safavid ruler perpetuated by 'Abbas's successors, who became more aloof and removed from the urban landscape, confining court ceremonies to the spaces of the palace.¹⁷³ While royal patronage was initially significant in the formation of coffeehouses, the publics of late Safavid times altered and appropriated these spaces. As the royal presence waned, the new publics and social associations formed in Isfahan's coffeehouses, urban spaces, and public institutions were further invigorated.

Throughout the middle decades of the seventeenth century, efforts to control coffeehouses and the social atmosphere they encouraged were waged under the banner of religion rather than politics. The first recorded campaign against the "immoral deeds" common in cof-

feehouses was instigated in 1645 by Khalifa Sultan, the devout vizier of Shah ‘Abbas II.¹⁷⁴ Distancing itself from the folk Sufi ethos, a clerical Shari‘a-based version of Shi‘ism had come to dominate the Safavid state. Wandering dervishes and storytellers, who were instruments of propaganda in the formative period of the Safavid polity, were now seen as threats to the centralized bureaucratic state in the urbanized metropolitan context of Isfahan. By the mid-seventeenth century, the coffeehouse had turned into the most contested space of the capital, and was at the center of a heated dispute among clerics, the literati, and dervishes.

It has been suggested that following these actions against coffeehouses a fundamental transformation occurred in the prevalent social milieu of the institution, which began to accommodate less sensitive activities, such as games and light conversations. For Nasrabadi, settling in the coffeehouse was synonymous with distancing himself from forbidden practices and entering an erudite circle of poets. A similar sense is conveyed in the aforementioned poem by Mir Nijat, which describes the coffeehouses of the Maydan-i Naqsh-i Jahan as a gathering place of the spiritual and learned, likening its platforms to “the kingdom of Greece.”¹⁷⁵ The addition of coffeehouses to the Lunban Mosque in Isfahan and to the Friday Mosque in Yazd is also suggestive of an expansion in the social purview of the establishment, which is likewise confirmed by Kaempfer’s observation that coffeehouses were included in madrasas.¹⁷⁶ This integration of the coffeehouse into madrasas and mosques can be read as the co-opting of a predominantly secular institution by the expanding religious public sphere of the late Safavid era. Obviously, the coffeehouse could coexist with normative religious institutions in a manner that would have been inconceivable for other establishments. If in the early years of its introduction, the coffeehouse had something of the antinomian ethos of the medieval wine tavern, it was now more aligned with the pursuit of piety and erudition. Nevertheless, this was by no means a pervasive transformation: even in this later period the coffeehouse was much vilified for the “improper behaviors” that it fostered. A late Safavid source, for instance, compared coffeehouses to “schools of Satan” (*madāris-i shayṭān*).¹⁷⁷



Fig. 25. Detail of the façade of the Chaharbagh Madrasa, showing one of the two epigraphic tile panels on the elevation of the coffeehouse. (Photo: Farshid Emami)

Such castigations were coupled with royal action after the accession of Shah Sultan Husayn, who, upon assuming the throne in 1694, embarked on an extensive campaign against violations of the Shari‘a: wine, wherever it was found in Isfahan, was poured out on the ground in the Maydan-i Naqsh-i Jahan, and the vessels used to drink it were smashed; gambling was banned and brothels were dismantled.¹⁷⁸ Indeed, the enormous royal madrasa built by Sultan Husayn must have been deliberately placed on the site of the drinking houses in the very heart of the Chaharbagh. When the coffeehouse reopened after the construction of the madrasa, it projected a very different message: physically incorporated into a religious establishment and decorated with verses from the Koran, the coffeehouse was now a beacon of piety rather than a bastion of hedonism, or so it seemed (fig. 25).

Despite these developments, it appears that until the early eighteenth century, coffeehouses continued to function as vigorously as they had in the earlier period. It was rather the fall of the Safavids in 1722 that ushered

in a rapid decline in coffee culture. Traveling in the late eighteenth century, the Frenchman Guillaume-Antoine Olivier was struck by the unattractive appearance of coffeehouses, a condition at odds with what he had read in the narratives of Chardin and Tavernier. Unlike in Turkey, coffeehouses were not popular in Iran, and indeed coffee was rarely served in them.¹⁷⁹ By the end of the nineteenth century, Safavid coffeehouses had utterly receded from the minds of Isfahan's inhabitants. Nothing is more telling in this regard than the statement of Mirza Husayn Khan, a local official who compiled a geographical study of Isfahan in 1893. Referring to the newly established coffeehouses of the city, he noted that earlier "the coffeehouse in the middle of the old Chaharbagh" was the only one functioning in Isfahan. "A few coffeehouses have been built in recent years," he further adds, but people avoid them, "yet soon they will get used to it."¹⁸⁰ The coffeehouse had returned to the city again, serving tea this time, and seen, yet again, as a novel phenomenon with a potential for political subversion.¹⁸¹

Coffee was not produced in Safavid lands. While it was initially disseminated by way of overland connections to Ottoman territories, by the mid-seventeenth century it was mainly traded through sea routes dominated by European companies. By the turn of the eighteenth century, the coffee imported to Safavid territories came not just from Yemen but also from the Dutch colonies in Java.¹⁸² The prosperity of Isfahan in the seventeenth century stemmed from a global equilibrium between overland and maritime trade networks. Coffee and tobacco were exotic commodities consumed by a privileged group of urbanites who enjoyed a culture of consumption made possible by a prosperous urban economy that relied on long-distance commerce as a major source of wealth. In the nineteenth century—when the elite quarters of Isfahan were all in ruins, when the drinking house of the Chaharbagh was the only one functioning in the city and the coffeehouses on the Maydan had been taken over by the market—it was hard to imagine the once vibrant coffeehouses that had existed in the Safavid era. When commodities ceased to flow, so too did the beat of life in Isfahan's foremost public institution.

CONCLUSION

By bringing the architectural layout and urban configuration of Safavid coffeehouses into sharper focus, this study examined the role of the coffeehouse in fashioning new forms and conceptions of the built environment in Safavid Iran. Seen in this light, the grand *maydāns* and *khīyābāns* of early modern Iran were not merely expressions of power or venues of royal leisure but also public spaces containing and shaping a wide range of novel social practices. The coffeehouses on the Maydan-i Naqsh-i Jahan altered the perceptual character and social meaning of the city's main urban plaza. As venues for poetic circles, meetings of merchants, and political discussions—hosting daytime and nocturnal assemblies animated by new stimulants—coffeehouses were indeed central to the transformation of the Maydan into a constituent part of the public domain. In a similar vein, the drinking houses of the Chaharbagh played a key role in transforming the *khīyābān* from a suburban tree-lined road into a public space. The overall shape of the major coffeehouses of Isfahan was in turn informed by their urban positioning. Consider the coffeehouses of the Maydan, the Chaharbagh, or even Takhtgah: they were all constructed in rows or pairs along urban spaces.

The concentration of coffeehouses in the newly developed areas of Safavid Isfahan reflects the dichotomous social structure of the city in the seventeenth century. In contrast to the cities of the eastern Mediterranean, which featured a multitude of coffeehouses operating at different urban scales, the coffeehouses of Isfahan were mostly located in the quarters inhabited by the elite. In Isfahan, coffee clearly had a polarizing effect. Indeed, the sources give little indication that coffee was consumed beyond the urban coffeehouses of the new Safavid developments, a far cry from Istanbul in the same period, which reportedly contained more than six hundred coffeehouses.¹⁸³ The urban topography of Isfahan's coffeehouses therefore supports Matthee's conclusion that, in Safavid times, coffee was primarily a luxury commodity "enjoyed by the upper and middle strata of late Safavid urban society."¹⁸⁴ This dichotomy was manifested in the dual urban form of Isfahan, in the contrast between the opium dens lining the Old Maydan and the coffeehouses of the Maydan-i Naqsh-i

Jahan. Compared with its medieval counterparts, the coffeehouse was definitely a more inclusive social institution. Yet rather than obliterating class differences, the presence of a broader spectrum of society in the space of the coffeehouse gave rise to new performative expressions of social distinctions. The coffeehouses gave shape to the elites of Isfahan and, by framing their bodies and cosmopolitan social habits in public spaces, spawned new patterns of social behavior and urban leisure.

In terms of architectural layout, coffeehouses drew on a variety of older prototypes—garden pavilions, bathhouses, and probably wine taverns. Yet despite this typological diversity, it appears that a centrally planned space with surrounding raised platforms was the most common scheme. Resembling theaters to European visitors, this layout was not only more suitable for watching performances and listening to storytellers but also provided an intimate space for socializing. The social practices that were scattered in the spaces of the medieval city had now found a permanent space, which heightened their intensity and influence.

Indeed, this performative aspect, shaped by architecture, was central to the politically and culturally subversive roles that the coffeehouse came to play. It was in these spaces of performance that the state and different societal groups confronted each other: the mullah installed by Shah 'Abbas in Isfahan's coffeehouses was an instrument of state propaganda, intended to maintain a degree of social order and curb the social leverage of wandering dervishes. It was not merely an action against unaccepted religious practices instigated by the fledgling Shi'i orthodoxy of later Safavid times but also a measure against social mobilization and anti-state agitation. The theatrical physical character of the coffeehouse was thus central to its dual function as the locus of both political propaganda and social dissent. The coffeehouse was not simply a setting for the enactment of state power but also a venue for performing against its authority.

The earliest Safavid coffeehouses were state-sponsored public institutions, erected as integral components of the extensive building programs of the age of Shah 'Abbas I. In that sense, their construction shares an affinity with an established practice in medieval Muslim cultures, whereby princes would build hospices, soup kitchens, or similar charitable institutions, not

merely as a gesture of piety but also to create spaces that would mediate between the ruling elite and subjects. When the chronicler Junabadi wrote that taverns and coffeehouses were prepared for "wine-drinking companions and poor opium-consuming people," he cast the creation of coffeehouses in a similar fashion: as a benevolent royal action for needy subjects. But as this study has attempted to show, there was much more to Safavid coffeehouses than serving the indigent. Indeed, rather than solidifying the social fabric, the coffeehouse was a source of tension. The distinctive nature of the coffeehouse as an urban institution affected the medieval social dynamic in various ways. The spatial structure of Safavid Isfahan encapsulated this altered social configuration.

All in all, Safavid coffeehouses should be explained as a transformative social phenomenon that emerged in the context of heightened interactions in the early modern world. As a novel public institution, the coffeehouse not only shaped and contained new forms of sociability but also affected established social practices and the urban spaces in which they were taking place. Embedded in a cosmopolitan metropolis, the coffeehouses of Safavid Isfahan contributed to the expansion of the public domain and engendered new conceptions of urbanity, civic space, and public architecture. Seen in this light, the impact of coffee—and the physical setting and social practices associated with it—on seventeenth-century Safavid urban society is fairly comparable to other contexts in the early modern world: the coffeehouse was a social institution flourishing in a realm of commodity exchange—the primary locus of an emerging public sphere.

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NOTES

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rial inputs and suggestions. Finally, I am grateful to my friends Hessam Khorasani Zadeh and Mira Schwerda, who assisted me with translations from Italian and German, respectively.

1. Accounts of the royal reception can be found in the travel narratives of the Spanish ambassador Don García de Silva y Figueroa (d. 1624) and the Roman aristocrat and traveler Pietro della Valle (d. 1652). For Della Valle's narrative in original Italian, see Pietro della Valle, *Viaggi di Pietro della Valle, il Pellegrino*, ed. G. Gancia, 2 vols. (Brighton, Eng., 1843), 2:22–28. For an account of the reception based on Della Valle's diaries, see Mahvash Alemi, "I 'teatri' di Shah 'Abbas nella Persia del XVII secolo dai disegni inediti del diario di Pietro della Valle," in *Il mondo islamico: Immagini e ricerche* (Milan, 1988), 19–25. For Silva y Figueroa's narrative in the original Spanish, see García de Silva y Figueroa, *Comentarios de la embaxada al rey Xa Abbas de Persia (1614–1624)*, ed. Rui Manuel Loureiro, Ana Cristina Costa Gomes, and Vasco Resende, 4 vols. (Lisbon, 2011), 2:535–36. Also see García de Silva y Figueroa, *L'ambassade en Perse* (Paris, 1667), 307. A study of the royal audience based on these sources was first provided in Naşr Allāh Falsafi, *Zindagānī-yi Shāh 'Abbās-i avval*, 5 vols. in 3 tomes (Tehran, 1364 [1985]), 2:703–8.
2. Thomas Herbert, *Travels in Persia, 1627–1629*, ed. William Foster (New York, 1929), 45, 261. Herbert accompanied the English ambassador Sir Dodmore Cotton.
3. For the most comprehensive available study of the early history and social aspects of coffee and coffeehouses, see Ralph S. Hattox, *Coffee and Coffeehouses: The Origins of a Social Beverage in the Medieval Near East* (Seattle, 1988). See p. 74 for the use of coffee in Sufi rituals. Also see C. Van Arendonk and K. N. Chaudhuri, *Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition* (henceforth *EI2*) (Leiden, 1954–2002), s.v. "Kahwa"; Michel Tuchscherer, ed., *Le commerce du café avant l'ère des plantations coloniales: Espaces, réseaux, sociétés (XVe–XIXe siècle)* (Cairo, 2001); Sami Zubaida and Richard Tapper, ed., *Culinary Cultures of the Middle East* (London, 1994). For a comparative study of the spread and reception of coffee and other stimulants in the early modern period, see Rudi Matthee, "Exotic Substances: The Introduction and Global Spread of Tobacco, Coffee, Cocoa, Tea, and Distilled Liquor, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries," in *Drugs and Narcotics in History*, ed. Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich (Cambridge, 1995), 24–51.
4. Della Valle, *Viaggi*, 1:75.
5. Relating an anecdote that coffee was invented and brewed by Gabriel "to restore Mahomet's decayed moisture," Herbert concluded that coffee is certainly "more ancient than Mahomet." See Herbert, *Travels in Persia*, 261.
6. For an example of such views, see Bernard Lewis, *The Middle East: A Brief History of the Last 2,000 Years* (New York, 1995), which begins with a cliché-ridden description of a typical "Middle Eastern café."
7. Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge, Mass., 1989). For a study of Ottoman coffeehouses using the Habermasian model, see Selma Akyazıcı Özkoçak, "Coffeehouses: Rethinking the Public and Private in Early Modern Istanbul," *Journal of Urban History* 33, no. 6 (September 2007): 965–86. For an alternative interpretation, see Alan Mikhail, "The Heart's Desire: Gender, Urban Space, and the Ottoman Coffee House," in *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee: Leisure and Lifestyle in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Dana Sajdi (London, 2007), 133–70. Focusing on neighborhood coffeehouses, Mikhail questions the notion of a strict dichotomy between public and private in Habermas's framework. Drawing on Foucault's concept of *heterotopias*, he posits Ottoman coffeehouses as spaces of multiple functions.
8. Habermas's model has been criticized for its teleological premises, its elite-centered and exclusive notions, and its idealization of rationalist discourse as the primary function of a public sphere. For more recent reflections and criticisms, see Nick Crossley and John Michael Roberts, eds., *After Habermas: New Perspectives on the Public Sphere* (Oxford, 2004); Craig Calhoun, ed., *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992).
9. See, for instance, Miriam Hoexter, Shmuel N. Eisenstadt, and Nehemia Levtzion, eds., *The Public Sphere in Muslim Societies* (Albany, 2002). Following the lead of Marshall Hodgson, the authors of this volume argue that institutions such as the waqf and madrasa, as well as Sufi orders, constituted a religious public sphere in pre-modern Islamic societies. Also see Babak Rahimi, *Theater State and the Formation of Early Modern Public Sphere in Iran: Studies on Safavid Muharram Rituals, 1590–1641 CE* (Leiden, 2012), which analyzes the formation of a public sphere in Safavid Iran, with a focus on the Muharram ritual.
10. This point is expounded in Shmuel N. Eisenstadt, "Concluding Remarks: Public Sphere, Civil Society, and Political Dynamics in Islamic Societies," in Hoexter, Eisenstadt, and Levtzion, *Public Sphere in Muslim Societies*, 139–161.
11. On the socio-political reforms and transformations of the Safavid household under 'Abbas I, see Sussan Babaie et al., *Slaves of the Shah: New Elites of Safavid Iran* (London, 2004).
12. For a comparative analysis of Safavid Isfahan as a reflection of the informal rule of 'Abbas I, see Gürlü Necipoğlu, "Framing the Gaze in Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal Palaces," *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993): 303–42.
13. Sussan Babaie, *Isfahan and Its Palaces: Statecraft, Shi'ism and the Architecture of Conviviality in Early Modern Iran* (Edinburgh, 2008), 7.
14. For the most comprehensive study of coffee and other substances in Safavid Iran, see Rudi Matthee, *The Pursuit of Pleasure: Drugs and Stimulants in Iranian History, 1500–1900* (Princeton, N.J., 2005) (henceforth cited as Matthee, *Pursuit*). Also see Aladin Goushegir, "Le café et les cafés en Iran, des Safavides à l'époque actuelle," in *Cafés d'Orient revisités*, ed. Hélène Desmet-Grégoire and François Georjeon (Paris, 1997), 141–76. The present study is indebted to the thorough examination of primary sources and inter-

- pretations offered by Matthee and Goushegir. In addition to engaging with neglected visual and physical evidence, I have revisited primary textual sources, many of which are now available in print. A greater knowledge of the architecture and urban topography of Isfahan's coffeehouses allows us to make better sense of otherwise generic or vague textual descriptions. For other studies of coffee and coffeehouses in Iran, see 'Alī Āl-e Dāwūd, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, ed. Ehsan Yarshater (London, 1982–), s.v.v. "Coffee" and "Coffeehouses"; Willem Floor, *The Economy of Safavid Persia* (Wiesbaden, 2000), 140–43; Naṣr Allāh Falsafi, "Tārīkh-i qahva va qahvakhāna," in *Chand maqāla-yi tārikhī va adabī* (Tehran, 1342 [1963]), 271–83. Safavid coffeehouses are also discussed in Kathryn Babayan, *Mystics, Monarchs and Messiahs: Cultural Landscapes of Early Modern Iran* (Cambridge, Mass., 2002), 439–73. For a general study of Iranian coffeehouses, see Ali Bulookbashi, *Qahvakhānahā-yi Irān* (Tehran, 1375 [1996]).
15. See Matthee, *Pursuit*, 145–59.
 16. 'Imād al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Mas'ūd Shīrāzī, *Risāla-yi afyūniyya*, ed. Rasūl Chūpānī, Umīd Šādiqpur, and Vajīha Panāhī (Tehran, 1388 [2009]), 165–69. At the end of his treatise, 'Imad al-Din Shirazi (b. ca. 1515) relates that he used coffee as a cure for his addiction to opium, which suggests that coffee was available to him at the time. Yet since the treatise is undated and the date of the author's death is not known, we do not have a precise date for this early reference to coffee. 'Imad al-Din Shirazi was the chief physician at the court of Shah Tahmasb (r. 1525–76), during the latter part of his reign. As one of his last works, the treatise on opium probably dates from the 1560s or 1570s. For a biography, see Cyril Elgood, *Safavid Medical Practice, or, The Practice of Medicine, Surgery and Gynaecology in Persia between 1500 A.D. and 1750 A.D.* (London, 1970), 21–25. In an earlier version (Aladin Goushegir, "Le café en Iran des Safavide et des Qājār [sic] à l'époque actuelle," in *Contributions au thème du et des cafés dans les sociétés du Proche-Orient*, ed. Hélène Desmet-Grégoire [Aix-en-Provence, 1991], 53–100, at 55) of his 1997 article, Goushegir proposed the date 1537 for this early reference to coffee, and Āl-e Dāwūd (in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, s.v. "Coffee") later repeated Goushegir's suggestion; this date, however, is merely conjectural and untenable.
 17. Sālik al-Dīn Muḥammad Ḥamavī Yazdī, [*Risāla fi qahva va chāy va fādzhahr va bikh-i chīnī*]: Leipzig Universitätsbibliothek, B. or. 205-06: fols. 68b–77b, at 69a–b. Available online at http://www.islamic-manuscripts.net/receive/IslamHSBook_islamhs_00014268 (last accessed February 2016).
 18. *Ibid.*, fol. 70a.
 19. *Ibid.*
 20. Sādiqī Bēg Afshār, "Ḥazzīyyāt," ed. Īraj Afshār, *Āyna-yi Mīrās* 1, no. 4 (Winter 1382 [2004]): 145–84, at 163, 174–175.
 21. Fazlī Bēg Khūzānī Iṣfahānī, *A Chronicle of the Reign of Shah 'Abbas*, ed. Kioumars Ghereghlou, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 2015), 1:226–27. The event is reported in the account of the year 1596 (1005). As noted in Matthee, *Pursuit*, 148, this is the earliest reference to a coffeehouse in a Safavid chronicle.
 22. Pedro Teixeira, *The Travels of Pedro Teixeira*, trans. William F. Sinclair (London, 1902), 61–63.
 23. It has been suggested that the coffeehouse was first established in Qazvin, the Safavid capital under Shah Tahmasb, yet we have no evidence to support this claim. Matthee's thorough examination of the primary sources has shown that there is no mention of coffee in local or European sources before the 1590s. See Matthee, *Pursuit*, 146–47.
 24. Mīrzā Bēg Junābādī, *Rawzat al-ṣafavīyya*, ed. Ghulām-Rīzā Ṭabāṭabā'ī Majd (Tehran, 1378 [1999]), 761. For the English translation, see Robert D. McChesney, "Four Sources on Shah 'Abbas's Buildings of Isfahan," *Muqarnas* 5 (1988): 103–34, at 114.
 25. Mullā Jalāl al-Dīn Munajjim Yazdī, *Tārīkh-i 'Abbāsī, yā, Rūznāma-yi Mullā Jalāl*, ed. Sayf Allāh Vaḥīdnīyā (Tehran, 1366 [1987]), 237.
 26. The term *khīyābān* originally designated pathways in gardens. It was probably in the fifteenth century, in Timurid Khurasan and Central Asia, that *khīyābān* came to designate monumental tree-lined promenades outside gardens as well. For a study of the etymology of the term and the earliest references to *khīyābāns*, see Jalal Matini, "Khīyābān," *Irān-nāma* 1, no. 1 (1361 [1982]): 57–99; and Muḥammad Dābīrsīyāqī, "Khīyābān," *Khurāsān-pazhūhī* 3, no. 1 (1379 [1990]): 199–208. On the *khīyābāns* of Herat, see Terry Allen, *Timurid Herat* (Wiesbaden, 1983).
 27. Khūzānī Iṣfahānī, *Chronicle of the Reign of Shah 'Abbas*, 466. Khuzani Isfahani reports the construction of the bridge in his account of the year 1607 (1016), adding that the bridge was finished in five years. Judging from Munajjim Yazdī's report, the coffeehouse and Sufi hostels of the north Chaharbagh were completed in 1602.
 28. For the conception of the Chaharbagh as an elongated garden, see Mahvash Alemi, "The Royal Gardens of the Safavid Period: Types and Models," in *Gardens in the Time of the Great Muslim Empires: Theory and Design*, ed. Attilio Petruccioli (New York, 1997): 72–96, at 76; Mahvash Alemi, "Chahar Bagh," *Environmental Design: Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre* 1 (1986): 38–45.
 29. For other studies of the Chaharbagh and the Safavid gardens of Isfahan, see Mahvash Alemi, "Princely Safavid Gardens: Stage for Rituals of Imperial Display and Political Legitimacy," in *Middle East Garden Traditions: Unity and Diversity; Questions, Methods and Resources in a Multicultural Perspective*, ed. Michel Conan (Washington, D.C., 2007), 113–37; Mahvash Alemi, "Safavid Royal Gardens and Their Urban Relationships," in *A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present*, vol. 18, *Islamic Period: From the End of the Sasanian Empire to the Present*, ed. Abbas Daneshvari (Costa Mesa, Calif., 2005), 1–24; Mahvash Alemi, "Urban Spaces as the Scene for the Ceremonies and Pastimes of the Safavid Court," *Environmental Design: Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre* 1–2 (1991): 98–107; Stephen Blake, *Half the World:*

- The Social Architecture of Safavid Isfahan, 1590–1722* (Costa Mesa, Calif., 1999), 91–97. Also see Zahra Ahari, “Khiyābān-i Chāhārbāgh-i Isfahān, mafhūmī naw az fazā-yi shahrī,” *Gulistān-i Hunar* 5 (1385 [2006]): 48–59, which argues that the Chaharbagh of Isfahan presents a new conception of urban space. A useful catalogue of Safavid gardens and descriptions of the Chaharbagh can be found in Seyed Mohammad Ali Emrani, “The Role of Gardens and Tree-lined Streets in the Urban Development of Safavid Isfahan (1590–1722): A Comparative Approach (Paris and Versailles in the 17th Century)” (PhD diss., Technische Universität, Munich, 2012).
30. Known as the Madar-i Shah Madrasa or Sultani Madrasa, the extant complex of Sultan Husayn consisted of a madrasa-cum-mosque, a caravanserai, and a bazaar. For a history of the monument and its inscriptions, see Luṭf Allāh Hunarfar, *Ganjīna-yi āsār-i tārikhī-yi Isfahān* (Isfahan, 1344 [1965]), 685–722. For an architectural survey and description of the complex, see Maxime Siroux, *Anciennes voies et monuments routiers de la région d’Ispahān* (Cairo, 1971), 284–89.
 31. The plan appeared in Pascal Coste, *Monuments modernes de la Perse, mesurés, dessinés et décrits par Pascal Coste* (Paris, 1867). It was based on a survey, made by Coste in Isfahan in May 1840, which is now preserved in Marseille, Bibliothèque de l’Alcazar (formerly Bibliothèque municipale), Ms. 1132, fol. 20. Pascal Coste (1787–1879) and the painter Eugène Flandin were sent by the Académie des Beaux-Arts on an artistic expedition that accompanied a diplomatic mission to the court of the Qajar ruler Muhammad Shah (r. 1834–48). For an account of the journey, see Eugène Flandin, *Voyage en Perse de MM. Eugène Flandin et Pascal Coste* (Paris, 1850).
 32. The authenticity of Coste’s rendition is confirmed by several nineteenth-century photographs depicting the ruins of the Chaharbagh. See, for instance, Ernst Höltzer, *Persien vor 113 Jahren* (Tehran, 1975), 100, 105; Ernst Höltzer, *Hizār jilvah-yi zindagī: Taṣvīrhā-yi Irnist Hūlstir az ‘ahd-i Nāshirī* (Tehran, 1382 [2003]), 483, 485.
 33. ‘Abd al-Ḥusayn Sipantā, *Tārikhcha-yi awqāf-i Isfahān* (Isfahan, 1346 [1967]), 151. The rhetorical emphasis on the purchase of the coffeehouse seen here is typical of endowment deeds, which generally show a marked concern for the lawfulness of the endowed properties.
 34. The term *kaf* appears to be short for “coffee” in Kaempfer’s manuscripts.
 35. Kaempfer travelled to Iran as secretary of the Swedish delegation to the court of Shah Sulayman (r. 1668–94). During his twenty-month-long stay in Isfahan, he surveyed the gardens and drew sketches of buildings. Part of his observations appeared in the Latin-language *Amoenitatum Exoticarum*, published in 1712. Kept at the British Library, London, Kaempfer’s materials pertaining to Safavid gardens have been studied by Mahvash Alemi in the publications cited above.
 36. Even in its present state, there is a gap between the structure and the adjoining façade of the madrasa. The awkward structural relationship between the coffeehouse and the rest of the madrasa is also alluded to by Siroux, who surveyed the building during a restoration effort in the 1960s. Not recognizing the earlier origin of the coffeehouse and some other elements of the madrasa, Siroux referred to this structural disjunction as a sign of concern over appearance in Iranian architecture. Siroux, *Anciennes voies*, 285.
 37. Kaempfer uses the same label for both structures, which is indicative of their similar function. The label is yet to be deciphered.
 38. As more accurate plans and old photographs show, a pre-existing structure seems to have been incorporated into the southwest corner of the madrasa as well. See, for instance, the aerial photograph of the madrasa published in Henri Stierlin, *Iran of the Master Builders: 2500 Years of Architecture*, trans. Robert Allen and Nicolas Ferguson (Geneva, 1971), 92.
 39. Cornelis de Bruyn, *Travels into Muscovy, Persia and Part of East-Indies*, 2 vols. (London, 1737), 1:198.
 40. Coste’s survey is not accurate in terms of scale and details. The plans offered here are based on more recent surveys of the madrasa and my own fieldwork. The plan of the upper section of the Chaharbagh (fig. 5b) is part of my ongoing research on the other elements of the promenade.
 41. In his oft-quoted description of the Chaharbagh, Chardin did not mention the coffeehouses. He did, however, refer to the “jardin des Vignes” (vine garden) and “jardin des Mûriers” (mulberry garden) on the sides of “the fifth pool” of the Chaharbagh, which corresponds to the area where the coffeehouses were located. See Jean Chardin, *Voyages du Chevalier Chardin en Perse et autres lieux de l’Orient*, ed. Louis M. Langlès, 10 vols. (Paris, 1810–11), 8:26.
 42. *dar Šifāhān makhšūš-i Bābā maykhāna-yi murattab farmūd dar ghāyat-i āb u havā dar Chahārbāgh*. Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad Awhādī Daqqāqī Balyānī, *Tazkira-yi ‘arafāt al-‘āshiqīn va ‘arāsāt al-‘arifīn*, ed. Muḥsin Nāji Naṣrābādī, 7 vols. (Tehran, 1388 [2009]), 3:2047.
 43. A native of Isfahan, Awhādī (b. 1565) became attached to the court of Shah ‘Abbas in the early years of his reign. In 1606, he moved to India, where, in 1613, he began to compile a compendium of short biographies and selected verses of 3,492 poets, one of the largest anthologies of this sort ever composed in Persian.
 44. Muḥammad Ṭāhir Naṣrābādī, *Tazkira-yi Naṣrābādī: Tazkirat al-shu‘arā*, ed. Muḥsin Nāji Naṣrābādī, 2 vols. (Tehran, 1378 [1999]), 1:213–14. Nasrabadi was a prominent man of letters in Isfahan in the second half of the seventeenth century. He began to compile his compendium in 1672 (1083). The book contains short biographical notices of about a thousand poets, mostly of Isfahani origin.
 45. *ū rā muhrī bar kaf-i dast bizanad va bi ān ‘alāmat mulāzimān-i dārūgha ū rā āzār narisānand*. Ibid.
 46. See Awhādī, *Tazkira-yi ‘arafāt al-‘āshiqīn*, 2047. Shams-i Tishi and the servers of his drinking house were also favor-

- ite entertainers at the court of Shah 'Abbas. In 1611 (1020), during a nocturnal banquet held at the shah's private palace (*khalvatkhāna*) in the Naqsh-i Jahan Garden, for instance, Baba Shams-i Tishi and "the boys of the coffee-house" (*pisarān-i qahvakhāna*) were among the performers. See Khūzānī Iṣfahānī, *A Chronicle of the Reign of Shah 'Abbas*, 1:586.
47. Chardin, *Voyages*, 8:26. Visiting Isfahan in 1637, Adam Olearius, the secretary of the embassy of the Duke of Holstein to the court of Shah Safi, described the Grape Garden as a vast vineyard yielding a variety of specimens. Adam Olearius, *Vermehrte neue Beschreibung der muscowitischen und persischen Reyse* (Schleswig, 1656; repr. Tübingen, 1971), 562; English trans.: Adam Olearius, *The Voyages & Travels of the Ambassadors Sent by Frederick Duke of Holstein* (London, 1662), 301. Indeed, these vineyards may have been the *raison d'être* of the Chaharbagh: according to Chardin, before Shah 'Abbas had the Chaharbagh constructed, the area was occupied by four grape gardens. See Chardin, *Voyages*, 8:26. Chardin also refers to a wine tavern inside the palace complex, located behind the Chihil Sutun Palace, which, interestingly enough, was also located in the vicinity of a vineyard. From Kaempfer's drawings, we know that this now-lost pavilion was situated on the border of the Bagh-i Khalvat (Private Garden) and Bagh-i Anguristan (Grape Garden). For a reproduction of Kaempfer's drawing, see Alemi, "Safavid Royal Gardens and Their Urban Relationships."
 48. Before the rise of coffeehouses, in addition to the wine-houses, there were establishments known as *bangkhāna* (hashish-house), *majūnkhāna* (serving electuaries, often containing opium), and *būzakhāna* (houses serving *būza*, a slightly intoxicating drink made from millet). In Safavid sources, these are mentioned as the social activities that were banned when Shah Tahmasb issued an edict of repentance in the mid-sixteenth century. See Aḥmad ibn Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥusaynī al-Qumī, *Khulāṣat al-tavārīkh*, ed. Iḥsan Iṣhrāqī, 2 vols. (Tehran, 1980–84), 1:226, 233. For the transcription of the edict of Shah Tahmasb installed at the Mir 'Imad Mosque in Kashan, see 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Navā'ī, ed., *Shāh Ṭahmāsb Ṣafavī, majmū'a-yi asnād va mukātabāt-i tārikhī hamrāh bā yāddāshthā-yi tafṣilī* (Tehran, 1350 [1971]), 513–14. Before the introduction of coffee, *boza*-houses were ubiquitous in Ottoman Bursa as well. See İklil O. Selçuk, "State Meets Society: A Study of Bozakhāne Affairs in Bursa," in *Starting with Food: Culinary Approaches to Ottoman History*, ed. Amy Singer (Princeton, N.J., 2011), 23–48.
 49. Hattox, *Coffee and Coffeehouses*, 76–78.
 50. For a discussion of etymology, see *ibid.*, 18–19.
 51. Sādiqī Bēg, "Ḥazzīyyāt," 174. The affinity between coffee and wine is also expressed in other poems comparing the effect of coffee to wine.
 52. This point was made by several European visitors. Herbert noted: "Great is the difference betwixt the Turks and Persians; for the Turks, being by law prohibited, abstain from wine, yet drink it covertly; but the Persians now (as of old) drink with freedom openly and with excess." Herbert, *Travels in Persia*, 82–83. According to Della Valle, "in Persia, though it is a country of Muslims, all drink wine with alacrity, without scruples or shame." Della Valle, *Viaggi*, 1:441; quoted and translated in Matthee, *Pursuit*, 66. Della Valle's observation may be true only with regard to the elite, as Matthee suggests, but it should not change our understanding of the prevalent milieu of the "New Isfahan": after all, it was a city made for, and inhabited by, the elite. It is also necessary to keep in mind that European observers' proclivity for describing the Ottomans and Safavids in binary opposition to one another was, of course, informed by the geopolitics of the time, in which the Ottomans were seen as an imminent threat and the Safavids as a potential ally. These reports are, nevertheless, reflective of some concrete differences between the Ottomans and Safavids with respect to social practices such as wine drinking.
 53. On wine in Safavid times, see Matthee, *Pursuit*, 37–96. The Chaharbagh of Isfahan was not the only Safavid city where coffeehouses and wine taverns existed in the same space. In the newly constructed market of Bandar 'Abbas, too, Herbert saw, in 1628, taverns (with plenty of Shiraz wines brought in long-necked glasses), along with coffeehouses and sherbet houses. Herbert, *Travels in Persia*, 45.
 54. For the edited version of the epistle, see Qāzī b. Kāshif al-Dīn Muḥammad Yazdī, *Jām-i jahānnamā-yi 'Abbāsī: Dar-i manāfi'-i shurb = The Abbasid "Planetarium Cup": On the Benefits of Wine*, ed. Ali Hassouri (Uppsala, 2014). The treatise is also indicative of the pervasiveness of wine drinking in Safavid times among ordinary people outside royal circles.
 55. This was at least the case when coffee was first introduced under 'Abbas, although, as in other contexts in the early modern period, the Safavid coffeehouse gradually began to function as a gathering place for more respectful people. It appears that throughout the seventeenth century, the coffeehouse also provided a venue for the consumption of wine and other narcotic-based drinks such as *kūknār*. Wine was served during the reception that Shah 'Abbas held for foreign ambassadors in one of the coffeehouses of the Maydan-i Naqsh-i Jahan.
 56. Qāzī b. Kāshif al-Dīn Muḥammad Yazdī, "Risāla-yi chūb-i chīnī va qahva va chāy-i khaṭāyī," in *Panj risāla-yi ṭibbī*, ed. Majīd Anūshīrvānī (Tehran, 1392 [2013]), 60–93, at 91.
 57. In the 1960s, the coffeehouse was converted into a branch of Bank Melli Iran. In its present state, the whitewashed interior walls bear no trace of any ornamentation. Meager traces of poetic graffiti, however, give a glimpse of the building's original function.
 58. Kaempfer gives a detailed description of the preparation of coffee in a public coffeehouse: "These beans are roasted in a small flat vessel, and are regularly stirred, above a small charcoal fire, till they smell reasonably well and have become black-brown. Then they are poured into a circle (Orbiculum), and thus put, warm or cold, into a stone mor-

- tar [...]. They grind the coffee with great effort, in a large mortar that is built into a bricked fixed place [...]. When this roasted powder has become sufficiently grounded, due the pounding, they use it in the following manner: they take a spoon filled with this powder—that which is freshly roasted is the best—and put it in half pint (*Puentche*) of hot water that is already waiting on the fire in a copper tinned jar which is a handwidth long. Then the lid is put on it, some burning charcoal put on the jar, so that it boils quickly [...]. Then one puts two spoonfuls of cold water into the boiling coffee liquid, which makes the oil (oleum) milder, after which it is left on the fire [...]. Then it is ready and is served in small cups, and drunk as hot as one can tolerate.” Engelbert Kaempfer, *Die Reisetagebücher*, ed. Karl Meier-Lemgo (Wiesbaden, 1968), 115; trans. from Floor, *Economy of Safavid Persia*, 142.
59. For instance, the layout of the coffeehouse resembles the pavilion located on the eastern side of the Fin Garden at Kashan, which dates from the reign of Shah ‘Abbas. The structure also bears stylistic affinities to the surviving Safavid mansions of Isfahan, such as the House of Sukas in New Julfa. Built in the first half of the seventeenth century, the Sukas mansion has a comparable domed hall, which is not only of similar dimensions and proportions, but also features analogous chamfered piers and arch-nets, as well as a wooden screen. See John Carswell, *New Julfa: The Armenian Churches and Other Buildings* (Oxford, 1968), 65–67; Karapet Karapetian, *Isfahān, New Julfa: Le case degli armeni; Una raccolta di rilevamenti architettonici = Isfahan, New Julfa: The Houses of the Armenians; A Collection of Architectural Surveys* (Rome, 1974), 119–56.
 60. Although such raised platforms were common in garden design, those on the Chaharbagh may have indeed been conceived after a specific connotation of the *maṣṭaba*. The term in Arabic and Persian signifies a “place where people assemble” (Edward W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon* [London, 1877, repr. 1984], s.v. “ṣ-ṭ-b”), as well as an “outdoor stone bench” or a “stone platform (for sitting)” (Hans Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, ed. J Milton Cowan [Wiesbaden, 1979], s.v. “*maṣṭaba*”). In medieval Persian poetry, however, it primarily denoted a “platform outside a wine tavern,” and often implied a tavern in general. See Alī Akbar Dihkhudā, *Lughatnāma*, 15 vols. (Tehran, 1998), s.v. “*maṣṭaba*.” The term *maṣṭaba* is frequently used to signify a wine tavern in the works of medieval Shirazi poets, including three verses by the famous fourteenth-century poet Hafiz. One can surmise that since Shams was from Shiraz, the taverns of the Chaharbagh might have been modeled after those that existed in that city, famous not only for its wine but also for its taverns and gardens.
 61. Engelbert Kaempfer, *Am Hofe des persischen Grosskönigs, 1684–1685*, trans. Walther Hinz (Tübingen, 1977), 202.
 62. De Bruyn, *Travels into Muscovy, Persia and Part of East-Indies*, 1:197–98.
 63. Also known as Tabrizabad, the ‘Abbasabad district was laid out in the early seventeenth century to accommodate a group of merchants from Tabriz who were forced by Shah ‘Abbas I to settle in Isfahan. The Tabrizi émigré families and their descendants made up the majority of the elite of the New Isfahan throughout the seventeenth century.
 64. Regarding these nobles, Della Valle wrote that they “chiefly hold aloof from the base people, and they so despise them that they think themselves contaminated merely by touching them. Thus in the streets, when a noble passes by, all the base people make way in order not to touch and so soil him.” Pietro della Valle, *The Pilgrim: The Travels of Pietro Della Valle* (London, 1990), 131–32.
 65. John Fryer, *A New Account of East-India and Persia in Eight Letters* (London, 1698), 345.
 66. *Ibid.*, 297.
 67. *Ibid.*, 287.
 68. Visiting the Chaharbagh in 1840, Coste observed that only the axial walkway was paved with durable stone and that the unpaved lateral paths were used by horse riders: Coste, *Monuments modernes de la Perse*, 29. The central pathway of the Chaharbagh was interrupted by pools, making it more suitable for slow leisurely strolling, while the straight lateral pathways could be used by those who wanted to go about their business, whether walking on foot or riding on horseback.
 69. For a study of the painting, see Massumeh Farhad, “The Art of Mu‘in Musavvir: A Mirror of His Times,” in *Persian Masters: Five Centuries of Painting*, ed. Sheila R. Canby (Bombay, 1990): 113–28. Also see Farhad’s entries in *Treasures of Islam*, ed. Toby Falk (exh. cat.) (London, 1985), 124–26, cat. nos. 96 and 97. The painting is paired with another illustration depicting Muhammad Taqi Tabrizi in a similar pose, but dressed in a different garment. The inscription on the latter painting indicates that it was made on the occasion of Muhammad Taqi’s pilgrimage to Mashhad.
 70. Munajjim Yazdī, *Tārīkh-i ‘Abbāsī*, 361. According to Munajjim Yazdī, the celebration (*jashn*) began on May 28, 1609 (23 Safar 1018). The prohibition against men being present during outings by royal women, referred to as *quruq* in Safavid sources, was a common practice throughout the seventeenth century. While such bans were generally temporary, the *quruq* was a weekly event in the Chaharbagh.
 71. Della Valle, *Viaggi*, 2:30.
 72. The presence of women in public was of course not limited to such state-sponsored occasions. Awhadi, for example, refers to women mingling with men in Isfahan. See Awhādī, *Tazkira-yi ‘arafāt al-‘āshiqīn*, 2:1013, 3:2044. Many of these women, though not all of them, were probably courtesans, whose role in Safavid Isfahan awaits a fuller investigation on the basis of Persian-language primary sources. It can also be deduced from textual sources that on a day-to-day basis ordinary women were also not absent from public promenades such as the Chaharbagh. An edict issued after the enthronement of Shah Sultan Husayn against improper behaviors (drinking alcohol and prostitution) prohibited women from appearing in public unaccompanied by male relatives and from attending public shows (pl. *ma‘ārik*). See

- Abū Ṭālib Mūsavi Findiriskī, *Tuḥfat al-‘ālam: Dar awṣāf va akhbār-i Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn*, ed. Rasūl Ja‘fariyān (Tehran, 2009), 82. Also see Rudi Matthee, “Prostitutes, Courtesans and Dancing Girls: Women Entertainers in Safavid Iran,” in *Iran and Beyond: Essays in Middle Eastern History in Honor of Nikki R. Keddie*, ed. Rudi Matthee and Beth Baron (Costa Mesa, Calif., 2000), 121–50, at 147. Ineffective in practice, such edicts are rather indicative of the wider presence of women in the public spaces of Safavid Isfahan throughout the seventeenth century.
73. Chardin, *Voyages*, 7:366.
74. ‘Abd Allāh Ṣānī Bihishtī Haravī, *Nūr al-mashriqayn: Safar-nāma-yi manzūm az ‘ahd-i Ṣafavī*, ed. Najīb Māyil Haravī (Mashhad, 1998), 221–22.
75. Munajjim Yazdī, *Tārīkh-i ‘Abbāsī*, 236. For a translation, see McChesney, “Four Sources,” 109. Munajjim Yazdī attributes the design of the entire complex to a single architect (*muhandis*), whom he hyperbolically praises but without providing any name. Junabadi gives the date 1603–4 (1012) for the beginning of construction on the Maydan-i Naqsh-i Jahan. Since Junabadi wrote his narrative a couple of years later, it is reasonable to consider Munajjim Yazdī’s report more accurate.
76. Junābādī, *Rawzat al-ṣafavīyya*, 760. For the translation of the full passage, see McChesney, “Four Sources,” 113.
77. Chardin, *Voyages*, 7:366.
78. Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *The Six Voyages of John Baptista Tavernier, Baron of Aubonne, through Turkey, into Persia and the East-Indies, for the space of forty years*, trans. J. P. Tavernier (London, 1677), 154.
79. Chardin, *Voyages*, 4:67–68. Translation by Matthee, *Pursuit*, 162–63.
80. Eugenio Galdieri, “Two Building Phases of the Time of Šāh ‘Abbas I in the Maydān-i Šāh of Isfahan, Preliminary Note,” *East and West* 20, nos. 1–2 (1970): 60–69.
81. McChesney, “Four Sources,” 114.
82. The source of controversy is Blake’s argument, which disputes McChesney’s reading of the primary sources. Blake maintains that what McChesney has interpreted as a reference to an earlier stage of the construction of the Maydan-i Naqsh-i Jahan is actually concerned with the refurbishment of the Maydan-i Harun-i Vilayat, the pre-Safavid square of Isfahan. He further contends that, contrary to the common assumption, the relocation of the Safavid capital from Qazvin to Isfahan occurred in 1590 rather than 1598. Blake argues that the refurbishment of Isfahan’s old Maydan was the first building activity that Shah ‘Abbas undertook and that the building of the Maydan-i Naqsh-i Jahan was begun a decade later, in 1602. See Blake, *Half the World*, 15–28. For a critique of Blake’s work, see Sussan Babaie’s review of *Half the World: The Social Architecture of Safavid Isfahan, 1590–1722* in *Iranian Studies* 33, nos. 3–4 (2000): 478–82. I agree with Blake’s proposition that ‘Abbas’ first construction project in Isfahan was the refurbishment of the Maydan-i Harun-i Vilayat. His two other propositions however—that the capital was relocated in 1590 and that construction commenced on the Maydan-i Naqsh-i Jahan in 1602—are not supported by the available evidence. The second phase may have followed the first in rapid succession, though this is not necessarily reflected in textual sources.
83. See Markus Ritter, “Das königliche Portal und die Nordseite des Maidāns von Schah ‘Abbās I. im safawidischen Iṣfahān,” in *Iran and iranisch geprägte Kulturen: Studien zum 65. Geburtstag von Bert G. Fragner*, ed. Markus Ritter, Ralph Kauz, and Birgitt Hofmann (Wiesbaden, 2008), 357–76, at 361. For Ritter’s other publications concerning the Qaysariyya portal and the north side of the Maydan-i Naqsh-i Jahan, see Markus Ritter, “Monumental Epigraphy in Iran: Paired Panels With Square Kufic Script and Sa’dī Verses in Safavid and Earlier Islamic Architecture,” *Eurasian Studies* 6, nos. 1–2 (2010): 19–37; Markus Ritter, “Zum Siegesmonument in islamischer Kunst: Schlachtenbild und Trophäen an einem Portal im safawidischen Isfahan, Iran 17. Jahrhundert,” in *Inszenierung des Sieges—Sieg der Inszenierung: Interdisziplinäre Perspektiven*, ed. Michaela Fahlenbock, Lukas Madersbacher, and Ingo Schneider (Innsbruck, 2011), 181–98.
84. See Eugenio Galdieri and Roberto Orazi, *Progetto di sistemazione del Maydān-i Šāh* (Rome, 1969).
85. Ritter, “Das königliche Portal,” 361. For Della Valle’s sketch, see Alemi, “I ‘teatri’ di Shah Abbas,” 21. The sketch is found in Pietro della Valle, *Diario*, vollend. 1626: Vatican Library, Ms. Cod. Ottob. Lat. 3382, 126b (Della Valle-Del Bufalo Archive). For a new rendition of Della Valle’s sketch, see Ritter, “Das königliche Portal,” 363. As Ritter also notes, the physical remains seem to suggest that the additional gallery was also constructed at a later stage, together with the row of shops on the other sides of the Maydan. Ritter’s study focuses on the elements, such as the clock and *naqqarakhāna* (music hall), and does not discuss the coffeehouses.
86. Heinz Gaube and Eugen Wirth, *Der Bazar von Isfahan* (Wiesbaden, 1978), 93.
87. *Ibid.*, 137, 138.
88. Eugène-Elie Beaudouin, “Ispahan sous les grands chahs, XVIIe siècle,” special issue of *Urbanisme, revue mensuelle de l’urbanisme français* 2, no. 10 (January 1933). Also see Eugène-Elie Beaudouin, “City Plans,” in *A Survey of Persian Art*, ed. Arthur A. Pope, 18 vols. (Oxford, 1938), 3:1391–1410.
89. All other plans of the Maydan totally dismiss the coffeehouses. See, for example, the plan of the Isfahan Bazaar in Nader Ardalan and Laleh Bakhtiar, *The Sense of Unity: The Sufi Tradition in Persian Architecture* (Chicago, 1973). See also Klaus Herdeg, *Formal Structure in Islamic Architecture of Iran and Turkistan* (New York, 1990), in which the arcades containing the coffeehouses are eliminated from the reconstructions of the Maydan.
90. The plan was first studied in Alemi, “I ‘teatri’ di Shah Abbas,” 20.
91. Olearius, *Vermehrte neue Beschreibung*, 558. For an English translation, see Olearius, *Voyages & Travels*, 298. The term *shūra* here refers to *shūra-yi angūr* (grape juice), which was

- a synonym for wine. For examples from medieval Persian poetry, see Dihkhudā, *Lughatnāma*, s.v. “shīra.” According to a late Safavid manual of administration, composed ca. 1725, the royal wine cellar was also known as the *shīrakhāna*. See V. Minorsky, ed. and trans., *Tadhkirat al-mulūk, A Manual of Safavid Administration, circa 1137/1725: Persian Text in Facsimile (B. M. Or. 9496)* (Cambridge, 1943), 99, 137–38.
92. The only exception is the dubious travel narrative of Jan Jansz. Struys, which also refers to teahouses. Not all of his travel narrative might be fictitious, as Willem Floor suggests, but his description of the Maydan drinking houses is clearly based on Olearius. See Willem Floor, “Fact or Fiction: The Most Perilous Journeys of Jan Jansz. Struys,” in *Études safavides*, ed. Jean Calmard (Paris, 1993), 64.
 93. For an overview of the introduction and consumption of tea in Safavid times, see Matthee, *Pursuit*, 238–41. According to Olearius, tea was imported by the Uzbeks from China. Safavid medicinal manuals often discuss tea together with coffee and tobacco, the very same categories that were available at the drinking houses on the Maydan, as described by Olearius.
 94. Ḥamavī Yazdī, [*Risāla*], fol. 73b.
 95. Naṣrābādī, *Tazkira*, 1:206, 343, 363. The coffeehouse is also referred to as the Coffeehouse of Baba Arab or Arab Qahvachi.
 96. *Ibid.*, 1:554, 473, 605.
 97. Muḥammad Badīʾ ibn Muḥammad Sharif Maliḥā-yi Samarqandī, *Muzakkir al-aṣḥāb*, ed. Muḥammad Taqavī (Tehran, 1390 [2011]), 150. Also cited in Robert D. McChesney, “Barrier of Heterodoxy?: Rethinking the Ties between Iran and Central Asia in the 17th Century,” in *Safavid Persia: The History and Politics of an Islamic Society*, ed. Charles Melville, *Pembroke Papers 4* (London, 1996), 231–67, at 250. Maliha compiled this compendium after three years of traveling in Safavid Iran. Before the publication of the edited volume, McChesney studied the manuscript in two essays. The article cited above deals specifically with the author’s observations in Iran. Also see Robert D. McChesney, “The Anthology of Poets: *Muzakkir al-aṣḥāb* as a Source for the History of Seventeenth-Century Central Asia,” in *Intellectual Studies on Islam: Essays Written in Honor of Martin B. Dickson*, ed. Michel M. Mazzaoui and Vera B. Moreen (Salt Lake City, 1990), 57–84.
 98. See Bulookbashi, *Qahvakhānahā-yi Īrān*, 16–20. Also see Willem Floor and Wolfram Kleiss, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, s.v. “Bathhouses.” For an architectural survey of Safavid and Qajar public baths, see Kambiz Haji-Qassemī, ed., *Ganjnameh: Cyclopaedia of Iranian Islamic Architecture*, vol. 18, “Bathhouses” (*ḥammāmḥā*) (Tehran, 1383 [2005]). Note, in particular the design of the cloakrooms (*sarbinah*) with surrounding platforms in the Hammam-i Shah (Royal Bathhouse) and Hammam-i Shahzada (Prince’s Bathhouse).
 99. Fedot Afanasiyev Kotov, “Of a Journey to the Kingdom of Persia,” in *Russian Travelers to India and Persia, 1624–1798: Kotov, Yefremov, Danibegov*, trans. and ed. P. M. Kemp (Delhi, 1959), 1–42, at 19. In its present state, the second bay from the east has a peculiar design, which may have been a remnant of the original coffeehouses: from the corner of the adjoining octagonal hall a flight of stairs leads to a mezzanine, subdividing the vaulted bay overlooking the Maydan into two levels. This elevated platform would have provided a good view of events taking place on the Maydan, as noted by Kotov, while the lower level, which is connected to the interior space through two doors, might have been used for preparing coffee.
 100. Both engravings are apparently based on drawings made by the French engraver and painter Guillaume Joseph Grélot, who was hired by Chardin and later joined the Venetian aristocrat traveler Ambrosio Bembo. See Ambrosio Bembo, *The Travels and Journal of Ambrosio Bembo*, trans. (from Italian) Clara Bargellini, ed. Anthony Welch (Berkeley, 2007), 26–32. In the drawing of the north side of the Maydan that appeared in Bembo’s travelogue, there seems to be a panel above the entrance arch of each coffeehouse, which may have included some sort of signage.
 101. The drawing by Grélot included in Bembo’s travelogue is less precise than the one that appeared in Chardin’s book. One irritating difference is that in the latter there are four bays between entrance portals. One explanation was that the bays were subdivided by wooden lattices.
 102. *Dargāh-i qahvahā* [...] *rū bi miḥrāb-i falak-jināb-i masjid-i shāh āvarda*. Iʿjāz Hirātī, “Taʾrif-i Iṣfahān,” ed. Muḥammad Taqī Dānishpazhūh, *Farhang-i Īrān-zamīn* 18 (1350 [1971]): 173–94, at 186.
 103. *Namāyān qahvahā-yash az barābar/chu tāq-i abrū-yi yār-i sitamgar*. Mīr ʿAbd al-Maʿālī Nijāt Iṣfahānī, “Vaṣf-i Iṣfahān,” ed. Aḥmad Gulchīn Maʿānī, in *Majmūʿa maqālāt-i kungiri-yi jahānī-yi buzurgdāsh-t-i Iṣfahān* (Tehran, 1385 [2006]), 367–76, at 371.
 104. Kotov, “Of a Journey to the Kingdom of Persia,” 19.
 105. Fryer, *New Account of East-India and Persia*, 345. Interestingly, a similar device, referred to as a wonder-exciting novelty and mind-boggling creation, is described in Natanzi’s chronicle: “twelve wheels were built, and on each were fixed nearly one thousand lamps in such a way that by lighting one lamp and turning the wheel all the lamps could be lit.” See McChesney, “Four Sources,” 107.
 106. For a study of coffeehouses and nighttime practices in the Ottoman world, see Cemal Kafadar, “How Dark is the History of the Night, How Black the Story of Coffee, How Bitter the Tale of Love: The Changing Measure of Leisure and Pleasure in Early Modern Istanbul,” in *Medieval and Early Modern Performance in the Eastern Mediterranean*, ed. Arzu Öztürkmen and Evelyn Birge Vitz (Turnhout, 2014), 143–269.
 107. Kotov, “Of a Journey to the Kingdom of Persia,” 27.
 108. Indeed, the Maydan coffeehouses appear not to have featured any particularly impressive ornamentation. In their descriptions of the Maydan coffeehouses, European sources mostly focus on the lighting. The fact that the coffeehouses were considered attractive for their abun-

- dant lighting, their integration into the urban space of the Maydan, and the social atmosphere they fostered is rather symptomatic of the novelty of the social institution and the urban experience that it had engendered.
109. See, for instance, Qāzī b. Kāshif al-Dīn, "Risāla-yi chūb-i chīnī," 92. A similar phenomenon was observed in the Ottoman context. See Hattox, *Coffee and Coffeehouses*, 67.
 110. Kaempfer, *Am Hofe*, 208.
 111. Olearius, *Vermehrte neue Beschreibung*, 559; Olearius, *Voyages & Travels*, 299.
 112. *Dar dānistan-i kārvānsārāhā-yi Isfāhān*: London, British Library, Ms. Sloane 4094. For a facsimile and German translation of the scroll, see Gaube and Wirth, *Der Bazar von Isfahan*, 261–85, where the authors attribute the text to the reign of Shah Sulayman.
 113. Della Valle, *Viaggi*, 2:9.
 114. Although there might not be any explicit reference to the mingling of different ethnic or confessional groups in coffeehouses of Safavid Isfahan, there is evidence that non-Muslims frequented them. Indeed, considering the staggering diversity of merchants active in Isfahan's markets, it is unlikely these groups did not socialize with one another in coffeehouses.
 115. Galdieri, "Two Building Phases," 66.
 116. Mīr Taqī al-Dīn Kāshānī, *Khulāṣat al-ash'ār va zubdat al-afkār: Bakhsh-i Isfahān*, ed. 'Abdul-'Alī Adīb Burūmand and Muḥammad Ḥusayn Naṣīrī Kuhanmū'ī (Tehran, 1386 [2007]), 304.
 117. *tā sad qahva dar yalī-yi yakdīgar uftādah*. Malihā, *Muzakkir al-aṣḥāb*, 344. McChesney suggests that "one hundred coffeehouses" is probably an allusion to the coffeehouses at the Maydan-i Naqsh-i Jahan, which were built in a row. See McChesney, "Barrier of Heterodoxy?," 250. Although the figure appears to be a hyperbole, at least one other source makes mention of a hundred coffeehouses, which is indicative of their great, if not exact, number. As the reconstructed plan shows, the coffeehouses probably extended beyond the limits of Takhtgah, along the eastern side of the Old Maydan.
 118. Chardin, *Voyages*, 449–50.
 119. For an insightful discussion of the shrine of Harun-i Vilayat and Takhtgah, see Jalāl al-Dīn Humā'ī Shīrāzī Isfahānī, *Tārīkh-i Isfahān: Abnīyya va 'imārāt* (Tehran, 1390 [2011]), 167–68. The street is now called Haruniyya.
 120. Hunarfar, *Ganjīna*, 360–73. Because of the mystical connotations of opium, it is likely that the establishments of Takhtgah had some associations with the devotional practices of the Safavid Sufi order. Indeed, if it dates from the time of Isma'īl, the term "Takhtgah" may have had royal connotations. It is also possible that the area was provided with coffeehouses during the early years of the reign of 'Abbas, when the Old Maydan was renovated.
 121. Although *kūknār* was also served in coffeehouses, it appears that the *kūknārkhāna* was shunned by the upper classes. See Matthee, *Pursuit*, 107–9.
 122. Beaudouin, "Ispahan sous les grands chahs," 42, 46.
 123. Malihā, *Muzakkir al-aṣḥāb*, 254, 281, 443. It has been shown that the northern suburbs of Isfahan were also subject to development in the seventeenth century. See Emrani, "Role of Gardens," 134–35. It is possible that this coffeehouse was also located near a *khīyābān*, which had become the main element of virtually any urban development throughout Safavid territories.
 124. De Bruyn, *Travels in Muscovy, Persia and Part of East-Indie*, 200.
 125. De Bruyn's observation contradicts the idea that women were less present in public spaces in the late Safavid era, as is sometimes assumed. This assumption is particularly questioned by Matthee, who argues for a more complex and variegated picture of the role and visibility of women in later Safavid society. See Rudi Matthee, "From the Battlefield to the Harem: Did Women's Seclusion Increase from Early to Late Safavid Times?," in *New Perspectives on Safavid Iran: Empire and Society*, ed. Colin P. Mitchell (New York, 2011), 97–120.
 126. Chardin, *Voyages*, 7:295.
 127. For drawings and a description of the complex, see Haji-Qassemi, ed., *Ganjnameh* (Tehran, 1383 [2005]), vol. 9, "Bazaar Buildings" (Banāhā-yi bāzār), 104–113. See also Gaube and Wirth, *Der Bazar von Isfahan*, 343–45, where they speculate that the structure was originally a bathhouse.
 128. See Siyyid Ḥusayn Umīdīyānī, "Nigarishī bar yik vaqf-nāma-yi tārikhī az dawra-yi Ṣafāvī," *Ganjīna-yi asnād* 21–22 (1375 [1996]): 20–27, at 23.
 129. See Sultan Siyyid Riza Khan, *Naqsha-yi dār al-Salṭana-yi Isfahān* (Tehran, 1363 [1984]).
 130. Kaempfer, *Die Reisetagebücher*, 115; trans. in Floor, *Economy of Safavid Persia*, 142.
 131. Naṣrābādī, *Tazkira*, 672.
 132. Malihā, *Muzakkir al-aṣḥāb*, 271.
 133. For the transcription of Nasrabadi's poem and a brief description of the Lunban Mosque, see Hunarfar, *Ganjīna*, 626–30.
 134. Chardin, *Voyages*, 2:315–17.
 135. Muḥammad Mufīd b. Maḥmūd Mustawfī Bāfqī, *Jāmi'-i mufīdī*, ed. Īraj Afshār, 3 vols. (Tehran, 1340 [1961]), 3:443.
 136. McChesney, "Anthology of Poets," 61.
 137. Malihā, *Muzakkir al-aṣḥāb*, 276, 306. In the city of Simnan, for instance, a native poet, 'Ashiq-i Simnani, opened a coffeehouse that came to be known by his name. It appears that the poet adopted the coffeehouse culture and brought it back to his hometown after spending several years in Isfahan.
 138. Malihā, *Muzakkir al-aṣḥāb*, 104. This *maydān* and its adjoining establishments are also mentioned by Kaempfer, who notes that the plaza of Kashan was bordered by two broad *Kaljanhäuser* (houses for smoking waterpipes) that looked like theaters. See Kaempfer, *Die Reisetagebücher*, 78.
 139. Bāfqī, *Jāmi'-i mufīdī*, 228, 444, 644.

140. Maliḥā, *Muzakkir al-aṣḥāb*, 81, 266; McChesney, "Anthology of Poets," 83.
141. It is possible that Safavid coffeehouses served as the model for Mughal ones, too. According to at least one account, in Shahjahanabad, the new Mughal capital, "scattered here and there were coffeehouses where amirs gathered to listen to poetry, engage in light conversation, and watch the passing scene." Quoted in Stephen P. Blake, *Shahjahanabad: The Sovereign City in Mughal India, 1639–1739* (New York, 1991), 56.
142. Maliḥā, *Muzakkir al-aṣḥāb*, 326. McChesney, "Barrier of Heterodoxy?," 262n77.
143. Fryer, *New Account of East-India and Persia*, 258.
144. Kaempfer, *Die Reisetagebücher*, 41, 66, 92, 115. Noted in Floor, *Economy of Safavid Persia*, 141n94.
145. Matthee, *Pursuit*, 164.
146. The proximity of bakery and coffeehouse recalls the coffeehouses at the Maydan-i Naqsh-i Jahan, which were also located near confectionaries. Interestingly, a bakery was also included in the Ipshir Pasha Complex in Aleppo, not far from the coffeehouse.
147. Naṣrābādī, *Tazkira*, 445.
148. Ibid., 410. A *jadval-kash* (ruling-maker) was one of the experts involved in the traditional bookmaking craft, along with the scribe, illuminator, illustrator, and binder.
149. On the medieval majlis, see Dominic P. Brookshaw, "Palaces, Pavilions and Pleasure-gardens: The Context and Setting of the Medieval Majlis," *Middle Eastern Literatures* 6, no. 2 (2003): 199–223. On the Timurid majlis, see Maria E. Subtelny, "Scenes from the Literary Life of Timurid Herat," in *Logos Islamikos: Studia Islamica in Honorem Georgii Michaelis Wickens*, ed. Roger M. Savory and Dionisius A. Agius (Toronto, 1984), 137–55. Such assemblies continued to flourish in Safavid Isfahan, but they were no longer the primary setting of literary production and cultural exchange.
150. This is based on an often-quoted anecdote related in Naṣrābādī, *Tazkira*, 56. For an English translation of this passage, see Anthony Welch, *Artists for the Shah: Late Sixteenth-century Painting at the Imperial Court of Iran* (New Haven, 1976), 186–87.
151. Qāzī b. Kāshif al-Dīn, "Risāla-yi chūb-i chīnī," 92.
152. See Ḥamavī Yazdī, [*Risāla*], fol. 71b. Hamavi reports that Shah 'Abbas would always add ginger to his coffee, believing that the "hotness" of the ginger would balance the "coldness" of the coffee. Hamavi too shared this belief, but noted that adding less ginger would be more beneficial.
153. See Muḥammad Ḥusayn 'Aqīlī Khurāsānī Shīrāzī, *Makhzan al-advīyya* (Calcutta, 1844; repr. Tehran, 1371 [1992]), 250; Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, s.v. "*taḥt al-qahva*." In Turkish, breakfast is referred to as *kahvaltı* (literally, "before coffee").
154. Medieval sources suggest that storytelling was largely practiced in mosques or along roads and streets. For some of the references in Arabic texts, see Rasūl Ja'fariyān, *Qiṣṣa-khvānān dar tarikh-i Islām va Īrān* (Qum, 1378 [1999]), 104. One might also compare the situation in Safavid territories with the prevalent conditions in Central Asia, where the coffeehouse was not known. In contrast to Nasrabadi, who refers to coffeehouses as the primary operating ground of storytellers, Maliha makes mention of Rigistan Square in Samarqand and Bukhara as the sites where storytellers performed. See Maliḥā, *Muzakkir al-aṣḥāb*, 72, 31.
155. Naṣrābādī, *Tazkira*, 506.
156. Ibid., 207.
157. See Awḥādī, *Tazkira-yi 'arafāt al-'āshiqīn*, 4:2646, where the author mentions a certain Mawlana 'Alī Suratkhvan, who told stories in "the Maydan of Isfahan" using figural images (*ṣūratkhvānī*). Such performers may have become active in coffeehouses as well, considering the fact that Awḥādī's observations date from the period slightly before the rise of coffeehouses. The practice, known by the term *parda-khvānī* (reciting a historical narrative illustrated on the screen), is well documented in the Qajar period, and the art form that emerged on the basis of this practice became known as *naqqāshī-yi qahvakhāna'ī* (coffeehouse painting).
158. Awḥādī, *Tazkira-yi 'arafāt al-'āshiqīn*, 3:2047.
159. Praising the *sāqī* or handsome young artisans of a city was a long-established literary trope and social practice, best exemplified in the Persianate genre of "City Beauties"—i.e., poems describing handsome young boys engaged in different crafts and professions in the city. Known as *shahr'āshūb* or *shahrangīz*, the genre was especially in vogue in the Mughal, Safavid, and Ottoman realms from the sixteenth century onwards. See J. T. P. de Bruijn, *EI2*, s.v. "Shahrangīz." For a survey of Persian-language *shahr'āshūb* poems, see Aḥmad Gulchīn Ma'ānī, *Shahr'āshūb dar shī'r-i Fārsī*, ed. Parvīz Gulchīn Ma'ānī (Tehran, 1380 [2001]). For a study of parallel homoerotic practices in Ottoman culture, see Walter G. Andrews and Mehmet Kalpaklı, *The Age of Beloveds: Love and the Beloved in Early-Modern Ottoman and European Culture and Society* (Durham, 2005).
160. The painting bears the date February 14, 1630 (1 Rajab 1039). The physiognomy, pose, and garment of the figure closely resemble a slightly earlier painting by Riza dated July 12, 1629 (20 Dhu'l Qa'da 1038), which also depicts a youth standing holding a tray of coffee cups. See Sheila R. Canby, *Rebellious Reformer: The Drawings and Paintings of Riza-yi Abbasi of Isfahan* (London, 1996), 158–59. The production of two similar images in a short span of time suggests that Riza or his clients were likely obsessed with the same figure for a while.
161. As noted by Goushegir, "Le café et les cafés en Iran," 150–51, the coffee pot depicted in Riza's painting is probably a representation of what Minorsky (*Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, 68 [English trans.], 51 [Persian text]) refers to as a *qarā-āftāba* (literally "black ewer"). It is mentioned as one of the items put in the care of the official responsible for the royal coffee department (*qahvakhāna*). The other items included: the coffee container (*qahva-dān*), coffee roaster (*qahva-biryān-kun*), cup (*pīyāla*), and tray (*sīnī*). The coffee pot also matches what Kaempfer refers to as the "copper tinned

- jar” used for mixing ground coffee with hot water. See n. 58 above.
162. Indeed, the fine quality of the outfit worn by the figure does not necessarily suggest that this scene derived from a courtly or private assembly. Sources mention that the young servers in coffeehouses wore garments embroidered with gold. See, for instance, Kotov, “Of a Journey to the Kingdom of Persia,” 20.
163. For a study of single-page paintings, see Massumeh Farhad, “Safavid Single-Page Painting, 1629–1666” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1987). In a similar but somehow more schematized painting signed by Muhammad Qasim, the name of an actual likeness is given. See Farhad, “Safavid Single-Page Painting,” 123.
164. Lisa Golombek et al., *Persian Pottery in the First Global Age: The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Leiden, 2014), 40–41. Also see Yolande Crowe, *Persia and China: Safavid Blue and White Ceramics in the Victoria & Albert Museum 1501–1738* (Switzerland: La Borie, and London, 2002), 263. Other new types of medium-sized vessels may have been used not just in private assemblies but also in public coffeehouses, for serving sweets and appetizers to clients.
165. Golombek et al., *Persian Pottery in the First Global Age*, 25.
166. See Sunil Sharma, “The City of Beauties in the Indo-Persian Poetic Landscape,” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 24, no. 2 (2004): 73–81. As Sharma notes, a higher degree of realism differentiates Safavid, as well as Mughal and Ottoman, *shahr’āshūb* poetry from earlier examples of the genre. On the development of the “Realist School” in Persian poetry, see also Paul Losensky, “Poetics and Eros in Early Modern Persia: *The Lovers’ Confession* and *The Glorious Epistle* by Muhtasham Kāshānī,” *Iranian Studies* 42, no. 5 (2009): 745–64.
167. Chardin, *Voyages*, 4:68.
168. Fryer, *New Account of East-India and Persia*, 345.
169. Tavernier, *Six Voyages*, 154.
170. Kotov, “Of a Journey to the Kingdom of Persia,” 21.
171. See Necipoğlu, “Framing the Gaze in Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal Palaces,” 306–12. Among the urban spaces of Safavid Isfahan that were subject to the informal visits of Shah ‘Abbas, the coffeehouses were definitely the most public ones.
172. Habermas uses the concept of “representational publicness” to differentiate between the notion of public in European feudal society of the medieval era and the bourgeois public sphere. See Habermas, *Structural Transformation*, 5–14.
173. See Babaie, *Isfahan and Its Palaces*.
174. Mīrzā Muḥammad Ṭāhir Vaḥīd Qazvīnī, *Tārīkh-i jahā-nārā-yi ‘Abbāsī*, ed. Siyyid Sa’īd Mīr Muḥammad Ṣādiq (Tehran, 1383 [2004]), 412–16.
175. *Pur az ahl-i dil u arbāb-i ‘irfān/Sarāsar ṣuffaha-yash mulk-i yūnān*. Mīr Nijāt Iṣfahānī, “Vaṣf-i Iṣfahān,” 371.
176. Kaempfer, *Am Hofe*, 149.
177. Ni’mat-Allāh Jazā’irī, Musakkin al-shujūn: Qum, Mar’ashī Library, Ms. 3442, fol. 70. Cited in Rasūl Ja’fariyān, *Sīyāsāt va farhang-i rūzgār-i ṣafāvī*, 2 vols. (Tehran, 1388 [2009]), 2:1434.
178. Findiriskī, *Tuḥfat al-‘ālam*, 35–36.
179. Matthee, *Pursuit*, 242–43.
180. Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khān b. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Khān Taḥvildār Iṣfahānī, *Jughrāfiyā-yi Iṣfahān*, ed. Manūchīhr Sutūda (Tehran, 1342 [1963]), 120.
181. On the reappearance of the coffeehouse and the development of a public sphere under the Qajar dynasty in the second half of the nineteenth century, see Matthee, *Pursuit*, chapter 10.
182. Matthee, *Pursuit*, 159.
183. In his study of Ottoman coffeehouses, Mikhail suggests that “the café was a space that had more in common with the domestic world of the home than it did with the city, its street and its thoroughfares.” Mikhail, “Heart’s Desire,” 148–50. By contrast, the coffeehouses of Isfahan appear to have been enmeshed with the city’s urban life. The phenomenon of the neighborhood café, which was of immense social importance in Istanbul or Cairo, was negligible in Isfahan, where most of the coffeehouses functioned at the city level.
184. Matthee, *Pursuit*, 165.



BRILL



CONRAD THAKE

ENVISIONING THE ORIENT: THE NEW MUSLIM CEMETERY IN MALTA

The Maltese islands, situated at the crossroads of the central Mediterranean basin between Sicily and the North African coast of Tunisia and Libya, have throughout their history been ruled by diverse foreign powers, ranging from the Romans (ca. 218 B.C.–A.D. 395), the Byzantines (535–869), the Arabs (870–1090), the Normans (1090–1265), the Angevins (1266–82), the Aragonese (1283–1529), the Order of Saint John (1530–1798), the French (1798–1800), and the British (1801–1964). With the notable exception of Malta's prehistoric temples dating to 5000 B.C., the imposing network of military fortifications and the Renaissance city of Valletta founded by the knights of the Order of Saint John have overshadowed other architectural legacies. In the aftermath of the Great Siege of 1565, the island of Malta, now under the rule of the Order, established itself as a strategic military base and bulwark of Christianity against the westward expansion of the Ottoman Empire. Local historical studies have tended to depict a heroic, predominantly Christian island state that throughout different periods in its history managed to successfully repel incursions by foreign Muslim powers. One unintentional result of this has been that the few local art and architectural forms emanating from non-Christian cultures have been underappreciated and not given the attention they deserve.

The main objective of this paper is to highlight the historical and architectural significance of a unique nineteenth-century Muslim cemetery complex built under the auspices of the Ottoman sultan Abdülaziz (r. 1861–76). It is the final culmination of several Muslim cemeteries that were discreetly established on the island in various historical periods. The way in which a Muslim cemetery has been represented from a Western cultural

perspective—through Orientalist imagery and the conceptual ideals of Romanticism—will be explored with specific reference to the establishment of this late Ottoman cemetery in a British island colony. However, prior to considering this subject in detail it would be useful to briefly trace the historical backdrop of the Muslim presence on the island.

Muslim cemeteries have been found in Malta since at least the eleventh century. The conquest of the island in A.D. 870, spearheaded by the Aghlabids in Muslim Sicily, would suggest the establishment of Muslim burial sites.¹ Recent historical studies have postulated the theory that initially it was more the case of a violent *razzia* leading to a virtually depopulated island, rather than a whole-scale occupation of Malta during the tenth century.² Although Roger the Norman did temporarily conquer the island in 1091, political instability was still the order of the day and the Muslim presence and influence remained widely prevalent. It was not until the year 1224, subsequent to further military expeditions by the Normans from Sicily, that the Latin Christianization of Malta was virtually complete. Architectural remains and artifacts dating from the Arab period are sparse and no notable structures or buildings from this period have survived.

In 1881, archaeological excavations conducted on the site of the Roman *Domus*, just outside the walls of the settlement of Melite (Mdina), revealed the presence of an extensive eleventh-century Muslim cemetery estimated to have more than 245 graves placed directly over Roman-era floors.³ The bodies were buried in an east-west orientation, lying on their sides with the heads facing south. Between 1920 and 1925, Sir Themistocles Zammit led further archaeological investigations on a

number of fragmented tombstones made predominantly of local globigerina limestone and prismatic in form. The type of tombstones referred to here are known as *mqabriyyah*, with origins in the Maghreb region of North Africa. The Kufic inscriptions carved into the tombstones were mostly quotations from the Koran, although some record the name of the deceased along with their dates of death.⁴

Some five hundred years later, in 1675, another Muslim cemetery was established along the Strada Croce della Marsa, in the Menqa area and a short distance from Spencer Hill, Blata il-Bajda. That year, Grand Master Nicolo Cotoner granted land to be used as a cemetery to the predominantly Turkish Muslim slave community.⁵ It replaced an earlier one that had been destroyed by the knights when the Floriana line of fortifications was built after 1635. An eighteenth-century map shows the cemetery, designated as the “Cimitero de Turchi,” situated along the “Sciat El Kuabar,” underlying the Kortin headland (fig. 1).⁶ The Muslim cemetery remained in use until 1873, when the main road network leading to Floriana and Valletta was completely re-planned, necessitating the transfer of the cemetery to its present location in Marsa.⁷

On July 12, 1873, the local newspaper, *The Malta Times and United Service Gazette*, published the following short announcement:

A New Mahomedan Cemetery at Malta—We are credibly informed that the local Government has acceded a grant of wasteland on the rise to Casal Luca from the Marsa, in the vicinity of the former Paper Manufactory to the Ottoman Consul General for the formation of a more decent place of sepulture, than has heretofore been appropriated to those dying in Malta, professing the creed of Mahomet. We have also been given to understand that in this concession there is a special reference that the Consul General for the Empire of Morocco and the Regency of Tunis is to have the right of holding a key; but why a like privilege has not been stipulated in the contract in favour of the Consul for Persia, for the subjects of the Shah, is likely to form the subject of Official enquiry through the Minister in London.⁸

Even before this formal notice in the local press, negotiations had been underway for quite some time. Correspondence dating to 1865 between Antoine Naoum Duhany, representing the Ottoman consulate, and Victor Houlton, the chief secretary of state, reveals several

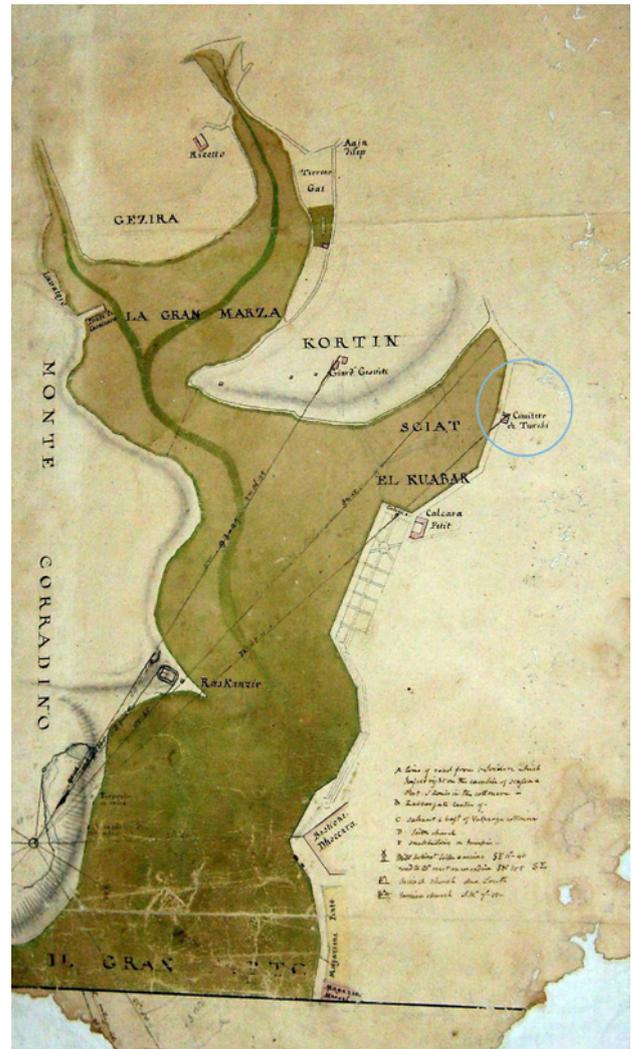


Fig. 1. Map showing the location (circled in blue) of the seventeenth-century Muslim cemetery designated as the “Cimitero de Turchi” along the “Sciat el Kuabar.” (Map: courtesy of the National Library Malta, Valletta)

issues relating to the repair and maintenance of the old cemetery and ambiguities as to the title of ownership.⁹ In a letter dated March 2, 1865 and addressed to the local British governor, Duhany claimed that he “had been authorized by the Government of the Sublime Ottoman Porte to make some repairs in the cemetery destined for the internment of Mussalmans dying in the islands and requesting [*sic*] that before incurring the expense necessary for effecting those repairs that that [i.e., the Ottoman] Government be recognized as the sole and

exclusive owner of that ground.”¹⁰ Almost six months later, the chief secretary of state responded to Duhany, saying, “I am directed to state that on receipt of that communication, His Excellency [the British governor] caused a careful inquiry to be made in to the circumstances connected with the original acquisition as well as the present possession and management of that burial ground.”¹¹ Houlton’s letter sheds light on the establishment of the cemetery and its administration over the years:

The result of that investigation is that the property of that cemetery the ground for which was purchased and paid for by the Government of the knights of St John in 1674 is now vested in the present Government of Malta, that the management of it was in 1842 placed in the hands of the late Mr Antonio Farrugia, the Consul for the Ottoman Porte as well as for the Empire of Morocco and the Regency of Tunis, and that gentleman as it appears from the correspondence as also from an epigraph on the door of the cemetery, caused in that year several repairs to be made in it, by direction and at the expense of the Tunisian government with the consent of the Government of Malta and under such circumstances it is impossible for His Excellency to accede to your request.¹²

The letter also makes reference to previous discussions held between Duhany and Maltese administrators as to how the eventual transfer of the cemetery to another location would be financed. The presumption that the original cemetery was the property of the Ottoman government had led to the expectation that any expense incurred in transferring the cemetery would be borne by the treasury of the local colonial government. Houlton, however, explicitly stated that in light of the inquiry that had established that it was not the Ottoman Porte but the Maltese government that was the sole legitimate owner of the land, this proposition could no longer be entertained. Furthermore, besides ownership rights held by the Maltese government, it was also stated that the Regency of Tunis could potentially make their own claim, having in the past financed extensive repairs to the existing cemetery.

The official contractual agreement relating to the transfer of land and terms regulating the establishment of a new Muslim cemetery was signed on June 11, 1873.¹³ The deed was registered by the notary Francesco Saverio Camilleri and signed by Naoum Duhany as the Ottoman

consul in Malta and Giovanni Battista Trapani in his capacity as collector of the Department of Land Revenue and Public Works and representative of the governor of Malta.¹⁴ The transfer of the land necessitated the termination of the existing rental lease, with the lessee being compensated by being given full ownership of an adjoining parcel of land fronting the public road. The agreement made it amply clear that the Maltese government could dispose of the land occupied by the old Muslim cemetery as it deemed fit without any other form of compensation being due.

Details of the deed were published in the form of a legal government notice. Attached to the government notice was a block plan signed by the architect Emanuele Luigi Galizia (d. 1907) and bearing the date September 27, 1871 (fig. 2).¹⁵ The plan provides details as to the location of the site, the boundaries of the proposed cemetery, and the basic dimensions of the land allocated. The site designated for the new cemetery is referred to as “Ta Sammat” in Marsa, on the road leading to Luqa and Qormi. The allocated land had a superficial area of 543 square canes (a local unit of measurement, the square cane or *qasba kwadra* is equivalent to approximately 5.25 square yards), which was precisely double the area of the old cemetery. The designated land had a rectangular configuration, or, more precisely, a double-square plan specifying a width of 113 feet and a depth of 226 feet. It was stipulated that the cemetery was to be separated from the surrounding fields belonging to third parties by means of a continuous open passage referred to as a *strada* on the plan. This passage was to have a width of 20 feet on three sides, widening to a 30-foot setback from the main public street. It was also stated that a boundary wall was to be erected around the entire open passage, with all expenses for its construction to be borne by the Ottoman sultanate.¹⁶

The contractual deed stipulated that all Muslims, irrespective of their nationality, could be buried in the new cemetery. Furthermore, it was decreed that the old cemetery had to be vacated within six months from the date of the contract. The bones of all those interred in the cemetery would be removed under the supervision of the police and the direction of the governor’s principal medical officer. The deed also secured the vested rights of the Regent of Tunis, stipulating that once the



Fig. 3. The architect Emanuele Luigi Galizia in ceremonial uniform during his tenure as superintendent of public works, between 1880 and 1888. (Photo: courtesy of the Richard Ellis Archive—Malta)



Fig. 4. Carte de visite of Sultan Abdülaziz, albumen print by J. Cook, (London, 1867). (Photo: private collection of Conrad Thake)

useful in securing the project.¹⁹ Furthermore, the presence in Constantinople of the famous and well-connected Maltese artist Count Amadeo Preziosi (d. 1882) could also have led to a further endorsement of Galizia's abilities, should this have been necessary.²⁰

Upon his accession on June 25, 1861, Sultan Abdülaziz, the thirty-second sultan of the Ottoman Empire, cultivated good relations with both the Second French Empire and the British.²¹ In 1867, he was the first Ottoman sultan to visit Western Europe. His trip included a visit to Paris for the Exposition universelle and to England, where he was inducted as a Knight of the Garter by Queen Victoria and attended a Royal Navy Review with Isma'il Pasha of Egypt (r. 1863–79). It was during this tour that Sultan Abdülaziz appears to have briefly visited Malta, on June 26–27, 1867, to commemorate and pay homage to the Ottomans who had died during the

Great Siege of 1565 under Sultan Süleyman I (r. 1520–66).²² The local British colonial authorities had been given prior notice of a short visit by the sultan while he was in transit from Messina on his way to Naples and then the port of Toulon.²³ A few weeks before, Mahmud Nedim Pasha, the governor-general of Tripoli (1860–67), had also visited Malta. Mahmud Nedim was a close confidant of Abdülaziz and his trip could have been related to the sultan's planned stay on the island later that month.²⁴ The exact program of the sultan's visit to Malta remains unclear.

Sultan Abdülaziz continued to actively pursue the reform of conservative Ottoman institutions as he navigated the difficult and, at times, treacherous transition from a militant and expansionist imperial state to a modern sovereign nation that cultivated good relations with Western Europe.²⁵ However, within this political

context it is relevant to note that Abdülaziz was a direct beneficiary of the earlier Tanzimat reforms initiated by his brother and predecessor, Abdülmecid (r. 1839–61). Abdülaziz's position within the Tanzimat period is representative of the later period, when “modernizing reforms were reconsidered and revised from within a more conservative perspective—hence the emergence of a revivalist trend in Ottoman art and architecture.”²⁶

Within the realm of architecture he promoted the concept of a classical revival of traditional Ottoman architectural forms through the formulation of a code of architectural principles. The propagation and dissemination of a neo-Ottoman architectural language in a symbiotic relation with Western European tradition is clearly manifested in *Uşûl-i Mi'mâri-i 'Osmanî* (Fundamentals of Ottoman Architecture, henceforth abbreviated as *Uşûl*), or *L'architecture ottomane* (Istanbul, 1873), which was published by the Ottoman government on the occasion of the 1873 World Exposition in Vienna.²⁷ The publication sought to elucidate and articulate the principal rules, geometry, and science of Ottoman architecture, within a comprehensive framework laid out “in accordance with the standards of the Beaux-Arts model.” It was intended as an instrument of architectural discourse that propagated the dissemination of a new Ottoman architectural style on par with other eclectic and revival historical styles on the European continent. According to Ahmet Ersoy, one of the main objectives of the *Uşûl* was to create “a model for contemporary architects who, inspired by prevailing experiments in European eclecticism, were striving to devise a new synthetic idiom for late Ottoman architecture.”²⁸

In *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs*, Zeynep Çelik describes how the Ottomans actively participated in a number of world's fairs in the latter half of the century. This, she says, had a major impact on the course of Ottoman architectural history. Léon Parvillée's *Architecture et décoration turques* (Paris, 1874), published following the Parisian Exposition universelle of 1867, sought to disseminate theoretical concepts and principles of Ottoman architecture to a wider European audience.²⁹ The new era in Ottoman architecture has to be viewed within the context of a dual, symbiotic relationship that developed between Ottoman and Western European

architectural schools of thought. Çelik identifies Sultan Abdülaziz as a leading agent of change and modernity in the search for a “neo-Ottoman” architecture that had the capacity to absorb Western influences and meld them with traditional Ottoman architecture.

Sultan Abdülaziz's desire to partake in the cultural life of Europe was reflected in the meticulous attention given to the design and construction of the Ottoman pavilions for the 1867 Universal Exposition in Paris....The 1867 pavilions marked a turning point in Ottoman architectural history as the end products of a theoretical study whose terms were defined in Europe. Although the change appears to have been enforced from the outside, it should be understood within the general framework of Westernizing reforms undertaken by the ruling elite....If they heralded a new theoretical viewpoint from which the Ottoman architectural heritage could be assessed and recycled, they also revised European architects' and architectural critics' stereotypes of Islamic architecture as a merely sensuous play of decorative devices.³⁰

The Paris Exhibition can be regarded as the international launch of a distinctive new Ottoman Islamic architectural style.³¹ This wave of Ottoman revivalism found fertile ground within the nineteenth-century architectural scene and was fuelled by strong sentiments of patriotism. Sibel Bozdoğan argues that “some of the orientalized and pseudo-islamic styles that had been feeding the European imagination in the public spectacle of the great expositions had also made their way to Istanbul.”³²

During the reign of Sultan Abdülaziz, various Italian and French architects were invited and commissioned to conduct both theoretical research and architectural work in Istanbul.³³ A number of projects reflected Abdülaziz's ambitions of cultivating a neo-Ottoman architectural style that merged traditional Ottoman forms with classical Western European forms.³⁴ For example, the new Beylerbeyi Palace, which served as the sultan's summer residence between 1861 and 1865, reconciled French neo-Baroque architecture with traditional Ottoman elements. Other manifestations of the neo-Ottoman style include the Ministry of Defense gatehouse (1867), by the French architect Marie-Auguste Antoine Bourgeois, and the Malta Kiosk (1870) at Yıldız Park, designed by the architect Sarkis Balyan (d. 1899).³⁵ Balyan's

Malta Kiosk is of particular interest in this context, as it utilized limestone imported directly from the island for the construction of some of its specific architectural elements.³⁶

The project of the new Muslim cemetery in Malta raises a series of challenging issues that are best addressed through a critical assessment of the dynamics of patronage. Several lines of inquiry arise. What was the political significance of this Orientalist project that was primarily intended as an architectural representation of the Ottoman Empire and conceived within a small British colonial island in the Mediterranean at the southernmost edge of Europe? To what degree was this “blatantly exotic Orientalist building on foreign land” dictated and directed by the Ottoman sultanate? How did the project contribute to the “revised meaning and role of Orientalism in Ottoman hands,” particularly in light of the fact that the architect was Maltese? Beyond purely stylistic considerations, how did the project relate to the “various forms of revivalism at the Ottoman centre”?³⁷ The responses to these multifarious lines of inquiry do not conform to one linear discourse or narrative. The Ottoman sultanate, in the “process of positioning itself in relation to European cultural traditions,” perceived this project of a new Muslim cemetery in Malta on various ideological levels.³⁸ The project represented an ideal opportunity to establish a tangible physical presence of “neo-Ottoman culture” on an island whose inhabitants historically associated the Ottomans with the vanquished invaders of the Great Siege of 1565, when under the rule of the Order of St. John, and against all odds, they had managed to repel Sultan Süleyman’s forces. On a symbolic level, the implementation of a grand architectural statement in Malta can be interpreted as a catharsis of this historical episode. At the same time, it was also a way to project an image of a new “coming of age,” an energized and revived Ottoman state that would be viewed on a cultural par with Western European powers, and specifically, in this case, with the British Empire. The other ideological motive was that the establishment of the new Muslim cemetery was being undertaken under the exclusive patronage of the Ottoman sultanate, hence propagating the notion of the Ottoman state’s benevolence and guardianship of Islam in a foreign land that was overwhelmingly Christian and

with no substantial Muslim community residing there. Malta was situated along the main trading routes within the Mediterranean; Muslims traveling in the area might stop briefly in Valletta along the island’s Grand Harbour, on their way to Egypt, Constantinople, and Mecca. The majority of Muslims buried in the cemetery had died in conflicts overseas or on mercantile or military vessels, and very few were permanently based in Malta. Even then, the ethnic roots of several of those buried there originated beyond the strict territorial boundaries of the Ottoman state. Thus, the new Muslim cemetery served to position the Ottoman state in Malta as the sole official representative of Muslims within a British colonial outpost in the Mediterranean.

Sultan Abdülaziz’s willingness to engage a Maltese architect in the production of an overtly exotic and Orientalist building is intriguing, since it seemingly “reverses the power dynamics traditionally associated with Orientalism.”³⁹ Within this context one can argue that there were various interlocutors who participated in the process underpinning the project. The influential role played by Naoum Duhany as an Ottoman diplomat and culture broker was not only pivotal in his dealings with the British colonial government but would possibly have extended to the management and implementation of the project.⁴⁰ The other seminal interlocutor was the architect Emanuele Luigi Galizia, who ultimately had the onerous task of translating this neo-Ottoman vision into stone. At this point it would be relevant to trace the development of the architect’s career prior to his being entrusted with the project.

EMANUELE LUIGI GALIZIA AND HIS VISION FOR THE NEW MUSLIM CEMETERY

Emanuele Luigi Galizia was one of the most prolific architects active in Malta during the second half of the nineteenth century. For most of his architectural career he was employed by the Government Public Works Department, although at a later stage he also accepted private commissions. In 1846, when he was sixteen years old, he embarked upon an apprenticeship under the British civil engineer William Lamb Arrowsmith, who was then superintendent of public works in Malta.

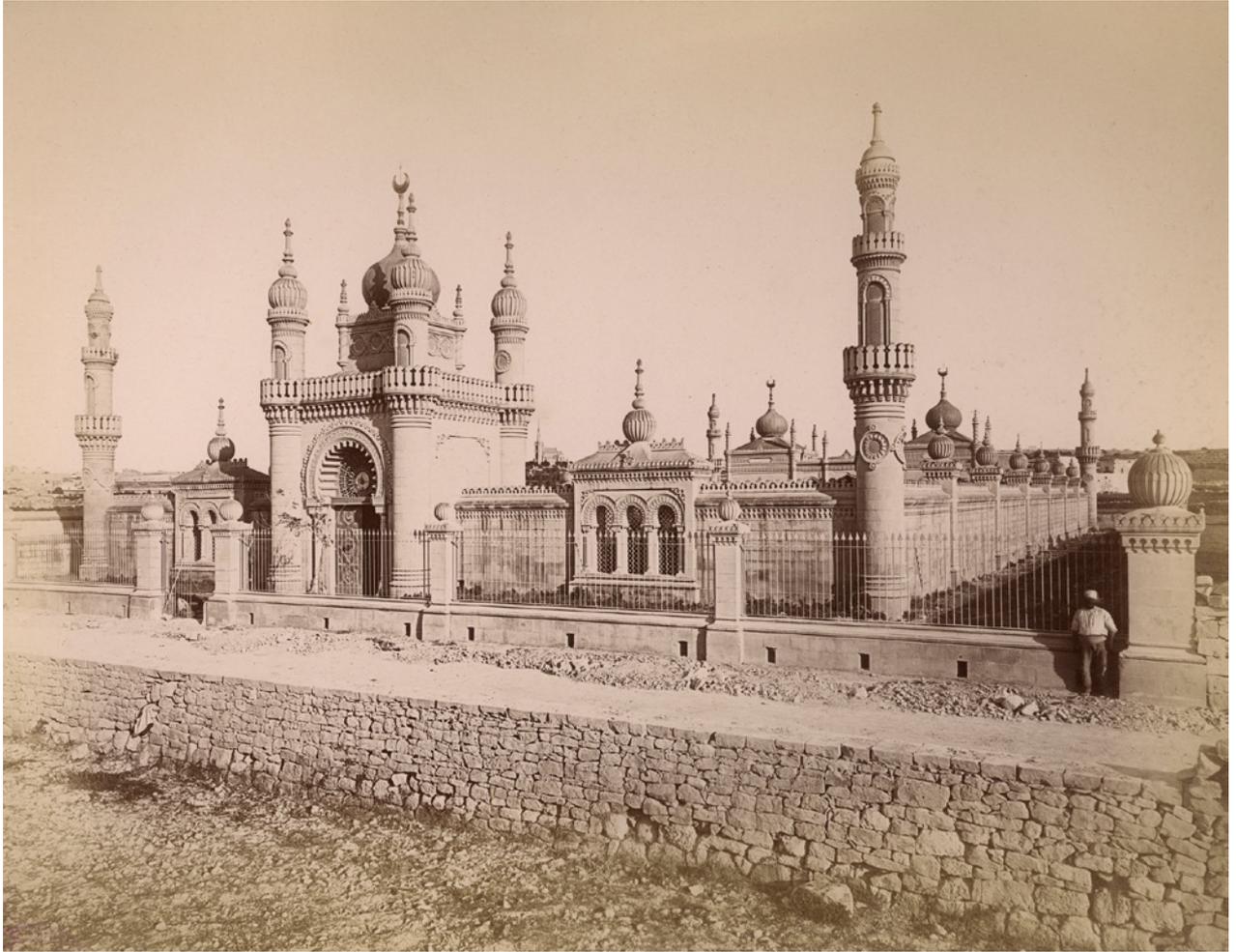


Fig. 5. Muslim cemetery, Marsa, Malta, ca. 1880s. (Photo: Richard Ellis, courtesy of the RIBApix Collection)

Following his apprenticeship he quickly rose through the ranks in government service, being appointed architect (*perito*) no. 1 in 1859, chief architect in December 1860, and, in 1880, superintendent of public works, which post he held until 1888.⁴¹ Galizia was involved in work that was wide-ranging and diverse in scope, and included the maintenance of roads, bridges, lighthouses, palaces, hospitals, schools, courts of justice, prisons, markets, granaries, cemeteries, and public buildings.⁴² In 1888, he was admitted as a fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects. He was very influential in local affairs and for a time even had a seat on the Executive and Legislative Council of the government.

Galizia's architectural *magnum opus* was undoubtedly the planning of the new Addolorata Cemetery, with its church dedicated to Our Lady of Sorrows, completed in 1867. This was an extensive extra-mural Catholic cemetery built on a hillside, with the church and entrance buildings designed in a neo-Gothic architectural style.⁴³ This choice of style appears to have gone against the grain, since the vast majority of local Catholic churches were built in a Baroque idiom. Galizia's choice of neo-Gothic could be interpreted as a conscious decision to be *au courant* with the historic revivalist styles prevailing at the time. Politically, it could also be considered a subtle move to appease the sentiments of the British

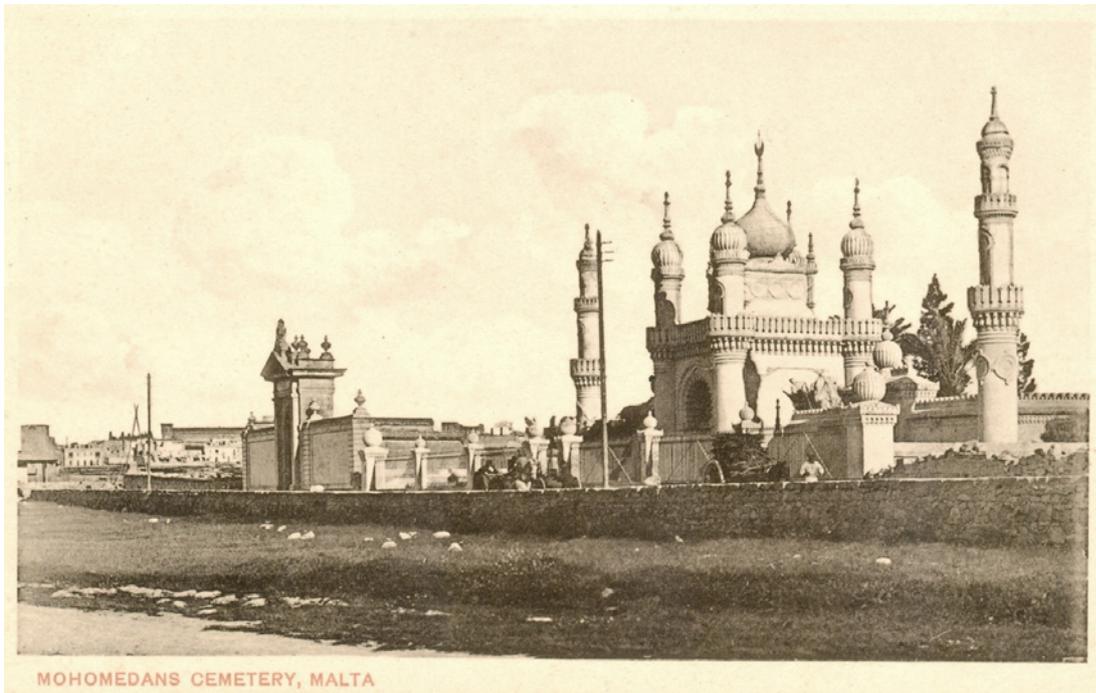


Fig. 6. Postcard dating to ca. 1900, entitled "Mohomedans Cemetery, Malta." Adjoining the Muslim cemetery is the smaller Jewish cemetery. (Postcard: private collection of Conrad Thake)



Fig. 7. Photograph postcard, dating to the 1930s, of the Muslim cemetery, Marsa, Malta. (Photo: private collection of Conrad Thake)

colonial government, which had a closer cultural affinity for the neo-Gothic than the Roman Baroque. Throughout his architectural career, even when designing other Catholic churches, Galizia never succumbed to the local pressures of adopting the popular Baroque style but always preferred a neo-Gothic or neoclassical style. In this respect, Galizia's architectural philosophy appears to have been relatively insulated from the popular trappings of local Baroque architecture in favor of the historical revivalist styles that prevailed on the European continent. His formative years working under the direction of British civil engineers and architects would have nurtured his interest and preference for these contemporary revivalist styles. Furthermore, his close political and cultural ties with officials of the British colonial government ensured that although Galizia was Maltese, the architect was still very much a product of an Anglo-Maltese culture whose allegiance and loyalty were to the British Crown.

In the absence of a formal architectural education Galizia was given various opportunities to travel extensively on architectural visits. In 1860 and 1862, in preparation for the Addolorata Cemetery project, he embarked upon a grand architectural tour of Italy, France, and England.⁴⁴ His visit to the Cimetière du Nord in Paris proved to be particularly useful as it served as the model for the planning of the Addolorata Cemetery in Malta. However, it does not appear that he travelled further afield before undertaking the commission of the new Muslim cemetery. It was only after the completion of the Muslim cemetery that he visited Cyprus, in 1878 and 1879, to report on the state of the island with a view to establishing a Maltese agricultural settlement there. He also toured Syria and Egypt in 1878, Athens and Constantinople in 1879, and Tunis in 1903.⁴⁵ The later visits certainly do indicate that Galizia had a strong cultural interest in the Near East, but there is no evidence that he travelled to these lands prior to embarking upon his designs for the new Muslim cemetery.

Galizia did, however, have access to material depicting architectural views and urban scenes from Istanbul, such as Count Amadeo Preziosi's 1861 album of chromolithographs titled *Stamboul, Souvenir d'Orient*. Galizia's copy was personally signed by Preziosi and contained a dedication to the architect. The circulation of this album

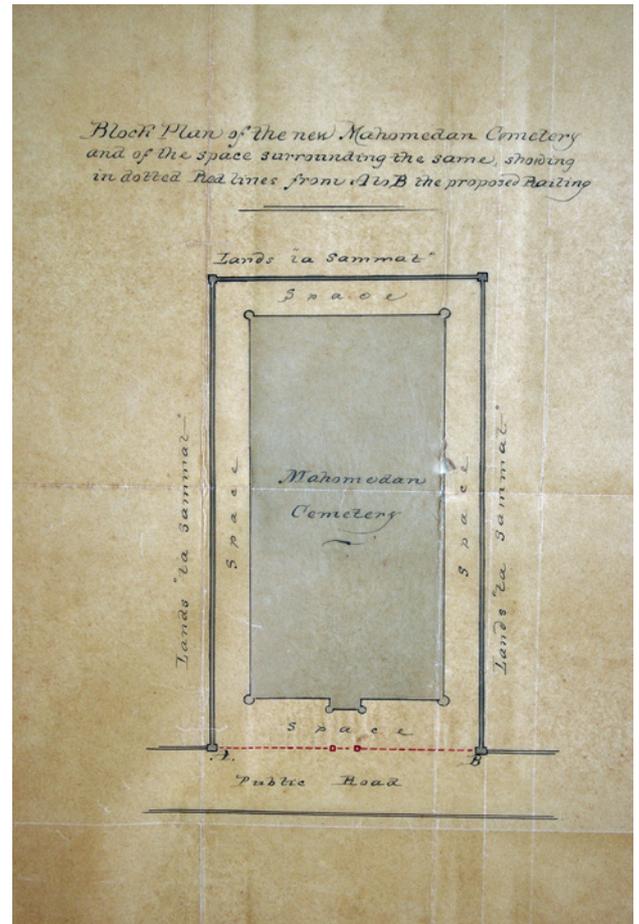


Fig. 8. Plan entitled "Block Plan of the new Mahomedan Cemetery and of the space surrounding the same, showing in dotted Red lines from A to B the proposed Railing." (Plan: courtesy of the National Archives of Malta)

and of similar etchings, lithographs, and prints encouraged a growing appreciation of architecture in distant lands. Through the Office of Public Works, Galizia likely established an extensive network of overseas contacts, with whom he exchanged prints and related material.⁴⁶

In the absence of the direct experience of visiting a building, illustrated books and engravings were an alternative source of influence. As an employee of the Public Works Department, Galizia may very well have consulted Owen Jones's monumental two-volume work on the Alhambra Palace, published in 1842 and 1845,⁴⁷ as well as his other seminal book, *The Grammar of Ornament*, published in 1856, which contains a profusely detailed

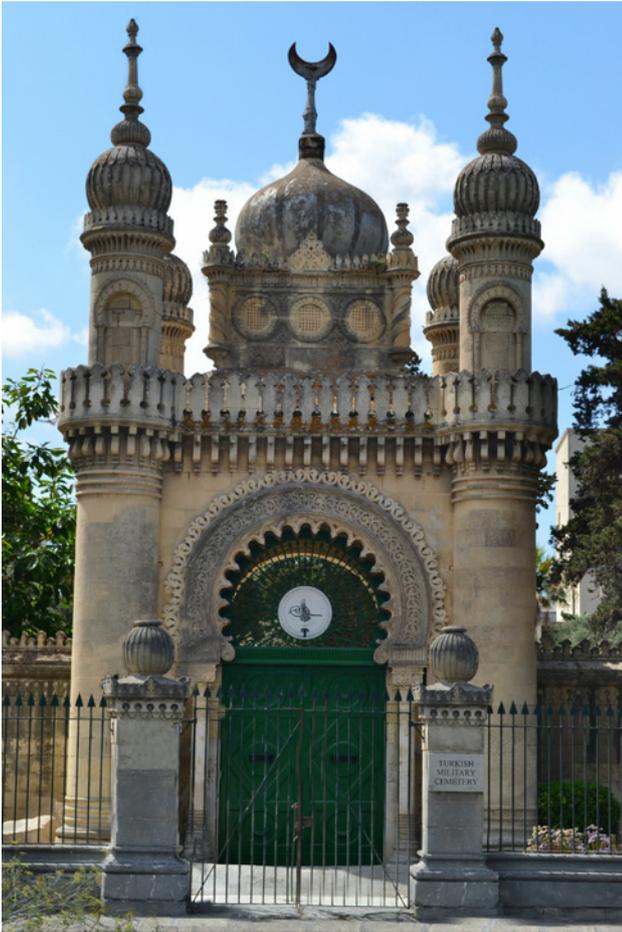


Fig. 9. Main entrance pavilion of the Muslim cemetery. (Photo: Conrad Thake)

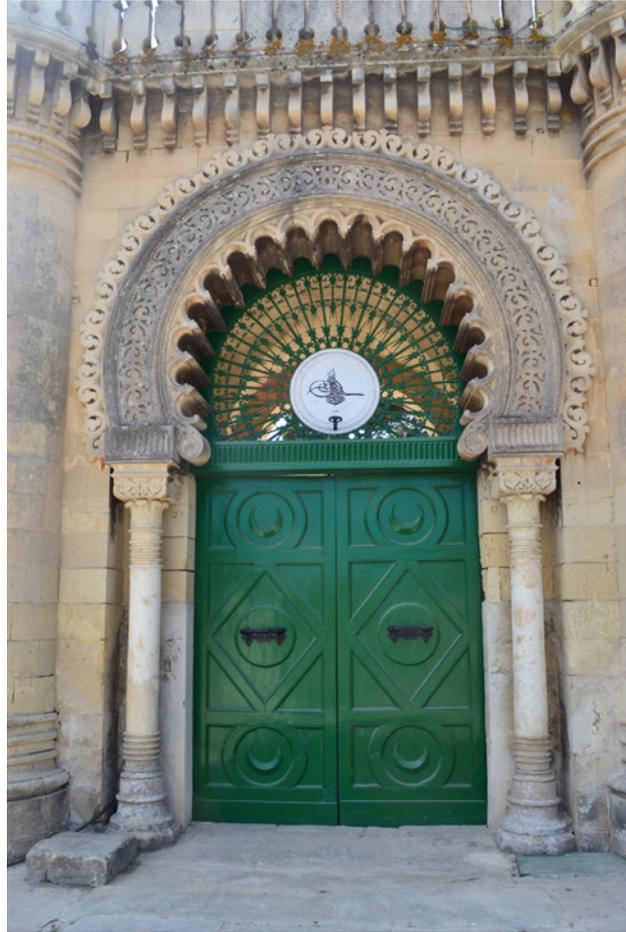


Fig. 10. Doorway of the main entrance pavilion of the Muslim cemetery. (Photo: Conrad Thake)

selection of illustrations. These works would have offered Galizia much information on the details and designs on Islamic architecture and decoration, with particular reference to Andalusian architecture of the twelfth to fourteenth century.⁴⁸ Galizia was an avid admirer of the Alhambra Palace complex at Granada, as later evidenced by the summer residence named after it that he built for himself in Sliema, a town on the north-east coast of Malta.⁴⁹ Moreover, in the 1860s and early 1870s, there are several examples of public buildings, particularly synagogues, that were built on the European continent in a Moorish revival style.⁵⁰

The construction of the new Muslim cemetery proved daunting to Galizia. There was no local historical precedent of Muslim architecture to follow. Furthermore,

situated as it was, relatively close to the Addolorata Cemetery, the new Muslim cemetery had to reflect its own distinctive image.⁵¹ For Galizia, the cemetery conjured a highly esoteric, magical, and exotic setting that transcended the physical confines of the traditional local landscape.

In his mind's eye, the new Muslim cemetery would embody a Romantic fantasy of Orientalist imagery (figs. 5–7).⁵² He was certainly firmly inclined to seek a stylistic break from the Baroque and neo-Gothic architectural styles so closely associated with Christianity and Western Europe. By resorting to Orientalism, Galizia could create a mystical and fantastical setting that brought together a wide range of architectural forms, such as horseshoe and ogee arches, bulbous onion domes, and

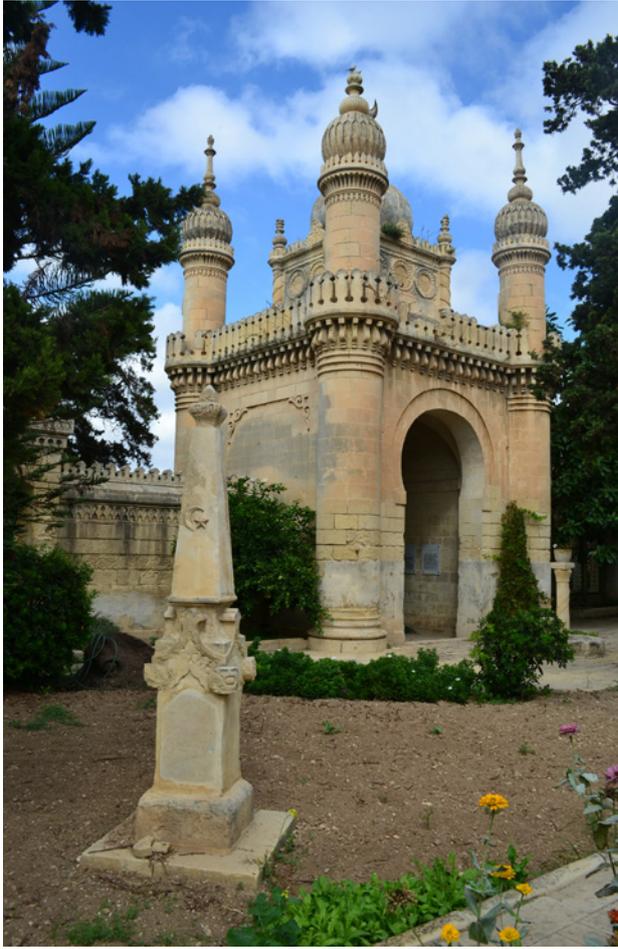


Fig. 11. Main entrance pavilion of the Muslim cemetery. (Photo: Conrad Thake)

decorative pencil minarets.⁵³ Orientalist European architecture was at times called “Indo-Mughal,” in reference to the architecture of Far Eastern countries and the Indian subcontinent. The term “Moorish” was also very loosely applied, to imply a hybrid style derived from a generic view of Islamic architecture, based primarily on regions of Spain and North Africa under Muslim influence.⁵⁴ Both terms have their shortcomings as they are not sensitive to the rich cultural diversity manifested in Islamic architecture.

Galizia, although prolific in terms of his architectural output, did not indulge in writing about his design concepts and philosophies. If we keep in mind that he was an anglophile architect in the service of the British colonial

government, the most obvious architectural sources of inspiration were likely to be the seventeenth-century Taj Mahal in Agra, India, and John Nash’s design for the Prince Regent’s Royal Pavilion at the seaside resort of Brighton (1815–23).⁵⁵ The Taj Mahal is widely recognized as the finest embodiment of Indo-Mughal architecture and it was perceived as combining elements from Persian, Turkish, and Indian architectural styles.⁵⁶ The way in which the complex incorporates a mausoleum within the setting of an Islamic quadripartite garden must have been particularly appealing to him. Furthermore, one can safely assume that Galizia had ready access to visual images of the Taj Mahal, such as etchings, lithographs, and printed media.

On a conceptual level, Galizia was also inspired to pursue the imagery of a walled-in paradisiacal garden. Traditionally, an Islamic garden is a place of rest and meditation, and a reminder of paradise. Furthermore, the *giardino segreto* or walled-in garden, enclosed and bounded by high masonry walls and set off from the public surroundings, is widely prevalent in the Mediterranean region. With no distracting, external sensory stimuli, it provided an ambience that was conducive to personal introspection and meditation. These qualities are equally appropriate for a cemetery.

REALIZING THE VISION: THE NEW MUSLIM CEMETERY

Construction on the new Muslim cemetery project started in earnest in March 1873, a month after the formal transfer of the land. A detailed series of correspondence reveals how the collector of land revenue and public works, G. B. Trapani, and the chief secretary to government, Victor Houlton, agreed upon all the financial aspects related to the land transfer, after which work must have proceeded at a brisk pace: in September 1873, the Ottoman consul Naoum Duhany requested permission from the local authorities to construct an iron railing that would physically separate the cemetery from the public street.⁵⁷ Permission was granted on condition that all expenses were to be borne by the Ottoman sultanate and that the enclosed open space would remain the property of the local colonial government. A plan



Fig. 12. Upper part of main entrance pavilion of the Muslim cemetery. (Photo: Conrad Thake)



Fig. 13. Details of stonework on the upper part of the main entrance pavilion of the Muslim cemetery. (Photo: Conrad Thake)



Fig. 14. Decorative detail of corner of prayer lodge. (Photo: Conrad Thake)



Fig. 15. Detail of decorative minaret-like structures. (Photo: Conrad Thake)

was approved showing the precise location and alignment of the aforementioned iron railing (fig. 8). The entire project was completed by 1874, in less than two years.

Galizia's plan for the Muslim cemetery at Marsa is based on a well-articulated geometrical design in which the two main physical structures are placed along the central axis at the front and back. The main entrance is the dominant architectural element of the front elevation (fig. 9). Access to the cemetery is through a grand horseshoe-arched doorway flanked by columns and surrounded by multiple decorative stone carvings (fig. 10). Centered over the main portal was the *tughrā* (calligraphic monogram) of Sultan Abdülaziz Khan and the date of the cemetery's construction, 1290 (1874). At each

corner of the square-plan kiosk are rounded pilasters that project beyond the decorative stone parapet balcony and emerge as round minaret-like pencil-shaped towers (fig. 11). Unlike the minarets found in mosques, these are solid and purely decorative. Overlying the entrance is a smaller superstructure capped by an onion-shaped dome terminating with the crescent moon as the insignia of the Ottoman sultanate (figs. 12 and 13). At each corner of the rectangular enclosure of the cemetery is an imposing decorative minaret-like tower (figs. 14–16). A combined triple-window screen with intricate arabesque stone relief flanks each side of the entrance kiosk along the front boundary wall (fig. 17). The highly scenographic frontage of the cemetery works its way to a climax at the central entrance, where the crowning bul-



Fig. 16. Detail of decorative minaret-like structures. (Photo: Conrad Thake)



Fig. 17. The jali screen that forms part of the front boundary wall. (Photo: Conrad Thake)

bous dome looms over the four decorative pinnacles. Photographs taken when the cemetery was completed reveal how impressive the overall appearance was. Today, overgrown trees within the complex, along with new building developments in the background, have diminished the dramatic impact of the cemetery's skyline and detract from the clear articulation of architectural forms as originally expressed. The cemetery fronts a busy thoroughfare and faces the disused Marsa race track, which further diminishes the impression it now makes on an observer.

Once through the entrance, the cemetery is symmetrically divided by a central passageway that leads to the funerary lodge building in the back. The lodge combines two identical rooms at each corner that are connected

by a covered arcade (fig. 18). The arcade has a central arched opening, a hybrid of a horseshoe and ogee arch flanked on each side by narrower horseshoe-arched openings (fig. 19). The two identical rooms at opposing ends have rounded corners that project over the roofline, mutating into vertical pinnacles that terminate in the form of a lotus bud. The roofs of both rooms are capped by identical bulbous domes. In addition to the distinctive onion-shaped domes, horseshoe arches, and minaret-like towers, Galizia embellished parts of the wall surface with elaborate stone carvings of geometric forms inspired by nature. The two rooms within the lodge have specific functions: to the east was the preparatory room for burial according to the Muslim rite, and to the west was the prayer room, where prayers were



Fig. 18. Lodge at the rear of the cemetery, ca. 1880. (Photo: courtesy of Francis Galea Naudi)



Fig. 19. The arcade passageway, a central feature of the lodge. (Photo: Conrad Thake)

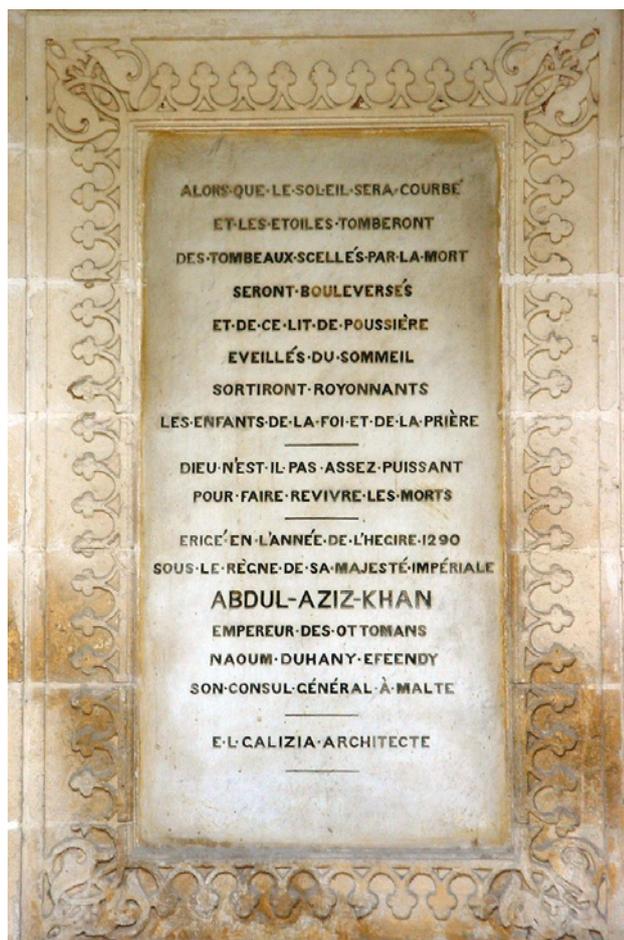


Fig. 20. Marble plaque with decorative stone surround set within the end wall of the lodge, commemorating the foundation of the Muslim cemetery by the Ottoman sultan Abdülaziz and the Maltese architect Emanuele Luigi Galizia. (Photo: Conrad Thake)

recited before the actual burial. At the back wall of the arcade, connecting the two back rooms, is a marble plaque set within an arabesque decorative stone frame that forms a horseshoe arch shape in relief (fig. 20). The plaque bears two inscriptions, one in Ottoman and the other in French. The inscription at the top states in one line: *Bu mezârlık hicretin 1290 yılında 'Osmanlılarıñ pâdişâhı 'Abdül'Aziz Sultân Hân zamân-ı saltanatında inşâ edilmiştir.* (This cemetery was built in the year 1290 [1873–74], during the reign of the Ottoman sultan Abdülaziz Khan.)⁵⁸ The French text in a separate lower field reads as follows:⁵⁹

ALORS – QUE – LE – SOLEIL – SERA – COURBÉ⁶⁰
 ET – LES – ÉTOILES – TOMBERONT⁶¹
 DES – TOMBEAUX – SCELLÉS – PAR – LA – MORT
 SERONT – BOULEVERSÉS⁶²
 ET – DE – CE – LIT – DE – POUSSIÈRE
 EVEILLÉS – DU – SOMMEIL
 SORTIRONT – ROYONNANTS
 LES – ENFANTS – DE – LA – FOI – ET – DE – LA – PRIÈRE

DIEU – N'EST – IL – PAS – ASSEZ – PUISSANT
 POUR – FAIRE – REVIVRE – LES – MORTS

ÉRIGÉ – EN – L'ANNÉE – DE – L'HÉGIRE – 1290 [1874]
 SOUS – LE – RÈGNE – DE – SA – MAJESTÉ – IMPÉRIALE
 ABDUL – AZIZ – KHAN
 EMPEREUR – DES – OTTOMANS
 NAOUM – DUHANY – EFEENDY [sic]
 SON – CONSUL – GÉNÉRAL – À – MALTE

E. L. GALIZIA – ARCHITECTE

In addition to the Taj Mahal and Alhambra, another source of inspiration closer to home and in the spirit of British Orientalism is John Nash's Royal Pavilion at Brighton. However, the eclectic combination of architectural elements and motifs adopted by Galizia is, in effect, a hybrid of Indo-Muslim and Moorish architecture. Architectural features such as the treatment of the main entrance pavilion, with its cusp-rounded arches flanked by columns, recall elements of Muslim architecture identifiable with the Maghreb region, particularly the Great Mosque at Kairouan and, later, the Alhambra palace complex. These were fused with a few select classical Ottoman elements, mainly in the form of pencil-shaped, multi-galleried minarets and bulbous domes crowned with crescents, which give the cemetery complex its variegated skyline. The propagation of a “neo-Ottoman” architectural style that combined “an eclectic array of Ottoman, Orientalist, and Gothic elements” was avidly promoted by Abdülaziz, both on a theoretical level, as in the *Uşûl*, and in architectural projects in Istanbul such as the Sultan's seaside palace at Çırağan

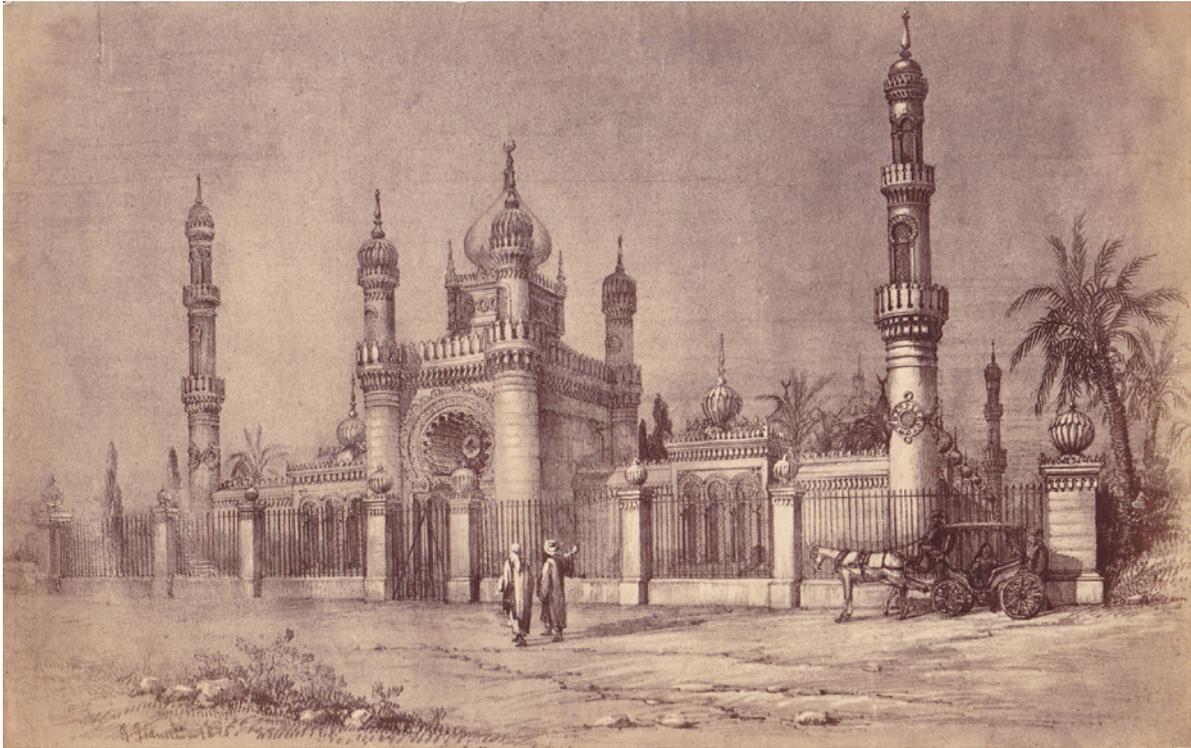


Fig. 21. Girolamo Gianni, "Martyrs' Cemetery in Malta," 1874. Oil painting. Istanbul, Harbiye Military Museum. (Photo: courtesy of the Harbiye Military Museum)

(1864–71) and the Pertveniyal Valide Mosque in Aksaray (1869–71).⁶³ The Çırağan Palace went beyond this combination of Ottoman and Western classical styles, even incorporating an overlay of Moorish elements.

The variegated skyline of minaret towers and bulbous domes, together with the intricate jali screens of window openings and arbaesque surface decoration, all contributes to the creation of a flamboyant building. The intricate geometric surface of incised stonework has a razor-like precision and, combined with multifoil horseshoe-arches, muqarnas, and filigree-like arabesques, is very much indebted to the Alhambra Palace at Granada. The bulbous onion domes and slender minarets can be interpreted as an additional architectural overlay that is overtly Ottoman in terms of representation.

The Neapolitan painter Girolamo Gianni (d. 1895) was commissioned to prepare two drawings and an oil painting of the new Muslim cemetery.⁶⁴ Gianni had first visited Malta in 1867 to evaluate the local art market. Shortly after his visit, he established a *bottega* on the island, selling small souvenir paintings to visitors and undertaking commissioned works of art.⁶⁵ He mainly produced topographically accurate landscapes, streetscapes, and seascapes. Besides depicting scenic views of his hometown, Naples, and Malta, Gianni occasionally ventured further afield and painted views of cities in the Orient. In *Panoramic View of Constantinople, from Beyazit*, signed and dated 1868, the artist depicts a spectacular topographical view of most of Constantinople, highlighting its most iconic landmarks—the Süleymaniye Mosque, the Topkapı Palace, and the



22



23

Figs. 22 and 23. Drawings (22.9 cm × 35.5 cm) of the Muslim cemetery by the Neapolitan artist Girolamo Gianni (1837–95). (Drawings: courtesy of Francis Galea Naudi)



Fig. 24. The medal of the Order of Mecidiye (fourth class), bestowed upon Galizia by the Ottoman sultan, probably during the sultan's short visit to Malta on June 26, 1867. (Photo: courtesy of Francis Galea Naudi)

Haghia Sophia.⁶⁶ The two drawings of the Muslim cemetery in Malta are signed and dated 1875. Although they depict a high level of architectural detail, they appear to have been preparatory studies for the oil painting titled *Martyrs' Cemetery in Malta*, which now forms part of the fine arts collection of the Harbiye Military Museum in Istanbul (fig. 21).⁶⁷

In the first pencil drawing, an external frontal view of the cemetery (fig. 22), two persons in traditional Arab attire are seen walking towards the entrance along the uneven dirt road leading to the cemetery. To the right one sees a horse-drawn carriage with a seated lady along the graveyard fence. The second drawing highlights the prayer lodge behind the cemetery (fig. 23).⁶⁸ The façade of the lodge is recorded in its minutest architectural detail. A man and woman in traditional Middle Eastern attire walk along the central passage way towards the lodge, while another couple is situated at the top right-hand corner, the figure on the left with arm outstretched seemingly extolling the architectural virtues of the building. The foreground depicts a grave in the process of being dug, while other covered graves have low headstones capped by turbans and the fez. Vegetation in the cemetery is sparse except for a row of exotic



Fig. 25. Photograph of a gathering of dignitaries with the Bey of Tunis, in an unidentified location in Tunisia in July 1903. Galizia is standing third from left with hat in hand. (Photo: courtesy of Francis Galea Naudi)



Fig. 26. Photograph of dignitaries standing on the external staircase of the residence of the British consul-general at La Marsa, Tunis, July 1903. Galizia is standing halfway up the staircase, wearing a black top hat. (Photo: courtesy of Francis Galea Naudi)

palm trees neatly planted along one of the boundary walls of the cemetery. It appears that these two drawings were commissioned shortly after the cemetery was completed and the viewpoints in both maximize the architectural merits of the complex. It is quite possible that these drawings were commissioned by Galizia himself, to be forwarded as lithographs to the sultan.

The Ottoman sultan bestowed on Galizia the Order of the Mecidiye (*Mecidiye Nişanı*) (fourth class) (fig. 24).⁶⁹ When this honor was conferred is still unclear,



Fig. 27. Mummified hand with lapis lazuli bracelet around wrist, on crimson velvet and displayed within a box with glass panel. (Photo: courtesy of Francis Galea Naudi)

though it has been suggested that the ceremony may have taken place during the sultan's brief visit to Malta in June 1867. Galizia also visited Tunis, in the summer of 1903, where he was one of the recipients of an honor bestowed probably by the Bey of Tunis. Contemporary photographs show Galizia and others dressed in formal attire, in the presence of the Bey (figs. 25 and 26). It is very unlikely, however, that he received the Mecidiye honor as late as 1903, as more than twenty-five years would have elapsed since the completion of the Muslim cemetery. This scenario is even more improbable when one considers the changing political situation. The Bey of Tunis, who was historically a vassal of the Ottoman Empire, only acted in this capacity until 1881, when the Ottoman era in Tunisia came to an end and the country became a French protectorate.⁷⁰ Given the Muslim cemetery's secondary historic connections with the Re-

gency of Tunis (mentioned earlier), it could well be that the Bey of Tunis bestowed upon Galizia another honor distinct from that of the Order of Mecidiye.⁷¹

Galizia also acquired an unusual gift, a small wooden box with a glass cover containing the mummified hand of a young female, allegedly that of an ancient Egyptian princess (fig. 27).⁷² The donation of such exotic (and morbid) gifts by influential patrons in recognition of services well rendered was popular during the late nineteenth century. Nevertheless, various superstitions and myths alluding to mystical spells emanating from these artifacts are purely the product of nineteenth-century Western literary sources, fuelled by cultural misrepresentations of the Orient.⁷³

THE OTTOMAN CEMETERY IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The cemetery was repaired and restored between March 1919 and October 1920, on the initiative of Kuşçubaşı Eşref Bey, one of the Ottoman officers interned by the British in Malta after the end of the First World War.⁷⁴ A monument was erected by him to commemorate all the Ottoman soldiers who had died in Malta as prisoners of war during the First World War and were buried in the cemetery,⁷⁵ their names inscribed on the marble plaques of the octagonal base (fig. 28).⁷⁶ The restoration was undertaken after the 1918 Armistice of Moudros, at a time when several Turkish nationalists,⁷⁷ including five parliamentary deputies, had been exiled by the British authorities to Malta.⁷⁸ Most of these were leading political figures, high-ranking soldiers and intellectuals of the Ottoman Empire, such as Ziya Gökalp (d. 1924), an eminent sociologist, writer, poet, and intellectual of the nationalist movement, whose personal memoirs relating to his detention in Malta were recorded in *Limni ve Malta Mektupları*, published after his death.⁷⁹ In the absence of a mosque, the detainees were permitted to attend Friday prayers at the new Muslim cemetery.⁸⁰

Following the abolition of the sultanate and his expulsion from Constantinople, the last Ottoman sultan, Mehmed VI (r. 1918–22), briefly stayed in Malta in 1922 before proceeding to Mecca and eventually taking up residence in San Remo.⁸¹ He regularly visited a garden



Fig. 28. Monument erected in 1919–20 on the initiative of Kuşçubaşı Eşref Bey, Commander of the Muslim Warriors in Malta, to commemorate all those buried in the cemetery who died in World War I. (Photo: Conrad Thake)

along the fortifications of Valletta that is known to this day as *Ġnien is-Sultan* (Sultan's Garden). In March 1928, Chevalier F. K. Gollcher, in his capacity as the Turkish general consul, visited the cemetery and noted that there were 103 unidentified Muslims buried there. He made specific reference to the burial sites of twenty-three Muslims, mainly Moroccans, who had perished in the sinking of the passenger ship *SS Sardinia*, just off the Grand Harbour, in November 1908.⁸² Also buried at the cemetery were at least nine soldiers belonging to the 2nd Regiment of the Algerian Infantry who perished at sea on September 22, 1939, at the onset of the Second World War.

The Muslims buried in the cemetery came from Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Morocco, Somalia, and Turkey, as well as the more distant lands of Burma, India, Indonesia, and French Polynesia. They were mostly members of the military corps and navy personnel, or prisoners of war who died while detained in Malta. The cemetery continued to be used for burials of Muslims until the establishment, in 2007, of a new cemetery, officially designated "The Malta Islamic Cemetery," on a parcel of land in Corradino, adjoining the modern mosque and Islamic center that were built in the 1970s. Before the mosque was built, the Ottoman cemetery was also used for weekly Friday prayers.⁸³

ORIENTALIST ARCHITECTURE IN MALTA

Galizia's Muslim cemetery was the first architectural manifestation in Malta of the exotic Orientalist style. His consummate skill in borrowing and assimilating traditional elements from both Andalusian and Ottoman architecture produced a distinctive representation of Islam and the Orient. To the Maltese, whose collective historical memory was dominated by the Ottomans' repeated attacks on the island in the name of Islam, the cemetery was a solitary nineteenth-century symbol of neo-Ottoman and Muslim resurgence.

To date, no records have been found that provide us with the names of the masons and stone carvers who worked on the cemetery's construction. The many decorative carvings in local globigerina stone on the various building components are testimony to the exquisiteness of local craftsmanship. There is no reason to believe

that this could have been the work of foreign builders, as local craftsmanship in stone was of the highest level, and exalted and marketed abroad. A decade later, at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition held in London in 1886, Galizia, in his official capacity as superintendent of public works, was appointed chairman of the Maltese exhibition committee.⁸⁴ The entrance to the Maltese Pavilion was specially constructed of local limestone and carved by local artisans working under Galizia's supervision.⁸⁵ The stone blocks of the gateway were individually numbered, crated, and shipped to England. On exhibit in the Maltese Pavilion were the traditional crafts of stoneware, lace, and jewelry, and Galizia arranged a varied display of local craftsmen's stone carvings, including decorative stone balustrades, capitals, columns, and finials, in order to promote Maltese masonry and increase exports to Britain and the Continent (fig. 29).⁸⁶

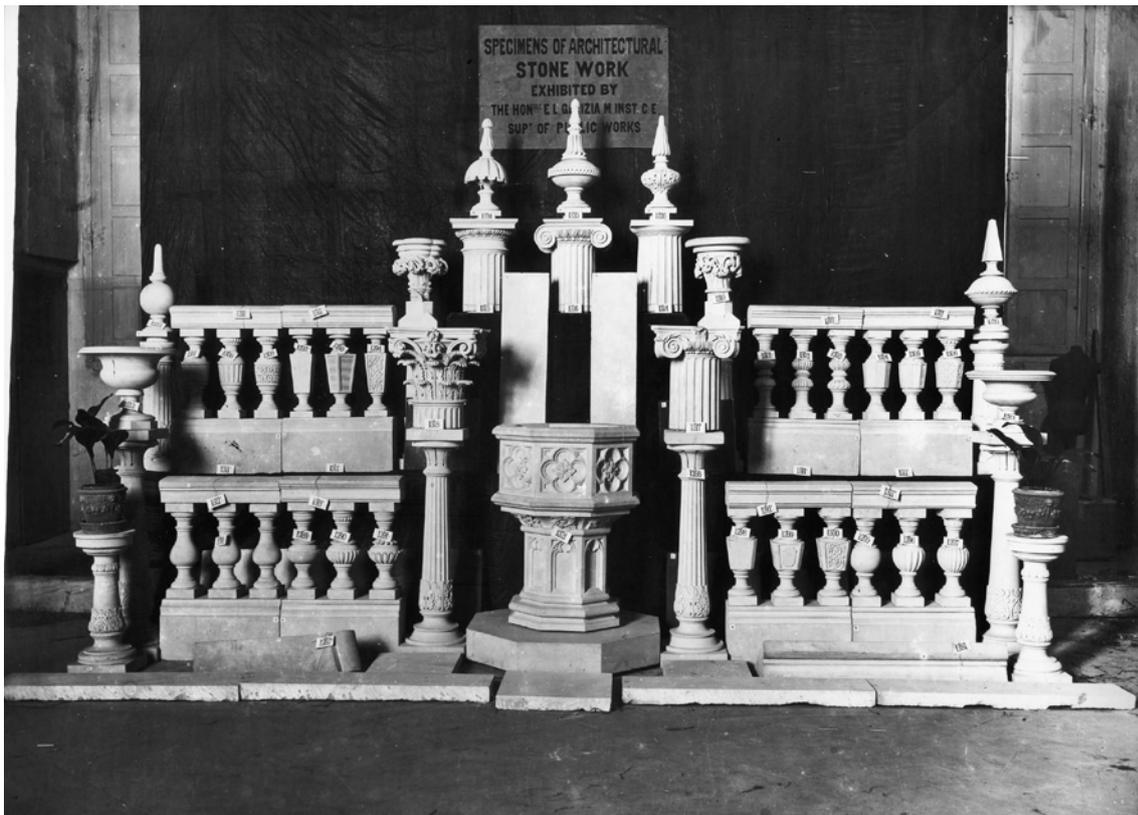


Fig. 29. Display of an example of ornamental stonework by Maltese craftsmen at the Indo-Colonial Exhibition, London, 1886. (Photo: courtesy of the Richard Ellis Archive—Malta)



Fig. 30. Ensemble of three terraced houses named Alcazar, Pax, and Alhambra on Rudolph Street, Sliema, all designed by E. L. Galizia. (Photo: Conrad Thake)

A few years after the Muslim cemetery was completed, Galizia constructed a series of three terraced houses in the Orientalist Indo-Mughal style. Built between 1876 and 1878 and named Alcazar, Pax, and Alhambra, they were situated on Rudolph Street in Sliema, in what was then a rural countryside setting commanding scenic views over Marsamxett Harbour (fig. 30). The Alhambra was designed as his own family summer residence, and the ornate decorative treatment of the façade is directly indebted to the Ottoman Muslim cemetery. Oriental-style architecture in Malta never quite established itself. It was perceived as a hybrid and alien style exclusively associated with the British affluent classes and having no affinity with the local artistic milieu, which favored the Baroque and neoclassical styles. Galizia's trio of houses in Sliema would mark the definitive end of the short-lived Oriental style in Malta.

The contemporary writer and artist T. M. P. Duggan has described Galizia's cemetery as "the Ottoman Taj Mahal." It is "the least known and certainly today the most important surviving nineteenth-century Ottoman building to have been built beyond the borders of the Ottoman Sultanate, in the new Ottoman Islamic style. This building is an architectural statement of great beau-

ty, and also of boldness and authority."⁸⁷ Duggan argues that this new Ottoman style was directly related to the "increasing stress laid by Ottoman rulers in the second half of the nineteenth century on their Caliphal title, stressing their leadership of the Sunni Muslim community worldwide, and thus, through the employment of this architectural style ... their international commitment to the wider Islamic community."⁸⁸ This statement assumes even greater political significance when one considers that Abdülaziz's new Muslim cemetery was built in Malta, a British colony and a bulwark of British imperial power along the main sea trade routes in the Mediterranean. The cemetery represented an alternative set of values and beliefs in sharp contraposition to the architectural imagery associated with the British colonial authorities in Malta. This manifestation of Ottoman revivalism can be interpreted as the fulfillment of "an aspiration to claim a place for Ottoman architecture among the 'modern styles' or revivalisms of the nineteenth century."⁸⁹ Galizia's new Muslim cemetery was intended as an idealized representation of the Orient and Islam in Malta. In the words of Zeynep Çelik, a "generic domed Ottoman mosque with pencil minarets" encompasses a wider vision whereby "indeed the power

of this image is such that it represents not only Turkey but the entire world of Islam.”⁹⁰ Ultimately, it was an architectural microcosm of the Islamic world as envisioned and perceived by a talented architect working in relative isolation in Malta, a small British colonial island at the southernmost boundary of Western Europe.

This case study highlights the intricate cross-cultural networks and dynamics of patronage that characterize Orientalism in a peripheral location far removed from the traditional center from which it emanated. The narrative of Galizia’s cemetery demonstrates that Orientalism was not a closed and binary system, but rather a permeable and open-ended paradigm of artistic representation.

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NOTES

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1. Anthony T. Luttrell, *Approaches to Medieval Malta* (London: The British School at Rome, 1975), 26–31.
2. The academic debate on the local state of affairs in Malta during the Arab period in the late ninth to eleventh century has been highly charged, with two entrenched diametrically-opposed positions being postulated. Academic writings on this controversial debate have intensified during the past decade. Some of the more seminal contributions are: Charles Dalli, “Medieval Island Societies: Reassessing Insulation in a Central Mediterranean Context,” *Al-Masāq: Islam and the Medieval Mediterranean* 10 (1998): 73–82; and Godfrey Wettinger, “Malta in the High Middle Ages,” *Melita Historica* 15, 4 (2011): 367–90.
3. Neville Juan Cardona, “The Saracenic Cemetery on the Site of the Roman Domus, Rabat (Malta): An Analysis of the Archaeological Evidence” (BA [Hons.] thesis, Departments of Classics and Archaeology, Faculty of Arts, University of Malta, 2002); Suzannah Depasquale and Neville Juan Cardona, *The Domus Romana, Rabat Malta* (Malta: Heritage Malta, 2005).
4. Cardona, “Saracenic Cemetery,” 83–85, as cited in Depasquale and Cardona, *Domus Romana*, 5. Ornamentation of the corpse in Islamic burial is very rare. During the excavations of the Islamic cemetery, the only significant possession that was discovered was a solid silver ring with the Kufic inscription *Rabbī Allāh Waḥīd* (God alone is my Lord), an invocation derived from the Koran. Sir Themistocles Zammit, who directed the excavations in 1920–25, recorded the following entry in his field notes: “a silver ring was found on the second finger of the right hand of the skeleton laid in a well-made grave. The ring is plain with a broad face on which an inscription in Kufic characters is cut.” Zammit’s archaeological field notebook no. 6, 1921/24, 21, National Archives of Malta.
5. Recent roadwork excavations in Marsa have revealed the remains of the Muslim cemetery dating back to 1675, confirming the existence of a Turkish slave cemetery in the area. The human remains are oriented southeastward, facing Mecca. As is customary in a Muslim burial place, those laid to rest appear to have been buried with no accompanying relics or artifacts. An alternative hypothesis has been advanced that the remains could be part of an ad-hoc cemetery established by the Ottomans during the Great Siege of 1565 near their base camp in Marsa. However, archaeologists working on the excavation have deemed this highly unlikely, since the orderly arrangement and careful spacing of the remains were not characteristic of a war camp cemetery. See the report by Bertrand Borg, “Workmen Discover a Muslim Cemetery,” in *The Times of Malta*, February 11, 2012.
6. Map as per pl. 72, reproduced in Godfrey Wettinger, *Slavery in the Islands of Malta and Gozo, ca. 1000–1812* (Malta: Publishers Enterprises Group, 2002), 448. Also, “Petition to the Grand Master of the Cadi and the Chief-rower of the *Capitana* and All the Slaves of the Order,” and decree of the Grandmaster’s auditor, A.O.M 484, fol. 267v, cited in Wettinger, *Slavery in the Islands of Malta and Gozo*, 444n19.
7. File 121, “Cemeteries in the Valletta District” (drawing 1b, Chief Draftsman Office [CDO], Public Works Department, Floriana), cited in Mario Borg, “The Addolorata Cemetery: A Study of a Select Number of Funerary Chapels of the Late Nineteenth Century and Early Twentieth Century” (BA [Hons.] thesis, Department of History of Art, Faculty of Arts, University of Malta, 1998). Although slavery in Malta was abolished with Napoleon’s arrival in 1800, the cemetery continued to be used as a Muslim burial place until

- the mid-nineteenth century. See Wettinger, *Slavery in the Islands of Malta and Gozo*.
8. *The Malta Times and United Service Gazette*, July 12, 1873, p. 2.
 9. In the contractual deed for the new Muslim cemetery Antonio Naoum Duhany is referred to as the son of the late Michele Duhany from Constantinople. He was appointed Ottoman consul to Malta in October 1863. For biographical references to some members of the Duhani (contemporary spelling) family, see Suzan Said Naoum Duhani, *Vieilles gens, vieilles demeures: Topographie sociale de Beyoğlu au XIXème siècle* (Istanbul: Éditions du Touring et automobile club de Turquie, 1947). The entry for the Ottoman consul for the British colony of Malta is listed as “Malte–Naoum Duhany-effendi,” in *Almanach de Gotha, Annuaire diplomatique et statistique pour l’année 1867*, 595.
 10. CSG 04/37, 1865–66, no. 2206, letter dated August 30, 1865, from Victor Houlton, chief secretary of state, to Naoum Duhany, Ottoman consul. National Archives of Malta, Rabat, Malta.
 11. Ibid.
 12. Ibid. The tripartite arrangement of this diplomatic post could be explained vis-à-vis the limited financial and human resources of a small island state such as Malta. The appointed consul combined diplomatic relations with three Muslim states, two in the Maghreb region and one in the East, that together had extensive commercial links with the British island colony. The Regency of Tunisia was until 1881 an autonomous province under the rule of the Ottomans and hence, on a political level it was naturally coupled with the Ottoman Porte. The Empire of Morocco represented a different scenario since during the nineteenth century, under the rule of the Alaouite dynasty, it remained fully independent, until 1912 when, following the Treaty of Fez, Morocco was effectively divided into a French and Spanish protectorate. See Kenneth Perkins, *A History of Modern Tunisia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); C. R. Pennell, *Morocco since 1830: A History* (New York: New York University Press, 2001); Susan Gilson Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013).
 13. Notarial Archives, Valletta, Acts of Notary Francesco Saverio Camilleri, file no. 74, 573–83.
A full transcript of the contractual deed in Italian was reproduced in Vincenza Grassi, “The Turkish Cemetery at Marsa on Malta Island: Historical Background, Topography and Tombstones Features,” *Studi Magrebini*, n.s., 2 (2004): attachment no. 1, 188–94.
 14. Ibid.
 15. Report of the Chief Secretary General (CSG) on Legal Government Notice (LGO) no. 11271, dated October 16, 1871, National Archives of Malta. The report includes the memorandum, which provides detailed information pertaining to the transfer of the land, land valuations, and rents for different land leases. This memorandum was preparatory work for the eventual execution of a contract dated June 11, 1873. See Deed 573, registered by Notary F. Camilleri, Notarial Archives, Valletta.
 16. Ibid.
 17. Letter dated April 30, 1873, from Lorenzo Farrugia, Tunisian consul, to Victor Houlton, chief secretary of state, consular no. 2086, n. 462, in Acts of Notary Francesco Saverio Camilleri, file no. 74, p. 582. Transcript of letter cited in Grassi, “Turkish Cemetery at Marsa,” 192.
 18. Besides the Muslim cemetery and the Addolorata Cemetery attached to the Church of Our Lady of Sorrows (1867), Galizia also designed the Protestant cemetery at Ta’ Braxia (1855). Other works include the Carmelite Church, Balluta Bay (1871; later demolished and rebuilt according to a different design); the Church of Our Lady of Lourdes, Mgarr, Gozo (1888); the Bugeja Technical Institute at Hamrun (1880); the Victoria Gate, Valletta (1884); and the trio of Oriental-style residential houses on Rudolph Street, Sliema. Biographical entry in Leonard Mahoney, *5000 Years of Architecture in Malta* (Malta: Valletta Publishing, 1996), 316–17. See also Conrad Thake, “Emanuele Luigi Galizia (1830–1907), Architect of the Romantic Movement,” *The Treasures of Malta* 6, 3 (Summer 2000): 37–42.
 19. Joseph Galizia was in regular correspondence with his architect brother Emanuele Luigi, and periodically indulged his brother’s family with small gifts such as Turkish sweets and other delicacies. Personal email communication, dated August 24, 2013, with Robert Galea.
 20. Following his artistic education in Paris, Amadeo Preziosi (d. 1882) permanently moved to Constantinople around 1840–41, establishing his studio in the Pera district. It soon became a popular site for travelers and dignitaries such as Edward VII (then Prince of Wales). Preziosi became one of the most celebrated watercolorists of the nineteenth century, depicting topographical and street scenes of Constantinople and Cairo. He reproduced several of these in the form of chromolithograph albums titled *Stamboul: Recollections of Eastern Life* (Paris, 1858), reedited and printed as *Stamboul, Souvenir d’Orient* (1861) and *Souvenir de Caire* (1862). The contemporary French art critic Victor Champier praised Preziosi, stating that among the painters of the Bosphorus he was “the only one who gave life to the secrets of colour of the skyline of Istanbul.” Briony Llewellyn and Charles Newton, *The People and Places of Constantinople: Watercolours by Amadeo Count Preziosi, 1816–1882* (London, 1985). This is a catalogue of the Preziosi exhibition held at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
 21. The son of Sultan Mahmud II (r. 1808–39), Abdülaziz succeeded his brother Abdülmecid I in 1861. He was born in Constantinople and received an Ottoman education, but was a keen admirer of Western European culture. He was interested in literature and was also a composer of classical music. E. Z. Karal, *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (Leiden, 1954–2005), s.v. “Abd al-‘Aziz.”
 22. The sultan’s visit to Europe was widely reported in the Western European print media. The local newspaper *The Malta Times and United Service Gazette*, no. 2065, June 15,

- 1867, reproduced a report on the sultan's visit to Europe that appeared in the *Levant Herald* on May 29, 1867. The report stated that the sultan would be traveling on the imperial yacht *Sultanieh*, and would be accompanied on his voyage from Constantinople to Toulon by, among others, the ironclad frigate *Sultan Mahmoud*. However, there was no mention in the local media of the sultan's brief visit to Malta.
23. Consular no. 159, National Archives of Malta: 28/5/1867 Consul General Constantinople Sultan – Acknowledgement and receipt of telegram Relative to the departure of British Consulate General Constantinople 28 May 1867
Your telegram of the 24th reached me early on the following morning and I immediately communicated its purpose to Her Majesty's Ambassador who yesterday replied to me that he would take care to inform the Authorities at Malta of anything relative to the Sultan's movements which it may concern them to know.—It is as yet uncertain I believe on what date the Sultan will embark from this to Marseilles, although it is rumoured in official quarters that His Imperial Majesty intends to leave on the 27th proximo.
I have the honour to be
Sir, your humble servant
With great respect
[signed] Victor Houlton
 24. Consular no. 174, D/C 4/6/67 Consul Tripoli, National Archives of Malta. According to the correspondence, the Ottoman steamer *Nautilus el Gharb* set sail from the port of Tripoli to Malta on June 1, 1867, with Mahmud Pasha, governor-general of the Regency on board, on his way to Constantinople; it was also stated that the pasha intended to spend a few days in Malta. The letter from the Ottoman consul to the chief secretary of state Victor Houlton refers to how the pasha should be received at Constantinople so as best to consolidate the good diplomatic relations that existed between the Ottoman and British authorities. The *Levant Herald* of July 3, 1867, reported that "Mahmoud Nedim Pasha, formerly Governor of Tripoly in Barbary had been appointed a member of the Grand Council of Justice." This announcement was also cited in *The Malta Times and United Service Gazette* of July 11, 1867.
 25. Sultan Abdülaziz established a council of state, as well as a university open to both Muslims and Christians, and published the first installment of a code of civil law. However, these initiatives met strong opposition from conservative Turks. One of his most notable achievements was the modernization of the Ottoman navy: "by 1875, the navy comprised 21 battleships and 173 warships, making it the third largest in the world after the British and French fleets.;" <http://www.paralumun.com/ottomanmil.htm>. Although he continued with his policies to modernize Turkey, the later years of his reign were marked by political turmoil. The sultan's unbridled expenditures and considerable debts, together with the crop failure of 1873, generated considerable public dissent. Abdülaziz was deposed on May 30, 1876 in a coup instigated by his ministers. His death a few days later at Feriye palace, Istanbul, was attributed to suicide. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Abdulaziz-Ottoman-sultan>, accessed on July, 16, 2016. For an analysis of economic and political developments of the late Ottoman Empire during the nineteenth century, see Karen Barkey, *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); M. Sükrü Hanioğlu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2008).
 26. The word "Tanzimat" means "reordering." It relates "to the period of intense modernization in the Ottoman Empire that was officially inaugurated by the declaration of the Imperial Rescript of the Rose Chamber in 1839. The period is generally considered to have ended with the enthronement of Abdülhamid II and the adoption of the short-lived Ottoman constitution of 1876." Ahmet Ersoy, "Architecture and the Search for Ottoman Origins in the Tanzimat Period," in "Historiography and Ideology: Architectural Heritage of the 'Lands of Rum,'" ed. Sibel Bozdoğan and Gülru Necipoğlu, special issue, *Muqarnas* 24 (2007): 134n1.
 27. For a critical overview and analysis of the text, see Ahmet Ersoy, "On the Sources of the 'Ottoman Renaissance': Architectural Revival and Its Discourse during the Abdülaziz Era (1861–76)" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2000).
 28. Ersoy, "Architecture and the Search for Ottoman Origins in the Tanzimat Period," 119.
 29. On Parvillée, see Beatrice St. Laurent, "Léon Parvillée: His Role as Restorer of Bursa's Monuments and His Contribution to the Exposition Universelle of 1867," in *L'Empire ottomane, la république de Turquie et la France*, ed. Hâmit Batu and Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont (Istanbul: Isis, 1986): 247–82, cited in Ersoy, "Architecture and the Search for Ottoman Origins in the Tanzimat Period," 139n53, pp. 117–39.
 30. Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 97. For the impact of Italian architects on urban interventions in nineteenth-century Istanbul, see Zeynep Çelik, "The Italian Contribution to the Remaking of Istanbul," in "Amate Sponde: Presence of Italy in the Architecture of the Islamic Mediterranean," special issue, *Environmental Design: Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre* 9–10 (Rome: Carucci, 1990): 128–33.
 31. During his historic tour of France and Britain in 1867, Sultan Abdülaziz visited the Ottoman section of the Parisian Exposition universelle, where ceramics, textiles, and buildings in the new Ottoman Islamic style were attracting crowds. The buildings were designed by Léon Parvillée, who had worked on the restoration of the buildings of Bursa following the earthquake of 1855, and reinterpreted

- the Green Mosque of Bursa (built 1415–19) and the Çinili Koşk (Tiled Kiosk) of Istanbul (1472), with additional detailing from other parts of the Islamic world, adding a touch of the Alhambra to the pavilions. See St. Laurent, “Léon Parvillée: His Role as Restorer,” 247–82.
32. Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building* (Seattle, 2001), 27. The first chapter, titled “The Legacy of the Ottoman Revivalism,” highlights various approaches in the architectural production of the time and argues that this movement heralded the advent of modernism.
 33. The Italian architect Giovanni Battista Barborini and his French assistant Léon Parvillée were in charge of the Ottoman Pavilion in the Parisian Exposition universelle of 1867. See “The Paris Exhibition of 1867,” in *The Levant Herald*, January 10, 1867; and Victor Marie de Launay, Pietro Montani, et al., *Uşûl-i Mi'mâri-i 'Osmanî* (Istanbul, 1873).
 34. The currents of westernization in Ottoman culture as manifested in architectural developments can be traced to the eighteenth century. For example, the Ottoman Baroque is one aspect of architectural and material culture that demonstrated the Ottoman response to Western Europe. Ali Uzay Peker, “Western Influences on the Ottoman Empire and Occidentalism in the Architecture of Istanbul,” *Eighteenth-Century Life* 26, 3 (Fall 2002): 139–63. See also Ayşe Nasir, “Concept of Westernization and the Role of Foreign Architects in 19th century Ottoman Architecture”: <http://www.levantineheritage.com/note68.htm>, accessed February 26, 2015. See also Maurizio Boriani, “Between Westernization and Orientalism: Italian Architects and Restorers in Istanbul from the 19th Century to the Beginning of the 20th” in *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki*, 57, 3 (2012): 5–35.
 35. Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, 139–44.
 36. Michael Ellul, “Malta Limestone Goes to Europe: Use of Malta Stone outside Malta,” in *60th Anniversary of The Malta Historical Society: A Commemoration* (Malta: The Malta Historical Society, 2010), 377. Ellul cites personal correspondence with Çelik Gülersoy (d. 2003) stating that “the appendage attached to this pavilion is due to the use of stone from Malta in its entrance lobby and the low parapet wall which surrounds the building at its highest level.” See also Çelik Gülersoy, *Yıldız Parkı ve Malta Köşkü = Yıldız Parc and Malta Pavilion* (Istanbul: TTOK Yayınları, 1983). The history of the construction of the Malta Kiosk requires further investigation and analysis with a view to elucidating the cross-cultural links between Malta under British colonial rule and the Ottoman sultanate during the late nineteenth century.
- Extensive amounts of Malta limestone were also imported to Istanbul for the construction there of the Christ Church, also known as the Crimea Memorial Church (1858–68), by the architect George Edmund Street (d. 1881). This Protestant church was built in memory of British soldiers who died in the Crimean War. Ellul, “Malta Limestone Goes to Europe,” 398–99. The export of Maltese limestone continued during the first half of the twentieth century, with Greece and Italy the primary destinations. For the period 1909–1915, it is estimated that 679 tons of Malta stone were imported to Turkey. Ellul, “Malta Limestone Goes to Europe,” 406.
37. I am indebted to the anonymous reviewer of this paper for posing these important questions.
 38. Jill Beaulieu and Mary Roberts, eds., *Orientalism's Interlocutors: Painting, Architecture, Photography* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), 4.
 39. Regarding this cultural reversal in Orientalist discourse, see the introductory essay in *ibid.*, 1–18.
 40. Official correspondence in the local archives relates only to Duhany's role in the transfer of land and the contract for the establishment and ownership of the new cemetery. I have found no local documents that shed light on Duhany's role, if any, in consultations with the architect or in management of the project. Research in the Ottoman archives could reveal other aspects of Duhany's involvement, if any, in the project.
 41. The main milestones in E. L. Galizia's architectural career, along with a comprehensive listing of all the projects and buildings he was involved in between 1859 and 1886, are recorded in his own handwritten application to be admitted as a fellow to the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA). The application was signed and submitted by Galizia in June 1887, and approved by the RIBA Council on October 10, 1887; he was formally elected as a fellow on January 23, 1888. See application by E. L. Galizia, in *Records of the Royal Institute of British Architects* (London, 1888).
 42. *Ibid.*
 43. Borg, “Addolorata Cemetery,” 48–53.
 44. See n. 41 above regarding the RIBA application.
 45. Report drawn up by G. C. Schinas and E. L. Galizia, *Island of Cyprus: Report to H.E. the Governor of Malta* (Malta: Government Printing Press, 1879). The dates of E. L. Galizia's overseas travels are listed in the RIBA application, cited in n. 41.
 46. The correspondence between Galizia and the London-based architect Arthur S. Flower (d. 1936) is particularly revealing. In a letter dated December 20, 1894, Flower mentions having sent Galizia “a little etching of Old Temple Bar (the last of the London Gates; removed in 1878), as it may interest you....” Galizia, in a letter dated December 28, 1894, reciprocated by sending Flower “a small memento of the gate of Fort Manoel.” I am indebted to Francis Galea Naudi for permitting me to view these letters.
 47. Owen Jones, *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*, 2 vols. (London, 1842), 1. For the Alhambra Court exhibit at the Great Exhibition of 1851 at Crystal Palace, London, see M. Digby Wyatt, J. B. Waring, and Owen Jones, *The Medieval Court in the Crystal Palace: The Byzantine and Romanesque Court in Crystal Palace* (London: Crystal Palace Library, 1854).

48. Owen Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament: Illustrated by Examples from Various Styles of Ornament* (London, 1856).
49. Galizia's personal library contains a general photo-book entitled *La Spagna*, signed and dated 1892. Personal communication with Robert Galea (January 28, 2015).
50. Notable examples of mid-nineteenth-century synagogues built in Europe in the Moorish Revival style include: the Dohány Street Synagogue in Budapest (1854–59); the Cetate Neologue Synagogue in Timișoara, Romania (1864–65); the Zagreb Synagogue (1867); the Great Synagogue of Stockholm (1867–70); the Spanish Synagogue, Prague (1868); the Rumbach Street Synagogue in Budapest (1872); and the Great Synagogue in Chernivitsi (1873). https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Moorish_Revival_architecture#Europe, accessed on December 26, 2015.
51. Information relating to the architectural history of the Muslim cemetery at Marsa is sparse. See Mahoney, *5000 Years of Architecture in Malta*, 236. More detailed information is available in Emily Magro, "The Muslim and Jewish Cemeteries at Marsa" (BA [Hons.] thesis, Department of History of Art, Faculty of Arts, University of Malta, 2004); Konrad Buhagiar, "Romanticism in the 19th Century: A History of Neo-Gothic in Malta" (BE&A [Hons.] thesis, Department of Architecture and Civil Engineering, University of Malta, 1982).
52. David Blayney Brown, *Romanticism* (London: Phaidon Press, 2001), 270–74.
53. Ahmet Ersoy, "Osman Hamdi Bey and the Historiophile Mood: Orientalist Vision and the Romantic Sense of the Past in Late Ottoman Culture," in *The Poetics and Politics of Place: Ottoman Istanbul and British Orientalism*, ed. Zeynep İnankur, Reina Lewis, and Mary Roberts (Istanbul: Pera Müzesi; Seattle: distributed by University of Washington Press, 2011).
54. Miles Danby, *Moorish Style* (London: Phaidon Press, 1995); John D. Hoag, *Islamic Architecture* (London, 1988); Oleg Grabar, *Architecture of the Islamic World: Its History and Social Meaning*, ed. George Michell (London: Thames & Hudson, 1995).
55. Jill Lever, Margaret Richardson, and John Harris, *Great Drawings from the Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects* (New York: The Drawing Center, 1983), 83–86; Patrick Conner, *Oriental Architecture in the West* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1979).
56. Ebba Koch, *The Complete Taj Mahal* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2006); Ebba Koch, "Mughal Palace Gardens from Babur to Shah Jahan, 1526–1648," *Muqarnas* 14 (1997): 143–65.
57. Letter from Ottoman consul Naoum Duhany, dated September 16, 1873, requesting permission to construct a wall with an iron railing that would separate the cemetery from the road. Permission was granted two days later in a letter signed by G. B. Trapani, collector of land revenue. The iron railing was to be erected on the line colored red and marked AB on a plan attached to the letter. PW 75, 1872–1873, no. 2968, fol. 197v, 198; Gov 2/1/70, July 19, 1873, National Archives of Malta.
58. Arne A. Ambros, "Selected Inscriptions from the Islamic Cemetery at Marsa, Malta," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 95 (2005): 7–17, at 10.
59. A translation of the original French text of the inscription on the plaque:
- AS THE SUN WILL SET
AND THE STARS WILL FALL,
TOMBS SEALED BY DEATH
WILL BE DISTURBED
AND FROM THIS BED OF DUST
AWAKENED FROM SLEEP
THEY WILL EMERGE RADIANT
THE CHILDREN OF THE FAITH AND OF PRAYER.
-
- IS NOT GOD MIGHTY ENOUGH TO REVIVE THE DEAD?
-
- ERECTED IN THE YEAR 1290 FROM THE HEGIRA
DURING THE REIGN OF HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY
ABDUL-AZIZ-KHAN
EMPEROR OF THE OTTOMANS
NAOUM DUHANY EFEENDY [*sic*]
HIS CONSUL GENERAL TO MALTA
-
- E. L. GALIZIA ARCHITECT
60. Koran, 81:1, cited in Ambros, "Selected Inscriptions from the Islamic Cemetery at Marsa, Malta," 10n5.
61. Koran, 81:2, cited in Ambros, "Selected Inscriptions from the Islamic Cemetery at Marsa, Malta," 10n6.
62. Koran, 82:4, cited in Ambros, "Selected Inscriptions from the Islamic Cemetery at Marsa, Malta," 10n7.
63. Ersoy, "Architecture and the Search for Ottoman Origins in the Tanzimat Period," 117–39; Ahmet Ersoy, "Ottoman Gothic: Evocations of the Medieval Past in Late Ottoman Architecture," in *Manufacturing Middle Ages: Entangled History of Medievalism in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Patrick Geary and Gábor Klaniczay (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 217–38.
64. The two drawings are in a local private collection. I am indebted to the architect Prof. Richard England and Mr. Robert Galea for bringing these drawings to my attention. For further information regarding Girolamo Gianni's career, see *Girolamo Gianni in Malta*, ed. Giovanni Bonello, exh. cat. (Malta: Fondazzjoni Patrimonju Malti, 1994).
65. Girolamo Gianni established his studio at 68D, Strada Reale, a prime location situated along the main street of Valletta. By 1872, just as work was about to commence on the new Muslim cemetery, Galizia had already availed himself of Gianni's professional services. An invoice on the artist's letterhead and dated October 28, 1872, was issued to Galizia for two landscape paintings, one depicting San Pawl tat-Tarġa and the other St. Paul's Bay, and several frames. I am grateful to Robert Galea for bringing this to my attention and providing me with a digital copy of the invoice.

66. The oil painting, 206 cm × 72 cm, is signed by Girolamo Gianni and dated 1868. Part of an auction at Sotheby's in London ("19th-Century European Paintings: Including German, Austrian and Central European Paintings, the Orientalist Sale and Spanish Painting," held on May 18, 2011), it sold for £163,250.
67. I am grateful to the anonymous reviewer of this paper for alerting me to the existence of this painting in the collection of the Harbiye Military Museum, Istanbul. The oil painting *Turkish Martyrs' Cemetery in Malta* was recently displayed in the exhibition "1001 Faces of Orientalism," held April 25, 2013, through August 11, 2013, at the Sakıp Sabancı Museum, Istanbul. The oval-shaped painting, signed by Girolamo Gianni and dated 1874, does not depict a fence separating the front garden from the main street. It is possible that the fence had not yet been built in 1874. The fence does, however, appear in a very similar painting, also signed by Gianni and dated 1875, in a local private collection. The 1875 painting is reproduced in Bonello, *Girolamo Gianni in Malta*, catalogue entry no. 56, p. 66.
68. In Girolamo Gianni's drawing one notes the absence of the small water fountain in front of the prayer lodge. Most probably the fountain was not part of Galizia's original project and was only introduced during the renovation works undertaken by Kuşçubaşı Eşref Bey in 1919–20.
69. This military and knightly order of the Ottoman Empire, instituted in 1851, was awarded in five classes, with the first (and highest) through fourth designated as "gold," and the fifth (and lowest) as "silver." This honor was often conferred on non-Turkish nationals, usually officers, but also, in a lower class, a few enlisted men. For example, Sultan Abdülmecid I thus recognized members of the British and French armies, and the British navy, for their distinguished service to the empire during the Crimean War; during World War I, the Order of the Mecidiye was awarded to a number of German and Austrian officers.
- The design of the order is such that on the obverse of the star is Sultan Abdumecid's royal cipher, surrounded by an inscription on a gold-bordered circle of red enamel; this is all on a star of seven triple quills with small crescents and five-pointed stars between them, suspended from a red enameled crescent and star suspender with green enameled edges. Edhem Eldem, *Pride and Privilege: A History of Ottoman Orders, Medals and Decorations* (Istanbul: Ottoman Bank Archives and Research Centre, 2004).
70. Ottoman rule of Tunisia lasted from 1574 to 1881, during which period Tunisia became an autonomous province administered by the local bey. Until 1881, the Bey of Tunis was technically a vassal of the Ottoman Empire, although the Ottomans were not always able to count on his unconditional obedience. The Husaynid Dynasty of Beys effectively ruled Tunisia as sovereigns from 1705 to 1881. With the end of the Ottoman era and the establishment of the French protectorate over Tunisia, the role of the Bey of Tunis became mainly ceremonial.
71. Figure 25 shows Galizia (third from the left) holding his hat in his hand. At the time of the photograph he would have been seventy-three years old. The rural setting is in sharp contrast to the grand palatial staircase setting of the other photograph (fig. 26), dated July 19, 1903, at the bottom of which Galizia wrote "*Partiro domani per Palermo e Napoli e continuerò direttamente per Malta ...primo solito vapore Italiano che arriverà Martedì. Tanti Saluti. E. L. Galizia.*" (I will depart tomorrow to Palermo and Naples and will continue directly to Malta... as usual first Italian ship that arrives Tuesday. Best wishes, E. L. Galizia.) The other side of the postcard was self-addressed to Signor Cav. E. L. Galizia C.E., Piazza Celsi, Valletta, Malta. I am grateful to Robert Galea for bringing this photograph to my attention.
72. Private collection. I am grateful to Francis Galea Naudi for permitting me to view and photograph this item, as well as other material relating to Galizia.
73. Following Edward Said's work *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), the literature on cultural misrepresentations of "The Orient" is vast. More specifically related to the cited passage we may cite, for example, Rana Kabbani, *Imperial Fictions: Europe's Myths of the Orient* (London: Saqi, 2009), and Naji Oueijjan, *The Progress of an Image: The East in English Literature* (New York: Peter Lang, 1996).
74. Part of the Ottoman inscription over the marble plaque within the prayer lodge states the following: *Eşref Bey tarafından / mescidiñ ta'miri / 1335* (Restoration of the mosque by Eşref Bey, 1335 [=1919–20]). Ambros, "Selected Inscriptions from the Islamic Cemetery at Marsa, Malta," 10.
75. In one notorious incident, Major Haj Ali İsa of the Ottoman army, while detained as a prisoner of war at the Corradino military barracks, killed a fellow detainee, Dr. Sadi Necdet Efendi from Istanbul. The murder appears to have been motivated by old animosities arising from their different political affiliations. The victim, Dr. Sadi, belonged to the Young Turk Party, while Major İsa belonged to the more conservative political faction. Major İsa, aged forty, was sentenced to death on April 16, 1917, and executed on April 24, 1917. Both are buried in the Muslim cemetery.
76. The Muslim cemetery is located in an area heavily congested with vehicular traffic, and the resulting pollution, as well as periodic damage caused by the elements (mainly flooding and once even lightning), has adversely affected the cemetery's physical condition. The cemetery has been restored several times. In 1975, the local architectural firm England & England was commissioned by the Turkish government to oversee restoration work for a total outlay of LM 5,000 (Maltese pounds). See *The Times of Malta*, April 13, 1975, 9. Between 1995 and 1998, a concrete ramp, designed by the architect Stephen Mangion and financed by Turkey's Garanti Bank, was built at the entrance to the cemetery, in order to minimize the intrusion of rainwater.
- Two commemorative plaques, one in Turkish and the other in English, were recently affixed to one of the side walls of the entrance kiosk. The plaque in English reads as follows:
- Turkish Military Cemetery

- This cemetery was built in 1874 by the architect E. L. Galizia upon instruction of the Ottoman Emperor Sultan Abdülaziz Khan, in memory of the soldiers who were martyred during the Great Siege of Malta in 1565. The cemetery was repaired in the year 1919–1920 by Eshref Bey, Commander of the Muslim Warriors in Malta, and the monument was erected by him in order to keep alive the memory of those who died as prisoners of war in Malta during the First World War. May all martyrs' souls rest in peace.
77. The exiled Turkish nationalists, including the five parliamentary deputies, were Rauf Orbay, Esat Paşa, Cevdet Paşa, Cemal Paşa, Yakup Şevki Paşa, Kara Vasıf, Süleyman Nazif, Fethi Okyar, Ahmet Emin Yalman, and Ali İhsan Paşa. T. M. P. Duggan, "The Ottoman Taj Mahal—an architectural masterpiece in danger," *Hürriyet Daily News*, January 26, 2002.
 78. Efraim Karsh, *Empires of the Sand: The Struggle for Mastery in the Middle East, 1789–1923* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001), 327.
 79. Ziya Gökalp and Fevziye Abdullah Tansel, *Limni ve Malta Mektupları* (Ankara: Türk Tarihi Kurumu, 1965; 2nd ed. 1989).
 80. T. M. P. Duggan suggests that while visiting the Muslim cemetery in Malta, the Turkish nationals exiled in Malta could have "exported" architectural elements that were repeated in the former Imperial Medical School at Haydarpaşa, designed by the architects Alexander Vallauray and Raimondo D'Aronco. Duggan, "Ottoman Taj Mahal."
 81. Sultan Mehmed VI (1861–1926) was the thirty-sixth and last sultan of the Ottoman Empire (r. 1918–1922). On November 1, 1922, with the sultanate abolished, Mehmed VI had to leave Constantinople. He died in San Remo, Italy, in 1926. See Jesse Russell and Ronald Cohn, *Mehmed VI* (Miami: Book on Demand, 2015). See also David Fromkin, *A Peace to End All Peace: Creating the Modern Middle East, 1914–1922* (New York: H. Holt, 1989).
 82. The SS *Sardinia* had left Tangiers on its way to Mecca with several Moroccan pilgrims when a fire broke out on the ship as it approached the Grand Harbour, Valletta. For a full account, see Giovanni Bonello, "The *Sardinia* Tragedy: Death Outside the Grand Harbour," in *Histories of Malta*, 12 vols. (Valletta, Malta: Fondazzjoni Patrimonju Malti, 2000–12), vol. 6, "Ventures and Adventures," pp. 226–33.
 83. Jørgen Schøler Nielsen, Samim Akgönül, Ahmet Alibašić, Brigitte Maréchal, and Christian Moe, eds., *Yearbook of Muslims in Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 1:233.
 84. *Souvenir de Malte: Colonial and Indian Exhibition* (Malta, 1886).
 85. During the second half of the nineteenth century Malta regularly participated in international exhibitions and fairs, including the Great Exhibition at Crystal Palace, London (1851); the International Exhibition in South Kensington, London (1862); the Exposition universelle in Paris (1867); and the Colonial and Indian Exhibition held at South Kensington, London (1886).
 "Malta and Maltese industry were well represented in the 1886 Colonial and Indian Exhibition which was opened amid great splendor by Queen Victoria on May 4 at South Kensington. Numerous objects were sent from Malta: these were exhibited in 28 classes ranging from intricate wrought-iron work to cereals and farinaceous products; from gorgeous jewellery [*sic*] and precious stones to fermented drinks; from agricultural implements to models of ships; from fruit and vegetables to oil paintings; and from upholstery to bread, pastry and condiments. Malta was referred to again and again during the exhibition by a favourite appellation, *fior del mondo*. It was the traditional Maltese specialities—stoneware, lace and jewellery—that probably attracted most attention." A. E. Abela, " '*Fior del Mondo*': Maltese Arts and Crafts at Exhibitions Abroad," in *Grace and Glory: Malta; People, Places, & Events: Historical Sketches* (Valletta: Progress Press Co., 1997), 119–128.
 86. See Sir Victor Houlton, "Malta," in *Colonial and Indian Exhibition, 1886: Official Catalogue* (London, 1886), 460–61. Sir Victor Houlton served as the chief secretary to the government in Malta between October 1855 and April 1883.
 87. Duggan, "Ottoman Taj Mahal," as cited in Bonello, *Histories of Malta* vol. 6, "Ventures and Adventures," pp. 232–33. I am indebted to Judge Giovanni Bonello for bringing this description to my attention.
 88. Duggan, "Ottoman Taj Mahal."
 89. Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building*, 22.
 90. Zeynep Çelik, as cited in Susanne Fowler, "Istanbul Museum Parses '1001 Faces of Orientalism,'" *The New York Times*, July 10, 2013. See also Turgut Saner, *19. Yüzyıl İstanbul Mimarlığında Oryantalizm* (Istanbul, 1998).



BRILL



ÜNVER RÜSTEM

THE SPECTACLE OF LEGITIMACY: THE DOME-CLOSING CEREMONY OF THE SULTAN AHMED MOSQUE

Today one of the most popular and iconic monuments of Istanbul, the Sultan Ahmed Mosque had a famously unpromising start.¹ Its young founder, the Ottoman sultan Ahmed I (r. 1603–17), embarked on the building in the face of considerable opposition from the empire's religious authorities, for he had won no major victories in war with which to fund or justify the project. Not only did Ahmed choose to ignore his critics, but he pulled no punches in visually asserting his right to build: implanted into the very heart of the Ottoman capital, the mosque, with its six minarets and cascading tiers of domes, was designed as a transformative landmark, and continues to define modern impressions of the city (fig. 1). Though art historians have tended to view the result as overblown,² this unbridled aesthetic magnificence must have played a large and deliberate role in quelling the controversy that surrounded the mosque, whose splendor allowed it to emerge from its inauspicious beginnings as a fitting monument to both Islam and the empire.

But it was not only through physical grandeur that Ahmed sought to win over his subjects. As soon as construction began in 1609, the mosque became the focus of an unusually high level of ceremonial activity, hosting numerous events—some singular, some recurring—that propelled the building into the public consciousness and cemented its status as a fruitful addition to Istanbul's fabric. Among the most remarkable in this festive roster was a lavish ceremony to celebrate the closing of the central dome in June 1617, only two months before the building would be inaugurated. Marked by a grand procession from the Topkapı Palace and the raising of stately tents in the mosque's courtyard, this ceremony appears to have been a unique experiment

in Ottoman history, specifically intended to boost the profile of Ahmed's endeavor and reassert its legitimacy in preparation for the official opening.

Basic details of the dome-closing ceremony have long been known from contemporary chronicles, but a far fuller and rarer source of information has hitherto escaped notice: an anonymous manuscript of nearly fifty folios written shortly after the event and devoted to its description. As unusual as the occasion itself, this text—the inspiration for the present article—sheds valuable new light on the ceremonial as well as discursive means by which the sultan and his backers strove to vindicate the new mosque. Of particular note is the account's portrayal of the festivities as a triumph over the infidel, a characterization that suggests that the ceremony itself—with its prominent inclusion of an encampment—was aimed at glossing over Ahmed's military deficiencies and presenting him in the guise of a victorious holy warrior. Staged against the symbolically charged act of closing the building's dome, both the ceremony and its textual commemoration were telling responses to the challenge that the sultan had set himself, encapsulating the concerns that underlay his ultimately successful campaign to preserve his memory in stone.

DEFIANCE AND MAGNIFICENCE: THE CREATION OF AHMED'S MOSQUE

When Sultan Ahmed, still in his teens, resolved to build a new imperial mosque, he must have anticipated the resistance his plans would meet. It had been many years since a sultan had erected such a monument in the capital: the last had been that of Ahmed's great-great-grandfather,



Fig. 1. Sultan Ahmed Mosque, from the northeast. (Photo: Wikimedia Commons/Arnstein Rønning)

the mighty Süleyman the Magnificent (r. 1520–66), whose prominent hilltop mosque complex was built by the architect Sinan (d. 1588) between 1550 and 1557 (fig. 2).³ This, the Süleymaniye Mosque, had been preceded by a number of other grand sultanlic foundations, but the second half of the sixteenth century witnessed a lull in imperial construction that reflected growing anxieties about the decorousness of such lavish architecture. In a book of advice written in 1581 for Murad III (r. 1574–95), the historian Mustafa ‘Ali (d. 1600) asserts that sultans should refrain from building even charitable or religious institutions if they “have not enriched themselves with the spoils of Holy War and have not become owners of lands through gains of campaigns of the Faith.” The reason for this objection, ‘Ali explains, is that “the Divine Laws do not permit the building of charitable establishments with the means of the public treasury, neither do they allow the foundations of

mosques and *medreses* that are not needed.”⁴ Voiced at a time when the Ottoman Empire was not expanding at the rate it had under earlier sultans, such views were further fueled by the effects of a global inflation.⁵ Süleyman had more than fulfilled the conditions set forth by Mustafa ‘Ali, but his less impressive successors duly chose not to follow in his architectural footsteps,⁶ with the exception of his son, Selim II (r. 1566–74), who used booty gained from his conquest of Cyprus in 1571 to finance the construction of the Selimiye Mosque, designed by Sinan and completed in 1574.⁷ Yet although widely regarded as Sinan’s masterpiece, the Selimiye still stopped short of challenging Süleyman’s legacy: it was built in Edirne, the empire’s second city, rather than the capital, in part because Selim, unlike his father, had not personally led his army.⁸

Such restraint evidently held little sway with Ahmed, who was keen to buck the trend by boldly presenting



Fig. 2. Süleymaniye Complex, from the southwest. (Photo: Reha Günay)

himself in Süleyman's image.⁹ The comparison was not well deserved, however: far from expanding the empire, Ahmed lost important territories to the Safavids in 1604–5, and was forced in 1606 to concede parity with the Habsburg emperor, who no longer had to pay the annual tribute that had been instituted in Süleyman's time.¹⁰ Nevertheless—and apparently driven by his well-known piety—the sultan made known his plans to found a mosque worthy of the empire's heyday. His advisers, perhaps seeking a middle way, initially recommended that he complete the sizeable mosque that his grandmother Safiye Sultan (d. 1618) had started to build in 1598 on the shore of Eminönü, one of the capital's busiest districts. But Ahmed, who disliked his grandmother intensely, had personally put a stop to her project upon his accession and had no desire to resume it, especially since its enviably conspicuous site was considered by many as having been illegally expropriated.¹¹ (It would take many years and another queen mother, Turhan Hacıde Sultan [d. 1683], to finish Safiye's mosque, which was finally opened in 1665 and is now known as the Yeni Cami.¹²) Preferring to start afresh rather than as-

sociate himself with his grandmother's failed enterprise, the sultan managed to acquire a site that was as prominent as it was licit, buying and demolishing two large sixteenth-century palaces that occupied a choice area of land next to the Hippodrome and opposite the Hagia Sophia.¹³

The legality of the site did not, however, settle the questions raised by the construction itself. The grand mufti pointed out that the mosque would be needless in its intended setting, which lacked a large congregation,¹⁴ and the more serious issue of the sultan's military shortcomings still loomed. In a report dated 1612, Simone Contarini (d. 1633), who had just completed his tenure as Venetian *bailo* to Istanbul, noted that the mosque was deeply unpopular among those who would have preferred Ahmed to pour his resources into conquering Christian lands.¹⁵ How this controversy played out is described in an account written later in the seventeenth century by the French traveler Guillaume-Joseph Grelot (d. after 1680):

[T]hough the *Mufti*, the *Mulla's*, the *Cheiks*, and other Doctors of the Law, laid before [Ahmed] the sin of undertaking

to erect such a costly fabrick, since he had never been in any other Combats, than those which are daily to be seen for the exercise of the pages, and divertisement of the Prince, nevertheless he gave little heed to their admonitions, but carried on the work with a vigour answerable to his resolution; and when he had finish'd the Pile, because he had slighted his Chaplains exhortations, call'd it *Imansis Gianisi* [*İmānsız Cāmi'si*], or the Temple of the Incredulous.¹⁶

A more complicated picture is painted by the English ambassador Sir Thomas Glover (d. 1625), who, in a dispatch sent in early 1610, links the mosque to a curious ailment of the throat that was weekly bringing the sultan to the verge of choking on his food. Fearing that the condition “happeneth rather by the permission of the Allmightie, then otherwise,” Ahmed

be[took] himselfe to an extraordinarie devotion, and whollie to have his conversation amongste Sofies [Sufis], and Dervishes, as much to saye, purytans . . . ; and it is reported that this accident is the onlie cause of the buildinge of the sumptuous Meschit. . . , thinkinge that therby he shall, not onlie obtayne salvation of his soule, but that the Allmightie will withdrawe this dreadfull infirmitie from him, beinge therto counselled and assured, by all his above named Sofies, and his cheefe ministers, and inpticuller his Muftie; whoe sayeth to have seene a vision, or a dreame, that unlesse this be performed wth. a good will and harte, without any sparinge of gould or sylver, or any mans labour, (allsoe with contynuall prayers to their divill Mahoma, or Mahemet) the Gran Sig^r. is like to incurre a verie speedie danger of his life.¹⁷

With its claim that Ahmed was being spurred on rather than discouraged, Glover's account seems to contradict those of other observers, though even his version of events bespeaks an uneasy genesis for the mosque. The circumstances he describes are hardly flattering to the sultan, who acts not from a position of strength, but out of mortal fear in response to the admonishments of his clerics. Moreover, Glover goes on to say that those advising Ahmed, besides promising an end to his illness, also affirmed that construction of the mosque would bring “greate and incredible victories, againste all the Gran Sig^r:^s enemies, whersoever he shall please to wage any warre.” In spite of its otherwise idiosyncratic content, then, the dispatch still ties the mosque to the hawkish rhetoric of conquest, and Glover is in broad agreement with other sources that tell us that the project was en-

couraged only inasmuch as it would oblige Ahmed to pursue a commensurate martial victory.

Attempts to retroactively legitimize the mosque indeed followed, though they came to nothing. Ahmed declared war against the Safavids in 1609, shortly after the mosque's foundations were laid, but the conflict, which would end in the Safavids' favor, was still ongoing when he died.¹⁸ The sultan's clerics, meanwhile, urged him to invade Crete so that he might triumph over a Christian enemy, and while he seemed willing, he never undertook the task.¹⁹ One might wonder whether Ahmed's desire to build was motivated in part because of, and not despite, his lack of military promise:²⁰ perhaps he felt a great mosque gracing the capital would prove a meritorious enough legacy by which to compensate for his failure to win new territories.

Sure enough, the mosque was to emerge from its problematic gestation unscathed. If accounts such as Grelot's reveal that Ahmed's obstinacy was not forgotten, the monument itself was soon accepted as an integral and apparently uncontroversial fixture of the city: its usual name in the decades following its completion was *Yeñi Cāmi'*, “New Mosque,” a neutral label that makes no reference to its founder's transgression.²¹ Several factors contributed to the ultimately warm reception with which the finished building was greeted. Notwithstanding the project's many detractors, the sultan was supported in his actions by various sympathetic voices that helped to balance the discourse in his favor. These individuals included two men who would play instrumental roles in the dome-closing ceremony. One was the highly revered Sufi shaykh Mahmud Hüdai (d. 1628), who, acting as a spiritual adviser to the sultan, pushed for the Cretan campaign without questioning Ahmed's overall right to build.²² The second of these important backers was the chief harem eunuch Hacı Mustafa Agha (d. 1624), whom Ahmed appointed as superintendent (*nāzır*) over the mosque's construction,²³ and who countered the grand mufti's objections to the site by proposing that new houses be built to boost the population surrounding the mosque.²⁴

Hacı Mustafa's suggestion is recorded in a chronicle penned by the royal imam Mustafa Safi (d. 1616), another ally to Ahmed.²⁵ Describing the circumstances in which the mosque was conceived, Safi recasts events to

present Ahmed's 1606 treaty with the Habsburgs, which was largely a stalemate, as an unqualified Ottoman victory, and he also lauds the sultan's suppression in 1608 of the Celalis, rebels in Anatolia who were often viewed as subscribing to a Qizilbash—that is Shi'i—ideology.²⁶ Safi thus lays a religio-legal groundwork for the mosque, and some, at least, seem to have shared his view, as we learn from another of Glover's dispatches, this time written as the monument's foundations were being dug in late 1609:

[T]he Gran Sig:^r in respecte of his vitorie againste the [Celali] Rebels in Asia, or in that he hath, contrarie to all mens expectations, soe suddaynlie subdued and whollie rooted them out, hath comaunded to pull downe many goodlie and sumptuous pallaces, belonginge to some of his vizereis, or vizereis sonnes (payinge them well for it) and insteade therof to be builte a verie sumptuous church or Meskite, which shall be bigger then any as yet in Constant:^{ple} and to be named by his name, Sultan Achomat.²⁷

Given the continuing calls for Ahmed to invade Crete, relatively few can have accepted the defeat of the Celalis as a valid pretext to build (and as we have seen, Glover himself would offer a quite different reason for the undertaking in a dispatch written only a few months later). But Safi's extended defense of the mosque preempts further opposition by noting that the grand mufti, while objecting to certain aspects of the project, could cite nothing in religious law to forbid it.²⁸ As well as defending Ahmed's military record, Safi commends the mosque as evidence of the sultan's atypical piety and fondness for good works,²⁹ and he also reaffirms the suitability of the building's location, declaring the Hippodrome to be "a magnet for the people of the world" that would draw enough worshippers to fill "many mosques like Ayasofya."³⁰

Safi's praise for the chosen site is echoed by the author Ca'fer Efendi in his *Risāle-i mi'māriyye*, an architectural treatise centered on the life and career of the chief imperial architect Sedefkar Mehmed Agha (d. 1617), who designed the Sultan Ahmed.³¹ Completed in 1614 as the mosque was being built, the *Risāle*, which devotes a whole chapter to the monument, presents it as a regenerative blessing to "one of the finest locations of the city," for it replaced "aged palaces . . . filled with the nests of owls."³² Ca'fer Efendi goes on to describe the

numerous exemplary elements making up the edifice, claiming that "no other such high and solid building has been erected" before it.³³

Hyperbolic as this statement may seem, Ca'fer Efendi is hardly exaggerating the mosque's sheer visual impact. The advocacy of Ahmed's backers, together with the written records of their support, would have amounted to little had the architecture itself been any less persuasive than it is. Writing at the same time as Ca'fer Efendi, Contarini reports that the "*superbissima*" mosque would resemble and compete with the Süleymaniye,³⁴ and he is right on both counts. The mosque, which comprises a domed prayer hall and porticoed courtyard, stands imposingly in an expansive walled precinct, around which are scattered numerous dependencies that make up the remainder of the complex (figs. 3 and 4).³⁵ Modern connoisseurs and art historians have frequently denigrated the building as a pretentious rehashing of Sinan's style, but, as Emine Fetvacı has shown, the Sultan Ahmed Mosque's dramatic design was carefully tailored to, and highly appreciated in, its own seventeenth-century context.³⁶ A student of Sinan, the architect Mehmed Agha judiciously adapted the prestigious mode of his master with the aim of rivaling it. The plan of the prayer hall is thus an aggrandized reworking of that of Sinan's first major work, the Şehzade Mosque (1543–48), which Süleyman the Magnificent had built to commemorate his favorite son, the deceased Mehmed (d. 1543):³⁷ in this so-called quatrefoil plan, the main dome rests on four piers and is braced by four semi-domes, with cupolas filling the remaining corners (figs. 5 and 6). At the Sultan Ahmed, the scheme is on a much larger scale and further elaborated with the addition of exedrae flowing down from three of the semi-domes (figs. 1, 4, 7, and 8).³⁸ By reviving the Şehzade's plan, which Sinan himself had not returned to, the Sultan Ahmed Mosque posits its founder as a scion of Süleyman and preserver of his legacy. It is notable in this regard that Safiye Sultan's abortive foundation at Eminönü had preceded the Sultan Ahmed in being designed on the Şehzade's model;³⁹ her grandson's halting of that project and cooption of the quatrefoil plan for himself thus stressed his privileged status as Süleyman's rightful heir.

Mehmed Agha's decision not to adopt the vaulting arrangement of the Süleymaniye—which, like the Hagia



Fig. 3. Sultan Ahmed Complex, from the northeast, with the Bathhouse of Hürrem Sultan in the left foreground. (Photo: Reha Günay)

Sophia, has only two semi-domes flanking its dome—might be construed as a decorous concession,⁴⁰ but it also allowed the patron to distinguish his own monument from his ancestor's. Comparison between the two buildings is rendered inevitable by their stylistic resemblance and the similarity of their dimensions,⁴¹ and the later mosque's doubling of semi-domes and emphasis on pyramidal verticality arguably make for a more impressive effect. The same principle is at work in the use of minarets: the Sultan Ahmed replicates the Süleymaniye in placing four minarets of uneven height at the corners of its porticoed courtyard, but it also adds a further two to the qibla side of the prayer hall. The resultant total of six minarets was unprecedented in Ottoman mosque architecture and never to be repeated.⁴² Consciously avoiding a direct correspondence with any one model, then, Mehmed Agha opted for an augmented combination of Süleymanic references drawn from both the Şehzade and the Süleymaniye, creating a distinctive synthesis that stands in its own right even as it evokes the past.⁴³

This shrewd design also equips the Sultan Ahmed Mosque against its more immediate rival, the Hagia Sophia, which faces it directly across a large open square (fig. 9). The use of four semi-domes serves again—and still more clearly—to differentiate the newer structure, whose rhythmic cascade of domes presents a marked contrast to the rather ungainly exterior of the converted sixth-century church. The earlier Şehzade Mosque had already been credited in one of Sinan's (auto)biographies with eclipsing the Hagia Sophia's style, which "did not possess elegance."⁴⁴ Building on this trope, the Sultan Ahmed's emphatically beautiful exterior is able to challenge the Hagia Sophia despite being smaller in size.⁴⁵ Its unyielding visual appeal is once more bolstered by its six minarets, which on the one hand mirror the Hagia Sophia's placement of four towers at the corners of the prayer hall, but on the other surpass their earlier counterparts in number as well as aesthetic coherence—the minarets of the Hagia Sophia are mismatched accretions of different periods.⁴⁶ The overall effect of the Sultan Ahmed's gracefully deployed mina-

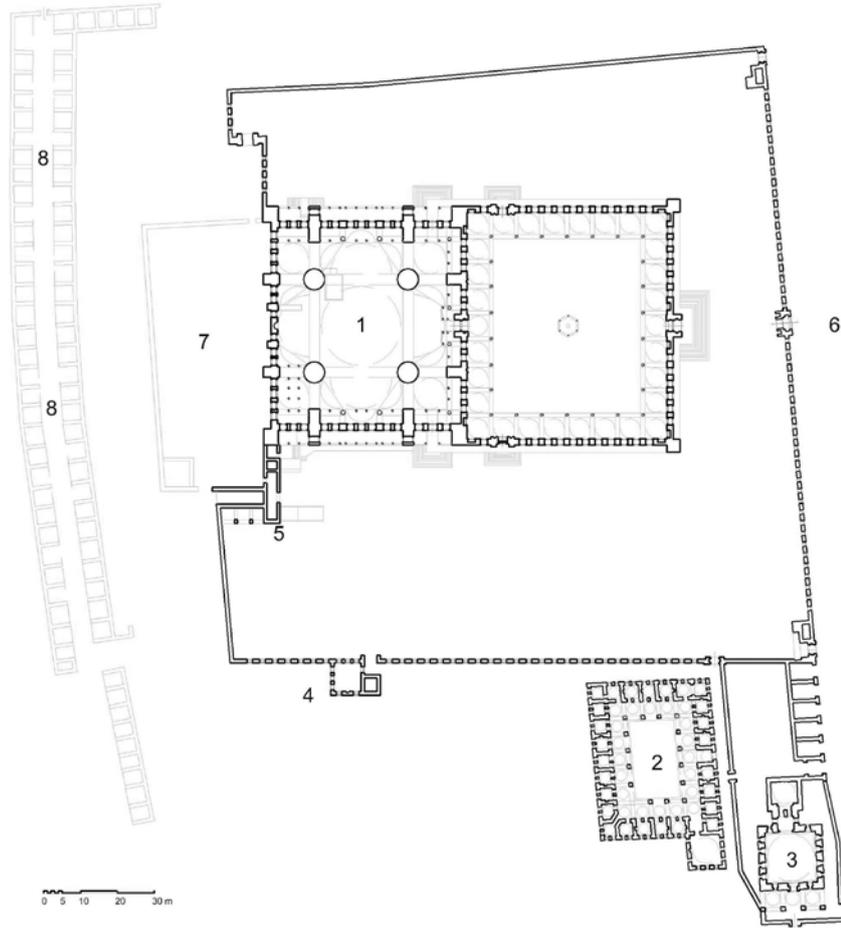


Fig. 4. Plan of the surviving elements of the Sultan Ahmed Complex and the neighboring Hippodrome: 1) Mosque; 2) Madrasa; 3) Mausoleum; 4) Primary school; 5) Royal pavilion; 6) Hippodrome; 7) Garden platform; 8) Marketplace (*arasta*). (Drawing: Arben N. Arapi. Courtesy of Gülru Necipoğlu)



Fig. 5. Şehzade Mosque, from the southwest. (Photo: Reha Günay)

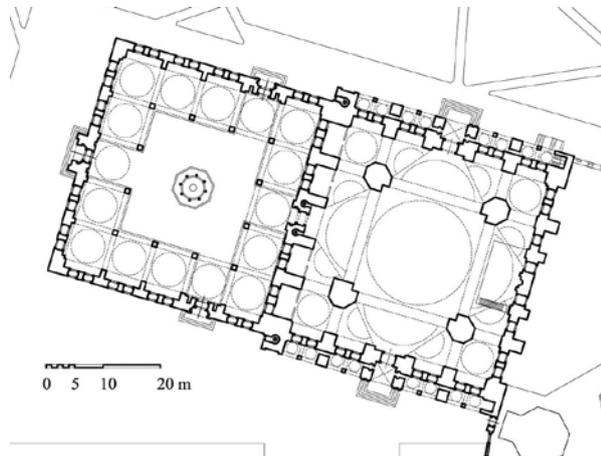


Fig. 6. Plan of the Şehzade Mosque. (Drawing: Arben N. Arapi. Courtesy of Gülru Necipoğlu)



Fig. 7. Sultan Ahmed Mosque, entrance façade from the inner courtyard, showing the cascading domes of the prayer hall. (Photo: Güven Erten)

rets is to conflate the arrangements of both the Hagia Sophia and the Süleymaniye, underscoring the new mosque's competitive dialogue with these two venerable models.

Inside, too, the Sultan Ahmed sets itself apart from its prototypes. The four piers supporting the dome take the form of gigantic fluted cylinders that art historians have criticized as excessively bulky,⁴⁷ though their heft can only have been an intentional departure from the leaner proportions employed in other monuments, as if to bear out Ca'fer Efendi's assertion that no earlier building was as solid (figs. 10–12).⁴⁸ The walls likewise strive for a fresh approach, eschewing the decorative reserve of Istanbul's existing sultanic mosques in favor of a comprehensive coating of floral Iznik tiles, whose rich hue is

the reason the building is popularly known as the Blue Mosque (fig. 13).⁴⁹

Observers in the seventeenth century were duly impressed with what they saw. Grelot writes that the mosque “may be said to be the most beautiful in *Constantinople*, if not in all the East,”⁵⁰ a sentiment shared by his Ottoman contemporary, the famous traveler Evliya Çelebi (d. 1682), who calls it “the most beautiful of all sultanic mosques in Istanbul.”⁵¹ Having ignored the dictates of tradition and pushed ahead with his plans, Ahmed had produced an architectural *fait accompli*, so striking and magnificent that any lingering objections to it were swiftly obviated. The success of this audacious artistic feat was not, however, due to its design alone: the sultan may have raised a splendid new edifice, but



Fig. 8. Sultan Ahmed Mosque, interior view of the domical superstructure. (Photo: iStock.com/wrangel)



Fig. 9. Aerial view from the south of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque and, behind it, the Hagia Sophia. (Photo: iStock.com/BERK085)

only by enlivening it with activity could he prove that it was more than a needless extravagance.

CEREMONIAL AND SOCIABILITY: THE SULTAN AHMED MOSQUE IN THE PUBLIC EYE

Among the more novel elements of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque is an L-shaped structure that is attached to its southern corner and entered by a ramp (figs. 1, 9, 14, and 15). Dwarfed by the adjacent prayer hall and easily missed by modern visitors, this building would not have escaped attention in Ottoman times, when it served as a pavilion to host the sultans during their ceremonial visits to the mosque.⁵² The upper story of the structure contained decorated and furnished rooms for the

sovereign's respite, while a corridor on the same floor gave direct access to the royal prayer loge that occupies the neighboring corner of the prayer hall. True to its function, and in order not to detract from the mosque proper, the pavilion follows the stylistic norms of residential building: its walls are of alternating courses of brick and stone, unlike the pure stone of the prayer hall, and its roof is externally hipped rather than domed. This palatial annex was the first structure of its kind in Ottoman mosque architecture, introducing a feature that would become canonical and increasingly prominent in later imperial mosques.⁵³ The advent and subsequent development of this type of pavilion coincided with a larger shift whereby the sultans—no longer absent on distant campaigns—were becoming ever more visible on home turf.⁵⁴ It was already routine for a sultan to ride in dazzling procession to one of the capital's mosques



Fig. 10. Sultan Ahmed Mosque, interior toward the west, showing the domical superstructure. (Photo: Ünver Rüstem)



Fig. 11. Sultan Ahmed Mosque, interior toward the qibla (southeast) wall. (Photo: Ünver Rüstem)



Fig. 12. Süleymaniye Mosque, interior toward the qibla (southeast) wall. (Photo: Reha Günay)



Fig. 13. Sultan Ahmed Mosque, Iznik tilework in the upper gallery. (Photo: Ünver Rüstem)



Fig. 14. Sultan Ahmed Complex, royal pavilion viewed from the northwest toward its entrance side, with the attached mosque on the right. (Photo: Güven Erten)



Fig. 15. Sultan Ahmed Complex, royal pavilion viewed from the southeast, with the mosque on the left. (Photo: Güven Erten)



Fig. 16. Zacharias Wehme, *The Friday Procession of Sultan Selim II to the Süleymaniye Mosque*. Detail of a scroll painted after a lost Habsburg album, 1581–82. Dresden, Die Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Mscr.Dresd.J.2.a. (Photo: SLUB/Deutsche Fotothek, Brigitta Paetzold)

in order to perform the Friday prayer there (fig. 16); the placement of a pavilion at the culmination of this parade would only enhance the ceremony's splendor and prominence, concretizing the royal visit even after its end.

That this move towards amplified spectacle began with the Sultan Ahmed should not surprise us.⁵⁵ Both during and after its construction, the mosque witnessed a level of ceremonial activity that amounted to a relentless public-relations exercise, intended to reiterate the sultan's devotion to the project while also exciting his subjects' interest in it. The staging of festivities to mark the establishment of a new imperial mosque was, to be sure, a well-established practice, and two occasions in particular—the foundation-laying and the inauguration—were typically celebrated on a grand scale with processions, prayers, animal sacrifices, and the distribution of gifts.⁵⁶ Even so, the ceremonies associated with the Sultan Ahmed Mosque stand out as extraordinary, not only in their elaboration, but also in their number. Ahmed's supporters had promised a building that would buzz with new life, and it seems the sultan was anxious to deliver on their assurances with a series of events jointly implicating himself and his subjects in the mosque's formation.

The tone was set from the very beginning. Indeed, the pavilion attached to the prayer hall is the adapted version of a structure that had been erected even before work on the mosque commenced.⁵⁷ The purpose of this "exalted pavilion" was, according to Mustafa Safi,

for the sultan to "view and observe the construction and investigate the conditions of the poor and weak,"⁵⁸ a description that links Ahmed's care for the mosque with his care for his people, who could in turn look to the structure as a constant symbol of their ruler's beneficence. It was from this pavilion, Safi states, that Ahmed watched the groundbreaking ceremony, which was held at an auspicious hour on October 7, 1609, and entailed a packed gathering of courtiers, clerics, and officials. Led by the grand mufti and by Mahmud Hüdayi, whom Evliya Çelebi dubs the "shaykh of the foundations" (*temel şeyhi*), members of the assembly started to dig the ground. They then stopped and cleared the way for the sultan, who descended from the pavilion and himself began to dig using a silver-decorated mattock with a velvet-lined handle.⁵⁹ In a dispatch sent a few weeks later, the English ambassador Glover, whose knowledge of the event may have been secondhand, gives a different order to the day's proceedings while adding interesting details not found in Safi's description:

[T]he Gran Sig:^r himselfe in persone, with the Muftie, and all his vizereys, and other ministers and officers, went to the [site of the mosque], and there first offered sacrifice (as they doe call it Curban) of 500. sheepe, and 140. oxen, this beinge divided amongste the people, they ioyntlie went to prayers wherin contynued fower howers by the clocke, which allsoe beinge ended, the Gran Sig:^r tooke the mat-hoocke or pickaxe, and soe himselfe for halfe a quarter of an hower, digged the grounde for to laye the foundation of

the church, and soe the Muftie, and all the vizereys followed him, whoe contynued in digginge, for space of two good howers, and soe delivered their instrumentes unto the labourers.⁶⁰

Ahmed's participation in the digging—a highly unusual step—harked back to certain fifteenth-century foundation ceremonies in which the sultan personally laid the first stone of his mosque as a vow before setting off on campaign.⁶¹ Besides demonstrating his pious humility, Ahmed's comparable act many years later may thus have been intended as a pledge of his own ostensible commitment to a future (though never realized) holy war. The handing out of sacrificial animal meat, which is also mentioned by Safi,⁶² served to involve the wider public in the ceremony's votive symbolism. On the days that followed, several groups tied to the state, from the janissaries to vizierial officers, took it in turns to continue digging, in each case being rewarded for their efforts with a feast.⁶³ The care that went into organizing this activity is recounted in Glover's next dispatch, written a month into construction:

These do verie earnestlie followe, w.th all forces, and celeritie they can, the buildinge of the Meskit...and all the vizereis of the Bench are comaunded, every day by turne, one of them to attend, and to oversee, all the day longe, the buildinge therof, and soe they doe. And because the Gienissaries, of their owne voluntarie will, for the Gran Sig:^{rs} sake (as alsoe supposinge to be a charitable deed to further the same) have offered themselves in persone, for the space of the wholl weeke, to worke in digginge of the foundations therof, (as they have done) the Gran Sig:^r hath bestowed on them, five lode of mony for their paynes, which is five thousand Crownes.⁶⁴

Already more embellished and prolonged than other recorded groundbreaking,⁶⁵ the initiation of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque was further heralded with a second foundation ceremony that took place on January 3, 1610, when another great assembly gathered to ritually lay the first stones of the qibla wall. The grand mufti and Mahmud Hüdayi again led the proceedings, which Ahmed once more watched from his pavilion before descending to lower a number of stones into the base of the mihrab using a sling specially made of silver rings and silken cord. Mustafa Safi's lengthy description of the event tells us that some 150 individuals received robes of honor that day.⁶⁶

As work on the building progressed, the sultan continued to make himself present and visible at the site, which he could survey—and be seen surveying—from his pavilion. Glover, reporting in January 1610, notes that the mosque was “daylie verie dilligentlie solicited, by the vizereis, and often visited (at leaste once a weeke) by the Gran Sig:^r himselfe.”⁶⁷ A letter written seven months later by the French ambassador Jean de Gontaut-Biron (d. 1636) stresses Ahmed's “marvelous diligence” in connection with the project, whose progress he personally urged on by “staying at the scene for seven or eight days”—presumably in the pavilion.⁶⁸ Gontaut-Biron adds that many in Istanbul questioned whether the sultan would succeed in his ambitious enterprise, and it was surely in part to counteract these doubts and inspire confidence in the building that Ahmed made such a show of his dedication to it. Another kind of royal appearance during the mosque's construction is recorded by Evliya Çelebi, who tells us that the sultan one day “pitched his tent on . . . the courtyard of the mosque . . . and gave a feast to all the Vezîrs and great men of the capital, which surpassed even that which was given at the feast of [his] circumcission.”⁶⁹ After most of the assembly dispersed, Ahmed remained in his tent with a select group of men that included Mahmud Hüdayi, who exhorted the sultan to fulfil his plan to invade Crete. The gathered company then prayed, probably aware that the mosque would be completed whether or not the sultan ever delivered a victory against the infidel.⁷⁰ Holding this supererogatory ceremonial feast in a tent—a structure as much associated with warfare as with festivities—may well have been an intentionally bold conceit, emblematically lending Ahmed the very martial credibility he lacked in life. A similar banquet, on this occasion hosted by Lala Mustafa Pasha (d. 1580) at an army camp outside Iznik, is depicted in the 1584 copy of Mustafa 'Âli's *Nuşretnâme*, which commemorates the Ottomans' successful campaign against the Safavids in the Caucasus (fig. 17). The semiotic potential that such military references offered the mosque would, as we shall see, be more overtly realized with the dome-closing ceremony.

Beyond drawing attention to the project's scale and development, the sultan was keen also to earn his mosque a rightful place in a city already teeming with religious foundations. The proximity of the Hagia



Fig. 17. *Lala Mustafa Pasha Giving a Feast at a Military Encampment in Iznik*. From Mustafa ‘Ali, *Nuşretnâme*, Istanbul, 1584. Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 1365, fol. 34b. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

Sophia—the empire’s principal mosque and the most frequent destination for the sultans’ Friday parades—made it especially important to demonstrate that the new monument would not be superfluous.⁷¹ Ahmed’s *waqfiyya* (foundation deed), which was written in 1613, addressed this concern by providing for the annual festive recitation of the *Mevlūd* poem, chanted in honor of the Prophet’s nativity (every 12 Rabi‘ I).⁷² This was not the first time that the *Mevlūd* would take place at an imperial mosque, for Ahmed’s father, Mehmed III (r. 1595–

1603), had already introduced the ritual at the Hagia Sophia. In 1599, however, the grand mufti put an end to this “ugly innovation,” which was criticized for, among other things, its exclusionary nature: those administering the ceremony distributed candies and sherbets to the grandees but not to the poor.⁷³ By reviving the *Mevlūd*, Ahmed aimed to distinguish his mosque as the ritual’s new permanent venue, where his subjects might experience something that no other site offered.⁷⁴ He learned from the mistakes of the ceremony’s failed past by stipulating a more lavish and inclusive affair at which the entire congregation, rich and poor alike, would be served food and drink, even coffee.⁷⁵ A preliminary *Mevlūd* had already been held at the Sultan Ahmed’s building site in late 1610, not on the Prophet’s birthday, but to bring good luck to the fledgling project. Cushioned sofas and other temporary furnishings were installed for the ritual, which was attended by all the notable men of state and religion, including Mahmud Hüdayi, who delivered a sermon.⁷⁶ The mosque was still being built when, in 1614, it hosted its first endowed *Mevlūd*, for which oil lamps were hung from the scaffolding. A contemporary account by the janissary scribe ‘Abdülkadir Efendi (d. 1644 [?]) describes a busy gathering of dignitaries and clerics engaged in “sociable conversation” (*şoḥbet*), evidence of Ahmed’s success in establishing a new and lively tradition even before the mosque was finished.⁷⁷ The last *Mevlūd* to be celebrated during construction was in March 1617, when the monument was nearing its final form. Shaykh Mahmud Hüdayi was again prominent among the assembly, which, according to ‘Abdülkadir Efendi, was so large on this occasion that the mosque could not contain it.⁷⁸ Incense burners wafted the scent of ambergris while the poem was recited, and the overflowing crowds “helped themselves to endless sherbets and candies.”⁷⁹ The royal account books confirm that these refreshments were plentiful enough to satisfy all, “high and low.”⁸⁰ Such vibrant scenes offered important proof that the mosque, once opened, would not struggle to attract and engage the public, and they also made a virtue of the mosque’s uncrowded setting: the open spaces bordering it rendered the building ideally suited for large-scale festivities that might overspill its walls.⁸¹

So remarkable was Ahmed’s achievement in giving his mosque a unique ritual and social identity that the

practice of celebrating the *Mevlūd* would continue there under his successors until the empire's final years, surviving even into our own time (fig. 18).⁸² John Murray's much-used nineteenth-century travel guide to Istanbul gives a vivid account of the mosque's enduring—and indeed expanded—ceremonial function:

In consequence of the beautiful site of the Atmeidan, and its open and free communication on every side, the mosque of Sultan Ahmed is the theatre of the great ceremonies of religion and court processions. Aja Sofia may be termed, from its vicinity to the palace, the Court church, the Ahmedje, the State church, or cathedral of Constantinople; for it is hither that the Sultan generally repairs, accompanied by his



Fig. 18. François Denis Née after Charles-Nicolas Cochin, *Celebration of the Mevlūd at the Sultan Ahmed Mosque*. Engraving from Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire othoman*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1787), pl. 25. (Photo: courtesy of the Houghton Library, Harvard University)

whole suite, on the two great festivals of the Bairam [Eid al-Fitr and Eid al-Adha].⁸³

It is during the “*Mewlud*,” the book adds, that “the Sultan appears in his greatest splendour” at the mosque, “surrounded by all the functionaries of the court and state, to assist in the praises of the prophet, which are sung by the most melodious voices.”⁸⁴

But if the *Mevlūd* is the longest lived of the Sultan Ahmed’s festive innovations, the most striking is surely the dome-closing ceremony, which was held less than three months after the nativity ritual of 1617 and would, by contrast, remain a one-off extravaganza.⁸⁵ No earlier or later mosque is known to have been the object of such an event, and the closest recorded parallels—other celebrations tied to constructional milestones—were less grand affairs. The completion of the Süleymaniye’s tympanum arches in 1555, for example, was marked with the distribution of sherbet and gifts of money to the workforce. Ottoman sources note the closing of its dome the following year without making reference to any accompanying festivities, though a much later Venetian dispatch, to be discussed below, states that for three days the dome’s exterior was draped with fabrics that were then presented as gifts to the workforce and superintendents. Whether the dome was bedecked upon its closing or for the later inauguration is not specified by the dispatch, whose description is in any case uncorroborated. But even if, as seems plausible, the completion of the Süleymaniye’s dome was proclaimed in this colorful manner, we still have nothing to rival the far showier production that attended the same moment at the Sultan Ahmed.⁸⁶ The 1617 dome-closing ceremony stands, then, as a singular event not only in the life of the mosque, but also in Ottoman history. Already apparent from the known sources, the unusualness of the festival is substantiated by the equally exceptional monograph that is its written outcome, and to which my discussion now turns.

CAPPING IT ALL OFF: THE DOME-CLOSING CEREMONY AND ITS TEXTUAL RECORD

The manuscript describing the Sultan Ahmed Mosque’s dome-closing ceremony appears to be unknown in the

scholarship, and I discovered it quite by chance among the digitized holdings of the Süleymaniye Library, where it is listed with the title *Tarih-i Bina-yı Camii Sultan Ahmed-i Evvel* (History of the Construction of the Mosque of Sultan Ahmed I) and the classmark Fotokopi No. 294.⁸⁷ As this classmark indicates, the library houses only a black-and-white photocopy of the book, whose actual location, as recorded by a modern Arabic slip photocopied together with one of the endpapers, is (or was) the Iraqi Academy of Sciences in Baghdad. This slip gives the simpler title *Sultān Ahmed cāmi’[i] tārīhi* (History of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque) in the Arabic/Ottoman script,⁸⁸ which suggests that the endpaper beneath it bears the same heading written in late Ottoman times; the longer and more typically Ottoman-sounding title found in the Süleymaniye’s records may well be a modern cataloguer’s coinage. In the absence of a more definitive alternative, I shall refer to the work as the *Tarih*, an abbreviation of both available titles. There is no mark of ownership on the manuscript, at least as revealed by the photocopy; the Arabic slip, which may be obscuring relevant information on the endpaper itself, gives the book’s provenance only as the National Center for the Preservation of Documents, part of the Ministry of Information in Baghdad.

The book comprises forty-nine folios and, according to the Arabic slip, measures 22 by 18 centimeters. The text, which runs from fol. ob to fol. 45b,⁸⁹ is written in an elegant and large *naskh* that is extensively vocalized, punctuated by rosettes and occasional rubrics, and framed by ruled borders (see the reproduction of the manuscript on pp. 300–324). It is apparent even from the photocopy that the borders, rosettes, and rubrics are gilt. There are seven lines of text to the page except for a few easily explained exceptions, including the illuminated opening page, whose five lines start beneath a colored and gilt headpiece that is filled with arabesques and crowned by a lobed arch.⁹⁰ Distinguished above all by its beautifully inscribed and liberally voweled large-scale text, this fine format is reminiscent of fair-copy imperial *waqfiyyas*—indeed, the Sultan Ahmed Mosque’s own *waqfiyya* manuscript is almost identical in arrangement (figs. 19 and 20)—and it therefore seems that we are dealing with a presentation copy made for an elite



Fig. 19. *Waqfiyya* of Sultan Ahmed, opening text pages, Istanbul, 1613. Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, E.H. 3036, fols. 1b–2a. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

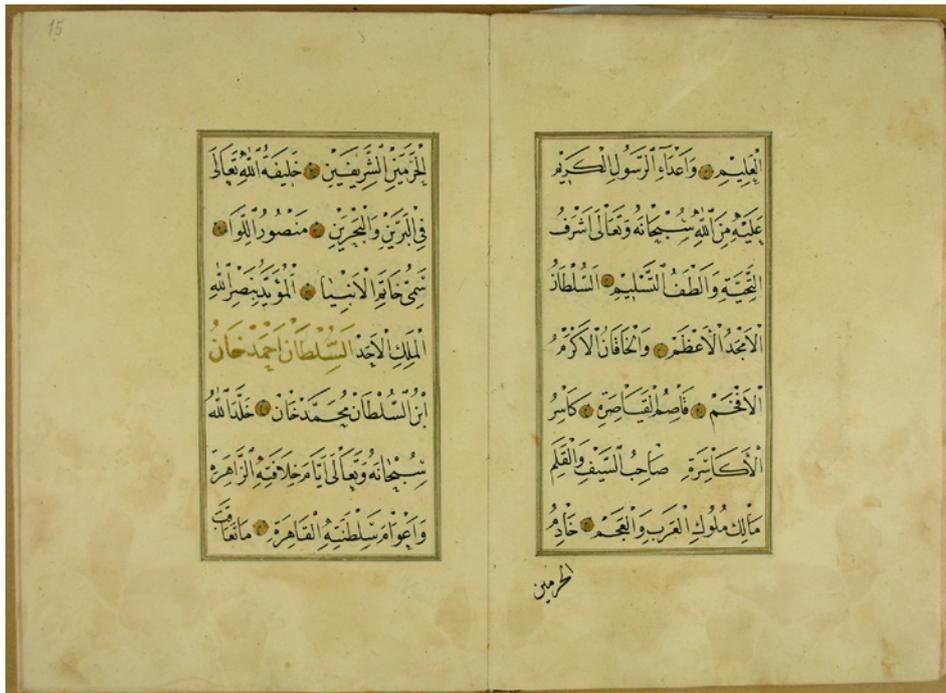


Fig. 20. *Waqfiyya* of Sultan Ahmed, introductory encomia, Istanbul, 1613. Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, E.H. 3036, fols. 14b–15a. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

reader with close personal interest or involvement in the mosque. A likely candidate is the building superintendent, Hacı Mustafa Agha, whom the text singles out for lavish praise.⁹¹ That he was exiled to Cairo in 1620 before being recalled to the capital in 1623 may account for why the book left Istanbul and ended up in the Arab world.⁹² Even if catering to the agha, however, the text would also have been intended for wider circulation at the court, and, more specifically, to gratify the sultan himself, who is, as we might expect, its overall hero. Whether further copies were ever made or have survived remains to be investigated, but the work must in any case be reckoned an extremely rare product, a point to which I shall return.

Written in a florid courtly register of Ottoman Turkish, the *Tarih* is made up of a prose account of the ceremony followed by two related qasidas, the first composed for the sultan and the second for Mustafa Agha (see the appendix for a full transliteration and translation of the manuscript). The prose section, which constitutes about three-quarters of the total work, is itself peppered with poetic couplets, some of them drawn from the second qasida. At the end of the manuscript are two additional borderless folios inscribed in a different (and far more workaday) hand with an unrelated tract whose conclusion the photocopy omits.⁹³ As for our text, there is no indication of an author for any of its components, all three of which are probably the work of the same man.⁹⁴ Neither does the book give any details of its scribe or the circumstances of its copying, though it was very likely produced (and must certainly have been drafted) between August 18, 1617, which is the last date mentioned, and November 22, 1617, the death date of the sultan, who is nowhere referred to as deceased.

The prose account that forms the heart of the text opens with fulsome praise for God, for the Prophet and his family and companions, and for the sultan, who is termed the “protector of Muslims and Monotheists and slayer of pagans and heretics.”⁹⁵ While eulogistic prefaces are typical of many categories of Ottoman literature, the introduction again exhibits notable similarities to Ahmed’s *waqfiyya*, particularly in the manuscripts’ shared use of gilding to highlight the first mention of the sultan’s name and titles (fig. 20 and the reproduction of fol. 7a on p. 303). Such typological overlaps, which build on the broader artistic resemblance between the *Tarih* and the *waqfiyya*, are partly a reflection of the former’s

experimental character—it does not belong to an established genre of its own—but they also confirm the *Tarih* as part of the officially sanctioned discourse surrounding the mosque. This evocation of the *waqfiyya* format would, moreover, have been readily appreciated by Mustafa Agha, whose role as chief harem eunuch also entailed overseeing the endowments—and hence endowment deeds—of several major religious sites, including the sanctuaries of Mecca and Medina.

The text itself acknowledges Mustafa Agha’s role as “superintendent of the pious foundations of the Two Holy Places” in the section immediately following the introductory encomia, when the subject turns to the mosque.⁹⁶ We are told that the sultan, upon embarking on the project, entrusted its superintendence to the agha, who is hailed as, among other things, “the trustee of kings and sultans.”⁹⁷ The account then fast-forwards to the days leading up to the dome-closing ceremony, which was to be held on Thursday, June 8, 1617 (4 Jumada II 1026).⁹⁸ With completion of the dome imminent,

His Excellency the aforesaid superintendent—long may he live—was ordered to set up a place for the sultan of the seven climes in the mosque’s honorable courtyard [*harem-i muhtereminde*], whereupon the faithful superintendent, in accordance with the imperial command, pitched that heavenly tent—whose azure cupola reached the heavens and whose golden finial shone upon the word—in that graceful and noble location, as befitting Ottoman law and imperial custom; and he had curtains of cloth of gold and silver hung all around it, completing the imperial tent as well as one could wish.⁹⁹

Whether the location of the tent was the mosque’s porticoed forecourt (the inner courtyard) or its surrounding precinct (the outer courtyard) is unclear from the account’s terminology, and the question is not settled by the shorter descriptions of the event found in other seventeenth-century sources, which include the chronicle of ‘Abdülkadir Efendi and the *Fezleke* of Katib Çelebi (d. 1657), whose entry on the ceremony is reproduced almost verbatim in the later official history of Mustafa Na’ima (d. 1716).¹⁰⁰ These alternative sources do, however, note the presence of additional tents that are not mentioned in the *Tarih*, and though it would have been possible for several large tents to fit inside the mosque’s spacious inner courtyard (fig. 21), such an assemblage may have been better accommodated—not to mention more publicly visible—in the outer court (fig. 22), which



Fig. 21. Sultan Ahmed Mosque, porticoed inner courtyard and domed ablution fountain. (Photo: Güven Erten)



Fig. 22. Sultan Ahmed Mosque, outer courtyard from the northwest, with the mosque on the right and the royal pavilion in the distance. (Photo: Güven Erten)



Fig. 23. *Victory Procession of Murad III*. From Ta'likizade, *Şehnâme-i Mehmed Hân*, Istanbul, ca. 1596–1603. Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 1609, fols. 68b–69a. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

bordered the vast open space of the Hippodrome. Either way, these histories make no reference to Mustafa Agha's role in setting up the encampment, nor indeed in organizing any part of the ceremony. The *Tarih* in this regard is both a more complete and a more biased record.

Our text continues with the day of the ceremony itself, when the agha spent the morning furnishing “both sides of the sultanic road [from the Topkapı Palace to the mosque]...with variegated cloths of gold and silver and tricolor silk,” held in place by several hundred doorkeepers as the expectant crowds gathered.¹⁰¹ Such use of precious textiles to form decorative roadside bar-

riers was customary for sultanic processions, and the practice is vividly attested—albeit with the spectators themselves shown holding the lengths of fabric—in a double-page manuscript illustration that depicts the victory parade of Sultan Ahmed's father, Mehmed III, following his conquest of Eger in 1596 (fig. 23).¹⁰²

Having thus prepared the route, Mustafa Agha returned to the palace with a gorgeously caparisoned horse for the sultan, who, meanwhile, sent the grand vizier, Halil Pasha (d. 1629), to the royal tent. There, accompanied by his retinue, the vizier “awaited a propitious hour to invite that cheer-spreading sultan and world-nourishing emperor,” and when the time came, he went back to

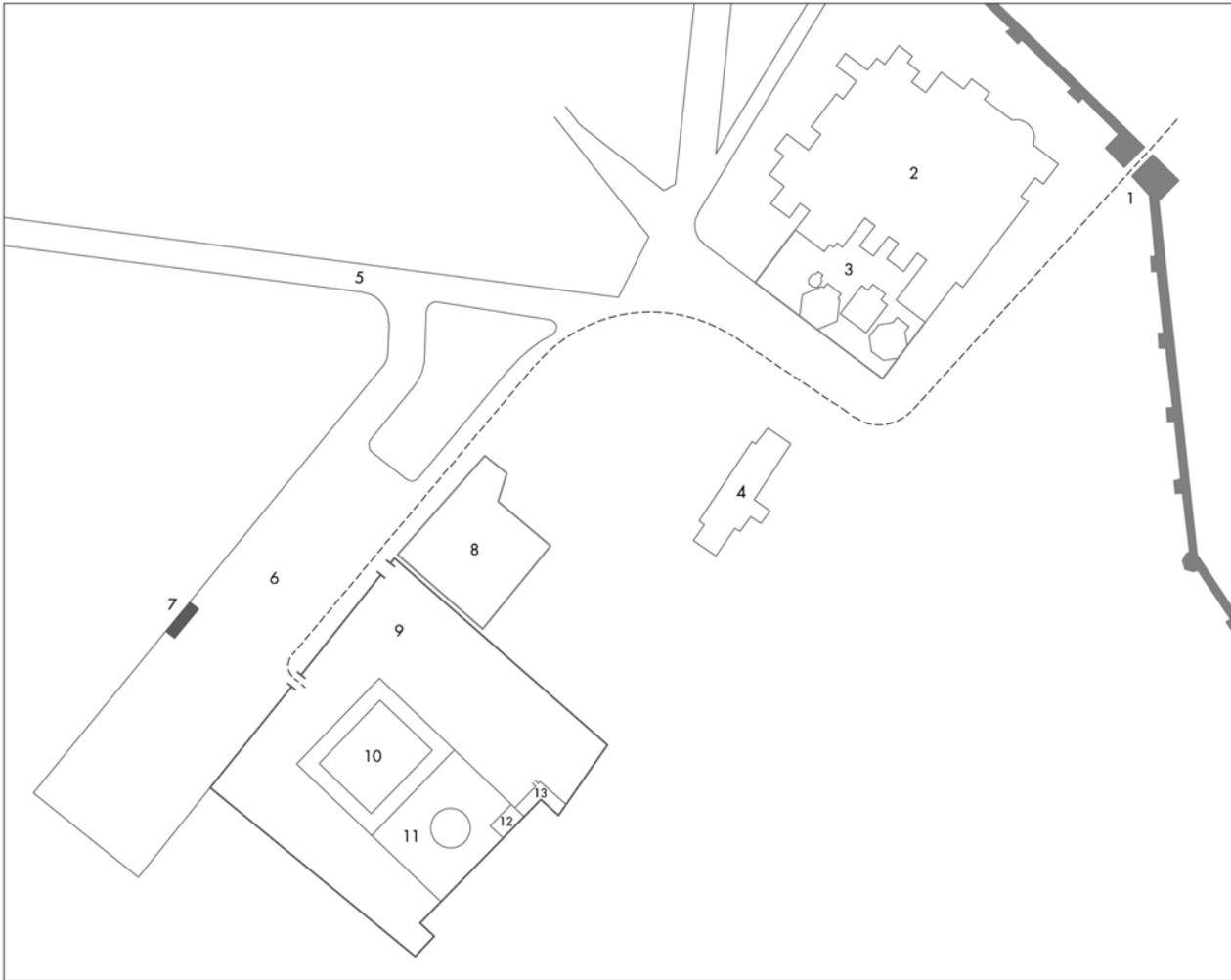


Fig. 24. Diagram of the site of the dome-closing ceremony and its surroundings, with a dashed line representing the hypothetical route of the procession as it left the Topkapı Palace (the starting point, not shown, was the door of the Privy Chamber in the palace's Third Court):

1) Outer gate (Imperial Gate) of the Topkapı Palace; 2) Hagia Sophia; 3) Mausolea of the Hagia Sophia; 4) Bathhouse of Hürrem Sultan; 5) Divan Yolu (the main processional route into the city); 6) Hippodrome; 7) Hypothetical location of the European ambassadors' loggia.

Within the Sultan Ahmed Complex: 8) Site of the madrasa and mausoleum (then under construction); 9) Outer courtyard, the probable site of the tents; 10) Inner courtyard; 11) Prayer hall; 12) Royal prayer loge; 13) Royal pavilion.

(Drawing: Güven Erten)

the palace to inform the sultan, receiving robes of honor in reward.¹⁰³ The sultan then mounted the bejeweled steed prepared for him by Mustafa Agha, whereupon the grand vizier and other court dignitaries (who, Katib Çelebi tells us, were likewise invested with robes¹⁰⁴) set out from the palace on horseback in solemn procession, with Ahmed and two of his sons—"the apples of his im-

perial eye and the fruits of his prosperous lineage"—following on as the parade's climax (figs. 24 and 25). As the cortege made the relatively short passage to the mosque, those lining the route "viewed [the sultan] avidly while praying for the continuance of His Majesty's rule."¹⁰⁵ It is at this point that the text introduces us to the "ruthless"—that is foreign—ambassadors who are among the



Fig. 25. Aerial view of the location and surroundings of the dome-closing ceremony, showing (from foreground to background) the Hippodrome and Sultan Ahmed Complex, the Hagia Sophia, and the Topkapı Palace. (Photo: iStock.com/asikkk)

throng of spectators,¹⁰⁶ and whose presence on the day is, as we shall see, pivotal to explaining the event.

The parade almost certainly entered the precinct through one of the gates opening onto the Hippodrome, where thousands of onlookers would have been standing. Some sense of the scene is offered by a late eighteenth-century French watercolor of another procession to the mosque, though here, in an example of artistic license, the public is omitted from view and the Hippodrome widened in order to accommodate the sultan and his entourage, who snake their way to the mosque's pavilion through the gate at the northern corner of the precinct (fig. 26). In the case of the dome-closing ceremony, the cortege very likely proceeded in a more straightforward line and, since it was not heading for the pavilion, may well have entered through the more central northwestern gate, which had the advantage of aligning with the mosque's principal axis (fig. 27).

Upon reaching the royal tent, the sultan dismounted and was escorted by Mustafa Agha to "a splendid bejeweled throne—variegated with diverse gemstones—that had been placed inside the portico of the tent."¹⁰⁷ Katib

Çelebi's account adds that the two princes stood to their father's right.¹⁰⁸ Ottoman paintings again allow us to visualize the scene with some confidence: a depiction from fifty years earlier of the enthronement of Selim II at Belgrade, for example, shows the newly ascended sultan seated in an encrusted gold throne that is flanked by standing figures and set under a canopy before the open entrance to a grand tent (fig. 28).¹⁰⁹ Cutting the same sort of figure as his ancestor, Ahmed called into his presence Shaykh Mahmud Hüdayi, who was to reprise the privileged role he had played at earlier occasions related to the mosque. The sultan presented Mahmud and a number of other clerics with robes before commanding "that the said saint, together with all the viziers, distinguished ulema, and the building superintendent, should climb and close [*bağla-*, lit. "tie"] the lofty dome with prayer and eulogy."¹¹⁰

Exactly how this part of the ceremony was enacted is not explained, and we have to turn to other sources that are more informative in this regard. 'Abdülkadir Efendi tells us, somewhat ambiguously, that "the marble in [the dome's] center received a nail,"¹¹¹ and he also suggests

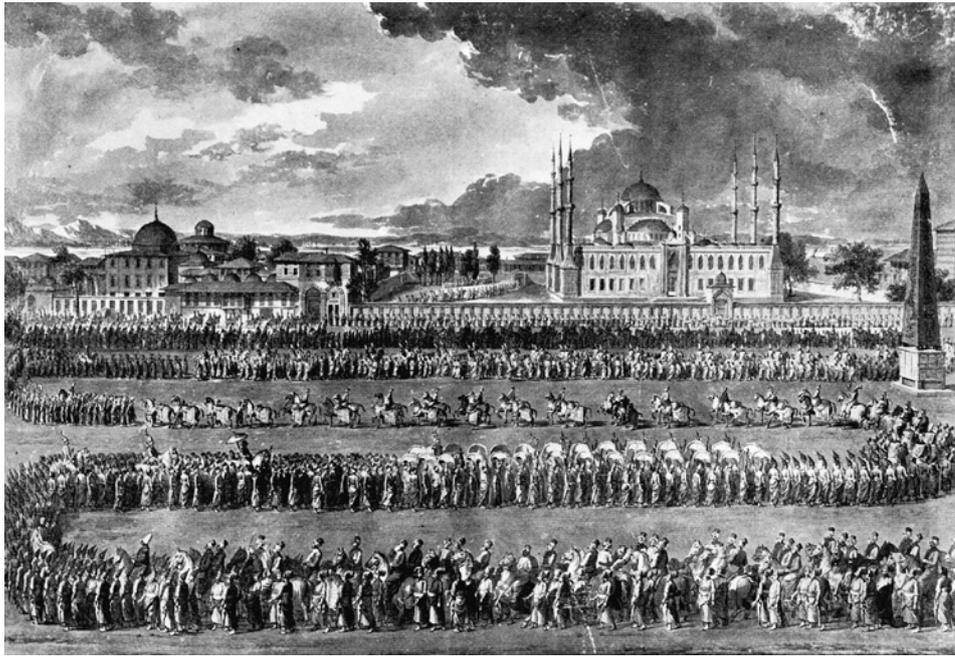


Fig. 26. Jean-Jacques-François Le Barbier, *Procession of the Sultan through the Hippodrome to the Sultan Ahmed Mosque*. Unused watercolor design for d'Ohsson's *Tableau général de l'empire othoman*, 1770s. (Photo: © Christie's Images/Bridgeman Images)



Fig. 27. Sultan Ahmed Mosque and its precinct wall, from the Hippodrome toward the main entrance axis. (Photo: Guillaume Berggren [1835–1920], 1880. Courtesy of the Ljungström Foundation)



Fig. 28. *Selim II Enthroned in Belgrade*. From Feridun Ahmed, *Nüzhetü'l-ahbâr der sefer-i Sîgetvâr*, Istanbul, 1568–69. Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 1339, fols. 110b–111a. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

that the dome was already leaded and decorated.¹¹² A more evocative account is offered by the Venetian *bailo* Almorò Nani (d. 1633), who, as I shall discuss below, viewed the ceremony firsthand and wrote an extremely valuable description of it in a dispatch dated June 13. Nani reports that after preliminary sacrifices, which are not mentioned in the other sources, “they placed the last stone of the cupola in position, and set a large gilt moon upon it.”¹¹³ This powerful image makes clear that the focus was on the summit of the dome, where a number of workmen must have secured some sort of stone before installing over it the giant crescent that crowns the mosque (fig. 29). Neither ‘Abdülkadir Efendi nor Nani mentions the party of supplicants whom Ahmed

sent up the building, and whether all of them made it as high as the dome is doubtful—Shaykh Mahmud was seventy-six at the time. In theory, at least, these men could have climbed through passages and staircases to reach either the catwalk along the dome’s interior base or, for a more eye-catching effect, the dome’s exterior, where some scaffolding must have remained to enable the completion of work. It is likely that the men were spread across various levels and galleries of the mosque, with most perhaps standing on the interior catwalk and a few venturing onto the scaffolding outside the dome. Given that the dome was built of brick and, like the rest of the mosque, essentially complete by this point, the act of closing it as staged for the ceremony was evident-



Fig. 29. Sultan Ahmed Mosque, central dome and its finial. (Photo: Güven Erten)

ly more emblematic than it was substantive, involving the placement of a symbolic capstone and finial while Shaykh Mahmud and his companions looked on and offered their blessings. They were joined in this chorus by the watching crowds, who stood, according to the *Tarih*, both “inside and outside the mosque,” which tells us that the prayer hall too was filled with people.¹¹⁴ Many, if not most, of the mosque’s interior decorations and furnishings must already have been in place.

After the men descended, the sultan commanded that Shaykh Mahmud preach to those “present at the mosque,” and himself “witness[ed] the faithful words of the reverend saint.”¹¹⁵ The text is again unclear in locating the action or players, but if, as seems to be case, the sermon was delivered inside the prayer hall, the sultan must have moved from the tent to his private prayer loge within the mosque (figs. 30 and 31). Robes of honor were then distributed (still apparently inside the mosque) to the viziers, ulema, and other men of religion, after which the sultan “ascended the commanding throne that had been placed in the glorious pavilion adjoining his exalted mosque.”¹¹⁶ This relocation makes

it still likelier that Ahmed had spent the preceding part of the ceremony in his prayer loge, which, as discussed, directly communicated with the neighboring royal pavilion. From this second throne, the sultan oversaw the granting of more robes of honor, this time to certain officials involved in building and staffing the mosque, including the chief imperial architect, Mehmed Agha, and the building supervisor (*emün*), İdris Agha.¹¹⁷ This is the only reference the text makes to Mehmed Agha, whose role as the building’s designer seems not to have been marked with any special distinction on the day.

The ceremony drew to an end with the sultan’s return to his tent, where he ordered his courtiers and ulema to kiss his hand.¹¹⁸ He and his retinue then processed back to the Topkapı Palace as they had come, and once there, Ahmed showered still more robes and other gifts on Mustafa Agha and his staff.¹¹⁹

With the narrative description of the day over, the text turns to elaborating on the sultan’s munificence, which was such that “the people of the world sweated with embarrassment at the selfless favor that the mighty emperor had shown them.”¹²⁰ (Katib Çelebi notes this



Fig. 30. Sultan Ahmed Mosque, royal prayer loge. (Photo: Ünver Rüstem)

generosity in more prosaic terms, telling us that Ahmed conferred a thousand robes in all.¹²¹) Likewise lauded is the uncommon diligence of Mustafa Agha, whose service fully merited the rewards heaped on him.¹²² This excursus on the sultan's largesse also includes an extraordinary subsection about the effect of the ceremony on the foreign ambassadors and other non-Muslim spectators, as further discussed below.

The *Tarih* ends its prose account with a brief epilogue concerning the mosque's inauguration a few months later, on August 18, 1617 (16 Sha'ban 1026), when the building was formally opened with the performance of the Friday congregational prayer. Mahmud Hüdayi again had the job of preaching, and the sultan once more distributed gifts and honorific robes.¹²³

This conclusion is followed by the two qasidas, which are not known from other sources but are nonetheless fairly typical examples of their genre.¹²⁴ Dedicated to the sultan, the first poem extols his virtues and admiringly enumerates the various parts of the mosque, whose "like or counterpart cannot be found," and whose crowning dome is "unique, engulfed by mother-of-pearl."¹²⁵ The sentence introducing the qasida informs us that it was "composed for the completion of the noble mosque"



Fig. 31. Sultan Ahmed Mosque, interior of the royal prayer loge. (Photo: Ünver Rüstem)

before being presented to Ahmed,¹²⁶ and the poem itself describes the monument as if it were in its final state. This portrayal is in part imaginary, however, for it extends to ancillaries of the mosque that were a long way off from being finished.¹²⁷ It is possible, then, that the qasida was given to the sultan as early as the day of the dome-closing ceremony, when work was far enough advanced that the finalized complex could be convincingly evoked. As with many such compositions, the poem's final line is a chronogram, which is a feature often accompanied by a reference to the identity of the author, though none is provided here.

The second qasida, which lacks a chronogram, was prepared for Mustafa Agha and, we are told, given to him "upon the completion of the sultan's mosque."¹²⁸ Because the poem in this case refers back to the events of the dome-closing ceremony, it cannot have been written until after that occasion. Several of its couplets are embedded into the *Tarih's* prose narrative, whose arrangement and content are in turn mirrored by the poem. The latter, however, places even more emphasis on the agha's excellent service, which now constitutes the main subject: "In truth," one couplet asserts, "no one has trod this gentleman's path, / He sacrificed his all with heart and soul."¹²⁹ As well as singing Mustafa's praises, the qasida loudly applauds the sultan, and its final acclamations—spoken by the adulatory crowd—might well be directed at either man. These enthusiastic compliments bring the overall text of the *Tarih* to a fitting, if predictable, close.¹³⁰

CLOSING THE DOME, WINNING THE DAY: THE SYMBOLISM OF THE CEREMONY

The importance of the *Tarih* as a descriptive document of an unusual event is obvious enough, but the text's most distinctive value lies in what it reveals about the motivations behind the ceremony, which are in turn bound up with the conceptualization of the mosque at large. The very existence of the manuscript confirms the exceptional nature of the ceremony and bespeaks the discursive excitement it must have generated. While the Ottomans produced numerous *sürnāmes* (festival books) to commemorate royal births, circumcisions, and marriages,¹³¹ and although the state's protocol registers

included brief accounts of a range of official ceremonies,¹³² the *Tarih* appears to be the only example thus far uncovered of an Ottoman monograph that describes a ceremony centered on architecture. It belongs, furthermore, to a select handful of Ottoman texts devoted to particular buildings, among them a late fifteenth-century history of the Hagia Sophia and a mid-eighteenth-century account of the Nuruosmaniye Mosque (built 1748–55).¹³³ These works are too few and dissimilar to constitute a cohesive category, but all of them concern high-ranking religious monuments that excited particular attention from their observers. Indeed, the Sultan Ahmed had, as noted, already helped to inspire another kind of rare architectural text, the *Risāle* of Ca'fer Efendi, whose chapter on the mosque was written even as it was being built, when construction had reached the level of the dome.¹³⁴ Picking up where the *Risāle* left off, then, the *Tarih* amplifies Ca'fer Efendi's verbal celebration of the monument against the background of a ceremony that was itself designed to glorify the building.

But what specific functions was this ceremony intended to perform that the official opening could not? After all, there was much that both events shared, including a grand parade from the palace and the distribution of sultanic gifts, and the two were sufficiently close in date that one might well overshadow the other. Sure enough, the seventeenth-century chronicles record only the dome-closing ceremony without mentioning the later inauguration, an omission that has led modern scholars invariably to misdate the mosque's opening.¹³⁵ That the dome-closing ceremony took place on a Thursday shows that it was never meant to be conflated with the actual inauguration, which coincided, as tradition required, with the Friday prayer. Nevertheless, the shared elements of the two events, together with their chronological proximity, would have made comparison between them unavoidable, with the earlier ceremony emerging as the more memorable of the two. The *Tarih* reveals as much in its cursory treatment of the opening, which is discussed almost as a muted replay of what had occurred two months previously.¹³⁶ What set the precursor event apart—and explains why it was devised in the first place—was that it allowed Ahmed to announce the completion of his mosque in a far more original manner than was possible with the more codified form of an official inauguration. This is not to say that real

inaugurations were lacking in their own flourishes: at the opening of the Süleymaniye, for example, the sultan handed the mosque's golden key to Sinan, an unusual gesture that reflected the architect's unparalleled status (Mehmed Agha, as we have seen, would not receive the same honor).¹³⁷ But such festive embellishments were eclipsed by the altogether inventive celebration created for the Sultan Ahmed Mosque. Much like the building itself, the dome-closing ceremony was an exercise in circumventing custom, and the sultan took full advantage of the opportunity to trumpet his project with a level of spectacle that would inevitably (and deliberately) outdo the subsequent opening. The desired effect was not mere fanfare, however, nor was the end result to the inauguration's detriment. On the contrary, the ceremony amounted to a ritual absolution that, by proclaiming the unimpeachable character of the mosque, paved the way for as auspicious an opening as possible. The extravagant theatricality of the event was, in other words, crucial to its efficacy as a legitimizing rite of passage for the monument.

Of the features that distinguished the ceremony, one of the most striking was its ostensible *raison d'être*: the very act of closing the dome. The choice of this moment for the ceremony's backdrop brought with it obvious dramatic impact, giving spectators "live" visual access to the capping of Istanbul's newest public and imperial landmark. As well as emphasizing the scale and beauty of Ahmed's architectural achievement, the closing of the dome carried multiple layers of symbolism. There was, of course, the age-old trope of the dome as heavenly sphere, and although a commonplace, the idea would have taken on real charge when framed by a ceremony in which a group of supplicants scaled the building to bless the vault as it was being closed. The *Tarih* gives literary expression to the conceit with a couplet inserted into this point of the narrative: "When devotions were performed in the mosque of the heavens, / The [celestial] lotus tree opened the hand of supplication in prayer."¹³⁸

But the dome's symbolic message went much further than a generalized reference to paradise; it also argued for the mosque's impeccable merit by once again evoking flattering parallels with the great dome of the Hagia Sophia opposite. As admired and influential as it was, the vaulting scheme of the converted church proved

famously unstable: the central dome, which was originally built too shallow, had to be reconstructed after collapsing in 558, and its shape was manifestly uneven by the time the Ottomans inherited it. Several Ottoman architects undertook the monument's repair,¹³⁹ including Sinan, one of whose (auto)biographies frankly records that the first "flat" dome had caved in.¹⁴⁰ Other Ottoman texts recast the facts as a fanciful legend about the east semi-dome, which, they claim, fell down on the night of the Prophet's birth and could not be successfully repaired until the Byzantines sent an embassy to the adult Muhammad many years later.¹⁴¹ Against this real and mythologized awareness of the Hagia Sophia's troubled structural history, Ahmed's new mosque—synecdochically represented by its dome—would appear perfect from the outset, its completion, to quote the *Tarih*, "facilitated and ensured by the aid of the Lord God Almighty."¹⁴² Ahmed, who had renovated the Hagia Sophia and reroofed its dome almost ten years earlier,¹⁴³ was now unveiling its faultless counterpart in a carefully directed ceremony that underscored the mosque's freedom both from structural defect and from the taint of a Christian past.¹⁴⁴

Such triumphalism also extended to the dome's more immediate pendant, the imperial tent. It is this temporary structure rather than the mosque's actual dome that the *Tarih* most insistently describes in celestial terms, calling it a "heavenly tent... whose azure cupola reached the heavens and whose golden finial shone upon the word."¹⁴⁵ Here, as elsewhere in the text, the Ottoman word for tent, *oṭak* (also *oṭağ*), is punningly rendered as *ṭāk*, "vault," intentionally blurring the distinction between the sultan's ceremonial stage and the architecture of his mosque. The comparison is not entirely rhetorical: though we lack a detailed verbal description of it, the tent, in keeping with other examples that have survived or are known from paintings, must have been a truly substantial structure, with high walls and a steeply pitched vault-like roof, all made of richly colored and patterned fabric (figs. 32 and 33).¹⁴⁶ As with the neighboring mosque, more was at play than a paradisiacal metaphor. The inclusion of this tent, along with the others that we know surrounded it, arguably constituted the ceremony's most outstanding feature. To be sure, the use of tents for ceremonial or festive occasions was not especially rare in Ottoman contexts (fig. 34),¹⁴⁷ and,



Fig. 32. Ottoman military tent with a protruding canopy, seventeenth century. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Rüst-kammer, inv. no. Y 364. (Photo: Elke Estel/Hans-Peter Klut. Courtesy of Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden)



Fig. 33. Interior of an Ottoman military tent, seventeenth century. Krakow, Wawel Royal Castle, inv. no. 896. (Photo: Stanisław Michta. Courtesy of Wawel Royal Castle)



Fig. 34. Levni, *Festive Encampments in the Ok Meydanı*. From Vehbi, *Sürnâme*, Istanbul, 1727–28. Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, A. 3593, fols. 10b–11a. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

as noted above, Ahmed had already pitched a tent on his mosque's construction site some years earlier when giving a feast. The adjacent Hippodrome hosted tents on numerous occasions throughout the Ottoman period (fig. 35), including the marriage celebrations in 1524 of the grand vizier İbrahim Pasha (d. 1536), whose palace stood opposite where the Sultan Ahmed would be built.¹⁴⁸ Even in view of this broader tradition, however, the setting up of multiple tents in the courtyard of an essentially complete mosque would have been remarkably novel, unlike anything seen during an inauguration proper. While no doubt augmenting the festive mood of the day, this encampment cannot have been divorced from the tent's longstanding association with warfare,

especially in light of the mosque's own uneasy relationship with the theme.¹⁴⁹ Earlier events had already embraced the martial link—the tents erected for İbrahim Pasha boasted examples captured from the Aq Qoyunlu, Mamluks, and Safavids—and Ahmed and his advisers must have planned the dome-closing ceremony with such precedents in mind. What may appear as a risky and potentially counterproductive evocation—one that might remind the public of the sultan's meagre military record—makes far more sense if understood as a defiant statement by which Ahmed could address his critics head on. Not only did the mosque's encampment keep alive the promise of a future Cretan campaign, but it also—and more importantly—cast the



Fig. 35. Sultan Ahmed Complex and the Hippodrome, historical view with tents in the Hippodrome. (Photo: Sébah & Joaillier, ca. 1870. Courtesy of Middle East Photograph Archive, University of Chicago Collections)

sultan as a victor already entitled to memorialize his name.

This seemingly farfetched assertion rested on several related ideas that must have been circulating in the courtly and public spheres and that are articulated in the *Tarih*. Ahmed's main claim to legitimacy was his well-known piety,¹⁵⁰ a trait that the manuscript hails from the start and reiterates throughout. Conventional as such praise was in the Ottoman panegyric tradition, the portrayal of Ahmed as an unrivaled paragon of religiosity capitalized on specific acts that distinguished him from other sultans. He funded a number of important renovations to the pilgrimage sites of Mecca and Medina, sending the architect Mehmed Agha to over-

see the repairs.¹⁵¹ The Ka'ba in particular was in urgent need of attention when Ahmed restored it in 1611,¹⁵² and it was also during his reign—specifically in 1609, when work commenced on the Sultan Ahmed—that the Ka'ba's annually renewed fabric covering, the *kiswa*, began to be produced on special occasions in Istanbul instead of its usual place of manufacture, Cairo.¹⁵³ These achievements are cited in the *Tarih*'s first qasida, which likens Ahmed's legacy to that of the Prophet himself:¹⁵⁴

Because, O Large-Hearted Sultan, you have modeled
yourself on [Muhammad],
You have truly executed the rule of holy law in the world.

[...]

Above all, the Flourishing House [Ka'ba] and the city of
God's Prophet [Medina]
Have been reanimated in your time, given honor and new
life.¹⁵⁵

The poem goes on to call the new mosque an “Exalted Ka'ba” for the poor who could not perform the pilgrimage,¹⁵⁶ and though this same concept was applied to other mosques over the centuries (among them the Hagia Sophia),¹⁵⁷ Ahmed's patronage of Mecca rendered more convincing the idea of his own foundation as an alternative shrine. Its hosting of the *Mevlūd* ritual must have enhanced the Sultan Ahmed's cultic significance and strengthened its relationship to the Two Holy Places, and Ahmed cemented these ties by sending hundreds of gifts and honorific robes to the notables of Mecca and Medina upon the mosque's completion.¹⁵⁸ In the late eighteenth century, *kiswas* were actually being embroidered at the Sultan Ahmed,¹⁵⁹ and by the mid-nineteenth, the mosque was the starting point of the annual pilgrimage caravan to Mecca, with the previous year's *kiswa* being returned to the building and hung on one of its walls.¹⁶⁰

Ahmed's mosque could thus be vindicated with reference to his exemplary and generous piety, which served the religion of Islam as much as any great conquest. Already invoked at the start of the project as a complement to other—more aspirational—motives, the sultan's charitable purpose was now in itself an unassailable justification for the monument. Indeed, the impact of such righteous beneficence was not limited to the Muslim community; even the faithless could be moved by it, as explained in what is the most arresting and arguably most revealing section of the *Tarih*:

Furthermore, the sultan was watched that day by the ruthless [foreign] ambassadors who were present at the assembly, and when they—despite having not a trace of faith in their hardened hearts, wherein the devil and rebellion resided—saw the selfless favor that the magnanimous sultan conferred on the people of the world, together with the good works and pious deeds done in the path of God and the effort and labor exerted in the course of the religion of Muhammad, countless infidels could not help but come to Islam, wherewith they were honored with the glory of Islam and decked in royal favor. And even the remaining wicked infidels could not help but say countless prayers for the life and state of the mighty and exalted sultan, that

he should remain secure and stable on his throne of glory; and so they confirmed as was right the glory and power pertaining to the religion of Muhammad and to the emperor of Islam, while seeing for certain the ignominy and vengefulness of their [own] false rites; and whether the ambassador of the reprobate Qizilbash or whether Venetian, Fleming, or Frank—they are one scourge alike—all of them were frustrated and confounded, their heads hung in vexation and sadness, and each of them was plunged into utter disgrace.¹⁶¹

Like other passages of the manuscript, the narrative here is tantalizingly incomplete in its details, but the implication is that foreign ambassadors were in some way officially present at the ceremony. This impression is confirmed by the above-mentioned dispatch of Almorò Nani, who considered the event important enough to send a long description of it to the Venetian Senate a few days after it took place. Although long ago published in an abridged English translation, the document seems to have gone unnoticed by subsequent scholars. It is, however, a source of unusual significance, and a rich supplement to the *Tarih*. The relevant passages are here quoted in full:

Last Tuesday, the 6th inst. [June], the Pasha [Halil, the grand vizier] sent a *chiaus* [*çavuş*, messenger] to all the houses of the ambassadors as well as to mine asking us to send our chief dragoman, as he wished to speak to them. He told them that His Majesty was going on the following Thursday to perform the first sacrifices in the new mosque, and he invited the ambassadors and the *bailo* of Venice to attend the festivities, when a suitable place would be assigned to them to view His Majesty and the concourse of people, which would be great. The dragomans accepted the invitation, adding that we had received a singular honor, and on the dragomans' return the ambassadors of France, England, and Flanders, and I discussed what we should do, as by the Turkish custom when a building is finished all the neighbors send presents, as a gesture of goodwill and of gladness, and we ought to do something. In the time of Sultan Suliman, the last of the Ottoman Emperors to have built a mosque in Constantinople, the French ambassador and the Venetian *bailo* at that time made gifts to the mosque, and all the viziers and grandees of the Ottoman Porte also did the same, in competition with one another. And in truth, for three days in succession, the dome of this mosque was seen to be draped on the outside with a great quantity of cloths of various kinds, which were removed each evening and replaced by new ones. Afterwards these

were all distributed by order of the *Chilaragasi* [*kızlar ağası*, the chief harem eunuch] among the head of the mosque and various other superintendents and workmen, who are infinite [in number]. We therefore decided to send to the [current] *Chislaragasi* [Mustafa Agha] twelve cloths each. These were immediately sent by him to the mosque and placed around its dome along with many others, which made a fine show. The Imperial [Habsburg] ambassador was last to be invited, because of which he thought he might be excluded from this ceremony, and he too sent twelve cloths, all of silk. This expense was necessary and could not be avoided . . . The Grand Signor's mosque is built on one side of the square of the Hippodrome, where they usually hold public spectacles for the marriage of the sultan and the circumcision of the princes. Opposite this mosque stood a large covered corridor for the four ambassadors and myself, divided into compartments by flags, leaving a place for each. I laughingly remarked to the ambassador of Flanders that as our rulers were joined in friendly relations it was not proper that we should be separated, and I ordered the cloth to be removed. Soon afterwards England did the same, and then France and the Emperor's ambassador, so that the five compartments were made one, with all assembling nearer to the Imperial ambassador's section, which was the one that more directly faced the gate where the sultan entered the mosque's courtyard. Here they sacrificed a number of sheep in honor of the Prophet. Then, at a certain hour determined by them to be auspicious, they undertook the ceremony to place the last stone in the summit of the mosque's main cupola, and, in accordance with their custom, set a large gilt moon upon it. After, as it was reported, one of their principal holy men [Mahmud Hüdayi] preached a long sermon, praising the sultan's goodness and then reproving the general injustice and rapacity of [his] enemies. His Majesty then came out of the mosque into its courtyard and placed himself under a small tent, where not only the viziers, muftis, and *cadileschiers* [*kađı'askers*, military judges], but countless other officials went to kiss his hand, wishing him happiness; and most of them were invested with a robe, but the Grand Vizier received three, two of them sable, and he wore all three despite the season, without feeling any discomfort. At the conclusion of the ceremony, the sultan came out on a horse of singular beauty entirely adorned with gems—valuing, they say, 50 thousand zecchini—which had been donated that day by the *Chislaragasi*. Then proceeded on horseback the two princes, all the viziers, and other grandees of the Porte, and also the janissary guards and *spahis* [*sipāhīs*, cavalry], who, though small in number, were sufficient for the great concourse of people who had stopped on the square to see [the sultan] and loudly greet him as he passed.

While we were waiting for the crush of people to stop, the Imperial ambassador . . . said it was high time that the war [between Venice and the Habsburgs] ceased, because in the end we are all Christians, and there is nothing these Turks enjoy more than to see us bloody our hands among ourselves.

We all subsequently left together, on horseback . . . As soon as I had reached home the Pasha sent me a most noble golden raiment as a present, and he did the same to all the other ambassadors; in fact, his chief preoccupation is to find some means of showing honor to the ministers of the powers, just as the late *Caimecam* [*kaymakam*, the grand vizier's deputy] was never so happy as when he could insult them, but, praise God, everything has turned out to the greater glory of the princes whom we represent.¹⁶²

Fleshing out the sketchy picture provided by the *Tarih*, this fascinating report reveals the deliberateness with which foreign representatives were made a feature of the ceremony. The *bailo* and his fellow ambassadors could hardly refuse the grand vizier's invitation, and their presence on the day itself was closely stage-managed by their hosts. Foreign participation in Ottoman state festivities was, in itself, nothing new, and Nani's description of a viewing "corridor" erected opposite the mosque recalls the wooden loggia that had accommodated European spectators at the circumcision festival of the future Mehmed III in 1582 (fig. 36).¹⁶³ Known from pictorial and written sources, this earlier loggia anticipated even the location of its later counterpart: it stood opposite the Sultan Ahmed's eventual site on the Hippodrome next to the Palace of İbrahim Pasha, probably on or near the spot where Nani's "corridor" would be erected. But whereas the structure of 1582 had been integrated into a series of galleries filled mainly with Ottoman viewers, that of 1617 seems to have stood alone, at a suitable distance from the sacred precinct where the Muslim elite were gathered.

This was not the only way in which the ambassadorial presence at the dome-closing ceremony was distinctive. For while foreign representatives could be found in numerous Ottoman festive contexts, there is very little evidence that the Christians among them attended religious ceremonies centered on mosques. Many Westerners, including diplomats, would have witnessed such events at a remove along with the general crowds,¹⁶⁴ but this is a different matter from being officially invited participants. The case of the Süleymaniye, which Nani's



Fig. 36. *Parade of Royal Architects in the Hippodrome*, with European spectators visible in the galleries. From İntizami, *Sürnâme-i Hümayûn*, Istanbul, ca. 1587. Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 1344, fols. 190b–191a. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

dispatch also bears upon, is telling in this regard. We know that the Safavid ruler Shah Tahmasp (r. 1524–76) sent a special embassy bearing gifts and letters to congratulate Süleyman the Magnificent as his monument neared completion, and it is possible that the Safavid envoy personally attended the inauguration.¹⁶⁵ According to Nani, Western powers likewise made gifts to the Süleymaniye in the form of textiles, though these, as discussed above, may have been to mark the closing of the dome a year before the mosque was opened. Nani in any case mentions only the French ambassador and Venetian *bailo* in relation to this earlier act of gift-giving, and he says nothing of their actually partaking in any accompanying ceremony. Whatever European participation

there was in the festivities surrounding the Süleymaniye thus appears to have been limited and unorchestrated, quite in contrast to the obligatory arrangement under which all the principal foreign representatives attended the dome-closing ceremony of 1617.

The coordinated gifting of textiles by the ambassadors was a judicious move that capitalized on a shared appreciation among Ottomans and Westerners for luxury fabrics. In a ceremony already richly articulated with textiles, this collection of cloths must have made a powerful impression, particularly if exhibited, as Nani tells us, with a multitude of others around the dome. It is curious that the Ottoman sources do not refer to this festive bedecking, and Nani's description leaves some

ambiguity as to whether the cloths were draped over the dome's surface or otherwise hung from its exterior (or even interior) base. Either way, such adornment of the dome would only have emphasized its visual and conceptual relationship to the sultan's tent. The very real meaning with which fabrics were imbued on such occasions is also apparent from the ambassadors' decision to remove the cloths that divided their viewing compartments. Yet messages were not always understood as intended. Nani's claim that all turned out to the glory of the European states perhaps belies a certain intimidation felt by the vastly outnumbered Westerners, a reaction that would explain why they were so anxious to present a united front at the ceremony. While the Ottomans may have been suitably impressed with what they were given and returned the favor by sending textile gifts of their own, they surely viewed the ambassadors' far grander offering as a form of collective tribute. Such an interpretation—unsurprisingly sidestepped by Nani's account—is very much consistent with the tone of the *Tarih*, which, though no less subjective than the *bailo's* dispatch, is a better indicator of what the ceremony's organizers intended by inviting the Christian representatives.

There is, however, one particular in which the *Tarih* certainly misrepresents the ambassadors' experience, and that is its suggestion that some of them renounced their faith in favor of Islam. No conversion of the sort took place, nor is it likely that the text is referring to members of the ambassadors' retinues.¹⁶⁶ If the claim has any truth to it, the *Tarih* appears to be conflating the foreign diplomats with Istanbul's own communities of non-Muslims, who must have been among the general crowds gathered around the mosque precinct, and whose numbers may have included some on-the-spot converts.¹⁶⁷ A still more interesting conflation in the text is that between the Western representatives and the ambassador of the Qizilbash, by which is meant the Shi'i Safavids, treated as infidels on a par with the Christians.¹⁶⁸ The Safavid ambassador finds no mention in Nani's dispatch and must have attended the ceremony separately from his Christian peers.¹⁶⁹ For all the Ottomans' anti-Shi'i bluster, he may even have been allowed to join the other Muslim dignitaries inside the complex, as happened on previous occasions when Safavid am-

bassadors visited Ottoman mosques.¹⁷⁰ But such ecumenism has no place in the textual record of the *Tarih*, whose ideological rigor sees the Safavids and Europeans treated with equal disdain. This blanket stigmatization conveniently bolsters Ahmed's flimsy claims to a ghazi status: his greatest military success had been against the Celali rebels, who were, as noted above, tarred with the brush of Shi'ism, and he was at war with the Safavids at the time of the mosque's opening.

What makes the *Tarih's* triumphal conceit so effective, however, is that it does not ultimately rely on any martial corroboration for its force. The very realization of the mosque is itself presented as an overwhelming blow to the empire's non-Sunni enemies, who, in spite of themselves, are inwardly won over by the feat. Victory in warfare may yet follow, but whether or not it does, Ahmed has, according to the manuscript, already conquered multitudes of nonbelievers through his pious act of patronage. Far from being a mere literary fancy, this audacious redemption of the sultan is the textual imprint of the ceremony's own potent imagery, which, as Nani indicates, received its verbal affirmation in Shaykh Mahmud's sermon. The faithful masses who witnessed the mosque's spectacular consecration were surely convinced that God was on their sovereign's side, and the limited contingent of foreign ambassadors must have appeared humbled and subjugated by what was happening around them, particularly if any non-Muslims were indeed inspired to convert. The Westerners themselves evidently picked up on the martial mood: it is no coincidence that Nani and the Habsburg ambassador turned to talk of war and Turkish hostility even as the crowds were dispersing. The ceremony's charged inclusion of these elite "infidel" spectators again helps to explain why it was staged in the first place: as we have seen, a true inauguration would probably not have afforded the leeway to accommodate non-Muslims in such a prominent and formalized manner. Their presence at the event completed its *dramatis personae* and fulfilled the symbolism of Ahmed's splendid encampment, posing him as a Muslim conqueror within his own capital.

But it was not only over the unbelievers that Ahmed triumphed that day. The emblematic battle that played out in the mosque's courtyard was a defeat also for those

Sunni Ottomans who had questioned the sultan's right to build. By metaphorically enacting the conquest that his critics had long called for him to attain, the sultan was signaling once and for all the lawfulness of his enterprise. The accompanying rhetoric presumably tackled the related issue of how the mosque was financed, for the *Tarih* reassures the reader that “[not] a penny from the imperial treasury” was spent on the project other than what Mustafa Agha had legally earmarked in his capacity as superintendent.¹⁷¹ That the very clerics who had disapproved of the mosque were now obliged to celebrate its completion implicated them as reformed supporters of a blameless endeavor. Ahmed, for his part, wished to underline his rapprochement with his onetime opponents, and it is significant that the *Tarih*'s brief description of the official opening—termed *feth*, which also means conquest—mentions only the ulema as receiving royal gifts.¹⁷² Such benevolence showed the sultan to be a merciful vanquisher, just as the dome's ceremonial capping proved that the mosque had won the hearts even of its detractors, whether skeptical clerics or foreign infidels.

The later history of the mosque would reiterate how thoroughly its reputation had been consolidated. In June 1826, when the reformist Mahmud II (r. 1808–39) launched his own battle in Istanbul by resolving to extinguish the unruly janissary corps, it was to the Sultan Ahmed Mosque that his supporters were called. They gathered there under the Prophet's Sacred Standard, which had been temporarily brought from the Topkapı Palace and raised inside the prayer hall on the minbar. In a practical replaying of the dome-closing ceremony, tents were pitched in the mosque's outer court, as well as on the Hippodrome, and from this encampment the sultan's loyal officers and subjects mounted their fatal attack against the janissaries, who were branded heretics and crypto-Christians.¹⁷³ Though in part determined by the building's advantageous location and open surroundings, the use of the mosque as a loyalist headquarters also reflected the extent to which it had come to embody religio-imperial authority. Those who set up the 1826 encampment are unlikely to have done so with any knowledge of its festive precedent, but their militarization of the site nonetheless instantiated, and thereby endorsed, what the dome-closing ceremony had so impressively visualized over two centuries earlier.

CONCLUSION

Ahmed died of typhus at the age of twenty-seven on November 22, 1617, barely three months after his mosque was inaugurated. It is tempting to wonder if fears for his health were an additional reason why the monument was unveiled with such pomp before its actual opening.¹⁷⁴ Indeed, most of the mosque's ancillaries—including the madrasa, public kitchen, and marketplace—were as yet unfinished upon the sultan's death, and the complex as a whole would not be completed until 1620.¹⁷⁵ The last element to be built was Ahmed's own tomb, a substantial single-domed structure with a porticoed entrance (figs. 3, 4, and 37).¹⁷⁶ Unlike its counterparts at other sultanic foundations, this tomb is located not in the garden behind the mosque's qibla wall, but in a more visible spot outside the precinct at the northernmost end of the complex, from where it faces—and competes with—the dynastic mausolea of the Hagia Sophia (fig. 9).¹⁷⁷ It is adjacent, moreover, to the Sultan Ahmed's madrasa, identifying the patron in perpetuity as a friend to the ulema. The tomb thus acts as a satellite of the mosque to which it pertains, redoubling in miniaturized form the architectural glorification and legitimation of its founder. In this it recalls another vaulted dependency that had been erected on the grounds of the mosque for much the same purpose: the tent of the dome-closing ceremony. The relationship between the two structures is all the more palpable given that sultanic mausolea were often preceded by tents that served as temporary grave coverings.¹⁷⁸ Although this custom seems not to have been followed in Ahmed's case,¹⁷⁹ his tomb already had its formal and symbolic forerunner in the tent of the 1617 festival.

This event was, as I have demonstrated, among the most extraordinary ever held in the Ottoman Empire, and the highpoint of a ceremonial campaign already unparalleled in richness and extent. Ahmed's readiness to lavish such attention on his mosque was an astute and effective strategy by which to stir wider enthusiasm for the building and secure its place in the public eye. No moment in the mosque's festive history could have been more compelling in this regard than when the sultan processed to an encampment in its precinct and sent his clerics to close its dome with their prayers. Against



Fig. 37. Sultan Ahmed Complex, from the northeast, with the mausoleum in the center, the mosque to the left, and the Hippodrome to the right. (Photo: Sébah & Joaillier, ca. 1870. Courtesy of Special Collections, Fine Arts Library, Harvard University.)

the odds, and making full use of the power of ceremony, Ahmed succeeded that day in staking his claim to the monument that he was never entitled to build.

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NOTES

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present a version of this paper at the conference “The Ottomans and Entertainment” (June 29–July 2, 2016, Newnham College, Cambridge), where I received helpful feedback. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are my own (see the note at the start of the appendix).

1. For the mosque, which is known also as the Sultan Ahmet, Sultanahmet, Ahmediye, or Blue Mosque, see Emine Fetvacı, “Music, Light and Flowers: The Changing Aesthetics of Ottoman Architecture,” *Journal of Turkish Studies* 32, 1 (Autumn 2008): 221–40; Godfrey Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971), 342–49; Doğan Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, trans. Adair Mill (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club, 2010), 361–369; Zeynep Nayıp, *Osmanlı Mimarlığında Sultan Ahmet Külliyesi ve Sonrası (1609–1690)* (Istanbul: İTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Baskı Atölyesi, 1975), 35–133; and Gülrü Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (London: Reaktion Books, 2011), 514–18. For documentation concerning the mosque, see Mustafa Lütfi Bilge, “Sultanahmed Cami ve Külliyesi: Kuruluş Öncesi ve Sonrası Belgeler,” in *Osmanlı İstanbul I: I. Uluslararası Osmanlı İstanbulu*

- Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, 29 Mayıs–1 Haziran 2013, İstanbul 29 Mayıs Üniversitesi, ed. Feridun M. Emecan and Emrah Safa Gürkan (İstanbul: İstanbul 29 Mayıs Üniversitesi Yayınları and İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür A.Ş., 2014), 525–57; and Tahsin Öz, “Sultan Ahmed Camii,” *Vakıflar Dergisi* 1 (1938): 25–28.
2. Typical in this regard is Godfrey Goodwin (*History of Ottoman Architecture*, 344), who writes, “The mosque is a marriage of other men’s ideas in most but not all particulars, and where it is not inspired by previous masterpieces it is often ungainly or monotonous since the dominant ideas were size and splendour.”
 3. See Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 207–22.
 4. Quoted and translated *ibid.*, 60. The origins and development of this viewpoint, which seems not to have been codified until the late sixteenth century, are the subject of promising new research by Samet Budak, a PhD candidate at the University of Michigan. I am grateful to him for sharing his findings with me.
 5. See Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 510.
 6. Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 256–57, 511. Kuban (*Ottoman Architecture*, 361) disregards Ottoman codes of decorum and opines that “Murad III and Mehmed III had undoubtedly failed to honour an old state tradition” by not constructing large complexes.
 7. See Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 238–56.
 8. *Ibid.*, 65–66.
 9. For Ahmed’s desire to be identified with Süleyman, see Nebahat Avcıoğlu, “Ahmed I and the Allegories of Tyranny in the Frontispiece to George Sandys’s *Relation of a Journey*,” *Muqarnas* 18 (2002): 203–26, esp. 218–20.
 10. See Caroline Finkel, *Osman’s Dream: The Story of the Ottoman Empire 1300–1923* (London: John Murray, 2005), 193–94; Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 514; and Stanford J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), vol. 1, *Empire of the Gazis: The Rise and Decline of the Ottoman Empire, 1280–1808*, 187–88.
 11. See Fetvacı, “Music, Light and Flowers,” 233; Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 511–14; and Lucienne Thys-Şenocak, “The Yeni Valide Mosque Complex at Eminönü,” *Muqarnas* 15 (1998): 58–70.
 12. See Thys-Şenocak, “Yeni Valide Mosque Complex,” 66–69.
 13. The palaces had been built by Sinan for two princess-vizier couples—Mihrimah Sultan (d. 1578) and Rüstem Pasha (d. 1561), and İsmihan Sultan (d. 1585) and Sokollu Mehmed Pasha (d. 1579)—and were bought from their descendants. For the purchase of this and other land for the complex, see Bilge, “Sultanahmed Cami ve Külliyesi,” 529–41; Fetvacı, “Music, Light and Flowers,” 233–34; and Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 514.
 14. See Muştafâ Şâfi, *Mustafa Şâfi’nin Zübdetü’l-Tevârih’i*, ed. İbrahim Hakkı Çuhadar, 2 vols. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2003), 1:51; and Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 515.
 15. See Nicolò Barozzi and Guglielmo Berchet, eds., *Relazioni degli stati Europei lette al Senato dagli ambasciatori Veneti nel secolo decimosettimo: Turchia*, 2 pts. (Venice: P. Naratovich, 1871–72), pt. 1, pp. 181–82, paraphrased and discussed in Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 514.
 16. Guillaume-Joseph Grelot, *A Late Voyage to Constantinople ...*, trans. John Phillips (London: John Playford, 1683), 212. See also Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 515. For an earlier account along much the same lines, see Louis Deshayes, baron de Courmenin, *Voiage de Levant fait par le commandement du roy en l’année 1621* (Paris: Chez Adrian Tavpinart, 1624), 104, translated into English in Avcıoğlu, “Ahmed I and the Allegories of Tyranny,” 220.
 17. Dispatch dated January 27, 1610 (1609 old style), The National Archives, UK (henceforth TNA), SP 97/6, fols. 150a–50b, copied also on fols. 151a–51b.
 18. See Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 514; and Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire*, 1:188–89. A qasida written in praise of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque no later than 1614 calls on God to render “the Shah of the [Safavid] Heretics...powerless before” Ahmed, and to let the sultan “be triumphant and victorious, and a vanquisher and a taker of spoils”: see Ca’fer Efendi, *Risâle-i Mi’mâriyye: An Early-Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Treatise on Architecture*, trans. and ed. Howard Crane (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1987), 75–76.
 19. See Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 514, 516.
 20. I am grateful to Fariba Zarinebaf for discussing this idea with me.
 21. For examples of seventeenth-century sources that refer to the mosque by this name (or variants of it), see ‘Abdü’l-Ğâdir Efendi, *Topçular Kâtibi ‘Abdü’lğâdir (Kadrî) Efendi Tarihi: Metin ve Tahlîl*, ed. Ziya Yılmaz, 2 vols. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2003), 1:651; Deshayes, *Voiage de Levant*, 104, translated into English in Avcıoğlu, “Ahmed I and the Allegories of Tyranny,” 220; Grelot, *Late Voyage to Constantinople*, 212; and Muştafâ Şâfi, *Zübdetü’l-Tevârih*, 1:104.
 22. Mahmud Hüdayî’s involvement with the Sultan Ahmed Mosque will be discussed below. For an overview of his life and career, see Hasan Kâmil Yılmaz, “Aziz Mahmûd Hüdayî,” in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1988–2013).
 23. For Mustafa Agha’s biography and involvement in the mosque, see Mehmed Şüreyyâ, *Sicill-i Osmanî*, ed. Nuri Akbayan and Seyit Ali Kahraman, 6 vols. (İstanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı and Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1996), 4:1136; M. Çağatay Uluçay, *Harem* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1971), 122; and Bilge, “Sultanahmed Cami ve Külliyesi,” 529.
 24. See Muştafâ Şâfi, *Zübdetü’l-Tevârih*, 1:51; and Fetvacı, “Music, Light and Flowers,” 234.
 25. For a critical edition of his chronicle, see Muştafâ Şâfi, *Zübdetü’l-Tevârih*.
 26. See Muştafâ Şâfi, *Zübdetü’l-Tevârih*, 1:48; and Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire*, 1:188. Avcıoğlu (“Ahmed I and the Allegories of Tyranny,” 219) writes that Ahmed used his victory over the Celalis “as an excuse to build a new royal mosque bearing his name.”
 27. Dispatch dated October 22, 1609, TNA, SP 97/6, fol. 139a.
 28. Muştafâ Şâfi, *Zübdetü’l-Tevârih*, 1:51.
 29. *Ibid.*, 1:46–48.
 30. Muştafâ Şâfi, *Zübdetü’l-Tevârih*, 1:51. I owe these translations, and my knowledge of the source, to Fetvacı, “Music, Light and Flowers,” 234; and Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 515.

31. See Ca'fer Efendi, *Risâle*.
32. *Ibid.*, 66.
33. *Ibid.*, 67.
34. Barozzi and Berchet, *Relazioni*, pt. 1, pp. 39, 181, paraphrased and discussed in Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 514.
35. Apart from the royal pavilion to be discussed below, these dependencies originally included a madrasa, Koran school, primary school, marketplace (*arasta*), bathhouse, public kitchen, hospital, tomb, drinking fountains, and various associated dwellings, shops, and storehouses: see Nayır, *Sultan Ahmet Külliyesi*, 44–88. Today, only the madrasa, primary school, tomb, bathhouse, and *arasta* survive: see Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 369.
36. See Fetvacı, “Music, Light and Flowers.”
37. Fetvacı, “Music, Light and Flowers,” 224; and Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 517. For the Şehzade Mosque, see Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 191–207.
38. See Fetvacı, “Music, Light and Flowers,” 226; and Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 517.
39. See Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 512.
40. This is the view held by Necipoğlu (*Age of Sinan*, 517), who writes that “[t]he decision to reinterpret the scheme of the Şehzade mosque, rather than of the Süleymaniye or Selimiye, tacitly admits the forbidding perfections of the chief architect’s two supreme masterpieces.”
41. Though the Süleymaniye is higher than the Sultan Ahmed (their domes reach 53 and 43 meters respectively), the two mosques are of comparable width and length, both covering an area of about 114 by 65 meters.
42. Suitably struck by this distinction, Grelot (*Late Voyage to Constantinople*, 210) describes the Sultan Ahmed Mosque as “being the only Temple of all that ever [he] saw in the East, which has six Towers, whereas the rest have not above Two or Four at most.” The still widespread belief that the Masjid al-Haram in Mecca had only six minarets when the Sultan Ahmed was built and that the sultan—criticized for rivaling this number—was compelled to add a seventh is apocryphal: see Goodwin, *History of Ottoman Architecture*, 343.
43. See Avcioglu, “Ahmed I and the Allegories of Tyranny,” 220; and Fetvacı, “Music, Light and Flowers,” 223–24.
44. Muştafâ Sâî Çelebi, *Sinan’s Autobiographies: Five Sixteenth-Century Texts*, trans. Howard Crane and Esra Akin, ed. Gülru Necipoğlu (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 74.
45. See Fetvacı, “Music, Light and Flowers,” 235; and Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 517–18.
46. For the history of these minarets, see Gülru Necipoğlu, “The Life of an Imperial Monument: Hagia Sophia after Byzantium,” in *Hagia Sophia: From the Age of Justinian to the Present*, ed. Robert Mark and Ahmet Çakmak (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 203, 207–10.
47. Goodwin (*History of Ottoman Architecture*, 346), for example, calls them “oppressively big” and “damaging to the proportions of the dome.”
48. Though somewhat ambivalent in its appraisal, a well-known nineteenth-century travel guide describes these “enormous columns, whose thickness bears no proportion to their height,” as the Sultan Ahmed Mosque’s “most remarkable feature.” See *A Hand-Book for Travellers in the Ionian Islands, Greece, Turkey, Asia Minor, and Constantinople; Being a Guide to the Principal Routes in those Countries, Including a Description of Malta, with Maxims and Hints for Travellers in the East* (London: John Murray, 1840), 177.
49. So many tiles were needed that some had to be reused from earlier buildings. See Nurhan Atasoy and Julian Raby, *İznik: The Pottery of Ottoman Turkey*, ed. Yanni Petsopoulos (London: Alexandria Press, 1989), 274, 278; Goodwin, *History of Ottoman Architecture*, 349; and Öz, “Sultan Ahmed Camii,” 26–27.
50. Grelot, *Late Voyage to Constantinople*, 211–12. Similarly, the French diplomat Louis Deshayes (d. 1632) considered it “[t]he most beautiful of all the mosques that the Ottoman Princes have had built”: see Deshayes, *Voyage de Levant*, 104, as translated into English in Avcioglu, “Ahmed I and the Allegories of Tyranny,” 220.
51. Quoted and translated in Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 518 (see 557n86 for the Ottoman). For Evliya’s more complete assessment of the mosque, see Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi: Topkapı Sarayı Bağdat 304 Yazmasının Transkripsiyonu*, ed. Orhan Şaik Gökyay et al., 10 vols. (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1996–2007), 1:87–88. For an analysis of Evliya’s responses to the building, see Fetvacı, “Music, Light and Flowers,” passim.
52. For this pavilion, see Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 365–69; and Nayır, *Sultan Ahmet Külliyesi*, 78–79.
53. See Aptullah Kuran, “The Evolution of the Sultan’s Pavilion in Ottoman Imperial Mosques,” *Islamic Art* 4 (1990–91): 281–301; and Ünver Rüstem, “Architecture for a New Age: Imperial Ottoman Mosques in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2013), 176–202, 329–50. Citing the association between elite Ottoman women and waterside kiosks, Lucienne Thys-Şenocak proposes that the idea of the mosque pavilion may have originated with the Yeni Cami, whose own pavilion was, she argues, probably being built when Ahmed halted the project. There is, however, no evidence to substantiate this hypothesis, which is based on Thys-Şenocak’s assertion that the early seventeenth century witnessed no significant ceremonial changes to bring about such a pavilion type. On the contrary—and as I argue in this article—the Sultan Ahmed Mosque was from the outset associated with highly augmented ceremonial practices, and this alone would convincingly account for why its pavilion stands as the earliest example of its kind. See Lucienne Thys-Şenocak, “The Yeni Valide Mosque Complex of Eminönü, Istanbul (1597–1665): Gender and Vision in Ottoman Architecture,” in *Women, Patronage, and Self-Representation in Islamic Societies*, ed. D. Fairchild Ruggles (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000), 69–89, esp. 74–77.
54. See Rüstem, “Architecture for a New Age,” 182–200, 325–27.
55. For an alternative view, see n. 53 above.
56. For examples spanning the centuries, see Ömer Barkan, *Süleymaniye Cami ve İmareti İnşaatı (1550–1557)*, 2 vols. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1972–79), 1:48, 58–59; Ülkü Ü. Bates, “The Patronage of Süleyman: The Süleymaniye Complex in Istanbul,” in “In Memoriam Prof. Albert Louis Gabriel,” special issue, *Edebiyat Fakültesi Araştırma Dergisi* 9 (1978): 67, 70; Tanju Cantay, *XVI–XVII*.

- Yüzyıllarda Süleymaniye Camii ve Bağlı Yapıları* (Istanbul: Eren, 1989), 18, 19; Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 60, 143; Aras Neftçi, “Nuruosmaniye Camii Açılış Töreni” (with an English summary entitled “The Inauguration of the Nuruosmaniye Mosque”), *Sanat Tarihi Defterleri* 11 (2007): 1–28; Rüstem, “Architecture for a New Age,” 191–93; Ünver Rüstem, “Victory in the Making: The Symbolism of Istanbul’s Nusretiye Mosque,” in *Art, Trade, and Culture in the Islamic World and Beyond: From the Fatimids to the Mughals. Studies Presented to Doris Behrens-Abouseif*, ed. Alison Ohta, Michael Rogers, and Rosalind Wade Haddon (London: Gingko Library, 2016), 102–104 and 12n44; and n. 65 below. For an inauguration of a non-imperial mosque, see Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 507.
57. See Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 516.
58. *Seyr ü temâşâ-yı binâ ve tefak্কud-i ahvâl-i fuğarâ vü zu’afâ itmek için ihdâs olunan kaşr-ı ‘âli... Muştafâ Şâfi, Zübdetü’t-Tevârîh*, 1:52.
59. Muştafâ Şâfi, *Zübdetü’t-Tevârîh*, 1:51–52; Evliyâ Çelebi, *Seyahatnâme*, 2:84; Kâtib Çelebi, *Fezleke-i Kâtib Çelebi*, 2 vols. ([Istanbul]: Ceride-i Havâdis Matba’ası, 1286–87 [1869–70]), 1:331, repeated almost verbatim in Muştafâ Na’imâ, *Târih-i Na’imâ: Ravzatü’l-Hüseyn fi Hulâsati Ahbârî’l-Hâfikayn*, ed. Mehmet İpşirli, 4 vols. (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2007), 2:378; and Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 516. Evliya’s reference to Shaykh Mahmud occurs in his description of the second foundation ceremony (to be discussed presently in the main text) rather than of the groundbreaking. The sultan’s mattock, which is sometimes mistakenly described as being of gold, was later used by Sultan Ahmed III (r. 1703–30, d. 1736) to dig the foundations of his library (built 1719) at the Topkapı Palace. It is now preserved in the palace museum. See Orhan Şaik Gökyay, “Risale-i Mimarîyye—Mimar Mehmet Ağa—Eserleri,” in *İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı’ya Armağan* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1976), 161; and Öz, “Sultan Ahmed Camii,” 26.
60. Dispatch dated October 22, 1609, TNA, SP 97/6, fol. 139a. Glover adds that the mosque, “(for all their extraordinary diligence therein) cannot be ended, by all mens judgment, not in twelve yeeres, of such greatness, importance and worth, this Meskite shallbe.”
61. See Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 60. Ca’fer Efendi’s qasida in praise of the mosque (*Risâle*, 75–76) lends itself to this votive interpretation by calling on God’s help in Ahmed’s conflict with the Safavids.
62. Muştafâ Şâfi, *Zübdetü’t-Tevârîh*, 1:52.
63. *Ibid.*, 1:52–53.
64. Dispatch dated November 10, 1609, TNA, SP 97/6, fols. 141a–41b.
65. Take, for example, the foundation ceremony of the Süleymaniye: though undoubtedly a magnificent and charged affair—the cornerstone was laid by the revered grand mufti Ebussu’ud Efendi (d. 1574) as the sultan watched—the ceremony is surely outdone in scale and nature by the multiple events held to celebrate the initiation of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque. See Bates, “Patronage of Süleyman,” 67; and Cantay, *Süleymaniye Camii*, 18.
66. Muştafâ Şâfi, *Zübdetü’t-Tevârîh*, 1:53–54. Evliya Çelebi’s less detailed description of the same event states that the sultan personally took some earth into his robe and scattered it into the foundations: see Evliyâ Çelebi, *Seyahatnâme*, 2:84, paraphrased into English in *Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa, in the Seventeenth Century*, by *Evliya Efendi*, trans. Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, 2 vols. (London: Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland, 1834–50), vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 112.
67. Dispatch dated January 27, 1610 (1609 old style), TNA, SP 97/6, fol. 150a.
68. *On dirait que tout son soing est pour principalement à une mosquée qu’il faist bastir à quoy il faict faire une merveilleuse diligence. Mesmes pour presser davantage, il s’est allé loger sur les lieux depuis sept ou huict jours, et désire fort la veoir achever. Les dernières de Constantinople disent qu’il ne le fera pas.* Jean de Gontaut-Biron, baron de Salignac, *Ambassade en Turquie de Jean de Gontaut Biron, baron de Salignac, 1605 à 1610*, ed. Théodore de Gontaut Biron, 2 vols. (Paris: H. Champion, 1888–89), 2:372.
69. Evliyâ Çelebi, *Narrative of Travels*, vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 84. The translation is Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall’s; for the original Ottoman, see the following note.
70. See Evliyâ Çelebi, *Seyahatnâme*, 2:84–85, paraphrased into English in *Narrative of Travels*, vol. 1, pt. 2, pp. 84–85. The feast is conflated with the earlier foundation ceremony in Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 516.
71. As Necipoğlu (*Age of Sinan*, 515) notes, “[t]he closeness of Hagia Sophia must surely have made the ‘New Mosque’ appear superfluous to its critics.”
72. Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, E. H. 3036, fols. 67b–68a, as discussed in Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 516. The mosque hosted another recitation of the poem each year to celebrate the safe arrival of the pilgrimage caravan to Mecca: see Bilge, “Sultanahmed Cami ve Külliyesi,” 525.
73. See Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 516, from where the translated quotation is taken.
74. See Fetvacı, “Music, Light and Flowers,” 237–39.
75. See Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 516, where the inclusion of coffee at the ritual is linked to “the expansion of the public sphere during the seventeenth century, an epoch of urban ‘mass’ culture.” It is notable in this regard—and further proof of the drive to turn the mosque into a locus of sociability—that the complex originally included a coffeehouse: see Nayır, *Sultan Ahmet Külliyesi*, 46.
76. See Muştafâ Şâfi, *Zübdetü’t-Tevârîh*, 1:1xxxii, 104–9.
77. See ‘Abdü’l-Ķâdir Efendi, *Topçular Kâtibi Tarihi*, 629; and Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 516, from where the translated quotation is taken.
78. ‘Abdü’l-Ķâdir Efendi, *Topçular Kâtibi Tarihi*, 651. See also Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 516. Owing to the somewhat unclear timeline in ‘Abdü’l-Ķâdir Efendi’s account, Necipoğlu mistakenly states that this *Mevlûd* coincided with the dome-closing ceremony.
79. *Bî-nihâye şerbetler ve şükkerler bezl etdiler.* ‘Abdü’l-Ķâdir Efendi, *Topçular Kâtibi Tarihi*, 651.
80. See Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 516, from where the translated quotation is taken.

81. As noted by Fetvacı ("Music, Light and Flowers," 239), who refers to the same observation made by Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson, for whose descriptions of the mosque's ceremonial functions see the following two notes.
82. For a description of the ceremony in its later form, see Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman, divisé en deux parties, dont l'une comprend la législation mahométane; l'autre, l'histoire de l'Empire Othoman*, 7 vols. (Paris: De l'imprimerie de monsieur [Firmin Didot], 1788–1824), 2:358–68, rendered into English in Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Oriental Antiquities, and General View of the Othoman Customs, Laws, and Ceremonies* (Philadelphia: Printed for the Select Committee and Grand Lodge of Enquiry, 1788), 478–84; and Fetvacı, "Music, Light and Flowers," 237–39. D'Ohsson's late eighteenth-century account of the *Mevlūd* emphasizes the prominence of the chief harem eunuch, who, as we shall see, played a leading role also in the earlier dome-closing ceremony.
83. *Hand-Book for Travellers*, 177. The edition cited here (see n. 48 above for the full reference) was published in 1840; later versions of the book, published until the end of the nineteenth century, give the same information. The two Eids were being celebrated at the Sultan Ahmed Mosque already by the late eighteenth century: see d'Ohsson, *Tableau général*, 2:358 and 451, rendered into English in d'Ohsson, *Oriental Antiquities*, 478, 530.
84. *Hand-Book for Travellers*, 177–78.
85. See n. 78 above.
86. See Barkan, *Süleymaniye Cami ve İmareti*, 1:61–62, where additional celebrations marking other stages of the mosque's construction are also discussed. A much later example of such an event is the ceremony held at the Nusretiye Mosque in 1825 to signal the start of the raising of its dome, the supporting piers of which were festively decked with rich textile hangings: see Es'ad Efendi, *Vak'a-nüvis Es'ad Efendi Tarihi (Bâhir Efendi'nin Zeyl ve İlâveleriyle)*, 1237–1241/1821–1826, ed. Ziya Yılmaz (Istanbul: Osmanlı Araştırmaları Vakfı, 2000), 460–61. Es'ad describes the event as following "ancient exalted royal custom [*âdet-i dirîn-i saltanat-i seniyye*]," though I have not found any comparable instances other than the festivities related to the Süleymaniye. Regardless of its pedigree, the ceremony was nowhere near as elaborate as what took place at the Sultan Ahmed: for one thing, it was presided over by the grand vizier rather than the mosque's founder, the great reformist sultan Mahmud II. Mahmud was nevertheless deeply invested in the Nusretiye and wished, like Ahmed before him, to create a monument redolent of triumph and suitable as a venue for royal ceremonial: see Rüstem, "Victory in the Making," 92–115.
87. With Ottoman diacritics, this title would be written *Târiḥ-i binā-yı cāmi'-i Sulṭān Ahmed-i evvel*, though, as I shall presently discuss, it is far from certain that this name was historically valid for the book. I am extremely grateful to Samet Budak for checking the Süleymaniye Library's catalogue to confirm the details of its entry for the work. He also inquired into how and when the photocopy of the manuscript was acquired; neither the library's staff nor its paper records could offer any answers.
88. The omission of the Turkish possessive suffix from the word *cāmi'* suggests that the title was copied by a speaker of Arabic unfamiliar with Turkish grammar.
89. The first folio is not numbered and so is here reckoned as 0. The foliation for the rest of the manuscript often appears extremely indistinct in the photocopy, though there seem to be two folios counted as 28, the second of which I have called 28.1 (see n. 55 of the appendix). The book must have been rebound at some point, as the folios now numbered 2–4 have erroneously been moved out of sequence, exchanging their place with for what are now fols. 5–7.
90. The other exceptions are the final folio, which has only three lines, and fol. 39a, which has an additional line to correct a scribal oversight (see n. 73 of the appendix).
91. As suggested to me by Tim Stanley, it is also possible that Mustafa Agha himself commissioned the work for presentation to the sultan. The text's unabated flattery of the agha is, however, more appropriate to the recipient of such a gift rather than its originator.
92. See Süreyyā, *Sicill-i Osmanî*, 4:1136; and Uluçay, *Harem*, 122.
93. See n. 82 of the appendix.
94. The three parts of the text are closely related: the second qasida is liberally quoted in the prose narrative, while the latter shares with the first qasida an apparent indebtedness to the work of the sixteenth-century soldier and poet Taşlıcalı Yahya (d. ca. 1582): see nn. 14 and 65 of the appendix. The Süleymaniye Library's catalogue misleadingly identifies Mustafa Agha as the *Tarih's* author.
95. *Tarih*, fols. 0b–1b, 5a–7b, 2a. All references to the manuscript refer to the images reproduced on pp. 300–324 and to my transliteration and translation in the appendix. See also n. 89 above.
96. *Tarih*, fols. 2a–3b.
97. *Ibid.*, fol. 3a.
98. *Ibid.*, fol. 4a.
99. *Ibid.*, fols. 4b, 8a–8b.
100. 'Abdü'l-Ḳādir Efendi, *Topçular Kâtibi Tarihi*, 651–52; Kâtib Çelebi, *Fezleke*, 1:383; and Na'imā, *Târiḥ*, 2:378. Like the *Tarih*, the first source uses the term *harem*, while the second and third use *sāḥa*. Both terms are ambiguous and could denote either the mosque's porticoed forecourt or its outer precinct.
101. *Tarih*, fols. 8b–9b.
102. See Serpil Bağcı, Filiz Çağman, Günsel Renda, and Zeren Tanındı, *Ottoman Painting*, trans. Melis H. Şeyhun (Ankara: Republic of Turkey Ministry of Culture and Tourism Publications, 2006), 183.
103. *Tarih*, fols. 10a–12b.
104. Kâtib Çelebi, *Fezleke*, 1:383, repeated in Na'imā, *Târiḥ*, 2:378.
105. *Tarih*, fols. 13a–14b.
106. *Ibid.*, fol. 14a.
107. *Ibid.*, fols. 16a–17a.
108. Kâtib Çelebi, *Fezleke*, 1:383, repeated in Na'imā, *Târiḥ*, 2:378.
109. See Emine Fetvacı, *Picturing History at the Ottoman Court* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press,

- 2013), 118. For the use of thrones and canopies in conjunction with sultanic tents, see Nurhan Atasoy, *Otağ-ı Hümayun: Ottoman Imperial Tent Complex*, trans. Joyce Matthews (Istanbul: Aygaz, 2000), 95, 135–38, and figs. 7, 44–47.
110. *Tarih*, fols. 17a–19b.
111. *Orta yerinde olan mermer çivi ile kavuşup . . .*: ‘Abdül-İ-Ḳādir Efendi, *Topçular Kâtibi Tarihi*, 648.
112. *Ibid.*, 651.
113. See n. 162 below.
114. *Tarih*, fol. 18b.
115. *Ibid.*, fols. 19b–21a.
116. *Ibid.*, fols. 21a–22b.
117. *Ibid.*, fols. 22b–23b. İdris Ağa was the third project head; his predecessors were Kalender Ağa (later Kalender Pasha), who died in 1616, and Hüseyin Ağa. See ‘Abdül-İ-Ḳādir Efendi, *Topçular Kâtibi Tarihi*, 647–48; and Bilge, “Sultanahmed Cami ve Külliyesi,” 541–42.
118. *Tarih*, fols. 23b–25b.
119. *Ibid.*, fols. 25b–27a.
120. *Ibid.*, fols. 27b, 29a–30r.
121. Kâtib Çelebi, *Fezleke*, 1:383, repeated in Na‘īmā, *Târih*, 2:378.
122. *Tarih*, fols. 28a–29a.
123. *Ibid.*, fols. 32b–34b.
124. Indeed, the first qasida seems to have been composed with reference to Taşlıcalı Yahya’s sixteenth-century encomium on the Hagia Sophia: see n. 65 of the appendix. It is interesting to note that this qasida has far less in common with its counterpart by Ca‘fer Efendi, for which see n. 127 below.
125. *Tarih*, fols. 36a and 37a.
126. *Ibid.*, fol. 34b.
127. Similarly, a qasida written by Ca‘fer Efendi no later than 1614 describes the mosque as if it were complete. The author in this case had seen the architect’s designs, which no doubt proved helpful in envisaging the final work. See Ca‘fer Efendi, *Risâle*, 65, 73–76.
128. *Tarih*, fol. 40a.
129. *Ibid.*, fol. 41b.
130. *Ibid.*, fols. 45a–45b.
131. For two especially famous examples, see Derin Terzioğlu, “The Imperial Circumcision Festival of 1582: An Interpretation,” *Muqarnas* 12 (1995): 84–100; and Esin Atıl, “The Story of an Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Festival,” *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 181–200.
132. See Hakan T. Karateke, ed., *An Ottoman Protocol Register: Containing Ceremonies from 1736 to 1808, BEO Sadaret Defterleri 350 in the Prime Ministry Ottoman State Archives* (London: The Royal Asiatic Society; Istanbul: The Ottoman Bank Archive and Research Centre, 2007); and Neftçi, “Nuruosmaniye Camii Açılış Töreni.”
133. The first of these, the *Târih-i binâ’-ı Aya Sofya*, was composed during the reign of Mehmed the Conqueror (r. 1444–46, 1451–81) on the basis of earlier Byzantine accounts; the second, *Târih-i câmi’-i şerif-i Nür-ı ‘Osmanî*, was written between 1756 and 1757 by the mosque’s building secretary, Ahmed Efendi. See Stefanos Yerasimos, *La fondation de Constantinople et de Sainte-Sophie dans les traditions turques: Légendes d’empire* (Istanbul: Institut français d’études anatoliennes; Paris: J. Maisonneuve, 1990); and Rüstem, “Architecture for a New Age,” 381–512, where the second source is fully transliterated and translated. For overviews of Ottoman architectural texts and further references on the topic, see Selen B. Morkoç, *A Study of Ottoman Narratives on Architecture: Text, Context and Hermeneutics* (Bethesda, Dublin, and Palo Alto: Academica Press, 2010); and Rüstem, “Architecture for a New Age,” 167–68.
134. Ca‘fer Efendi, *Risâle*, 64–76, esp. 65.
135. Most scholars give the date of the mosque’s inauguration as (or close to) June 8, 1617, and several treat the dome-closing ceremony itself as the official opening: see, for example, Bilge, “Sultanahmed Cami ve Külliyesi,” 542; Nayır, *Sultan Ahmet Külliyesi*, 46; and Öz, “Sultan Ahmed Camii,” 26. Other than the *Tarih*, the only source, historical or otherwise, that I have encountered with the correct month for the mosque’s opening (no day is specified) is a description of Istanbul written by the Ottoman-Armenian historian and teacher Sargis Hovhannisean (d. 1805), who was a native of the city: see Sargis Hovhannisean [Sarkis Sarraf Hovhannesian], *Payitaht İstanbul’un Tarihçesi*, trans. Elmon Hançer (Istanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1996), 3. A similar confusion once pertained to the Süleymaniye, for the chronicler Celalzade Mustafa Çelebi (d. 1567), in his description of the mosque, gives the date on which its dome was closed—August 16, 1556—but not that of its inauguration, which took place over a year later in October 1557. Until the chronology was settled by Barkan, many historians mistook the date provided by Celalzade as referring to the mosque’s completion or opening. Celalzade’s celebratory reference to the closing of the Süleymaniye’s dome shows that the Sultan Ahmed was not the first mosque to have this milestone recognized. As discussed above in the main text, however, there is no definitive evidence that the Süleymaniye’s dome-closing occasioned any festivities, and certainly nothing on the scale of the 1617 ceremony. See Celalzade Muşafâ Çelebi, *Geschichte Sultan Süleymân Ḳâninīs von 1520 bis 1557, oder, Tabakât ül-Memâlik ve Derecât ül-Mesâlik*, ed. Petra Kappert (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1981), fol. 521a of the facsimile, rendered into modern Turkish in Celalzade [Celâloloğlu Mustafa], *Tabakatiil Memalik ve Derecatiil Mesalik: Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Yükselme Devrinde Türk Ordusunun Savaşları ve Devletin Kurumu, İç ve Dış Siyaseti*, trans. Sadettin Tokdemir (Istanbul: Askerî Matbaa, 1937), 254; and Barkan, *Süleymaniye Cami ve İmaret*, 1:54–64.
136. See *Tarih*, fols. 32b–34b.
137. See Sâ‘î, *Sinan’s Autobiographies*, 7, 126.
138. *Tarih*, fols. 18b–19a. For the celestial lotus tree, see n. 104 of the appendix.
139. See Necipoğlu, “Life of an Imperial Monument,” 202–25.
140. Sâ‘î, *Sinan’s Autobiographies*, 65–66.
141. See Necipoğlu, “Life of an Imperial Monument,” 200.
142. *Tarih*, fol. 4a.
143. For Ahmed’s extensive renovation, which took place between 1607 and 1609, see Necipoğlu, “Life of an Imperial Monument,” 211–219. It seems that some of the figural

- mosaics that had been left unobscured until the seventeenth century, including the image of Christ Pantokrator in the dome, were painted over during this campaign.
144. Fetvacı ("Music, Light and Flowers," 235) also argues that the Hagia Sophia's Christian past may have acted as a foil to the Sultan Ahmed Mosque. It is interesting to note that the Sultan Ahmed Mosque's other great forerunner—the Süleymaniye—had been the subject of malicious rumors questioning the stability of its dome during construction. Sinan would, of course, prove the skeptics wrong, but the history of his dome nevertheless adds to the context in which to understand the proud showcasing of its later counterpart at the Sultan Ahmed. See Sâ'î, *Sinan's Autobiographies*, 124; and Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 143.
145. *Tarih*, fols. 4b, 8a.
146. For illustrations and descriptions of such tents, see Atasoy, *Otağ-ı Hümayun*.
147. For other instances, see Atasoy, *Otağ-ı Hümayun*, esp. 60–63, 67–75; Nurhan Atasoy, "Ottoman Garden Pavilions and Tents," *Muqarnas* 21 (2004): 15–19; and Atıl, "Story of an Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Festival," esp. 184, 185, 190, and figs. 4–6, 8, 13. For the use of tents to further the increasingly visible image of the sultans in the late Ottoman period, see Ashley Dimmig, "Fabricating a New Image: Imperial Tents in the Late Ottoman Period," *International Journal of Islamic Architecture* 3, no. 2 (2014): 341–72.
148. See J. M. Rogers and R. M. Ward, *Süleyman the Magnificent*, exh. cat. (London: British Museum Publications, 1988), 10.
149. For Ottoman tents in martial contexts, see Atasoy, *Otağ-ı Hümayun*, esp. 64–67. It is an interesting coincidence that the corps of imperial tentmakers had its headquarters close to the Sultan Ahmed Mosque in the sixteenth-century Palace of İbrahim Pasha: *ibid.*, 23–30.
150. The subject is expounded at length in Muştafâ Şâfi, *Zübdetü't-Tevarîh*, vol. 1, esp. lxxx and 24–46. See also Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, 10 vols. (Pest: C. A. Hartleben, 1827–35), 4:492–93.
151. See Ca'fer Efendi, *Risâle*, 11, 47–64; and Bilge, "Sultanahmed Cami ve Külliyesi," 525–26.
152. See Muştafâ Şâfi, *Zübdetü't-Tevarîh*, 1:lxxxii–lxxxiii, 109–24; and Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte*, 4:444.
153. See Münir Atalar, *Osmanlı Devletinde Surre-i Hümayûn ve Surre Alayları* (Ankara: Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı, 1991), 121; Suraiya Faroqhi, *Pilgrims and Sultans: The Hajj under the Ottomans, 1517–1683* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 1994), 105; Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte*, 4:442–44; and İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Mekke-i Mükerrreme Emirleri* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1972), 65–67.
154. The sultan is recorded as having worn a representation of the Prophet's footprint on the aigrette of his turban: see Bilge, "Sultanahmed Cami ve Külliyesi," 525, 526.
155. *Tarih*, fols. 35a–35b. Ca'fer Efendi (*Risâle*, 75), in his qasida on the mosque, likewise praises the sultan's patronage of the Ka'ba.
156. *Tarih*, fol. 36a. Similarly, Ca'fer Efendi (*Risâle*, 73) writes, "The world set out on a pilgrimage to it as they do to the Ka'ba / The pilgrims strove to circumambulate it." See also Fetvacı, "Music, Light and Flowers," 224–26.
157. See n. 68 of the appendix, and Necipoğlu, "Life of an Imperial Monument," 201. Eighteenth-century sources compare several imperial mosques of the period—including the Nuruosmaniye, Ayazma (1757–60), and Laleli (1760–63)—to the Ka'ba or its heavenly prototype, though they do not explicitly discuss these mosques as substitute pilgrimage sites: see Rüstem, "Architecture for a New Age," 226, 259, 278.
158. See Bilge, "Sultanahmed Cami ve Külliyesi," 542–54.
159. See Ahmed Efendi, III. *Selim'in Sırkatibi Ahmed Efendi Tarafından Tutulan Rûznâme*, ed. V. Sema Arıkan (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1993), 294; and *Başlangıcından Günümüze Kadar Büyük Türk Klâsikleri: Tarih, Antoloji, Ansiklopedi*, vol. 6 (Istanbul: Ötüken; Ankara: Söğüt, 1987), 145, where the location specified is the mosque's portico (*revâk*).
160. See *Hand-Book for Travellers*, 177.
161. *Tarih*, fols. 30a–32a.
162. [211b] *Martedì passato, 6, del presente il Bassà mandò à tutte le case degli ambasciatori, et à me ancora con un chiaus à far avisato, che dovessimo mandar ogn'uno di noi il dragoman grande perché voleva parlarle, il che fu essequito. Andati dunque il Bassà disse, che dovento Sua Maestà per il giovedì seguente far li primi sacrificii nella sua nova moschea invitava li signori Ambasciatori et Bailo di Venetia à honorar la festività di quel giorno, et che ci sarebbe assegnato luoco commodo per veder Sua Maestà et il concorso del populo, che sarebbe grandissimo. Fu acettato dalli dragomani l'invito soggiogendo, che haveressimo ricevuto in favor singolare, et ritornati che furono li dragomani passò parola fra gli Ambasciatori di Francia, Inghilterra, Fiandra, et me di ciò, che si doveva fare in questa occasione poiché secondo il costume de Turchi se alcun fabrica una casa quando è ridotta a perfettione tutti quelli del vicinato le mandano a donar chi una cosa chi un'altra in segno di benivolenza, et di allegrezza [212a] che però sarebbe stato disdicevole, che ancor noi facesimo alcuna dimostrazione, si perché stimano questi, che ci sia fatto un grand'honore con quest'invito, si anco perché in tempo di Sultan Suliman, che è l'ultimo tra gl'imperatori Ottomanni che habino fabricata moschea in Costantinopoli fù dal Ambasciator di Franza, et Bailo di Venetia di quel tempo fatto presente alla moschea, et che anco tutti li visiri, et grandi della Porta Ottomana à gara l'un dell'altro havevano fatto il medesimo, et veramente per tre giorni continui si è veduta ornata la cuba di fuori di detta moschea di gran quantità di veste diverse in pezza, che la sera si levavano, et se ne rimettevano dell'altre, le quali tutte poi dovevano esser divise secondo l'ordine del Chislaragasi tra il capo della moschea, et diversi altri soprintendenti, et operari, che sono infiniti, però si risolvessimo di mandar al Chislaragasi dodeci veste per uno, le quali immediate furono di ordine suo mandate alla moschea, et poste intorno la pupola [sic, cupola] di essa insieme con molt'altre, che facevano una bella mostra. Fù anco per ultimo invitato l'Ambasciator Cesareo, onde perciò è stato in dubbio di essere escluso da questa cirmonia [sic], et egli ancora ha mandato a donar dodeci veste tutte di seta. Questa è stata una spesa altrettanto necessaria quanto impensata [212b] et che in alcun modo non si poteva fuggire,*

che ne anco si può schiffare di presentar questi nuovi ministri, et massime à tempi presenti, ne quali ricerca il servizio pubblico, che non si habbia à restringer la mano; mi duole in estremo queste frequenti mutationi de Bassà et altri del governo di questa Porta, conoscendo l'interesse, che da ciò ne riceve la Serenità vostra per rispetto della spesa. Ma dove vi concorre la necessità il dispiacer non serve di rimedio. La moschea del Gran Signore è fabricata da un lato della piazza dell'ipodromo, nella quale si sogliono fare li spettacoli pubblici in tempo di noce [sic, nozze] del Sultan de retagli de Principi. In questa all'incontro di detta moschea fù un largo corridore coperto alli, 4, Ambasciatori, et a me, assignato un luoco à ciascheduno diviso in forma di stanza con le ale de padiglioni, onde io dissi all'Ambasciatore di Fiandra sorridendo, che non havevo pur bene, che essendo noi uniti insieme con li nostri Principi di animo, et di volontà, questi ci volessero dividere, però comandassimo, che fusse levata la tela, che ci separava, et il medesimo poco appresso fece Inghilterra, et di mano in mano Franza, et l'Ambasciator dell'Imperator di modo che di cinque stanze [sic, stanze] ne fu fatta una sola, riducendosi tutti verso il [213a] luoco dell'Ambasciator Cesareo, come quello, che era più a fronte della Porta per dove entrava il Rè nel cortile della moschea. In questa sacrificonno diversi castrati in honor del Profeta, poi ad una certa hora osservata da loro in quel giorno per felice, fecero la cirimonia di metter l'ultima pietra nella sumità della pupola maggiore di detta moschea, sopra la qual conforme al loro uso vi piantano una gran Luna tutta dorata. Dopo per quanto ci fu riferito predicò lungamente uno di questi loro principali santoni, lodando la bontà del Rè con biasimar poi in generale l'ingiustizia et la rapacità de nemici. Uscì poi Sua Maestà dalla moschea nel cortile di essa, et si pose sotto un picciol padiglione, ove non solo li visiri, musti, cadileschieri, ma infiniti principali ancora andarono a baciare la mano augurandole felicità, et la maggior parte di essi furono vestiti di una veste; ma il Primo Visir ne hebbe tre, due de quali erano di zebellini, et tutte tre le ha portate indosso non ostante la stagione [sic] senza sentirne alcun travaglio. Finita questa cirimonia uscì il Rè sopra un cavallo di singolar bellezza guarnito tutto di gioie, per quanto dicono di valori di 50 mila cechini, che le ha donato in quel giorno il Chislargasi. Ad esso precedevano pur a cavallo li due Principi et tutti li visiri, et altri grandi della Porta, oltra la guardia de' gianizzeri, et spahi, ma in poco numero, suppliva nondimeno il concorso grandissimo del popolo, che era fermato sopra la piazza [213b] per vederlo, et che pasando ad alta voce lo salutava.

L'Ambasciator Cesareo mentre stassimo aspettando che cessasse la calca del popolo mi dimandò che buone nove io havevo intorno alla pace. Io risposi, che di ciò ne havevi dimandato a sua eccellenza, e che non potevo dir altro, se non che la Serenissima Repubblica non si allontanerebbe mai dal giusto, et ragionevole, che le cose anderanno inanzi la colpa sarà de ministri di quelli Principi, che non consigliano il ben commune. Rispose l'Ambasciatore sarebbe ormai tempo, che cessassero queste armi, perché in fine siamo tutti cristiani, et questi turchi di altro non godono, che di vederli insanguinar le mani tra di noi.

Partimmo poi tutti insieme à cavallo, et dopoi caminato un pezzo di strada l'Ambasciator Cesareo si licentiò per andar

al suo alloggiamento, et noi altri tutti insieme andamo [sic] alla marina per passar il canale; non si tosto io giunsi à casa, il Bassà mi mandò a presentar una nobilissima veste d'oro, et il simile ha fatto con tutti li altri ambasciatori; in somma questo Primo Visir non studia altro, che in trovar modo et maniera [?] di honorar li ministri di Principi, come all'incontro il Caimecan passato non haveva [213.1a] altra mira, che di farci alcun oppobrio [sic], ma lodato il Signor Dio, ch'il tutto è riuscito à maggior gloria di quei Principi, che noi rappresentamo.

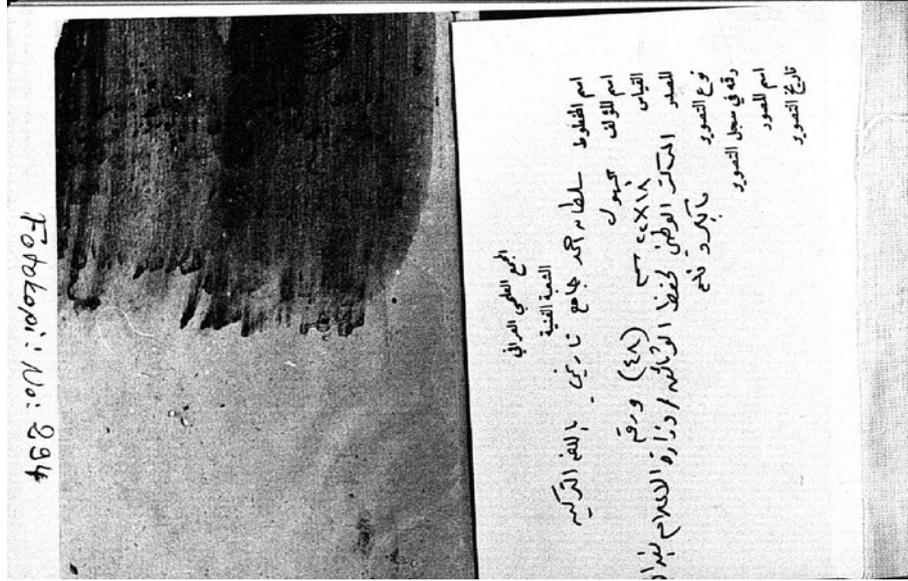
Dispatch dated June 13, 1617, State Archives of Venice, Senato, Dispacci Costantinopoli, filza 83, 15/II, fols. 211a–221b. I discovered this document through a partial English translation published in Allen B. Hinds, ed., *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, Relating to English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, and in Other Libraries of Northern Italy*, vol. 14, 1615–1617 (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1908), 523–24 (alternatively under “795. Almorò Nani, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, to the Doge and Senate,” <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/venice/vol14/pp513-525>). Deborah Howard kindly located the original Italian document, which contains much information omitted from the *State Papers* translation, and Vittorio Mandelli very generously provided the meticulous transcription given above. My English rendering adapts where possible the existing *State Papers* version, and the remaining passages have been translated with the help and advice of Deborah Howard, Thomas Newbold, Lavinia Puccetti, and Andrew Halladay, to all of whom I am extremely grateful. It is interesting to note that the dispatch as sent from Istanbul was largely written in cypher.

163. See Atıl, “Story of an Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Festival,” 182, 190, and figs. 1, 8; and Terzioğlu, “Imperial Circumcision Festival,” 85.
164. The well-known woodcut of the Süleymaniye by the Danish-German artist Melchior Lorck (d. after 1583), who lived in Istanbul between 1555 and 1559 as part of the Habsburg embassy, was published together with a brief reference to the inauguration. Another sixteenth-century European view of the mosque—an anonymous pen-and-ink drawing now in Berlin—is similarly inscribed with details of the opening. While these depictions do not show the ceremony itself, their accompanying texts are indicative of Westerners' interest in and awareness of such events, and there is every reason to suppose that both artists, along with other Europeans resident in Istanbul, joined the crowds that watched the festivities. See Erik Fischer, with Ernst Jonas Bencard, Mikael Bøgh Rasmussen, and Marco Iuliano, *Melchior Lorck*, trans. Dan Marmorstein, 5 vols. (Copenhagen: The Royal Library and Vandkunsten Publishers, 2009–), vol. 3, pt. 1, pp. 31–35, no. 3; Semavi Eyice, “Avrupa’lı bir Ressamın Gözü ile Kanunî Sultan Süleyman: İstanbul’da bir Safevî Elçisi ve Süleymaniye Camii,” in *Kanunî Armağanı* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1970), 167–68; J. M. Rogers et al., *Schätze aus dem Topkapı Serail: Das Zeitalter Süleymans des Prächtigen*, exh. cat. (Berlin: Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz und Museum für Islamische Kunst, 1988), 71, no. 5; and *Türkische Kunst und Kul-*

- tur aus osmanischer Zeit*, exh. cat., 2 vols. (Recklinghausen: A. Bongers, 1985), 1:233, no. 1/55. The inauguration of the mid-eighteenth-century Nuruosmaniye Mosque was also recorded in writing by a Western observer: see Rüstem, "Architecture for a New Age," 159, 178–79.
165. Shah Tahmasp's sending of gifts and letters is well attested, but a sixteenth-century Ottoman chronicle now in Vienna (cited below) indicates that these were presented in June 1557, some months before the Süleymaniye was opened. Whether the Safavid envoy stayed on for the inauguration is unclear; he is not mentioned in the known accounts of the event. See Matrakçı Naşûh (?), formerly misattributed to Rüstem Pasha, *Tarih-i âl-i 'Osmân*, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Mixt. 339, fol. 282a (available at <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AL00465234>), summarized in Ludwig Forrer, trans., *Die osmanische Chronik des Rustem Pascha* (Leipzig: Mayer & Müller, 1923), 189–90; Feridün Beg, *Mecmû'a-i münşe'âtü's-selâtin*, 2 vols. (Istanbul, 1264–65 [1848–49]), 1:524–29, summarized and partially translated in Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte*, 3:345–48; Bates, "Patronage of Süleyman," 70; Eyice, "Avrupa'lı bir Ressamın Gözü ile Kanunî Sultan Süleyman," 159–67; and M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, "Süleyman I," in *İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 1940–88), 139. I am grateful to Sinem Casale for sharing references with me on this topic.
166. To be sure, certain members of the Safavid delegation present at the 1582 circumcision festival are recorded as having converted to Sunnism, but this was only after the ambassador was expelled or imprisoned when news reached Istanbul that the Safavids had broken their truce with the Ottomans: see Terzioğlu, "Imperial Circumcision Festival," 86. Such political defections are very unlikely to have occurred at the far shorter dome-closing ceremony, which did not coincide with any major diplomatic developments or crises. As I shall discuss presently in the main text, the conversions mentioned by the *Tarih* probably pertain to the sultan's own non-Muslim (or non-Sunni) subjects.
167. It was not unusual for non-Muslims to convert to Islam during princely circumcision festivals, including the famous celebrations of 1582. The English chaplain Dr. John Covel (d. 1722) witnessed such an event in Edirne in 1675, noting in his travel account that at least two hundred non-Muslims, "many of riper yeares," spontaneously indicated their desire to convert during the thirteen-day festivities and were led away to a tent to be circumcised. The magnificence of the ceremony itself must have played an important role in wooing people to the faith; as Covel observes, "the Turkes would be so farre from hindring your seeing, as they would make way for you." Outside such festive contexts, other would-be converts announced their intentions at the imperial council, where they were richly rewarded in a ceremony that became increasingly codified in the seventeenth century: the first recorded instance of new Muslims being gifted clothes occurred in 1609, the year that work began on the Sultan Ahmed Mosque. See Terzioğlu, "Imperial Circumcision Festival," 85; J. Theodore Bent, ed., *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1893), 209–10; Finkel, *Osman's Dream*, 276–77; Marc David Baer, *Honored by the Glory of Islam: Conversion and Conquest in Ottoman Europe* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 179–203, 293n31; and Tijana Krstić, "Illuminated by the Light of Islam and the Glory of the Ottoman Sultanate: Self-Narratives of Conversion to Islam in the Age of Confessionalization," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 51, no. 1 (January 2009): 35–63, esp. 58. For the staging of the 1675 festival, see Atasoy, *Otağ-ı Hümayun*, 68–69.
168. Such denigration of the Safavids was not new. At the circumcision festival of 1582, the Habsburg ambassador is supposed to have complained at having to be seated with his Safavid counterpart, whom he considered inferior. He cited as proof the grand mufti's fatwa that it was better to kill one Qizilbash than seventy infidels (i.e., Christians). Regardless of the truth of this story, the Western diplomats were indeed provided with their own tribune. The Safavids, though seated with other foreign Muslim dignitaries, were taunted throughout the festival, and more biting than the Christians. See Terzioğlu, "Imperial Circumcision Festival," 85–87.
169. The Safavid ambassador was separately accommodated at other festivals also: see the preceding note.
170. See Sinem Arcaç [Casale], "Gifts in Motion: Ottoman-Safavid Cultural Exchange, 1501–1618" (PhD diss., University of Minnesota, 2012), 46–47, 196–97.
171. *Tarih*, fol. 28a.
172. *Ibid.*, fols. 34a–34b.
173. See Antoine-François, comte d'Andréossy, *Constantinople et le Bosphore de Thrace . . .* (Paris: Théophile Barrois et Benjamin Duprat, 1828), 65–66; Virginia H. Aksan, *Ottoman Wars, 1700–1870: An Empire Besieged* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), 318, 322; and Godfrey Goodwin, *The Janissaries* (London: Saqi, 1994), 224–25.
174. Tellingly, perhaps, a dispatch from the English ambassador reporting the sultan's death states that "it had beene falslie rumored he was dead 40. dais before." Dispatch dated November 28, 1617, TNA, SP 97/7, fol. 174a.
175. See Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 369; and Nayır, *Sultan Ahmet Külliyesi*, 46.
176. See Nayır, *Sultan Ahmet Külliyesi*, 86–87.
177. See Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 517.
178. See Atasoy, *Otağ-ı Hümayun*, 17; and Turgay Yazar, "Osmanlı Defin Merasimlerinde Otağ Kurma Geleneği," *Belleterin* 79, no. 281 (April 2014): 93–122. For depictions of such tents and discussion of the rituals they accommodated, see Gülru Necipoğlu, "Dynastic Imprints on the Cityscape: The Collective Message of Imperial Funerary Mosque Complexes in Istanbul," in *Cimetières et traditions funéraires dans le monde islamique = İslâm Dünyasında Mezarlıklar ve Defin Gelenepleri*, ed. Jean Louis Bacqué-Grammont and Aksel Tibet, 2 vols. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1996), 1:29–33.
179. See Yazar, "Osmanlı Defin Merasimlerinde Otağ Kurma Geleneği," 115. A report from the English ambassador states that the sultan's coffin was "laid in his tombe, nott yett fullie finished in his new Mosckca" (dispatch dated November 28, 1617, TNA, SP 97/7, fol. 174b), which strongly suggests that the building was far enough along not to require a tent.

REPRODUCTION OF THE MANUSCRIPT

Tārīḥ-i binā-yı cāmi'-i Sultān Aḥmed-i evvel / Sultān Aḥmed cāmi'i tārīḥi, Istanbul, 1617.
Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Fotokopi No. 294 (facsimile of a manuscript in Baghdad, Iraqi Academy of Sciences).
(Photos: courtesy of the Süleymaniye Library)



Endpaper and modern library slip.



ob-1a.

جامع پیراهن مکین کیرحالی سنه
جمادی الآخره سنه دردی کونی
که یوم الحیس در بارک الله
والحیس حدیث صدقات ابنی
متنضاً سجنه بمایه الله الملك
القدر خیره اتمامی میسر
اولوب قبه علیاسنی بعلی لازم

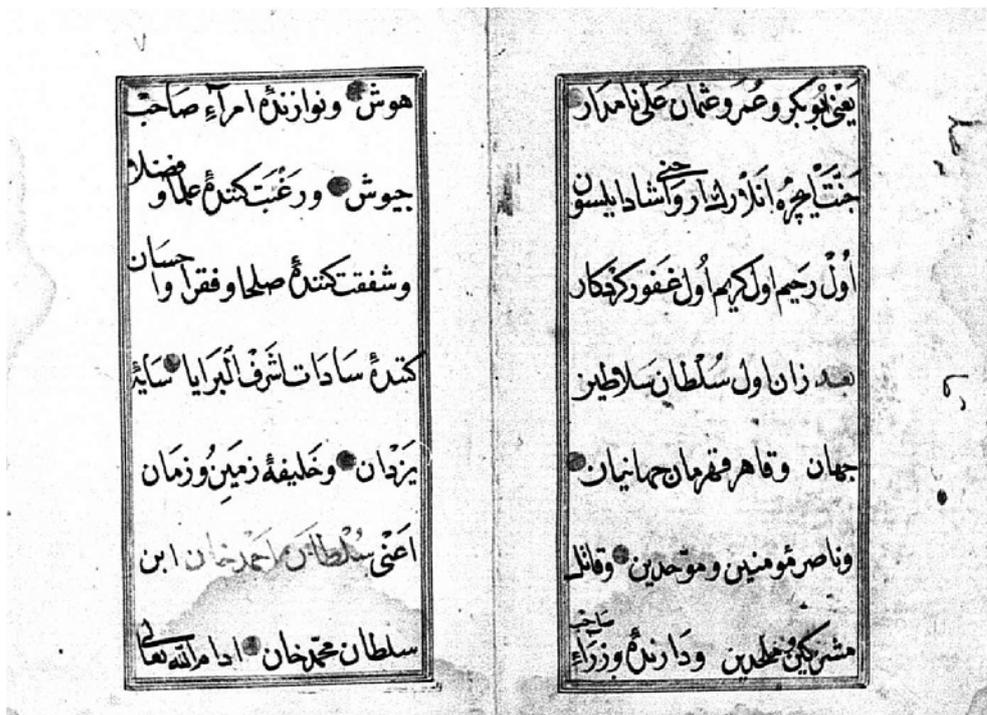
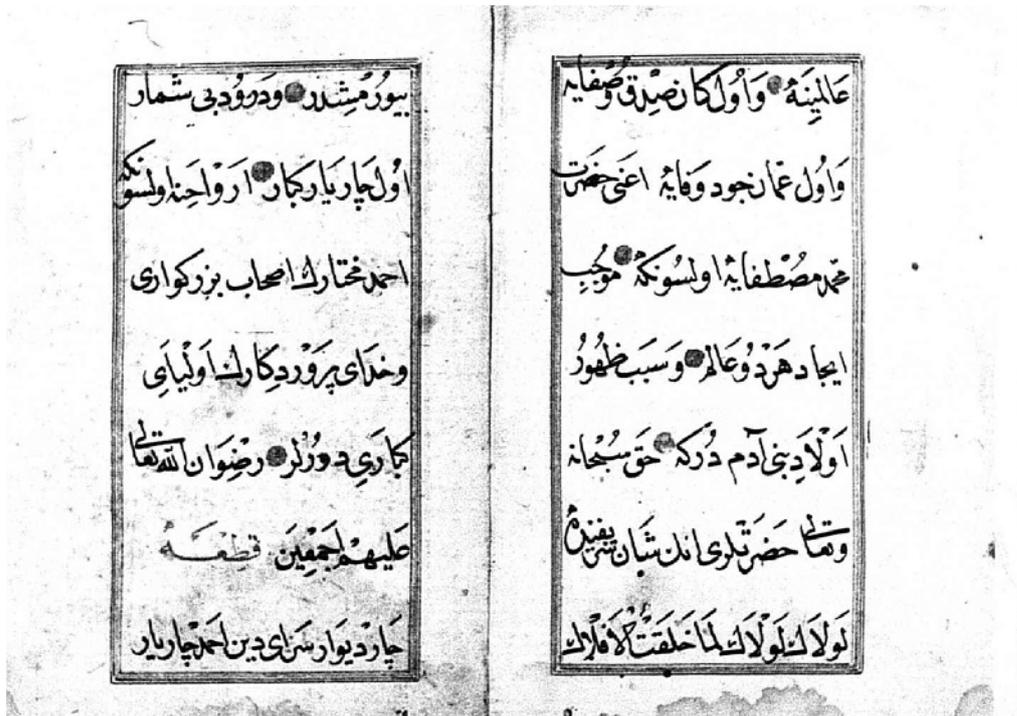
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السعادة السنیه السرمیه
الناظر علی اوقاف الحرمین
اعنی سنی الثقلین الحاج المصطفی
احا ادم الله الملك الاعلی
حضرتی بنای جامع مزبور
اورزیه ناظرین یورد قرون
صکرم

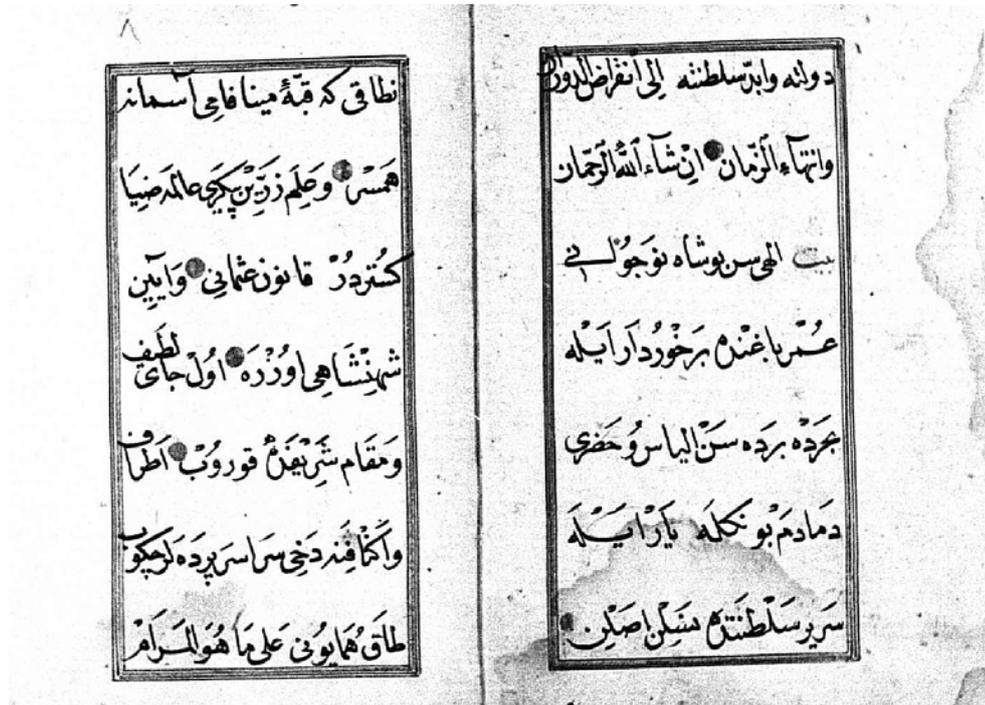
3b-4a.

اسرار و اقصا ولان مدهوش
وحیران قالدی سخن علی توافر
فما الطاهره مقرفاً بالیغز
وشکره علی کافر الاله الباهر
مقرفاً فی حجره القبر وصلوات
وبایان و تحیات بی کران
اول رسول ثقلینه و اول رحمة

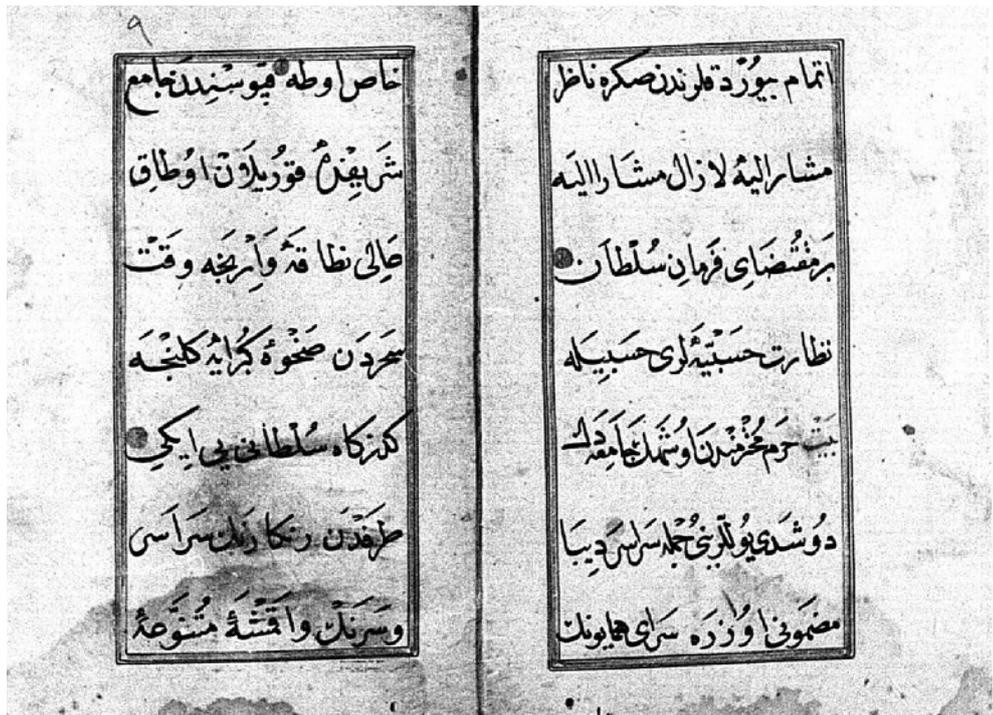
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مشارالیه حضرتی برتاج کون
مقدحجه جامع شریفکرم
سلطان هفت کسور ایچون مقام
ومقر احضاری مقرفاً ولما غیر
ناظر صدقات نمون بر موجب
امرهایون اول طاق کردون

4b-5a.

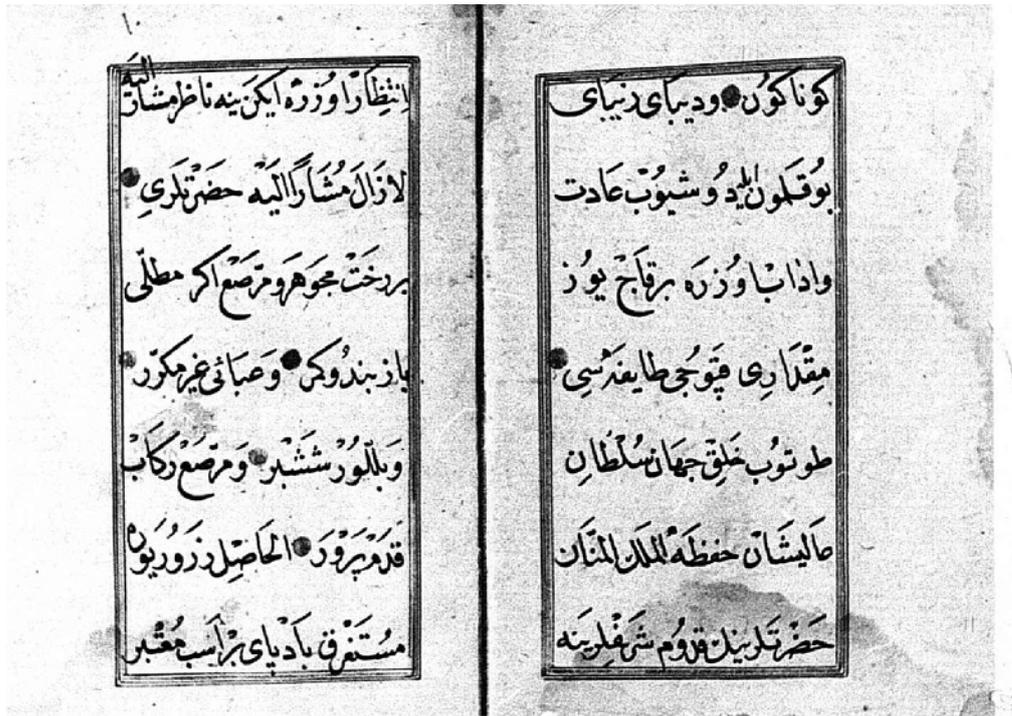




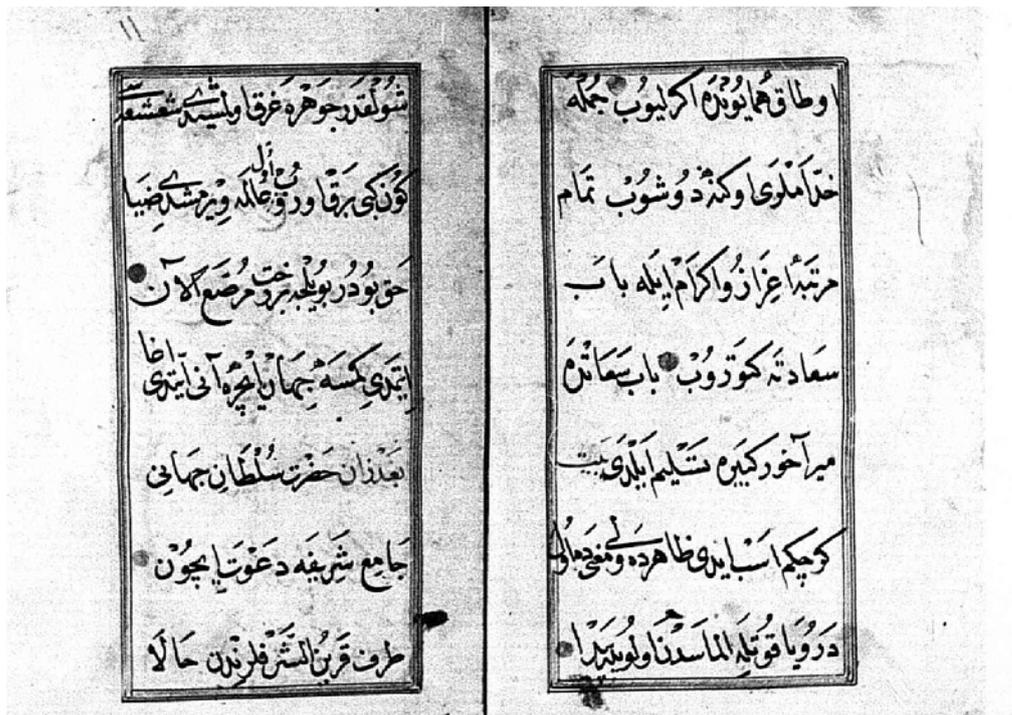
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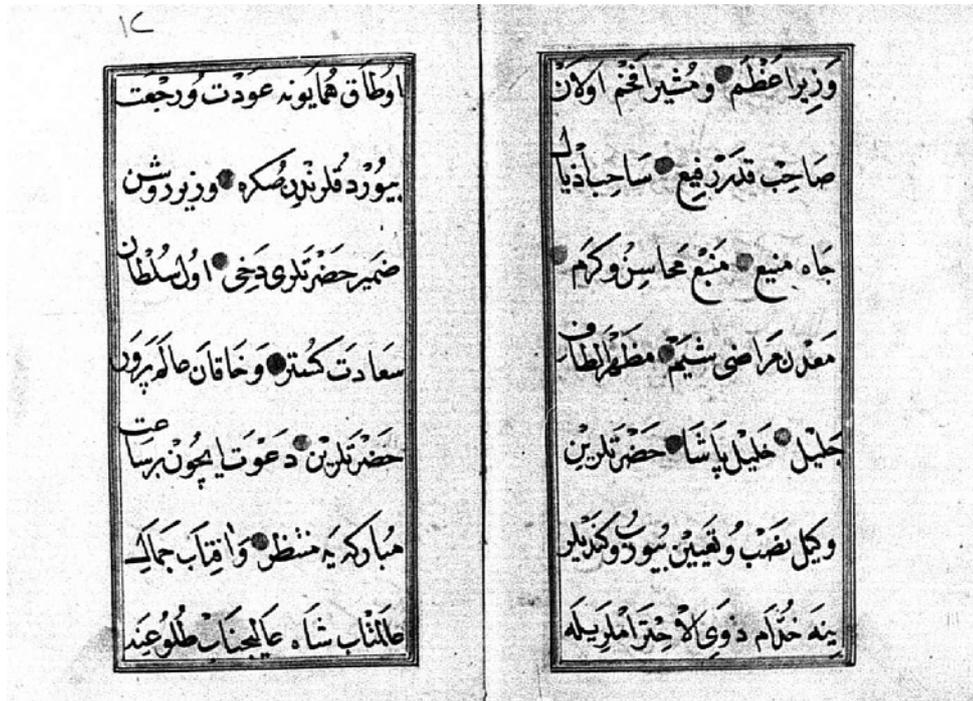
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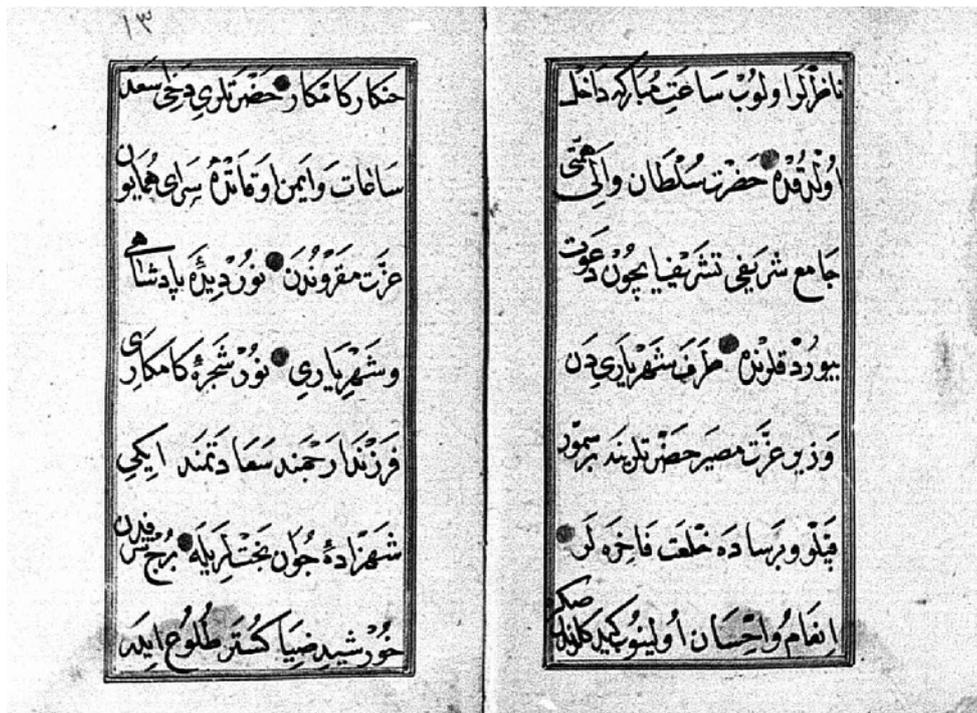
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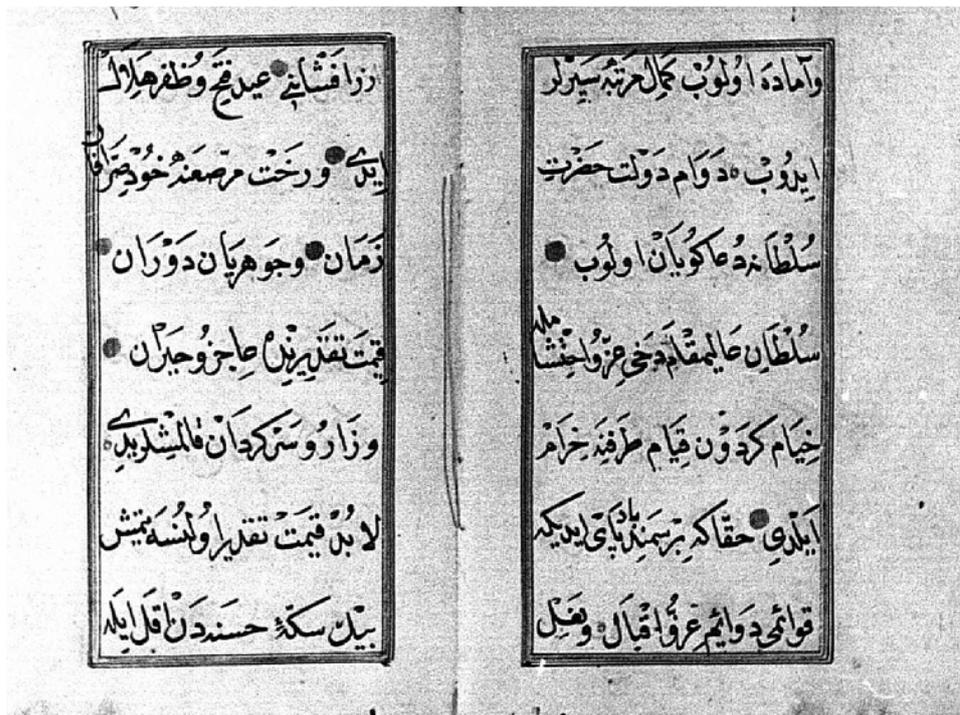
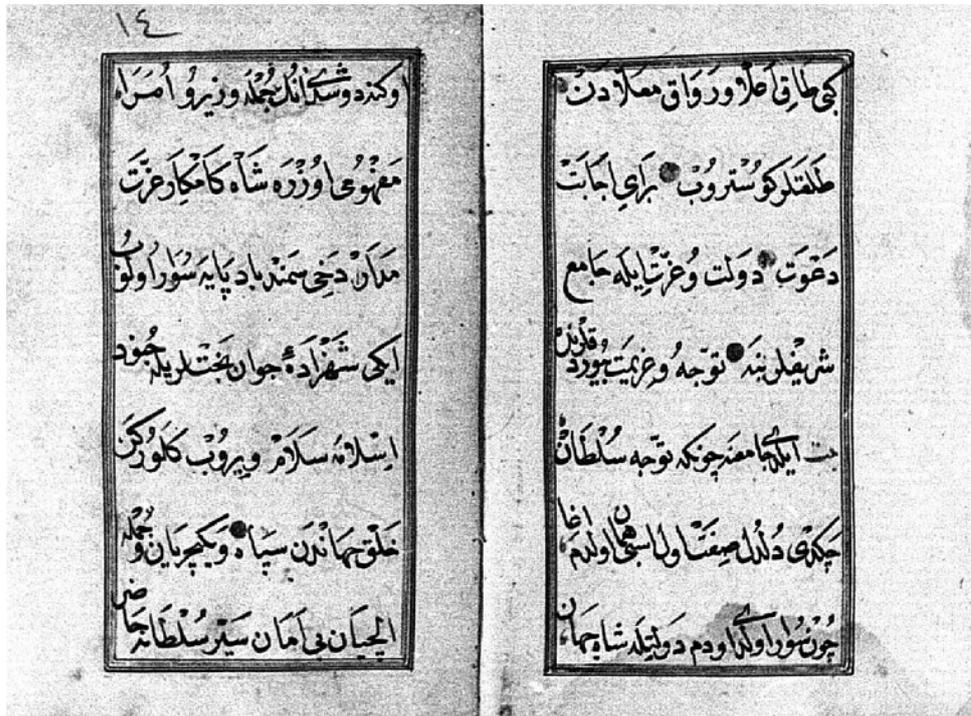
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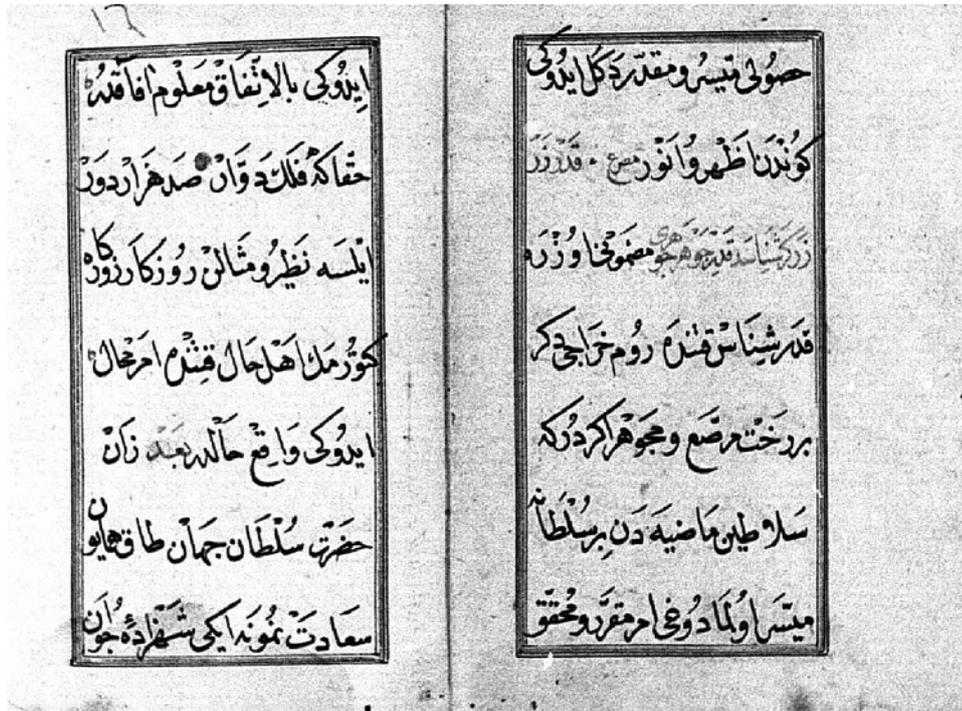


11b-12a.

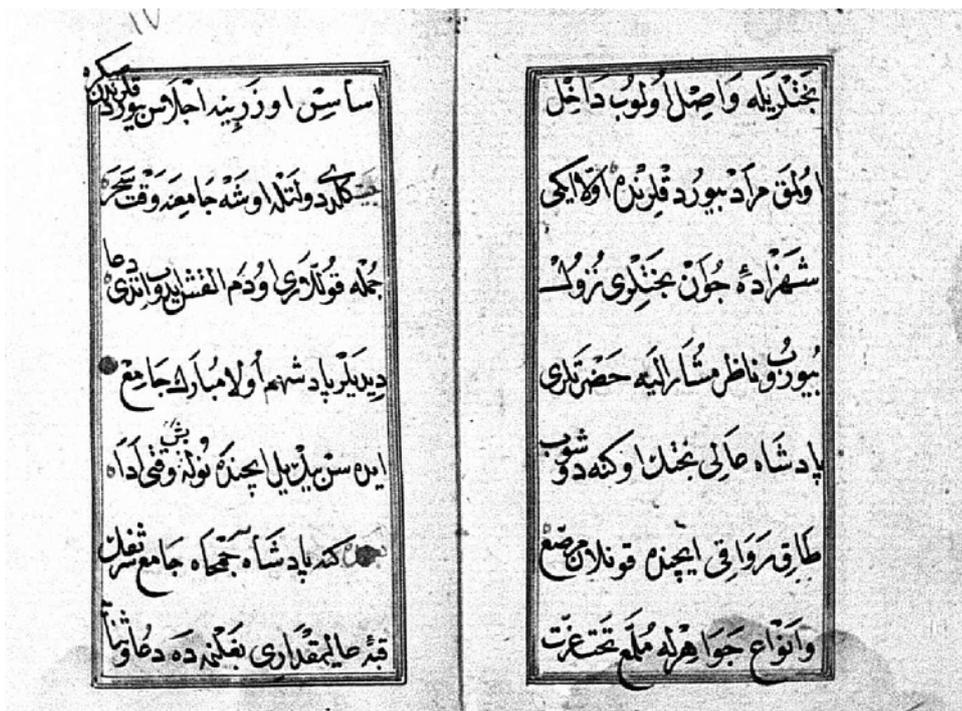


12b-13a.

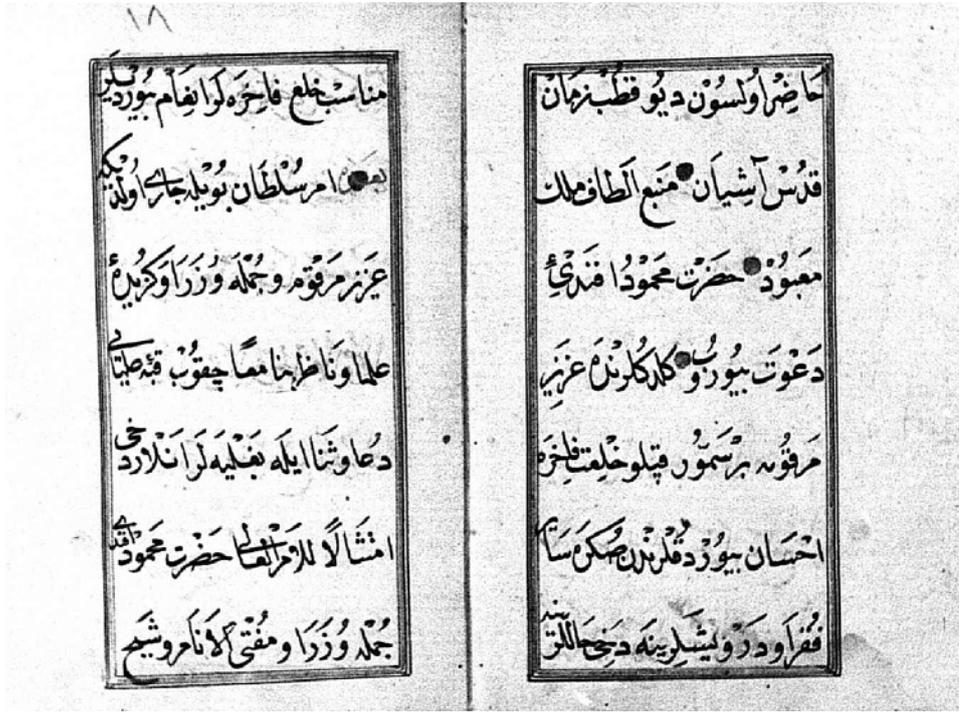




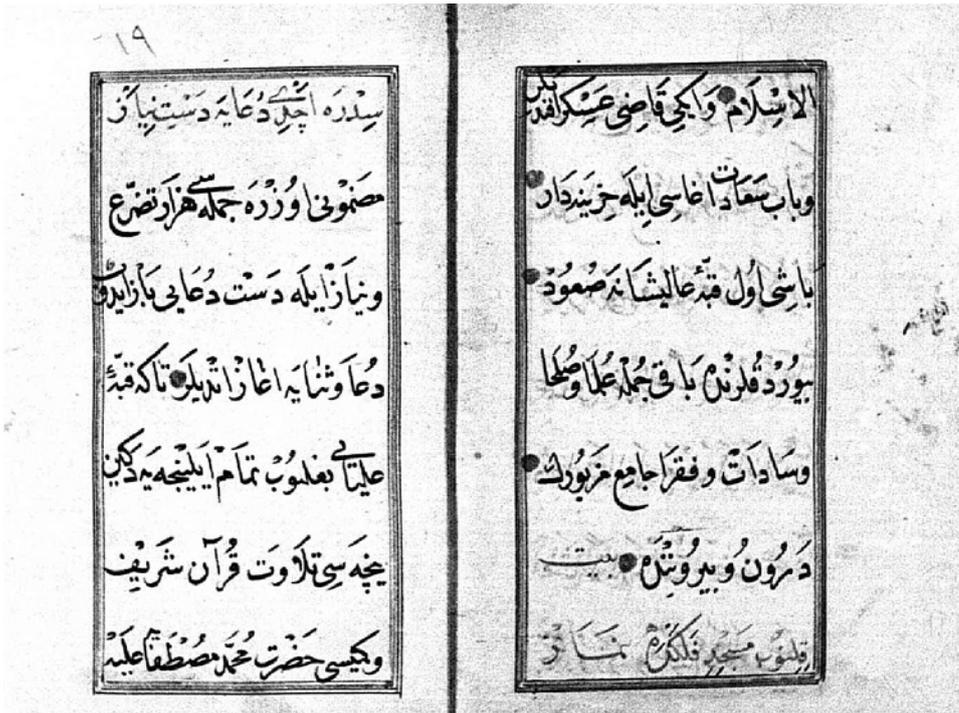
15b-16a.



16b-17a.



17b-18a.



18b-19a.

مذکورده حاضرُونَ اَوْلَادِ مَوْتِنِ
 وَمُسْلِمِيْنَهٗ وَعَظْمِ بَصِيْحَتِهٖ عَزِيْزَتِ
 يَوْمَهُ كَرَّ دِيُو فَرْمَانَ سُلْطَانَ
 صُدُوْرٍ وَظُهُوْرٍ بُوْنَجَهٗ عَزِيْزِ قَوْمِ
 دَخِيْ فَعَالَ مَطْبُوْعِ اَيْلِهٖ وَعَظْمِ
 وَبَصِيْحَتِهٖ شَرْوْعِ اَيْدِجَلِ اِيْشَانِ
 تَجَاهِ دَخِيْ خُصُوْعِ وَخُشُوْعِ اَيْلِهٖ

افضل الصلوات صلوا لطيفه
 تليل وتوحيد ونجسي محمد
 اتمه شروع ايلدير فرور لقيه
 لطيفه بليوب نزل يوزد قلده
 كل اي واعظيره بيت بديوي بصحت قل
 خطي حقه دخلي هم دلالت قل
 مهنوي اوزره عزيز مسفور جامع

19b-20a.

خط ايلوب آخرا ولدن عزيز قومي
 د خاخيرين استمداد سورد ملن
 عزيز مسفور دخي دست دعايي
 هزار نضع واين ايله دعايه قالدو
 عايمه مسلين امين ديوب بصايمه
 الله الملك المين د عالي اجابته
 قرين اولدق بذكره يند فرمان

عجلس وعظه حاضر و حضرت
 عزيز كلام صداقت نجاه عين
 بصيرت ايله ناظر اولوب كلام
 شريفه باني وحدت لطيفه مجوس
 بزداني على ما امر الله الجي الصير
 نقل وتفسير ديوب پادشاه عالم
 مجلس وعظدن كمال مرتبة سني

20b-21a.

ایلسور شاه جهان لطف و کرم اور موله
 نونه والھی این لای تو کا لطف و عطا
 مقتضای اور زره میر سوره قبلو
 خلعت فایزه و علی الترتیب سایر
 وزیرای عظام و علمای دوی
 الاحترام و سایر ارباب دیوان
 و اصحاب ازکان و ائمه و خطبایا

سلطان بو متوال و زره جریان
 بولدی که جامع مزبورده حاضر اولد
 جمله وزرا و علمای و سادات
 و فقرا نیک صغیر و کبیر نذوقیت
 خلعت احسان اولنه امثالاً
 لایمر الجلیل و وزیر اعظم حضرت
 خلیل پاشای اول جین ده

21b-22a.

دولتدن مظهر الطاف مفتش و قاضی
 نایب رئیس الممارین و نایب امین
 و سایر خدام و مقتدین و مشایخ
 عزت کرین و ایکی امام سجاده
 نشین بولدی که جمله سنه بله
 فایزه لرا احسان اولدی قد
 دست بوس سعادت مانوس

و صلحا و سادات کثیره البرکان
 دخی خلعت سلطان احسان ایلده
 و بر مراد اولدی بولدی پاشا عالی
 و قار جامع عالی بقدر لایحه مصلحت
 ضرورت قرار لرین قوریلین
 دولت مدار لری او زره نزول
 و جلوس یوز دقلندن اولدا

22b-23a.

تحت عالی تختی اورده جلون
 بیورد قلی نرضکه فرمان لطان
 واجبلان دغان شویله جزایا ایلدیکه
 جمله وزرا و علما و ارا و ارباب
 دیوان و اصحاب ارکان دست
 بوس سعادت ما نویسی اسلانه
 اشرف عید شریف دست بوس

سُلطانی ایله مشرفاً ولوب
 دوام دولت پادشاهی دعالر
 واریداً د عمر و عزت شاهنشاهی
 شالرا ایلدیلر بوندرن کو پادشاه
 عزت مقرون طاق هایون دولت
 رهون ایچندن قورلش مجوهره
 و مرصع و انواع جواهره ملع

23b-24a.

وسایر وزای عظام د قدردار
 بمن متقی الانام خضر شیخ
 سایر علمای ذوقی الاحترام
 قانون قدیم و آیین عظیم اوزر
 خدمت دست بوس سعادت مانوی
 ادا و تمیم قیلولت دوام عمر
 پادشاهی بدعالر و قیام عزو سعادت

اندکری کجی بوس این لردی و امل اولد
 اولانقیبالا اشرف ثانیاً شهراده
 جوان تختی حواجهی دست بوس
 ایروب دولت پادشاهی دعالر
 ایلدکلر نرضکه از باب دیواندن
 جمله قیوچی باشیلر و حاشیکیلر
 و متفرقلر حضرت وزیر اعظم

24b-25a.

ناظر مشا را لیه لا زال مشا را لیه
 حضر تدر نه بر مقتضای فرمان سلطان
 نظارت حسیه لری حسیله و جامع
 شریفه ایندکری خدمت مقابله
 بر مرصع قلع و بر مرصع حجر و کج
 سوز قلی خلقت و اوج ساداه
 خلعت فایح و بر کیه کامیل

شهنشاهی به تال را لیه بیلو
 سلطان عالی هتایکی شمرده جون
 ینه دولت ایله سرای غریب ندر
 و عودت یورد قارنن کلا وک
 جمله وزرا و امرأ و ارکان دیوان
 ینه او کیده و شوب سرای قدس
 اشیان لونه و اصل و داخل اولدین
 نرضیکه

25b-26a.

خدامن دخی هر پر لینه خلعت فایح
 احسان اولدور بضمکم کینه متفرقه
 و کینه چا و سلق و کینه تو ابلق احسان
 و صدقه اولدور شد حق بجای و
 حضر تدری پادشاه کامکار حضر
 وجود غرت آلود لری خطا و
 مصون و محفوظ ایلیه امین یا

سکه حسنه و بش کیه عروش
 و عین چل اچه احسان و ایفام میورد
 بحد و بی شمار مظهر نظار علیه
 اولدقد صکره اون بش نفر قوت لری
 کینه چا و سلق و کینه متفرقه لکن
 سپاه و تو ابلق احسان میورد قتل
 حکم جامع مزبورده حزم تا ابدت

26b-27a.

وجامع شریعت مصارف خیر و
 اولاد انچه جمله ناظر مشایخ
 حضرت لری سلطان علی الذان امر
 شریعت لری ایله نظارت علیه لری
 حسییه تحصیل ایلد لری ایچ اولون
 من بعد حرییه عامره دن برقی و
 حبه مصارف جامع شریعت خیر و

کوندن اظمه و تور بلکه بو مرتبه
 احسانن عشر عاشری اولدو
 امر حقیق و مقرر اولدو غندن ماعدل
 قلم شکسته زبان ایله ترقم و
 بلکه لسان فصیح البیان ایله ^{تقریر} تفریق
 امر محال اولوب کوندن عیان و بیان
 ایدو کی ارباب عقول و قوله نایان

27b-28a.

لیکن سلطان عالی شان حضرت لری
 دخی ناظر موی ایله حضرت لری
 امر ساطری نظارت علیه لری
 وجامع مرقوم ده ایلد لری خدمت
 مقابله سنه ایلد لری احسان
 فراوان و الطاف بی باسلا
 ماضیه دن بری قولنه ایلدو کی

بجه سید المرسلین بیت
 سوز کوشش لری ایلدو یاد شهر جامعده
 جان و یا شیشه چالشد دیر صبح و
 معصومی و دره حقا که ناظر مشایخ
 حضرت لری جامع شریعت ایلدو کی
 خدمتی بر قول اقدیمه ایلدو کی معلوم
 جمهور ایلدو کی بین الناس مهور و

28b-28.1a.

<p> يُرِي دَارَ الْجَنَانِ أَوْسَهُ لَا يُقْوِرُ سُرْدُورُ خُدَايَ مَلِكِنِ قَدَرٍ مَيْسَرٍ وَمُنْدَرِ الْمِيوَرِ پادشاهِ عَلِيَّيْنَاهُ حَضْرَتِ دِينَ دُخِي عَمْرُودٍ وَتَلَرِيْنِ يَوْمًا فَيَوْمًا أَيْدِ وَأَوْفَرِ وَكَرِيْلِيَهْ أَمِيْنِ بِأَمْعِيْنِ جُرْتِ مُحَمَّدِ أَلَمِيْنِ حَقَّاكَ أَوْلُ كُوْنِ بِرُيُومِ عَيْدِ وَرُوزِ سَعِيْدِ اِيْدِيْكَ </p>	<p> وَلَمَّا مَسَّنَدٌ حَقَّاكَ بَرَجْدِ مَيْسَرِ سُنْفَا مُقَابَلَةِ حَيْرِ مَنَلَرِيْنِ مَطْمَهْ اِنْفَا پادشاهِ كَامَكَارِ أَوْسَهُ لُورِ وَأَوْعِ شَرِيْفَهْ اسْتِقَامَتِيْلَهْ اِتْرَكْ كَرْمَلْتِ پادشاهِ عَلِيَّيْنَاهُ حَضْرَتِيْ مُقَابَلَهْ اِتْرَكْ كَرِيْ خَيْرِدُ عَابِكِيْتَهْ عِنْدَ اللهِ الْمَلِكِ اِنْجَلِيْلِ نَائِلِ اَجْرِ جَزِيْلِ وَنُو </p>
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28.1b-29a.

<p> بِي اِنْسَانِيْدِنِ شَرْمَسَارِ عَرَقِ زِيْرِنِ اُولَشِدِرِ رِيُونُودِنِ مَا عَدَا اَوْلُ كُوْنِ سَيْرِ سُلْطَانِهْ نَاظِرِ وَاَوْلِ عَجَابَسِدِنِ كَاحْضِرِ اَوْلَانِ اَلْحِيَانِ بِي اِمَانِ مَقْرِيْ شَيْطَانِ وَمَطْمَهْ عَضِيْبِيَانِ اَوْلَانِ قَلْبِ قِسَاوَتِ نِشَانِ لَرِنِي ذَرَّةِ اِشْرَاقِيَانِ نَائِيَانِ دَكْلِ اِيْكِنِ </p>	<p> خَلْقِ عَالَمِ اَوْلُ كُوْنِ خَلْقِ نَاسِرِ شَوْبِيْلَهْ مَنَرِنِ وَحَلِيْ اَوْلَشِرِ اِيْدِيْكَ فَلَاكِ اَعْلَادِهْ اَوْلَانِ مَلَانِ عَرْشِ اَشِيَانِ وَجَبْتِ مَقْلَادِهْ اَوْلَانِ حُورِيْ وَعِلْمَانِ سُرُورِ وَجُورِنِ رَقْصِ كَانِ اَوْلَدِيْلِرِ وَاِپَادِشَاهِ دُو اَلْاِقْدَارِ لِيْ خَلْقِ جِهَانِهْ اَوْلَانِ اَحْيَانِ </p>
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29b-30a.

وَلِحَسَانِ بِيَادِ شَاهِي إِلَيْهِ هَشَقْ
 اُولَدِيْلِرْ • باقى كهار بدي كدردخي
 سُلْطَانِ كَامَكَارِ عَالِي مَقْدَارِ لَدَوْمِ
 عَمْرُودَوْلَتِ وَتَحْتِ عَزَّتِي قَرَارِ
 وَبِشَارِي بِي اِخْتِيَارِ دُعَايِ بِي شَارِ
 اِيدُوْبْ • دِينِ مُحَمَّدِيْنِ اُولَانِ •
 عَزَّتِ وَشَوْكِي • وَيَادِ شَاهِ اِسْلَامِيْنِ

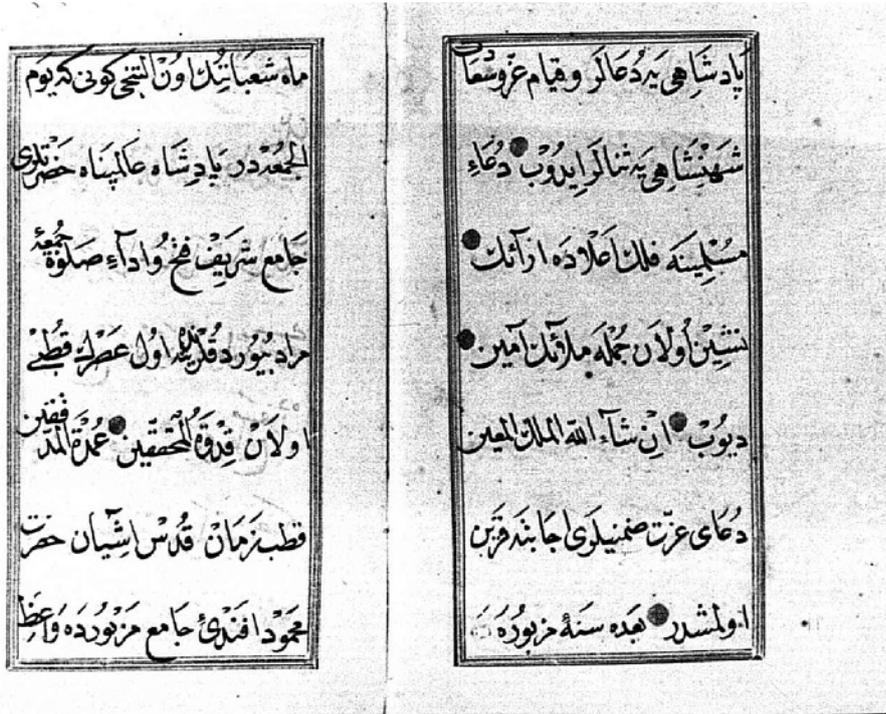
اُولِ سُلْطَانِ كَثِيرِ الْاِحْسَانِ مَلِكِ
 جِهَانِهْ اَتَدُو كِي اِحْسَانِ اَمْتَانِ •
 وَفِي سَبِيلِ اللّٰهِ خَيْرَاتُ وَحَسَنَاتِنِ
 وَدِينِ مُحَمَّدِي يُوْلَدِنِ اُولَانِ سَعِي
 وَكُوشِ وَبُويَانِ كُورْدِ كَلَرْنِ
 بِشَارِي بِي اِخْتِيَارِ بِي كَهَارِ اِسْلَامِهْ
 كَلُوْبْ • شَرَفِ اِسْلَامِ اَيْلِهْ مُشَرَفِ

30b-31a.

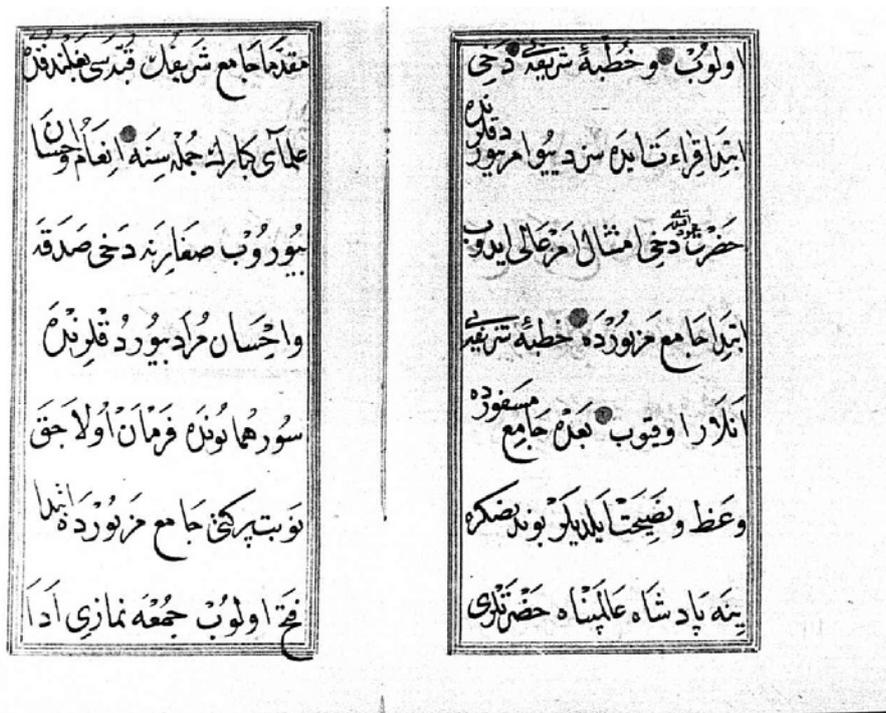
بُوَيَانِ اُولَدِيْلِرْ • بِسِ خَلْقِ جِهَانِ
 سُلْطَانِ عَالِي شَانِ اُولِ كُونِ
 وَزَرَا اَوْ اَمْرَايِهْ التَّقَايِ • وَعِلْمَا
 وَصَلْحَايِهْ كَالِ مَرْتَبِ مَيْلِ وَعَجْتِي
 وَخَيْرَاتِ وَحَسَنَاتِهْ رَغْبَتِي •
 وَرِعَايَا وَبِرَايَايِهْ مَرْحَمَتِ وَشَقَقْتِي
 كُوْرِحَلِكِ بِي اِخْتِيَارِ دَوَامِ دَوْلَتِ

اُولَانِ قُوْتِ وَفَدْرِي كَاهِ وَحَقَقِهْ
 نَصْرِي • وَايِيْنِ بَا طَلَرْنِ اُولَانِ
 نَكِيْتِ وَنَقِيْتِي تَحْقِيْقِ سَبِيْلِي • اَكْرَامِي
 فَرْ لِبَاشِ بِي مَعَاشِ • اَكْرُوْمِي دِيْنِ وَفِي
 وَاَمْرِي بِي رُوحِ دَرِ بِي جَمَلِهْ سِي حَايِ
 وَحَايِي سِرْ نَكُونِ مَلُولِ وَغُرُوْنِ •
 اُولُوْبْ • هَرِيْرِي مَقَامِ نَكِيْتِ اِبْلَانِهْ

31b-32a.



32b-33a.



33b-34a.

شما جزو ما ولسون کام اولدر زمو
 انکر لطفله احسان انکر منعله عطا
 ایدک سلطان کوینک محلی روح پاکینه
 دخی اصحاب والینه صلوتیه سلام اهدا
 ایا سلطان در یاد لچو اولدر مقتدی
 جهان ایدک حقا شریعت حکمی اجرا
 مقیم اول عرو شوکله سر سلطنت اوزون

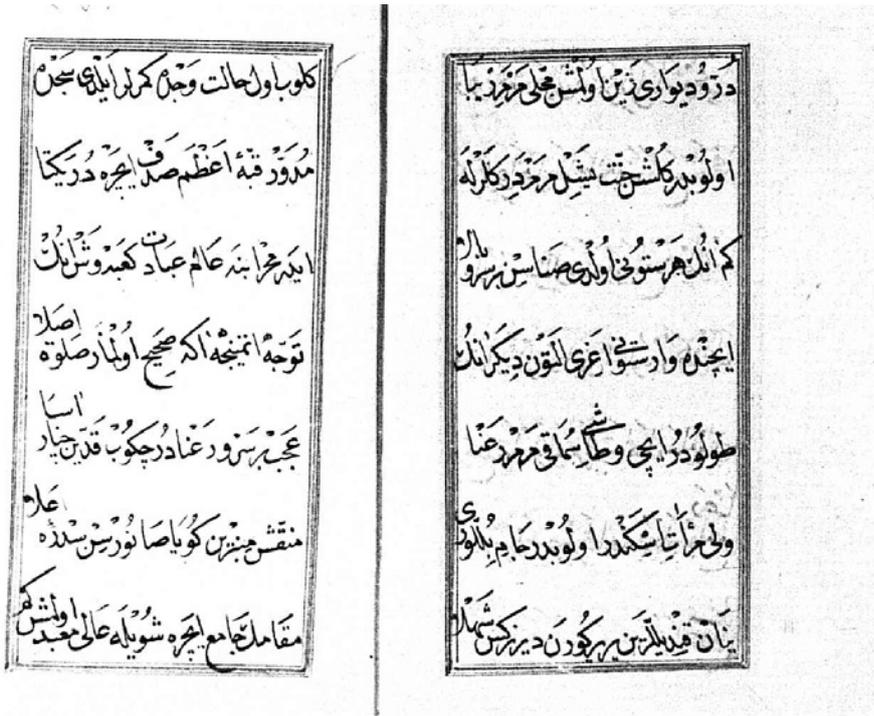
اولند وعی کون فرمان یوردی
 خانه علمای صفای دخی لو طریقی
 بهر مند ویر جراد ودل ویر نلین
 شاد یوردیلر
 پادشاه عالمیناه خضریات
 جامع شریفدری تمامه دینلوب
 وریلان قضیه مع التناخ در

34b-35a.

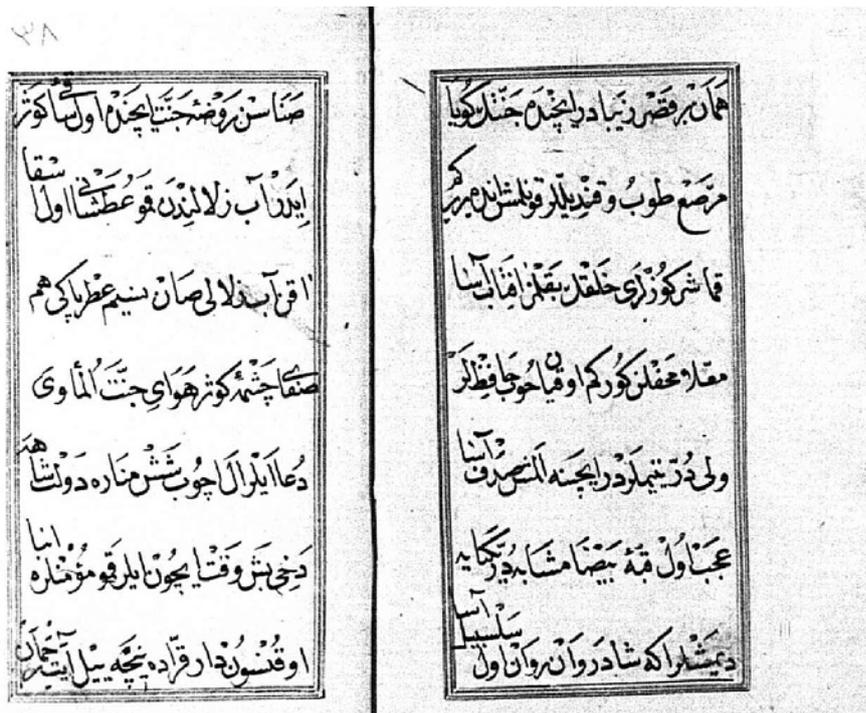
زهی مقید عالی بولنر مشی ما نندی
 کا اولدی اهل طاعانه مصفا مبع تقوی
 اولوندر سلال حقنه بوجامع مسجد اقصا
 فقیر اولنره داخی اولوندر کهنه علی
 مرصع جامبلره بر عیسا هانه جامعدر
 مقیم اولدی بر شاهه بویه جامع
 لطافتن همان بر روسیم انداره نمدی

کوکل خوش نظرین قلسون میس خیرت
 شما سنین بودور ایچره چو سجامع
 عمارت ایدک حقا مریز جامع زیبا
 خصوصاً بیت عمودا کر شهری رسول الله
 مرصع م اولدی زمانکن اولوب احیا
 اولا مقبول خیراندن حضور حضرت
 کا اولدی جامع رعنا لجه انن حبیب

35b-36a.



36b-37a.



37b-38a.

تمام حق مبارک ایلسون خان احمد
 یا ایلسون دور عدلین بوند کی خیر خیر
 محصل بزرگ قودی جهانن خان احمد
 هزاران دور این افلاک نظری اولم
 رحمان بود در حقین او سلطان جهان
 این تلخه درک با قوی خیرانی ابقا
 ولی فرمان سلطان الله اکا ناظر اولم
 صراقتله اما متله نظار سایلدی حقا

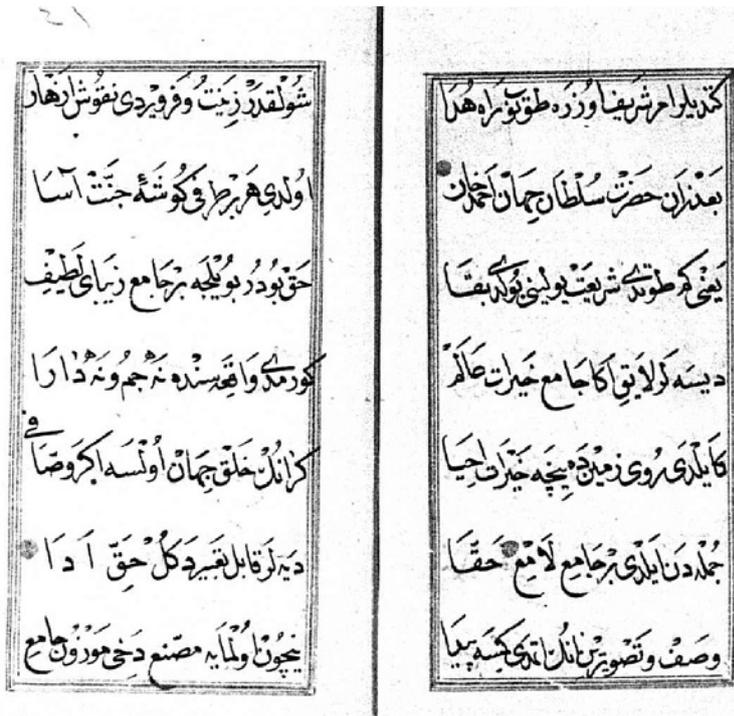
اود تعلیم قرآن جهانن موضع قرآن
 دخی دار الحدیث کن احادیث نقل اولم
 بخاریدن اولور اول روح پاک
 دیندی مدرسه کایچه علوم عالی در
 محصل لیلحقا طریق علمی سن اجیا
 هزاران حقه کردار الشفا ده تازان
 جهانن ایلدک آب حیاتا حکما ایچرا

38b-39a.

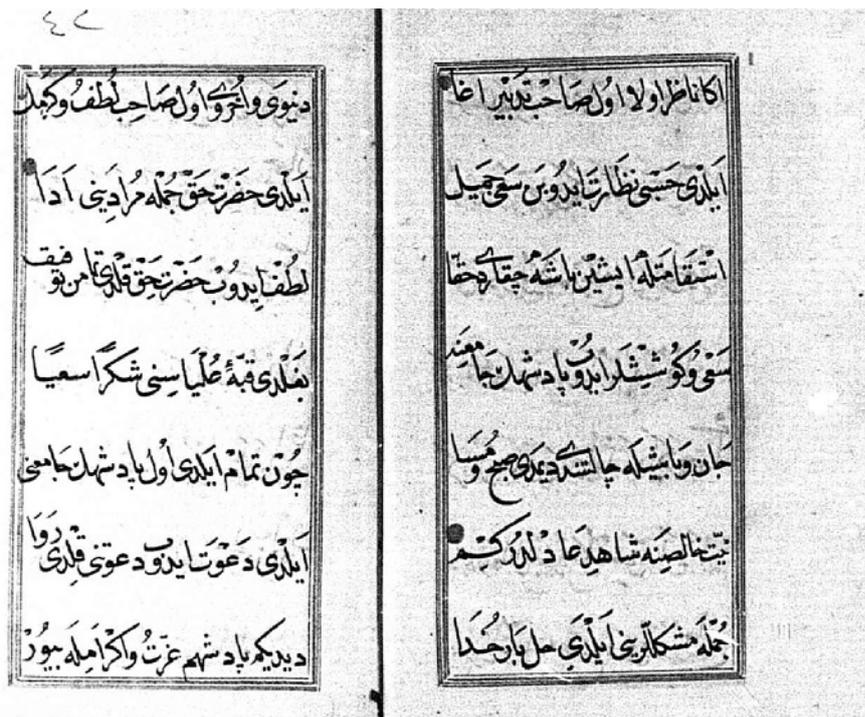
نامر جامع فیض الشفا الشرفه شایع
 حقیق جامع سلطان نامند ویرا فصیح
 اولاحمر وناخالق بیچونه سزا
 اولدر رجه مره ایلدین الطاف و عطا
 ثانیاً اولاصلوات احمد بخاره کیم اول
 جمله عاصی به شفیع اولسه کرک روز
 ثالثاً اولاسلام الله اصحابه کیم

مقش کل در ایتمه دعایه ما ایشله سلطان
 این کور عمرک اولدر دعای دولت
 خدایعین خریداشون کما اولسون حفظ و
 سرعزود و نمن کوی کوندن اوله اولاد
 تمام جامع کوردیم چو سلطان احمد
 دیم تاریخ شفا الله زهی طبع اعلی
 ۱۰۰۰

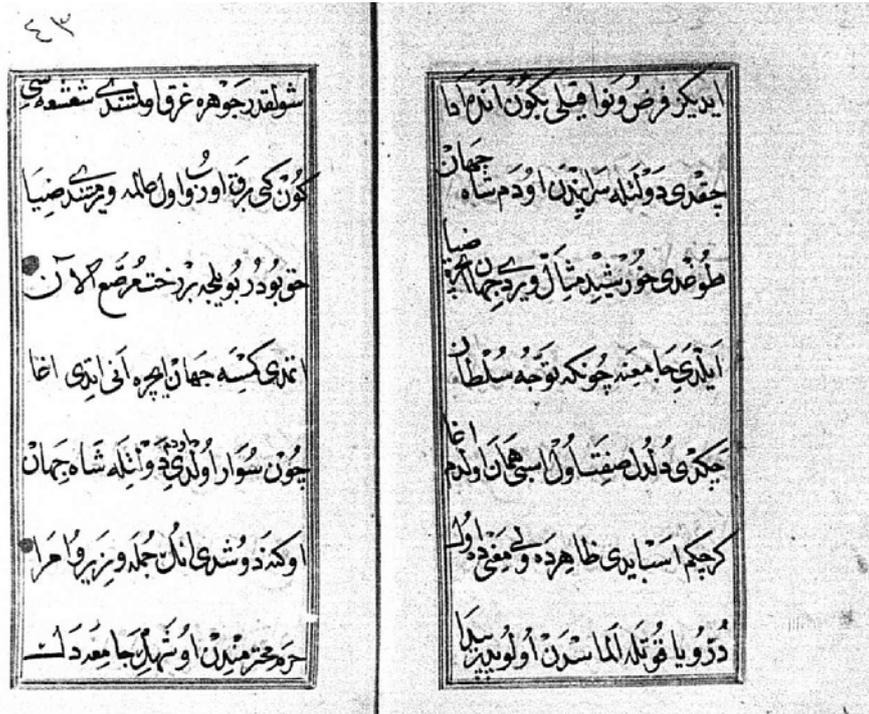
39b-40a.



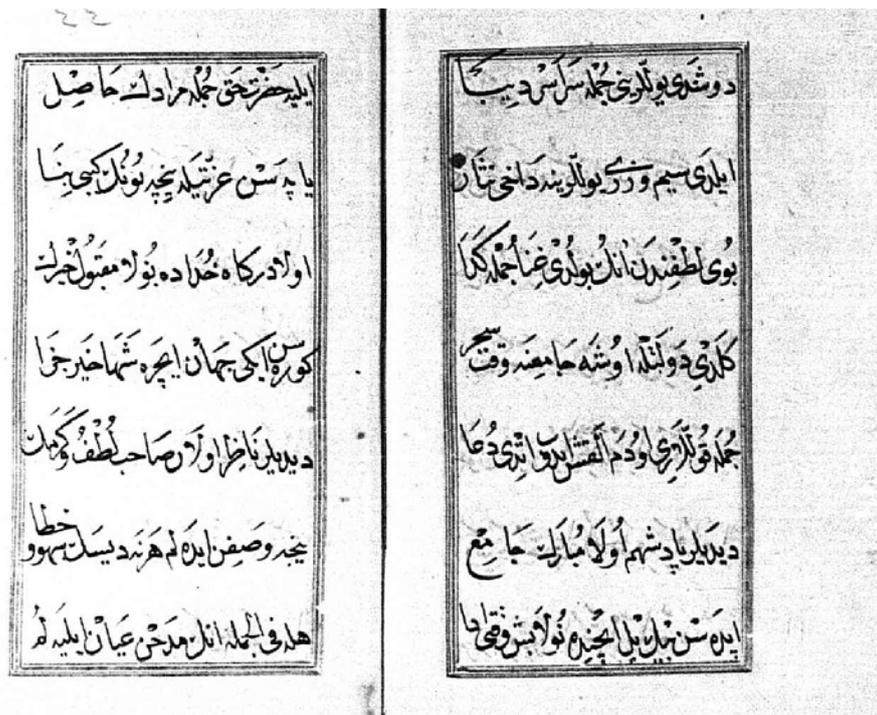
40b-41a.



41b-42a.



42b-43a.



43b-44a.

<p>سعی مشکوئی کوردکن دینک لطف ایدین بزجوردار اول اولاسن مظهر الطاف سعی ایدو جا ممل خد متنی قلده ادا ویزه دنیا ذوق عباده مراد کمال علما و صلحا قالدور و نبال ایدو دعا یازیکه ذکر اعمالک اجر احسننا قنده اول بار خدا جمله مراد کمال حاصل</p>	<p>کار عالمه بر بونله کریم حرد سخا حق ایلو که انقدی بولینه جان و با شیشه بواندی بی واریسه فنا ایلسون شاه جهان لطف و کرم اول نولا والله اینه لایق کالطف و عطا کورد و اناری اول پادشاه رویه ماین ویزه وی طاعترا کای ایلدی هم خیر دعا</p>
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44b-45a.

<p>روایتله پیغمبره صلی الله علیه وسلم صور اول جمع کونجا ایش ایشله تک عذابی نهر میدی ایش حضرت سوردنم الله تعالی وعده ایلدی جمع کونی ایش ایلسن اون ایکی دروعنا و وارد اوجی دنیا ده و آخرت و آخرت و اوجی آخرت و اوجی قبرته و اوجی قیامتک اول اوجکم دنیا ده در اولی کیدر بقو قدا ندرغی حوامده مرد ادر اولمش کیدر کنجی اول قدا ندرغی اچی دن بیرسه الله تعالی نمازین قبول ایلسن مادامکی اول طعام قرینک در اوججی پیغمبر علیه السلام حدیثده سوردی اذالکس ثواب من کسب یوم الجمعة لا یقید الله منه ولا عدلا یعنی جمع کون قدسه</p>	<p>ویرمیر جسم لطیفک ابد اذره خطا شته کردات شریفک اول اوججته قرین اولاسن صدر سعادتین مقیم ابد</p>
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45b-46a.

اولیٰ و افتاد و بر سه دخی اول قفتاد لیه
 جمع به و ار سه الله تعالی هم بر وجه قول
 ایلمز اما اول او جلم اولم و قفاده در اول
 آخر ته ایمان سن کیده اولی سر خوشلو عدله
 شیطان اوز دینه غالب اوله اکنجی عزیز ایل
 جاننی المقدسه قاقما عدله الا و اول او حکم
 قورده در منکر و نیکر سؤال احشمله صون
 اکنجی سستی شویله قضا کم صاغ ای کوسی
 صول ای کوسنه کجی او جنجی سنی قز کلوه
 اوله و اول او حکم آخر ته در اولی
 اولدر کم کورنده قوبده غی وقتین
 کافر ایله ملو کوز مور تنده قویه اکنجی
 حسب اولمدن جنم نهمه کیده

او جنجی الله تعالی حشمنه او غریبه خیر
 علی رضی الله عنه روایت ایدر هر کم
 جمع کونی ایس ثلثه منا فهدر ملعوندر
 اول تنکری حقیقی ن کیم نیم نفسم اناک
 قلده النادر جمع کونی ایس ثلثه قیامت
 کوندر نیم شفاعتی بولمیه بنی اککا
 شفاعت ایتمک و دخی نبور ذی هر کم
 جمع کونی ایس ثلثه اول کتیک کیم اتمه
 دکلا در زیر که جمع کونی شریف کولدر
 دنیا عملر ترک اتمک کس کدر و دخی
 مشول ادم او غلنی که جمع کونی بر
 شقاوت بئس ثلثه اول نبی او
 یقش کیدر هر کم نبی او بقدر حیرتم

APPENDIX

Transliteration and Translation of *Tārīḥ-i binā-yı cāmi'i-i Sultān Aḥmed-i evvel / Sultān Aḥmed cāmi'i tārīḥi*,
Istanbul, 1617. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Fotokopi No. 294
(facsimile of a manuscript in Baghdad, Iraqi Academy of Sciences).

Author's note: I have followed the archaizing “pre-1700” system of Ottoman transliteration, which faithfully reflects Turkish orthography. The *Tarih* contains numerous misspellings: those that are (or appear to be) merely accidental are corrected in the transliteration and indicated in the footnotes; those that are recurrent or constitute non-standard variants are transliterated as written. Words and sentences inscribed in gold appear throughout the manuscript, and I have represented them using italics in both the transliteration and the translation. All other typographical features, including capitalization and punctuation, are my own, as is the paragraphing. Compound words that are formed of separately written elements in the manuscript are hyphenated as necessary in the transliteration, while those that have been written as single words are transliterated as such if the closed form is attested in the modern Redhouse dictionary, and hyphenated if not. Folio numbers are set in bold-face and indicated in square brackets, and though these numbers are inserted into the translation as well, grammatical differences mean that it is not always possible to map the Ottoman foliation neatly on to the English text. I am grateful to Edhem Eldem, Gülru Necipoğlu, and András Riedlmayer for their help with a number of linguistic queries. All errors are my own.

Tārīḥ-i binā-yı cāmi'i-i Sultān Aḥmed-i evvel / Sultān Aḥmed cāmi'i tārīḥi¹

[ob]² Ḥamd-i cemil-i bī-ğāye ve şükr-i cezil-i bi-lā-nihāye ol vākıf-ı ḥafāyā vu esrār ve vāşif-ı evliyā vu ebrār olan Ḥālīk-ı kirdigār ve Rāzık-ı perverdegār—celle

1. For details of the manuscript, including its speculative title, see pp. 270–72 of the main article.
2. Because it precedes the folio numbered 1, this page is here counted as fol. ob.

celālühü ve ‘amme nevalühü—dergähina! [1a] Sezāvār u vācibü'l-iḫtişārdur ki cemī'-i kāyināt-ı ‘acibü't-terkibi ve cümle-i mevcūdāt-ı ğarībü't-tertibî irāde-i kāmile-i mürecciḥe ve kudret-i şāmile-i mü'essire birle bī-naẓır ü bī-mişāl bi-ğayr-i fuṭūr u iḫtilāl nemḳ-ı fāyık [sic]³ üzre ibdā', ḥuşūşā Benī Ādem'i meşiyet-i⁴ sāyiğe [1b] ve ḥikmet-i bālīğe ile nemaṭ-ı rāyık üzre iḫtirā' idüb şuleḥā'-i ağniyānuñ mesākīn ü fuḳarāya evḳāf u şadakātın zerī'a-ı duḫül-i cennāt-ı ‘ālī-derecāt kıldı-ki mevākıf-ı āsar-ı ceberütında ‘uḳül-ı ācile-i fuḫül vākıf ü sergerdān ve mekāşif-i [sic]⁵ mülk-i melekütında şemme-i [5a]⁶ esrārına vākıf olan medḥuş u ḥayrān ḳaldı. Naḥmedühü ‘alā tevāfuri na‘mā'ihī't-ṭāhire[ti]⁷ mu'terifen bi'l-'aczi ve't-taḳşir, ve neşürühü ‘alā tekāşuri ālā'ihī'l-bāhire[ti]⁸ muḡterifen fi baḫri berrihi'l-'aziz.

Ve şalavāt-ı bī-pāyān ve taḫiyāt-ı bī-kerān ol Resül-i şakāleyne ve ol raḥmet-i [5b] ‘ālemīne ve ol kār-ı şıdḳ u şafāya ve ol ‘umān-ı cūd-ı vefāya, a'nī Ḥāzret-i

3. Erroneous for *fā'ik*. Arabic words of this form are frequently spelled with a *ye* rather than the requisite *hemze* in Ottoman, as is the case throughout the manuscript. Subsequent instances of this error will be indicated only by their transliteration.
4. Erroneous for *meşret*.
5. Unattested in the dictionaries, *mekāşif* is apparently a nonce form coined on analogy with *mevākıf* and related in meaning to *mükāşefe*, defined in Redhouse's *Lexicon* as “God's openly manifesting himself to a saint; spiritual communion with God.”
6. The manuscript has evidently been rebound at some point in its history, as the folios now numbered 2–4 have mistakenly been placed where those numbered 5–7 belong, and vice versa. My transliteration and translation restore the correct order while retaining the modern foliation.
7. Spelled الطاهر rather than the correct الطاهرة, perhaps reflecting a pausal pronunciation of the Arabic (as suggested also by the placement of a rosette after the word).
8. Spelled الأئمة الباهرة rather than the correct الأئمة الباهرة; the scribe has erroneously written ة for ه and vice versa. See also the preceding note.

Muhammed Muştafâ'ya olsun-ki mücib-i icâd-ı her dü 'âlem ve sebeb-i zühür-ı evlâd-ı Benî Âdem'dür ki Hakk sübhânehü ve te'âlâ hazretleri anuñ şân-ı şerifinde "Levlâke, lev lâke, lemmâ hâlaqtü'l-eflâk" [6a] buyurmuşdur.

Ve dürüd-ı bî-şümâr ol Çaryâr-i kibâr ervâhına olsun-ki Aḥmed-i Muhtâr'uñ aşhâb-ı büzürgvârı ve Hüdâ-yı perverdegârıñ evliyâ-yı kibârı-durlar, rıdvânı'llâhü te'âlâ 'aleyhim ecma'în. *Kit'a*: Çâr divâr-ı sarây-ı Dîn-i Aḥmed Çaryâr / [6b] Ya'nî Ebû Bekr ü 'Ömer ü 'Osman [u] 'Ali nâmdâr / Cennet içre anlaruñ ervâhını şâd eylesün / Ol Raḥîm ol Kerîm ol Ğâfûr-ı kirdigâr.⁹

Ba'de'zân:¹⁰ Ol sultân-ı selâṭîn-i cihân ve kâhir-i kâhramân-i cihâniyân ve nâsır-ı mü'minîn ü muvaḥḥidîn ve katil-i müşrikîn ü müllidîn ve dârende-i vüzerâ'-ı şâhib-i [7a] hüş ve nevâzende-i ümerâ'-ı şâhib-i cüyüş ve raġbet-künende-i 'ulemâ vu fużalâ ve şefkat-künende-i şulehâ vu fuķarâ ve ihsân-künende-i sâdât-ı eşrefü'l-berâyâ, säye-i Yezdân ve ḥalife-i zemîn ü zamân, a'nî *Sultân Aḥmed Hân* ibn-i Sultân Meḥammed Hân, edâma'llâhü te'âlâ [7b] devletehü ve ebbede salṭanatuhu ilâ inķırâzı'd-deverân ve intihâ'i'z-zemân, inşâ'llâhü'r-raḥmân. *Beyt*: İlahî sen bu şâh-i nevcüvânı / 'Ömr bağında berḥ'ordâr eyle // Baḥrde berrde sen İlyâs u Hıızr'ı [*sic*]¹¹ / Demâdem bunuñla yâr eyle // Serîr-i salṭanatda neslin aşlın / [2a] Ki tâ rüz-ı haşr pâ-dâr eyle // Muzaffer kıl hemîşe 'askerini / 'Adûsın serniġün u ḥ'âr eyle // Ki bundan yeġ du'â olmaz İlahî / 'Adâlet taḥt [*sic*]¹² üzre var eyle.¹³

Pes ez ân: Hazret-i Sultân *Aḥmed Hân*—ḥalleda'llâhü milkehü ilâ yevmi'l-mizân—[2b] hazretleri rüy-ı zemîn ve sâḥa-ı çarḥ-ı berinde dârü's-salṭanatü's-seniyye Koşantaniyyetü'l-maḥmiyye lâ zâlet meşḥûneten bi-elṭâfi Rabbi'l-beriyye'de şafâ kânı¹⁴ At Meydânı dimekle

9. I have found no source for this poem, which may be the author's own composition. The scribe has neglected to write the conjunction before *Alî*.
10. بعد زان, a contraction of the Arabic بعد and Persian زان; only the Arabic component appears to be gilt.
11. The dot of the *hu* has accidentally been omitted.
12. *Taht* is misspelled *taht* throughout the text. Other instances of the error will not be indicated other than by their transliteration.
13. These couplets, for which I have found no source, may again be the author's own composition.
14. The Hippodrome is termed *şafâ kânı* (mine of pleasure) in the romantic poem *Şâh ü gedâ* (The King and the Beggar), written by the soldier and poet Taşlıcalı Yahya (d. ca. 1582):

ma'rûf bir cây-ı ferah-fezâ ve maķâm-ı dilküşâda biñ onsekiz Şevvâl-i şerifinüñ [3a]¹⁵ sekizinci güninde binâsına mübâşeret buyurub ḥalâ ḥarem-i muḥterem-i pâdişâhî ber [?]¹⁶ sarây-ı laṭîf-i şehinşâhîde şâhibü'l-'izzî ve's-sa'âdeti'l-laṭîfe Dârü's-Sa'âdetü's-şerife ağası olan iftiḥârü aşhâbi'l-'izzî ve't-temkîn, mu'temedü'l-mülûki ve's-selâṭîn, enîsü' [3b] l-hazreti'l-'aliyyeti'l-ḥakâniyye, celisü'l-sa'âdeti's-seniyyeti's-sermediyye, en-nâzıru 'alâ evķâfi'l-Ḥaremeyni'l-muḥteremeyn, a'nî semiyye beni's-şakaleyn¹⁷ *el-Ḥâc Muştafâ Aġa*—edâma'llâhü'l-Melikü'l-a'lâ—hazretlerin binâ-yı câmi'-i mezbûr¹⁸ üzerine nâzır ta'yîn buyurduklarından soñra [4a] câmi'-i pür-lâmi'üñ biñ yigirmi altı senesi Cumaze'l-âḥire'sinüñ dördüncü günü—ki yevmi'l-Ḥamîs'dür—"Bâreka'llâhü's-Sebte ve'l-Ḥamîs"¹⁹ ḥadîs-i şadâkat-enîsi muķtażâsınca bi-'inâyeti'llâhi'l-Meliki'l-aķder ḥayrla itmâmı müyesser ü muķadder olub ḳubbe-i 'ulyâsını bağlamak lâzım [4b] geldükde nâzır-ı müşârün ileyh—lâ zâle müşâren ileyh—hazretleri birķac gün müķaddemce câmi'-i şerifüñ ḥarem-i muḥtereminde sultân-ı heft-kişver için bir maķâm u maķar ihzârı emr-i²⁰ muķarrer olmaġın nâzır-ı şadâkat-nümün ber-müceb-i emr-i hümâyün ol ṭâķ-ı gerdün- [8a] niṭâķı—ki ḳubbe-i minâfâmı âsmâna hemser ve 'alem-i zerrîn-peykeri 'âleme ziyâ-güster-

see Ağâh Sırnı Levend, *Türk Edebiyatında Şehr-engizler ve Şehr-engizlerde İstanbul* (İstanbul: İstanbul Fethi Derneġi, İstanbul Enstitüsü Yayınları [Baha Matbaası], 1958), 104. This is probably more than a coincidence, for the *Tarih's* author seems to benefit in other ways from Yahya's poem: see n. 65 below.

15. A line of text—evidently a later addition—is written down the left margin of the page. Though not entirely legible, it appears to be a nonsensical instance of calligraphic practice or doodling. Prominent among the inscribed forms are four successive variations of a word resembling *bism* (in the name of).
16. The word is hard to make out in the darkened photocopy: *der* (in) rather than *ber* (on) would be the more logical preposition for this Persianate construction, though the calligraphy, as far as it can be discerned, does not support such a reading.
17. *Benî* is erroneously written with a *şedde* over the *nûn*.
18. Despite being here described as *mezbûr*, "aforesaid," the mosque has not been explicitly mentioned before this point, though the earlier words *binâsına mübâşeret buyurub* do make implicit reference to it. The sentence is long and convoluted, and it is not surprising that the author or scribe has muddled the details.
19. See n. 93 below.
20. The word has been superscribed.

dür—kânün-ı ‘Osmanî ve âyin-i şehinşahi üzere ol cây-ı laṭîf ve maḳâm-ı şerîfde kurub eṭrâf u eknâfına daḫi serâser perdeler çeküb ṭâḳ-ı hümâyûnı ‘alâ mâ hüve’l-merâm [8b] itmâm buyurduklarından soñra nâzır-ı müşârün ileyh—lâ zâle müşâren ileyh—ber-muḳtaẓâ-yı fermân-ı sulṭân nezâret-i ḫasbiyyeleri ḫasebiyle *Beyt*: “Ḫarem-i muḫtereminden o şehüñ câmi’e dek / Döşedi yollarını cümle serâser dibâ”²¹ maẓmûmı üzere sarây-ı hümâyûnuñ [9a] ḫâşş oṭa kapusından câmi’-i şerîfde kurlan oṭâḳ-ı ‘âlî-niṭâka varınca vaḳt-i seherden ḫaḫve-i kübrâya gelince güzergâh-ı sulṭânîyi iki ṭarafdan rengâreng serâser ü sereng ve aḳmişe-i mütenevvî’a-ı [9b] günâgün ve dibâ-yı zibâ-yı büḳalemün ile²² döşe-yüb ‘âdet ü âdâb üzere birḳac yüz miḳdârı ḳapucı ṭâyîfesi ṭutub ḫalk-ı cihân sulṭân-ı ‘âlîşân—ḫafaẓahu’l-Melikü’l-Mennân—ḫazretlerinüñ ḳudüm-ı şerîflerine [10a] intizâr üzere iken yine nâzır-ı müşârün ileyh—lâ zâle müşâren ileyh—ḫazretleri bir raḫt-ı mücevher ve muraşşa‘ eýer, muṭallâ bâz-bend²³ ü kemer ve ‘abâ’iy-i ğayr-i mükerrer ve billür şeşber [sic]²⁴ ve muraşşa‘ rikâb-ı²⁵ ḳadem-perver, el-ḫâşıl zer ü zîvere müstağraḳ bâdpây bir esb-i mu‘teber [10b] oṭâḳ-ı hümâyûnda eýerleyüb cümle ḫuddamları öñine düşüb tamâm mer-tebe i‘zâz u ikrâm ile Bâb-ı Sa‘âdet’e getürüb Bâb-ı Sa‘âdet’de mirâḫ’or-ı kebire teslim eyledi. *Beyt*: Gerçikim esb idi zâhirde ve-lî ma‘nâda ol / Dürr ü yâḳütle elmâsdan olupdur peydâ // [11a] Şol-ḳadar cevhere ğarḳ olmuşidi şa‘şa‘ası / Gün gibi berḳ urub ol ‘âleme virmişdi ziyâ // Ḫaḳḳ budur böylece bir raḫt-ı muraşşa‘ el-ân / İtmedi kimse cihân içre anı itdi aḡa.²⁶

Ba‘de‘zân ḫazret-i sulṭân-ı cihâni câmi’-i şerife da‘vet için ṭaraf-ı ḳarînü’ş-şereflerinden ḫâlâ [11b] vezîr-i a‘zam ve müşîr-i efḫam olan şâhib-i ḳadr-i refî‘, sâhib-i ezyâl-i câh-ı menî‘, menba‘-ı maḫâsin ü kerem, ma‘den-i merâzi-şiyem, maẓhar-ı elṭâf-ı celil Ḫalîl Paşa ḫazretlerin vekil naşb u ta‘yîn buyurub kendiler/ine ḫuddâm-ı zevi’l-iḫtirâmlarıyla [12a] oṭâḳ-ı hümâyûna ‘avdet ü ric‘at buyurduklarından soñra vezîr-i rüşen-żamîr ḫazretleri daḫi ol sulṭân-ı sa‘âdet-güster ve ḫâḳân-ı ‘âlem-perver ḫazretlerin da‘vet için bir sâ‘at-i mübarekeye muntaẓır ve âfitâb-ı cemâl-i ‘âlemtâb-ı şâh-ı ‘âlîcenâb ṭulû‘ına [12b] nâzırlar olub sâ‘at-i mübareke dâḫil olduḡda ḫazret-i sulṭân-ı velî-himmeti câmi’-i şerîfi teşrif için da‘vet buyurduklarında ṭaraf-ı şehriyârî-den vezîr-i ‘izzet-maşîr ḫazretlerine bir semmür ḳaplu ve bir sâde ḫil‘at-i fâḫireler in‘âm u iḫsân olunub geydüklerinden soñra [13a] ḫüñkâr-ı²⁷ kâmgâr ḫazretleri daḫi es‘ad sâ‘ât ve eyemen evḳâtda sarây-ı hümâyûn-ı ‘izzet-maḳrûndan nür-dide-i pâdişâhî vü şehriyârî, nür-ı şecere-i kâmgârî, ferzend-i ercmend-i sa‘âdetmend iki şehzâde-i cüvân-baḫtlarıyla burc-ı şerefden ḫürşid-i ziyâ-güster ṭulû‘ eder [13b] gibi ṭâḳ-ı a‘lâ ve revâḳ-ı mu‘allâdan ṭalaḳlar²⁸ gösterüb berây-ı icâbet-²⁹ da‘vet devlet ü ‘izzet ile câmi’-i şerîflerine teveccüh ü ‘azîmet buyurduklarında *Beyt*: “Eyledi câmi’ine çünki teveccüh sulṭân / Çekdi Düldül-şıfat ol esbi hemân ol-dem aḡa // Çün süvâr oldı o dem devletle şâh-ı cihân / [14a] Öñine düşdi anuñ cümle vezîr ü ümera”³⁰ mefhûmı üzere şâh-ı kâmgâr-ı ‘izzet-medâr daḫi semend-i bâdpâyeye süvâr olub iki şehzâde-i cüvân-baḫtlarıyla cünüd-ı İslâm’a selâm virüb gelürken ḫalk-ı cihândan sipâh ve

21. The couplet is taken from the manuscript’s second qasida (fols. 43a–43b), though the first word of the second hemistich is here written *döşedi* (دوشدی) rather than *döşendi*. This changes the verb (*döşemek*, “furnish,” here translated as “line”) from the passive voice to the active, emphasizing Mustafa Agha’s role in making the arrangements. The passive version found in the qasida is grammatically incompatible with the *yollarını* that follows it.

22. The word has been superscribed.

23. This compound appears to be a variant, if not a misspelling, of *bâzûbend*.

24. Properly spelled *şeşper*.

25. *Rikâb* is erroneously marked with a *sükün*.

26. The three couplets are taken from the second qasida (fols. 42b–43a), but with *olmuşidi* replacing *olmuşdi*. *Dürr* has here been incorrectly vocalized as *derr*, a careless error that does not recur in the manuscript, and the *ol* of the

second hemistich is superscribed, as if added after the rest of the line was written.

27. The dot of the *hu* has accidentally been omitted.

28. The word *ṭalaḳ* (Arabic *ṭalaq*) is not attested in the Turkish dictionaries, and its normal Arabic senses (which include “race” and “shot”) do not fit the context. Steingass, however, records the compound *ṭalaqu’l-vajh*, “of an open countenance; cheerful, smiling,” and this overlaps with the Ottoman usage of the related word *ṭalâḳat*, defined in Redhouse’s *Lexicon* as “a day’s being mild and bright” and “a countenance’s being cheerful.” Such a meaning is clearly intended by the questionably formed *ṭalaḳlar*, which the *Tarih*’s author may have coined by confusing *ṭalâḳat* with *ṭalaḳât* and replacing the Arabic plural suffix with its Turkish equivalent.

29. *İcâbet* is erroneously marked with a *sükün*.

30. The two couplets are taken from the second qasida (fols. 42b, 43a), where, however, they are not contiguous.

yeñiçeriyân ve cümle elçiyân-ı bî-âmân seyr-i sultâna hâzır [14b] u âmâde olub kemâl-i mertebe seyirler idüb devâm-ı devlet-i hâzret-i sultâna du‘âgüyân olub sultân-ı ‘âlî-makâm daği ‘izz ü ihtişâmıla hıyâm-ı gerdün-kiyâm tarafına hîrâm eyledi. Hâkka ki bir semend-i bād-pây idi ki kavâ‘imi devâ‘im-i [sic]³¹ ‘izz ü ikbâl ve na‘l-ı [15a] zürâf-şânı ‘îd-i feth ü zafer hilâl³² idi. Ve raht-ı muraşsa‘ına h‘od-şarrâfân-ı zamân ve cevheriyân-ı deverân kıymet taqdîrinde ‘âciz ü hayrân ve zâr u sergerdân kalmışlaridi. Lâ-büd kıymet taqdîr olunsa yetmiş biñ sikke-i haseneden aqall ile [15b] huşûli müyesser ü muqadder değil idüğü günden azhar u enver Muşarra‘: *Qadr-i zer zerger şinâsed, qadr-i cevher cevheri*³³ maзмünü üzre qadir-şinâs katında Rüm hâracı değer bir raht-ı muraşsa‘ ve mücevher eýerdür ki selâtin-i mâziyeden bir sultâna müyesser olmaduğı emri muqarrer ü muhâkka [16a] idüğü bi‘l-ittifâk ma‘lûm-ı âfâkdur. Hâkka ki felek-i devvâr şad hezâr devr eylese nazîr ü mişâlin rüzgâr-ı zor-gâh [sic]³⁴ getürmek ehl-i hâl katında emri muhâl idüğü vâki‘-i hâldür.

Ba‘de‘zân hâzret-i sultân-ı cihân tāk-ı hümayün-ı sa‘âdet-nümüne iki şehzâde-i cüvân- [16b] bahtlarıyla vâşıl olub dâhil olmağ murâd buyurduklarında evvelâ iki şehzâde-i cüvân-bahtları nüzül buyurub nâzır-ı

müşârün ileyh hâzretleri pâdişâh-ı ‘âlî-bahtuñ öñine düşüb tāk-ı revâki³⁵ içinde konılan muraşsa‘ ve envâ‘-ı cevâhîrle mülemma‘ taht-ı ‘izzet- [17a] esâs üzerine iclâs buyurduklarından şoñra³⁶ *Beyt*: Geldi devletle o şeh câmi‘e vaqt-i seher / Cümle kulları o dem alkiş idüb itdi du‘â // Didiler “Pâdişehüm ola mübârek câmi‘ / İdesin biñ yıl içinde n’ola beş vaqtı edâ.”³⁷

Ba‘dehu gine pâdişâh-ı Cem-câh câmi‘-i şerîfüñ kubbe-i ‘âlî-mikdârı bağlanmada du‘â vu şenâya [17b] hâzır olsun deyü kutb-ı zamân-ı³⁸ quds-âşiyân, menba‘-ı eltâf- Melik-i ma‘bûd Hâzret-i Maḥmûd Efendi‘i da‘vet buyurub geldüklerinde ‘azîz-i merķūma bir semmür kaplı hil‘at-i fâhire ihsân buyurduklarından şoñra sayır fuķarâ vu dervişlerine daği hâllerine [18a] münâsib hila‘-ı fâhireler in‘âm buyurdılar. *Ba‘dehu* emri sultân böyle câri oldu ki ‘azîz-i merķūm ve cümle vüzerâ ve güzîde-i ‘ulemâ ve nâzır-ı binâ ma‘an çıkub kubbe-i ‘ulyâyı du‘â vu şenâ ile bağlayalar. Anlar daği imtişâlen li‘l-emri‘-‘âlî Hâzret-i Maḥmûd Efendi cümle vüzerâ ve müfti‘l-enâm u şeyhü‘ [18b] l-İslâm ve iki kâdi‘-asker efendiler ve Bab-ı Sa‘âdet ağası ile hâzîne-dâr başı ol kubbe-i ‘alışâna şu‘ud buyurduklarında bâki cümle ‘ulemâ vu şulehâ ve sâdât u fuķarâ câmi‘-i mezbûruñ derün u birünında *Beyt*: *Kılınub mescid-i felekde namâz / [19a] Sidre açdı du‘âya dest-i niyâz*³⁹ maзмünü üzre cümlesi hezâr tazarru‘ u niyâz ile dest-i du‘âyı bâz idüb du‘â vu şenâya âgâz itdiler tâ ki kubbe-i ‘ulyâyı bağlayub⁴⁰ tamâm eyleyinceye değin niçesi tilâvet-i Qur‘ân-ı Şerîf ve kimisi Hâzret-i Muḥammed Muştafâ‘ya—‘aleyhi [19b] efdâlü‘ş-şalavât—şalavât-ı laṭife ve⁴¹ tehlil ü tevḥîd ve niçesi temcîd [ü] taḥmîd itmeğe şürü‘ eylediler.

Mezbûrlar kubbe-i laṭifeyi bağlayub nüzül buyurduklarından-şoñra *Beyt*:⁴² *Gel ey vâ‘iz bize pend ü naşîhat*

31. *Devâ‘im* appears to be a spurious pluralization of *dâ‘im*, formed on analogy with the preceding word. The seat bearing the *hemze* has needlessly been provided with the dots of a *ye*. See n. 99 below.

32. While the intended meaning is clear, it is curious that *hilâl* has not been tied by means of an *izâfet* to *‘îd-i feth ü zafer*. A comparable (and grammatically more standard) simile is found in the so-called “Sun Qasida” of Ahmed Pasha (d. 1497), where a horseshoe (*na‘l*) is likened to the crescent of the Eid of Conquest (*hilâl-i ‘îd-i feth*): see Özlem Demirel [Dönmez], “Ahmed Paşa’nın Güneş Kasidesi İle Sâfi’nin Güneş Kasidesi’nin Dil Özellikleri Yönünden Mukayesesi,” in 38. *ICANAS (Uluslararası Asya ve Kuzey Afrika Çalışmaları Kongresi) 10–15.09.2007, Ankara, Türkiye. Bildiriler: Edebiyat Bilimi Sorunları ve Çözümleri = ICANAS (International Congress of Asian and North African Studies) 10–15.09.2007, Ankara, Türkiye. Papers: Problems and Solutions of the Science of Literature*, ed. Zeki Dilek et al., 4 vols. (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, 2008), 2: 522, couplet 35.

33. See n. 101 below. The full rhyme in its usual form is

قدر زر زرگر شناسد، قدر گوهر گوهری

قدر گل بلبل شناسد، قدر قنبر راعلی

34. The word appears to be a misspelling of *zorkâr*.

35. The compound is thus vocalized, though the alternative reading *tāk revâkı* is perhaps likelier.

36. The sentence does not resume after the poetic interpolation and is therefore grammatically incomplete.

37. The couplets are taken from the second qasida (fol. 43b).

38. *Zamân* is erroneously marked with a *sükün*.

39. I have found no source for this couplet.

40. The dots of the *ye* have not been inscribed.

41. There is a curious curved stroke inscribed to the left of the *ve*. Though it appears neatly and deliberately calligraphed, it corresponds to no letter and is textually unnecessary.

42. In this one instance in the manuscript, the word *beyt* is written over rather than before the first line of the couplet.

*kıl / Tarîk-ı haḳka daḫi hem delâlet kıl*⁴³ mefhûmî üzere ‘azîz-i mesfûr câmi’-i [20a] mezkûrda ḥâzîrûn olan mü’minin⁴⁴ ü Müslimîne va’z u naşîhate ‘azîmet buyurular deyü fermân-ı sulṭân şudûr u zuhûr bulunca ‘azîz-i merḳûm daḫi fa’âl-i maṭbû’ ile va’z u naşîhate şürû’ idicek pâdişâh-ı Cem-câh daḫi ḥuzû’ u ḥuşû’ ile [20b] meclis ve va’za ḥâzîr ve ḥâzret-i ‘azîzüñ kelâm-ı şadâkat-encâmına ‘ayn-ı başıret ile nâzır olub kelâm-ı şerîf-i Rabbânî ve ḥadîs-i laṭîf-i maḥbûb-ı Yezdânî ‘alâ mâ emera’llâhü’l-Ḥabîrû’n-naşîr naḳl ü tefsîr idüb pâdişâh-ı ‘âlî-miḳdâr meclis-i va’zdan kemâl-i mertebe istifâ-yı [21a] ḥazḳ eyleyüp âḫîr olduḳda ‘azîz-i mezbûruñ du’â-ḥayrların istimdâd buyurduklarında ‘azîz-i mesfûr daḫi dest-i du’âyî hezâr tazarru’ u âyîn ile du’âyâ kaldurub ‘amme-i Müslimîn “Âmîn” diyüb bi-‘inâyeti’llâhi’l-Meliki’l-Mu’în du’âları icâbete qarîn olduḳdan-şoñra yine fermân-ı [21b] sulṭân bu minvâl üzere cereyân buldı ki câmi’-i mezbûrda ḥâzîr olan cümle vüzerâ vu ‘ulemâ vu şuleḫâ vu sâdât u fuḳarânuñ şaḡîr ü kebîrine zî-ḳıymet ḫil’atler iḥsân olına imtişâlen li’l-emri’l-celîl vezîr-i a’zam Ḥazret-i Ḥalîl Paşa’ya ol ḥînde *Beyt*: [22a] *Eylesün şâh-ı cihân lutfu kerem ol ḳulna / N’ola va’llâhi* [sic] *ide lâyık aña lutfu aṭâ*⁴⁵ muḳtażâsı üzere bir semmûr ḳablu ḫil’at-i fâḫîre ve ‘ale’t-tertib sayir vüzerâ-yı ‘izâm ve ‘ulemâ-yı zevî’l-iḥtirâm ve sayir erbâb-ı divân ve aşḫâb-ı erkân ve e’imme ve ḫuṭabâ [22b] ve şuleḫâ ve sâdât-ı⁴⁶ keşîretü’l-berekât daḫi ḫil’at-i sulṭânî iḥsânî ile behr-mend ü ber-murâd oldılar.

Pâdişâh-ı ‘âlî-vaḳâr câmi’-i ‘âlî-miḳdârlarına muttaşıl ḳasr-ı ‘izzet-ḳarârlarında ḳurulan taḫt-ı devlet-medârları üzere nüzûl ü cülûs buyurduklarında evvelâ dâ’iyân-ı [23a] devletden mazḫar-ı eltâf müfettiş-i evḳâf, sâniyâ re’îsü’l-mi’mârîn ve binâyâ emîn ve sayir ḫuddâm u mu’temedîn ve meşâyih-i ‘uzlet-güzîn ve iki imâm-ı seccâde-nişîn bunlaruñ cümlesine bile ḫil’at-i fâḫîreler iḥsân olunduḳdan-şoñra dest-bûs-ı sa’âdet-me’nûs-ı⁴⁷ [23b] sulṭânî ile müşerref olub devâm-ı devlet-i

pâdişâhiye du’âlar ve izdiyâd-ı ‘ömr ü ‘izzet-i şahinşâhiye senâlar eylediler.

Bundan şoñra pâdişâh-ı ‘izzet-maḳrûn ṭâḳ-ı ḥümâyûn-ı devlet-merhûn içinde ḳurılmış mücevher ü muraşsa’ ve envâ’-ı cevâhîrle mülemma’ [24a] taḫt-ı ‘âlî-baḫtları⁴⁸ üzere cülûs buyurduklarından-şoñra fermân-ı sulṭân-ı vâcibü’l-iz’ân şöyle cereyân eyledi-ki “Cümle vüzerâ vu ‘ulemâ vü ümerâ ve erbâb-ı divân ve aşḫâb-ı erkân dest-bûs-ı sa’âdet-me’nûsımî eslâf-ı eşrâf ‘İd-i şerîfde dest-bûs [24b] itdükleri gibi bûs ideler” deyü emr olunduḳda evvelâ naḳîbü’l-eşrâf, sâniyâ şehzâde-i cüvân-baḫtları ḫvâcesi dest-bûs idüb devlet-i pâdişâhiye du’âlar eyledüklerinden şoñra erbâb-ı divândan cümle ḳapucı başılar ve çâşnigîrler ve müteferriḳalar, *ba’dehu* ḫazret-i vezîr-i a’zam [25a] ve sayir vüzerâ-yı ‘izâm, *ba’dehu*⁴⁹ defterdârlar *ba’dehu*⁵⁰ müftî’l-enâm ḫazret-i şeyḫü’l-İslâm *ba’dehu* sayir ‘ulemâ-yı zevî’l-iḥtirâm ḳânûn-ı ḳadîm ve âyîn-i ‘azîm üzere ḫîdmet-i dest-bûs-ı sa’âdet-me’nûsı edâ vu tetmîm ḳılub devâm-ı ‘ömr ü devlet-i pâdişâhiye du’âlar ve ḳıyâm-ı ‘izz ü sa’âdet-i [25b] şehinşâhiye senâlar eylediler.

Ba’dehu sulṭân-ı ‘âlî-himmet iki şehzâde-i cüvân-baḫtlarıyla yine devlet ile sarây-ı ‘izzetlerine ric’at ü ‘avdet buyurduklarında ke’l-evvel cümle vüzerâ vu ümerâ ve erkân-ı divân yine öñine düşüb sarây-ı ḳuds-âşiyânlarına vâsıl u dâḫil olduklarından-şoñra [26a] nâzır-ı müşârûn ileyh—lâ zâle müşâren ileyh—ḫazretlerine ber-muḳtażâ-yı fermân-ı sulṭân nezâret-i ḫasbiyyeleri ḫasebiyle ve câmi’-i şerîfde itdükleri ḫîdmet muḳabelesinde bir muraşsa’ ḳılıc ve bir muraşsa’ ḫancer ve iki semmûr ḳaplu ḫil’at ve üç sâde ḫil’at-i fâḫîre ve bir kîse kâmilü’l-‘ayâr [26b] sikke-i ḫasene ve beş kîse ḡuruş ve bîḫadd çil aḳçe iḥsân u in’âm buyurub bîḫadd ü bî-şümâr mazḫar-ı enzâr-ı ‘aliyyeleri olduḳdan-şoñra on-beş nefer ḳullarına kimine çavuşluk ve kimine müteferriḳelik⁵¹ ve kimine sipâh u bevvalıḳ iḥsân buyurduklarından şoñra câmi’-i mezbûrda ḫîdmet iden [27a] ḫuddâmuñ daḫi her birlerine ḫil’at-i fâḫîreler iḥsân

43. I have found no source for this couplet.

44. The *hemze* has not been inscribed.

45. The couplet is taken from the second *qasida* (fol. 44b), where it is used in relation to Mustafa Agha rather than Halil Pasha. The spelling of *va’llâhi* with a final *ye* is an error that does not occur in the *qasida* version.

46. *Sâdât* is erroneously marked with a *sükûn*.

47. *Me’nûs* has been written without its *hemze*, a mistake that occurs again on fol. 25a but not on fol. 24a.

48. Besides the scribe’s customary misspelling of *taḫt* (see n. 12 above), neither the *ḫu* nor the *te* of *baḫt* is dotted.

49. The word is barely visible and seems merged with a gold rosette.

50. Unlike the others in the list, this *ba’dehu* is not written in gold.

51. Although the usual transliteration is *müteferriḳa*, the spelling of the suffix with a *kef* indicates a thinning of all the preceding vowels.

olunduktan-şoñra kimine müteferrikelik ve kimine çavuşluk ve kimine bevvalı⁵² ihsân u şadağa olunmuşdur. Haqq sübhānehü ve te‘ālā hazretleri pādīşāh-ı kāmgar hazretlerinin vücūd-i ‘izzet-ālūdların haṭā u haṭarlarından maşūn u maḥfūz eyleye, āmin yā Mu‘īn. [27b]

Günden aḫhar u enver belki bu mertebe ihsānuñ ‘uşr-ı ‘āşiri olmaduğı emr-i muḫaḫkaḫ u muḫarrer olduğundan mā‘adā kalem-i şikeste-zebān ile terḫīm ü taḫrīr belki lisān-ı faşihūl-beyān ile taḫrīr ü ta‘bīr emr-i muḫāl olub günden ‘ayān u beyān idüğü erbāb-ı ‘uḫūl u fuḫūle nümāyāndur. [28a] Ve cāmi‘-i şerifūñ maşārifine ḫarc u şarf olunan aḫçe cümle nāzır-ı müşārün ileyh hazretleri sultān-ı ‘aliyü‘z-zātuñ emr-i şerifleri ile nezāret-i ‘aliyyeleri hasebiyle taḫşil eyledükleri aḫçe olub min-ba‘d ḫazīne-i ‘āmireden bir aḫçe ve bir ḫabbe maşārif-i cāmi‘-i şerife ḫarc u şarf [...?] [28b] bi-ḫürmeti’s-Seyyidi’l-Mürselin *Beyt*: “Sa‘y ü küşşler idüb pādīşehūñ cāmi‘ine / Cān u başıyla çalışdı dimedi şubḫ u mesā”⁵⁴ mazmūnı üzre ḫaḫḫā ki nāzır-ı müşārün ileyh hazretlerinin cāmi‘-i şerifde eyledüğü ḫidmeti bir ḫul efendisine itmedüğü ma‘lūm-ı cumḫūr idüğü beyne’n-nās mefhūm u meşḫūrdur. [28.1a]⁵⁵ Lākin sultān-ı ‘ālīşān hazretlerinin daḫi nāzır-ı mūmā ileyh hazretlerine ber-müceb-i emr-i sultānī nezāret-i ‘aliyyeleri hasebiyle ve cāmi‘-i merḫūmda itdükleri ḫidmet muḫābelesinde itdükleri ihsān-ı firāvān ve eltāf-ı

bī-pāyānī selāṭīn-i māziyeden biri bir ḫulna itmedüğü [28.1b] olunmamışdur.⁵⁶ Haḫḫā ki bir ḫidmet yā istikāmetdür ki muḫābele-i ḫidmetlerinde mazḫar-ı eltāf-ı pādīşāh-ı kāmgar olsalar⁵⁷ ve o cāmi‘-i şerife istikāmet ile itdükleri ḫidmet ve pādīşāh-ı ‘ālempenāḫ hazretleri muḫābelesinde itdükleri ḫayr du‘ā berekātuyla ‘inda’llāhi’l-Meliki’l-Celil nāyil-i ecr-ı cezil olub [29a] yerleri dārūl-cinān olsa lāyık u sezādur. ḫūdā-yı Meliki aḫder müyessir ü muḫaddir eyleyüb pādīşāh-ı ‘ālempenāḫ hazretlerinin daḫi ‘ömr ü devletlerin yevmen fe-yevmā ezyed ü evfer ü ekşer eyleye, āmin yā Mu‘īn bi-ḫürmeti Muḫammedi’l-Emīn. Haḫḫā ki ol gün bir yevm-i ‘īd ve rüz-ı sa‘īd idi-ki [29b] ḫaḫḫ-ı ‘ālem ol gün günāgün ḫil‘at-i fāḫire ile şöyle müzeyyen ü muḫallā olmuşlaridi-ki felek-i a’lāda olan ḫalā’ik-ı ‘arş-ı āşiyān⁵⁸ ve cennet-i mu‘allāda olan ḫūrī vü ḫilmān sürür u ḫubūrundan raḫş-künān oldılar. Ve pādīşāh-ı zevi’l-iktidāruñ ḫaḫḫ-ı cihāna olan ihsān-ı [30a] bī-imtinānından şermsār-ı ‘araḫrızān olmuşlardur.

Bundan mā‘adā ol gün seyr-i sultāna nāzır ve ol meclisde ḫāzır olan elçiyān bī-āmān maḫarr-ı şeyṭān ve mazḫar-ı ‘iṣyān olan ḫalb-ḫasāvet-nişānlarında zerre eşer-i imān nümāyān deḫül iken [30b] ol sultān-ı keşirūl-ihsānuñ ḫaḫḫ-ı cihāna itdüğü ihsān-ı bī-imtinānın ve fi sebili’llāhi ḫayrāt u ḫasenātın ve dīn-i Muḫammedi yolında olan sa‘y ü küşş ü pūyānın gördüklerinde bī-şümār bī-iḫtiyār niçe küffār İslām’a gelüb şeref-i İslām ile müşerref [31a] ve ihsān-ı pādīşāhi ile müşennef oldılar. Bāḫi küffār-ı bedgirdār daḫi sultān-ı kāmgar-ı ‘ālīmīḫdāruñ devām-ı ‘ömr ü devlet ve taḫt-ı ‘izzetde ḫarār u şebātına bī-iḫtiyār du‘ā-yı bī-şümār idüb dīn-i Muḫammedide olan ‘izzet ü şevketi ve pādīşāh-ı İslām’da [31b] olan ḫuvvet ü ḫudreti kemā ḫüve ḫaḫḫuḫu taşdıḫ ve āyīn-i bātıllarında olan nikbet ü naḫimeti taḫḫīḫ bilüb—eger elçi-i Kızılbaş-ı bed-ma‘āş eger Venedik [ü] Fireng ü Felemenk ü Efrenc bir rençdür—cümlesi ḫā’ib ü ḫāsir-i sernigün-ı melül ü maḫzūn olub her biri maḫām-ı nikbet-encāmılarına [32a] pūyān oldılar.

52. The initial *be* is not dotted.

53. The sentence as written is incomplete and requires a word such as *olunmamışdur*, which, curiously, occurs in the corresponding position of the next folio, where it sits rather uncomfortably in the text (see n. 56 below). This apparent omission or transposition is probably the result of scribal error, though it is also possible that there is a lacuna of two facing pages in the photocopy following fol. 28a. None of the folio numbers between 28 and 32 can be clearly read, and to complicate matters further, it is at this point in the manuscript that the foliation falls out of sequence (see n. 55 below). If the photocopy does indeed skip a two-page opening, then the manuscript contains two unnumbered (or misnumbered) folios between 28a and 32a, and not just one as I have indicated in my own numbering.

54. The couplet is from the second qasida (fol. 41b).

55. The photocopy shows no discernable folio number, and although we would expect it to be 29, I have assigned this figure instead to the next folio, whose partially legible number clearly starts with a 2. Indeed, later folios with legible numbers prove that a leaf between folios 28 and 32 has accidentally been passed over in the sequence, and so the present folio is here reckoned as 28.1. See also n. 53 above.

56. The word *olunmamışdur* follows on strangely from *itmedüğü*, resulting in an unusual double negative. See also n. 53 above.

57. A second *re* is erroneously written at the end of the word.

58. The *izāfet* is indicated with a *kesre*, but the compound should be *‘arş-āşiyān*.

Pes halk-ı cihân sultân-ı ‘alîşānuñ ol gün vüzerâ vu ümerâya iltifâtını ve ‘ulemâ vu şulehâya kemâl-i mertebeyi ü muhâbbetini ve hayrât u hasenâta rağbetini ve re‘âyâ vu berâyâya merhamet ü şefkatini göricek bî-ihtiyâr devâm-ı devlet-i [32b] pâdişâhiye du‘âlar ve kıyâm-ı izz ü sa‘âdet-i şehinşâhiye senâlar idüb du‘â-ı Müslimîne felek-i a‘lâda erâ‘ik-nişîn⁵⁹ olan cümle melâ‘ik “Âmîn” diyüb inşâ‘a‘llâhü’l-Melikü’l-Mu‘în du‘â-yı ‘izzet-żımnîleri icâbete karîn olmuşdur.

Ba‘dehu sene-i mezbûre⁶⁰ [33a] mâh-ı Şa‘bân’ınuñ on-altıncı günü—ki yevmü’l-Cum‘a’dur—pâdişâh-ı ‘âlempenâh hazretleri câmi‘-i şerîf fetḥ ve edâ‘-i şalât-ı Cum‘a murâd buyurduklarında yine ol ‘aşruñ kuṭbı olan kıdvetü’l-muḥakkıķın, ‘umdetü’l-müdekkıķın, kuṭb-ı zamân, kuds-i âşiyân Hazret-i Maḥmûd Efendi‘i câmi‘-i mezbûrda vâ‘iz [33b] olub ve “Huṭbe-i şerîfeyi daḥi ibtidâ kırâ‘at idesiz” diyü⁶¹ emir buyurduklarında Hazret-i Maḥmûd Efendi⁶² daḥi imtişâl-i emr-i ‘âlî idüb ibtidâ câmi‘-i mezbûrda huṭbe-i şerîfeyi anlar okıyub ba‘dehu câmi‘-i mesfûrda va‘z ü naşîhat eylediler.

Bundan-şoñra yine pâdişâh-ı ‘âlempenâh hazretleri [34a] muḳaddemâ câmi‘-i şerîfün kübbesi bağlandıķda ‘ulemâ-yı kibâruñ cümlesine in‘âm u ihsân buyurub şıġârına daḥi şadaķa vu ihsân murâd buyurduklarında sūr-ı hümayûnda fermân olacaķ⁶³ nevbet-i بركتی⁶⁴ câmi‘-i mezbûrda ibtidâ fetḥ olub Cum‘a namâzı edâ [34b] olunduġı gün fermân buyurub ‘amme-i ‘ulemâ-yı şıġârı daḥi bu tarîķ ile behr-mend ü ber-murâd ve dil-i vîrânların şâd buyurdılar.

*Pâdişâh-ı ‘âlempenâh hazretleriniñ câmi‘-i şerîfleri tamâmına dinilüb virilen kaşîde ma‘a‘t-târîhdür.*⁶⁵

[35a] Şehâ ḥamd ü senâ olsun aña kim oldurur Mevlâ Anuñdur luṭfile ihsân anuñdur men‘ile i‘tâ

İdüñ Sulṭân-ı Kevnîn’ün mücellâ rûḥ-ı pâkine Daḥi aşḥâb u âline şalâtile selâm ihdâ

Eyâ Sulṭân-ı deryâdil çü olduñ muḳtedâ aña Cihânda eyledüñ ḥaḳķâ şerî‘at ḥükmîni icrâ

Muḳîm ol ‘izz ü şevketle serîr-i salṭanat üzre [35b] Göñül ḥoşluķların kılsun müyesser Hazret-i Mevlâ

Şehâ sensin bu devr içre çü şimdi câmi‘ü’l-ḥayrât ‘İmâret eyledüñ ḥaḳķâ müzeyyen câmi‘-i zîbâ

Ḥuşûşâ⁶⁶ Beyt-i Ma‘mûr’ı eger şehri Resûl’llâh Mu‘ammer muḥterem oldı zamânuñda olub ihyâ

Ola maḳbûl ḥayrâtuñ ḥuzur-ı Hazret-i Ḥaḳķ’da Ki oldı câmi‘-i ra’nâñ cihânda Cennetü’l-Me’vâ

[36a] Zehî bir ma‘bed-i ‘âlî bulunmaz mişli mânendi Ki-oldı ehl-i ṭâ‘âta muşaffâ menba‘-ı taḳvâ

Olubdur sâlimüñ⁶⁷ ḥaḳķa bu câmi‘ Mescid-i Akşâ Fakîr olanlara daḥi olubdur Ka‘be-i ‘Ulyâ⁶⁸

Muraşşa‘ câmlarla bir ‘aceb-i şâhâne câmi‘dür Müyesser olmadı⁶⁹ bir şâha böyle câmi‘-i ra’nâ

59. The *re* appears mistakenly dotted.

60. The word was originally (and unnecessarily) suffixed with a *-de*, which has been scraped away to a faint vestige.

61. Unusually spelled ديو.

62. The words *Maḥmûd Efendi* appear latterly added by the scribe, who has here written them in miniscule superscript.

63. As pointed out to me by Edhem Eldem, the word was probably supposed to be *olcaķ*, equivalent to modern *olunca*.

64. While perfectly legible, this (compound) word, which is written without vocalization, corresponds to nothing I have found in the dictionaries. Edhem Eldem suggested to me that it is a misspelling of *pür-giti*, with the meaning of “full of fortune,” though it would be unusual for *giti* to form the first element of a compound. Regardless of how the word should be read, its intended meaning is surely close to that proposed by Professor Eldem.

65. The qasida overlaps in multiple ways with an encomium on the Hagia Sophia that forms part of Taşlıcalı Yahya’s sixteenth-century poem *Şâh ü gedâ* (see Levend, *Türk Edebiyatında Şehr-engizler*, 102–4; and nn. 14, 68, and 70 of the present appendix), and it was almost certainly composed with reference to this earlier work.

66. The dot of the *hu* has accidentally been omitted.

67. The vocalization indicates the irregular (though more modern) pronunciation *sâlimiñ*.

68. The same claim is made for the Hagia Sophia in Taşlıcalı Yahya’s description of that building: see n. 65 above and Levend, *Türk Edebiyatında Şehr-engizler*, 103.

69. The medial *elif* appears to be merged with a superfluous *dâl*, which was presumably written over as a correction.

Leṭāfetde hemān bir serv-i sīm-endāma dönmişdür
[36b] Der ü dīvānı zeyn olmuş mücellā mermer-i zibā

Olubdur gülşen-i cennet yeşil mermer direklerle
Kim anuñ her sütünü oldı şanasın bir serv-i bāla

İçinde var sütünü ağırı altun diğēr [sic]⁷⁰ anuñ
Ṭoludur içi ve taşu summākī mermer-i ra'nā

Velī mir'āt-ı İskender olubdur cām-ı billūn
Yanan kandillerin yer yer gören direnir kes şehlā

[37a] Gelüb ol hālet-i vecde kemerler eyledi secde
Müdevver kubbey-i a'zam şedef içredür yektā

İder mihrābına 'ālem 'ibādet Ka'be-veş anuñ
Teveccüh itmeyince aña şahih olmaz şalāt aślā

'Aceb bir serv-i ra'nādur çeküb kaddin çenār-āsā
Münakkaş minberin güyā şanursın sidre-i 'alā

Maķāmuñ cāmī' içre şöyle 'ālī ma'bed olmuş kim
[37b] Hemān bir kaşr-i zibādūr içinde cennetüñ güyā

Muraşşā' tob u kandiller kōnuluş anda yer yer kim
Kamaş gözleri halkuñ bakılmaz āfitāb-āsā

Mu'allā maḥfilin gör kim okıyan hūb⁷¹ hāfızlar
Velī dürr-i yetimlerdür içine almış şedef-āsā

'Aceb ol kubbey-i beyzā müşābih dürr-i yektāya
Dimişler aña "Şādırvān⁷² revān ol selsebil-āsā"

70. دِیْجَر. The only standard word to which this corresponds is *diker*, but this is clearly not the intended reading. We are dealing instead with a variant or erroneous spelling of *değēr* (دِیْجَر), as proved by the occurrence of the expression *ağırı altun değēr* in other poetic works: see Cemāl Kurnaz, *Divan Edebiyatı Yazıları* (Ankara: Akçağ, 1997), 215; and Vildan Serdaroglu, *Sosyal Hayat Işığında Zâtî Divanı* (İstanbul: İSAM Yayınları, 2006), 146. The couplet as a whole is very similar to one describing the Hagia Sophia by Taşlıcalı Yahya (see n. 65 above): *Vardur anda nice summākī sütün / Kıymeti oldı ağırı altun* (Levend, *Türk Edebiyatında Şehr-engizler*, 103).

71. The dot of the *hu* has accidentally been omitted.

72. There appears to be a *fetha* over the *dāl*, but this is probably a slip of the pen, as I have not found the form *şādervān* attested elsewhere.

[38a] Şanasın ravza-ı cennet içinde ol sākī-i Kevşer
İder āb-ı zülālinden kāmı 'atşānı ol isķā

Aķan āb-ı zülālī şan nesīm-i 'ıtr-ı pākī hem
Şafā-yı çeşme-i Kevşer havā-yı Cennetü'l-Me'vā

Du'ā eyler el açub şeş menāre devlet-i şāha
Daḥi beş vakt için eyler kāmı mü'minlere inbā

Oķunsun dār-ı kurrāda niçe yıl āyet-i Raḥmān
[38b] Odur ta'lim-i Qur'an'a cihānda mevzi'-i karrā

Daḥi dārü'l-ḥadişüñde ahādīs naķl olunduķca
Nıcarından olur ol rüh-ı pāk-i Muştafā ihyā

Dinüldi medreseñ içre 'ulüm-ı 'āliyye dersi
Muḥaşşal eyledüñ ḥaķķā ṭarīķ-i 'ilmi sen ihyā

Hezārān mürdeler dārü'ş-şifāda tāze cān buldı
Cihānda eyledüñ āb-ı ḥayāt aḥkāmı icrā

[39a] Tamāmın Ḥaķķ mübārek eylesün Ḥān Aḥmed'e
dāyim

Yapılsun devr-i 'adlinde bunuñ gibi niçe meşvā

Muḥaşşal bir eşer kōdı cihānda Ḥān Aḥmed kim
Hezārān devr ide eflāk nazīri olmaya peydā

Recāmız budur Ḥaķķ'dan o sultān-ı cihān-bānuñ
İde tā ḥaşre dek bākī kāmı ḥayrātını ibķā

Velī fermān-ı sultānla aña nāzır olan ağa
Şadāķatle emānetle nezāret eyledi ḥaķķā⁷³

[39b] Müfettiş gel dirāz itme du'āya başla sultāna
İdegör 'ömrüñ olduķca du'ā-yı devletin icrā

Hüdā 'ömrin mezīd itsün ki olsun ḥıfz u āmānda
Serīr-i 'izz ü devletde günü gündēn ola a'lā

Tamām-ı cāmī'in gördüm çü Sultān Aḥmed'üñ oldum
Didüm tāriḥ te'āla'llāh zehī bir cāmī'-i a'lā

73. It seems the scribe initially omitted this line in error, as it is written in the lower margin, giving the page eight lines instead of the usual seven.

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[40a] *Nâzır-ı câmi'-i şerîf Dârü's-Sa'âdetü's- şerife ağası el-Ĥâc Muştâfâ Ağa hazretlerine câmi'-i sultân itmâmında virilen kaşidedür:*

Evvelâ hamd ü şenâ Ĥalîk-ı bîçüna sezâ
Oldurur cümlemüze eyleyen eltâf u 'atâ

Şaniyâ ola şalât Aĥmed-i Muĥtâr'a kim ol
Cümle 'âşîye şefî' olsa gerek rûz-ı cezâ

Şalîsâ ola selâm âline aşĥâbına kim
[40b] Gitdiler emr-i şerîf üzre tütub râh-ı hüda

Ba'de'zân Ĥazret-i Sultân-ı Cihân Aĥmed Ĥân
Ya'nî kim tütüdi şerî'at yolını buldı beĥâ

Diseler lâyıĥ aña câmi'-i ĥayrât-ı 'âlem
Ki-eyledi rûy-ı zemîn-de niçe ĥayrât ihyâ

Cümleden eyledi bir câmi'-i lâmi' ĥaĥĥâ
Vaşf u taşvîrin anuñ itmedi kimse peydâ

[41a] Şol-ĥadar zînet ü fer virdi nuĥûş-ı ezhâr
Oldı her bir ĥarafı gûşe-i cennet-âsâ

Ĥaĥĥ budur böylece bir câmi'-i zibâ-yı laĥîf
Görmedi vâĥı'asında ne Cem ü ne Dârâ

Ger anuñ ĥalk-ı cihân olsa eger vaşşâfi
Diyeler ĥâbil-i ta'bîr deĥûl ĥaĥĥ-ı edâ

Niçün olmaya muşanna' daĥi mevzûn câmi'î?
[41b] Aña nâzır ola ol şâĥib-i tedbîr aĥâ

Eyledi ĥasbî nezâret idüben sa'y-i cemîl
İstikâmetle işin başa ĥıkardı ĥaĥĥâ

Sa'y ü küşîşler idüb pâdişehüñ câmi'ine
Cân u başıyla ĥalışdı dimedi şubĥ u mesâ

Niyyet-i ĥâşşına şâhid-i 'âdildür kim
Cümle müşküllerini eyledi ĥall Bâr-Ĥüdâ

[42a] Dünyevî vü uĥrevî ol şâĥib-i luĥf u keremüñ
Eyledi Ĥazret-i Ĥaĥĥ cümle murâdını edâ

Luĥf idüb Ĥazret-i Ĥaĥĥ ĥıldı tamâmın tevĥîĥ
Baĥladı ĥubbe-i 'ulyâsını şükren sa'yâ⁷⁴

Çün tamâm eyledi ol pâdişehüñ câmi'ini
Eyledi da'vet idüb da'vetini ĥıldı revâ

Didi-kim "Pâdişehüm 'izzet ü ikrâmla buyur
[42b] İdiñiz farz u nevâfilî [*sic*]⁷⁵ be-gün anda edâ"

Çıĥdı devletle sarâyından o dem şâh-ı cihân
Töĥdi ĥ^vurşid- mişâl virdi cihân içre ziyâ

Eyledi câmi'ine çünki teveccüh sultân
Çekdi Düldül-şifat ol esbi hemân ol-dem aĥâ

Gerçi-kim esb idi zâhirde velî ma'nâda ol
Dürr ü yâĥütla elmâsdan olupdur peydâ

[43a] Şol-ĥadar cevhere ĥarĥ olmışdı şa'şâ'sı
Gün gibi berĥ urub ol 'âleme virmişdi ziyâ

Ĥaĥĥ budur böylece bir raĥt-ı muraşşa' el-ân
İtmedi kimse cihân içre anı itdi aĥâ

Çün süvâr oldı o dem⁷⁶ devletle şâh-ı cihân
Öñine düşdi anuñ cümle vezîr ü ümerâ

Ĥarem-i muĥtereminden o şehüñ câmi'e dek
[43b] Döşendi⁷⁷ yollarını cümle serâser dîbâ

Eyledi sîm ü zeri yollarına daĥi nişâr
Büy-ı luĥfından anuñ buldı ĥanâ cümle gedâ

Geldi devletle o şeh câmi'ine vaĥt-i seĥer
Cümle ĥulları o dem alĥış idüb itdi du'â

74. Though the final word is provided with nunation, which would ordinarily give the pronunciation *sa'yen*, the rhyme dictates the pausal reading. The subject of the couplet shifts from God to Mustafa Ağa.

75. *Nevâfil* is a misspelling of *nevâfil*.

76. The phrase *o dem* has been added in small script over *oldi*.

77. See n. 21 above.

Didiler “Pādişehüm ola mübārek cāmī’
İdesin biñ yıl içinde n’ola beş vaqti edā

[44a] “Eyleye Hāzret-i Hāḡḡ cümle murāduñ ḡaşıl
Yapasın ‘izzetile niçe bunuñ gibi binā

“Ola dergāh-ı Hüdā’da n’ola maḡbül ḡayruñ
Göresin iki cihān içre Şehā ḡayr cezā”

Didiler “Nāzır olan şāḡīb-i luḡf u keremüñ
Nice vaşfın idelüm her ne diseḡ sehv ü ḡaḡā

“Hele fi’l-cümle anuñ medḡin ‘ayān eyleyelüm
[44b] Gelmedi ‘āleme bir böyle kerim merd-i saḡā

“Hāḡḡ budur⁷⁸ eylemedi kimse efendi yolına
Cān u başıyla bu itdi nesi varise fedā

“Eylesün şāḡ-ı cihān luḡf u kerem ol ḡulına
N’ola va’llāhi ide lāyḡḡ aña luḡf u ‘aḡā”⁷⁹

Görüb āşārını ol pādişeh-i rüy-ı zemīn
Virdi ḡil’atler aña eyledi hem ḡayr du’ā

[45a] Sa’y-i meşḡūrını gördükde didi luḡf idüben
“Berḡvordār ol, olasın mazḡhar-ı elḡāf-ı Hüdā

“Sa’y idüb cāmī’imüñ ḡizmetini ḡıldıñ edā
Vire dünyāda ve ‘uḡbāda murāduñ Mevlā”

“Ulemā vu şuleḡā ḡaldurub el itdi du’ā
“Yazıyla defter-i a’mālüñe ecren ḡasenā”⁸⁰

“ḡıla ol Bār-ı Hüdā⁸¹ cümle murāduñ ḡaşıl
[45b] Virmeye cism-i laḡīfūñe ebeden zerre-i ḡaḡā

“Nitekim zāt-ı şerīfūñ ola şıḡḡhatle ḡarīn
Olasın şadr-ı sa’ādetde muḡḡimen ebedā”⁸²

78. The word has been superscribed.

79. It is not entirely clear when the voice switches from that of the petitioning public to that of the poet; I have taken the end of this couplet as a likely juncture.

80. The nunated pronunciation would be *ḡasenen*; see n. 74 above.

81. Though unnecessary (the usual compound is *Bār-Hüdā*), the *izāfet* is indicated with a *kesre*.

82. The nunated pronunciation would be *ebeden*; see n. 74 above. As mentioned in the main text of the present article,

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[ob]⁸⁴ Boundless high praise and endless best thanks to the court of that Knower of secrets and mysteries and Commender of saints and good men, the Omnipotent Creator and Beneficent Nourisher [God], may His glory be exalted and His favor spread! [1a] It is deserving and

the final folios of the manuscript are inscribed with a religious tract that is unrelated to (and written in a far rougher hand than) the *Tarih*. Its subject is the sinfulness of working on Fridays, a topic perhaps inspired by the *Tarih*'s pietistic eulogizing of the mosque. The language used is archaic, which suggests that the tract was written not long after the manuscript's original date of production. What follows is a transliteration of this text, the remainder of which is cut off in the photocopy but presumably ends on fol. 47b. Because of the tract's tangential nature, I have not provided a translation of it. [46a] *Rivāyetdür: Peyḡamberde [sic]—şalla’llāhü ‘aleyhi ve sellem—şordalar cem’ günü iş işleyenüñ ‘azābı nār didiler. Resül ḡazret buyurdu-kim Allāhü te’ālā va’de eyledi cem’ günü iş eyleyen-de on-iki dürlü ‘azābı vārid. Üci dünyāda ve āḡretde ve üci āḡretde ve üci kıyāmetde. Evvel üc-kim dünyādadur evveli gibidür. Ya’nī ḡazandıḡı ḡarāmdur murdārdur olmuş gibidür. İkinci ol ḡazandıḡı aḡçeden yirse Allāhü te’ālā namāzın ḡabül eylemez mādāmki ol ḡāām ḡarındadır. Ücinci Peyḡamber—‘aleyhi’s-selām—ḡadışine buyurdu: İzā belise şevben min kesbi yevmi’l-Cum’a lā yaḡbelu’llāhü minḡü ve lā ‘adlā/‘adülā; ya’nī cem’ gün ḡazansa [46b] ol aḡçē’i ḡaftana virse daḡı ol ḡaftanı ḡıyse cem’iye varsa Allāhü te’ālā ḡıç bir vechile ḡabül eylemez. Ammā ol üc-kim ölümlü vāḡtindedür evveli āḡrete imānsız gide ölümi sarḡoşluḡıla şeyḡān üzerine ḡālib ola ikinci ‘Azrā’il cānını almaḡda ḡaḡmaḡıla ala ve ol üc-kim ḡabirdedür Münker ü Nekir su’āli ḡışmıle [sic] şora ikincisini şöyle ḡazā kim saḡ eyḡüsü şol eyḡüsine geḡe ücincisini ḡurr ḡülüda ola ve ol üc-kim āḡrettedür evveli oldur kim ḡürnda ḡopduḡı vāḡtin ḡāfir ile ḡoñuz şüretine ḡopa ikinci ḡesāb olmadın Cehenneme gide [47a] ücinci Allāhü te’ālā ḡışmına [sic] uḡraya Hāzret-i ‘Alī—radīya’llāhü ‘anh—rivāyet ider her kim cem’ günü iş işleye münāḡıḡdur mel’undur. Ol Tangrı ḡaḡḡıyçün kim benüm neḡsüm anuñ ḡudret elindedür cem’ günü iş işlene [sic] kıyāmet gününde benüm şefā’atüm bulmaya ben aña şefā’at itmeyem ve daḡı buyurdu her kim cem’ günü iş işleye ol ḡışi-kim benüm ümmetüm deḡüldür zirā ki cem’ günü şerīḡ gündür. Dünyā ‘amelini terk itmek gereḡdür ve daḡı şol Ādem oḡlunu ki cem’ günü bir şekāvet iş işlese ol beni evde yuḡmuş gibidür her kim beni evde yuḡsa cehennem [...]*

83. See n. 1 above.

84. See n. 2 above.

worthy of mention that He created the whole cosmos—wondrous of composition—and all the universe—marvelous of disposition—by His favorable and perfect command and His influential and complete might, and—without break or defect—by His matchless and peerless sublime dictate. Above all, He engendered the Sons of Adam by His pleasant will [1b] and consummate wisdom, in a manner most beautiful, and He rendered the bestowing of foundations and alms by the pious rich upon the poor and destitute a means by which to enter the highest heavens, wherein, at the stations of His dominion, the otherworldly minds of those excellent in life came to halt and be dazzled, and where, among the manifestations of His heavenly kingdom, those who became cognizant of even one modicum of [5a]⁸⁵ His mysteries were left bewildered and amazed. We praise Him for the abundance of His pure favor, admitting [our] weakness and shortcoming, and we thank Him for the amplitude of his excellent kindnesses, scooping them up from the ocean of his glorious world.

And limitless prayers and endless salutations be upon that Messenger of the two races [humankind and the jinn], that mercy of the [5b] world, that mine of truth and peace, that ocean of constant munificence, by which I mean His Majesty [the Prophet] Muhammad Mustafa, who is the cause of the creation of both worlds and the reason for the advent of the Sons of Adam, and in whose noble honor the Lord—may He be glorified and exalted—said, “But for you, but for you, I would not have created the cosmos.”

[6a] And countless blessings be upon the souls of those Four Illustrious Companions, who are the eminent disciples of Ahmad⁸⁶ the Chosen One [Muhammad] and the noble saints of God the Protector, may God Almighty be pleased with them all. *Stanza:* The four walls of the palace of the Religion of Ahmad, the Four Companions, / [6b] To wit those named Abu Bakr, Omar, Uthman, and Ali; / May He render their souls happy in Heaven, / He Who is the Merciful, the Munificent, the Omnipotent and All-Forgiving.⁸⁷

85. See n. 6 above.

86. It was fortunate for Sultan Ahmed that he shared one of the Prophet's names, an overlap that adds to the resonance of the text.

87. See n. 9 above.

Next: [Blessings be upon] that king of the kings of the world, that heroic vanquisher of mortals, that protector of Muslims and Monotheists and slayer of pagans and heretics, that possessor of wise viziers [7a] and benefactor of army-holding commanders, that patron of scholars and luminaries and succor of the righteous and the needy, that favorer of the most blessed lords of mankind [the descendants of the Prophet], the Shadow of God and the caliph of the world and of the age, by which I mean *Sultan Ahmed Khan*, son of Sultan Mehmed Khan, may God Almighty [7b] eternize his rule and perpetuate his sultanate till the revolutions [of the ages] cease and time ends, if God the All-Merciful thus wills. *Couplets:* O God, make this young emperor / Happy in the garden of life. // Make Khidr and Elijah on sea and land / Time and again his companions.⁸⁸ // Make his progeny on kingship's throne / [2a] Firm till the Day of Judgment. // Make his army ever victorious / And his enemy abject and low. // And no prayer can be better than this, O God: / Make him ever-present on the throne of justice.⁸⁹

Next: On the face of the earth and in the highest heaven,⁹⁰ in the exalted and well-protected capital Constantinople—may it never cease to be filled with the favors of the Lord of Creation—did His Majesty Sultan *Ahmed Khan*—may God perpetuate his reign till Judgment Day—[2b] initiate the building [of a mosque]⁹¹ in a gladdening and heartening place known as the pleasure-rich Hippodrome on the eighth day of the noble month of Shawwal of [the year] 1018 [January 3, 1610];⁹² [3a] and he appointed as superintendent [*nāẓir*] over the building of this aforesaid mosque the then and present honorable and prosperous chief eunuch of the es-

88. Regarded as immortal prophets, Khidr and Elijah (Ilyas) feature prominently in Islamic (and especially Sufi) lore. They are sometimes identified with one another but more usually considered a saintly pair: Khidr accompanies and helps those traveling by sea, Elijah those by land. See P. N. Boratav, “*Khidr-Ilyās*,” and A. J. Wensinck, “*al-Khādir (al-Khidr)*,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1954–2002).

89. See n. 13 above.

90. It is unclear whether this evocation of a heavenly status refers to Istanbul in general or Ahmed's mosque in particular. Either reading seems plausible, and I have kept my translation suitably open-ended.

91. See n. 18 above.

92. This is the date on which the first stones of the qibla wall were laid, as discussed in the main text of this article.

teemed imperial harem and graceful royal palace, the toast of possessors of honor and dignity, the trustee of kings and sultans, friend [3b] to exalted imperial majesty and companion to highest eternal prosperity, superintendent of the pious foundations of the Two Holy Places [Mecca and Medina], that is to say, him who is elevated among the two races, His Excellency *Hajji Mustafa Agha*, may the Lord God preserve him. [4a] Thereafter, on the fourth day of Jumada II of the year 1026 [June 8, 1617]—which was a Thursday—the completion of the light-filled mosque was facilitated and ensured by the aid of the Lord God Almighty, in keeping with the trustworthy hadith “God gives His blessings on Saturday and Thursday.”⁹³ And several days before it came time to close the exalted dome, [4b] His Excellency the aforesaid superintendent—long may he live—was ordered to set up a place for the sultan of the seven climes in the mosque’s honorable courtyard, whereupon the faithful superintendent, in accordance with the imperial command, pitched that heavenly tent [8a]—whose azure cupola reached the sky and whose golden finial shone upon the world—in that graceful and noble location, as befitting Ottoman law and imperial custom; and he had curtains of cloth of gold and silver hung all around it, completing the imperial tent as well as one could wish. [8b] Thereafter, in fulfilment of the sultan’s decree and because of his selfless supervision, the aforesaid superintendent—long may he live—from dawn to late morning lined both sides of the sultanic road—[9a] from the gate of the privy chamber of the imperial palace to the exalted tent that had been erected at the noble mosque—with variegated cloths of gold and silver and

tricolor silk, with diverse fabrics and brocades of iridescent beauty, in keeping with the *couplet* “From his honored harem to that emperor’s mosque / Did he line all his path with brocades gold and silver”;⁹⁴ [9b] and, in accordance with custom and decorum, [these cloths] were held by several hundred [palace] doorkeepers. And as the people of the world awaited the noble arrival of the illustrious sultan—may the All-Bounteous King [God] preserve him—[10a] His Excellency the aforesaid superintendent—long may he live—[equipped a horse] with bejeweled trappings and an encrusted saddle, a gilt brassard and bridle, an unmatched horsecloth, a crystal mace, and bejeweled stirrups to host the feet; in short, he saddled a most noble steed—fast as the wind and dripping with gold and ornament—[10b] at the imperial tent and, preceded by all his servants, brought it with full honor to the Gate of Felicity, where he handed it to the chief equerry. *Couplets*: It was, to be sure, outwardly a horse, but in essence / Formed of pearls, rubies, and diamonds. // [11a] So decked was it in jewels that its glitter / Flashed like day and illuminated the world. // No one on earth had in truth ever fashioned / Such jeweled trappings as these, until the agha did so.⁹⁵

Thereafter, to prepare for his invitation to the noble mosque, His Majesty the Sultan of the World graciously appointed as his representative the then and present [11b] grand vizier and illustrious field marshal, His Excellency Halil Pasha, possessor of exalted might, trailer of the skirts of unattainable dignity, font of good works and kindnesses, mine of virtues, and recipient of glorious favors; and [the sultan] bade him return to the imperial tent with his honorable servants. [12a] His Enlightened Excellency the Vizier then awaited a propitious hour to invite that cheer-spreading sultan and world-nourishing emperor, watching the ascent of the beautiful sun as it illumined the world of the magnanimous emperor; [12b] and when it reached the propitious hour, he invited His Blessed Majesty the Sultan to grace the noble mosque with his presence, whereupon the emperor graciously presented His Honorable Excellency the Vizier with sumptuous robes of honor, one sable-lined and one plain. After he had worn them, [13a]

93. بارك الله السبت و الخميس The hadith as written is far from trustworthy: I have not found it in the usual compendia, and its use appears to have been overwhelmingly limited to the Ottoman sphere. For other instances of it, see Belkıs Altuniş-Gürsoy, “Âmedî Galib Efendi Sefâretnâmesi,” *Erdem* 9, no. 27 (1997): 930; Evliyâ Çelebi, *Seyahatnâme*, 4:162, translated into English in Evliyâ Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi in Bitlis: The Relevant Section of the Seyahatname*, trans. and ed. Robert Dankoff (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990), 329; and Hazim Šabanović, “Hasan Kâfi Pruščak,” *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju = Revue de philologie orientale* 50 (2002): 67n47, whose translation I have adapted. That Thursday is esteemed in God’s eyes is, however, an established tradition: see G. H. A. Juynboll, *Encyclopedia of Canonical Hadith* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 628.

94. See n. 21 above.

95. See n. 26 above.

at the happy and glad hour, His Most Mighty Majesty the Emperor—accompanied by his worthy and fortunate sons, two flourishing princes who were the apples of his imperial eye and the fruits of his prosperous lineage—emerged from the glorious imperial palace, his countenance appearing from the lofty and exalted vault⁹⁶ like the luminous sun as it rises in exaltation; [13b] and in acceptance of the invitation, the sultan drew towards his noble mosque in state and glory. And in accordance with the *couplets* “Whenas the sultan turned to his mosque, / The agha that moment brought that Duldul-like horse.⁹⁷ // When the world’s emperor then mounted [his horse] in state, / [14a] All his viziers and commanders set out before him,”⁹⁸ the glorious and prosperous emperor mounted the wind-swift horse and, with the two flourishing princes, saluted the soldiers of Islam; and as he came [to the mosque], the populace, the cavalry and janissaries, and all the ruthless [foreign] ambassadors were prepared and ready to view the sultan, [14b] and they viewed him avidly while praying for the long reign of His Exalted Majesty the Sultan, who went with pomp and glory towards the heaven-high tent. Verily was it a wind-swift steed whose legs were monuments to glory and prosperity,⁹⁹ and whose giraffe-like hooves were shod [15a] with the crescent of the Eid of Conquest and Victory. And even the bankers and jewelers of the age were astounded, confounded, and dumbfounded in estimating the value of its encrusted trappings. And if one had to place a value, it is clearer than day that they could not be acquired for fewer than 70,000 gold coins.¹⁰⁰ [15b] And in keeping with the *hemistich*: *The goldsmith knows the worth of gold, the jeweler the worth of jewels*,¹⁰¹ it is a matter certain and true, agreed by all

everywhere, that a knowledgeable appraiser would equate the value of the bejeweled and encrusted trappings—the like of which no sultan past had attained—with the taxes of Rum. [16a] Indeed, such is the case that mystics would consider it impossible for the winds of fortune to bring [again] the like or equal [of the trappings], even were the firmament to rotate a hundred times.

Thereafter, His Majesty the Sultan of the World and his two flourishing princes reached the august imperial tent [16b] and wished to enter, whereat the flourishing princes dismounted first; and the auspicious emperor was escorted by His Excellency the aforesaid superintendent to a splendid bejeweled throne—variegated with diverse gemstones—that had been placed inside the portico of the tent, [17a] and he sat upon it. *Couplets*: That emperor came in state to the mosque in early morn, / As all his slaves applauded and prayed. // They said, “Blessed be the mosque, my Emperor, / May you perform your devotions therein for a thousand years!”¹⁰²

Then, in preparation for the saying of prayers at the closing of the noble mosque’s exalted dome, [17b] the august emperor called His Excellency Mahmud [Hüdayi] Efendi, saint of the age and dweller in holiness, conduit of the Lord God’s kindness; and when he came, [the sultan] granted the said saint a sumptuous sable-lined robe of honor, after which [the sultan] favored other mendicants and dervishes—the saint’s followers— [18a] with sumptuous robes befitting their condition. *Then*, the sultan commanded that the said saint, together with all the viziers, distinguished ulema, and the building superintendent, should climb and close the

96. This is presumably a reference to the palace gate or, synecdochically, to the palace itself.

97. Duldul was the Prophet Muhammad’s mule.

98. See n. 30 above.

99. It is difficult to translate *devā’im*, here rendered “monuments,” more faithfully or definitively: the word is unattested and appears to be an ad hoc pluralization of *dā’im* (see n. 31 above), an active participle that means “perpetual” and does not usually function as a noun.

100. This is rather more than the 50,000 gold coins (*zecchini*) estimated by the bailo Nani: see p. 287 of the main article.

101. The hemistich forms the first part of a Persian couplet whose second half (see n. 33 above) translates, “The night-

ingale [knows] the worth of a flower, Ali [b. Abi Talib] the worth of [his slave] Qanbar.” This poem, whose origin I have not been able to determine, enjoyed fairly wide currency in Persianate literary culture, with the first hemistich often isolated and used proverbially, as it is in the *Tarih*. See Ṭayyār-zade Aḥmed ‘Aṭā, *Osmanlı Saray Tarihi: Tarih-i Enderûn*, ed. Mehmet Arslan, 5 vols. (Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2010), 2:138; M. L. Banner, ed., *Everybody’s Hand-book of Proverbs* (Allahabad, 1893), 67; and Thomas Roebuck, trans. and ed., *A Collection of Proverbs, and Proverbial Phrases, in the Persian and Hindoostanee Languages* (Calcutta: Printed at the Hindoostanee Press, 1824), 317, no. 1602.

102. See n. 37 above. There is a discrepancy between the time stated for the sultan’s procession (early morning) and the timeframe given for Mustafa Agha’s preparation of the route (dawn to late morning).

lofty dome with prayer and eulogy. And in compliance with the illustrious command, they—His Excellency Mahmud Efendi, all the viziers, the grand [18b] mufti, the two chief military judges, the chief eunuch, and the chief treasurer—ascended that exalted dome while, inside and outside the mosque, all the rest of the ulema and the righteous and the sayyids and the mendicants¹⁰³ opened their hands in prayers with a thousand supplications and entreaties, in keeping with the *couplet*: *When devotions were performed in the mosque of the heavens / [19a] The [celestial] lotus tree opened the hand of supplication in prayer;*¹⁰⁴ and they all prayed and eulogized until the lofty dome was closed and completed, some of them reciting the Holy Koran, others saying gracious prayers for the blessed Muhammad Mustafa [19b]—the best of prayers be upon him—and still others glorifying God and professing His oneness.

After those aforementioned had closed the dome and descended, the sultan decreed that the aforesaid saint—in accordance with the *couplet*: *Come, O Preacher, and give us counsel and advice, / And guide us to the path of righteousness*¹⁰⁵—should embark on a sermon [*va'z*] to advise the faithful Muslims present at the mosque; [20a] and upon the issuance of that sultan command, the aforesaid saint readied himself to preach and counsel in a pleasing manner. The august emperor, meanwhile, [20b] prepared with humility and reverence for the preacher's assembly, and with insightful vision did he witness the faithful words of the reverend saint, who conveyed and explicated the noble divine scripture and the pleasing traditions of God's beloved [the Prophet Muhammad], as commanded by God, the All-Knowing Helper. When the sermon ended, the illustrious emperor, whom it pleased to the highest degree, [21a] requested the good prayers of the aforementioned saint, whereupon the said saint raised his hands in prayer with a thousand supplications and devotions, and all the

Muslims said amen; and with the aid of God, the Lord and Helper, their prayers were favorably accepted. Then, the sultan commanded [21b] that precious robes of honor be conferred on all the viziers, the ulema and righteous, and the dignitaries and mendicants—high and low—who were present in that mosque, and in accordance with the glorious order, His Excellency the Grand Vizier Halil Pasha was at that moment granted a splendid sable-lined robe, in keeping with the *couplet*: [22a] *May the emperor of the world favor and honor that slave of his, / Would that he show him such grace and favor as he deserves.*¹⁰⁶ And the other great viziers, honorable ulema, members of the council, dignitaries, imams, preachers, [22b] righteous individuals, and most blessed sayyids¹⁰⁷ were in due order likewise granted their share of sultan robes, gratifying their wishes.

When the most dignified emperor ascended the commanding throne that had been placed in the glorious pavilion adjoining his exalted mosque, splendid robes of honor were given even to all the following: first, the inspector of pious foundations, who is most favored among the state ulema; [23a] and second, the chief architect [*re'isü'l-mi'mārîn*], the building supervisor [*emîn*], others servants and trustees of the construction, eremite shaykhs, and the two congregational imams. They then had the honor of kissing the auspicious sultan hand, [23b] and they said prayers for the continuation of the emperor's reign and for the increase of his life and glory.

After this, the glorious emperor sat on the variously bejeweled and colorfully encrusted [24a] throne of exalted fortune that had been placed inside the illustrious imperial tent, and his compelling decree was as follows: "Let all the viziers, ulema, commanders, members of the council, and men of rank kiss my auspicious hand as their honorable predecessors have on the Noble Eids," [24b] whereupon first the chief of the Prophet's descendants and second the tutor of the flourishing princes kissed [his] hand and prayed for the imperial state, after whom followed members of the council, namely all the

103. The word *fukarā* can also be understood to mean the poor more generally, but the text goes on to say that these individuals were given robes of honor, which suggests that we are dealing with dervishes.

104. See n. 39 above. The lotus (or lote) tree in question is the *Sidrat al-Muntahā*, which marks the boundary of the seventh heaven: see A. Rippin, "Sidrat al-Muntahā," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1954–2002).

105. See n. 43 above.

106. See n. 45 above.

107. *Sādāt* can also mean "dignitaries," and it is in this general sense that I have usually translated it. Here, however, the qualification *keşiretü'l-berekāt* (most blessed) suggests that the text is referring specifically to the Prophet's descendants.

chief doorkeepers, the tasters, and the officers; *then* His Excellency the Grand Vizier [25a] and other great viziers; *then* the minister of finance; then¹⁰⁸ the jurist of mankind, His Eminence the Grand Mufti; *then* other honorable ulema; and they performed the ancient custom and great rite of humbly kissing the auspicious hand [of the sultan], at the same time praying for the continuance of the emperor's life and state and appealing for the perpetuity of his power and prosperity. [25b]

Then, when the gracious sultan returned in state with the flourishing princes to his glorious palace, the viziers, ministers, and dignitaries of the council set out, as earlier, before him; and once they had reached and entered his sacrosanct palace, [26a] a bejeweled dagger, a bejeweled khanjar, two sable-lined robes of honor, three sumptuous plain robes of honor, a purse of gold coins of full carat, five purses of piasters, and limitless shiny aspers were granted by royal decree to His Excellency the aforesaid superintendent—long may he live—on account of his selfless superintendence and in reward for the service he had given the noble mosque. [26b] After he had received boundless and innumerable royal favors, fifteen of his slaves were [also] rewarded, some with the rank of halberdier, others with that of officer, and others still with that of cavalryman or doorkeeper. Then, each of those who had served [in creating] the aforesaid mosque [27a] was granted a sumptuous robe of honor, with some being honored with the rank of officer, some that of halberdier, and others that of doorkeeper. May God Almighty—Glory be to Him—preserve and protect from sin and danger the glorious person of His Most Mighty Majesty the Emperor! Amen, O Helper! [27b]

It is clearer and brighter than day—and a matter of doubtless certainty—that not a tenth of a tenth of such generosity had been seen before. Moreover, neither a faltering pen nor indeed an eloquent tongue are capable of describing it, as is clearer than day to men of intelligence and excellence. [28a] And the aspers spent on the expenses of the noble mosque were all those that His Excellency the aforesaid superintendent had acquired by the noble command of the sublime sultan on account of his exalted superintendence, and [not] a penny from the imperial [public] treasury was thereafter spent on

the expenses of the noble mosque. [...?]¹⁰⁹ [28b] By the honor of the Lord of Prophets [Muhammad], and in keeping with the *couplet* “He exerted himself with zeal for the emperor's mosque, / Working with heart and soul, whether morning or evening,”¹¹⁰ verily the service that His Excellency the aforesaid superintendent rendered at the noble mosque had never been given by any slave to his master, as is general and widespread knowledge among the people. [28.1a]¹¹¹ But [likewise] none of the earlier sultans had shown a slave of his such abundant favor and limitless grace as His Illustrious Majesty the Sultan [Ahmed] ordered to be shown to His Excellency the aforesaid superintendent on account of his exalted superintendence and in reward for the service he gave to the aforementioned mosque. [28.1b] Truly were [his] service and integrity such that it is fitting that he should receive [so many] favors from the mighty emperor in reward for his service, and likewise apt if the service he diligently rendered at the noble mosque and the abundant good prayers he said for the world-sheltering emperor should earn the bountiful reward of God the Illustrious King [29a] and secure his place in paradise. And may God the All-Powerful King, Who facilitates and predestines, daily increase and make more abundant the life and state of His Majesty the Emperor, refuge of the world! Amen O Helper, by the honor of Muhammad the Trustworthy. Truly was that day such an auspicious holiday that [29b] the people of the world were thus adorned and ornamented with various sumptuous robes of honor, and those in the highest heaven at the foot of the divine throne and the houris and youths in exalted paradise danced with joy and delight. And the people of the world sweated with embarrassment at the selfless favor that the mighty emperor had shown them. [30a]

Furthermore, the sultan was watched that day by the ruthless [foreign] ambassadors who were present at the assembly, and when they—despite having not a trace of faith in their hardened hearts, wherein the devil and rebellion resided—saw the selfless favor that [30b] the magnanimous sultan conferred on the people of the world, together with the good works and pious deeds

109. See n. 53 above.

110. See n. 54 above.

111. See n. 55 above.

108. See n. 50 above.

done in the path of God and the effort and labor exerted in the course of the religion of Muhammad, countless infidels could not help but come to Islam, wherewith they were honored with the glory of Islam [31a] and decked in royal favor. And even the remaining wicked infidels could not help but say countless prayers for the life and state of the mighty and exalted sultan, that he should remain secure and stable on his throne of glory; and so they confirmed as was right the glory and power pertaining to the religion of Muhammad and to the emperor of Islam, [31b] while seeing for certain the ignominy and vengefulness of their [own] false rites; and whether the ambassador of the reprobate Qizilbash [Savafid] or whether Venetian, Fleming, or Frank—they are one scourge alike—all of them were frustrated and confounded, their heads hung in vexation and sadness, and each of them was plunged into utter disgrace. [32a]

And so the people of the world—seeing the favor that the illustrious emperor showed that day to the viziers and commanders, his perfect affection for the ulema and the righteous, his inclination for good works and pious deeds, and his kindness to and compassion for all his subjects—could not help but pray for the preservation of the emperor's state [32b] and for the continuance of his glory and happiness. To the Muslims' prayer did all the angels enthroned in the highest heavens say amen, and—God Almighty willing—their glorious prayers have been answered.

Thereafter, [33a] on Friday, the sixteenth day of the month of Sha'ban in the aforementioned year [August 18, 1617], His Majesty the Emperor, refuge of the world, wished for the noble mosque to be opened and for the Friday prayer to be performed [therein], whereupon that chief saint of the age, His Excellency Mahmud Efendi—paradigm among mystics, pillar of learned men, and holy saint of the age—again served as preacher in the aforementioned mosque; [33b] and upon the [sultan's] command that he first deliver the noble khutba [Friday sermon], His Excellency Mahmud Efendi, in accordance with the exalted order, first gave the noble khutba, and thereafter preached and exhorted in the said mosque.¹¹²

112. A distinction is being drawn here between the ordinary sermon (*va'z*, from Arabic *wa'z*) and the khutba, which is reserved for Fridays and holidays.

After this, His Majesty the Emperor, refuge of the world, [34a], having already bestowed gifts and favors on the distinguished ulema when the dome was closed, [now] wished to grant charity and favors to those ulema of lesser rank also, and when the order was given at the imperial festival, their auspicious [?] turn was called by royal command on the day when the aforementioned mosque was first opened and the Friday prayer performed [therein];¹¹³ [34b] and in this manner, he likewise rendered joyous the desolate hearts of all the lesser ulema, granting them their share and satisfying their desires.

*This is the chronogrammed qasida composed for the completion of the noble mosque and given to His Majesty the Emperor, refuge of the world.*¹¹⁴

[35a] O Shah! Praise and glory be to Him who is the Lord
[God],
To Him belong kindness and benevolence, to Him
belong favor and generosity.

To the resplendent pure soul of the Sultan of Creation
[Muhammad],
As also to his companions and kinsmen, offer [you all]
prayers and salutations.

Because, O Large-Hearted Sultan, you have modeled
yourself on him,
You have truly executed the rule of holy law in the
world.

Remain firm on the throne of kingship in glory and
majesty,
[35b] May the Lord Almighty facilitate your heart's
pleasures.

113. While the overall meaning is clear enough, the passage is rather convoluted and difficult to parse. Moreover, it contains a word that I have not been able to identify and have tentatively translated as "auspicious" (see n. 64 above). I am extremely grateful to Edhem Eldem for helping me navigate the text, though we differ in our interpretation of certain details.

114. See n. 65 above.

Since it is you, O Shah, who in this age encompasses all
good deeds,¹¹⁵
Truly have you built a mosque adorned and beautiful.

Above all, the Flourishing House [Ka'ba] and the city of
God's Prophet [Medina]
Have been reanimated in your time, given honor and
new life.

May your good works find favor in the eyes of God
Almighty,
For your exquisite mosque has become a Paradise of
Refuge in the world.

[36a] What a sublime temple! Its like or counterpart
cannot be found,
For it is a pure spring of piety for the people of faith.

This mosque is a Masjid al-Aqsa for the sake of the
healthy,
And for the poor it is an Exalted Ka'ba.¹¹⁶

With its bejeweled glass, it is a mosque magnificent and
wondrous,
No [other] king has been favored with an exquisite
mosque of this kind.

In elegance it transformed at once into a silvery cypress,
[36b] Its doors and walls are ornamented [with]
beautiful sparkling marble.

With its green marble pillars, it is a heavenly rose garden
Whose every column you would think a high cypress.

Within it are columns worth their weight in gold,
Its inside and outside abound in exquisite porphyry.

Its crystal glass, moreover, is as Alexander's mirror,
Whoever see its lamps lit round about stops and squints
amazed.

[37a] The arches reached ecstasy and prostrated
themselves,
The exalted round dome is unique, engulfed by
mother-of-pearl.¹¹⁷

The world worships before its mihrab as if at the Ka'ba,
Prayer can never be true without turning toward it.

It is a wondrous elegant cypress, soaring like a plane
tree,
You would think its ornamented minbar a high lotus
tree.

So exalted a temple did your [imperial] loge inside the
mosque become
[37b] That it is exactly like a beautiful pavilion in
heaven.

It is dotted with jeweled chandeliers and lamps that,
Sun-like, cannot be looked upon by the people's dazzled
eyes.

See its exalted gallery where the fine memorizers who
recite [the Koran]
Are like singular pearls in a mother-of-pearl shell.

That wondrous white dome is akin to a unique pearl,
They said to it, "O Ablutions Fountain! Flow like a
heavenly spring."

[38a] It is as if that conduit of [the heavenly spring]
Kawthar were in the garden of paradise;
It quenches the thirst of all with its delicious water.

You would think its delicious water and its pure
perfumed breeze
The pureness of the spring of Kawthar and the air of the
Paradise of Refuge.

115. *Cāmi'ül-ḥayrāt*. The original Ottoman plays richly on the multiple senses of these words. As well as meaning "that which collects/unites," *cāmi'* denotes a congregational mosque, and the word recurs in this capacity in the following hemistich. *Ḥayrāt* likewise ranges in meaning from generic "good things" to "charitable works" and even "pious foundation."

116. See n. 68 above.

117. As well as positing the dome as a pearl, this image may refer to the effect of the lead cladding on the dome's exterior.

The six minarets open their hands in prayer for the
sultan's state,
And they call all the faithful to the five times [of daily
prayer].

Let holy scripture be read for countless years at the
house of [Koran] readers;
[38b] For the study of the Koran, it is the world's locus
of recitation.

And whenever the traditions [of the Prophet] are related
at your college of hadith,
That pure soul of the Chosen One [Muhammad] is
revivified from its source.

Lessons of the exalted [theological] sciences are taught
in your madrasa,
In short, you have truly revived the path of learning.

Thousands of dead have found new life at the hospital,
You have made the water of life flow in the world.

[39a] May all of it [the complex] be always blessed by
the Lord for Ahmed Khan,
May many like houses be built during his just reign.

In short, Ahmed Khan has placed such a work on the
earth
That should the heavens rotate a thousand times, its like
would not appear.

Our plea to the Lord is this: May that world-ruling
sultan's
Good works all be preserved till Doomsday.

As for the agha who supervised it upon sultanic
command,
Truly did he superintend with devotion and fidelity.

[39b] Come, inspector,¹¹⁸ tarry not—start praying for
the sultan,

118. The inspector of pious foundations (*müfettiş-i evkâf*), who is mentioned on fol. 23a of the manuscript. In an extended sense, the couplet is also inviting the general reader to visit and inspect the mosque.

As long as you have life, pray for his prosperity.

God increase his life that it may be preserved and
protected,
May he grow daily more exalted on his throne of power
and glory.

When I saw the completion of his mosque, I belonged
to Sultan Ahmed;
I stated the date, God Almighty—what a sublime
mosque!

Anno 1026

[40a] *This is the qasida given to the superintendent of the noble mosque, the agha of the Noble Abode of Felicity [chief eunuch of the imperial harem], His Excellency Hajji Mustafa Agha, upon the completion of the sultan's mosque:*

First, praise and glory to the Divine Creator are merited;
He it is who bestows favor and munificence on us all.

Second, let there be prayers for the Chosen Ahmad
[Muhammad],
Who will surely intercede for all sinners on Judgment
Day.

Third, salutations be upon his kinsmen and companions,
[40b] Who, upon [his] noble command, followed the
righteous path.

Then, [on] His Majesty the Sultan of the World, Ahmed
Khan,
Who took the road of sacred law, achieving immortality.

Let them say he is worthy of all the good works on earth,
For he has created so many good works in the world.

Above all, he has built a mosque truly resplendent,
The description or image of which no one has produced.

[41a] Designs of flowers give [it] so much beauty and
luster
That every part of it is as a corner of heaven.

Indeed, neither Jamshid nor Darius ever dreamt
Of a mosque of such graceful elegance.

Should the people of the world attempt to describe it,
They would say it is impossible to do it justice.

Why should there not be such a well-proportioned,
artful mosque?
[41b] May that diligent agha oversee it.

Admirably did he exert himself, supervising without
thought of gain,
Truly with integrity did he take the job in hand.

He exerted himself with zeal for the emperor's mosque,
Working with heart and soul, whether morning or
evening.

The just witness to his pure intentions was He
Who resolved all his difficulties, the Lord God.

[42a] On earth and in heaven, God Almighty has granted
Every wish of that kind and generous man.

Graciously did God Almighty facilitate its completion,
He [the agha] closed its high dome with thanks and hard
work.

Whenas he completed that emperor's mosque,
He invited [the sultan] with a fitting invitation.

He said, "My Emperor, come in glory and honor,
[42b] Perform there daily the obligatory and
supererogatory [prayers]."

The world's emperor then emerged in state from his
palace,
Rising like the sun and illuminating the world.

Whenas the sultan turned to his mosque,
The agha that moment brought that Duldul-like horse.

It was, to be sure, outwardly a horse, but in essence
Formed of pearls, rubies, and diamonds.

[43a] So decked was it in jewels that its glitter
Flashed like day and illuminated the world.

No one on earth had in truth ever fashioned
Such jeweled trappings as these, until the agha did so.

When the world's emperor then mounted [his horse] in
state,
All his viziers and commanders set out before him.

From his honored harem to that emperor's mosque
[43b] Was his path all lined with brocades gold and
silver.¹¹⁹

And he scattered gold and silver along his path,
Every pauper found wealth in his generous spirit.

That emperor came in state to the mosque in early
morn,
As all his slaves applauded and prayed.

They said, "Blessed be the mosque, my Emperor,
May you perform your devotions therein for a thousand
years.

[44a] "May the Lord Almighty grant your every desire,
May you create many glorious buildings like this.

"May your good work please God's court,
May you be rewarded, O Emperor, in both worlds."

They said, "Of that kind and generous superintendent,
Let us sing his praises; whatever we say will not be
enough.

"Let us extol him loud and clear at the very least,
[44b] Such a munificent, generous man the world has
never seen.

"In truth, no one has trod this gentleman's path,
He sacrificed his all with heart and soul.

"May the emperor of the world favor and honor that
slave of his,

119. See n. 21 above.

Would that he show him such grace and favor as he
deserves.”

Seeing his deeds, that emperor of the world
Gave him robes of honor and prayed for him.

[45a] On seeing his laudable efforts, he graciously said,
“Be prosperous; may you be the object of God’s favor.

“Through your efforts have you rendered service to my
mosque,
May the Lord grant your wishes in the world and the
hereafter.”

The ulema and the pious lifted their hands and prayed,
“May a happy reward be inscribed in the book of your
deeds.

“May the Lord God grant your every desire,
[45b] Always sparing your gracious person from sin.

“And so may your noble person be in good health,
And forever fixed in the seat of felicity.”¹²⁰

¹²⁰. The words spoken in the final three couplets seem to be meant for Mustafa Agha, though they would apply equally well to the sultan. This ambiguity works to the qasida’s advantage and is perhaps deliberate.



BRILL



MOUNIA CHEKHAB-ABUDAYA, AMÉLIE COUV RAT DESVERGNES, AND DAVID J. ROXBURGH

SAYYID YUSUF'S 1433 PILGRIMAGE SCROLL (*ZIYĀRĀTNĀMA*) IN THE COLLECTION OF THE MUSEUM OF ISLAMIC ART, DOHA

Dated 21 Muharram 837 (September 6, 1433), the pilgrimage scroll in the Museum of Islamic Art, Doha, was made on behalf of Sayyid Yusuf b. Sayyid Shihab al-Din Ma Wara' al-Nahri—a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad whose family origins were in Transoxiana—to record a lesser pilgrimage (*umra*) and non-obligatory visits to other holy sites.¹ At 615 centimeters long and 35 centimeters wide, the mammoth scroll features representations of the major Muslim holy sites and objects including: the Ka'ba and Sacred Mosque (*al-Masjid al-Ḥarām*) in Mecca, with the adjacent “trotting space” (*mas'ā*) extending between Mounts Safa and Marwa; the Mosque of the Prophet Muhammad in Medina, which housed his tomb and those of the first two caliphs, Abu Bakr and 'Umar; the Prophet's sandal; Jerusalem, featuring the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque, built atop the Noble Sanctuary (*al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf*); the Cave of the Patriarchs in Hebron, where Abraham and his family were buried; the tomb of the first Shi'i imam, 'Ali b. Abi Talib, cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad, in Najaf; and the tomb of the third Shi'i imam, Husayn, in Karbala (figs. 1a and 1b).

Integrated with representations of the pilgrim's itinerary of holy sites is a textual program that exploits variations in the type, size, and color of the script—as well as the eclectic relations between writing and ground—imbuing the scroll with added visual potency, meaning, and urgency. The texts comprise carefully chosen inscriptions from the Koran, proclamatory and benedictory texts in Arabic, and a narrative of visitation (*ziyārātnāma*, lit. “book of visitation”) composed in Arabic and Persian. From the *ziyārātnāma* we learn that the scroll—presumably the document as a whole—was meant to record the pilgrim's journey to Najaf and other

sacred places and shrines, after which he would receive a title and gifts. The scroll was produced at the conclusion of his travels to present to people across a broad swath of medieval society, including sultans, viziers, sayyids, judges, dervishes, and custodians of religious endowments. It concludes with the signatures of six witnesses who collectively verified the rites of pilgrimage and visitation.

As a whole, the Doha scroll depicts a group of religious sites that were laden with potent historical significance and religious meaning. The architecture of these sites—especially Mecca and Jerusalem—commemorated historical events and significant individuals through signs and markers in urban and extra-urban landscapes spanning the time of creation and the line of prophecy stretching from Adam to Muhammad. Pre-Islamic history was emphasized through the Cave of the Patriarchs in Hebron, where Abraham and his family were buried. Events from Islam's early history were also stressed through the burial sites of the Prophet Muhammad's Companions and of the first caliphs, Abu Bakr and 'Umar, as well those of the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law 'Ali b. Abi Talib and grandson Husayn. The language of the scroll styles these sites as “precincts” (sing. *ḥaram*), “places of witnessing” (sing. *mashhad*), and “sacred thresholds” (sing. *'ataba-yi sharīf*). *Mashhads* were mostly tombs that marked, in perpetuity, physical presence, through the bodily remains of a revered person or persons. Some *mashhads* commemorated the transitory presence of historical figures and important events, and were sometimes built based on visions (*mashhad al-ru'yā*).² Scrolls served as proofs—mute witnesses—of obligatory acts of pilgrimage (both the *hajj* [greater pilgrimage] and *umra* [lesser pilgrimage]) and, frequently,

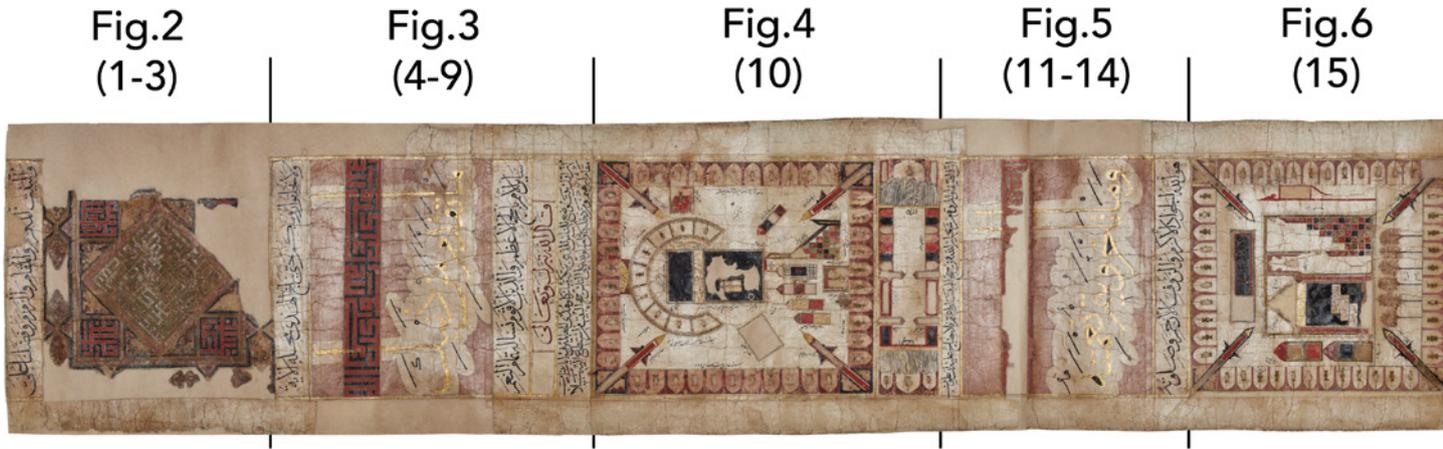


Fig. 1a. Sections 1–29 of the Timurid pilgrimage scroll (annotated with fig. nos. 2–12). Doha, Museum of Islamic Art, MS.267.1998. (Photo: Museum of Islamic Art, Doha, Qatar)

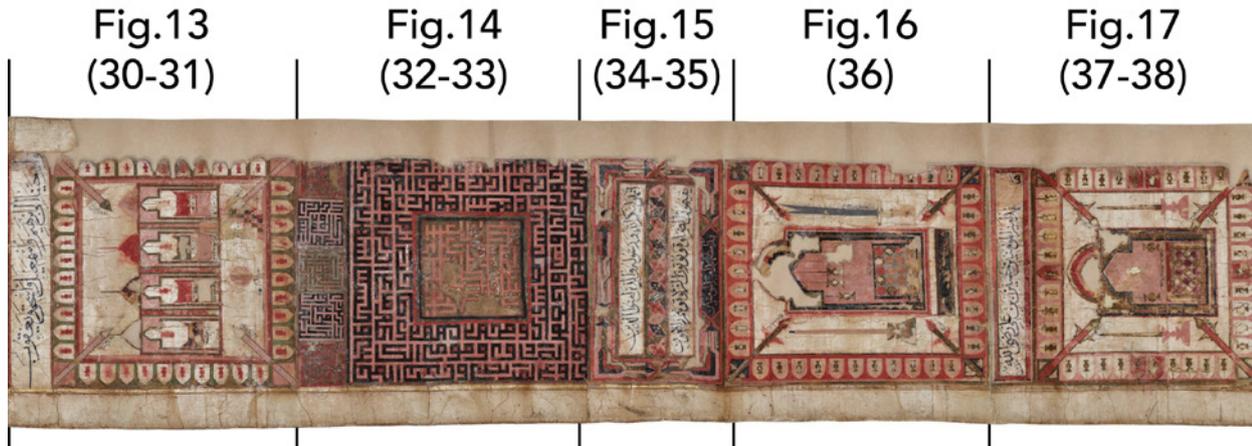


Fig. 1b. Sections 30–40 of the Timurid pilgrimage scroll (annotated with fig. nos. 13–22). Doha, Museum of Islamic Art, MS.267.1998. (Photo: Museum of Islamic Art, Doha, Qatar)

voluntary, recommended visitations (sing. *ziyāra*). The visual forms these scrolls took also suggested a spiritual choreography enacted in a space and time past that could be recalled in the present by their owners, as well as by those persons who were allowed to view them. This transcendent aspect was a perennial attribute of the pilgrimage scroll, as it was for other kinds of objects that simultaneously activate and construct memory.³

Although pilgrimage scrolls were commemorative and personal in nature, they also held evidentiary status

akin to verified legal documents. They were acquired by the pilgrim at the conclusion of a pilgrimage to Mecca—whether the *ḥajj* or the *ʿumra*—or in other places encompassed by the journey. It was common for the pilgrim to make voluntary visits to the other major holy sites of Islam—Medina and Jerusalem—either before or after the journey to Mecca, and to travel to additional places of spiritual importance that were selected based on a variety of factors including individual belief, personal choice, financial means, and political realities: in

Fig. 18
(39)Fig. 19
(39)Fig. 20
(39)Fig. 21
(39)Fig. 22
(40)

the example of the Doha scroll, the pilgrim also visited Hebron, Najaf, and Karbala.

This type of document was produced for the pilgrim as a personal and official record of having accomplished a pilgrimage.⁴ A large number of certificates were made to authenticate pilgrimages by proxy. Proxy pilgrimages were generally commissioned by the family of a deceased relative or for relatives who were physically unable to make the journey. The preferred format for such certificates, whether by proxy or not, was the scroll (Ar.

darj, pl. *durūj*)—making them analogous to other sorts of authorized, official documents—presumably because of its convenient portability and ease of display.⁵ While the scope of content in a pilgrimage certificate was too little to make much practical sense as a codex, the indisputable physical advantage of the scroll was that, when unrolled, it could reveal sequential segments of the journey, or even the complete itinerary from beginning to end. The extended temporality of the pilgrim's journey could be collapsed into an instantaneous viewing

experience if the scroll were opened in its entirety. In the current absence of records describing specific usage and viewing practices, we can only propose a range of possible uses: perhaps portions of the scroll were made visible through stages of unrolling and rolling; alternatively, a scroll might have been completely unrolled, and thus rendered visible from beginning to end. There are no specific physical features indicating the most common display techniques for these scrolls.

The layout, content, and conventions of the Doha pilgrimage scroll, a matrix of painted and written forms arranged to be seen in vertical orientation, continues in most of its aspects a long-standing artistic practice of representing Muslim “sacred geography.”⁶ The best and earliest known examples are found in a corpus of some 150 scrolls dated between 1084 and 1310, which was discovered in 1893 at the Umayyad Great Mosque in Damascus. An examination of these documents revealed an intensified period of production when the Seljuqs (1078–1117) and Ayyubids (1186–1260) ruled Damascus, as well as a steady increase in the practice of embedding images of holy places amid the text, especially from the late 1100s onward.⁷ Such scrolls continued to be made throughout the Islamic lands, with two especially well-known examples made in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: the earlier one is dated 836 (1432–33), in the name of Maymuna bint Muhammad b. ‘Abd Allah al-Zardali,⁸ while the later one, dated 951 (1544–45), records a proxy pilgrimage made by Piri b. Sayyid Ahmad for the late Şehzade Mehmed (d. 1543), one of the sons of the Ottoman sultan Süleyman I (r. 1520–66).⁹ Proxy pilgrims were required to have already performed a *hajj* for themselves. These latter specimens are more comparable to the Doha scroll than those making up the Damascus corpus, which spans the late eleventh to early fourteenth centuries, because they were patently special commissions, distinguished by their physical monumentality and highly ambitious and detailed visual programs.

Although earlier scrolls of the Seljuq, Ayyubid, and Mamluk periods were personalized, this was mainly achieved through variations in the textual apparatus—sometimes simply by the addition of the pilgrim’s name—with images of the holy places supplied more and more frequently through block printing, a modest

technology of image making but one scalable to mass production.¹⁰ Also noteworthy is that while the visual content of the earlier Damascus corpus of scrolls usually seems to be describing the *hajj*, a greater number of them actually record *‘umras*.¹¹ By contrast, the extant scrolls from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries—an admittedly small and restricted set—depict ad hoc, individualized pilgrimages. These later scrolls thus reflect a distinct social class of patron/pilgrim who was able to commemorate the realization of a religious obligation through unique, fully handmade objects.

In light of the Doha scroll’s status as an exceptionally rare surviving document of the fifteenth century, this essay offers a detailed analysis of its materials, production, form, and content; the history of the scroll as an artefact is also discussed. Close physical study of the document revealed many and diverse kinds of intervention, some of them repairs, in the post-production contexts of the circulation and use of the scroll. These aspects of study are offered here as preliminaries to the interpretation of the scroll vis-à-vis salient comparative objects, and in relation to its historical context, as far as it can be determined from the available evidence.

DESCRIPTION OF THE SCROLL: THE VISUAL PROGRAM

The topographic imagery and Arabic and Persian calligraphy found on the scroll are executed in watercolor, ink, and gold on a cream-toned paper. Detailed observations about materials and evidence of post-production interventions—including modern conservation treatments—are provided in the next section, which presents a technical and scientific examination of the scroll. Here, the scroll is described in terms of its content, which consists of an alternating sequence of inscriptions—texts written in square Kufic script, the “six cursive scripts” (*al-aqlām al-sitta*), and *nasta‘līq*—and graphic images, representations of the holy sites visited by the pilgrim (Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, Hebron, Najaf, and Karbala), as well as of the Prophet Muhammad’s sandal. The inscriptions vary not only in the type of script in which they are written but also in the color



Fig. 2. Sections 1–3 of the Timurid pilgrimage scroll. (Photo: Museum of Islamic Art, Doha, Qatar)

of the ink and watercolors used, as well as in their textual subject matter, tone, and voice. We first find pious formulas in a monumental square Kufic script arranged into squares (some rotated) and rectangles, as well as the borders of the scroll: these proclaim God's glory and command His praise, and also name (and sometimes bless) the Prophet Muhammad, the four Rightly Guided Caliphs (*al-khulafā' al-rāshidūn*), and the Twelve Imams; a verse from the Koran is also included. Selections of verses from the Koran are written in a monumental cursive script in gold or black ink. The long prose text added to the end of the scroll is written in *riqā'* script in black ink and provides information about the pilgrim, his itinerary, and the intended purpose of the scroll. The *nasta'liq* inscriptions, also written in black ink, are composed in the Persian language—though some are in Arabic—and identify the elements of each location.

What follows is a description of the separate sections making up the scroll, each section numbered for the sake of clarity. Photographs of the full scroll, divided into two halves, are annotated with the section numbers along the top (figs. 1a and 1b). Close-up photographs showing sections of the scroll accompany the descriptions. The appendix contains a complete transcription of the Arabic and Persian texts as well as an English translation.

Section 1: The scroll opens with an inscription written in black *thuluth* that directly introduces the viewer/reader to the nature of the pilgrimage by mentioning places in Mecca where the rituals of the *'umra* are performed. The sites mentioned include: the Ka'ba ("The Venerable House" [*al-Bayt al-Mukarram*]), the Station of Abraham (*al-Maqām [Ibrāhīm]*), and the Well of Zamzam (*al-Zamzam*) (fig. 2, showing sections 1–3).

Sections 2 and 3: The next elements of the scroll are arranged in a square enclosed by a decorative border

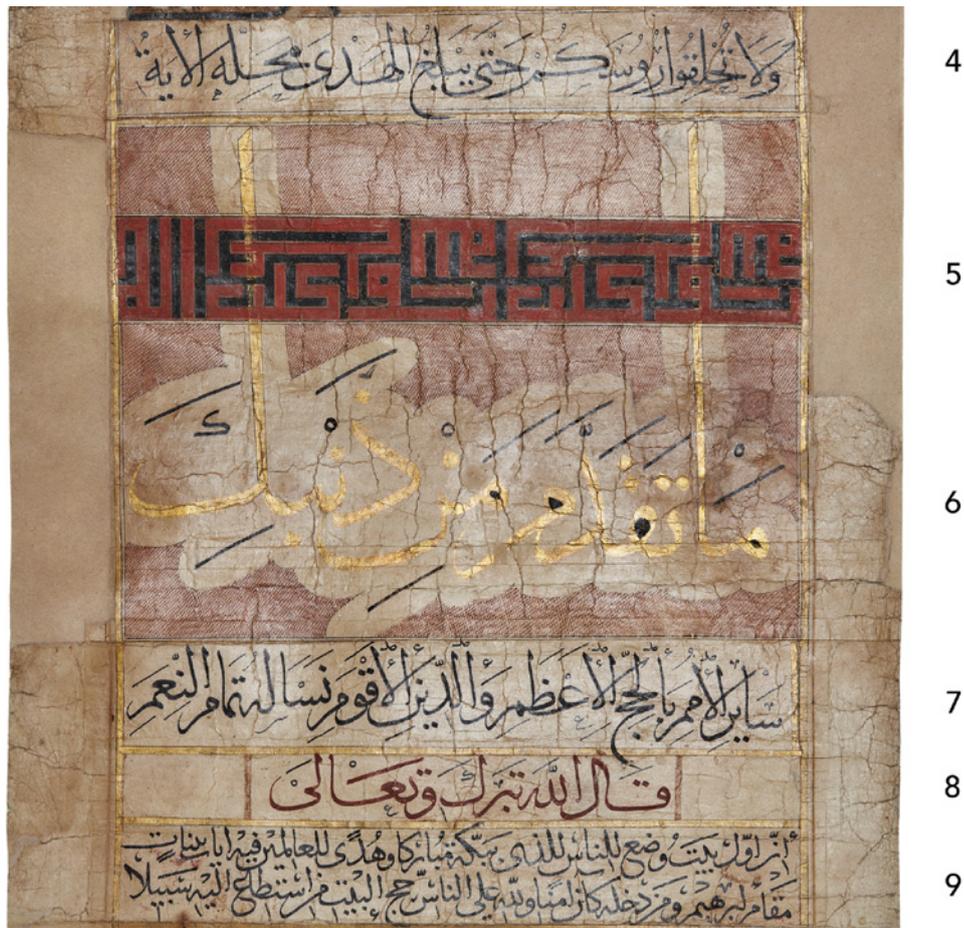


Fig. 3. Sections 4–9 of the Timurid pilgrimage scroll. (Photo: Museum of Islamic Art, Doha, Qatar)

composed of cartouches: lobed biomorphic motifs appear in the cartouches and the triangular interstices left over between them. Inside the border there is a central, rotated square and four smaller squares in the corners, each one containing a square Kufic text. The smaller squares contain formulas glorifying God, executed in black outlined in gold over a red ground (“Glory be to God” [*subhān Allāh*] / “and Praise be to God” [*wa al-ḥamdu li-llāh*] / [square damaged and lost] / “and God is Great” [*wa Allāhu akbar*]). The text of the rotated square, painted in white outlined in black over a green ground, is from the second half of verse 33 in Sura 33 (*al-Aḥzāb* [The Clans]) of the Koran: “God desires to remove impurities from you, O inmates of this house, and to cleanse and bring out the best in you.”¹² Beginning at the corner of the rotated square to the right, the text runs clockwise

from exterior to interior. Koran 33:33, quite commonly applied in architectural and numismatic contexts, is susceptible to a Shi’i interpretation through its use of the word “house.”¹³

Section 4: Verse 196 of Sura 2 (*al-Baqara* [The Cow]) of the Koran appears in a single line of text written in black *thuluth*. This chapter refers to the *ḥajj*, and specifically to the time when the pilgrims sacrifice an animal (in commemoration of God’s request that Abraham sacrifice Isma’il [Ishmael]), and also partially cut or shave their hair (fig. 3, showing sections 4–9).¹⁴

Section 5: A square Kufic inscription in red outlined in a lighter color (ochre or gold) on a black ground repeats the phrase “I put my trust in God” (*wa tawwakaltu ‘alā Allāh*) twice and ends with the single word “God” (*Ilāh*).

Section 6: The text is a portion of verse 2 of Sura 48 (*al-Fath* [The Victory]) of the Koran: “[save] you from earlier.” It is copied in gold and outlined in black in a variant of the *thuluth* script. The full verse is divided into four parts—which maintain their sequential order—dispersed throughout the scroll (see sections 6, 13, 19, and 28). While this Koranic verse is not strictly related to either the greater or lesser pilgrimages, it is a propos because it glorifies God as the supreme guide and enjoins worshippers to follow the “straight path” (*ṣīraṭ al-mustaqīm*). The monumental script is set inside a cloud of reserved paper surrounded by a ground of red cross-hatching.

Section 7: The text, written in *thuluth* script in black ink, refers to the importance of completing the *ḥajj* and again exalts God and His religion. This line continues the theme expressed in the first section of the scroll.

Section 8: The text, written in *riqāʿ* script in red, proclaims: “God the Blessed and Sublime said.”

Section 9: Verses 96 and 97 of Sura 3 (*Āl ʿImrān* [The Family of ʿImran]) of the Koran are here presented in two lines written in *riqāʿ* in black ink. These verses mention the Kaʿba, its establishment in Bakka—the other Arabic name for Mecca—and the duty of performing the pilgrimage.¹⁵ The text reads: “The first House of God to be set up for men was at Bakkah the blessed, a guidance for the people of the world. It contains clear signs, and the spot where Abraham had stood. And anyone who enters it will find security. And whosoever can afford should visit the House on a pilgrimage.” The two Koranic verses are well placed, for they immediately precede, and hence introduce, the image representing the Masjid al-Haram of Mecca with the Kaʿba.

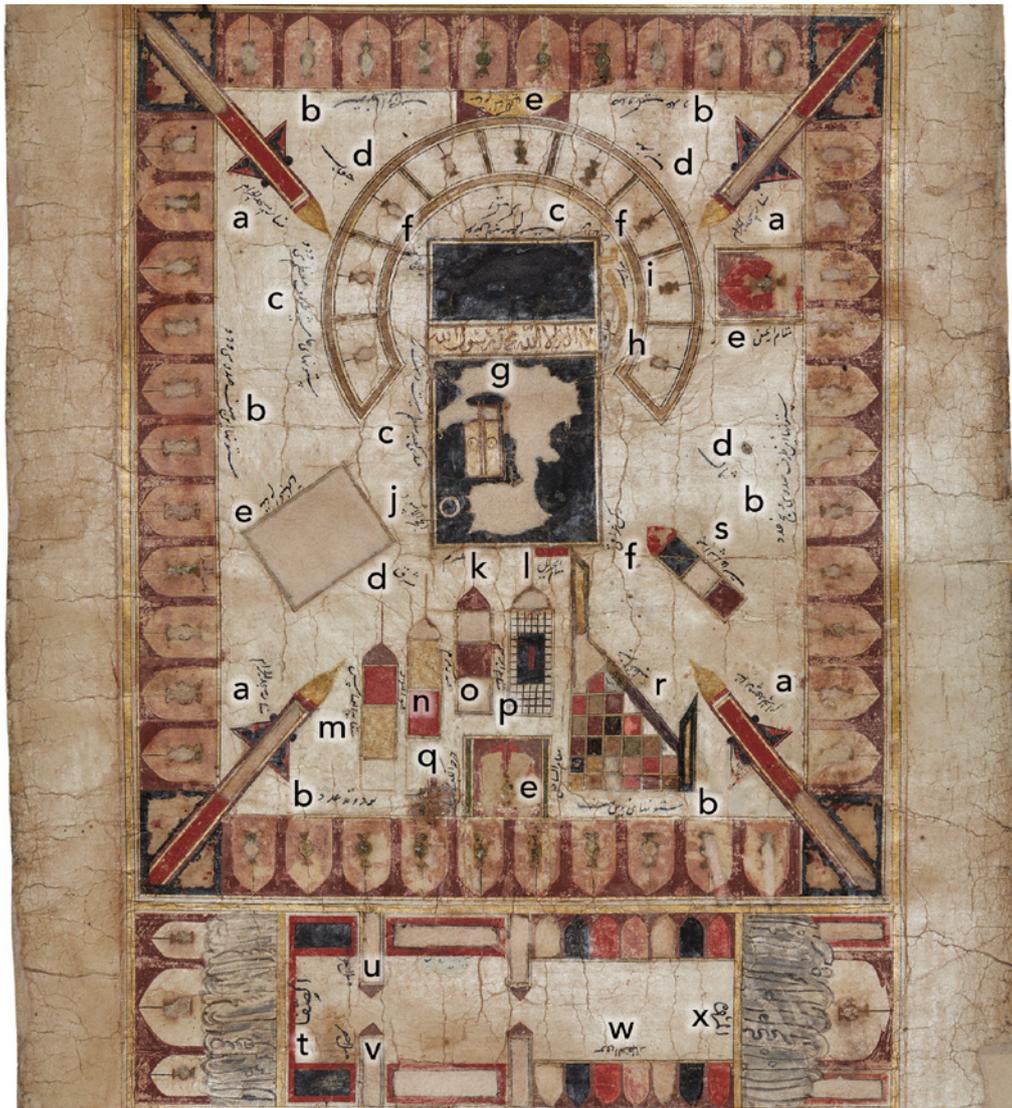
Section 10: The Masjid al-Haram of Mecca is depicted as a rectangle with the separate sites of importance clearly depicted as discrete entities (fig. 4). The entire site is bounded by an arcade composed of slightly pointed arches set over columns with a lamp hanging inside each bay. Minarets project diagonally from the four corners of the Masjid al-Haram toward the center, in effect pointing toward the Kaʿba as the sacred pole (*qibla*) (fig. 4[a]). Each one of the four arcades, depicted as if it were perpendicular to a viewer, is annotated with a *nastaʿliq* caption enumerating the precise number of columns making up that side (fig. 4[b]). Other enumera-

tions list the number of columns of circumambulation, and the width and height of the Kaʿba measured in the unit of the *gaz* (fig. 4[c]).¹⁶ To emphasize orientation—and define the Kaʿba’s relationship to the world beyond it—annotations also identify the cardinal directions (fig. 4[d]).

Increasing the emphasis on orientation are the stations of the four schools of Islamic law (Hanafi, Shafiʿi, Hanbali, and Maliki), represented as square and rectangular shapes (fig. 4[e]). We also find the written names of the corners of the Kaʿba according to the location of the cardinal points (*rukṅ Trāqī*, “the ʿIraqi corner,” to the northeast; *rukṅ Yamanī*, “the Yemeni corner,” to the southeast; and *rukṅ Shāmī*, “the Syrian corner,” to the west) (fig. 4[f]).¹⁷ The presence of the Hanafi station indicates that this portion of the scroll could not have been made before 801 (1398–99), the year in which the Mamluks built the Hanafi station for the first time.¹⁸

The Kaʿba is depicted as a black rectangle, dressed in the *kiswa* and punctuated by a golden band at its top, symbolizing the embroidered or woven textile band (*ḥizām*) containing the *shahāda* (“There is no god but God, and Muhammad is the messenger of God” [*lā ilāh ilā Allāh wa Muḥammad rasūl Allāh*], the Muslim confession of faith and first pillar of Islam) (fig. 4[g]), as well as by a double-panelled door with prominent knockers.¹⁹ Facing the northwestern wall of the Kaʿba is the *ḥijr* of Ismaʿil, a space delineated by a semi-circular wall (*ḥaṭīm*), painted in gold on the scroll, which pilgrims were not allowed to enter during circumambulation (*tawāf*) (fig. 4[h]).²⁰ On the scroll, as in other images of the Masjid al-Haram, the *ḥaṭīm* resembles a nimbus enclosing the rectangular Kaʿba. Traditions record that the *ḥijr* is the place where Ismaʿil and Hagar were buried.²¹

Several features of the Kaʿba are represented and captioned in *nastaʿliq* script. The golden *mizāb* (fig. 4[i]), used to collect rainwater from the roof of the Kaʿba, is represented next to the *ḥijr*. The Black Stone (*al-ḥajar al-aswad*) is on the eastern corner (fig. 4[j]). In other depictions of the Kaʿba it is usually identified as the “Black Corner” (*al-rukṅ al-aswad*).²² Featured below this is the *multazam*, which corresponds to the two-meter interval between the Black Stone and the door of the Kaʿba (fig. 4[k]). It marks the beginning point of one circuit of rotation around the Kaʿba. Pilgrims hope to touch



10

Fig. 4. Mecca. Section 10 of the Timurid pilgrimage scroll. (Photo: Museum of Islamic Art, Doha, Qatar)

the *multazam* or to pronounce salutations at this place during circumambulation. To the right of the *multazam* is the “Station of Gabriel” (*maqām al-Jibrīl*) (fig. 4[1]).²³

In the lower area of the image depicting the Masjid al-Haram four structures can be identified from left to right: the “Watering Place of ‘Abbas” (*siqāya-yi ‘Abbās*), which provided water for pilgrims (fig. 4[m]);²⁴ the “Mountain of Light” (*jabal al-nūr*), depicted as a domed structure (fig. 4[n]);²⁵ the “Dome of Zamzam” (*qubba-yi Zamzam*) (fig. 4[o]); and the “Station of Abraham”

(*maqām-i Ibrāhīm*), which generally refers to the rock where Abraham stood with his son Isma‘il when they rebuilt the Ka‘ba after its destruction in the flood of Noah’s time (fig. 4[p]).²⁶ Abraham and Isma‘il also restored primordial monotheism to the site. Below these four toponyms, each marked by a type of tall domed structure subtly distinguished by alterations in color and pattern, is an inscription referring to the “staircase of the Ka‘ba” (*daraja al-Ka‘ba* [...]) (fig. 4[q]).²⁷ A little further to the right—beyond the Shafi‘i station (fig. 4[e])—we find



Fig. 5. Sections 11–14 of the Timurid pilgrimage scroll. (Photo: Museum of Islamic Art, Doha, Qatar)

the “Minbar of the Friday Sermon” (*minbar al-khuṭba*), used after prayer (fig. 4[r]). A little further away there is yet another domed structure, the “Dome of the Hours” (*qubba al-sā‘āt*) (fig. 4[s]), perhaps a repository for time-measuring devices.²⁸

Adjacent to the Masjid al-Haram, the open-air sanctuary with the Ka’ba at its center, we find the representation of the “trotting space” (*mas‘ā*) between Mounts Safa and Marwa, which commemorates the site where Hagar and her son wandered in the desert looking for water.²⁹ The space is represented as a long rectangle lined with arcades, with other toponyms identified through *nasta‘līq* captions as the “Red Mountain” (*jabal al-aḥmar*) and the “Perfume Market” (*sūq al-‘aṭṭār*) (fig. 4 [u, v, w]). Mounts Safa and Marwa (fig. 4 [t, x]) are labelled in a script quite unlike the *nasta‘līq* captions, and could have been original to the production of the scroll. The two mountains are both represented as craggy outcrops of stone rendered in wash and lines of gray paint with a triple-bayed arcade in the background. Mounts

Safa and Marwa are shown as if the pilgrim were standing inside the trotting space perpendicular to them.

Section 11: Koran 2:158 completes the representation of the *mas‘ā* and Mounts Safa and Marwa by highlighting that entering the *mas‘ā* is permissible whether this is done on pilgrimage (*ḥajj*) or during a voluntary visit to the holy site (fig. 5, showing sections 11–14). The text, written in *thuluth* in black ink, reads: “Truly Safa and Marwa are the symbols of God. Whoever goes on pilgrimage to the House (of God), or on a Holy Visit, is not guilty of wrong if he walks around them.”

Section 12: So much of the square Kufic inscription is missing and/or damaged that it is impossible to read. Red was used for the background color.

Section 13: As mentioned earlier, Koran 48:2 is divided into four segments across the scroll. The continuation of section 6 here reads: “and subsequent [blames], and complete His favors.” The text is written in a monumental *thuluth* variant script in gold and outlined in black. Once again, the paper is reserved as a

cloud-shaped form on which the calligraphy is lofted, with the background—as in section 12—executed in red cross-hatching.

Section 14: Here the text offers another glorification of God, and includes some of “the beautiful names” (*al-asmāʾ al-ḥusna*) of God: “most Generous” (*al-akram*); “the Clement” (*al-raʿūf*); and “most Merciful” (*al-arḥam*). The line is written in a *thuluth* variant script in black ink.

Section 15: The second diagram depicts Medina and the Mosque of the Prophet Muhammad.³⁰ We find the same concept used to represent the Meccan Masjid al-Haram applied to Medina, especially in the treatment of the four minarets at the corners and the arcades with hanging lamps viewed as if seen from inside (fig. 6[a]). Four doors provide access to the mosque: the “Gate of Mercy” (*bāb al-rahma*), the “Gate of Peace” (*bāb al-salām*), “Gabriel’s Gate” (*bāb Jibrīl*), and the “Women’s Gate” (*bāb al-nisāʾ*) (fig. 6[b]).³¹ These are identified by captions but are not further distinguished from the other bays making up each of the four perimeter arcades. Below the mosque are the “palm trees of the sanctuary” (*nakhlhā-yi ḥaram*). As a unique feature of Medina, the palms secured its identification (fig. 6[c]).³² The *shahāda* is enclosed in a rectangular panel along the top edge of the mosque (fig. 6[d]).

The mosque structure is shown as a rectangle divided into two parts. To the left is the “Dome of the Messenger of God” (*qubba-yi rasūl Allāh*) (fig. 6[e]), which contains three rectangles representing the cenotaphs (*qabr*) of the Prophet Muhammad, Abu Bakr, and ʿUmar, respectively (fig. 6[f, g, h]), with Muhammad’s larger than the other two and placed above them. Abu Bakr and ʿUmar are further identified by their epithets, “the truthful” (*al-ṣiddīq*) and “the just” (*al-fārūq*). To the right of the dome, in the other half of the rectangle, we see depictions of the Prophet Muhammad’s mihrab, given an elaborate cusped form and a hanging lamp, and portrayed as if seen when facing it full on. His pulpit (*minbar al-khuṭba*) is depicted as if seen from the side and with a checkerboard pattern (fig. 6[i, j]).³³ A standard with banner viewed in profile is painted on the right side of the minbar. This might be one of the famous relics of the Prophet Muhammad; known as the *ʿuqāb*, it was used as a curtain by his wife ʿAʿisha and carried into battle by ʿAli during the conquest of Mecca and in subsequent

battles.³⁴ On the opposite side of the covered mosque space are two domed buildings identified as the “furnishings depot” (*farrāshkhāna*), which presumably contained soft furnishings such as carpets and textiles, and the “dome of the oil house” (*qubba-yi zaytkhāna*), which stored oil and wax to be used for lighting (fig. 6 [k, l]).

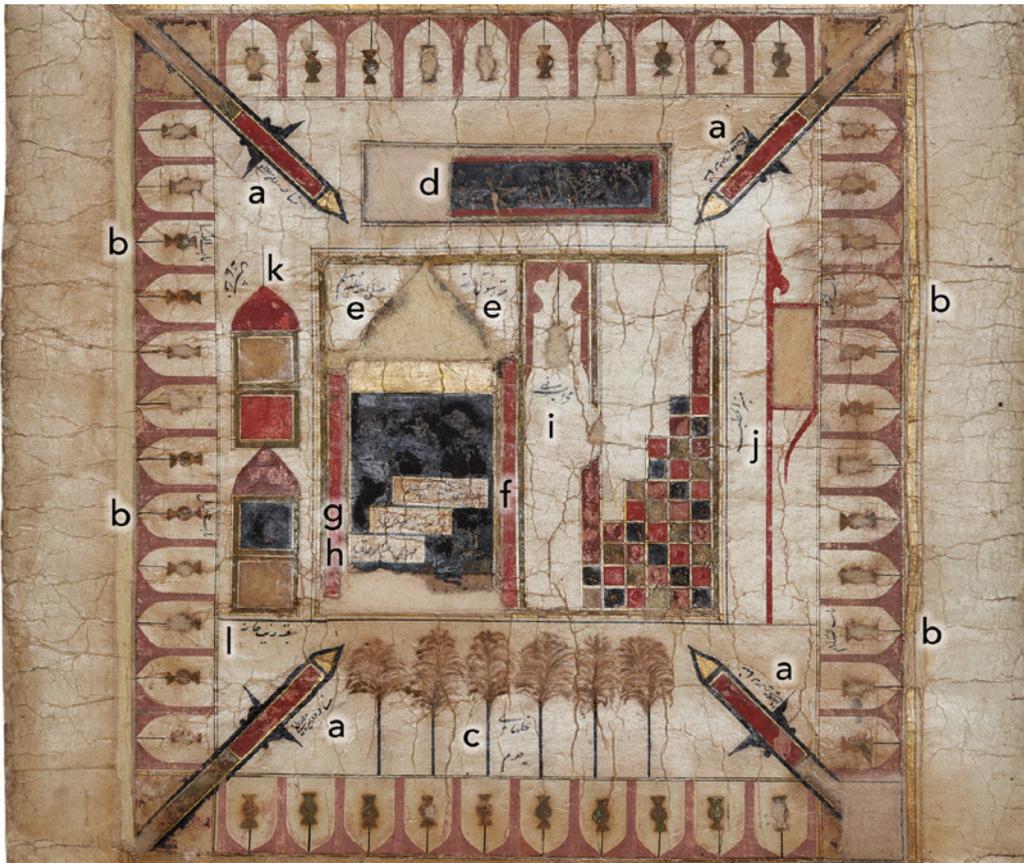
Section 16: Koran 3:144—written in black *muḥaqqaq* over a cloud of reserved paper enclosed by a red cross-hatched ground—completes the section on Medina by glorifying the Prophet Muhammad (fig. 7, showing sections 16 and 17). An apt transition to the next section of the scroll, the verse reads: “Muhammad is only a messenger, and many a messenger has gone before him.”

Section 17: The Prophet Muhammad’s sandal is enclosed in a rectangle, the interstices decorated with florals and circular motifs adorned with fluttering cloths that resemble tassels (fig. 7). The interlaced motifs are later additions. Inscriptions run around the outer edge of the sandal and also appear in a panel in the middle, around which a large area of the support has been lost. Together, the inscriptions identify the sacred object as the “noble sandals” (*naʿāl al-sharīfa*) and mention their talismanic use, i.e., their significant apotropaic and, presumably, therapeutic powers. The inscriptions making up the “image/likeness” (*mithāl*) of the sandal are written in *riqāʿ* script in black ink.

The sandal held a variety of meanings as a marker distinguishing Muslims from boot-wearing Christians. In addition to the tradition that God ordered the Prophet Muhammad to wear sandals, there was the opinion that they were the best footwear for pilgrimage, as well as the belief that the Prophet Muhammad’s sandals had been close to the throne of God during the Ascension (*miʿrāj*).³⁵ Written sources devoted to the subject of the Prophet Muhammad’s sandal specify how it was made and aspects of its form in considerable detail.

Section 18: A thin strip of text designed in square Kufic has been severely damaged due to the corrosive effect of the pigment on the paper (fig. 8, showing sections 18 and 19). What little remains is illegible. The calligraphy was executed in black and outlined with a light color on a green background.

Section 19: Another part of Koran 48:2 —“on you, and guide you”—continuing on from sections 6 and 13. The text is written in a monumental *thuluth* variant script, in



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Fig. 6. Medina. Section 15 of the Timurid pilgrimage scroll. (Photo: Museum of Islamic Art, Doha, Qatar)



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Fig. 7. The Prophet Muhammad's sandal. Sections 16–17 of the Timurid pilgrimage scroll. (Photo: Museum of Islamic Art, Doha, Qatar)



Fig. 8. Sections 18–19 of the Timurid pilgrimage scroll. (Photo: Museum of Islamic Art, Doha, Qatar)

gold outlined in black and framed inside a cloud border over red cross-hatching.

Section 20: This single line of text, written in a *thuluth* variant script in black ink, extols the Prophet Muhammad as the “best of the Arabs and the Persians and the illuminator of iniquity” (*khayr al-‘arab wa al-‘ajam wa sarāj al-ẓulm*); it continues seamlessly into the next section (fig. 9, showing sections 20 and 21).

Section 21: Written in a smaller-sized *naskh* script in black ink, the text continues with a blessing upon God, the Prophet Muhammad, and all of “the prophets and messengers” (*al-anbīyā’ wa al-mursilīn*). It then transitions to the main part of the text with the conventional phrase “now then” (*ammā ba’d*), highlighted in gold ink (fig. 9). God’s support is requested for Sayyid b. Yusuf b. Sayyid Shihab al-Din of Transoxiana. (His name replaces that of the original pilgrim; this redaction is discussed below). The text offers details about the pilgrim’s journey and informs us that he undertook, in this case, an *‘umra*. The text describes the different rituals performed over the course of one week by Sayyid Yusuf. These included circumambulating (*ṭawāf*) the Ka’ba, kissing the Black Stone, pronouncing invocations and prayers (*du‘ā*), and making supplications (*taḍarru‘*) below the *mīzāb*; he also offered two sequences of prayer (*raḳ‘a*) following the accepted tradition (*sunna*), and made a circuit (*ṭawāf*) around the Station of Abraham.³⁶

The text is flanked on either side by illegible square Kufic inscriptions set in rectangles (the corrosive damage of the pigment has caused significant losses). The script is composed of small squares of pink set over a green ground and inside borders of red and gold rulings.

Section 22: The text continues from the previous section but is now written in a larger *thuluth* script to highlight the Prophet Muhammad, who is here blessed (fig. 10, showing sections 22–25).

Section 23: This is a continuation of the text from the previous section, written now in a smaller-sized *naskh* script flanked by borders of square Kufic inscriptions as in section 21. The *naskh* text here mentions the continued observance of practices required by the pilgrim in the Meccan Haram—drinking water from the Well of Zamzam, pressing against the *multazam*—and quickly transitions to Medina, where the pilgrim visited various sites, though they are not identified. The remainder of the text stresses the Prophet Muhammad’s support and intercession on behalf of the pilgrim, who had dreamed all his life of accomplishing this *‘umra*. The support of the pilgrim’s friends in realizing this goal is also acknowledged. The last line offers a blessing on the Prophet Muhammad and introduces a saying that continues into section 24.

The square Kufic inscriptions flanking the main text in *naskh* are so damaged as to be rendered illegible. *Section 24:* This is a continuation of the text from the previous section, written in a larger *thuluth* script to emphasize the content. According to the saying of the Prophet Muhammad that appears in this section, God’s servants should assist each other so that God will be prompted to help them in return. God will show mercy to those who themselves have been merciful to others.

Section 25: The concluding lines of text from the previous section are here written in a smaller-sized *naskh* script. The end of the saying reiterates God’s mercy for Muslims who show mercy to each other and the final line states that God will help whoever helps the aforementioned supplicant.

Square Kufic appears in boxes at either side of the text in *naskh* script—continuing the practice seen in earlier sections; though damaged, it can be read as “God” (*Allāh*). The Kufic is executed in red pigment, outlined with a lighter color, and set on a black ground.

Section 26: This inscription names and blesses Sayyid Baraka b. Hasan b. ‘Ajami b. Ramitha b. Muhammad al-Husayni al-Makki following the phrase “the situation as mentioned in that” (*al-ḥāl ka-mā dhukira fī dhālika*) (fig. 11, showing sections 26, 27, and 28). The phrase



Fig. 9. Sections 20–21 of the Timurid pilgrimage scroll. (Photo: Museum of Islamic Art, Doha, Qatar)



Fig. 10. Sections 22–25 of the Timurid pilgrimage scroll. (Photo: Museum of Islamic Art, Doha, Qatar)



Fig. 11. Sections 26–28 of the Timurid pilgrimage scroll. (Photo: Museum of Islamic Art, Doha, Qatar)

“the situation as mentioned in that” refers to the scroll, which records an *‘umra* verified by Sayyid Baraka.

Section 27: The marginal notation nearly repeats the text in section 26 (fig. 11). Here the name of the person, Husayn b. Hasan b. ‘Ali b. Malik b. Hasan al-Husayni al-Makki, is preceded by the phrase “the situation as mentioned in that, verified by our master, the poor one [before] God the Sublime” (*al-ḥāl ka-mā dhukira fi dhālika ṣaḥīḥ sayyidnā al-faqīr ilā Allāh ta‘ālā*).

Section 28: This is the conclusion of Koran 48:2, the earlier parts of which were spread out over sections 6, 13, and 19 (fig. 11). The text is written in a monumental *thuluth* variant script in black, set inside a cloud border with red cross-hatching indicating the ground. In a dogmatic tone reinforced by the sheer monumentality of the script, the text proclaims, “on the straight path” (*ṣirāṭān mustaqīman*).

Section 29: The next topographic image, depicting Jerusalem and the site of the “Noble Sanctuary” (*al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf*) (fig. 12),³⁷ features two green-domed structures centered amid an overall square composition, the one on the left symbolizing the Aqsa Mosque (*Masjid al-Aqṣā*), and the one on the right the Dome of the Rock (*Gunbad-i Ṣakhra*).³⁸ The composition suggests to the viewer that the outer arcades correspond to the perimeter walls of the Noble Sanctuary, the temple platform. As seen in the representations of Mecca and Medina, the four minarets at the corners are labelled in association with their most proximate buildings (fig.

12[a] for the Aqsa Mosque, and [b] for the Dome of the Rock). Two doors lead to the mosque and bear names similar to those of the Meccan sanctuary: “Ali’s Gate” (*bāb-i ‘Alī*), and “Gate of Peace” (*bāb al-salām*) (fig. 12[c, left side]). A third door, named “Gate of Hell” (*bāb-i Jahannam*), referring to the Jahannam Valley (*wādī Jahannam*) to the east of the Haram, is on the right side, adjacent to the Dome of the Rock (fig. 12[c, right side]).³⁹

The Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock are both depicted with domes set over tall chambers whose interiors feature an arch with hanging lamps and other elements. The Aqsa Mosque (fig. 12[d]) houses a form identified as the “Station of Abraham” (*maqām-i Ibrāhīm*) and a pulpit (*minbar*) (fig. 12[e and f]). According to tradition, the principal “Station of Abraham” is in Mecca (and is represented on the scroll), though another example was identified on the Nablus road at the village of Lajjun near Jerusalem.⁴⁰ Other key sites of the Aqsa Mosque seen in early pilgrimage manuals are not found here, chiefly the mihrabs of Mu‘awiya and ‘Umar b. al-Khattab.⁴¹ Yet other mihrabs, such as those of Zakariyya and David, are only described as being inside the Aqsa Mosque in fifteenth-century written sources.⁴²

The Dome of the Rock (fig. 12[g]) contains “Moses’s rod” (*‘aṣā-yi Mūsā*), “Isma‘il’s knife” (*kārda-yi Ismā‘īl*), recalling Abraham’s sacrifice, and “Hamza’s shield” (*sipar-i Ḥamza*) (fig. 12[h, i, j]). These relics reflect longstanding literary traditions that the Dome of the Rock housed a collection of valuable artefacts, some of

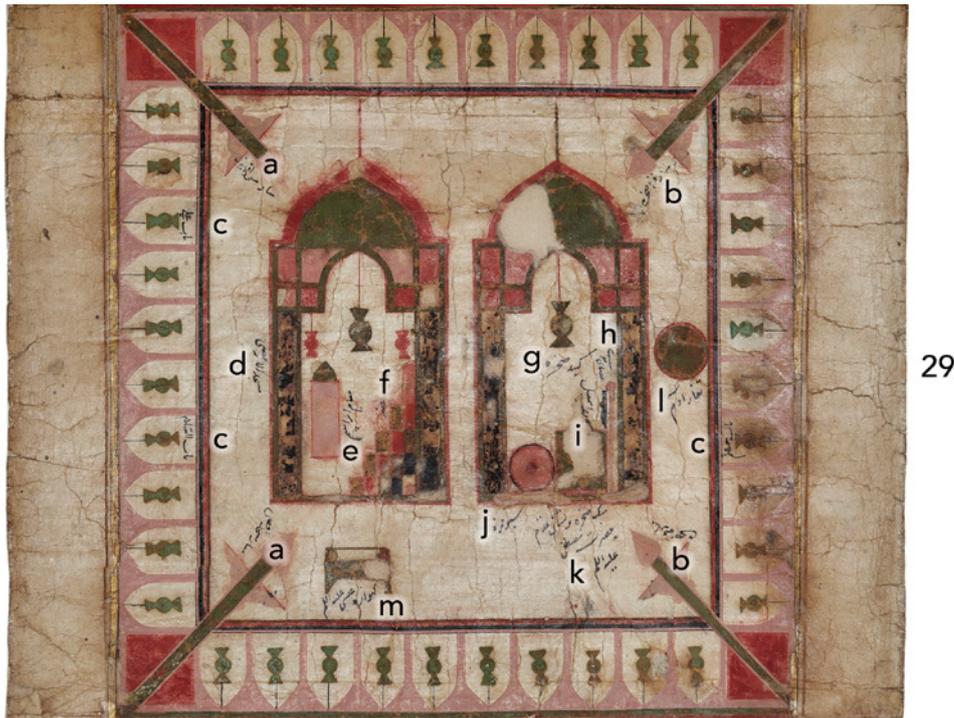


Fig. 12. Jerusalem. Section 29 of the Timurid pilgrimage scroll. (Photo: Museum of Islamic Art, Doha, Qatar)

them related to the prophets whose line ended with the Prophet Muhammad.⁴³ Moses's rod does not seem to have been commonly identified with Jerusalem, but one tradition locates it in Lake Tiberias, in Palestine (where it is joined by the Ark of the Covenant).⁴⁴

The presence of Moses's rod might be a vague allusion to earlier traditions recording the belief that God ordered Moses to make the direction of prayer from a rock on the site that the Aqsa Mosque would later occupy.⁴⁵ The knife used by Abraham to make the sacrifice is not mentioned in any known source. The shield of Hamza (b. 'Abd al-Muttalib), the Prophet Muhammad's paternal uncle, symbolized Hamza's strident support of Islam in battle (after his somewhat late conversion to the new faith).⁴⁶

An inscription immediately below the image of the Dome of the Rock describes it as the "stone of the rock and impression of the footprint of his holiness, the chosen" (*sang-i sakhra va nishānī-yi qadam-i ḥaẓrat muṣṭafā*) (fig. 12[k]). This commemorates the Prophet Muhammad's Ascension (*mi'rāj*) from Jerusalem to the seven heavens, paradise, and hell.⁴⁷ Other sites marked

on the image include "Adam's Cave" (*tughār-i Adam*) and the "Cradle of Jesus" (*kahvāra-i 'Īsā*) (fig. 12[l, m]). The Biblical tradition records Adam's burial in Jerusalem. In the Muslim tradition, the first man, who was the first prophet, is also thought to have been buried in Jerusalem—but only after his initial burial in a cave at Mount Abu Qubays in Mecca—as well as in Hebron, and other sites.⁴⁸ According to Shi'i tradition, Noah transported Adam's body for burial in Najaf.⁴⁹ Since Hebron is represented on the scroll in section 31, the identification of Adam's Cave is difficult to explain (the only proximate "caves" are beneath the Dome of the Rock and the substructures of the Haram al-Sharif).⁵⁰ While the Cradle of Jesus (Ar. *mahd 'Īsā*) is not mentioned in written sources before the tenth century, eighth-century traditions are attested about Jesus speaking from the cradle in Jerusalem and were reiterated in later times.⁵¹ The Cradle of Jesus has long since become a site of visitation on the Haram al-Sharif.⁵²

Section 30: A portion of verse 163 of Sura 4 (*al-Nisā*' [The Women]) of the Koran introduces the next topographic image, which depicts the Cave of the Patriarchs



Fig. 13. Hebron. Sections 30–31 of the Timurid pilgrimage scroll. (Photo: Museum of Islamic Art, Doha, Qatar)

in Hebron (fig. 13, showing sections 30 and 31). The Koranic verse states that God inspired the prophets Abraham, Isma‘il, Isaac, and Jacob: “And We sent revelations to Abraham, and Ishmael and Isaac and Jacob.” The line is written in a modestly sized *thuluth* script in black ink.

Section 31: The Cave of the Patriarchs, in Hebron, is depicted as an arcaded court with hanging lamps suspended from the arches and four minarets (fig. 13).⁵³ The minarets are identified as being of the “sacred precinct of God’s friend [viz. Abraham]” (*manār-i ḥaram-i Khalīl Allāh*) (fig. 13[a]). A circle identifies the position of “Abraham’s Cave” (*maghāra-yi Ibrāhīm*) along the lower center (fig. 13[b]), with the minbar—composed of a checkerboard pattern—of the mosque of “God’s friend” at the lower right (fig. 13[c]). The occupants of the four domed burial sites (*qabr*), whose interiors show cenotaphs, are, from left to right: Joseph (fig. 13[d]) (his alone has a single cenotaph); Jacob and Mu‘mina Khatun (lit. “the faithful lady”), that is, either Leah or Rachel

(fig. 13[e, f]);⁵⁴ Abraham and his wife Sarah (lit. “Lady Sarah” [*Sārah Khātūn*]) (fig. 13[g, h]); and Isaac, with a grave below designated as “the tomb of Isaac’s wife” (*qabr-i ḥaram-i Ishāq*) (fig. 13[i, j]), though Rebecca is not named. Only one entrance to the sanctuary is identified, namely, the “Gate of Peace” (*bāb al-salām*).

The image of Hebron depicts the four burial sites near one another. The pilgrimage narratives of Nasir-i Khusraw (1047) and ‘Ali b. Abi Bakr al-Harawī (d. 1215) emphasize that “Abraham’s Cave,” or grotto, housed the bodies of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Abraham’s wife Sarah, with Joseph’s tomb—a domed building—at some distance from it and to the southwest.⁵⁵ When the Mamluk governor Sanjar al-Jawli refurbished the site in 1318–20—building over the mosque completed by Salah al-Din in 1188—a cenotaph for Joseph was added to the interior. Its presence is recorded in the later pilgrimage narrative of Ibn Battuta in 1326.⁵⁶ The four tombs visualize the line of prophetic descent from Abraham to Isaac



Fig. 14. Sections 32–33 of the Timurid pilgrimage scroll. (Photo: Museum of Islamic Art, Doha, Qatar)

to Jacob and Joseph, while also giving prominence to the matriarchs.

Section 32: A series of square Kufic inscriptions follows the representation of Hebron, beginning with five square compositions in which the palette shifts from red on green to black on pink, pink on green, black on pink, and red on green (fig. 14, showing sections 32 and 33). The inked grid that was used as a guide to construct the square Kufic text remains visible. The outer squares at left and right make use of red letters on a green ground to present the names of Muhammad and ‘Ali, which are rotated four times and connected at the center to form a swastika. The adjacent squares—painted in black and pink—feature the name of Muhammad in the middle, surrounded by the names of Abu Bakr, ‘Umar, ‘Uthman, and ‘Ali, the four Rightly Guided Caliphs. In the center square composition, the name Muhammad appears in pink Kufic letters, rotated four times on a green ground.

Section 33: A large square composition is made up of a border of square Kufic with the text in black and the ground in pink, and a square in the middle that also contains a square Kufic inscription, this time painted in green on a pink ground (fig. 14). The square is separated from the epigraphic border by thick lines painted in black, green, and red. The text in the border announces the names and conventional titles, or honorifics (*laqab*), of the Prophet Muhammad and the Twelve Imams. There is an opening invocation and a concluding blessing: “O God! [Pray] for Muhammad the elect, and ‘Ali the beloved, and Hasan the chosen, and Husayn the martyr of Karbala, and ‘Ali the ornament of the worshippers, and Muhammad the revealer, and Ja‘far the honest, and Musa the calm, and ‘Ali the pleasing one, and Muhammad the God-fearing, and ‘Ali the pure one, and Hasan the soldier, and Muhammad the guided one, the lord of time, peace upon them.”⁵⁷ The text runs from the outer

lower right in a clockwise spiral, concluding at the lower right of the central square.

The text of the central square repeats the second half of Koran 33:33, which appears in section 2 at the opening of the scroll. The repetition of the same Koranic verse in sections 2 and 33 establishes a textual symmetry, book-ending the scroll.

Sections 34 and 35: These sections are composed of a rectangular panel framed by a braided border with the central field divided into three parts (fig. 15, showing sections 34 and 35). The top and bottom parts contain verse 55 of Sura 5 (*al-Mā'ida* [The Feast]) of the Koran, written in *thuluth* script in black ink: "Your only friends are God and His Messenger, and those who believe and are steadfast in devotion, who pay the alms and bow in homage [before God]." The verse is not related to the pilgrimage but states that the true believer's only friends are God, the Prophet Muhammad, and Muslims; these lines emphasize necessary acts such as prayers, the payment of alms (*zakat*), and homage to God. The line of text at the bottom, written in pink *thuluth* script and set inside a black cartouche, reads: "This is the place of witnessing [tomb] of the Commander of the Faithful" (*hadhā mashhad amīr al-mu'minīn*), in reference to the tomb of 'Ali in Najaf, which is depicted in the next section.

Section 36: While Najaf is not explicitly named in the preceding caption (section 35), the illustration is composed of a domed tomb set within an arcaded compound whose labels specify it as the burial place of Murtada' 'Ali (fig. 16).⁵⁸ As in previous topographic representations, Najaf is depicted as a sacred space bounded by four arcades with hanging lamps and minarets rising from each corner (fig. 16[a]). Only one entrance is labelled, the "Gate of Peace" (*bāb al-salām*) (fig. 16[b]). The tomb is a tall slender structure capped by a dome, with multiple lamps hanging in the interior and a cenotaph ornamented with colorful discs. The cenotaph is described as the "chest of 'Ali the beloved, may God be pleased with him" (*ṣundūq-i Murtaḍā' 'Alī raḍā' Allāh 'anhu*) (fig. 16[c]). Two objects are depicted outside the tomb. To the right we see the iconic double-bladed sword, an attribute of 'Ali given to him by the Prophet Muhammad in the Battle of Uhud. Labelled

as the "double-pointed sword of the viceroy of Najaf" (*dhū al-fiqār shahna al-Najaf*) (fig. 16[d]), it is another object of symbolic ritual value. To the left, balancing the sword—and the composition as a whole—we see a metalwork candlestick with a candle.

Section 37: The single line of text functions as a caption introducing the topographic representation of Karbala in the next section 38 (fig. 17, showing sections 37 and 38). The caption, written in *thuluth* script in black ink, reads: "This is the place of witnessing of the Commander of the Faithful Husayn b. 'Ali, may God be pleased with them" (*hadhā mashhad amīr al-mu'minīn Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī raḍā' Allāh 'anhumā*). While Karbala is not named in the caption, the site was commonly referred to as the shrine—or place of martyrdom—of Husayn (*mashhad al-Ḥusayn*).

Section 38: Husayn's shrine in Karbala is depicted in a manner echoing that of his father, 'Ali, at Najaf, and is conceptually consistent with all of the sacred precincts depicted in the earlier sections of the scroll (fig. 17).⁵⁹ We find the same courtyard enclosed by arcades with suspended lamps—signifying its illumination, surely a visual metaphor for spirituality and holy emanation—and the same towering minarets anchored in the corners of the precinct (fig. 17[a], *manār mashhad al-Ḥusayn*).⁶⁰ One point of entrance and exit is labelled as the "Gate of Peace" (*bāb al-salām*) (fig. 17[b]). The tomb is morphologically identical to that of 'Ali at Najaf, depicted as a tall domed chamber illuminated from within by hanging lamps and featuring a broken arch of the type associated with architecture of the Ilkhanid period, perhaps intended to signify the historical vintage of the building.⁶¹ The cenotaph is similarly ornamented with a series of polychrome discs (fig. 17[c], *ṣandūq amīr al-mu'minīn Ḥusayn raḍā' Allāh 'anhu*). Also comparable to the previous image of Najaf are the two objects flanking Husayn's tomb, which are, in this instance, two metalwork candlesticks with candles. Repetitions in the visual conception of the shrines at Karbala and Najaf emphasize the relationship between Husayn and 'Ali as son and father, and as imams, while their general topographic features highlight a sacral nature also seen in the preceding locales represented on the scroll, namely, Hebron, Jerusalem, Medina, and Mecca.

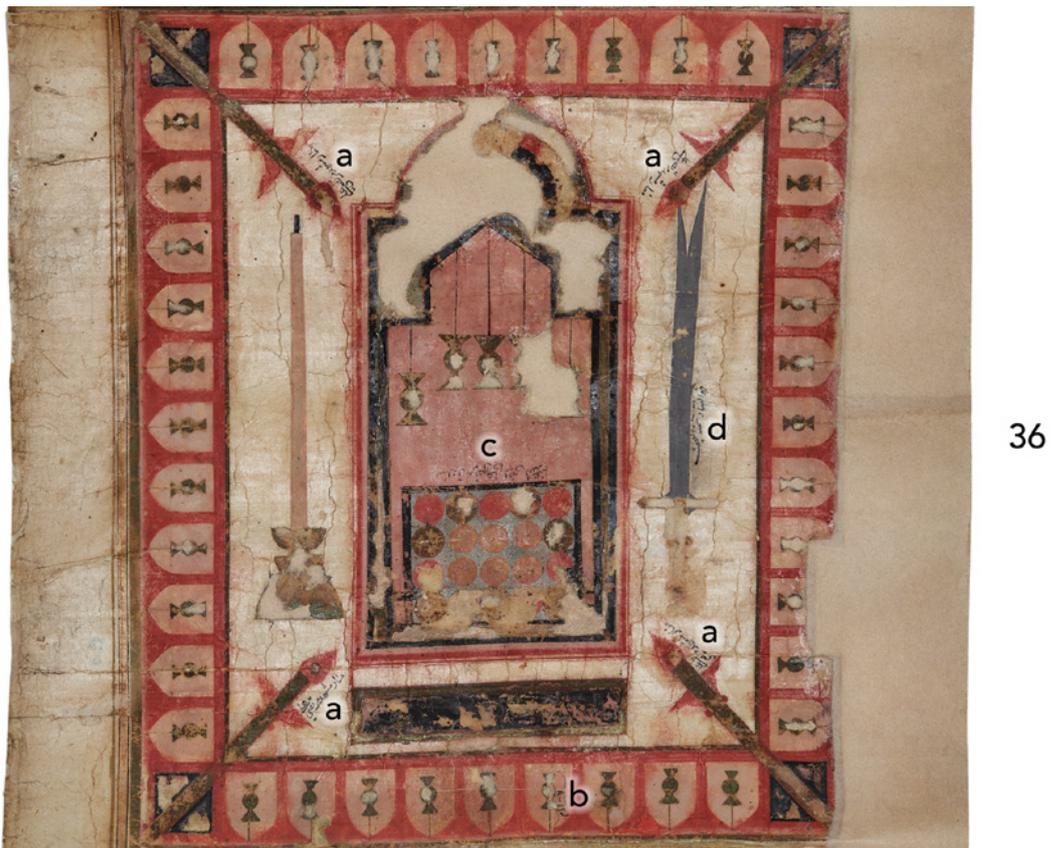


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Fig. 15. Sections 34–35 of the Timurid pilgrimage scroll. (Photo: Museum of Islamic Art, Doha, Qatar)



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Fig. 16. Najaf. Section 36 of the Timurid pilgrimage scroll. (Photo: Museum of Islamic Art, Doha, Qatar)

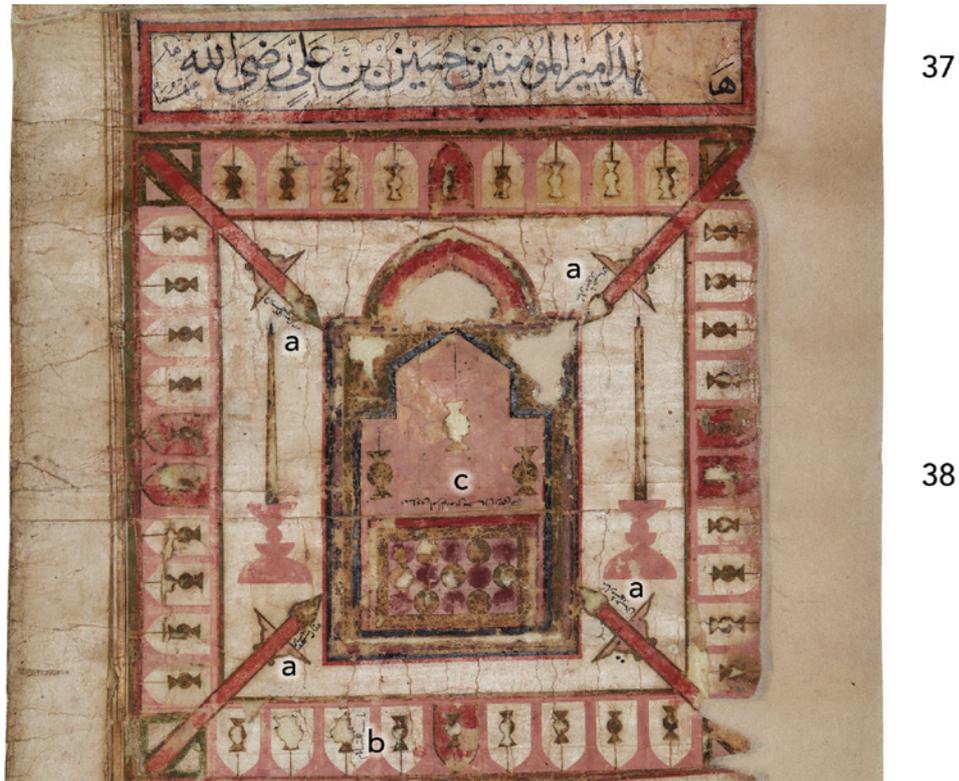


Fig. 17. Karbala. Sections 37–38 of the Timurid pilgrimage scroll. (Photo: Museum of Islamic Art, Doha, Qatar)

Section 39: The scroll concludes with twenty-six lines written in *riqāʿ* script in black ink (figs. 18–21). A mixture of Arabic and Persian, the text, which is prefaced by the monumental *basmala* (*bi-ism Allāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm*), is enclosed in cloud-like forms against a ground of crosshatched lines ruled in ochre and red ink. It describes the Najaf segment of the pilgrimage and is dated 21 Muharram 837 (September 6, 1433), which is, notably, eleven days after the major Shiʿi feast of *ʿĀshūrāʿ* commemorating Husayn’s martyrdom. The pilgrim who performed the visitations is named: Sayyid Yusuf b. Sayyid Shihab al-Din of Transoxiana. Unlike section 21, this is not a later addition.

After praising God and the Prophet Muhammad, the narrative states that the reason for writing the scroll (*sabab-i taḥrīr in kalamāt va taqrīr in muqaddamāt*) was to record Sayyid Yusuf’s journey to the shrine of ʿAli in Najaf. ʿAli b. Abi Talib is then extolled through an invocation of his numerous qualities and titles. Next

come the details of Sayyid Yusuf’s pilgrimage to Najaf—which is identified as a shrine (*mashhad* and *rawḍa*), as well as a “noble threshold” (*ʿataba-yi sharifa*).⁶² He walked to the precinct, kissed the threshold and placed his foot on it, and made a circumambulation followed by two sequences of prayer, according to the accepted custom. He humbled himself by kissing the hand of ʿAli b. Hasan b. ʿAli b. Kammuna al-Husayni as a sign of respect. Kammuna is also praised and blessings are offered to him and his family. After Sayyid Yusuf visited the four *ḥarams* and two *mashhads*, he was presented with a wallet (*sufra*), two lamps (*chirāgh*), and a standard (*ʿalam*), and made “successor to the dervishes” (*khalīfa-yi darvīshān*), which gave him the authority to give and receive robes (*kisvat*) and to give and receive rites (*ṭarīq*). We next learn that Sayyid Yusuf commissioned the scroll to present to leaders and dignitaries in whatever region of the world he happened to be traveling. According to the text, when presented with



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Fig. 18. Section 39 of the Timurid pilgrimage scroll. (Photo: Museum of Islamic Art, Doha, Qatar)



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Fig. 19. Section 39 of the Timurid pilgrimage scroll. (Photo: Museum of Islamic Art, Doha, Qatar)



39

Fig. 20. Section 39 of the Timurid pilgrimage scroll. (Photo: Museum of Islamic Art, Doha, Qatar)



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Fig. 21. Section 39 of the Timurid pilgrimage scroll. (Photo: Museum of Islamic Art, Doha, Qatar)



40

Fig. 22. Section 40 of the Timurid pilgrimage scroll. (Photo: Museum of Islamic Art, Doha, Qatar)

this scroll, sultans (*salāṭīn*), amirs (*umārā*), governors (*navvāb*), viziers (*vuzarā*), lords (*sādāt*), sayyids (*sādāt*), judges (*quḍāt*), holders of fiefs (*ayyima*), the wealthy (*aghniyā*), dervishes (*takiya-dārān*), standard bearers (*alam-dārān*), and superintendents of endowments and treasuries (*mutavalīyān-i avqāfva bayt al-māl*) should all honor and respect Sayyid Yusuf and offer him every form of assistance. The text closes with an invocation to God and a request that God bless the Prophet Muhammad, his family, and his Companions. It is here that the date is written.

Section 40: The concluding section of the scroll contains the signatures of the six witnesses who verified the completion of Sayyid Yusuf's pilgrimage (fig. 22). These are arranged in three lines and read (from right to left and top to bottom): "And as we said, the one who needs God the Sublime's mercy, Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Husayn b. 'Ali b. Hazin al-Khazin, may he have God the Sublime's pardon" (*wa ka-dhā qūlu al-muḥtāj ilā raḥma a h* [abbrev. for "Allāh"] *ta'ālā Muḥammad bin Aḥmad bin Ḥusayn bin 'Alī bin Ḥazīn al-Khāzīn ghafr Allāhu ta'ālā lahu*); "As we said, the poor one before God the Great, Ahmad b. Husayn b. 'Ali b. Hazin al-Khazin, may he

have God's pardon" (*ka-dhā qūlu al-faqīr ilā Allāh ta'ālā Aḥmad bin Ḥusayn bin 'Alī bin Ḥazīn al-Khāzīn ghafr a h* [abbrev. for "Allāh"] *lahu*); "The situation as heard, exaltation and [...], least of the servants of God the Sublime, 'Ali b. Husayn b. 'Ali b. Kammuna al-Husayni, may God the Sublime pardon him" (*al-ḥāl ka-mā sumi'a [i'lā'] wa [...]* *aṣghar al-ibād ilā Allāh ta'ālā 'Alī bin Ḥusayn bin 'Alī bin Kammūna al-Ḥusaynī 'afā Allāh ta'ālā 'anhu*); "The poor one [before] God the Rich, 'Ali Asghar, son of the possessor of excellent qualities, the Husayni" (*al-faqīr ilā Allāh al-ghanī 'Alī Aṣghar bin Abī al-Makārim al-Ḥusaynī*); "The neediest of God's worshippers, Abu Talib al-Husayni" (*aḥwaj 'ubbād Allāh Abū Ṭālib al-Ḥusaynī*); and "Written by 'Abd al-[...] Muhammad Asghar, son of the possessor of excellent qualities, the Husayni" (*katabahu 'Abd [al-...] Muḥammad Aṣghar bin Abī al-Makārim al-Ḥusaynī*).

While the first three attestations are written out in three lines each, with formulas specifying their role in verifying the pilgrim's actions, the second group of three signatures lacks this explicit textual protocol. Instead, they share the distinctive visual form of the *tuḡhrā*, a stylized pattern within which the elements of the per-

son's name are composed, often in the shape of a seal.⁶³ From their signatures, we know that the first two witnesses also held the position of *khāzin*, a term used in the context of medieval Islamic administration for workers in finances and the chancellery. The *khāzin*, literally "he who keeps safe, stores something away," was typically a keeper and or archivist. Because of this important role, it was crucial that the *khāzin* be a person of the highest moral probity.⁶⁴

The only other person whose name furnishes clues of more precise historical value is 'Ali b. Husayn b. 'Ali b. Kammuna al-Husayni, the figure whose hand Sayyid Yusuf kissed during his visit to 'Ali's *mashhad* in Najaf. The Kammuna tribe of Iraq had a long association with Baghdad, Najaf, and Karbala. After the Safavid ruler Shah Isma'il took Baghdad in 1508, he released the imprisoned local leader of the Twelver Shi'i, named Sayyid Muhammad Kammuna, and visited the Shi'i shrines of 'Ali in Najaf and Husayn in Karbala, to which he gave numerous presents while also issuing orders to have the former rebuilt and the latter repaired. Muhammad Kammuna, who was made keeper of the shrine at Najaf, died in 1514 supporting Shah Isma'il at the Battle of Chaldiran.⁶⁵ Before Shah Isma'il's campaign in Iraq, the Kammuna family had held the position in Baghdad of "head of the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad" (*nāqib al-ashrāf*).⁶⁶ The Doha scroll offers evidence of the privileged place enjoyed by the Kammuna family in Najaf society as early as the 1430s, if not before.

TECHNICAL EXAMINATION OF THE SCROLL

Physical description and condition

Before it was acquired in 1998, the scroll, which is currently in good condition, was conserved with museum-standard treatments including mending and inlays of losses with toned Japanese paper. The support has also been fully lined: this addition limits the visibility of the verso and prevents the accurate measurement of paper thickness and texture. Two pieces of equipment were used to visually observe and study the object: the light sheet and the digital microscope. Both devices reveal information that is not visible to the naked eye. The light

sheet is a great help not only for assessing the current and past condition of the support but also because it provides us with a better understanding of the fabrication and layout of the scroll. The digital microscope enables in-depth observation by supplying close-up views that can buttress arguments concerning the conception and history of the scroll.

After examining the scroll with transmitted light, however, it became clear that the object must have been in poor condition before conservation, and that a thorough treatment such as a lining was required to provide physical cohesion to the support, which shows extensive areas of paper loss in the sections with polychrome images. Large pieces of the borders have also been lost and the verso reveals pulled-out sections of paper that are visible with the transmitted light sheet. Areas of the painted and drawn religious sites that had previously been lost have now been replaced with modern infills. At the beginning of the scroll, the paper support is widely missing around the Kufic square (fig. 2, sections 1–3). The Ka'ba (fig. 4, section 10) also shows a large loss in its center, as do the upper and lower areas of the Mosque of the Prophet Muhammad in Medina (fig. 23) and areas around the image of the Prophet Muhammad's sandal (fig. 23).

There are three main interrelated causes for the scroll's deterioration. First, it has been subject to intensive handling and use, leading to physical damage to the support. Repeated rolling and unrolling have contributed to the network of horizontal cracks, tearing, and losses. The second cause of damage stems from the corrosive effect of some pigments, which is a contributing factor in the deterioration of the support. Over time, the copper-based green pigment has corroded under humid conditions and has taken on an unfortunate brown tone. The process of corrosion degrades cellulose materials and causes cracks and extended areas of loss (fig. 24). Most parts of the Kufic inscriptions painted in green have now disappeared, depriving us of the opportunity to read and analyze them. The third cause of damage relates to the brown marks and stains on the support. It seems that the scroll has suffered from water damage that caused blurring of the paint and ink and also catalyzed the green pigment corrosion.



Fig. 23. The use of transmitted light in the image of the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina (fig. 6, section 15) reveals the extent of degradations in the support. The lighter areas correspond to the missing parts of the paper due to copper green pigment corrosion or intensive handling of the scroll. (Photo: Museum of Islamic Art, Doha, Qatar)

The pigment layers present severe mechanical degradations including abrasions, flaking, and losses. These are caused by several factors, chiefly, the handling and use of the scroll, its format, and the quality of the means of production. In general, the paints were applied in thick layers that tend to be more prone to flaking (fig. 24). White washes were also applied to hide stains, marks, and pigment smears, as seen in the large calligraphic panel above the Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem (fig. 25). However, it is not possible to determine when these additions occurred in the history of the object. Some retouching was also done to tone down the pigment abrasions or losses.



Fig. 24. Detail of the image of the Masjid al-Haram in Mecca (fig. 4, section 10), showing copper green pigment corrosion in the mosque lamps and vermilion pigment losses. The brown pigment used to paint the arches was manufactured with vermilion, lead white, and an iron-based component. (Photo: Museum of Islamic Art, Doha, Qatar)

The paper support

The scroll measures 35 centimeters in width by 615 centimeters in length (the length including modern conservation treatments is 665 cm). The support is made up of numerous sheets of paper of various sizes joined horizontally. Large joints measuring about 1–1.5 centimeters seem to be part of the original conception of the scroll, whereas the thin strips of paper on the verso (visible through the transmitted light sheet) are confusing: it is unclear whether they represent the results of old repairs, the joints of original sheets, or altered portions of paper. Therefore, it is not easy to determine the exact measurement, number, and pattern of arrangement of the separate paper sheets. Moreover, some pieces of the border were added later and do not match the papers used to join the sheets. All of these features indicate that the scroll was restored at different periods in time and



Fig. 25. The image of the Haram al-Sharif in Jerusalem (fig. 12, section 29) features large painted areas of bright pink and red pigments that visually differ from the paints used in the images of Mecca and Medina. (Photo: Museum of Islamic Art, Doha, Qatar)

that some parts of it may have been altered or shuffled to produce new sequences. For example, observations made using transmitted light above the site of Mecca reveal horizontal and vertical strips of paper pasted onto the verso side, raising questions regarding the original arrangement of the three lines of calligraphy in sections 7, 8, and 9 (fig. 26). Similarly, we can observe that the sandal was painted on a narrow piece of paper measuring 35 centimeters in width by 15 centimeters in height, which seems to have been added to the scroll with thin strips of paper (fig. 27).

Close visual study using a transmitted light sheet and microscope reveals that the paper was torn out at the place of the signature (section 21). Figure 27 illustrates the loss of substrate indicated by the lighter zone. Figure 28, taken with a microscope under raking light, shows a clear indentation into the paper sheet. The new signature was then penned on the rough and dented paper

surface, disrupting the flow of the ink and the motion of the pen. The writing appears rugged in comparison to the fluid and clear calligraphy surrounding it (fig. 29).

Pigments and paints

The color palette is limited to three main pigments: black, green, and red. Gold paint is used for the ruled lines that frame the text, as well as for the outlines of the architecture and for the monumental inscriptions set between the images of religious sites. Dr. Myrto Georgakopoulou of University College London, Qatar, examined some specimens using X-ray fluorescence spectrometry, or XRF analysis. This non-destructive analytical method—which allows for the identification of heavy non-organic components—provided us with more information about the pigments used and the physical nature of the scroll.⁶⁷



Fig. 26. Transmitted light through the paper support above the image of Mecca (fig. 4, section 10) shows darker areas that correspond to paper overlaps. These are the result of either old repairs, the joints of sheets, or alterations to the composition of the scroll. (Photo: Museum of Islamic Art, Doha, Qatar)

Results regarding the green color highlight the presence of copper, indicating that it is a copper-based pigment. Verdigris is a general term used for copper-containing pigments of different chemical compositions, including copper basic, acetates, chlorides, carbonates, and other types of different chemical compositions.⁶⁸ The most common, basic copper acetate, results from the action of vinegar on copper plates (fig. 30). XRF spectrum analysis also reveals a small quantity of lead, which comes from another unknown material. Fresh verdigris was vibrant, and economical and easy to manufacture compared to malachite, an expensive mineral that was also time-consuming to grind and prepare.⁶⁹ However, copper-based pigments were widely used in Islamic manuscripts for not only economic but also practical

reasons, particularly because they were easy to apply to supports.

In the red pigment, analysis using XRF spectrometry has pinpointed the presence of sulphur and mercury, indicating that vermilion was used (fig. 31). Vermilion was produced either mechanically, by simply grinding cinnabar, a mercury (II) sulfide mineral, or synthetically, by combining mercury and molten sulphur before heating the mixture. Heat caused it to convert to the red crystalline form of mercuric sulphide.⁷⁰ It was a tedious and dangerous process, since mercury is highly toxic, but it provided a range of warm, dense hues valued by artists.⁷¹

The pink color found around the Prophet Muhammad's sandal and the arches enclosing the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina, and the brown hue seen in the



Fig. 27. The appearance of the Prophet Muhammad's sandal (fig. 7, sections 16–17) through the transmitted light sheet. (Photo: Museum of Islamic Art, Doha, Qatar)



Fig. 28. The lighter zone in the middle of the image (fig. 9, section 21) indicates that the paper was torn out, probably to remove the original pilgrim's name. (Photo: Museum of Islamic Art, Doha, Qatar)



Fig. 29. The magnified image of this area (fig. 9, section 21), taken with a microscope, shows a clear indentation in the paper structure, demonstrating that the support was excised. The replacement writing has rugged edges because of the rough, de-fibered surface of the paper. (Photo: Museum of Islamic Art, Doha, Qatar)

sacred precinct of Mecca, are derived from red vermilion. XRF spectrum analysis shows that the pink results from a mixture of vermilion and lead white (fig. 32). As reported in scientific surveys, there are several ways to obtain the color brown, resulting from various combinations of pigments such as minium, vermilion, indigo, and sometimes haematite (fig. 33).⁷² The latter, a mineral containing iron (III) oxide found in ochre, was rarely identified as a stand alone pigment but rather in mixture used to darken a hue.⁷³ Lead white is a basic lead (II) carbonate manufactured from lead scraps and vinegar. These colors—verdigris, vermilion, minium, and lead white—are common pigments encountered

in the Islamic palette from East to West and have been reported in scientific studies of Persianate painting.⁷⁴

Several passages of black ink were analyzed using XRF spectrometry on areas of the scroll's calligraphy as well as on the topographic and architectural images. The results highlight different components such as iron, lead, zinc, and copper, present in varying amounts, depending on the position on the scroll. Carbon, a light element not detected by the XRF method, has not been identified. While this does not help to identify the types of inks used, it does provide general information about the black medium. Black inks are usually of three kinds: carbon-based, metal-based, or mixtures of both (organic components and metallic ions). Identifying inks is, therefore, usually a complex process in light of the plethora of possible combinations, which varied according to the historical and artistic context, the availability of materials, and the personal recipes of the penman.

From a general perspective, we can observe that there are significant differences among the painted features of the images. The depictions of Mecca and Medina present a similar design and consistent layout. Even if the Medina minarets show fresh outlines of black ink, which seem to be a later addition, the details are fine and free from alterations, apart from a few pigments applied as retouching to tone down the effect of some abrasions. The architectural elements are outlined with a succession of thin ruled lines of black, green, and gold inks. The colors are also refined and subtle. On the other part of the scroll, after the portrayal of the Prophet Muhammad's sandal down to the site of Karbala, the palette maintains the same tonality of red, pink, and green, but the hues appear cruder and brighter. Pink is used extensively to cover large areas throughout the buildings and the arcades. The red is of a different quality and has blurred over the course of time. Moreover, the buildings are outlined with thick lines of red and green. The Karbala tomb features discs that are painted in purple, as opposed to the patterns painted in gray in the Najaf site. Neither color is found in the representations of Mecca and Medina. Also, unlike the latter two images, no gold paint is used on the other side of the scroll to highlight details or to frame buildings. As a result of these differences, the compositions representing

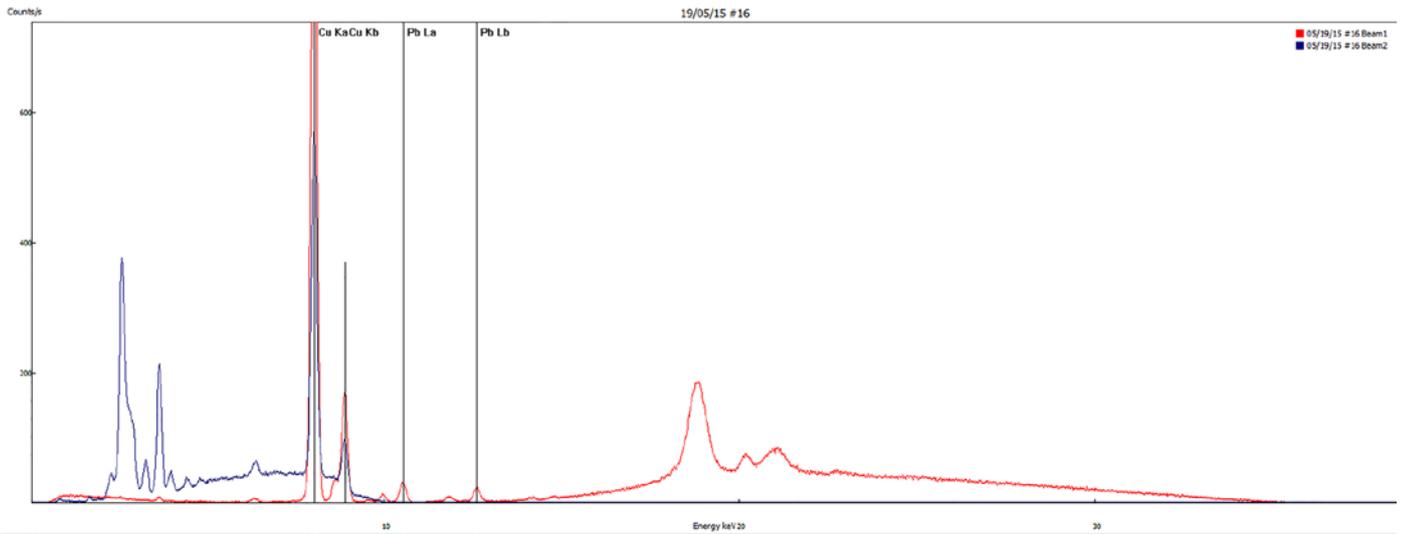


Fig. 30. XRF spectrum analysis of the copper green pigment highlights the presence of copper with a small quantity of lead. (Photo: Museum of Islamic Art, Doha, Qatar)

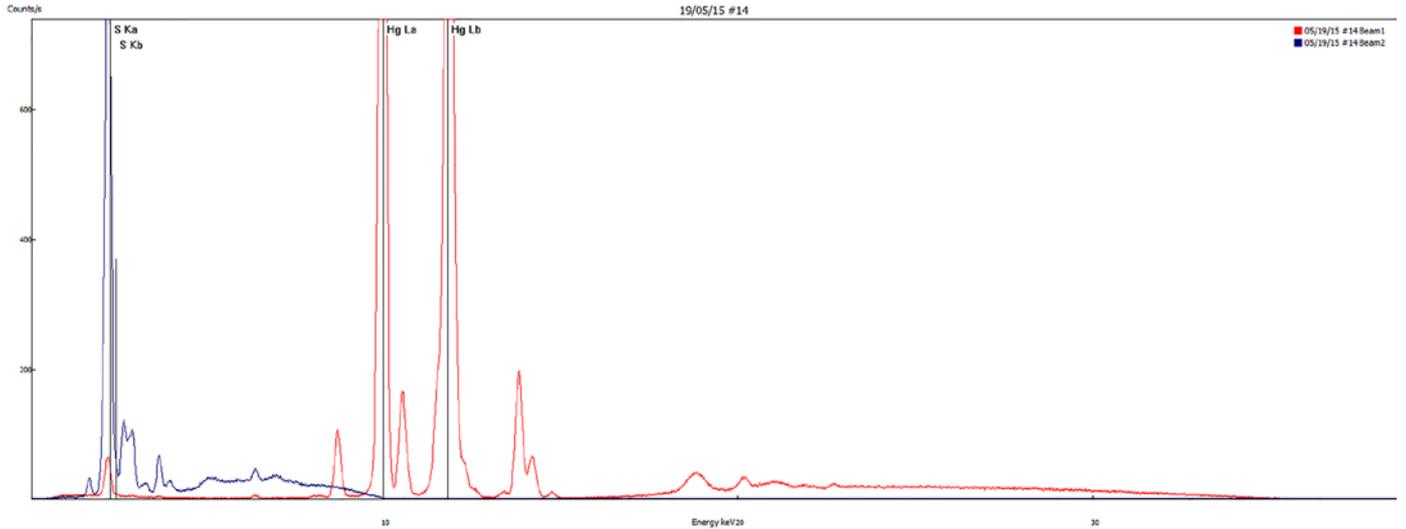


Fig. 31. XRF spectrum analysis of the vermilion pigment highlights the presence of its characteristic chemical compounds, such as mercury and sulphur. (Photo: Museum of Islamic Art, Doha, Qatar)

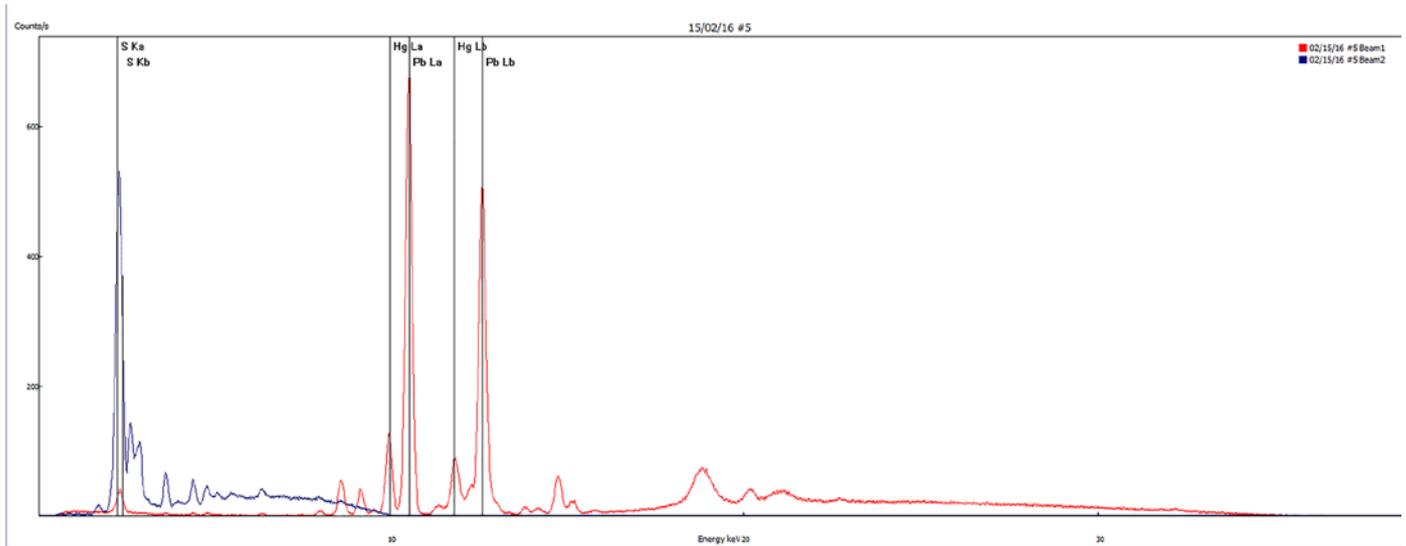


Fig. 32. XRF spectrum analysis of the pink pigment shows mercury, sulphur, and lead components, indicating that the color is constituted of vermilion and lead white. (Photo: Museum of Islamic Art, Doha, Qatar)

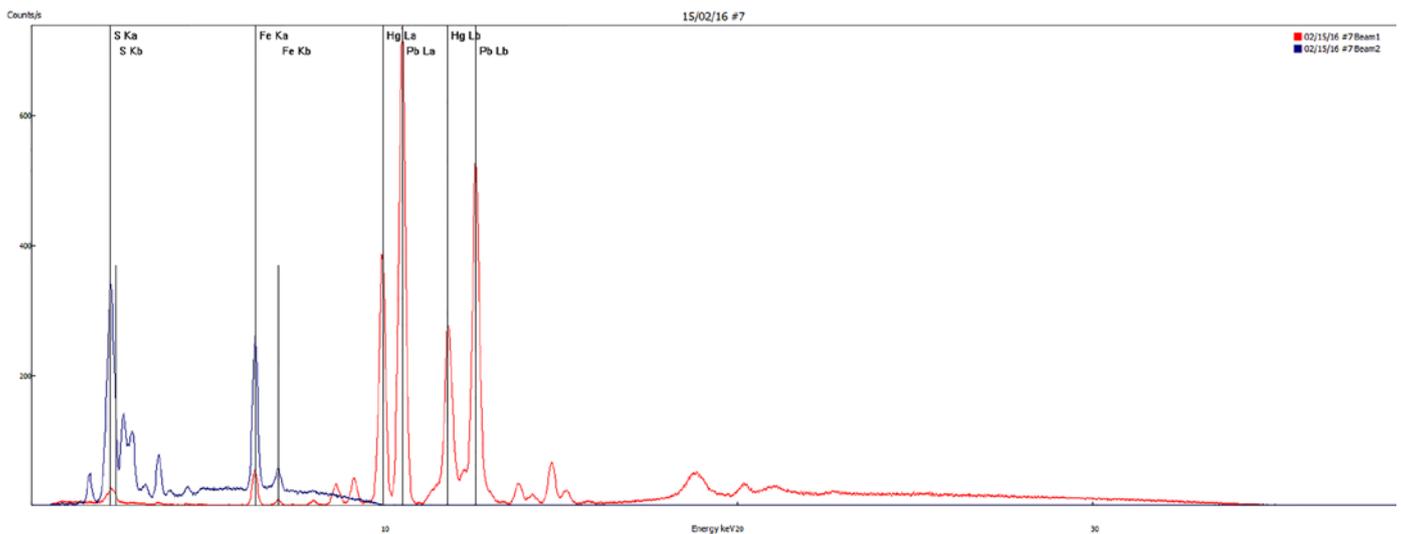


Fig. 33. In the XRF spectrum analysis of the brown pigment, the presence of mercury, sulphur, and iron highlights the presence of vermilion with an iron-based component, perhaps black ink or haematite. (Photo: Museum of Islamic Art, Doha, Qatar)

the Prophet Muhammad's sandal, Jerusalem, Hebron, Najaf, and Karbala appear rougher and more schematic than the images of Mecca and Medina.

INTERPRETING THE DOHA SCROLL

Before examining the Doha scroll in light of comparative artefacts, a process that will identify its conventional and (thus far) unique features, it is important to review first the evidence gathered from the technical analysis, which will be considered in conjunction with the artistic and aesthetic dimensions of the visual elements of the scroll, its various forms of calligraphic script, and the representations of Mecca, Medina, the Prophet Muhammad's sandal, Jerusalem, Hebron, Najaf, and Karbala.

Physical history and reproduction

On close inspection, the scroll is a mess. Its heavy use over time, with frequent unrolling and rolling, has caused creasing, abrasions, staining, and paint loss. To its further detriment, the corrosive effect of chemicals in the watercolor pigments has eaten away the paper support in some areas. These various effects are quite obvious upon cursory study. While the scroll might give the initial impression of having been made at one moment in time, it is actually the result of different periods of production and various kinds of intervention—interpolations, redactions, and additions—accomplished before and after the date of September 6, 1433, recorded in section 39.

The scroll can be divided into two main components, sections 1–28 and sections 29–40. Sections 1–28 are marked by a consistency in the materials, stylistic features, palette, and manner of execution of both the calligraphy and representations of the holy sites. This first component runs from the introductory texts (sections 1–3) through to the depictions of Mecca and Medina, the textual narrative describing the pilgrim's *'umra*, and the signatures of the witnesses (sections 26 and 27), ending with the final section of Koran 48:2 in section 28 (the previous passages of this verse having appeared in sections 6, 13, and 19). Changes made to the first component (sections 1–28) include the redaction of the original pilgrim's name in section 21 (replaced with the name

of Sayyid Yusuf b. Sayyid Shihab al-Din of Transoxiana [which appears again, without evidence of alteration, in the second component, section 39]) (figs. 28 and 29); and the insertion of the image of the Prophet Muhammad's sandal (section 17) (fig. 27). The transmitted light sheet revealed that section 17 has a different width than all of the other pieces of paper that make up the scroll. The quality of pigments used to paint the sandal is quite distinct from those used for Mecca and Medina.

Other possible changes include the sequence of the calligraphy in sections 7–9—cuts and seams are visible under transmitted light—though these texts make sense when read sequentially and in relation to what comes before and after them (fig. 26). The names of the witnesses in sections 26 and 27 could also be additions, compensating for the loss of the original section of the scroll, where the witnesses' signatures would have appeared. A strip of paper has been used between sections 26 and 28 to join both parts together. Because the writing of section 27 goes across these two parts, it perhaps indicates that this signature was a later addition, and that the signature in section 26, which uses the same script, may date to the same period.

If we consider the textual structure of the sentence in section 1 in light of Ayyubid pilgrimage certificates, this part would be the continuation of a formula that is missing from the Doha scroll. If the latter followed the pattern of Ayyubid-period examples, it would begin with the *basmala*, followed by the *ḥamd Allāh*, and a formula glorifying God as the master of light and the pen that was inspired by the Koran (39:69). Another glorification of the chosen people, who received the pilgrimage and the right religion, would follow. This textual sequence is continued in Ayyubid-period scrolls with a list of the various buildings of the Meccan Masjid al-Haram, which we find in section 1 of the Doha scroll and in other similar pious formulas (section 7). However, the legal formulas that routinely follow the preambles of Ayyubid-period scrolls are absent from the Doha scroll.⁷⁵ This feature can be explained by the fact that most Ayyubid scrolls were made to record and verify proxy pilgrimages, which required a particular form of legal validation. Why they are not found in the Doha scroll cannot be ascertained: they may have been lost—located on the outer edge of the rolled-up scroll, they

were more susceptible to damage from handling and repeated use—or not included in the first place, especially if the original pilgrimage it recorded was made by the pilgrim and not by his or her proxy.

The second component of the scroll, sections 29–40, like the first, is characterized by an internal uniformity in its materials, style, palette, and mode of execution in both calligraphy and representations of holy sites, which encompass Jerusalem, Hebron, Najaf, and Karbala. While little separates the repertoire of calligraphic scripts and the quality of their execution in the second as opposed to the first component, differences between the two are mostly visible in the palette and formal features of topographic representations. The colors used to depict Jerusalem (section 29), Hebron (section 31), Najaf (section 36), and Karbala (section 38) are quite distinct from those seen in the preceding representations of Mecca and Medina, as are aspects of their execution and key stylistic details: the most conspicuous example is the completely distinct bracket form near the top of the minarets.

The calligraphic panel introducing Najaf (sections 34–35) shares the material features of the second component. What is less certain is whether sections 32–33—comprising square Kufic calligraphy with the names of the Prophet Muhammad, the four Rightly Guided Caliphs, the Twelve Imams, and Koran 33:33—are integral to the period of production of the second component. Sections 32–33 share the distinctive pink pigment found in the images of Jerusalem, Hebron, Najaf, and Karbala. However, though remarkably similar in orthographic features to the examples of square Kufic calligraphy occurring in the first component (sections 1–28), slight differences in execution suggest that the square Kufic calligraphy in sections 32–33 was made in emulation of the historically antecedent first component.

The concluding sections of the second component (39–40) contain the narrative text of the visitation (*ziyārātnāma*), which included four *ḥarams*—Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem and Hebron—and two *mashhads*—Najaf and Karbala—as well as the signatures of six witnesses. The name of one witness, ‘Ali b. Husayn b. ‘Ali b. Kammuna al-Husayni, also appears in the body of the narrative. As noted above, he was a person of importance, almost certainly the custodian of the Najaf shrine.

In Najaf, the narrative records, Sayyid Yusuf paid respect to ‘Ali b. Husayn b. ‘Ali b. Kammuna al-Husayni by kissing his hand.

To summarize: the material and formal features of the Doha scroll reveal that it consists of two distinct components. A preexisting scroll (sections 1–28) of undetermined date—made sometime between 1398 and 1433—recording an *‘umra* was repurposed on behalf of Sayyid Yusuf, who also visited Jerusalem, Hebron, Najaf, and Karbala. As part of this repurposing, an image of one of the Prophet Muhammad’s sandals (section 17) was inserted, the name of the first pilgrim was redacted (section 21), and twelve new sections (29–40) were added. A potentially third historical layer, on or after 1433, is represented by the addition of the labels written in *nasta‘liq* script. The shared orthographic features of the *nasta‘liq* labels in the first and second components of the Doha scroll suggest that they were added in a single temporal intervention, after the two components described above had been joined. Whether the *nasta‘liq* captions were added in 1433 or after is not easy to determine.

An analysis of the overall conjoined historical structure of the Doha scroll should also address its place(s) of production. While it is conceivable that the first component was made in Mecca—as many earlier scrolls appear to have been, given the local pilgrimage industry—its calligraphy and stylistic features show general affinities to works on paper throughout Iraq and Greater Iran in the Timurid period.⁷⁶ As to the second component, the date September 6, 1433, appears in the last line of section 39 after praise to God and a blessing upon the Prophet Muhammad, his family, and his Companions, along with the term “he wrote it” (*ḥarrarahu*). This is a common verb used in the arts of the book, but it appears here without the maker’s name or place of copying. The text of the *ziyārātnāma* only mentions the pilgrim’s wish that his pilgrimage be recorded as an object he could show to various people as evidence of his pious acts of devotion. The scroll would secure an enhanced social position for him. The chronology laid out in the text implies that the scroll was made after the conclusion of his travels (to the four *ḥarams* and two *mashhads*), which, as visualized on the scroll, occurred in Karbala (the last in the sequence of holy sites). And yet the signature of ‘Ali b. Husayn b. ‘Ali b. Kammuna

al-Husayni, whom Sayyid Yusuf met at the culmination of his visitation to Najaf, appears in the final portion of the scroll (section 40). The simplest conclusion would be that the scroll was made in Najaf to Sayyid Yusuf's specifications, but it is not inconceivable that it was made in Karbala and that the pilgrim returned to Najaf to have the witnesses sign the document. There are surely other possibilities—the narrative of the visitations does not specify their temporal relation to the ceremony in Najaf—but the stylistic and material features of the scroll do not permit a more specific attribution across the lands of Iraq and Greater Iran.

The visual program of the Doha Scroll vis-à-vis other sources

The conventions adopted by the artists of the Doha scroll largely resemble those of earlier examples of the Seljuq and Ayyubid through early Mamluk periods, and are closer still to the contemporary 1432–33 scroll made for Maymuna bint Muhammad b. ‘Abd Allah al-Zardali. In the earlier medieval corpus, one finds diagrams of sites composed of numerous architectural and landscape elements.⁷⁷ Space is suggested by combined plan and elevation views, spatial interrelation by the relative position and difference in size of the physical signs and markers constituting each holy site. However, these schematic, diagrammatic images do not attempt to evoke an actual physical and measured reality, despite the fact that early pilgrimage narratives often specify dimensions in various units of measurement.⁷⁸ (Some of the captions written in *nasta‘liq* on the Doha scroll enumerate quantities of length and height: see appendix). The medieval scroll diagrams were not created according to an overall, or absolute, relative scale, but did attempt to convey orders of magnitude. Different colors and patterns were used to animate the diagrammatic views and to enhance legibility of the parts in relation to the whole. When viewed together, each site is distinguished from others by its unique elements (e.g., the Ka‘ba of Mecca, the date palms and oil house of Medina), and yet the representations of the sites are subject to a typology of the sacred that seeks to denote shared attributes.

Representations of holy sites and sacred space on the Doha scroll continue the spatial concepts characteristic

of the earlier medieval corpus while expanding the palette and incidence of detail.⁷⁹ Although the Doha scroll shares broad stylistic and conceptual traits with the London scroll of 1432–33—as well as the overlapping iconography of the Prophet Muhammad's sandal and some choice Koranic verses (2:48 and 3:96–97)—it significantly expands the inventory of places and objects visited by the pilgrim.⁸⁰ Despite the two historical periods evidenced in the Doha scroll—sections 1–28 (between 1398 and 1433) and sections 29–40 (September 6, 1433, or soon thereafter)—the representations of Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, Hebron, Najaf, and Karbala are remarkably similar, each one conceived as an enclosure bounded by a perimeter of arcades, with hanging lamps and minarets at each of the four corners projecting inward to the center. Freestanding architectural structures, whether mosques or mausoleums, are generally represented as domed buildings, with cutaway views revealing interior arrangements. The configuration of the Mosque of the Prophet at Medina suggests a rectangular plan—within which we find the tomb, minbar, and mihrab—while the image of the Aqsa Mosque at Jerusalem does not suggest its actual plan but rather stresses a formal affinity to the adjacent Dome of the Rock. Subtle differences established by coloring and structural forms modulate the typologically related images of Hebron, Najaf, and Karbala. Representations of architecture, en bloc, do not signal variations of regional building traditions and materials, or indicate historical inflections. Rather, a contemporaneity is proposed for the group through formal and morphological similarities.⁸¹ As in earlier medieval examples, the images of holy places on the Doha scroll attempt to arrange the elements of each site according to their relative spatial coordinates, sometimes with intimations of cardinal directions (north, south, east, and west), though this is not fastidiously applied. Jerusalem is a good example: the Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock are placed side by side and not one before the other, as they should have been if conforming to the N–S- and E–W-oriented arcades that enclose the Haram al-Sharif. The “Gate of Hell,” for example, faces east, orienting the entire ensemble. Overall, the images balance the desire to stress the shared nature and significance of holy sites with the necessity of highlighting the elements that made

each place unique. The routine habit of composing the elements of each site inside square or rectangular frames—which signify sacred precincts—has the effect of enhancing the viewer's concentration in the process of visual contemplation. The interrelatedness of holy sites, achieved through patterning and self-referential visual modelling, as well as the connections between these images and historical models, secures their immediate identification in terms of their generic and specific aspects as shrines.

The chief differences between the content of the Doha scroll and comparable materials can be explained by the pilgrim's specific itinerary. As noted above, a large number of medieval scrolls represent the sites associated with the *hajj*—Mount 'Arafat, Muzdalifa, Mina, the Meccan Masjid al-Haram, and Mounts Safa and Marwa—despite the fact that they recorded *'umras*, and frequently included Medina and Jerusalem.⁸² Some of the elements making up the sacred precincts visited by pilgrims in Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem in the medieval period are also documented on the Doha scroll.⁸³ In the 1432–33 London scroll, Maymuna bint Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah al-Zardali performed a *hajj* in Mecca and only visited Medina. The scroll enumerates the rituals performed and places visited as the Ka'ba and *mult-azam*, Mounts 'Arafat, Safa and Marwa, and the Mosque of the Prophet Muhammad in Medina.⁸⁴ Its formal and stylistic features—especially in the calligraphy—suggest a context of production different from that of the Doha scroll.⁸⁵ In the later dated example briefly considered here, i.e., the proxy pilgrimage performed on behalf of the Ottoman prince Şehzade Mehmed (in 1544–45), the sites visited during the *hajj* are depicted, along with Medina and Jerusalem; there is also a representation of the Prophet Muhammad's sandal. The sequence of separate sites, those in Mecca and its vicinity, departs from earlier medieval conventions.⁸⁶

The Doha, London, and Istanbul scrolls all feature the Prophet Muhammad's sandal, which is absent from the medieval corpus as it is presently known. The sandals represent the earliest examples of a visual tradition that increased in popularity with the rapid growth of devotional literature, particularly in the Ottoman lands from the late 1500s onwards. The single sandals depicted on the Doha and London scrolls are stylistically quite

similar, especially in their shape and the four discs at the corners of the enclosing rectangle. While these resemble wheels on the Doha scroll, on the London scroll the gilded discs contain the names of the four Rightly Guided Caliphs. Other differences include the arrangement of the calligraphy. The lines of Arabic text are written across the width of the sandal—divided into three parts from toe to heel—on the London scroll, while on the Doha scroll the text runs around the outer edge of the sandal and occupies a small cartouche in its middle. Indeed, the theme of the text in the cartouche of the Doha scroll is nearly identical to that seen in the cartouche in the London scroll, except that the longer version found on the latter (in the section at the toes) provided more context and expressed its meaning with greater clarity. On the London scroll, the text reads: "The Prophet, peace be upon him, said: 'I have never found myself in a house that caught fire, or in a caravan that was robbed, or in a vessel that suffered a storm, or in a business that went to ruin.' As a blessing of the Prophet, upon him be peace."⁸⁷ The Doha scroll does not include the context of the saying but merely introduces the sandal as an image (*mithāl*) of its referent, stating, "Never has an image of the noble sandals been in a ship that has sunk or in a house that has been looted." In the Doha scroll, the protection afforded by the image of the sandal is discussed in the text encircling the actual image of the sandal. It might be possible to explain the extensive losses here, and elsewhere, on the Doha scroll to the secondary functions of the artefact in its post-production contexts of use: once separated from its original owner, the scroll functioned primarily as an object of devotion, capable of transporting the viewer to distant places and transmitting a blessing through the touch of the hand.⁸⁸

Among pilgrimage scrolls made before or after, the Doha scroll is thus far the only one known to contain an image of the Haram of Hebron depicting the Cave of the Patriarchs (Abraham, Jacob, Isaac) and the cenotaph of Joseph (fig. 13). While Joseph's cenotaph stands alone, the adjacent prophets Jacob, Abraham, and Isaac are buried alongside their wives. Close to Jerusalem and often regarded as one of the places where the Prophet Muhammad stopped during his Night Journey (*isrā'*), Hebron is commonly mentioned in medieval pilgrimage narratives.

In addition to being revered by Sunnis, who made pilgrimages to the site and sponsored architectural monuments there, Hebron held significance for Shi'is.⁸⁹ According to Shi'i theology, a continuous sequence of imams had existed between the time of Adam and Muhammad. Some of these men were also prophets who brought books and new religious law, viz. Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Muhammad. In the Shi'i exegetical tradition, many verses of the Koran were interpreted as references to the position of the imam and the imamate. One of the most commonly discussed was Koran 3:33, "God had chosen Adam and Noah, and the families of Abraham and 'Imran in preference to others," where the reference to the family of Abraham was understood as constituting a precursor to the family of Muhammad. Other verses mentioning Abraham's offspring were interpreted as references to the imams.⁹⁰ The Shi'i interpretative tradition also developed a parallel between Abraham's sacrifice of his son Isma'il and the tragedy of Imam Husayn's martyrdom. In the narrative relayed by Abu Muhammad al-Fadl b. Shadhan al-Nisaburi (d. 873–74), for example, when God informs him of the future martyrdom of Husayn, Abraham is deeply saddened. Because of the anguish that Abraham has shown, God redeems his sacrifice—his son Isma'il—with the ram.⁹¹

Given the wide-ranging associations the city of Hebron had across the spectrum of Muslim belief, it is no surprise that Sayyid Yusuf visited it and that it is included on the scroll. It amplified and developed the Abrahamic associations with Mecca: the sacred precinct housed the Ka'ba, which was rebuilt by Abraham and Isma'il, as well as the station where Abraham prayed; it was also the site of the graves of Abraham's second wife, Hagar, and son Isma'il. Nor should we fail to emphasize the importance of the matriarchs of the early prophets. The depiction of their cenotaphs in the Haram of Hebron is consistent with the Alid emphasis on the Prophet Muhammad's family and the imamate's link to Muhammad through his daughter Fatima, who married 'Ali. Shi'i and Sunni pilgrims to Medina alike visited the tomb of Fatima, in the *rawḍa* (lit. "garden") of the Mosque of the Prophet Muhammad, as well as the tomb of the Prophet's daughter Zaynab in the graveyard of al-Baqi'.⁹² To a pro-Alid viewer, the representation of the successive tombs of Abraham and his family might

have been seen as analogous to the line of succession of the imams. This genealogical construct is manifest visually in the adjacent portion of the vertically oriented scroll (section 33), where the Prophet Muhammad and the Twelve Imams are named in a striking composition of square Kufic enclosing Koran 33:33: "God desires to remove impurities from you, O inmates of this house, and to cleanse and bring out the best in you."

The last two sites depicted on the scroll, Najaf and Karbala, had by the eighth century already become central sites of Shi'i devotional culture and practice but were equally visited by Sunnis.⁹³ The Doha scroll is currently the earliest known example to include representations of Najaf and Karbala, which became key toponyms in later scrolls recording Shi'i pilgrimages.⁹⁴ Najaf was the burial site of 'Ali b. Abi Talib (d. 661), the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad, and the first Shi'i imam and fourth Sunni caliph; Karbala was the burial site of Husayn b. 'Ali (d. 680), grandson of the Prophet Muhammad and the third Shi'i imam. By the tenth century, both locales had taken on a definitively public aspect and experienced continuous support from a host of local and regional leaders from across the Islamic lands. Members of the Hamdanid (906–1004) and Buyid (932–1062) dynasties revived both shrines in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. In addition to housing the burials of the First and Third Imams, members of the family of the Prophet (*ahl al-bayt*), each site grew in importance within the full span of Islamic cosmology, thereby establishing their pre-Islamic eminence. According to traditions attributed to the Sixth Imam, Ja'far al-Sadiq (d. 765), Najaf was associated with Moses, Jesus, Abraham, and Muhammad, while the soil of Karbala was regarded as superior to that around the Ka'ba in Mecca.⁹⁵ The city also featured graves attributed to the prophets Adam, Noah, Hud, and Salih.⁹⁶ By the eleventh century, Najaf and Karbala had both become established pilgrimage destinations and were largely independent of external rule and patronage in light of their considerable, and growing, revenues. The Shi'i religious elite received the *khums* tax (lit. "one fifth" of specified forms of income) from the Shi'i community, and the local economy benefited generally from the commerce associated with pilgrimage, as well as from payments made for burial in the vicinity of the shrines.⁹⁷

The cemetery at Wadi al-Salam outside Najaf is a prime example.

By the time Sayyid Yusuf performed his pilgrimage, Najaf and Karbala had long since secured their preeminence within Muslim belief and religious practice. Among the Shi'ī, visits to Karbala had been promoted in the early history of the imams: several traditions of the Fifth and Sixth Imams, Muhammad al-Baqir (d. 733) and Ja'far al-Sadiq, referred to the necessity and fundamental importance of making the pilgrimage to Karbala.⁹⁸ In certain periods, the pilgrimage to Karbala was considered to be a perfectly acceptable substitution for Mecca. By the late tenth century, an attempt was made to define a calendar marking the religious feasts on which it was deemed especially meritorious to visit Najaf and Karbala. The earliest effort to formalize a calendar of "special visitations" (*ziyārāt makhṣuṣa*) was made by Ja'far b. Muhammad b. Qulawayh (d. 980–81) in the *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*.⁹⁹ Such processes were clearly intended to regulate Shi'ī visitation in a pattern emulating the fixed calendrical sequence required by the *ḥajj*. Further, visits made to Karbala on special days were believed to exceed in merit the accomplishment of the *ʿumra* and *ḥajj* in multiples of different quantities, as laid out in the *Faḍl ziyārat al-Ḥusayn* of Muhammad b. 'Ali b. al-Husayn al-'Alawi al-Shajari (d. 1053–54).¹⁰⁰

At the same time that these developments were taking place, Shi'ī pilgrimage manuals started to emerge in growing numbers. These works proposed itineraries for pilgrims, described ritual behavior, and matched specific prayers and supplications to places to be visited.¹⁰¹ Ibn Qulawayh's *Kāmil al-ziyārāt* is one of the earliest of its type; another example, the *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* by Muhammad b. al-Hasan al-Tusi (d. 1067), specified details of visits to the imams and also included voluntary prayers to be made by Shi'īs during the *ḥajj*.¹⁰² Ibn Qulawayh lays out the components of the pilgrim's visit to Karbala but also offers an entire chapter on the value of poetry and its recitation during pilgrimage.¹⁰³ Analysis of the corpus of poetry points to the heightened sensory experience of pilgrims to Karbala, where the soil—imbued with the blood of the martyred Husayn—is touched and kissed, its scent inhaled.¹⁰⁴ The pilgrim prays for rain to fall on the tomb, presumably to heighten the sensory experience gained through the faculties of sight and smell.

The histories of the Alid shrines at Najaf and Karbala also evidence continual visitation and patronage by Sunni Muslims since their inception. In just the later historical periods, closer in time to the visit of Sayyid Yusuf, the list of prominent Sunni patrons included Ghazan Khan, Shaykh Uways b. Hasan, and Timur, each one of whom made repairs to the shrines and lavished gifts upon them. When the Ottoman sultan Suleyman I (r. 1520–66) visited Iraq in the 1530s, he journeyed to Najaf and Karbala, in 1534, and is likely to have funded restorations to the architecture in addition to the numerous gifts he offered.¹⁰⁵

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The finished *ziyārātnāma* produced for Sayyid Yusuf b. Sayyid Shihab al-Din of Transoxiana consisted of a repurposed scroll recording an *ʿumra* and a visit to Medina, as well as a newly made component recording visits to Jerusalem, Hebron, Najaf, and Karbala. The narrative text added as a conclusion (section 39) and dated September 6, 1433, places emphasis on the rites completed by Sayyid Yusuf in Najaf, and suggests his enhanced social position, but does not supply details of what he did during his visits to other sites. Some of that was already described in the redacted component of the repurposed scroll (sections 20–25) listing the rites of the *ʿumra* and visitation to Medina. As a whole, the scroll combines the three major holy sites of Islam, Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem—which were of equal importance to Sunnis and Shi'īs—and deepens the Abrahamic connotations of Mecca through the addition of Hebron, which also enjoyed a broad ecumenical appeal. The family of Abraham's offspring might be seen as a fitting parallel to the family of the Prophet Muhammad descended through his daughter Fatima's marriage to 'Ali. These genealogies are visually manifest on the scroll through the representations of Medina, Najaf, and Karbala, but they are also configured through the square Kufic calligraphic panel composed of the list of names of the Prophet Muhammad and the Twelve Imams.

Although it is not possible from the available evidence to narrow the place and timeframe for the production of the scroll—other than the terminus post quem of 21 Muharram 837 (September 6, 1433)—the Islamic ritual cal-

endar is itself suggestive. If Sayyid Yusuf completed his pilgrimages before 21 Muharram—as the *ziyārātnāma* asserts—this would have occurred only eleven days after the major feast of ‘*Āshūrā*’ (10 Muharram), the high point in Karbala’s calendar, and some thirty-three days after the holiday commemorating the Prophet Muhammad’s nomination of ‘Ali as his successor at Ghadir Khumm (‘*īd al-ghadīr*, 18 Dhu’l-Hijja), one of the most special days of visitation (*ziyārāt al-makhṣūṣa*) to Najaf. Regardless of when or where the scroll was made within this period, Sayyid Yusuf’s visits closely followed, or perhaps coincided with, the most important dates in the ritual calendar of Najaf and Karbala.

Sayyid Yusuf’s individual religious beliefs and affiliations are not easy to pinpoint. In addition to being a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad (*sayyid*) and of a family with Transoxianan origins, Yusuf was a Sufi, as becomes clear from the language of the *ziyārātnāma* and his being honoured with the title “successor of the dervishes.” The first caliphs—Abu Bakr, ‘Umar, and ‘Uthman—are named alongside the Twelve Imams in the epigraphic panels composed of square Kufic, and the Companions and family of the Prophet Muhammad are again blessed in the concluding prayer of the narrative of visitation. This is consonant with a religious culture in which veneration of the Alids was non-sectarian in nature, a phenomenon noted for various geographical and historical contexts across the Islamic lands and styled “ahl al-baytism” by Robert McChesney.¹⁰⁶ Other scholars have noted the extent to which Sunni Islam in Iran particularly venerated the family of the Prophet Muhammad. Examples of architectural epigraphy show

the combination of the names of the Rightly Guided Caliphs and the Twelve Imams—as at the Ilkhanid-period shrine at Linjan from 1312. And throughout the Timurid and Turkmen periods, it became increasingly common for imams to be named in Sunni contexts, such as, for example, at the Masjid-i Jami’ in Yazd and in Bafruiya.¹⁰⁷ In one of the most visible acts of pro-Alid support by a Sunni patron, between 1416 and 1418 Gawhar Shad, wife of the Timurid ruler Shahrukh (r. 1409–47), sponsored the construction of the Masjid-i Jami’ in Mashhad, in the precincts of the shrine of the eighth Shi’i imam, Riza.¹⁰⁸ May Farhat’s detailed study of this shrine has demonstrated a long historical practice of visitation and patronage by Sunnis before sectarian lines hardened in the Safavid and Ottoman periods.¹⁰⁹ Whatever Sayyid Yusuf’s personal religious belief and practice, his pilgrimage to the holy sites and their depiction on the scroll amply attest to the great reverence accorded the family of the Prophet Muhammad, extending from its core members—Fatima, ‘Ali, Hasan, and Husayn—to the last imam, the Lord of Time.

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APPENDIX

Transcription and Translation of The Timurid Pilgrimage Scroll (Doha, Museum of Islamic Art, MS.267.1998)

The authors have taken care to ensure that the transcription below is as faithful as possible to the original text. Nevertheless, some diacritical, vocalization, and calligraphic marks deemed by them as being simply decorative have not been included. Furthermore, certain

characters are not supported by computers and therefore could not be added. The following text, however, presents the reader with the content of the scroll section by section, while photographic details will address the original script.

1. وَالْبَيْتِ الْمَكْرَمِ وَالْمَقَامِ وَالرِّزْمِ وَفَضَّلْنَا عَلَيَّ
2. سبحان الله والحمد لله [square damaged and lost] والله أكبر
3. انما يريد الله ليذهب عنكم الرجس اهل البيت ويطهركم تطهيرا
4. وَلَا تَحْلُقُوا رُؤُسَكُمْ حَتَّىٰ يَبْلُغَ الْهَدْيُ مَحَلَّهُ الْآيَةُ
5. توكلت على الله توكلت على الله اله
6. مَا تَقَدَّمَ مِنْ ذَنْبِكَ
7. ساير الأُمم بِالْحَيْجِ الْأَعْظَمِ وَالذِّينِ الْأَقْوَمِ نَسَأَلُهُ تَمَامَ التَّعَمُّ
8. قَالَ اللهُ تَبْرَكَ وَتَعَالَى
9. انْ أَوَّلَ بَيْتٍ وُضِعَ لِلنَّاسِ لَلَّذِي بِبَكَّةَ مُبَارَكًا وَهُدًى لِّلْعَالَمِينَ فِيهِ آيَاتٌ بَيِّنَاتٌ مَّقَامُ إِبْرَاهِيمَ وَمَنْ دَخَلَهُ كَانَ آمِنًا وَلِلَّهِ عَلَى النَّاسِ حِجُّ الْبَيْتِ مَنِ

10.

- a. منار مسجد الحرام
- b. ستونهاين صف صد و يك عدد
upper inscription:
ستونهاين اين صف نود و [سه] عدد
lower inscription:
- ستونهاين صف صد و سى و دو
inscription at left:
ستونهاين طرف صد و سى و پنج عدد
inscription at right:
- c. ستونهاين ماشي طواف معظم سى و دو
inscription at left, outside of the ḥaṭīm:
بلاندى كعبه معظم بيست و هفت ك [گز]
inscription to the left of the Ka'ba:
عرض كعبه معظم هشت و يك ك [گز]
upper inscription:
- d. جنوب
upper left:
مغرب
upper right:
مشرق
lower left:
شمال
lower right:

1. And the Venerable House, and the Station, and Zamzam, and we were given preference over
2. Glory be to God/ and Praise be to God/ [square damaged and lost]/ and God is Great
3. “God desires to remove impurities from you, O inmates of this house, and to cleanse and bring out the best in you” [Koran 33:33]
4. “And do not shave your heads until the offering has reached the place of sacrifice” [Koran 2:196]
5. I put my trust in God/ I put my trust in God/ God
6. “[save] you from earlier” [Koran 48:2]
7. Wayfarer of the nations of the great pilgrimage and the most correct religion, we ask Him for His complete Grace
8. “God the Blessed and Sublime said”
9. “The first House of God to be set up for men was at Bakkah the blessed, a guidance for the people of the world. It contains clear signs, and the spot where Abraham had stood. And anyone who enters it will find security. And whosoever can afford should visit the House on a pilgrimage” [Koran 3:96–97]
10.
 - a. Minaret of the Maṣjid al-Haram
 - b. *upper inscription*: the columns of this row number one hundred and one
lower inscription: the columns of this row number ninety [three]
inscription at left: the columns of this row are one hundred thirty-two
inscription at right: the columns of this side number one hundred and thirty-five
 - c. *inscription at left, outside of the ḥaṭīm*: the columns of the exalted place of circumambulation are thirty-two
inscription to the left of the Ka'ba: the height of the exalted Ka'ba is twenty-seven *gaz*
upper inscription: the width of the exalted Ka'ba is twenty-one *gaz*
 - d. *upper left*: South
upper right: West
lower left: East
lower right: North

- .e مقام المالكي *upper structure*:
 مقام الشافعي *lower structure*:
 مقام الحنيلي *left structure*:
 مقام الحنفي *right structure*:
 .f ركن الشامي *upper left corner of the Ka'ba*:
 ركن اليمني *upper right corner of the Ka'ba*:
 ركن عراقي *lower right corner of the Ka'ba*:
 .g لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
 .h حجر اسماعيل
 .i ميزاب
 .j الحجر الاسود
 .k ملتزم
 .l مقام الجبريل
 .m سقايه العباس
 .n جبل النور
 .o قبه زمزم
 .p مقام ابراهيم
 .q درجه الكعبه
 .r منبر الخطبة
 .s قبه الساعات
 .t الصفا
 .u and .v جبل آحمر
 .w سوق العطار
 .x المروه

.11 ان الصفا والمروه من شعائر الله فن حج البيت او اعتمر فلا جناح عليه ان يطوف

[One corroded line in square Kufic script] .12

.13 وَمَا تَأَخَّرَ وَيُمِّ نَعْمَتُهُ

.14 هُوَ اللهُ الْجَوَادِ الْاَكْرَمِ وَالرُّؤْفِ الْاَرْحَمِ وَصَلَوْتُهُ

- e. *upper structure*: Maliki station
lower structure: Shafi'i station
left structure: Hanbali station
right structure: Hanafi station
 - f. *upper left corner of the Ka'ba*: Syrian corner
upper right corner of the Ka'ba: Yemeni corner
lower right corner of the Ka'ba: Iraqi corner
 - g. There is no god but God. Muhammad is the messenger of God.
 - h. Stone of Isma'il
 - i. Rainwater spout
 - j. The Black Stone
 - k. The pressing place
 - l. Station of Gabriel
 - m. The Watering Place of 'Abbas
 - n. Mountain of Light
 - o. Dome of Zamzam
 - p. Station of Abraham
 - q. The stairs of the Ka'ba
 - r. Minbar of the Friday sermon
 - s. Dome of the Hours
 - t. [Mount] Safa
 - u. and v. Red Mountain
 - w. Perfume market
 - x. [Mount] Marwa
11. "Truly Safa and Marwa are the symbols of God. Whoever goes on pilgrimage to the House (of God), or on a Holy Visit, is not guilty of wrong if he walk around them" [Koran 2:158]
 12. [One corroded line in square Kufic script]
 13. "and subsequent [blames], and complete His favors" [Koran 48:2]
 14. He is God the most Generous, the Clement, the most Merciful and His praying.

.15

.a منار مدينة مصطفي

.b doors on the left side, from top to bottom:

باب النساء

باب جبريل

doors on the right side, from top to bottom:

باب الرحمه

باب السلام

.c نخلها ي حرم

.d لا الاله الا الله محمد [رس...]

.e from right to left:

قبة رسول الله

صلى الله عليه و سلم

.f قبر النبي عليه السلام

.g قبر ابو بكر الصديق

.h قبر عمر الفاروق

.i محراب النبي

.j منبر الخطبه

.k فراش خانه

.l قبه زيت خانه

.16 وَمَا مُحَمَّدٌ إِلَّا رَسُولٌ آتَى قَدْ خَلَّتْ مِنْ قَبْلِهِ الرُّسُلُ الْآيَةَ

.17 Center:

مثال نعال الشريفة ماكانت في مركب ففرقت ولا في دار فسرقت

Border:

مثال نعل المصطفى سيد الوري محمد المبعوث من آل هاشم لقد أخبرتنا سادة عن سيوحهم باسنادهم عن عالم بعد عالم فقد ست

النعل التي قد عدت لها عواطف اركان الملوك العواظم مثال نعال الشريفة المصونة طوبى لمن مس بها جبينه لها قبلا ان بسيرهما

[... و طولها سبر وأصبعان

.18 [One corroded line in square Kufic script]

- 15.
- a. Minaret of the city of the chosen one
 - b. *doors on the left side, from top to bottom:*
 Women's Gate
 Gabriel's Gate
doors on the right side, from top to bottom:
 Gate of Mercy
 Gate of Peace
 - c. Palm trees of the sanctuary
 - d. There is no God but God, Muhammad [...]
 - e. *from right to left:*
 Dome of the Messenger of God,
 prayers and peace be upon him
 - f. Tomb of the Prophet, peace be upon him
 - g. Tomb of Abu Bakr, the truthful
 - h. Tomb of 'Umar, the just
 - i. Mihrab of the Prophet
 - j. Minbar of the Friday sermon
 - k. Furnishings depot
 - l. Dome of the oil house
16. "Muhammad is only a messenger; and many a messenger has gone before him" [Koran 3:144]
17. *Center:*
 Never has an image of the noble sandals been in a ship that has sunk or in a house that has been looted.
Border:
 Image of a sandal of the chosen lord of mankind, the envoy of God from the house of Hashim. The lords reported from the Exalted, through their chain of authority and from one scholar to another, that the sandal became sacred and the greatest kings conferred all of their favor upon it. The image of the noble and protective sandals can bless anyone who touches his forehead to them. They both have toe separators. On their straps [...] and their length is one foot and two fingers.
18. [One corroded line in square Kufic script]

19. عَلَيْكَ وَيَهْدِيكَ
20. عَلَى خَيْرِ الْعَرَبِ وَالْعَجَمِ وَسِرَاجِ الظُّلْمِ وَهُوَ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ
21. اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَعَلَى جَمِيعِ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ وَالْمُرْسَلِينَ آمِينَ
- أَمَّا بَعْدُ فَلَمَّا كَانَ الدَّعَاءُ بِالْبَلَدِ الْحَرَامِ مُتَحَقِّقَ الْأَجَابَةِ عَلَى مَرَدِّ
الدُّهُورِ وَالْأَعْوَامِ فَقَدَّ مَنْ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى عَلَى الْعَبْدِ الْفَقِيرِ إِلَى اللَّهِ تَعَالَى
وَأَحْوَجِهِمْ إِلَى عُفْرَانِهِ سَيِّدِ يُوسُفَ بْنِ سَيِّدِ شَهَابِ الدِّينِ مَا وَرَأَى النَّهْرِي
إِجْمُحَ اللَّهُ أَمَالَهُ وَرَزَقِي بِالصَّلَاحَاتِ أَعْمَالَهُ بِالْوُصُولِ إِلَى تِلْكَ الْمَشَاعِرِ
الْعِظَامِ وَطَافَ بِالْكَعْبَةِ الشَّرِيفَةِ الْمُثَيِّقَةِ أُسْبُوعًا كَامِلًا عَلَى التَّامِّ
وَقَبْلَ الْحَجْرِ الْأَسْحَمِ الَّذِي قَبْلَهُ سَيِّدِ الْأَنَامِ وَصَلَّى مَا تيسَّرَ فِي الْحَجْرِ الْمَعْظَمِ
وَدَعَى وَتَضَرَّعَ تَحْتَ مِيزَابِ السَّحْبِ الْأَنْعَامِ وَصَلَّى رَكْعَتَيْنِ سُنَّةَ
الطَّوَافِ خَلْفَ الْمَقَامِ سَيِّدِنَا إِبْرَاهِيمَ خَلِيلِ الرَّحْمَنِ صَلَوَاتُ اللَّهِ
عَلَيْهِ وَعَلَى نَبِينَا عَلَيْهِ أَفْضَلُ الصَّلَاةِ وَالسَّلَامِ وَشَرِبَ
22. مِنْ مَاءِ رَمْزِ شِفَاءِ الْأَسْقَامِ وَالزَّمِّ بِمَلْتَرِيمِ الدَّمَامِ وَتَشْفَعُ بِالْبَيْتِ الْمَعْظَمِ
23. وَنِجَاهِ النَّبِيِّ الْمَكْرَمِ عَلَى كُلِّ وَاقِفٍ عَلَى هَذِهِ الشَّفَاعَةِ الشَّرِيفَةِ مِنْ جَمِيعِ الْمُلُوكِ وَالسَّلَاطِينِ
وَالْقُضَاةِ وَالشُّهُودِ وَالْحُجَّابِ وَالنُّوَابِ وَالْمُنْتَصِرِينَ وَالْمَشَاحِجِ الصَّلْحَاءِ أَعَزَّ اللَّهُ
بِهِمُ الدِّينَ وَأَدَامَ لَهُمُ الْعِرَّ وَالْمُتَّكِينَ أَنْ يُعِينُوا الْمُنْتَشِقَ الْمَذْكُورَ عَلَى صُرُوفِ دَهْرِهِ
وَبُلُوغِ قَصْدِهِ أَكْرَامًا لَمْ يَنْفَقَ بِنَايِهِ وَتَشْفَعُ بِجَنَابِهِ وَشَكَ بِسَبَبِ مَنْ أَسْبَابِهِ يَوْمَ
يَجْزِي اللَّهُ الْمُتَصَدِّقِينَ وَلَا يُضَيِّعُ أَجْرَ الْمُحْسِنِينَ [rosette] شَفَعَ الْحَاجَّ الْمُبَارَكَ الْمَذْكُورَ بِالْبَيْتِ
الْمَعْظَمِ وَنِجَاهِ النَّبِيِّ الْمَكْرَمِ عَلَى كُلِّ وَاقِفٍ عَلَى هَذِهِ الْمَسْطُورِ الْمُبَارَكِ مِنْ جَمِيعِ الْأَكْبَابِ وَ
الْصُّدُورِ أَنْ يُعِينُوا الْمُنْتَشِقَ الْمَذْكُورَ عَلَى صُرُوفِ دَهْرِهِ وَبُلُوغِ قَصْدِهِ وَيُحْسِنُوا إِلَيْهِ وَيُأَلِّغُوا
مِنْ أَحْسَانِ وَالسَّفَقَةِ وَقَالَ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ إِنَّ اللَّهَ تَعَالَى فِي عَوْنِ الْعَبْدِ مَا دَامَ
24. الْعَبْدُ فِي عَوْنِ أَخِيهِ وَقَالَ الرَّاحِمُونَ يَرْحَمُهُمُ الرَّحْمَنُ
25. إِرْحَمُوا مَنْ فِي الْأَرْضِ يَرْحَمَكُمُ مَنْ فِي السَّمَاءِ إِيَّاكُمْ اللَّهُ مَنْ
أَعَانَهُ الْمُنْتَشِقَ الْمَذْكُورَ وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ تَعَالَى وَحْدَهُ

19. “on you, and guide you” [Koran 48:2]
20. Upon the best of the Arabs and the Persians and the illuminator of iniquity, Muhammad the messenger of
21. God. Prayer of God be upon him and peace [Prophet Muhammad], and upon all of the prophets and messengers. Amen. Thereafter when the call [came] to the sacred land, to accomplish the obligation over the passage of ages and years, God—may He be Glorified—granted His favor to the poor servant of God the Exalted, Sayyid Yusuf b. Sayyid Shihab al-Din of Transoxiana. God, who achieves His desires and purifies good deeds, helped him to attain these great wishes. He circumambulated the Ka’ba over the period of one week. He embraced the Black Stone, the qibla and master of all things; he prayed next to the stone of Isma’il; he made invocations and supplications beneath the rainwater spout that gathers divine grace. He completed two sequences of prayer, following tradition, then visited the Station of Abraham, the faithful of the Merciful. Prayers upon God
22. and upon His and our Prophet, the best of prayers and peace upon him. He drank
23. the Water of Zamzam, which cures illness; he accomplished his duty and pressed himself at the pressing place; he asked for intercession at the Sacred House; the revered Prophet granted him salvation at each of the places where he stood during this honorable intercession among all the kings, sultans, judges, witnesses, chamberlains, religious men, administrators of endowments, and virtuous learned men. God has honored them with religion and has given them the strength and capacity to help the above-mentioned supplicant in devoting his life to attaining the goal of honoring God; for whoever has stood at His door, who has pleaded in His proximity, and who fears the circumstances of the Day of Judgment, God will repay the charitable and will not fail to repay those who give alms. The blessed pilgrim mentioned above made entreaties at the Sacred House. The revered Prophet has granted him salvation at each place where he stood at this blessed and covered house, [and is] among the best and most important who helped the above-mentioned supplicant in spending his life in the realization of this goal; he has benefited from them and has attained [this goal] with beneficence and compassion. [The Prophet] (God’s prayer and peace be upon him) said, “God the Sublime assists His servants as long as
24. they help their brethren.” And He said: “Those who attempt to be merciful obtain the greatest mercy.”
25. Give mercy to those on earth and you shall obtain mercy from Him who is in heaven. God helps whoever helps the supplicant mentioned above. God, the Sublime, the One, be praised.

26. الحال كما ذكر في ذلك سيد بركة ابن حسن ابن عجمي ابن رميثة ابن محمد الحسيني المكي
عفا الله تعالى عنه

27. الحال كما ذكر في ذلك صحيح سيدنا الفقير الى الله تعالى حسين بن حسن بن علي بن مالك بن حسن الحسيني المكي

28. صِرَاطٌ مُسْتَقِيمًا

29.

a. منار مسجد اقصى

b. منار قبه صخره

c. doors on the left side, from top to bottom:

باب علي

باب السلام

door on the right side:

باب جهنم

d. مسجد الاقصى

e. مقام ابراهيم

f. منبر

g. كعبه صخره

h. عصاي موسى

i. كارداه اسماعيل

j. سپر حمزه

k. صخره سنك و نشاني قدم حضرت مصطفى عليه السلام

l. تغار آدم

m. كهواره عيسى عليه السلام

30. وَأَوْحَيْنَا إِلَىٰ إِبْرَاهِيمَ وَإِسْمَاعِيلَ وَإِسْحَاقَ وَيَعْقُوبَ

31.

a. منار حرم خليل الله

b. مغاره ابراهيم

c. منبر مسجد خليل الله

26. The situation as mentioned in that, Sayyid Baraka b. Hasan b. 'Ajami b. Ramitha b. Muhammad al-Husayni al-Makki
27. The situation as mentioned in that, verified by our master, the poor one [before] God the Sublime, Husayn b. Hasan b. 'Ali b. Malik b. Hasan al-Husayni al-Makki
28. "on the straight path" [Koran 48:2]
- 29.
- a. Minaret of the Aqsa Mosque
 - b. Minaret of the Dome of the Rock
 - c. *doors on the left side, from top to bottom:*
 'Ali's Gate
 Gate of Peace
 door on the right side:
 Gate of Hell
 - d. Aqsa Mosque
 - e. Station of Abraham
 - f. Minbar
 - g. Dome of the Rock
 - h. Moses' rod
 - i. Isma'il's knife
 - j. Hamza's shield
 - k. Stone of the rock and impression of the footprint of his holiness the chosen, peace be upon him
 - l. Adam's Cave
 - m. Cradle of Jesus, peace be upon him
30. "And We sent revelations to Abraham, and Ishmael and Isaac and Jacob" [Koran 4:163]
- 31.
- a. Minaret of the sacred precinct of God's friend
 - b. Abraham's Cave
 - c. Minbar of the mosque of God's friend

- d. قبر يوسف
 e. قبر يعقوب
 f. قبر مومنه خاتون
 g. قبر ابراهيم
 h. قبر ساره خاتون
 i. قبر اسحاق
 j. قبر حرم اسحق
 k. باب السلام

To the right: .32

محمد علي محمد علي محمد علي محمد علي

Second from right:

ابو بكر عمر عثمان علي محمد

Center:

محمد محمد محمد محمد

Second from left:

ابو بكر عمر عثمان علي محمد

To the left:

محمد علي محمد علي محمد علي محمد علي

Center: .33

انما يريد الله ليذهب عنكم الرجس اهل البيت ويطهركم تطهيرا

Border:

اللهم [صلى] على محمد المصطفى و علي المرتضى و حسن المجتبي و حسين الشهيد بكربلاء و علي زين العابدين و محمد الباقر و جعفر الصادق و موسى الكاظم و علي الرضاء و محمد التقي و علي النقي و حسن الاسكري و محمد المهدي صاحب الزمان عليهم السلام

.34 انما وليكم الله ورسوله والذين امنوا الذين

يقيمون الصلوة ويؤتون الزكوة وهم راكعون

.35 هذا مشهد امير المؤمنين

- d. Joseph's tomb
- e. Jacob's tomb
- f. Tomb of the faithful lady (Mu'mina Khatun)
- g. Abraham's tomb
- h. Tomb of Lady Sarah (Sarah Khatun)
- i. Isaac's tomb
- j. Tomb of Isaac's wife
- k. Gate of Peace

32. *To the right:*

Muhammad 'Ali / Muhammad 'Ali / Muhammad 'Ali / Muhammad 'Ali

Second from right:

Abu Bakr 'Umar 'Uthman 'Ali Muhammad

Center:

Muhammad / Muhammad / Muhammad / Muhammad

Second from left:

Abu Bakr 'Umar 'Uthman 'Ali Muhammad

To the left:

Muhammad 'Ali / Muhammad 'Ali / Muhammad 'Ali / Muhammad 'Ali

33. *Center:*

"God desires to remove impurities from you, O inmates of this house, and to cleanse and bring out the best in you" [Koran 33:33]

Border:

"O God! [Pray] for Muhammad the elect, and 'Ali the beloved, and Hasan the chosen, and Husayn the martyr of Karbala, and 'Ali the ornament of the worshippers, and Muhammad the revealer, and Ja'far the honest, and Musa the calm, and 'Ali the pleasing one, and Muhammad the God-fearing, and 'Ali the pure one, and Hasan the soldier, and Muhammad the guided one, lord of time, peace upon them"

34. "Your only friends are God and His Messenger, and those who believe and are steadfast in devotion, who pay the alms and bow in homage [before God]" [Koran 5:55]

35. This is the shrine of the Commander of the Faithful

.36

- a. منار مشهد مرتضى علي
 b. باب السلام
 c. صندوق مرتضى علي رضي الله عنه
 d. ذو الفقار شحنة النجف

.37 هَذَا مَشْهُدُ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ حُسَيْنِ بْنِ عَلِيٍّ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا

.38

- a. منار مشهد حسين
 b. صندوق امير المؤمنين حسين رضي الله عنه
 c. باب السلام

.39 بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الْمَتَّقِدِ بِالْقَدْرِ وَالِدَّوَامِ الْمُنْتَزِعِ عَنْ مُشَابَهَةِ الْأَعْرَاضِ
 وَالْأَجْسَامِ وَصَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَى سَيِّدِ الْمُرْسَلِينَ وَأَشْرَفِ الْأَنَامِ مُحَمَّدِ النَّبِيِّ
 وَعَلَى آلِهِ الْأَمَاجِدِ الْكِرَامِ أَمَّا بَعْدُ سَبَّبَ تَحْرِيرِ إِيْنِ كَلِمَاتٍ وَتَقْرِيرِ إِيْنِ
 مَقَدِّمَاتِ أَنْكَ حَاضِرِ شُدْرٍ مَشْهُدٍ مُقَدَّسٍ وَرَوْضَةٍ مَنْوَرٍ مُعْظَمٍ قَبْلَهُ
 وَقَدْوَةٍ أَهْلِ عَالَمِ الْأَمَامِ الْهَمَامِ وَالْبَطْلِ الْضَرْغَامِ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَامَامِ الْمُتَّقِينَ
 وَوَارَثِ عُلُومِ النَّبِيِّينَ وَقَبْلَةِ الْعَارِفِينَ وَيَعْسُوبِ الدِّينِ وَخَلِيفَةِ اللَّهِ فِي
 الْعَالَمِينَ طَالِبِ [الطَّلَابِ] الْأَمَامِ الْمُرْتَضَى عَلِيِّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبِ كَرَّمَ اللَّهُ
 وَجْهَهُ وَرَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ دَرْوِيْشِ عَزِيْزِ فَرِيْدِ سَالِكِ طَرِيْقِ تَجْرِيْدِ سَيِّدِ [يُوسُفِ]
 بْنِ سَيِّدِ شِهَابِ الدِّينِ مَاوِرَاءِ التَّهْرِيِّ عَتَبَةَ شَرِيْفِهِ رَابِلِبِ تَعْظِيْمٍ وَتَخِيْلِ مُقَيْنِ
 وَمَلْثُومِ كَرْدَانِيْدِهِ قَدَمِ دَرِ حَرَمِ شَرِيْفِ نِهَادِ وَطَوَافِ صَرِيْحِ مُبَارَكِ كَرْدِ وَبَعْدَازِ
 أَدَايِ رَكْعَتَيْنِ شَكَرِ حَقِّ جَلِّ وَعِلَاوِي تَضَرَّعِ بَرِّ خَاكِ نِيَازِ بِحَضْرَتِ بِي نِيَازِ نِهَادِ
 وَجُوْنِ بَدَسَنْبُوسِ مُرْتَضَى أَعْظَمِ مُلْكِ السَّادَاتِ وَالْتَقْبَاءِ فِي الْعَالَمِ جَامِعِ مُحَاسِنِ
 الْأَخْلَاقِ وَالنَّسِيْمِ سُلَالَةِ الْإِلَاطِ وَيَسِ خُلَاصَةِ الْمَاءِ وَالطَّيْنِ الْمَوْلَى سَيِّدِ الْأَجَلِّ
 الْأَمَجْدِ الْكَرَمِ عَزَّ الْحَقُّ وَالِدَوْلَةَ وَالَّذِيْنَ عَلِيٌّ بِنِ حَسَنِ بْنِ عَلِيٍّ بِنِ كَمُوْنَةِ الْحُسَيْنِيِّ اِدَامِ

- 36.
- a. Minaret of the shrine of 'Ali the beloved
 - b. Gate of Peace
 - c. Chest of 'Ali the beloved, may God be pleased with him
 - d. Double-pointed sword of the viceroy of Najaf
37. This is the shrine of the Commander of the Faithful Husayn b. 'Ali, may God be pleased with them

- 38.
- a. Minaret of Husayn's shrine
 - b. Chest of the Commander of the Faithful Husayn, may God be pleased with him
 - c. Gate of Peace

39. In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

Praise be to God, who stands alone in power and eternity, free of any resemblance to accidents and material substances, and may God bless the lord of messengers and noblest among mankind, Muhammad the Prophet, as well as his most glorious and generous offspring. Now then. The reason for composing these words and relating this introduction will become evident. In the holy mausoleum and the sublime illuminated garden of the qibla and exemplum of the family of the world, the magnificent imam, lion-like hero, Commander of the Faithful, imam of the virtuous, heir to the prophetic sciences, sacred pole of the saints, chief of religion, and caliph of God in the two worlds, seeker of seekers, the chosen Imam 'Ali b. Abi Talib—may God honor him and may God be pleased with him—

the pious dervish, traveler on the path of solitude, Sayyid Yusuf b. Sayyid Shihab al-Din of Transoxiana, kissed the sacred threshold and placed his foot on the noble threshold, and he made a pure and blessed circumambulation. After performing two prostrations—in gratitude to the deity (be He glorified and exalted) the narrator humbled himself as necessary by honoring the lord without equal, kissing his hand, the most sublime among the chosen, king of the sayyids and lords in the world, gatherer of beautiful virtues and dispositions, progeny of the family of *ṭā' hā* and *yā sīn*, purest among water and clay, the master, the greatest, most glorious, and generous sayyid—may he support the truth, the state, and religion—'Ali b. Hasan b. 'Ali b. Kamuna al-Husayni (may God the Sublime extend his rule and perpetuate his office).

الله تعالى سيادته و ابد نقابته مشرف شد بعد از انك زيارت چهار حرم و دُو
 مشهد را در يافته بود و نقبایي چهار حرم و دو مشهد او را سفره دو چراغ و علم داده بودند
 و خليفه درويشان كرد انيده و مامور بدانك كسوت برساند و كسوت بستاند
 و طريق بكويد و طريق برسد التماس زيارت نامه كرد بنا بر ملتمس او اين زيارت نامه
 همراه او كرد انيده شد تا بهر ديار كه برسد سلاطين و امرا و نواب و وزرا و سادات
 و سادات و قضاة و ايمه و اغنيا و تكيه داران و عهداران متوليان اوقاف و بيت المال
 در اعزاز و الكرام و نگاه داشت و رعایت او تهاون و نمايند و بقدر الوسع و الامكان
 در توقير و احترام او سعي نمايند و قدم او را بر خود مبارك داند و در طرق و سيان
 ممد و معاون احوال او كردند ان الله لا يضيع اجر المحسنين توفيق رفيق ممكن باد
 الحمد لله تعالى وحده و صلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه الطاهرين
 سلم تسليماً كثيراً حرّره في الحادى والعشرين من محرم الحرام سنه سبع وثلثين وثمانماية

Names of the witnesses from left to right, top to bottom: .40

وكذا قول المحتاج الى رحمة اه تعالى محمد بن احمد بن حسين بن علي بن حزين الخازن غفر الله تعالى له
 كذا قول الفقير الى الله تعالى احمد بن حسين بن علي بن حزين الخازن غفر له
 الحال كما سمع اعلاء و [...] اصغر العباد الى الله تعالى علي بن حسين بن علي بن كونه الحسيني عفا الله تعالى عنه
 الفقير الى الله الغني علي اصغر بن ابي المكارم الحسيني
 احوج عباد الله ابوطالب الحسيني
 كته عبدال [...] محمد اصغر بن ابي المكارم الحسيني

After visitations to the four sanctuaries and two shrines had been completed, the leaders of the four sanctuaries and two shrines gave him a wallet, two lamps, and a standard, and made him a successor to the dervishes. Because of that, he was granted the authority to give and receive robes, to give and receive rites, and he solicited a book of visitation (*ziyārātnāma*). He also requested that the book of visitation be made so that in whichever region he traveled sultans, amirs, governors, viziers, lords, sayyids, judges, holders of fiefs, the wealthy, dervishes, standard bearers, and superintendents of endowments and treasuries would

not stint in showing him honor, respect, protection, and favor, would make every possible effort to bestow honor, dignity, and reverence upon him, would take it upon themselves to welcome him, and, by following the ways of reward, would help and assist him in his circumstances. Verily, God does not squander the alms of those who do good; may all the Companions prosper through divine grace. Praise be to God the Sublime, the One, and may God bless our lord Muhammad and his family and pure Companions, and complete peace [upon them]. Written on the 21st of Muharram the sacred [in] the year seven and thirty and eight hundred.

40. *Names of the witnesses from left to right, top to bottom:*

And as we said, the one who needs God the Sublime's mercy, Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Husayn b.

'Ali b. Hazin al-Khazin, may he have God the Sublime's pardon

As we said, the poor one before God the Great, Ahmad b. Husayn b. 'Ali b. Hazin al-Khazin,
may he have God's pardon

The situation as heard, [exaltation] and [...], least of the servants of God the Sublime,

'Ali b. Husayn b. 'Ali b. Kammuna al-Husayni, may God the Great pardon him

The poor one [before] God the Rich, 'Ali Asghar, son of the possessor of excellent qualities,
the Husayni

The neediest of God's worshippers, Abu Talib al-Husayni

Written by 'Abd al-[...] Muhammad Asghar, son of the possessor of excellent qualities, the Husayni

NOTES

Authors' note: We would like to thank the Multimedia Department, Museum of Islamic Art, Doha, for providing photography of the scroll, especially Marc Pelletreau, who not only helped to capture images of it, but also prepared the digital files for publication. Special gratitude is due to Dr. Myrto Georgakopoulou, Lecturer in Archaeological Materials Science, University College London, Qatar, for conducting the XRF analysis, which has considerably enhanced our understanding of the scroll. We would like to thank The British Library, London, and Dr. Nur Sobers-Khan for her help in obtaining photographic documentation of Add. MS.27566. Wheeler M. Thackston generously checked the English translation of the Arabic and Persian texts.

1. The pilgrimage scroll (MS.267.1998), owned by the Museum of Islamic Art, Doha, Qatar, was purchased directly from a private collector, Mr. Kuzmeli, in 1998. The scroll was previously offered at auction on October 23, 1972, by Christie, Manson & Woods, where it was called a "rare illuminated Arabic manuscript scroll," with little detailed information or description (Christie, Manson & Woods, London, *Classical, Western Asiatic, Byzantine and Islamic Antiquities*, October 23, 1972, lot 109, 36). Since 2010, the scroll has been displayed on rotation in the permanent galleries of the Museum of Islamic Art, Doha, and was included among the objects exhibited in "Hajj: The Journey through Art" in 2013. The Doha exhibition occurred the year after the *hajj*-themed show organized by the British Museum, London. The London exhibition featured several pilgrimage certificates, which were presented as illustrations of the pilgrimage. See Venetia Porter, ed., *Hajj: Journey to the Heart of Islam* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2012), 32, 39, 137, and 197.
2. For a model study that integrates sources on the history of religion and its practices with architecture and urbanism in medieval Islamic society, see Christopher S. Taylor, *In the Vicinity of the Righteous: Ziyāra and the Veneration of Muslim Saints in Late Medieval Egypt* (Leiden: Brill, 1999). For the *mashhad al-ru'yā*, see *ibid.*, 32, 45, and 88.
3. The same attributes have been noted as applicable to later historical examples. See Luitgard Mols, "Souvenir, Testimony, and Device for Instruction: Late Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Printed Hajj Certificates," in *Hajj: Global Interactions through Pilgrimage*, ed. Luitgard Mols and Marjo Buitelaar, *Mededelingen van het Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde* 43 (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2015), 185–212, esp. 194–95.
4. While the general purposes of the medieval pilgrimage scrolls are evident, less certain is whether or not their audience was inherently private and restricted or possibly public. The display function of the scrolls is generally accepted by scholars, supported in part by physical analysis. See 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. Irvin Cemil Schick (Istanbul: Sabancı Üniversitesi, 2000), 101–34, 103–4; and Janine Sourdél-Thomine and Dominique Sourdél, "Nouveaux documents sur l'histoire religieuse et sociale de Damas au Moyen Âge," *Revue des Etudes Islamiques* 32 (1964): 1–25, at 4. An early commentator on scrolls, Joseph Reinaud, *Description des monumens musulmans du cabinet de M. le duc de Blacas*, 2 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1828), 2:224 and 310, mentioned that scrolls were deposited in mosques and displayed on their walls in addition to being preserved by families. He based this on observations made by the earlier travelers Chardin and Neibuhr. Reinaud regarded the scrolls as expressions of the pilgrim's piety, presumably also evidencing the pilgrim's enhanced social status. For the display of scrolls in the modern and contemporary periods, see Mols, "Souvenir, Testimony, and Device for Instruction," 198. For the practice in a Shi'i context, see Ingvild Flakerud, *Visualizing Belief and Piety in Iranian Shiism* (London: Continuum, 2010), 5 and 102.
5. The study of scroll-format objects, comprising different kinds of texts and serving various functions, is a growing field of inquiry. For a recent analysis focused on talismanic scrolls, see Yasmine F. al-Saleh, "Licit Magic: The Touch and Sight of Islamic Talismanic Scrolls" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2014).
6. A useful overview of images of the Ka'ba in different media is presented by Richard Ettinghausen, "Die bildliche Darstellung der Ka'ba im islamischen Kulturkreis," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 87, n.s. 12, nos. 3–4 (1934): 111–37. On the different effects of a vertical versus horizontal orientation, see David J. Roxburgh, "Visualizing the Sites and Monuments of Islamic Pilgrimage," in *Architecture in Islamic Arts: Treasures of the Aga Khan Museum*, ed. Margaret S. Graves (Geneva: Aga Khan Trust for Culture, 2011), 33–41, 34.
7. The earliest known pilgrimage scrolls are discussed in Sourdél-Thomine and Sourdél, "Nouveaux documents," 1–25; Dominique Sourdél and Janine Sourdél-Thomine, "Une collection médiévale de certificats de pèlerinage à la Mekke conservés à Istanbul: Les actes de la période seljoukide et bouride (jusqu'à 549/1154)," in *Etudes médiévales et patri-moine turc*, ed. Janine Sourdél-Thomine (Paris: Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1983), 167–273; Aksoy and Milstein, "Collection of Thirteenth-Century Illustrated Hajj Certificates," 101–34; David J. Roxburgh, "Pilgrimage City," in *The City in the Islamic World*, ed. Salma K. Jayyusi, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 2:753–74; and Sheila S. Blair, "Inscribing the Hajj," in *The Hajj: Collected Essays*, ed. Venetia Porter and Liana Saif (London: British Museum, 2013), 160–68, at 163.
8. London, British Library, Add. MS.27566, 21.2 x 28 cm. For illustrations and a cursory analysis, see Nurhan Atasoy et al., *The Art of Islam* (Paris: UNESCO and Flammarion, 1990), 10; Desmond Stewart, *Mecca* (New York: Newsweek, 1980), 20; Porter, *Hajj: Journey to the Heart of Islam*, 136–37; John Reeve, ed., *Sacred: Books of the Three Faiths: Judaism,*

- Christianity, Islam* (London: British Library, 2007), 213. The scroll and its inscriptions were described in some detail by Reinaud, *Description des monumens musulmans*, 310–24.
9. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi (Topkapı Palace Library), H.1812, 524 x 46 cm. See Emel Esin, “Un manuscrit illustré représentant les sanctuaires de la Mecque et Médine et le dome du Mi‘radj, à l’époque des Sultans turcs Selim et Süleyman 1er (H.922–74/1516–66),” in *Les provinces arabes et leurs sources documentaires à l’époque ottomane* (Tunis: Markaz al-Buḥūth wa al-Dirāsāt ‘an al-Wilāyāt al-‘Arabiyya fi al-‘Ahd al-‘Uthmānī, 1984), 175–90; Zeren Tanındı, “Resimli Bir Hac Vekaletnamesi,” *Sanat Dünyamız* 28 (1983): 2–5; Esin Atıl, *The Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1987), 64–65; J. M. Rogers and R. M. Ward, *Süleyman the Magnificent* (London: British Museum Publications, 1988), cat. no. 36; Rachel Milstein, “Drawings of the Haram of Jerusalem in Ottoman Manuscripts,” in *Aspects of Ottoman History: Papers from CIEPO IX, Jerusalem*, ed. Amy Singer and Amnon Cohen (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1994), 62–69.
 10. See the highly detailed analysis of block-printing and pilgrimage scrolls by Aksoy and Milstein, “Collection of Thirteenth-Century Illustrated Hajj Certificates,” 123–34.
 11. Whether or not the scroll reflected the completion of a *hajj* or an *‘umra*, the earlier scrolls typically open with an image of the “Mount of Mercy” (*jabal al-rahma*), also known as Mount ‘Arafat, followed by Muzdalifa, Mina, the Masjid al-Haram (Sacred Mosque) in Mecca, and Mounts Safa and Marwa. For the *hajj*, all of these sites must be visited between the 8th and 13th of Dhu‘l-Hijja. The *‘umra*, by contrast, does not have to be undertaken at a specific time in the Islamic calendar and only requires the performance of prescribed actions in the Masjid al-Haram and in the corridor connecting Mounts Safa and Marwa. For the rites associated with the *hajj* and the *‘umra*, see Richard C. Martin, “Muslim Pilgrimage,” in *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. Mircea Eliade, 16 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1987), 11:338–46.
 12. English versions of the Koran used throughout this essay are taken from Ahmed Ali, *Al-Qur‘ān: A Contemporary Translation* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988). The earliest known uses of square Kufic are in architectural epigraphy, chiefly in the medium of brick, from the early twelfth century. An overview of these early examples is offered by Sheila S. Blair, *Islamic Inscriptions* (New York: New York University Press, 1998), esp. 82–89. Square Kufic flourished particularly during the Ilkhanid Mongol period and after.
 13. See James W. Allan, *The Art and Architecture of Twelver Shi‘ism: Iraq, Iran, and the Indian Sub-Continent* (London: Azimuth Editions, 2012), 45, 46, and 52. Examples include the use of Koran 33:33 at the Buyid-period mosque in Na‘in and the Safavid-period Mausoleum of Allahvardi Khan in Mashhad.
 14. The third day of the *hajj* is the “Day of Sacrifice” (*yawm al-naḥr* or *‘īd al-adḥā’*), which commemorates Abraham’s sacrifice. The pilgrim goes to Mina in the morning to stone the devil at the first symbolic station (*jamra al-‘aqaba* or *jamra al-kubrā*). He throws seven stones while pronouncing the formula “in the name of God, God is Great” (*bi-ism Allāhu Allāhu Akbar*). The rites at Mina are related to the return of Abraham to Mecca, when he took his son Isma‘il and asked him to follow him to Mount Thabir with a knife and a rope (Koran 37:102–107). Along the way, the devil appeared three times to attempt to dissuade Abraham, and revealed to Isma‘il his father’s purpose. Abraham stoned the devil three times. At the moment of sacrifice, God sent a ram to be sacrificed instead of Isma‘il, since Abraham had proved his obedience to God. The pilgrim then sacrifices an animal after the first stoning. This was usually a sheep, but goats or camels were also permissible. In present times, due to matters of hygiene and especially to the number of pilgrims, each pilgrim donates the value of the animal, which is then sacrificed in a designated place dedicated to that purpose in Mina; the meat is offered to the needy. The men then shave their heads or cut their hair, and the women cut a lock of hair (about 2.5 cm). The pilgrims then return to Mecca to perform the circumambulation again and recite prayers, before traveling back to Mina to spend the night.
 15. The Koran refers to the city in two ways, Makka (48:24) and Bakka (3:96). Koran 3:96–97 is commonly used to begin pilgrimage manuals. See Martin, “Muslim Pilgrimage,” 338.
 16. The Persian term *gaz* (sometimes *guz*) is a unit of measurement comparable to the cubit, varying in length from 60 to 75 cm. See Lisa Golombek and Donald Wilber, *The Timurid Architecture of Iran and Turan*, 2 vols. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1988), 1:469.
 17. The corners are named after the direction of the provinces with respect to the Ka‘ba. For all of the elements related to the Ka‘ba, see *Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition* (henceforth *EI2*), s.v. “Ka‘ba” (Arent J. Wensinck and Jacques Jomier) (Leiden, 1960–2004), vol. 4, 317–22. On the Ka‘ba’s relation to the world, see David A. King and Richard P. Lorch, “Qibla Charts, Qibla Maps, and Related Instruments,” in *The History of Cartography*, ed. J. B. Harley and David Woodward, 3 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1992), vol. 2, bk. 1, *Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies*, 189–205.
 18. Esin, “Un manuscrit illustré représentant les sanctuaires de la Mecque et Médine,” 176.
 19. The *ḥizam* (Ar. “belt”) corresponds to the two levels of large silver or gold embroidered bands that are sewn together and placed around the top of the black silk fabric (*kiswa al-sharīfa*), replaced annually, that covers the Ka‘ba. The *ḥizam* usually bears cartouches inscribed with Koranic verses. For further information on the Ka‘ba textiles across historical periods, medieval through modern, see M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, “Le voile de la Ka‘ba,” *Studia Islamica* 2 (1954): 5–21; Nevzat Bayhan, ed., *Imperial Surre*, trans. Zeynep Güden (Istanbul: Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Culture Co. Publications, 2008), 43–66; and

- Nahla Nassar, "Dar al-Kisfa al-Sharifa: Administration and Production," in Porter, *Hajj: Journey to the Heart of Islam*, 173–83.
20. The *ḥaṭīm* is not identified by name on the scroll.
 21. Early debates in Sunni and Shi'i exegetical traditions about which son Abraham was asked to sacrifice (Isaac or Isma'il) are presented in Reuven Firestone, "Merit, Mimesis, and Martyrdom: Aspects of Shi'ite Meta-Historical Exegesis on Abraham's Sacrifice in Light of Jewish, Christian, and Sunni Muslim Tradition," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 66, no. 1 (1998): 93–116, at 110.
 22. For each of the seven circuits of circumambulation, it is recommended that the pilgrim kiss (*taqbil* or *istilām*) the Black Stone. Gabriel is believed to have brought the Black Stone, thought to have come originally from heaven, to Abraham. At its creation, the stone was white but had blackened over time because of the sins of men. See *EI2*, s.v. "Ka'ba," (Arent J. Wensinck and Jacques Jomier), vol. 4, 317–18.
 23. The Station of Gabriel is usually presented as being in Medina, inside the dome of the Mosque of the Prophet Muhammad. Its identification on the scroll in Mecca could be a mistake, or a reference to a legend that mentions Gabriel transporting the Black Stone. See Amikam Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship: Holy Places, Ceremonies, Pilgrimage* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 74.
 24. It already existed before the advent of Islam, but the Prophet Muhammad gave his uncle 'Abbas the responsibility of administering this amenity after the conquest of Mecca. See *EI2*, s.v. "Ka'ba" (A. J. Wensinck and Jacques Jomier), vol. 4, 320. In earlier pilgrimage scrolls it is often identified in captions as the *qubba al-sharāb*, and in medieval written sources as *al-qubba al-'Abbāsiyya*. See Aksoy and Milstein, "Collection of Thirteenth-Century Illustrated Hajj Certificates," 112.
 25. The Mountain of Light (*jabal al-nūr*) is located outside the Meccan Masjid al-Haram. It was the site of the cave of Hira', where the Prophet Muhammad received his first revelation.
 26. In the Koran (2:125 and 3:97) this place is associated with Bakka and specifically the "House of God" (*Bayt Allāh*), where believers may pray (*muṣallā*). Abraham plays an important role in the rituals of the *ḥajj* and the construction of the Ka'ba. Abraham's "footprint" was taken as the mark of the mason who built the Ka'ba. Legends record that when the walls became too high, the stones would rise and sink to allow Abraham to build, and to help Isma'il hand stones to his father. Abraham is believed to have stood atop the *maqām* before his people when he asked them to perform the pilgrimage at God's request. Muslims took the stone as a place of prayer, praying on it in the direction of the Ka'ba. This is why people usually place the *maqām* between them and the Ka'ba while performing some of the prayers in the Masjid al-Haram, although this is not required in the rituals of the *ḥajj*. Scholars have condemned the desire of some pilgrims who want to kiss the stone, or even the practice of circumambulating the *maqām*. See *EI2*, s.v. "Maqām Ibrāhīm" (M. J. Kister); M. J. Kister, "Maqām Ibrāhīm, a Stone with an Inscription," *Le Muséon* 84 (1971): 477–491; and Francis E. Peters, *The Hajj: The Muslim Pilgrimage to Mecca and the Holy Places* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994), 16–17.
 27. This is used to access the Ka'ba's door and interior. See *EI2*, s.v. "Ka'ba" (Arent J. Wensinck and Jacques Jomier).
 28. The presence and purpose of clocks in the medieval Islamic lands is discussed in reference to the Great Mosque in Damascus by Finbarr Barry Flood, *The Great Mosque of Damascus: Studies on the Makings of an Umayyad Visual Culture* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 114–39; and Afif Bahnassi, *The Great Omayyad Mosque of Damascus* (Damascus: TLASS, 1989), 105.
 29. The *sa'y* between Mounts Safa and Marwa must be done seven times, walking briskly, as the Arabic root indicates. It is set down in the Koran (2:158) and is performed as part of both the *ḥajj* and the *'umra*. This ritual, along with the drinking of water from the Well of Zamzam, is connected to the story of Hagar and her son Isma'il, whom Abraham brought to the Hijaz at God's request (Koran 14:37) and abandoned. Hagar wandered with her son seven times between Safa and Marwa searching for water. At Marwa, an angel appeared to her and struck the ground with his wing near a mountain on which there were several springs of water. Hagar then dug the well that is still known as Zamzam. While there are several wells in the vicinity of Mecca, Zamzam is the only one located inside the Masjid al-Haram.
 30. The visit to Medina, styled "the illuminated city" in Arabic (*al-Madīna al-munawwara*), is not a mandatory ritual of the pilgrimage but is considered meritorious. Pilgrims usually travel to Medina (about 225 miles from Mecca) after completing the *'umra* or *ḥajj* in Mecca. Other pilgrims begin their journey by visiting Medina and then travel to Mecca. During the visit, pilgrims usually arrive by way of the Bab al-Salam to the west and pass through al-Rawda to visit the graves. A space in the mosque interior, *al-Rawḍa* (Ar. "garden") is mentioned by both Muhammad b. Isma'il al-Bukhari and Muslim b. al-Hajjaj in their hadith compilations, while al-Harawi styles it "Fatima's garden" (*rawḍa al-Fāṭima*). According to Nasir-i Khusraw, "it is said to be one of the gardens of Paradise, since the Prophet said, 'Between my grave and my pulpit is one of the gardens of Paradise.' The Shi'is say that the tomb of Fatema Zahrā is there also": Wheeler M. Thackston, *Nāṣer-e Khosraw's Book of Travels (Safarnāma)* (Albany, N.Y.: Bibliotheca Persica, 1986), 59. While inside the mosque, pilgrims performed their prayers near the minbar and recited Suras 109 (*al-Kāfirūn* [The Unbelievers]) and 112 (*al-Ikhlāṣ* [Oneness]) from the Koran. With their backs turned to the mihrab, they then faced the southern window and pronounced pious formulas (*du'ā*) in the name of the Prophet Muhammad. Similar rituals were practiced at the graves of Abu Bakr, 'Umar, and Fatima. After returning to al-Rawda, pilgrims again performed a prayer and then visited the

- cemetery of al-Baqi' (at Mount Uhud), where the Prophet Muhammad's Companions, as well as martyrs who died in battle during his lifetime, are buried. See Peters, *The Hajj: The Muslim Pilgrimage*, 261; and *EI2*, s.v. "Al-Madīna" (W. Montgomery Watt and R. B. Winder). The best study of the development of Medina from the seventh through ninth centuries is Harry Munt, *The Holy City of Medina: Sacred Space in Early Islamic Arabia* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014).
31. Only the entrance named after Gabriel and the one named "Mercy" correspond to designations from al-Harawī's thirteenth-century description. See Josef W. Meri, *A Lonely Wayfarer's Guide to Pilgrimage: 'Alī ibn Abī Bakr al-Harawī's Kitāb al-Ishārāt ilā Ma'rifat al-Ziyārāt* (Princeton, N.J.: Darwin Press, Inc., 2004), 246.
 32. On Medina's date palms, and their associations, see Munt, *Holy City of Medina*, 50 and 95.
 33. Al-Harawī considered the minbar to be the only extant relic (*āthār*) of the Prophet Muhammad in Medina. See Meri, *Lonely Wayfarer's Guide to Pilgrimage*, 244.
 34. It was acquired by the Ottoman sultan Selim I (r. 1512–20) and in Ottoman Turkish is variously named *sanjak-i şerif*, *livā'-i şerif*, and *'alem-i nebevī*. See *EI2*, s.v. "Sandjak-i Şerif" (A. H. de Groot).
 35. For these details and others beside, see *EI2*, s.v. "al-Na'ī al-Şarīf" (Uri Rubin); and Christiane J. Gruber, *Apocalipsis de Mahoma: Mi'ragnama: Cuyo original se custodia en la Bibliothèque nationale de France, con la signatura Supp. Turc. 190* (Valencia: Patrimonio ediciones, 2008), 372. The representation of the Prophet Muhammad's sandals flourished in later periods, and texts were written to praise them (e.g., al-Maqqari [d. 1620]). See Christiane Gruber, "The Rose of the Prophet: Floral Metaphors in Late Ottoman Devotional Art," in *Envisioning Islamic Art and Architecture: Essays in Honor of Renata Holod*, ed. David J. Roxburgh (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 223–49, esp. 237.
 36. On the first day (*tarwīya*), 8 Dhu'l-Hijja, pilgrims usually carry out the circumambulation (*tawāf*) and *sa'y* between Mounts Safa and Marwa. The *tawāf* is a pre-Islamic practice that was instigated by the Prophet Muhammad when he made his farewell pilgrimage in 632. He carried it out while riding on his camel, touching each corner (*rukṅ*) of the Ka'ba. He indicated what was forbidden (such as hanging clothes on the Ka'ba [Koran 7:29]), and provided information on the steps of the ritual: turning seven times around the Ka'ba, and taking as a starting point the Black Stone while always keeping the Ka'ba on the right side (meaning that the pilgrim walks anti-clockwise). The first three circumambulations should be done at a brisk pace. For each round, it is advisable for the pilgrim to kiss the Black Stone. The pilgrim performs the *tawāf* on arrival (*tawāf al-taḥīya* or *tawāf al-quḍūm*) at the Haram and on leaving (*tawāf al-wadā'*). The area around the Ka'ba is called the *maṭaf*. For these details and others, see *EI2*, s.v. "Ṭawāf" (F. Buhl).
 37. For more information about Jerusalem and its architecture, see *EI2*, s.v. "al-Ḥarām al-Şarīf" (Oleg Grabar); and Oleg Grabar, *The Shape of the Holy: Early Islamic Jerusalem* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996). Images of Jerusalem and the Haram al-Sharif are discussed in Rachel Milstein, "The Evolution of a Visual Motif: The Temple and the Ka'ba," *Israel Oriental Studies* 19 (1999): 23–48; and Janine Sourdell-Thomine, "Une image musulmane de Jérusalem au début du XIIIe siècle," in *Jérusalem, Rome, Constantinople: L'image et le mythe de la ville au Moyen Age*, ed. Daniel Poirion (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1986), 217–33.
 38. This mixed iconography is not a curious conflation of tradition but rather a reflection of religious diversity. For example, one tradition locates the footprint of Abraham on the Dome of the Rock, while others locate it in Mecca.
 39. Early traditions associated Jerusalem with the end of days and the place where all mankind would assemble for judgment. The area east of the Haram was thought to be Hell. See Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship*, 103–4. For the names given to the doors of the Haram in earlier periods, see *ibid.*, xxii–xxiii, and accompanying descriptive entries.
 40. Meri, *Lonely Wayfarer's Guide to Pilgrimage*, 66. There is also the well-known Maqam Ibrahim in Aleppo, a city with a concentration of monuments built to commemorate Abraham. See Yasser Tabbaa, *Constructions of Power and Piety in Medieval Aleppo* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), esp. 106–8.
 41. Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship*, 76–77.
 42. See Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship*, 76–77. In their analysis of the Damascus corpus, and their focused study of a scroll dated 608 (1211), Aksoy and Milstein suggest that some representations of mihrabs in the image of the Haram al-Sharif could be those of David and/or Zakariyya (Aksoy and Milstein, "Collection of Thirteenth-Century Illustrated Hajj Certificates," 113–14).
 43. One of the most commonly mentioned artefacts is the pair of horns from the ram sacrificed by Abraham in the place of his son Isma'il (which, according to one tradition, were transported from the Ka'ba to Jerusalem). Another is the crown of the Sasanian king Kisra. See Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship*, 52 and 160.
 44. Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship*, 111. Another site credited with possession of the rod of Moses is the Masjid al-Kufa in Kufa—the main Shi'i mosque of the town—on the authority of Ibn al-Mashhadi (d. 1098). Ibn al-Mashhadi outlines a series of historical events that made the mosque an especially hallowed place; it also housed Solomon's signet ring and was the resting place of Noah's Ark. See Najam Haider, "Prayer, Mosque, and Pilgrimage: Mapping Shi'i Sectarian Identity in 2nd/8th Century Kūfa," *Islamic Law and Society* 16, no. 2 (2009): 151–74, at 165–66.
 45. As reported by the Persian traveler Nasir-i Khusraw in 1047. See Thackston, *Nāşer-e Khosraw's Book of Travels*, 23.
 46. Modern sources record that Hamza's shield was removed from the Dome of the Rock in the 1880s and possibly sent to Constantinople. See C. W. Wilson, "The 'Buckler' of

- Hamza," in *Palestine Exploration Fund: Quarterly Statement, January 1903* (London: Published at the Fund's Office, 1903), 175–77. In 1047, Nasir-i Khusraw mentions seeing it "carved in stone" on the wall and relates the tradition that "[Hamza] sat there with his shield on his back and that this is the impression of that shield." See Thackston, *Nāṣer-e Khosraw's Book of Travels*, 28.
47. On the complex history of the footprint of the Prophet Muhammad and its location on the Haram al-Sharif, see Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship*, 72–73; for his other footprints, see *EI2*, s.v. "Ḳadam Ṣharīf" (T. W. Arnold and J. Burton-Page). The numerous written sources for understanding the layered historical meanings of the Dome of the Rock are presented in Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Dome of the Rock as Palimpsest: 'Abd al-Malik's Grand Narrative and Sultan Süleyman's Glosses," *Muqarnas* 25 (2008): 17–106, esp. 23–45.
48. See *EI2*, s.v. "Adam" (J. Pedersen); Meri, *Lonely Wayfarer's Guide to Pilgrimage*, 78. The authenticity of sites such as Hebron was not universally accepted. See Josef W. Meri, *The Cult of Saints among Muslims and Jews in Medieval Syria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 161–62. Other scholars argued more broadly against the visitation of the site. See Taylor, *In the Vicinity of the Righteous*, 133 and 187.
49. Etan Kohlberg, "Some Shi'i Views of the Antediluvian World," *Studia Islamica* 52 (1980): 41–66, at 58.
50. The closest Adamic association is a tradition mentioned by al-Harawi related to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. In the story, a rock "split apart and Adam emerged from beneath it because it was beneath the crucifix" (Meri, *Lonely Wayfarer's Guide to Pilgrimage*, 76).
51. See Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship*, 95–97.
52. See Meri, *Lonely Wayfarer's Guide to Pilgrimage*, 74; and Thackston, *Nāṣer-e Khosraw's Book of Travels*, 26.
53. Referred to as the Cave of Machpelah in the Old Testament, and as Mar Ibrahim by the Crusaders (1100–1188), the grotto of Abraham continues to hold great significance for Jews, Christians, and Muslims. The history of the site is presented in Eric F. F. Bishop, "Hebron, City of Abraham, the Friend of God," *Journal of Bible and Religion* 16, no. 2 (1948): 94–99; and Heribert Busse, "Die Patriarchengräber in Hebron und der Islam," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 114, no. 1 (1998): 71–94. On the authority of Ka'b b. al-Ahbar, 'Ali b. Ja'far al-Razi related the sequence of death and burial of the patriarchs and matriarchs. See Busse, "Die Patriarchengräber," 82n72. Grabar described it as the "greatest Muslim sanctuary of the pre-Islamic prophets" (Oleg Grabar, "The Earliest Islamic Commemorative Structures: Notes and Documents," *Ars Orientalis* 6 [1966]: 7–46). A focused study of Hebron is also offered by Amikam Elad, "Pilgrims and Pilgrimage to Hebron (al-Khalil) during the Early Muslim Period (638–1099)," in *Pilgrims and Travelers to the Holy Land*, ed. Bryan F. Le Beau and Menachem Mor (Omaha, Neb.: Creighton University Press, 1996), 21–62. One of the most detailed pilgrimage narratives about Hebron was recorded in the late fifteenth century by Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Suyūfī, *Ithāf al-akhiṣṣā bi-faḍā'il al-Masjid al-Aqṣā*, 2 vols. (Cairo: al-Hay'a al-Miṣriyya al-ʿĀmma li'l-Kitāb, 1982–84).
54. Some Islamic sources record that Jacob had six wives who bore him twelve sons and one daughter. See al-Rabghūzī, *The Stories of the Prophets: Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā', An Eastern Turkish Version*, trans. H. E. Boeschoten, J. O'Kane, and M. Vandamme, 2 vols. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995), 2:156 and 167. Other exegetical traditions interpret Koran 4:23 as a reference to Jacob marrying Leah's sister Rachel after Leah had died. See *EI2*, s.v. "Ya'ḳūb" (R. Firestone).
55. See Thackston, *Nāṣer-e Khosraw's Book of Travels*, 36; and Meri, *Lonely Wayfarer's Guide to Pilgrimage*, 66 and 78. Nasir-i Khusraw writes that Joseph was buried near the village of Balata.
56. Bishop, "Hebron, City of Abraham," 97.
57. *Allāhumma [ṣallā] 'alā Muḥammad al-muṣṭafā wa 'Alī al-murtaḍā wa Ḥasan al-mujtabā wa Ḥusayn al-shahīd bi-Karbalā' wa 'Alī zayn al-'abidīn wa Muḥammad al-baqir wa Ja'far al-ṣādiq wa Mūsā al-kāzim wa 'Alī al-riḍā' wa Muḥammad al-taqī wa 'Alī al-naqī wa Ḥasan al-'askarī wa Muḥammad al-mahdī ṣāhib al-zamān 'alayhum al-salām*. A word is inserted between *allāhumma* and *'alā* with the three of them interconnected. The most likely reading for the middle word is *ṣallā*. This introductory formula (*allāhumma ṣallā 'alā*) is used in a square Kufic panel of carved plaster in the tomb of Pir-i Bakran at Linjan dating to 1312 (the panel consists of the names of Muhammad, Fatima, and the Twelve Imams). It is illustrated and described in Blair, *Islamic Inscriptions*, 85–86; and Allan, *Art and Architecture of Twelver Shi'ism*, 46.
58. For a brief history of the burial of 'Ali and the development of Najaf, see *EI2*, s.v. "Naḍjaf" (E. Honigmann and C. E. Bosworth); *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (henceforth *Elr*), s.v. "Najaf" (Rose Aslan) (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982–); and Grabar, "Earliest Islamic Commemorative Structures," 16–17. Other overviews of the history of the shrine at Najaf—among other Alid shrines in Iraq—are presented in Allan, *Art and Architecture of Twelver Shi'ism*, chap. 1; and Yasser Tabbaa and Sabrina Mervin, *Najaf: The Gate of Wisdom: History, Heritage, and Significance of the Holy City of the Shi'a* (Paris: UNESCO, 2014), chaps. 1 and 3, esp. 72–82.
59. For an overview of the history of the site, see *EI2*, s.v. "Karbalā'" (E. Honigmann); *Elr*, s.v. "Karbalā'" (Meir Litvak); and Grabar, "Earliest Islamic Commemorative Structures," 20.
60. The illumination of Karbala and Najaf was commonly remarked upon by visitors. During his visit to Najaf in 1326, Ibn Battuta described the furniture of the shrine in some detail, highlighting the silver and gold hanging lamps. See Tabbaa and Mervin, *Najaf: The Gate of Wisdom*, 77–78; and 'Abbās 'Azzāwī, *Tārīkh al-'Irāq bayna iḥtilālāyn*, 8 vols. (Baghdad: Maṭba'at Baghdād, 1935–), 3:69.
61. Repairs were made to the shrines in Najaf and Karbala under the Mongols, but they were much adapted and

- rebuilt in later historical periods. See *EIr*, s.v. "Atabāt" (H. Algar). The shrine at Najaf was destroyed in a fire in 1354 and rebuilt in 1358. See *EIr*, s.v. "Najaf" (Rose Aslan).
62. The term *atabāt* is used to identify the four great Shi'i shrine cities in Iraq: Najaf, Karbala, Kazimayn, and Samarra. See *EIr*, s.v. "Atabāt" (H. Algar).
63. The better-studied form of *ṭughrā* is the repertoire of official emblems and monograms applied to chancery documents from the time of the Seljuqs. See *EI2*, s.v. "Ṭughrā" (C. E. Bosworth).
64. See *EI2*, s.v. "Khāzin" (C. E. Bosworth). Qalqashandi reported that Ibn al-Sayrafi had said of the role of *khāzin* that "the guiding reins of the whole *dīwān* are in his hands."
65. See Ghulam Sarwar, *History of Shāh Ismā'īl Ṣafawī* (Aligarh: Published by the author, 1939), 54, 55, 79, and 81; and Andrew J. Newman, *Safavid Iran: Rebirth of a Persian Empire* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2006), 24–25 and 162n67.
66. Yitzhak Nakash, *The Shi'is of Iraq* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994), 15. The British ended the leadership of the powerful Kammuna family in 1917 (*ibid.*, 23, 95, and 96). Also see 'Azzāwī, *Tārīkh al-'Irāq*, 3:315, 342, 347–50, and 354–56.
67. The technique used a handheld XRF Olympus Innov-X Delta Premium with a 4W, 40kV Rh anode X-ray tube.
68. P. Ricciardi, A. Pallipurath, and K. Rose, "It's not easy being green': A Spectroscopic Study of Green Pigments Used in Illuminated Manuscripts," *Analytical Methods* 5 (2013): 3819–24.
69. For a mid-fifteenth century source mentioning the acquisition of malachite, see David J. Roxburgh, "Many a wish has turned to dust': Pir Budaq and the Formation of Turkmen Arts of the Book," in Roxburgh, *Envisioning Islamic Art and Architecture*, 175–222, 183.
70. Rutherford J. Gettens, Robert L. Feller, and W. T. Chase, "Vermilion and Cinnabar," in *Artists' Pigments: A Handbook of Their History and Characteristics*, vol. 2, ed. Ashok Roy (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1993), 2159–180.
71. Vermilion was particularly praised by Indian painters working at the Rajput courts. The significance of this color was discussed by Anita Chowdry in her paper "More than the Colour Red: The Unspoken Symbolism of Cinnabar Pigment in Indian Painting," presented at the conference "Visions of Enchantments: Occultism, Spirituality and Visual Culture," University of Cambridge, Cambridge, March 17–18, 2014.
72. V. S. F. Muralha, L. Burgio, and R. J. H. Clark, "Raman Spectroscopy Analysis of Pigments on 16th–17th C. Persian Manuscripts," *Spectrochimica Acta, Part A: Molecular and Biomolecular Spectroscopy* 92 (2012): 21–28; A. Jurado-López, O. Demko, R. J. H. Clark, and D. Jacobs, "Analysis of the Palette of a Precious 16th-Century Illuminated Turkish Manuscript by Raman Microscopy," *Journal of Raman Spectroscopy* 35 (2004): 119–24.
73. See Muralha, Burgio, and Clark, "Raman Spectroscopy," also see C. Anselmi, P. Ricciardi, D. Buti, A. Romani, P. Moretti, K. Rose Beers, B. G. Brunetti, C. Miliani, and A. Sgamellotti, "MOLAB® Meets Persia: Non-Invasive Study of a Sixteenth-Century Illuminated Manuscript," *Studies in Conservation* 60, no. 1 (2015): 185–192.
74. S. Bruni, F. Cariati, F. Casadio, and V. Guglielmi, "Micro-Raman Identification of the Palette of a Precious XVI-Century Illuminated Persian Codex," *Journal of Cultural Heritage* 2, no. 4 (2001): 291–96. Also see Nancy Purinton and Mark Watters, "A Study of the Materials Used by Medieval Persian Painters," *Journal of the American Institute for Conservation* 30, no. 2 (1991): 125–44.
75. Dominique Sourdél and Janine Sourdél-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), 31–34. The rituals are much more detailed in the Ayyubid-period scrolls and mention, step by step, all the pious formulas and locations visited (*ibid.*, 36–38).
76. A preliminary effort to gather and study objects of Meccan production was made by Carine Juvin, "Calligraphy and Writing Activities in Mecca during the Medieval Period (Twelfth–Fifteenth Centuries)," *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 43 (2013): 153–66. Juvin notes the uncertainty surrounding the medieval corpus of pilgrimage scrolls, suggesting that they were "prepared before the pilgrimage and then completed with the name of the performer of the hajj and the legal witnesses"—but, she also asks, "Were they prepared in the country of the beneficiary or in the holy city, as a specific local activity?" (*ibid.*, 154).
77. A detailed analysis of the features of the corpus of medieval scrolls is presented in the following studies: Sourdél and Sourdél-Thomine, *Certificats de pèlerinage d'époque ayyoubide*; Aksoy and Milstein, "Collection of Thirteenth-Century Illustrated Hajj Certificates;" Sourdél-Thomine and Sourdél, "Nouveaux documents," 1–25; Janine Sourdél-Thomine and Dominique Sourdél, "Nouveaux documents sur l'histoire religieuse et sociale de Damas au Moyen Âge," *Revue des Études Islamiques* 33 (1965): 73–85; Sourdél-Thomine and Sourdél, "Une collection médiévale," 167–273; and Dominique Sourdél and Janine Sourdél-Thomine, "Certificats de pèlerinage par procuration à l'époque mamlouke," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 25 (2001): 212–33.
78. Examples include the narratives of pilgrimage recorded by 'Ali al-Harawī, Nasir-i Khusraw, and Ibn Battuta.
79. Due to the scope of extant materials, it is not possible to prove a continuous tradition of pilgrimage scroll making across the medieval and early modern periods. (Indeed, the practice of making scrolls, especially printed ones, seems to have fallen off sharply during the Mamluk era, only to pick up again in the modern period.) We do not want to suggest that the fifteenth-century scrolls are in direct dialogue with the medieval corpus. With that noted, the medieval Damascus corpus and the two fifteenth-century scrolls do show shared conceptual traits, despite the chronological gap that separates them. It is entirely reasonable to propose that the artistic traditions seen in the fifteenth-century scrolls in Doha and London are linked to pilgrimage scrolls,

- talismans, and cartography of deep historical vintage; they certainly do not reflect the modes of architectural and spatial representation characteristic of post-Mongol manuscript painting. The habit of arranging scrolls to be viewed vertically continued from medieval through early modern times. For printed examples from the nineteenth century, see Mols, "Souvenir, Testimony, and Device for Instruction," 185–212; Ulrich Marzolph, "From Mecca to Mashhad: The Narrative of an Illustrated Shi'i Pilgrimage Scroll from the Qajar Period," *Muqarnas* 31 (2014): 1–36; and J. 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, Faculty of Theology, Uppsala University, Published on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday, June 2, 1998*, ed. Peter Schalk and Michael Stausberg (Uppsala: Uppsala University Library, 1998), 197–204. These examples are highly detailed, especially in their captioning. They also refer to elements never depicted before, such as the "Day of Judgment," and present detailed topographic views of the cemetery of al-Baqi'. Indian scrolls of comparable detail begin as early as the seventeenth century. The level of detail in post-medieval scrolls is discussed in Roxburgh, "Visualizing the Sites and Monuments of Islamic Pilgrimage," 34.
80. Koran 3:96–97 is ubiquitous on Iznik tiles of Mecca. For a study of Iznik tiles representing Mecca and Medina, see Charlotte Maury, "Depictions of the Haramayn on Ottoman Tiles: Content and Context," in Porter and Saif, *The Hajj: Collected Essays*, 143–59.
81. The extent to which images of holy sites and their monuments reflect historical realities is addressed by Esin in her study of the 1544–45 proxy pilgrimage scroll made for Şehzade Mehmed. Esin considers how the images reflect construction of the Mamluk and Ottoman periods (Esin, "Un manuscrit illustré représentant les sanctuaires de la Mecque et Médine," 175–190). Milstein has pointed out historical inconsistencies, often resulting from such artistic concerns as making a symmetrical composition, in the case of images of Jerusalem. See Rachel Milstein, "Stories of the Prophets and Their Illustration in Islamic Mysticism," in *Biblical Stories in Islamic Painting*, ed. Na'ama Brosh (Jerusalem: Israel Museum, 1991), 19–42.
82. As Sourdel-Thomine observed, Jerusalem became increasingly important as a pilgrimage site and was represented more commonly after its recapture by Salah al-Din in the late twelfth century. Janine Sourdel-Thomine, "Une image musulmane de Jérusalem au début du XIIIe siècle," in Poirion, *Jérusalem, Rome, Constantinople*, 217–33.
83. One example dated 608 (1211) (Istanbul, Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi [Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art], inv. no. 4091) is particularly well studied and described. For a list of the sites it illustrates in Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem, see Aksoy and Milstein, "Collection of Thirteenth-Century Illustrated Hajj Certificates," figs. 1–4; and Roxburgh, "Pilgrimage City," 764–67. Without knowing of the existence of the Doha scroll, Milstein pointed out the absence of representations of Jerusalem between the medieval Damascus corpus and the 1544–45 Ottoman scroll for Şehzade Mehmed. See Milstein, "Drawings of the Haram of Jerusalem in Ottoman Manuscripts," 62–69. The argument is restated in Rachel Milstein, "*Kitāb Shawq-nāma: An Illustrated Tour of Holy Arabia*," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 25 (2001): 275–345, at 317.
84. Some inscriptions on Add. Ms.27566 were discussed by Reinaud, *Description des monumens musulmans*, 2:310–24.
85. Without specifying a context for the production of the scroll, Porter, ed., *Hajj: Journey to the Heart of Islam*, 137, suggests that Maymuna may have come on her pilgrimage from North Africa.
86. For an enumeration of the fifteen framed scenes identified by Esin and a discussion of their sequence, see Roxburgh, "Pilgrimage City," 771.
87. See Reinaud, *Description des monumens musulmans*, 2:321.
88. It is interesting to consider the parallels between Muslim pilgrimage scrolls and documents of the Jewish tradition, in which, for example, the Dome of the Rock is used as an amulet. See Pamela C. Berger, *The Crescent on the Temple: The Dome of the Rock as Image of the Ancient Jewish Sanctuary* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 225–51.
89. For example, Hebron was visited by the Ottoman sultan Süleyman, who made repairs and gave endowments to it. See Necipoğlu, "Dome of the Rock as Palimpsest," 98–99n195 and 100n211.
90. The interpretation of Koran 3:33 was made by Fadl b. Hasan al-Tabarsi (d. 1153) in his commentary *Majma' al-bahrayn*. Other verses related to Abraham's offspring included Koran 19:58 and 14:37. See Moojan Momen, *An Introduction to Shi'i Islam: The History and Doctrines of Twelver Shi'ism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 152.
91. Firestone, "Merit, Mimesis, and Martyrdom," 109–110 and 111.
92. Munt, *Holy City of Medina*, 121.
93. Overviews of the history of each city and their shrines are presented in *Elr*, s.v. "Najaf" (Rose Aslan) and *Elr*, s.v. "Karbala" (Meir Litvak).
94. For a scroll combining pilgrimage to Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, and Najaf dated 1787–78, see Roxburgh, "Visualizing the Sites and Monuments of Islamic Pilgrimage," 34 and cat. no. 11.
95. See *Elr*, s.v. "Atabāt" (H. Algar).
96. *Elr*, s.v. "Najaf" (Rose Aslan).
97. *Ibid.*
98. Haider, "Prayer, Mosque, and Pilgrimage," 171–72.
99. Yitzhak Nakash, "The Visitation of the Shrines of the Imams and the Shi'i Mujtahids in the Early Twentieth Century," *Studia Islamica* 81 (1995): 153–64, at 155. Nakash provides an appendix listing the special days of visitation (*ibid.*, 163–64). Also see Khalid Sindawi, "Visit to the Tomb of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī in Shiite Poetry: First to Fifth Centuries AH (8th–11th Centuries CE)," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 37, no. 2 (2006): 230–58, esp. 232–35.

100. See Sindawi, "Visit to the Tomb of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī," 232–35.
101. Haider, "Prayer, Mosque, and Pilgrimage," 168–69; and Sindawi, "Visit to the Tomb of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī," 238–39.
102. Nakash, "Visitation of the Shrines of the Imams," 156.
103. Sindawi, "Visit to the Tomb of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī," 238–40.
104. See the examples analyzed by Sindawi, "Visit to the Tomb of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī," 240–55, and the synopsis of themes, *ibid.*, 258.
105. Sunni visitors and patrons of Najaf and Karbala are mentioned in most of the studies cited in the notes. Historical overviews are offered by Allan, *Art and Architecture of Twelver Shi'ism*, chap. 1; and Tabbaa and Mervin, *Najaf: The Gate of Wisdom*, 78–79.
106. Robert D. McChesney, *Waqf in Central Asia: Four Hundred Years in the History of a Muslim Shrine, 1480–1889* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991), esp. 33–34. Mulder has proposed that "non-sectarian veneration of the 'Alids" was a "major phenomenon... in the Islamic lands: a period spanning the eleventh and thirteenth centuries." Stephenie Mulder, *The Shrines of the 'Alids in Medieval Syria: Sun-*
- nis, Shi'is, and the Architecture of Coexistence* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), 3. The same 'Alid sympathy has been observed for the Ilkhanid period. See Judith Pfeiffer, "Confessional Ambiguity vs. Confessional Polarization: Politics and the Negotiation of Religious Boundaries in the Ilkhanate," in *Politics, Patronage, and the Transmission of Knowledge in 13th–15th Century Tabriz*, ed. Judith Pfeiffer (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 129–68, at 129.
107. See Golombek and Wilber, *Timurid Architecture*, 1:59, and cat. nos. 141 and 221. An earlier historical example is the Mashhad al-Ḥusayn in Aleppo, whose portal is attributed to the Ayyubid sultan al-Zahir. The names of the Prophet Muhammad and Twelve Imams appear together on the portal with another inscription naming the Four Rightly Guided Caliphs. See Mulder, *Shrines of the 'Alids in Medieval Syria*, esp. 90–97.
108. Golombek and Wilber, *Timurid Architecture*, 1: cat. no. 328.
109. May Farhat, "Islamic Piety and Dynastic Legitimacy: The Case of the Shrine of 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā in Mashhad (10th–17th Century)" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2002).



HANS BARNARD, SNEHA SHAH, GREGORY E. ARESHIAN, AND KYM F. FAULL

CHEMICAL INSIGHTS INTO THE FUNCTION OF FOUR SPHERO-CONICAL VESSELS FROM MEDIEVAL DVIN, ARMENIA

Sphero-conical vessels are relatively small vessels (10–20 cm or 4–8 in. high) with a narrow, nipple-shaped opening, a distinctive torpedo shape, and relatively thick walls. Most are made of dense ceramic fabrics with small, well-sorted non-plastic inclusions, fired at a high temperature in a reducing environment that produces sturdy, relatively heavy vessels with dark, nonporous walls.¹ Many of these vessels are decorated with incised or molded geometric patterns, animals, or inscriptions; some are glazed on the outside or made of glass.² The remains of sphero-conical vessels are commonly found in small quantities at medieval urban settlements in the Levant and modern Armenia, Azerbaijan, Egypt, Georgia, Iran, Iraq, and Turkey. The primary function of these vessels has been debated since the 1930s. This debate was partly fueled by a paucity of research, which was furthermore sometimes published in museum catalogues or excavation reports with relatively limited scholarly impact. An overview of relevant publications was published by Maria Vittoria Fontana in 1999 and a classification by Emilie Savage-Smith in 1997.³ Two important articles on the subject appeared in *Muqarnas* in 1992 and 1993.⁴ We report here on our biochemical analysis of the residues in four sphero-conical vessels found in twelfth–thirteenth century layers at Dvin, Armenia (fig. 1).

One suggestion for the intended use of sphero-conical vessels is as incendiary or explosive weapons similar to Molotov cocktails or hand grenades.⁵ The use of such devices in medieval times is well documented.⁶ On the other hand, the careful surface treatment of many vessels, together with the fact that numerous vessels have been found intact, seems to contradict this interpretation. Alternatively, it has been proposed that these

vessels were primarily used as fire blowers (aeolipiles) in kilns by employing the draft of hot air or steam that would emit from a vessel when heated.⁷ However, as Richard Ettinghausen has noted, “Few of these vessels have soot marks or other signs of having been near fires.”⁸ Charles K. Wilkinson has pointed out that there is no archaeological evidence for such use,⁹ nor have Ghouchani and Adle found “Persian or Arabic [written] sources that refer to the use of these vessels as fire blowers.”¹⁰ Another thought is that sphero-conical vessels could have been the central part of a water pipe (hoo-kah, narghile, or shisha),¹¹ which would have been employed to smoke hashish or opium. Herodotus famously reported that the Scythians bathed in the smoke of hemp seed,¹² but there is no firm evidence that smoking from pipes was practiced in the Near East before the introduction of tobacco in the region around the end of the sixteenth century.¹³ Analyses in 1989 and 1990 of some of the sphero-conical vessels kept by the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Canada, did not reveal the presence of cannabinoids or other alkaloids.¹⁴

Other interpretations of the vessels include that they were primarily intended as containers for precious liquids, such as mercury,¹⁵ scented oil,¹⁶ beer or wine,¹⁷ or ink.¹⁸ Ettinghausen reports tests that have proven the ability of the vessels to “hold volatile liquids, water, and oil for weeks without seepage.”¹⁹ Analysis of the sphero-conical vessels excavated at Sidon in Lebanon revealed that some contained small drops of mercury,²⁰ while a vessel that was in the Romanov Museum in Moscow until the First World War was said to have been filled with mercury.²¹ Contemporary written sources indicate that mercury was used for a variety of medicinal, cosmetic, and industrial purposes. Linguistic data further corro-



Fig. 1. View of Dvin, looking south towards Mount Ararat. (Photo: Hans Barnard)

borate the significance of mercury; for instance, according to Ettinghausen, the Armenian physician Amir Dawlat (d. ca. 1496) “mentions twenty different names for mercury in his medical treatise.”²² Far too many of these vessels have been found, however, for all of them to have been intended as containers for mercury,²³ which even today is a rare commodity. Analysis of the content of a vessel from Israel did not reveal any mercury, but rather ferric sulfate— $\text{Fe}_2(\text{SO}_4)_3$ —interpreted as “originally FeS_2 (pyrite).” “This material,” states Ervin Jungreis, “was used in conjunction with flint and timber to start fires.”²⁴ The small size and careful surface treatment of the vessels, often with images or names of women, supports the hypothesis that they were used for fragrant liquids (scented oils or perfumes), and most

vessels in museum collections are labeled as perfume containers. This categorization is in accordance with the spherico-conical vessel held by a statue of the archangel Gabriel in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, for which, writes Fontana, “its function of containing a liquid and its use as a sprinkler seem to be the most likely.”²⁵ It is very probable, however, according to Savage-Smith, that spherico-conical vessels are “objects that are not only made of different materials but that were also evidently meant for different purposes,”²⁶ and some may have been meant to serve as plumb bobs rather than containers.²⁷

Perfumes are composed by dissolving a small amount of a compound with a distinctive fragrance—often an aromatic molecule or a terpenoid—or a combination of

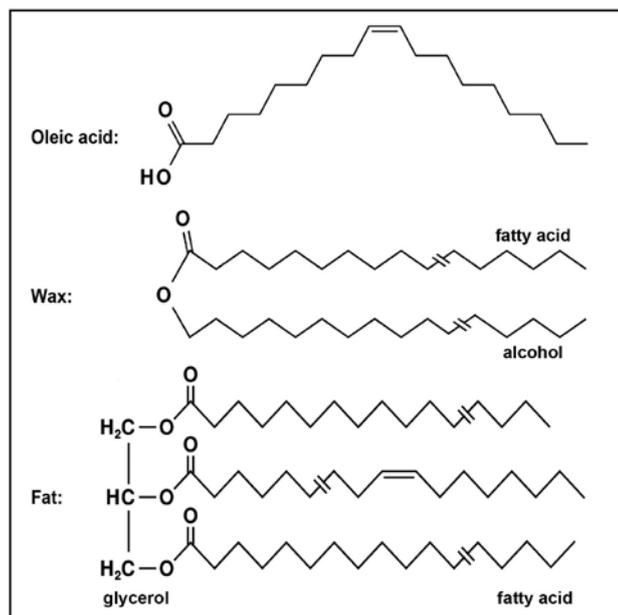


Fig. 2. Schematic structures of oleic acid (*cis*-9-octadecenoic acid), waxes (a fatty acid and an alkanol connected with an ester bond), and triglycerides (three fatty acids connected to a glycerol backbone with ester bonds). Only in the case of oleic acid is the number of carbon atoms (18) accurately indicated; the hydrophobic tails of both waxes and fats (triglycerides) can be longer or shorter than depicted.

such compounds in a much larger amount of a neutral compound, the base or excipient.²⁸ A variety of other compounds may be added to this basic mix to modify its color or behavior, such as blending agents, fixatives, and preservatives. Starting around the end of the fifteenth century, the basis for perfumes became almost exclusively ethanol with varying amounts of water and methanol. Such a base will quickly evaporate after application, leaving behind the less volatile fragrant ingredients. The basis for ancient perfumes was mostly olive oil and, to a lesser extent, other vegetable oils, such as almond or ben oil (of *Moringa oleifera*), as well as liquefied waxes or animal fats. The major component (50–70%) of the mentioned oils is oleic acid (*cis*-9-octadecenoic acid, a mono-unsaturated fatty acid). Most natural waxes are esters of a long-chain alkanol (alcohol) and a long-chain fatty acid; fats are mono-, di-, or triglycerides in which one, two, or three fatty acids, respectively, are connected with an ester bond to a glycerol backbone (fig. 2).

Although distillation was known in the ancient world,²⁹ it was used in the perfume production process only to purify and concentrate the fragrant components,³⁰ not to produce ethanol to be used as the base of the final product.

Compounds valued for their olfactory properties—incense, scented oils, and perfumes, as well as their ingredients—were economically and socially important in the Near East from early times onward. The Arab conquest (622–732) resulted in many new ingredients being introduced into the region, while others slowly lost their popularity.³¹ New ingredients included camphor (a terpenoid mostly of *Cinnamomum camphora*), ambergris (a digestive waste product of *Physeter* spp.), and sandalwood (mostly of *Santalum album*). Ingredients that became less fashionable include balsam (sap likely of *Commiphora* spp.) and myrrh (resin of *Commiphora* spp.); the former was commonly replaced by camphor and the latter by musk (a glandular secretion of *Moschus* spp.). Ingredients that apparently kept their popularity include cinnamon (bark of *Cinnamomum* spp.), costus (rhizomes of *Costus speciosus*), frankincense (resin of *Boswellia* spp.), rose water and oil (of *Rosa* spp.), saffron (styles and stigmas of *Crocus sativus*), and spikenard (oil of *Nardostachys jatamansi*). The value of such fragrant commodities is indicated by classical, Hebrew, and Islamic sources and, among others, by the small Herodian juglet (37 B.C.–A.D. 6) that was found in a cave near Qumran, Israel, wrapped in palm fibers and most likely deliberately hidden in antiquity. It was found to contain a “viscous plant oil, only very slightly oxidized,” as Joseph Patrich and Benny Arubas have reported.³² After analysis by Zeev Aizenshtat and Dorit Aschengrau, this oil was tentatively interpreted as balsam oil or a similar aromatic substance.³³

MATERIAL AND METHODS

Located in modern Armenia about 40 kilometers southeast of the capital Yerevan, Dvin was founded as a royal hunting lodge of the Arsacid dynasty (A.D. 54–428) around 335 on a mound of cultural deposits of multiple earlier settlements (fig. 3, left). Rapid urban growth took place between 460 and 480 after the see of the patriarch

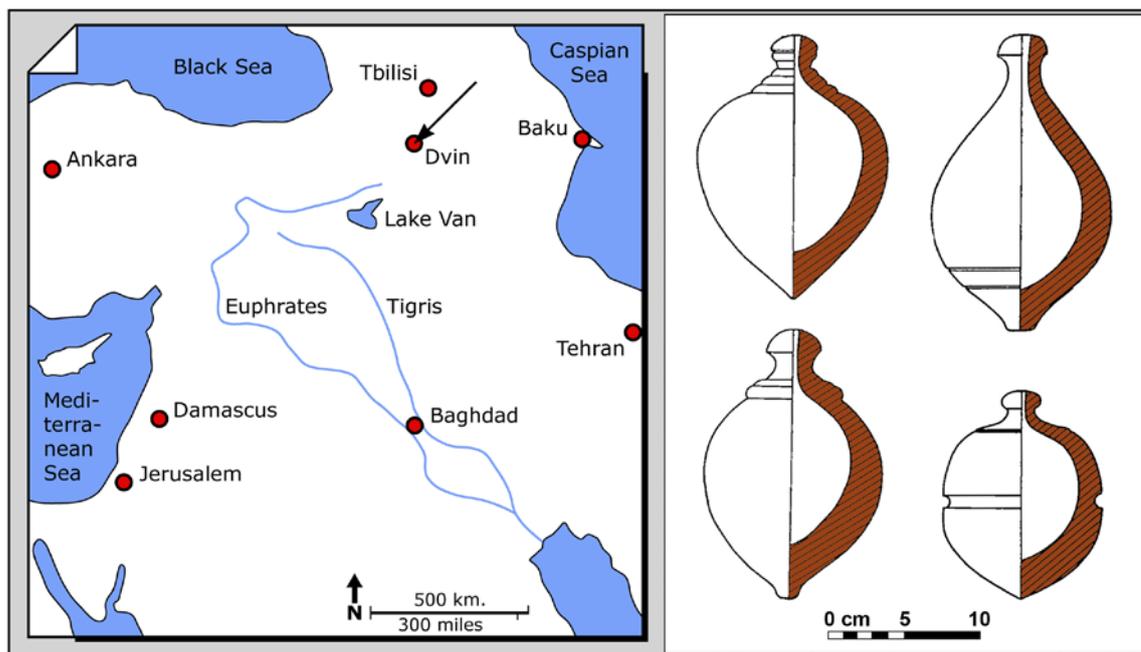


Fig. 3. Left: the location of Dvin, in modern Armenia. Right: four spherico-conical vessels excavated from Dvin. Adapted from H. M. Djanpoladian (Janp'oladyan), *The Spherico-Conical Vessels Found in Dvin and Ani* (Yerevan, 1982), table 3. The sherds discussed in this article are from similar vessels dating to the twelfth–thirteenth century.

of the Armenian Church was transferred there from Vagarshapat (Echmiadzin) and the political capital from Artashat (Artaxata). Dvin remained the political center of Armenia during its dominance by the Persian (Sasanian) and Islamic (Umayyad and Abbasid) empires until 884. Devastating damage resulted from an earthquake in 893, after which Ani assumed the central political and religious role previously played by Dvin. Despite these events, Dvin remained an important commercial center until its gradual decline was accelerated by the Mongol invasion in 1236. The city was abandoned by the second decade of the fourteenth century. Since 1937, Dvin has been systematically excavated by the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography, part of the National Academy of Sciences of Armenia.³⁴ Most of the spherico-conical vessels from Dvin have inscriptions or symbols scratched or painted on the surface of the vessel after firing.³⁵ These are usually names of people that probably at one time owned the vessel, while symbolic markings may have indicated the contents of the vessels. In 2007, four sherds, interpreted as fragments of spherico-conical vessels from different medieval (twelfth–thirteenth

century) layers at Dvin (fig. 3, right), were presented to the authors for analysis by mass spectrometry combined with gas chromatography. Not enough of the vessels was preserved for their secure classification, and only limited archaeological information was available on the excavation context of the sherds.

The four sherds from Dvin were ground into a fine powder with an aluminum-oxide mortar and pestle after which the organic molecules were dissolved in an organic solvent. The analytical instrument used was the Micromass (Waters) GC/EI-ToF-MS, purchased by the Pasarow Mass Spectrometry Laboratory at UCLA through NSF grant CHE 0078299 (see appendix). The output of this instrument is a combination of a single chromatogram, created by gas chromatography, and a large number of mass spectra, created by the mass spectrometer. Each peak in the chromatogram represents a molecule in the sample, and a mass spectrum can be created for each of these peaks. With specialized software, mass spectra of the unknown compounds in the sample can be electronically compared with the spectra of known compounds in a digital library. This

comparison usually leads to the identification, with a reasonable amount of certainty, of many of the components in most of the samples.³⁶

RESULTS

All four samples appeared to contain significant amounts of phthalates, represented by a large peak at m/z 149 in the mass spectra.³⁷ Phthalates are a group of anthropogenic molecules that are added to plastics to control their thermoplasticity. It is likely that these phthalates were introduced into the samples by contact with storage materials (such as plastic bags) or laboratory equipment (such as pipette tips), and they should be considered modern contaminants.³⁸ Similarly, siloxanes in the samples are either released by the GC-

column or the result of the derivatization agent reacting with itself, and they are thus unrelated to the ancient organic residue. Two of the sherds, SCV-01 and SCV-03, appeared to contain small amounts of hexadecanoic (palmitic) and octadecanoic (stearic) acid. These saturated fatty acids are indicative of organic residues but not very specific concerning their source. Furthermore, the blanks that were run between the archaeological samples also returned small amounts of these molecules along with one of the phthalates (fig. 4, top). As these molecules were not seen in the blanks that were run at the beginning of the analysis, they are likely molecules from the samples that remained behind on the GC-column. In the absence of an internal standard this cannot be readily confirmed. The two remaining sherds, SCV-02 and SCV-04, however, returned better interpretable results (fig. 4, bottom). Molecules that are likely part of the

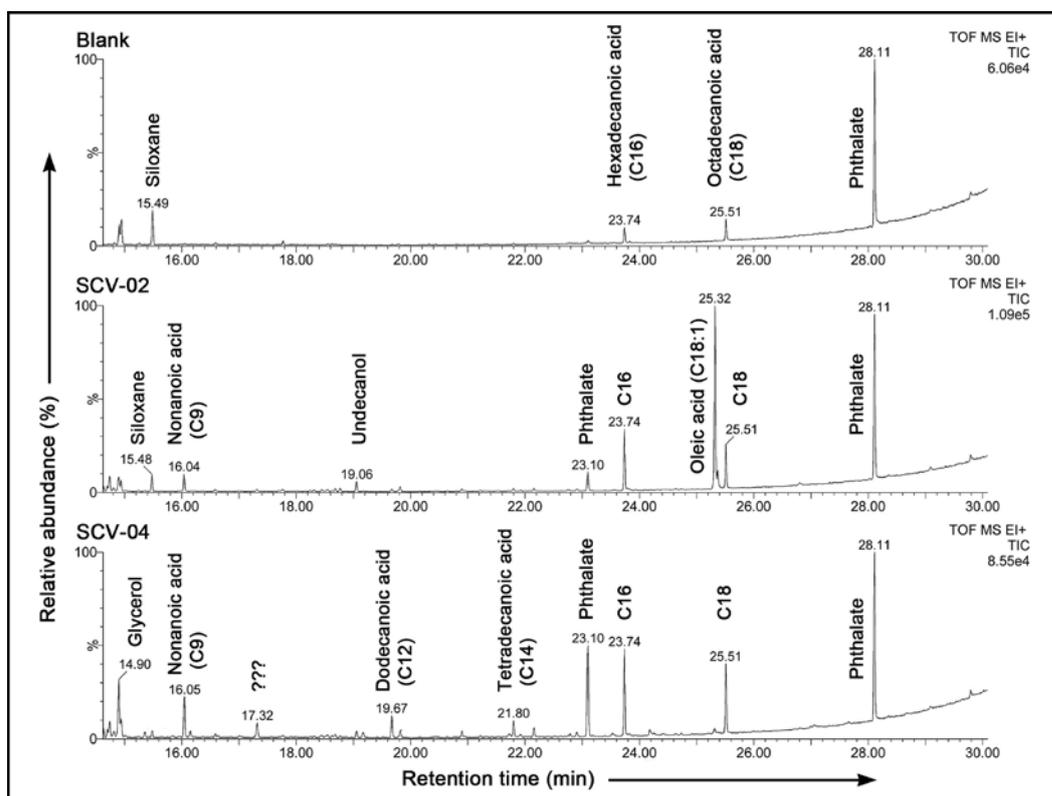


Fig. 4. Total ion current (TIC) display of the data returned by sherds SCV-02 and SCV-04, excavated from medieval (twelfth–thirteenth century) layers at Dvin, Armenia, and interpreted to be from sphero-conical vessels. The larger peaks were identified by comparing their mass spectra after electron impact ionization with the spectra in the 2011 version of the NIST/EPA/NIH Mass Spectral Library (see fig. 5). The chromatogram of one of the blanks that were run between the archaeological samples is shown for comparison (top).

residue of the former contents of the vessel that produced sherd SCV-02 include nonadecanoic acid (16.04 min), undecanol (19.06 min), hexadecanoic acid (23.74 min), oleic acid (25.32 min), and octadecanoic acid (25.51 min after injection of the sample). Molecules that are likely part of the residue of the former contents of vessel SCV-04 are glycerol (14.90 min), nonadecanoic acid (16.05 min), dodecanoic acid (19.67 min), tetradecanoic acid (21.80 min), hexadecanoic acid (23.74 min), and octadecanoic acid (25.51 min after injection of the sample).

DISCUSSION

Archaeological organic residue analysis is usually concerned with interrogating a mixture of unknown compounds that are combined in unknown ratios. The aim is to obtain information on the ancient origin of the components of the mixture. The combination of the superior resolving power of capillary gas chromatography to separate a complex mixture of molecules into its constit-

uent components, and the near-certain identification of these components by comparing their reproducible fragmentation patterns after electron impact ionization with those of known molecules (fig. 5), make GC-MS a reliable technique for studying such samples.³⁹ Disadvantages of this technique include the requirement for thermal stability of the analytes, which limits the range of molecules that can be identified and usually necessitates their chemical derivatization. Furthermore, the relatively small fraction of the sample that can be loaded onto a GC-column challenges the ability of the instrument to detect molecules that are present in the sample in low abundance. The main issue, however, remains the determination of the ancient source of the residue. In some cases the residue has preserved biomarkers,⁴⁰ molecules that are considered unique to a single ancient source. In other cases, comparing the ratios of selected fatty acids can indicate a more or less specific ancient source of the organic residue.⁴¹ Neither approach is without its limitations and complicating factors, nor are they mutually exclusive. Whenever possible they should be combined to generate as much information as possible

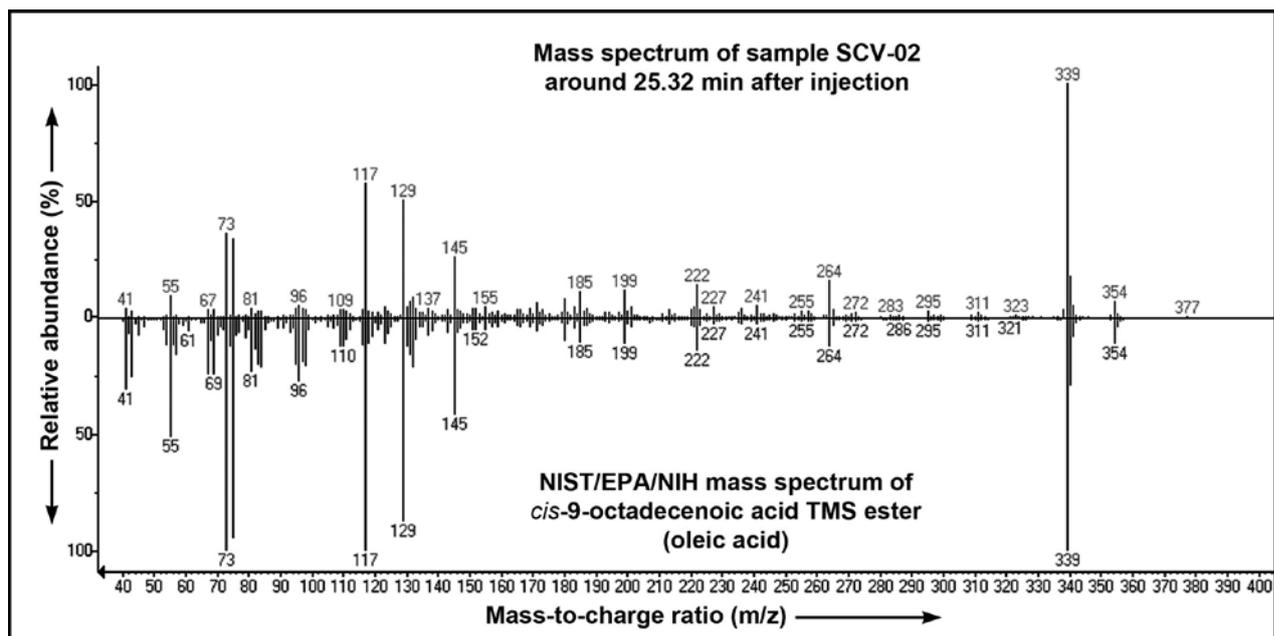


Fig. 5. Mass spectrum of sample SCV-02 associated with the peak at retention time 25.32 min (top), compared to the mass spectrum of oleic acid in the 2011 version of the NIST/EPA/NIH Mass Spectral Library (bottom). The similarities allow for an almost certain identification of the molecule in the sample (see fig. 4).

from the necessarily limited amount of available data.⁴² Moreover, analytical chemical research of archaeological artifacts should not take place in isolation, but all available archaeological, historical, and anthropological information should be taken into consideration to allow for the most comprehensive interpretation of the findings.⁴³

The possibly ancient fatty acids and alkanols preserved in the four sherds of sphero-conical vessels presented here do not independently provide much insight into the specific use of the vessels. They do, however, allow for a choice to be made between the various theories, briefly discussed above, that have been proposed for the intended original use of these vessels. Our results support the identification of the vessels as containers for scented oils. They do not, however, exclude interpretations other than the mentioned hypotheses of earlier researchers. Sherd SCV-02 preserved oleic acid, the mono-unsaturated fatty acid that is the main constituent of the three vegetable oils most commonly used as the base for ancient perfumes. This molecule is unlikely to be the result of modern contamination from the environment. Sherd SCV-04 did not preserve a detectable amount of oleic acid but did contain five different saturated fatty acids as well as glycerol and tetradecanol, a long-chain alkanol. These molecules are likely the residue of ancient waxes or fats after their ester bond is broken by hydrolysis in an acidic environment or by saponification in a basic environment. The three saturated fatty acids and undecanol, another long-chain alkanol, preserved in sherd SCV-02 probably have the same origin. This finding is concurrent with complex perfumes that are composed of several different fragrant compounds, each delivered in their own specific base (oil, wax, or fat).

Although our results corroborate the hypothesis that the four vessels we studied did once contain scented oils, other sphero-conical vessels may have been used to store wine or beer, although their volume seems rather small for this purpose. Such use would probably not have removed all the fatty residue of the original contents from the ceramic matrix of the vessel, as these substances are poorly soluble in water and would have resulted in the deposition of little if any additional residue. Still other vessels may have been reused as incen-

diary weapons in times of conflict, much like Molotov cocktails are often made out of empty beer bottles. The fuel for such devices in antiquity was not usually a vegetable oil but rather short-chained petroleum derivatives,⁴⁴ the residues of which will most likely be lost following ignition. Finally and least likely, some vessels may have been used to construct water pipes; many commodity jars and aerosol cans in the region today end their life this way. Neither the historical record nor analytical research, however, provides any support that such ever occurred in medieval times, nor do they give much credence to the use of the vessels as fire blowers. The mercury observed in the 1960s in the vessels from Sidon may likewise have been part of the recipe of a perfume or medicine, or some sphero-conical vessels may have been used or reused to store mercury, as was obviously the case for the vessel formerly in the Romanov Museum. Alternatively, some of the vessels may have been used for the production of mercury. In ancient times mercury was often produced by heating cinnabar to catalyze oxidation ($\text{HgS} + \text{O}_2 \rightarrow \text{Hg} + \text{SO}_2$). The upper part of the apparatus used for this—the *ambix* or *bikos* that served as the receptacle for the released elemental mercury—had a shape similar to a sphero-conical vessel.⁴⁵

Our analysis provides additional evidence for the interpretation of the vessels as containers for scented oils, as a constituent of a perfume or a medicinal concoction, an inference originally based on their size, appearance, and ubiquity within the medieval Near East. At the same time, it indicates the value of analytical biochemical research in identifying the contents of archaeological receptacles such as sphero-conical vessels. It is obviously problematic to draw general conclusions from the analysis of four vessels from a single site. The fact that two, and possibly four, of these four vessels yield data that confirm one of the theories concerning their function, however, can serve to corroborate this particular theory. Future investigations of sphero-conical vessels should comprise an interdisciplinary cross-comparison of the organic residues in multiple samples from different sites combined with an interpretation of the various inscriptions and symbols found on the vessels. During this investigation, special efforts should be made to identify molecules likely to be associated with the fragrance of

the perfume, probably aromatic compounds or terpenoids, rather than its much less specific base. Obvious candidates for such targeted research are molecules considered to be more or less specific for *Boswellia* spp. (frankincense), *Cinnamomum camphora* (camphor), *Cinnamomum* spp. (cinnamon), *Commiphora* spp. (balsam and myrrh), *Costus speciosus* (costus), *Crocus sativus* (saffron), *Moschus* spp. (musk), *Nardostachys jatamansi* (spikenard), *Physeter* spp. (ambergris), *Rosa* spp. (rose water and oil), or *Santalum album* (sandalwood). In combination with historical data, identifying traces of such fragrant substances may provide information on the date of the vessel or refine our knowledge of the use over time of the different raw materials for incense, scented oils, and perfumes.

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APPENDIX: ANALYTICAL METHODS AND INSTRUMENTATION

To prevent contamination, all tools were cleaned with water, acetic acid, and acetone, sequentially, both before and after processing each sample, and examination gloves were worn at all times when handling the pottery powder. Of this powder, 500 mg was combined with 2 mL of an extraction solution (chloroform/methanol, 2/1, v/v) in clean, marked test tubes. The resulting four test tubes were vigorously mixed on a vortex mixer (20 s), sonicated in a water bath (20 min), mixed again (20 s), and then centrifuged (1500 g, 20 min). The supernatants were transferred into a second set of clean, marked test

tubes. The extraction procedure was repeated with another 1 mL of extraction solution, after which the supernatants of each sample were combined and the test tubes with the depleted sediment discarded. The four samples were dried in a vacuum centrifuge, redissolved in 60 μ L ethyl-acetate, and transferred into glass autosampler vials. The samples were then treated with 40 μ L N,O-bis-trimethylsilyl-trifluoroacetamide (BSTFA) containing 1% (v/v) trimethylchlorosilane (TMCS) and incubated at 60°C for one hour. This procedure converts most functional carboxyl-, amino-, and hydroxyl-groups into their trimethylsilyl (TMS) derivatives, principally to increase the volatility and thermal stability of the analytes. Finally, 1 μ L of each sample was subjected to combined gas chromatography–mass spectrometry (GC-MS) in split-less mode. Because of the limited amount of material and the fact that our research question was quantitative rather than qualitative, we did not add an internal standard to any of the samples.

The autosampler injector port (250°C) was connected to a bonded-phase nonpolar fused silica capillary column (50 m \times 320 μ m; 0.25 μ m film thickness). The column was eluted with ultra-high-purity helium (constant flow, 1.2 mL/min). The oven was held at 50°C for 2 min following injection, then raised 10°C/min to 350°C, and finally kept at that temperature for another 10 min (total run time 42 min). The end of the column (transfer line at 250°C) was inserted into the electron-impact source (180°C, 70 eV) of a time-of-flight mass spectrometer scanning from m/z 40–600 (1.0 scan/s). Data were collected using the MassLynx software suite (version 4.1) supplied by the manufacturer of the instrument, and analyzed by comparing unknown spectra with those in the 2011 version of the NIST/EPA/NIH Mass Spectral Library.

The sample inlet of a combined GC-MS instrument consists of a gas chromatograph, a long and narrow glass column through which a flow of carrier gas is maintained. This column is coated on the inside with a thin layer that attracts some of the molecules in the sample. The column is in an oven for which the temperature can be carefully controlled. The end of the column is connected to the ion source of a mass spectrometer. Once the sample is on the column, the mobile phase (the carrier gas) and the stationary phase (the coating inside the

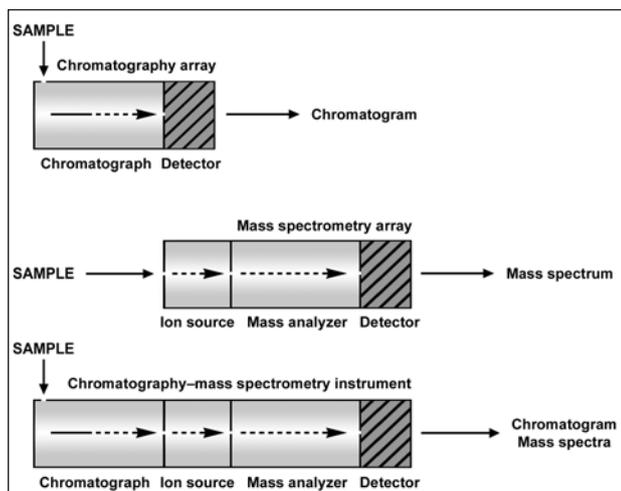


Fig. 6. Schematic representation of a combined gas chromatography–mass spectrometry instrument. This comprises a gas chromatography array, which separates the sample into its components. In the ion source, molecules are converted into gas-phase ions by electron impact ionization (EI+), after which these are separated according to their mass-to-charge ratio (m/z). The output of the attached data-processing unit consists of a three-dimensional data set that can be visualized as a chromatogram and one or more mass spectra.

column) compete for the molecules in the sample. For each molecule the outcome of this competition depends on the temperature inside the column. As the temperature is slowly raised, the various components of the sample leave the stationary phase one by one and travel with the carrier gas to the end of the column and into the electron impact (EI+) ion source of the mass spectrometer (fig. 6). Ionization is necessary to enable the electromagnetic forces in the mass analyzer to manipulate the molecules and measure their mass, but will also fragment some of the molecules. When molecules are ionized by electron impact, the resulting fragments and their relative abundance appear to be highly reproducible. This allows the comparison of the mass spectra generated by an unknown compound with known spectra in large digital libraries. A time-of-flight mass analyzer (ToF) consists of a metal tube at high vacuum with an ion accelerator at its beginning and an ion detector at its end. Upon entering the analyzer, the ions are accelerated by an electromagnetic pulse, after which they are allowed to drift toward the detector. Typically it

takes 10–100 μsec for ions to travel the distance of around 2 m between the accelerator and the detector. The speed of each ion, and, consequently, the time it needs to complete this journey, depend on its mass and charge state (m/z). Different ions reach the detector at different times from which the m/z of each ion can be extrapolated.

NOTES

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