

VARIORUM COLLECTED STUDIES SERIES

ISLAMIC VISUAL CULTURE, 1100–1800



The Aga Khan Award for Architecture, award presentation ceremony (Marrakesh, 23–25 November 1986), ready to enlighten architects and decision-makers on the values of history (photo: Gary Otte)

Oleg Grabar

---

Islamic Visual Culture, 1100–1800

---

Constructing the Study of Islamic Art, Volume II

---

**ASHGATE**  
**VARIORUM**

© Oleg Grabar 2006

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise without the prior permission of the publisher.

The author has asserted his moral right under the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act, 1988, to be identified as the author of this work.

Published by  
Ashgate Publishing Limited    Ashgate Publishing Company  
Gower House                     Suite 420  
Croft Road, Aldershot         101 Cherry Street  
Hampshire GU11 3HR         Burlington, VT 05401-4405  
England                             USA

Ashgate website: <http://www.ashgate.com>

**British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data**

Grabar, Oleg

Islamic visual culture, 1100-1800. – (Constructing the study of Islamic art ; 2) (Variorum collected studies series)

1. Art, Islamic 2. Architecture, Islamic 3. Islamic antiquities

I. Title

709.1'767

**Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data**

Grabar, Oleg

Islamic visual culture, 1100-1800 / Oleg Grabar.

p. cm. – (Constructing the study of Islamic art; vol. 2) (Variorum collected studies series; CS825)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-86078-922-5 (alk. paper)

1. Art, Islamic. I. Title. II. Collected studies; CS825.

N6260.G6915 2006

709'.17'67-dc22

2005053079

ISBN 0 86078 922 5

Typeset by Manton Typesetters, Louth, Lincolnshire, UK and printed and bound in Great Britain by TJ International Ltd, Padstow, Cornwall

VARIORUM COLLECTED STUDIES SERIES CS825

# Contents

<i>List of Illustrations</i>	VII	
<i>Preface</i>	XVII	
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	XXIII	
<i>Introduction</i>	XXV	
<b>Part One: Objects</b>		
I	Two Pieces of Metalwork at the University of Michigan	3
II	Les arts mineurs de l’Orient musulman à partir du milieu du XIIe siècle	17
III	Trade with the East and the Influence of Islamic Art on the “Luxury Arts” in the West	43
IV	The Shared Culture of Objects	51
V	<i>Epigrafika Vostoka</i> , A Critical Review	69
<b>Part Two: Art of the Book</b>		
VI	A Newly Discovered Illustrated Manuscript of the <i>Maqamat</i> of Hariri	93
VII	Notes on the Iconography of the “Demotte” <i>Shahname</i>	151
VIII	The Illustrated <i>Maqamat</i> of the Thirteenth Century: The Bourgeoisie and the Arts	167
IX	Pictures or Commentaries: The Illustrations of the <i>Maqamat</i> of al-Hariri	187

X	About an Arabic Dioskorides Manuscript	207
XI	Toward an Aesthetic of Persian Painting	213
XII	About two Mughal Miniatures	253
XIII	A Preliminary Note on two Eighteenth-century Representations of Mecca and Medina	261
 <b>Part Three: Architecture and Culture</b>		
XIV	The Inscriptions of the <i>Madrasa</i> -Mausoleum of Qaytbay	271
XV	Isfahan as a Mirror of Persian Architecture	277
XVI	Reflections on Mamluk Art	305
XVII	An Exhibition of High Ottoman Art	327
XVIII	The Meanings of Sinan's Architecture	345
XIX	The Many Gates of Ottoman Art	353
XX	The Crusades and the Development of Islamic Art	363
 <b>Part Four: Islamic Art and the West</b>		
XXI	Islamic Architecture and the West: Influences and Parallels	381
XXII	Patterns and Ways of Cultural Exchange	389
XXIII	Europe and the Orient: An Ideologically Charged Exhibition	395
XXIV	Classical Forms in Islamic Art and Some Implications	413
XXV	Islamic Art and Architecture and the Antique	423
	<i>Index</i>	443

# List of Illustrations

## Part One: Objects

### I Two Pieces of Metalwork at the University of Michigan

1	The Ayyubid basin	4
2	The Ayyubid basin	5
3	The Ayyubid basin	7
4a	The Ayyubid basin	8
4b	The Ayyubid basin	8
4c	The Ayyubid basin	8
4d	The Ayyubid basin	8
A	The Ayyubid basin	10
5	The Mamluk box	15
6	The Mamluk box	16

### II Les arts mineurs de l'Orient musulman à partir du milieu du XIIe siècle

1	Cleveland. Museum of Art. Plat. (provenance: J. H. Wade Fund)	18
2	Cleveland. Museum of Art. Plat. Détail	19
3	Cleveland. Museum of Art. Plat. Détail	20
4	Cleveland. Museum of Art. Plat. Détail	21
5	Léningrad. Musée de l'Ermitage. Inscriptions	22
6	Léningrad. Musée de l'Ermitage. Chaudron	23
7	Washington. Freer Gallery of Art. Gourde. (Avec l'autorisation de "The Smithsonian Institution", Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, DC 20560)	24
8	New York. Metropolitan Museum of Art. Plat. (The Rogers Fund and Gift of the Schiff Foundation, 1957)	26
9	Washington. Freer Gallery of Art. Gobelet (Avec l'autorisation de "The Smithsonian Institution", Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, DC)	27
10	Washington. Freer Gallery of Art. Plat. (Avec l'autorisation de "The Smithsonian Institution", Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, DC)	28

11	New York. Metropolitan Museum of Art. Plat. (Gift of Horace Havemeyer, 1941)	29
12	Washington. Freer Gallery of Art. Plat. (Avec l'autorisation de "The Smithsonian Institution", Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, DC)	30
13	Washington. Freer Gallery of Art. Ms. de Dioscoride, <i>De Materia Medica</i> (Avec l'autorisation de "The Smithsonian Institution", Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, DC)	31
14	Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale. Ms. <i>Maqamat</i> de Hariri. Arabe 3929, fol. 26 (Cliché Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris)	32
15	Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale. Ms. <i>Maqamat</i> de Hariri. Arabe 5847, fol. 138 (Cliché Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris)	33
16	Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale. Ms. <i>Maqamat</i> de Hariri. Arabe 5847, fol. 33. (Cliché Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris)	36

### Part Two: Art of the Book

VI	A Newly Discovered Illustrated Manuscript of the <i>Maqamat</i> of Hariri	
1	<i>Maqamat</i> of Hariri, Süleymaniye library, Esad Efendi 2916, fol. 14v	96
2	<i>Maqamat</i> of Hariri, Süleymaniye library, Esad Efendi 2916, fol. 18	97
3	<i>Maqamat</i> of Hariri, Süleymaniye library, Esad Efendi 2916, fol. 27v	98
4	<i>Maqamat</i> of Hariri, Süleymaniye library, Esad Efendi 2916, fol. 34	99
5	<i>Maqamat</i> of Hariri, Süleymaniye library, Esad Efendi 2916, fol. 41	100
6	<i>Maqamat</i> of Hariri, Süleymaniye library, Esad Efendi 2916, fol. 44	101
7	<i>Maqamat</i> of Hariri, Süleymaniye library, Esad Efendi 2916, fol. 47	104
8	<i>Maqamat</i> of Hariri, Süleymaniye library, Esad Efendi 2916, fol. 48v	105
9	<i>Maqamat</i> of Hariri, Süleymaniye library, Esad Efendi 2916, fol. 55v	106
10	<i>Maqamat</i> of Hariri, Süleymaniye library, Esad Efendi 2916, fol. 64	107
11	<i>Maqamat</i> of Hariri, Süleymaniye library, Esad Efendi 2916, fol. 67	108
12	<i>Maqamat</i> of Hariri, Süleymaniye library, Esad Efendi 2916, fol. 70	109

13	<i>Maqamat</i> of Hariri, Süleymaniye library, Esad Efendi 2916, fol. 73v	112
14	<i>Maqamat</i> of Hariri, Süleymaniye library, Esad Efendi 2916, fol. 77	113
15	<i>Maqamat</i> of Hariri, Süleymaniye library, Esad Efendi 2916, fol. 82v	114
16	<i>Maqamat</i> of Hariri, Süleymaniye library, Esad Efendi 2916, fol. 89	115
17	<i>Maqamat</i> of Hariri, Süleymaniye library, Esad Efendi 2916, fol. 92	116
18	<i>Maqamat</i> of Hariri, Süleymaniye library, Esad Efendi 2916, fol. 96v	117
19	<i>Maqamat</i> of Hariri, Süleymaniye library, Esad Efendi 2916, fol. 98	120
20	<i>Maqamat</i> of Hariri, Süleymaniye library, Esad Efendi 2916, fol. 104	121
21	<i>Maqamat</i> of Hariri, Süleymaniye library, Esad Efendi 2916, fol. 110	122
22	<i>Maqamat</i> of Hariri, Süleymaniye library, Esad Efendi 2916, fol. 117v	123
23	<i>Maqamat</i> of Hariri, Süleymaniye library, Esad Efendi 2916, fol. 131v	124
24	<i>Maqamat</i> of Hariri, Süleymaniye library, Esad Efendi 2916, fol. 134	125
25	<i>Maqamat</i> of Hariri, Süleymaniye library, Esad Efendi 2916, fol. 136v	128
26	<i>Maqamat</i> of Hariri, Süleymaniye library, Esad Efendi 2916, fol. 138v	129
27	<i>Maqamat</i> of Hariri, Süleymaniye library, Esad Efendi 2916, fol. 141	130
28	<i>Maqamat</i> of Hariri, Süleymaniye library, Esad Efendi 2916, fol. 150v	131
29	<i>Maqamat</i> of Hariri, Süleymaniye library, Esad Efendi 2916, fol. 153	132
30	<i>Maqamat</i> of Hariri, Süleymaniye library, Esad Efendi 2916, fol. 154v	133
31	<i>Maqamat</i> of Hariri, Süleymaniye library, Esad Efendi 2916, fol. 167v	136
32	<i>Maqamat</i> of Hariri, Süleymaniye library, Esad Efendi 2916, fol. 171v	137
33	<i>Maqamat</i> of Hariri, Süleymaniye library, Esad Efendi 2916, fol. 176	138
34	<i>Maqamat</i> of Hariri, Süleymaniye library, Esad Efendi 2916, fol. 177v	139

35	<i>Maqamat</i> of Hariri, Süleymaniye library, Esad Efendi 2916, fol. 180	140
36	<i>Maqamat</i> of Hariri, Süleymaniye library, Esad Efendi 2916, fol. 184v	141
37	<i>Maqamat</i> of Hariri, Süleymaniye library, Esad Efendi 2916, fol. 188v	144
38	<i>Maqamat</i> of Hariri, Süleymaniye library, Esad Efendi 2916, fol. 192	145
39	<i>Maqamat</i> of Hariri, Süleymaniye library, Esad Efendi 2916, fol. 198	146
40	<i>Maqamat</i> of Hariri, Süleymaniye library, Esad Efendi 2916, fol. 204	147
41	<i>Maqamat</i> of Hariri, Süleymaniye library, Esad Efendi 2916, fol. 207v	148
42	<i>Maqamat</i> of Hariri, Süleymaniye library, Esad Efendi 2916, fol. 211v	149

VII Notes on the Iconography of the “Demotte” *Shahname*

1	Battle between Ardawan and Ardashir. Institute of Art, Detroit	155
2	Execution of Ardawan	156
3	The coffin of Iraj brought to Faridun	158
4	Faridun holding Iraj’s head	160
5	Funeral of Isfandiyar	161
6	Funeral of Rustam. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston	162
7	The Bier of Alexander. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, DC	163

VIII The Illustrated *Maqamat* of the Thirteenth Century: The Bourgeoisie and the Arts

1	Abu Zayd departing. Paris, arabe 5847	169
2	House. Istanbul manuscript	173
3	Mosque. Istanbul manuscript	174
4	Khan. Paris, arabe 5847	176
5	Village. Paris, arabe 5847	177
6	Palace. Paris, arabe 5847	178
7	Arab types with <i>qadi</i> . Paris, arabe 5847	179
8	Woman. Paris, arabe 3929	180

IX Pictures or Commentaries: The Illustrations of the *Maqamat* of al-Hariri

1	Paris arabe 5847, fol. 101; thirty-second <i>maqama</i>	188
2	Paris arabe 5847, fol. 100v; thirty-second <i>maqama</i>	190

3	Leningrad 523, fol. 223; thirty-second <i>maqama</i>	191
4	London, oriental 1200, fol. 106; thirty-second <i>maqama</i>	192
5	Paris arabe 5847, fol. 29v; eleventh <i>maqama</i>	194
6	Paris arabe 3929, fol. 30; eleventh <i>maqama</i>	195
7	Paris arabe 3929, fol. 30v; eleventh <i>maqama</i>	196
8	Paris arabe 5847, fol. 33; twelfth <i>maqama</i>	197
9	Paris arabe 3929, fol. 34v; twelfth <i>maqama</i>	198
10	Paris arabe 3929, fol. 68v; thirty-first <i>maqama</i>	199
11	Paris arabe 5847, fol. 8v; third <i>maqama</i>	200
12	London add. 22.114, fol. 59v; twenty-first <i>maqama</i>	202
13	Vienna, AF 9, fol. 70; twenty-first <i>maqama</i>	203

## XI Toward an Aesthetic of Persian Painting

1	<i>Khosrow Enthroned</i> , from Nizami, <i>Khamseh</i> , British Library or. 2265, fol. 60v; ascribed to Aqa Mirak, c. 1540	215
2	<i>Court Scene</i> . Left side of a double-page frontispiece from a manuscript of the <i>Shahname</i> of Firdausi. Colors and gold on paper. Iran, c. 1440. © The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1995. Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund, 56.10	216
3	<i>Court Scene</i> . Right side of a double-page frontispiece from a manuscript of the <i>Shahname</i> of Firdausi. Colors and gold on paper. Iran, c. 1440. © The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1995, John L. Severance Fund, 45.169	217
4	<i>Humay and Humayun in a Garden</i> , from a lost Khwaju Kirmani, <i>Khamseh</i> , Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs, c. 1430	218
5	<i>Young Man Playing a Lute</i> , late sixteenth century	219
6	Caricature (?) of holy people (?), Istanbul, Hazine 2153, fol. 46	221
7	<i>Beggar at a Mosque</i> , from Sa'adi, <i>Bustan</i> , Cairo, National Library, <i>adab farsi</i> 908, dated 1488 in Herat, signed by Behzad	226
8	<i>Valley of Quest</i> , <i>Divan</i> of Sultan Ahmad Jalayir, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, 32.30	232
9	<i>Valley of Astonishment</i> , <i>Divan</i> of Sultan Ahmad Jalayir, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, 32.33	233
10	<i>Valley of Detachment</i> , <i>Divan</i> of Sultan Ahmad Jalayir, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, 32.34	234
11	<i>Valley of Detachment</i> , <i>Divan</i> of Sultan Ahmad Jalayir, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, 32.35	235
12	<i>Valley of Unity</i> , <i>Divan</i> of Sultan Ahmad Jalayir, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, 32.37	236
13	<i>The Meeting of Humay and Azar</i> , <i>Divan</i> of Khwaju Kirmani, British Library Add. 18113, dated 1396, painted by Junayd, fol. 11v	238

XII LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- 14 *Humay at the Court of China*, *Divan* of Khwaju Kirmani, British Library Add. 18113, dated 1396, painted by Junayd, fol. 20 239
- 15 *Humay in front of Humayun's Castle*, *Divan* of Khwaju Kirmani, British Library Add. 18113, dated 1396, painted by Junayd, fol. 26v 241
- 16 *Combat of Humay with Humayun*, *Divan* of Khwaju Kirmani, British Library Add. 18113, dated 1396, painted by Junayd, fol. 31 242
- 17 *After the Consummation of the Wedding*, *Divan* of Khwaju Kirmani, British Library Add. 18113, dated 1396, painted by Junayd, fol. 45 243
- 18 *Funeral Procession*, *Mantiq al-Tayr* by Farid al-Din Attar, copied in Herat in 1483. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 63.210.35 245
- 19 *Assar, Mihr and Mushtari*, dated 1477, copied by Shaykh Murshid al-Katib. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, 49.3 250

XII About two Mughal Miniatures

- 1 *Padshahname*: The siege of Dawlatabad, Ex. Cat. 31. by permission of Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth II 256
- 2 *Padshahname*: Jahangir receives Prince Khurram, Ex. Cat. 37. by permission of Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth II 257

XIII A Preliminary Note on two Eighteenth-century Representations of Mecca and Medina

- 1 Mecca 262
- 2 Medina 263

**Part Three: Architecture and Culture**

XV Isfahan as a Mirror of Persian Architecture

- 1 Isfahan, the so-called Jurjir mosque, façade, tenth century 278
- 2 Isfahan, Masjed-e Jom'eh, air view 279
- 3 Isfahan, Masjed-e Jom'eh, *qiblah* dome from the outside, late eleventh century 280
- 4 Merv, tomb of Sultan Sanjar, c. 1150–60 281
- 5 Dashti, *qiblah* dome in mosque, fourteenth century 282
- 6 Samarkand, Bibi Khanom mosque, *qiblah* dome, early fifteenth century 283

7	Isfahan, Masjed-e Jom'eh, North dome, outside, late eleventh century	284
8	Isfahan, Masjed-e Jom'eh, North dome, inside of dome	285
9	Isfahan, Masjed-e Jom'eh, North dome, interior of room	286
10	Isfahan, Masjed-e Jom'eh, North dome, <i>muqarnas</i> squinch	287
11	Ziyar (near Isfahan), minaret, twelfth century	288
12	Gonbad-e Qabus, tower-mausoleum, early eleventh century	289
13	Sultaniyah, mausoleum of Oljaytu, early fourteenth century	290
14	Tayabad, mausoleum of Zayn al-Din, fourteenth–fifteenth century	290
15	Isfahan, Masjed-e Jom'eh, North dome, detail of wall decoration	291
16	Bukhara, Kalayan minaret, detail, early twelfth century	292
17	Isfahan, Meydan-e Shah, air view	293
18	Isfahan, Meydan-e Shah, portal of Masjed-e Shah, late sixteenth century	294
19	Isfahan, Meydan-e Shah, <i>qiblah</i> dome of mosque	295
20	Isfahan, Meydan-e Shah, detail of tile work	296
21	Isfahan, Shaykh Lotfollah sanctuary, façade	297
22	Isfahan, Shaykh Lotfollah, dome from inside	298
23	Isfahan, Ali Qapu	299
24	Isfahan, Ali Qapu section (after Zander)	300
25	Isfahan, Ali Qapu, detail of stucco vaulting	301
26	Isfahan, Masjed-e Shah, section	302
27	Mashad, Gawhar Shad <i>madrassa</i> , façade on court, fifteenth century	303
28	Robat Sharaf, caravanserai, detail of wall decoration, twelfth century	304

## XVI Reflections on Mamluk Art

1	Basin, c. 1330. British Museum, London, no. 51, 1–41	308
2	Candlestick, 1482–83. Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo, no. 4297	309
3	Ewer, c. 1300. Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo, no. 15089	311
4	Penbox, 1304–05. Louvre, Paris, no. 3621	312
5	Qur'an box, c. 1330. Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo, no. 183	313
6	Lamp, second half of the fourteenth century, Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo, no. 15123	314
7	Frontispiece, Qur'an, c. 1370. Egyptian National Library, Cairo, MS 54, fol. 2a	315
8	Finispiece, Qur'an, 1334. Egyptian National Library, Cairo, MS 81, fol. 378a	316
9	Haram al-Sharif, Jerusalem; elevations (Drawing by Michael Burgoyne)	320

10	<i>Madrasa</i> of Sultan Hasan, Cairo; plan	321
11	<i>Madrasa</i> of Sultan Hasan, Cairo	322
12	Nineteenth-century drawing of a street in Cairo (Drawing after Prisse d'Avennes)	323
13	Reconstruction of a street in Jerusalem; plan (Drawing by Michael Burgoyne)	325

## XVII An Exhibition of High Ottoman Art

1	Shirt made for Şehzade Selim in 1564–65. Istanbul, Topkapı Serayı 13/1133	332
2	Suleyman the Magnificent, as seen by Melchior Lorichs, dated 1559	337
3	The <i>devşirme</i> . <i>Suleymanname</i> , fol. 31b	340
4	Soldiers in a tree avoiding a flood. <i>Suleymanname</i> , fol. 266a	341

## XX The Crusades and the Development of Islamic Art

1	Cairo, mosque <i>madrasa</i> of Sultan al-Nasir, portal from Ascalon, c. 1303 (courtesy of Nasser Rabbat)	366
2	Divrigi, mosque, northwest portal, thirteenth century (courtesy of Ülkü Bates)	367
3	Louvre, ewer or aquamanile in the shape of a peacock, inv. no. MR 1519 (drawing after Adrien de Longpérier)	373
4	Urtuqid plate, first half of the twelfth century, Innsbruck	374
5	Mantle of Roger II, dated 1133–34, Vienna	375

## Part Four: Islamic Art and the West

## XXV Islamic Art and Architecture and the Antique

1	Location of the sites in Egypt, Jordan, Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Iraq mentioned in the text	424
2	The Great Mosque of Damascus	425
3	A representation of the Tazza Farnese in the <i>Diez Album</i>	426
4	Detail from the mosaic pavement in the bath hall at Khirbat al-Mafjar	427
5	Detail from the mosaic pavement in the bath hall at Khirbat al-Mafjar	428
6	Detail from the wall mosaic in the Great Mosque of Damascus	429
7	Stucco sculpture from Khirbat al-Mafjar	430
8	Ground plan of the Umayyad palace in Mshatta	431

9	Detail of the external wall decoration of the palace in Mshatta	432
10	Wall painting in a Hellenistic mode in the bath at Qusayr 'Amrah	433
11	Portal of Nur al-Din's hospital in Damascus	434
12	Student in front of a scholar. Miniature from a manuscript in Arabic of the <i>Materia Medica</i> , 1229	435
13	Dome of the Hall of the Two Sisters in the Alhambra	436
14	The Süleymaniye mosque in Istanbul, by Sinan (1550–57)	437



# Preface

Beyond the usual objectives of prefaces to thank those who helped in the preparation of these books and to identify the technical idiosyncrasies of their appearance, this particular preface is also meant to explain and justify these four independent volumes given the general title of *Constructing the Study of Islamic Art, 1954–2004*.

These volumes include eighty-three articles published during a period of half a century. These articles constitute about two thirds of the contributions I made over the years to periodical literature, encyclopedias and collective books of one sort or another (with some exceptions noted below). Almost all book reviews have been eliminated, as have articles which contain major mistakes or which lead to incorrect conclusions without the redeeming value of useful reasoning or of otherwise unavailable data. Chapters or sections in historical or art-historical surveys or in introductions to Islamic culture have been excluded for the most part. Most of these, like those written for volumes 4 and 5 of the *Cambridge History of Iran*, for *The World of Islam* (London, 1976, with many subsequent editions), for the Larousse *Histoire de l'Art* (Paris, 1985), the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (Chicago, 1974), or the *Grove Dictionary of Art* (New York, 1996), are reasonably valid summaries of the state of knowledge at the time of their appearance, sometimes a generation ago. But they are dated by now and make better sense in the context of the volumes in which they appear rather than as contributions to scholarship. And, in any event, nearly all of them are available in most reference libraries.

Just as with any retrospective, there is an element of self-centered vanity for any author or artist to present anew his or her achievements. The usefulness of the task lies, primarily, in making accessible items which were often spread in many different and sometimes inaccessible places and, secondarily, in reflecting the evolution of a field and of a person during decades of many changes in the academic as well as political and cultural spheres. Even this large selection reflects only part of the energies and efforts of a life of learning and of teaching. Large numbers of files, photographs and hand-written notes have been preserved in the archives kept under the names of André and Oleg Grabar at the Getty Research Institute in Los Angeles. Some documents were passed on to former students and colleagues or given to a few institutions in places with restricted facilities for learning or to young scholars who could profit from them immediately. In providing

such gifts, I followed, more modestly, the example of Eric Schroeder (1904–71), curator of Islamic art at the Fogg Museum of Art, Harvard University, who, when he knew that his days were numbered by a fatal disease, passed on to me and to a few other young colleagues some of his books and notes. What he gave me is now, duly inscribed by him, at the Getty Research Institute or in the possession of younger scholars. And there is something soothing in continuing in this manner to preserve the use of resources for scholarship.

The first decision to be made, after selecting the articles to be included, was how to organize them. One way could have been according to the different methodological directions taken by these studies. Such an approach could have been justified by the two directions suggested in a couple of short articles written when I was in my early twenties, which are not included in this selection. One is a precise and detailed presentation of two unusual and until then unpublished bronze coins of the early thirteenth century minted by a minor ruler of the northern Jazirah, the upper Mesopotamian valley now in Turkey; their analysis led to comments on the meaning of the word *sultan* as a title.<sup>1</sup> The other one is the hypothesis that a verse attributed to an Umayyad caliph can explain a very fragmentary painting in the bath of Qusayr ‘Amrah, even though there is no reason to believe that the verse or its author had anything to do with the painting.<sup>2</sup> In the first instance, all references are to written or numismatic evidence from the time of the coins involved, in the second one none are (even the verse is only known from a later source), and much of the bibliography deals with arguments around the representation of royal power. The information in the first article has by now been superseded and the second one was incorporated in a later book, *The Formation of Islamic Art*.

Alternately, the articles could have been put in the chronological sequence of their appearance, which would have illustrated the development of an individual’s scholarly thinking and interests and the ways in which that thinking and these interests were affected by new information and by changing intellectual fashions. But we finally settled on a compromise: two volumes reflecting the history of the Islamic world and of its art, and two others with a thematic focus.

There is, first, the early Islamic period, these first centuries which transformed an enormous area into a primarily Muslim one. Then there is the Islamic visual culture which overwhelmed these territories and which is still the dominant one from Senegal to the Philippines. But then, no one dealing with Islamic art can avoid explaining to himself or herself and to

---

<sup>1</sup> “On Two Coins of Muzaffar Ghazi,” *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* 5 (1953).

<sup>2</sup> “The Painting of the Six Kings at Qusayr Amrah,” *Ars Orientalis*, 1 (1954).

others what it is that characterizes that art in contrast or as a parallel to other traditions, especially, for the medievalist that I was as a student, to Christian art with many of the same sources. The search for verbal formulas to explain visual phenomena or for the ideological bases of the arts is an endless pursuit that often has to respond to new challenges of thought and of political and cultural events. Furthermore, the unique ways of Islamic art as it formed itself and as it developed lead to important issues of the history and criticism of art. In the late 1970s, I began a long and fruitful association with the Aga Khan Foundation and I was introduced to contemporary activities in art and architecture, as well as in the complex operation of cultural policies. Thus a third volume is devoted to general ideas on Islamic art up to our own time and to the theories derived from it or applied to it. And then, partly by accident, I began my acquaintance with the Islamic world and with the Near East in Jerusalem, and I have devoted much time and effort to understanding its monuments and their meaning over the centuries. A whole volume is devoted to that extraordinary city and it includes one totally new contribution, a lengthy response and reaction to the many works on Jerusalem which have appeared during the past fifteen years.

This division is an interpretation of fifty years of scholarly activities. But I hope that it will be of better use for other scholars than a purely chronological one would have been or the artificial one of various poles of scholarly procedures. Yet it is not entirely possible to separate the shadows of one's scholarly life from one's written accomplishments. For this reason, short introductions to each volume seek to recall the atmosphere surrounding many of the works and especially the people and institutions who over the decades created a context for learning and for growing which is almost impossible to imagine in the academic world of today. For Volume I, I shall introduce the archaeologists and archaeological institutions which helped and inspired me, especially in the 1950s and the 1960s. In Volume II, I shall mention the teaching and research institutions that became my home for nearly forty years and the fascinating evolution that took place in the ways students and colleagues in the United States and elsewhere became involved in the study of Islamic art. For Volume III, I shall sketch out the festival of ideas that accompanied so much of my academic life and some of the non-academic activities which, from the late 1970s, played an important role in the processes of my learning. Finally, when dealing with Jerusalem, I shall sketch the unique circumstances of working in the Holy City during the 1950s and 1960s.

The initial division of the articles was proposed as early as the late 1990s by Professor Cynthia Robinson, who first assisted me in sorting them out. But I had too many other commitments to fulfill at that time and could not manage to concentrate on the project in suitable fashion. Then, in 2001, the Institute for Advanced Study agreed to support the project of a retired professor and the Mellon Foundation provided the funds needed for a full-

time assistant. Mika Natif, a finishing graduate student at the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University, took on the job. She helped in making the final choice of publications to be included, devised and proposed the arrangement of articles found in these volumes, and undertook the tasks of scanning articles published in many different journals into a single format, of gathering illustrations, and, in general, of keeping the project going. Her sharp and critical mind was essential in transforming what could well have become a disorganized exercise into a reasonably coherent whole for future scholars and critics. Without her energy, dedication and commitment, these books could not have been completed and I owe her a deep debt of gratitude for having stuck with the life and works of an older generation than hers. Additional help was gracefully and intelligently provided by Elizabeth Teague, the copy editor, and I am most grateful to her.

Thanks are also due to two institutions. One is the Aga Khan Trust for Culture, which contributed to the publication of these books through ArchNet, a branch of the Aga Khan Program in Architecture at Harvard University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. I was involved in the early creation of the program and am grateful to Dr Shiraz Allibhai, manager of the program, and to Dr Luis Monreal, the head of the Trust in Geneva, for having continued to support my work so many years later. The second institution is the Institute for Advanced Study from whose School of Historical Studies I retired in 1998. Two successive directors, Dr Philip Griffith and Dr Peter Goddard, supported all aspects of the work involved in preparing these volumes and in making available to Mika Natif and to me the technical facilities of the Institute and the expertise of its staff in particular Julia Bernheim, who compiled the index. A special word of thanks is due to Rachel Gray, Associate Director of the Institute, through whom all needs and requests were channeled. A last expression of gratitude goes to John Smedley from Ashgate Publishing, who, I suspect, did not quite know what he was getting himself into when he agreed to consider the publication of the eighty-odd articles found in these volumes. His gracious help and patience and the quiet efficiency of Celia Hoare were essential to the completion of the work. The following institutions gave permission to reproduce articles and pictures published under their copyright: Pennsylvania State University Press, Dumbarton Oaks, E. J. Brill, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, New York University Press, Ukrainian Research Institute, Harvard University, Metropolitan Museum of Art, State University of New York Press, *Israel Exploration Journal*.

A number of editorial decisions were made to ensure consistency across all four volumes, to simplify the task of publishing them, and to facilitate the use of the books. Diacritical marks and macrons were given up altogether. The *hamza* is shown as ' and the *'ayn* as '. The date and place of the original publication of each article are indicated with an asterisk on the first page of each article. All notes are put at the bottom of pages. References to the

original pagination are given in square brackets. Not all original illustrations have been included. Some prints or negatives could no longer be located and scanning or photographing anew a mediocre print seemed senseless. At times substitutions were found and in a few instances original illustrations were simply omitted. Typos were corrected whenever we noticed them and minor emendations were made to the original texts to ensure clarity of expression. Bibliographical notes were not brought up to date, except when works announced in the notes were actually published. I should add that several chapters in this volume complement each other and reuse or modify comparable arguments. We did not try to correlate them to each other.



# Acknowledgments

The chapters in this volume were first published as follows:

- I “Two Pieces of Metalwork at the University of Michigan,” *Ars Orientalis*, 4 (1961), pp. 360–68.
- II “Les arts mineurs de l’Orient musulman à partir du milieu du XIIIe siècle,” *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* (Université de Poitiers, Avril–Juin 1968), pp. 181–90.
- III “Trade with the East and the Influence of Islamic Art on the ‘Luxury Arts’ of the West,” *Il Medio Oriente e l’Occidente nell’arte del XIII Secolo*, ed. H. Belting (Bologna, 1982), pp. 27–32.
- IV “The Shared Culture of Objects,” *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204* (Washington, DC, 1997), pp. 115–29.
- V “*Epigrafika Vostoka*, A Critical Review,” *Ars Orientalis*, 2 (1957), pp. 547–60.
- VI “A Newly Discovered Illustrated Manuscript of the *Maqamat* of Hariri,” *Ars Orientalis*, 5 (1963), pp. 97–109.
- VII “Notes on the Iconography of the ‘Demotte’ *Shah-nama*,” *Paintings from Islamic Lands*, ed. R. Pinder-Wilson (London, 1969), pp. 31–47.
- VIII “The Illustrated *Maqamat* of the Thirteenth Century: The Bourgeoisie and the Arts,” *The Islamic City*, ed. A. Hourani (Oxford, 1970), pp. 207–22.
- IX “Pictures or Commentaries: The Illustrations of the *Maqamat* of al-Hariri,” *Studies in Art and Literature of the Near East in Honor of Richard Ettinghausen*, ed. Peter J. Chelkowski (Middle Eastern Center University of Utah and New York University Press, 1974), pp. 85–104.
- X “About an Arabic Dioskorides Manuscript,” *Byzantine East, Latin West: Art-Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann* (Princeton, 1995), pp. 361–3.
- XI “Toward an Aesthetic of Persian Painting,” *The Art of Interpreting: Papers in Art History* (Pennsylvania State University, 1995), pp. 129–39.
- XII “About two Mughal Miniatures,” *Damaszener Mitteilungen* (Festschrift Michael Meinecke), 11 (1999), pp. 179–83.

- XIII "A Preliminary Note on two 18<sup>th</sup> century representations of Mekka and Madina," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 25 (2001), pp. 268–74.
- XIV "The Inscriptions of the Madrasah-Mausoleum of Qaytbay," *Studies in Honour of George Miles*, ed. Dickran K. Kouymjian (American University of Beirut, 1974), pp. 465–8.
- XV "Isfahan as a Mirror of Persian Architecture," in R. Ettinghausen and E. Yarshater, eds, *Highlights of Persian Art* (Boulder, 1979), pp. 213–42.
- XVI "Reflections on Mamluk Art," *Muqarnas*, 2 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1984), pp. 1–12.
- XVII "An Exhibition of High Ottoman Art," *Muqarnas*, 6 (1989), pp. 1–11.
- XVIII "The Meanings of Sinan's Architecture," A. Akta-Yasa, ed., *Uluslararası Mimar Sinan Sempozyomu Bildirileri* (Ankara, 1996), pp. 275–83.
- XIX "The Many Gates of Ottoman Art," *Art Turc/Turkish Art*, tenth international Congress of Turkish Art (Geneva, 1999), pp. 19–26.
- XX "The Crusades and the Development of Islamic Art," in A. E. Laiou and R. P. Mottahedeh, eds, *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World* (Washington, 2001), pp. 235–45.
- XXI "Islamic Architecture and the West: Influences and Parallels," *Islam and the Medieval West*, ed. Stanley Ferber (Binghamton, 1975), pp. 60–66.
- XXII "Patterns and Ways of Cultural Exchange," in V. P. Goss, ed., *The Meeting of Two Worlds* (Kalamazoo, 1986), pp. 441–6.
- XXIII "Europe and the Orient: An Ideologically Charged Exhibition," *Muqarnas*, 7 (1990), pp. 1–11.
- XXIV "Classical Forms in Islamic Art and Some Implications," *Künstlerischer Austausch: Artistic Exchange, Akten des XXVIII. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte*, Berlin 15–20 July 1992. Herausgegeben von Thomas W. Gaechtens, pp. 35–42.
- XXV "Memorie dell'arte classica nel mondo islamico," S. Settis, ed., *I Greci*, vol. 3 (Turin, 2001), pp. 797–815.

We would like to thank all individuals, publishers and institutions for their permission to reproduce articles and illustrations published under their copyright. Every effort has been made to trace the copyright holders, but if any have been inadvertently overlooked the publisher will be pleased to make the necessary arrangement at the first opportunity.

## Introduction

The articles gathered in this second volume of *Constructing the Study of Islamic Art* cover the centuries between the eleventh and the sixteenth that witnessed the development of Islamic art as an original cultural phenomenon in all lands ruled by Muslims. Priority is given to what has, wrongly, been called the Seljuq period in the central lands of the Near and Middle East, from Egypt to Central Asia in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. And then there are extensions of what was happening in the Ottoman, Mamluk, post-Mongol Iranian and Mughal worlds of Anatolia, the Balkans, Syria, Egypt, Iran, Central Asia, and even India. The study of illustrated manuscripts predominates over essays on architecture and objects. The reason for this imbalance lies in some of the academic directions I was given as a graduate student at Princeton University and in the many weeks of investigations in the manuscript collections of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, the British Library (then Museum), the Bodleian in Oxford, and the many libraries in Istanbul.

Most of my work in Istanbul took place before the major transformations in the organization of the museums and collections of that city which made everything more accessible and more bureaucratic, but so much less adventurous. In the Süleymaniye library, the one attached to Aya Sofya, or in Ahmet III's pavilion in the Top Kapı Serai museum, I was usually the only reader, occasionally joined by an eccentric gentleman who was or had been an art teacher at Galatasaray and claimed to be the only practicing *yogî* in Istanbul. We spoke French and became good friends to the point that he invited me for what I thought was dinner in the house he shared with his mother on a crooked street somewhere beyond Taksim Square, an area that was still a lonely and quiet village in these days. The dinner never materialized, for his real purpose was to make a *yogî* out of me. Having failed all the tests that would have led me to a perfect state of non-being, I decided that it was time to go back to my hotel in Sirkeci, at the other end of town. With some difficulty I liberated myself and in the middle of the night managed somehow to find my way to the recently built Hilton hotel. I did not have enough money to hire a taxi and walked through Istanbul at night. It was lonely and a bit frightening, but a proper enough adventure for a budding scholar of 27 or 28.

All manuscripts were available without any problem except those which were exhibited, fortunately very few from the earlier periods that concerned

me primarily. My searches were helped there by a long list of call numbers given to me by Richard Ettinghausen, then at the Freer Gallery in Washington, about whom I will have more to say further on. I saw the soon-to-become celebrated albums when they were still bound in leather binders and I felt like a youthful explorer in a territory that had hardly been charted and whose magic key was the box of sweets from Haci Bekir which I shared regularly with all the guards and with whoever was in the reading rooms. I managed to obtain microfilms of many of these early illustrated manuscripts from the newly created photographic center at the Süleymaniye. They are now deposited at the University of Michigan, but I fear that half a century of rolled-up existence has not preserved well documents in a technology by now obsolete and on poor-quality film.

The most significant feature of these studies and essays is that, in contrast to the archaeological bent of Volume I, the theoretical considerations of Volume III, and the focus on Jerusalem of Volume IV, they illustrate my involvement with the History of Art in the second half of the twentieth century.

Until the latter part of the century, the art of Islamic lands played an ill-defined role among the concerns of the History of Art. It was ignored by the grand tradition of attributions and interpretations that issued from the study of the Renaissance, southern or northern, except when it occasionally appeared as an "influence" or as a form of exoticism. Nor did it have much to do with the national or post-modernist concerns of those who dealt with Europe or the United States in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, for these were centuries for which, at least at that time, the uniqueness of the European development of the arts was not questioned. It did, however, become a sort of avocation for three very different groups of scholars and amateurs, often with unusual intellectual pedigrees and idiosyncratic personal histories.

There were, first of all, medievalists and practitioners of the newly established cultural sphere of Late Antiquity who saw in Islamic art either a competing parallel to the Christian art with which they primarily dealt or one of the ends of a long-evolving formal development that issued from classical and Iranian Antiquity. Alois Riegl and Josef Stygowski in Vienna were the torch-bearers for reflections and investigations that were picked up in a more systematic scholarly form by Meyer Schapiro, Rudi Wittkower, André Grabar, Kurt Weitzmann, Hugo Buchthal, E. Baldwin Smith, Ernst Kantorowitz and Jorgis Baltrušaitis, among others. None of these scholars learned or knew the languages of the Islamic world and none claimed a competent understanding of Islamic culture, but they all felt that their own medieval studies of the arts were incomplete without the presence of the Islamic world.

I was trained and formed by this particular tradition, partly because several among these men were my teachers, but mostly because they

encouraged their students to enter into areas they had only partly investigated and sometimes wished they knew better. Even now, more than half a century later, it is with some emotion that I recall how Baldwin Smith, Kurt Weitzmann and André Grabar, with whom I associated most particularly, encouraged me, because they had the vision of a broad spectrum of history, some of whose components they were not able to handle. The tall, austere, and reserved Baldwin Smith took notes and carefully recorded bibliographical information (these were days before easily available techniques for the preparation of handouts) during my seminar report on Sasanian royal art as well as during another student's report on Mshatta. Kurt Weitzmann encouraged me to study the *Maqamat* illustrations and the Demotte *Shahname* because he thought that these sets of miniatures would demonstrate the global validity of his ways of dealing with manuscript illustrations. I, together with Wen Fong, who was destined for a brilliant career in Princeton and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, were to be the missionaries into Asia of Weitzmann's methods with *Buchwesen*.

Yet, even though I was formed by this art-historical tradition, it was not the tradition that first inspired me. Nor was I inspired by a second tradition consisting of men involved with Islamic art who did not come from the university but either from the making of works of art, particularly but not exclusively the technology of architecture, or from the exciting adventure of collecting. From the time, in the early nineteenth century, of Owen Jones's *Grammar of Ornament* to the creation, in the second half of the century, of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris, or the Museum für angewandte Kunst in Vienna, institutions and technical experts, the latter often associated with the development of colonial empires in North Africa, Egypt, or India, found in the Islamic world concrete motifs of decoration, techniques for the transformation of surfaces, and architectural forms that were used as exoticisms but could also compel revisions in a Western-oriented history, as with providing an honorable place for ornament next to works of "higher" arts. Whatever aspect of Islamic art was involved, the arts themselves seduced many legitimate and respectable collectors like Henri Vever, Raymond Koechlin and Louis Cartier in France, Wilhelm von Bode and P. Schultz in Germany, Ivan Stchoukine in Russia, Chester Beatty and Basil Robinson in England, David in Denmark, and also more disreputable ones like the Swedish diplomat F. R. Martin who acquired, probably illegally, many treasures from Istanbul libraries, or a French ambassador to Turkey and Iran who obtained a first-rate gathering of Persian painting in the countries in which he served and who took it out of these countries in the diplomatic pouch.

The collecting instinct led to the growth of a highly sophisticated system of dealers who, especially in Iran, toured the countryside, organized excavations of their own, and distributed their finds through shops, often held by their relatives, in Paris, London, or New York. Collecting always

involved money and sometimes deals that were not always legal or proper. But the more repulsive side of collecting, the side which is so clearly opposed to the aims of scholarship, is secrecy. There is a secrecy of information and a secrecy of ownership. The former is intellectually unacceptable because the unwritten code of honor of the academic profession is that knowledge must always be shared and cannot be copyrighted. Secrecy of ownership is equally reprehensible, because it withholds from view some of the most important works of Islamic art and often introduces into research a social and snobbish component which does not belong there. When I was working, at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, on the so-called Demotte *Shahname*, which had been split between many collections, some miniatures were simply unavailable for study, because they were in private hands. I was thus refused the possibility of seeing one of these miniatures, which was in the possession of a notable New York family. Once I joined the Faculty at Harvard University, an institution of allegedly higher social prestige, the invitation to see the miniature was extended to me. I refused the offer and only saw the painting once it entered a public collection.

There is still something revolting about all the treasures allegedly, and often actually, kept in the vaults of Swiss banks. The activities that surrounded the break-up of the great sixteenth-century *Shahname* of Shah Tahmasp and the ultimate fate of its miniatures are among the saddest episodes of the fairly recent history of Islamic art. It is sad, even though the exchange of *Shahname* pages for an abstract painting by an American artist on the tarmac of the Vienna airport smacks of comedy rather than of serious scholarly pursuit. An equally disreputable story was spun in the 1950s and 1960s around a Persian manuscript known as the *Andarzname*, whose ninety-odd miniatures were dated to the late eleventh century, which would have made them the earliest example of the Islamic art of the book. The Cincinnati Art Museum had acquired one half of the manuscript, while the other half remained invisible in the hands of a dealer who exhibited it once only in a Paris show of Persian art. All but one of the then specialists in the field thought that the manuscript might well be genuine, but some doubts were slowly creeping in. The dealer who then owned half of the manuscript used the occasion of a Congress of Orientalists in Munich in 1956 or 1957 to gather most of us for a lunch in a fancy restaurant and, in a fiery speech, chided the profession for not trusting its eyes to judge new works of art but preferring the judgment of laboratory technicians. He was right, for, at a later meeting in New York of the Congress for Persian Art, some time in the mid-1960s, Richard Ettinghausen dramatically opened a sealed letter which contained laboratory-made pigment analyses of some five or six miniatures which clearly showed them to be fakes. Whether this judgment should stand for the whole manuscript is still an open question to my mind, although after the time of the New York meeting, I became aware of many doubtful features on pages which had not been analyzed. What is remarkable is that

no one even talks about the manuscript any longer, however interesting the lessons may be which can be drawn from it, even if it turns out to be indeed a forgery.

Possessiveness did occasionally affect public institutions. Edgar Blochet, a serious scholar well versed in Persian and Arabic, even though given at times to wild interpretations, was curator of oriental manuscripts at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. He considered that particular public collection so profoundly his own that his own published catalog of its Persian manuscripts identified each manuscript with a different number from its actual call number. The latter can be found by those who know the system he created within the mass of technical information provided about each manuscript. But his aim was to discourage access to manuscripts by printing false information about them, certainly an immoral procedure. This was no doubt an extreme case, but still now manuscripts in libraries and objects in museums cannot always be studied simply and automatically like a printed book or a periodical in libraries.

It is relatively easy to condemn these secretive practices, especially when they are indulged in and enforced by the bureaucracies that run some public institutions. But it is important to recall that a degree of control over access to precious objects or books is necessitated by the fragility of so many remains from the past. Furthermore, and more importantly, it is the passion of collectors and dealers that preserved so many works of Islamic and other arts. At times, as with ceramics or miniatures, this passion channeled the field in the direction of connoisseurship and attributions that may no longer be fashionable today but that certainly set the tone for research and investigations for a long time. And then passions, even when wrong-headed and improperly restrictive, have certain rights and privileges, because they extol the endless variety of men and women rather than the drab sameness of institutions. Arbitrary restrictions were few in those days, but personal contacts and recommendations played a major role in providing access to often uncataloged and unclassified documents. There is little doubt that, for me, my father's name and reputation were often a password to many institutions.

Collectors and museums provided an approach to the arts which was, possibly still is, perfectly acceptable, but certainly not one I appreciated. A curious episode in which I made the decision not to work in a museum without quite realizing what I was doing occurred some time in the 1950s. I had come to New York to give a lecture, I believe, at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The then curator or acting curator of Islamic art was Charles Wilkinson, a particularly attractive combination of orientalist archaeologist and connoisseur of beautiful things, who invited me and my wife for dinner at his home, in those days a routine procedure for visiting lecturers. The other guests turned out to be James Rorimer, the Director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and his wife. Soon after the exchange of

normal preliminary social vacuities, Rorimer reported to me that he had heard that I was not interested in a museum job. He wondered whether I might not still consider joining the staff of the Metropolitan Museum from which its long-term curator, Maurice Dimand, had retired. I instinctively reacted by saying that I was quite happy in a university and the matter did not go any further. I am sure that, at that time, I had not given any thought to whether I preferred university employment to museums, but I realize now that more experienced administrators were aware of basic differences in attitude and expectations. Once, probably in the late 1960s, I was again approached to consider a museum position, this time in the Louvre. There also, a venerable scholar and collector, Jean David-Weil, had retired. De Gaulle had just appointed as director of all French museums the former head of the French Institute in Beirut, Henri Seyrig, with whom I was well acquainted through my father and through my own work in the Near East. But I did not pursue the matter for reasons that had more to do with my lack of experience with the administrative bureaucracy of French museums than with the job itself. Henri Seyrig, an unusually independent individual who was viscerally immune to bureaucracies, himself did not last very long in his job. The differences between universities and museums were only, to my knowledge, bridged, at that time, by one scholar of Islamic art, Richard Ettinghausen. But, even in his case, the commitment to museums far outstripped his concern with universities.

The third avenue that, in those days, led, or could lead, to the study of Islamic art was the one known, in a very positive way, as Orientalism. Its formative component was the study of languages and cultures or travel and residence in the lands of the Islamic world. Many archaeologists, in the richest and widest ways of the profession, as was the case with Ernst Herzfeld, were formed on that path and some, like Jean Sauvaget, wrote scathingly and rather unfairly about the foibles of art historians when compared to orientalizing archaeologists. A very different kind of art history came out of the remarkable work of peripatetic architects, who, like André Flandin, Pascal Coste, Max Herz, André Godard, became historians of the arts they encountered in new lands, even if they did not set out to be historians. From Morocco (Henri Terrasse and Georges Marçais) to India (Charles Ferguson and the compilers of the Archaeological Survey of India) or Central Asia (the Circle of Friends of Archaeology in Tashkent), these men recorded what they saw, often visited remote areas (like André Maricq, essentially a philologist and historian with a taste for exotic travel who discovered the still almost inaccessible Jam minaret in Afghanistan), noticed important monuments even when they were not within their sphere of competence (D. Stronach and T. C. Young Jr, both specialists in the ancient Near East who encountered the Kharraqan mausoleums of the eleventh century, now well known to all historians of Islamic architecture), and willy-nilly became historians, at times first-rate

ones. The paragon of this architectural Orientalism was K. A. C. Creswell (1879–1974). His local linguistic talents were limited, but he spent his life in Cairo, traveled from Iraq to North Africa, and certainly shared many of the ethnic and racial prejudices associated with the caricature of the Orientalist. Yet he was devoted to the study of Islamic architecture and knew how to ask help from those who knew languages better than he did. And, as a parallel to Creswell, there was also in Cairo Gaston Wiet, a patriotic veteran of World War I and a good Arabist who became director of the fairly new Museum of Islamic (then Arab) Art. He wrote himself or sponsored others to write many catalogs of objects and was one of two or three standard-bearers of Arabic epigraphy. I knew him well when he became a professor at the Collège de France in Paris and was particularly anxious to help organize the work of younger scholars.

It was some sort of mix of training in general medieval art history under the intellectual guidance of a very special group of original thinkers and of an Orientalism in which other worlds had not yet become the “Other” that directed my first steps in this field. And this is where the striking role of Richard Ettinghausen in my career as well as the peculiarities of my professional life come into play.

All those who knew Richard Ettinghausen remember his tall and lanky body with a sharply defined head that made him look at times like a bird of prey, for instance when he was surveying the wares in a dealer’s shop. His gentleness and quiet generosity were also proverbial. He had been formed as an Orientalist. But he came from a family with a great deal of taste for the arts, and he turned at some point to the study of Islamic art. He had learned Arabic first, but then during World War II switched to Persian, partly to teach it within some US government program to develop soldiers with linguistic training. He loved to speak Persian, although specialists were amused by some of his expressions, just as he loved to speak French, in a very old-fashioned European way. But what really happened to him in the late 1930s and 1940s, in New York and later Ann Arbor, was the extraordinary growth of an “eye” that would notice the smallest detail on an object and a memory that could make often unexpected formal, iconographic, or technical connections. His eyes would shine when he described how he discovered the importance and the secrets of a given object, as he does for the Wade Cup in the Cleveland Museum of Art in a film on the collecting of Iranian art in the United States.

Ettinghausen was a friend and colleague of my father and, partly thanks to that, he became for me a mentor rather than a teacher, who taught me a great deal in an unsystematic way, sharing knowledge and information and especially putting me in contact with people, objects, ideas. He particularly enjoyed calling me early in the morning, aware as he was that I slept late, to provide some information on an object we had discussed the day before. It was only much later, after my father’s death, that I discovered that he

exercised a sort of beneficent surveillance over my professional life by reporting, in long letters to my father, about the lectures I gave, the ideas we discussed, or even the places where we lived.

Three examples illustrate the kind of relationship I had with Ettinghausen, which was as rare as it was beneficial. The first example took place when I had written what I thought was the final draft of an article on the Dome of the Rock and offered it to Ettinghausen for publication in *Ars Orientalis*. He wrote back that he would be happy to publish the article, but also that the article would be much better if I spent another year on it. In those days, when there was no pressure to publish, I followed his advice and the article as published is still read almost fifty years later, apparently with profit.

Then, second example, several years later I returned from Beirut having acquired a few ceramic objects and fragments of glass for the University of Michigan Art Museum. I was very proud of my acquisitions and showed them to Ettinghausen on the occasion of one of his frequent visits in Ann Arbor. He spent a long time looking at the glass fragments through the magnifying glass he always kept in his pocket. Then, without saying anything, he gave me the fragments and the magnifying glass and asked me what I saw. I answered that I saw very clearly the grooves outlining the design on the glass. He pointed out to me that these lines were perfectly straight, not jagged as they would have been if done manually, and that they were etched with acid, not with a sharp engraving instrument. The design was a contemporary forgery made with acid, while the glass may well have been old. His point was not to emphasize to me my amateurish status, but to show how essential is the observation of details.

And, as a third example, for every one of the trips I organized for graduate students from the University of Michigan to the Freer Gallery in Washington, Richard Ettinghausen prepared selections of fragments from the Freer collection or from his own, nearly all of which had a detail which would “tell” (his favorite verb, just as “missing link” was his favorite definition of a detail or even of a whole object) something about the object. He loved to lead me and the students down the path of mistakes before dramatically revealing the truth. The writings of Richard Ettinghausen, available in a single large volume, are wonderful examples of the highest form of scholarship, creative in imagination and in opening new paths for investigations. There are unfortunately many works of his that remained unfinished at his death, lingering only in the memory of those who heard them as lectures or as items of conversation. Traces of a few of them are found in his letters. He was an unstoppable correspondent and I still cherish the hand-written pages he would send from wherever he took his holidays. Many of my elders in his generation were inveterate letter writers, a habit which no longer exists in our age of telephones and of email.

Until 1989, when I joined the peaceful and quiet Institute for Advanced Study in the woods near Princeton University, I had been involved for

thirty-five years in teaching at two very different institutions, in departments both called then, but no longer now, Departments of Fine Arts.

The University of Michigan had a relatively new department of the History of Art, but it had the distinction of being the first American institution, and for a long time the only one, to have a professor of Islamic art. The post was occupied first by Mehmet Aga-Oglu, a scholar I never met who was from Azerbaijan and trained in Russia and Vienna. Aga-Oglu must have been an energetic and creative scholar, who had to leave the University of Michigan for personal reasons. No one seems to know what happened to what I heard were elaborate archives of Islamic art. He was replaced by Richard Ettinghausen who, in turn, moved to the Freer Gallery in Washington in 1944. No one taught Islamic art there until David Storm Rice in 1953–54, but his personality did not fit easily with the mood of the university at that time. He returned to the School of Oriental and African Studies in London and his departure made it possible for me to be hired at the young age of 25.

The department was a curious amalgam of old and new. There were a few ghosts from times when the department was a minor oasis of visual culture in a university with very different strengths. There was Adelaide Adams, a kind and pleasant woman who taught American art or whatever else needed to be taught and from whom I acquired a complete set of *Ars Islamica*, the only periodical devoted to Islamic art, published by the University of Michigan and by then out of print. There was James Plummer, who learned about Chinese art during his many years in the Chinese Customs Service. His knowledge of Chinese ceramics in particular was immense, but his intellectual horizon was restricted to a simple evolution of all artistic traditions from “primitive” to “decadent.” By the time I came to Ann Arbor in 1954, he was already quite deaf and somewhat eccentric. I remember being struck by an incident at a lecture, I assume on Japanese ceramics, by Soames Jenyns, of the British Museum. After Plummer had uttered the appropriate words of praise in introducing the speaker, he sat in the front row and conspicuously turned off the hearing aid hanging on his chest. As I recall it, the lecture was indeed quite dull.

Next to these representatives from another age, there were three very different but equally striking individuals who were the active senior strength of the department. There was Harold Wethey, a specialist in late Renaissance and Baroque art, mostly in Spain; he was a dedicated and hard-working traditional scholar and connoisseur, full of knowledge and rigorous in scholarship, but often pedantic and weak on interpretations, a stickler for rules both in learning and in departmental affairs. There was Max Loehr, a German Sinologist, who had spent the war years in China after years of studying in Munich. He impressed me enormously in relating that he spent seventeen years learning Chinese, Japanese and Sanskrit in order to return to the study of the arts with which he had begun his university life. From the study of prehistoric objects all over northern China and Siberia, he had

turned to Chinese painting and developed a unique approach to the appreciation of the painter's art. Since, during these first years, I had few students of my own, I attended a couple of Max Loehr's seminars and was bathed in totally new ways of seeing paintings. We observed the slides on the screen in total silence before anyone dared to make a comment or to ask a question. We often argued socially and I remember a particular time when I made what I thought was a very cogent argument that an ideal history of art would consist in words alone, without pictures, since a history is a verbal and mental construct. After a few moments of silence, Max Loehr replied that an ideal history of art would consist of details of works of art arranged in such a fashion that evolution or whatever else one wanted to demonstrate would be obvious to anyone and that no words were needed.

The third member of the scholarly faculty was George H. Forsyth Jr, an architect, medievalist and architectural historian. He was a true American aristocrat, tall and handsome, somewhat aloof at first glance, meticulous in his work, a man of enormous generosity of spirit with a vision for the future. He had been brought in from Princeton, where he had studied and taught for many years, in order to create a new and strong department of the history of art. He became one of the last powerful chairmen who used to run American universities. Their departments were their fiefdoms and they saw themselves as providers of funds and support for their vassals, the assistant professors. I was one of those, many of whom came to play an important role in the growth of an American history of art. My position among them was a somewhat privileged one, because of the connection between the University and the Freer Gallery in Washington, because of the University's past history in my area, and because of the existence of a fund for research and publications. George Forsyth understood how important it was to provide for me time to learn the centuries of artistic growth between the Atlantic Ocean and China; he negotiated for me three free semesters during my first four years of teaching which turned out to be of inestimable value in forming my scholarship and teaching.

Two examples of Forsyth's direction stand out in my mind nearly fifty years later. One was an extraordinary six-weeks trip he organized from Beirut to Beirut via Damascus, Palmyra, Baghdad, Mosul, Urfa and Aleppo, and for which he invited a select group of scholars as well as a photographer. He then went to Egypt and Mt Sinai. Out of this trip emerged eventually my excavations at Qasr al-Hayr East in Syria and the Michigan-Princeton expedition to Sinai. There are many stories attached to this trip from a time of relatively easy movement in the Near East, but my main point is the sense George Forsyth had for exploring research possibilities for himself and for others. The other example took place when he and I realized that young American students were not likely to flock to the lessons on Islamic art by a young unknown. He thus proposed that I join the group of instructors taking turns in teaching the general introduction to the History of Art. Not

only did I have to adjust to classes of 200 students after a few years of five or six poor souls, but it was a wonderful occasion to develop that integration of Islamic art into world art which led eventually to the appearance of the field in so many universities.

I should add that such successes as I had were also due to the wonderful group of young men (this was before the appearance of women on the faculties of major universities) who came, sometimes only for a few years, and often shaped a lively and invigorating department, where a full exchange of ideas was possible without professional jealousies, and where everything could be tried. These years of innovation affected also my involvement with young colleagues in a department of Near Eastern Studies developed energetically, if at times haphazardly, by the Assyriologist and Iranist George Cameron and in all departments dealing with Asia or in a budding Center for Middle Eastern Studies which made possible academic and linguistic opportunities impossible at that time to include in traditional departments. Thanks to a grant, I think from the Rockefeller Foundation, five young men under 35 devised a then unique year-long introduction to Asia for undergraduates, in which we all taught all the sections regardless of the areas being covered. In these years of relatively easy access to funds and without worries about tenure or promotion, I could at the University of Michigan develop complex and detailed scholarly searches and find ways to present to the mass of students both the History of Art and the cultures of Asia.

I moved to Harvard in 1969 and joined a department of Fine Arts full of world celebrities, including Max Loehr who had left Michigan a few years before me, and a Department of Near Eastern Languages and Cultures as well as a Center for Middle Eastern Studies that were in the process of rejuvenating their involvement with the Islamic world. Harvard's Department of Fine Arts, better known as the Fogg, was still then the bastion of connoisseurship, a treasure box of magnificent works of art, the guardian of a truly astounding library of books and photographs. But, set as it was in its sedate ways and traditions, it lacked the excitement of the University of Michigan, and much in its organization was falling apart, physically and in a way even spiritually. Much of the following twenty years was spent dealing with practical problems of space and financing which eventually altered completely the looks of the institution and its spirit. What these years meant to me in my maturity can be easily summed up. Access to a wide variety of often first-rate students broadened my conception of my field, as I began to introduce into it other areas than those of the central Near Eastern lands and other periods than the Middle Ages. Then the daily contact with major works of art softened my preference for verbal expression over the sensuality of "things" themselves. And, finally, the association with the Aga Khan Trust, about which I will have more to say in the introduction to Volume III of this series, made me encounter my own times, meet the world of practicing

architects, and begin to reflect on the continuous values of an art I had seen until then as the medieval expression of a neighboring civilization.

For me the curiosity of this large volume has been the contrast between the work done in the 1950s and early 1970s on medieval subjects according to traditional methods of investigation and the articles of the last twenty years, which deal with many more areas and periods and which engage aesthetic as well as historical issues. To what degree these changes are the result of personal evolution or of changes in the expectations of the field, I do not know.