THE WORD ILLUMINATED

Form and Function of Qur'anic Manuscripts from the Seventh to Seventeenth Centuries

Edited by SIMON RETTIG and SANA MIRZA

Diplomatic gifts, war prizes, or treasures of royal and princely libraries—many handwritten volumes of the Qurʾan were ascribed these roles over the centuries. Later they were often endowed to mosques, tombs, and other religious complexes to perpetuate and transmit their exceptional *baraka* (divine blessing). As manuscripts of the Qurʾan changed ownership, they acquired a complex and layered afterlife that further enriched their identity well into the present.

To understand more fully the transformation of these works into potent symbols of piety as well as of political and religious authority, the essays herein place Qurʾanic manuscripts into their artistic, historic, and religious contexts. Authors investigate the materiality of luxury Qurʾans, from the lavish use of costly materials such as gold and parchment, development of special scripts, and intricate illuminated designs to meticulously tooled bindings. These essays were presented at the symposium "The Word Illuminated: Form and Function of Qurʾanic Manuscripts," in 2016 at the Smithsonian Institution's Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington, DC (now part of the National Museum of Asian Art), in conjunction with the exhibition *The Art of the Qurʾan: Treasures from the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts*.

SIMON RETTIG is Associate Curator for the Arts of the Islamic World at the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of Asian Art.

SANA MIRZA is Head of Scholarly Programs and Publications at the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of Asian Art.

CONTRIBUTORS

Nourane Ben Azzouna
Sheila S. Blair
François Déroche
Cailah Jackson
Alya Karame
Nina Macaraig
Sana Mirza
Alison Aplin Ohta
Simon Rettig
Elaine Wright

Smithsonian
Scholarly Press
https://scholarlypress.si.edu

ISBN (online): 978-1-944466-59-6
ISBN (print): 978-1-944466-58-9

THE WORD ILLUMINATED

THE WORD ILLUMINATED

Form and Function of Qurʿanic Manuscripts from the Seventh to Seventeenth Centuries

Edited by SIMON RETTIG and SANA MIRZA

A Smithsonian Contribution to Knowledge

Smithsonian
Scholarly Press

Washington, D.C.
2023

ABSTRACT
This volume comprises a selection of papers delivered at the symposium “The Word Illuminated: Form and Function of Qurʾanic Manuscripts” held at the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery from 1 to 3 December 2016 and organized in conjunction with the exhibition *The Art of the Qurʾan: Treasures from the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts*. Authors investigate the materiality of luxury Qurʾans, from the lavish use of costly materials such as gold and parchment, the development of special scripts, and intricate illuminated designs to the meticulously tooled bindings. In addition to examining the physical features of Qurʾanic volumes, the authors put the manuscripts in their artistic, historic, and religious contexts to understand more fully the transformation of these works into potent symbols of piety and political and religious authority and into instruments of legitimacy. Over the centuries, many of the Qurʾans were offered as diplomatic gifts or taken as booty and endowed to mosques, tombs, and other religious complexes to perpetuate and transmit their exceptional *baraka* (divine blessing). As the Qurʾans changed ownership, they also acquired a complex and layered afterlife, which has further enriched their identity well into the present.

Published by SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION SCHOLARLY PRESS
P.O. Box 37012, MRC 957, Washington, D.C. 20013-7012
https://scholarlypress.si.edu

Cover images. (*Front*) Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, TIEM 538, folio 146b. (*Back*) Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, TIEM 450, folios 302b–303a. Both images courtesy of the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, Istanbul.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Names: Rettig, Simon, editor. | Mirza, Sana, editor. | Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press, issuing body.
Title: The word illuminated : form and function of Qurʾanic manuscripts from the seventh to seventeenth centuries / edited by Simon Rettig and Sana Mirza.
Other titles: Form and function of Qurʾanic manuscripts from the seventh to seventeenth centuries | Smithsonian contribution to knowledge.
Description: Washington, D.C. : Smithsonian Scholarly Press, 2022. | Series: A Smithsonian contribution to knowledge | The conference “The Word Illuminated: Form and Function of Qurʾanic Manuscripts” was held from December first to third, 2016 . . . in Washington, D.C.—Foreword. | Includes bibliographical references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2022032847 (print) | LCCN 202203 (ebook) | ISBN 9781944466589 (paperback) | ISBN 9781944466596 (Adobe pdf)
Subjects: LCSH: Qurʾan—Manuscripts—History. | Qurʾan—Illustrations—History.
Classification: LCC ND2955 .W67 2022 (print) | LCC ND2955 (ebook) | DDC 745.674927—dc23/eng/20220930 | SUDOC SI 1.60:QU 6
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2022032847
LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2022032848

ISBN-13: 978-1-944466-59-6 (online)
ISBN-13: 978-1-944466-58-9 (print)

Publication date (online): 24 January 2023

Printed in Canada

♾ The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of the American National Standard for Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials Z39.48–1992.

Contents

Foreword

One of the few conferences to focus on the art of Qurʾanic manuscripts, "The Word Illuminated: Form and Function of Qurʾanic Manuscripts" was held from 1 to 3 December 2016 in conjunction with the exhibition *The Art of the Qurʾan: Treasures from the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts*, in Washington, D.C. The 10 speakers examined a single volume or a small group of Qurʾans produced between the late seventh century and the early seventeenth century in an area extending from Istanbul to Herat. Some of the presentations focused on works in the exhibition; others addressed related codices in other institutions. One of the principal goals of the gathering was to draw attention to the formal and conceptual singularity of these Qurʾanic manuscripts. Speakers discussed the materiality of the volumes, the different styles of writing and illumination, and the role of patrons, scribes, and artists within their broader social, historical, artistic, and religious contexts. The papers repeatedly underscored the importance of studying individual Qurʾanic manuscripts from a myriad of perspectives to understand more fully their role and function as potent symbols of piety and social and political authority in the Islamic world.

I extend special thanks to the El-Hibri Foundation for their support of the scholarly gathering. Also, the event would not have been possible without the assistance of Turkey's Ministry of Culture and Tourism. At the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts in Istanbul, we remain indebted to the former director, Seracettin Şahin; former deputy director, Murat Bozcu; and former curator of manuscripts, Sevgi Kutluay, for their boundless generosity and immeasurable help throughout the project. Serpil Bağcı from Hacettepe University has my deep gratitude for her continuous generosity and sound advice.

I also recognize the encouragement of Chase F. Robinson, the Dame Jillian Sackler Director of the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery and the Freer Gallery of Art. Julian Raby, now director emeritus and the museum's director at the time of the conference; Nancy Micklewright, former head of Public and Scholarly Programs; and Zeynep Simavi, former program specialist at the Freer and Sackler, deserve special acknowledgment for their guidance and assistance in shaping the symposium. Last, I offer my heartfelt thanks to the coeditors of this volume, Simon Rettig and Sana Mirza, and to Ginger Minkiewicz, director of the Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press, for all their efforts and perseverance.

Massumeh Farhad
Chief Curator and The Ebrahimi Family Curator of Persian, Arab, and Turkish Art
Senior Associate Director for Research
National Museum of Asian Art
Smithsonian Institution Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery

Note to the Reader

Most dates in this volume are presented in two formats: first, the Islamic (*Hijri*) calendar is listed, followed by the Gregorian (Western) calendar. The Islamic calendar starts with the migration of the Prophet Muhammad from Mecca to Medina, which marks year 1 and is equivalent to 622 CE. In bibliographic references, dates in the Persian calendar (Solar Hijri calendar) are preceded by the abbreviation "Sh."

For the transliteration of Arabic, Persian, and Ottoman Turkish, we have used the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* system, but with the omission of subscript bars and substitution of *q* for *ḳ* and *j* for *dj*. Names are presented without diacritics, with the exception of the *ʿayn* and *hamza*. Foreign words that have entered English usage are neither presented with diacritics nor italicized. A few words in Arabic retain their original plural.

Introduction: Current Perspectives on Qurʾanic Manuscripts

Simon Rettig and Sana Mirza

In October 2016, North America's first major international loan exhibition on the Qurʾan opened in Washington, D.C.[1] Organized by the Smithsonian's Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, *The Art of the Qurʾan: Treasures from the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts* showcased a selection of the finest manuscripts, which were produced between the seventh and seventeenth centuries in a geographic area extending from present-day Afghanistan to the eastern Mediterranean. The 60 works offered a glimpse of the staggering variety of artistic styles and calligraphic formats. Monumental Qurʾans with superb calligraphy were juxtaposed with more modestly sized volumes, adorned with intricately designed and lavish illuminations. Most of the Qurʾans eventually found their way to the Ottoman realm, where they were endowed to pious foundations. On the eve of World War I and the collapse of the Ottoman Empire (ca. 1285–1923), the manuscripts were sent to the Museum of Islamic Endowments, now known as the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts (TIEM) in Istanbul.[2] These luxurious copies affirm the rich artistic traditions that flourished throughout the Islamic world and were repeatedly employed to preserve and disseminate the Word of God. The volumes served not only as exceptional works of art but also as objects embedded within specific social, political, and religious contexts at the very nexus of pietistic motivations and religious performances.

The present volume evolved from the symposium "The Word Illuminated: Form and Function of Qurʾanic Manuscripts," which took place in Washington, D.C., on 1–3 December 2016. Held in conjunction with the exhibition, the conference provided the opportunity to investigate the physicality of Qurʾanic volumes (Arabic: *muṣḥaf*, pl. *maṣāḥif*) to shed light on some of the circumstances of their production. The investigation was not limited to codicological and artistic concerns as speakers also addressed the necessity of unpacking biographies of artists and patrons. Analogous to narrative threads developed in the exhibition, the essays clarified the complex and often little-known later histories of copies of the Qurʾan. Each contributor focused on a group of manuscripts from a particular locus of production, a particular period, and, at times, even a single work. Like the exhibition and its accompanying catalog, the conference did not pretend to cover the production of Qurʾan manuscripts in its entirety. Rather, some specific times, places, and actors were examined. In doing so, the presentations highlighted the recent evolution of the fields of Islamic art and Qurʾanic studies and the necessity to consider these works afresh.[3]

Inspired by the careful analysis and new research undertaken by the authors, this introduction aims to extricate the main themes underlying current approaches to the Qurʾan as both a material object and a potent symbol of piety. Although the chapters are arranged chronologically, from the Umayyads to the Ottomans, the threads of canonization, biography, performance, and agency are interwoven throughout the volume. In contemplating these notions, several prominent examples help to tease out the importance of the authors' methodology for future research and for reframing the significance of Qurʾan manuscripts. With their rich and complex contexts of production and usage, these *maṣāḥif* provide an extraordinary opportunity to reveal material, religious, and social histories, which are important, if not critical, to the field of Islamic art.

Gradual Transformations and Canonization of the *Muṣḥaf*

Over centuries, formal developments and stylistic evolutions resulted in the creation of a template used for the modern printed Qurʾan—seemingly monolithic and homogeneous in its contemporary appearance.[4] Nonetheless, by the sixteenth century, as the following example demonstrates, these transformations had crystalized. Upon his reappointment as grand vizier in 1555, Rüstem Pasha (d. 1561) engaged some of the greatest Ottoman court artists to produce a lavish copy of the Qurʾan to celebrate his return to power. At the core of their work was a volume allegedly produced by the famed Ilkhanid calligrapher ʿAbdallah al-Sayrafi (d. after 1343) completed in 1344–1345 (Figure 1).[5] Each page was meticulously cut out and remounted into new margins. These careful actions reveal the deep appreciation for al-Sayrafi's calligraphic skills, but the folios were also refurbished in a fashion that presented contemporaneous Ottoman decorative trends. A librarian note asserts that this *muṣḥaf* by al-Sayrafi was illuminated by Kara Mehmed Çelebi, also known as Karamemi, with additional folios, chapter headings, and marginal inscriptions by Hasan Çelebi (d. 1594), the adopted son of the celebrated calligrapher Ahmad Karahisari (d. 1556). The binding was the work of Mehmed Çelebi. The illuminated additions turned a modest volume into a sumptuous one, but the elegantly copied text was left untouched and preserved in its original form. The artists here may have aesthetically "updated" a historic copy, but their intervention was restricted by the fundamental idea of an already established visual codification of the Qurʾan. ʿAbdallah al-Sayrafi was a second-generation disciple of Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi (d. 1298–1299), the pivotal figure at the root of regional Qurʾanic calligraphic schools in Egypt,

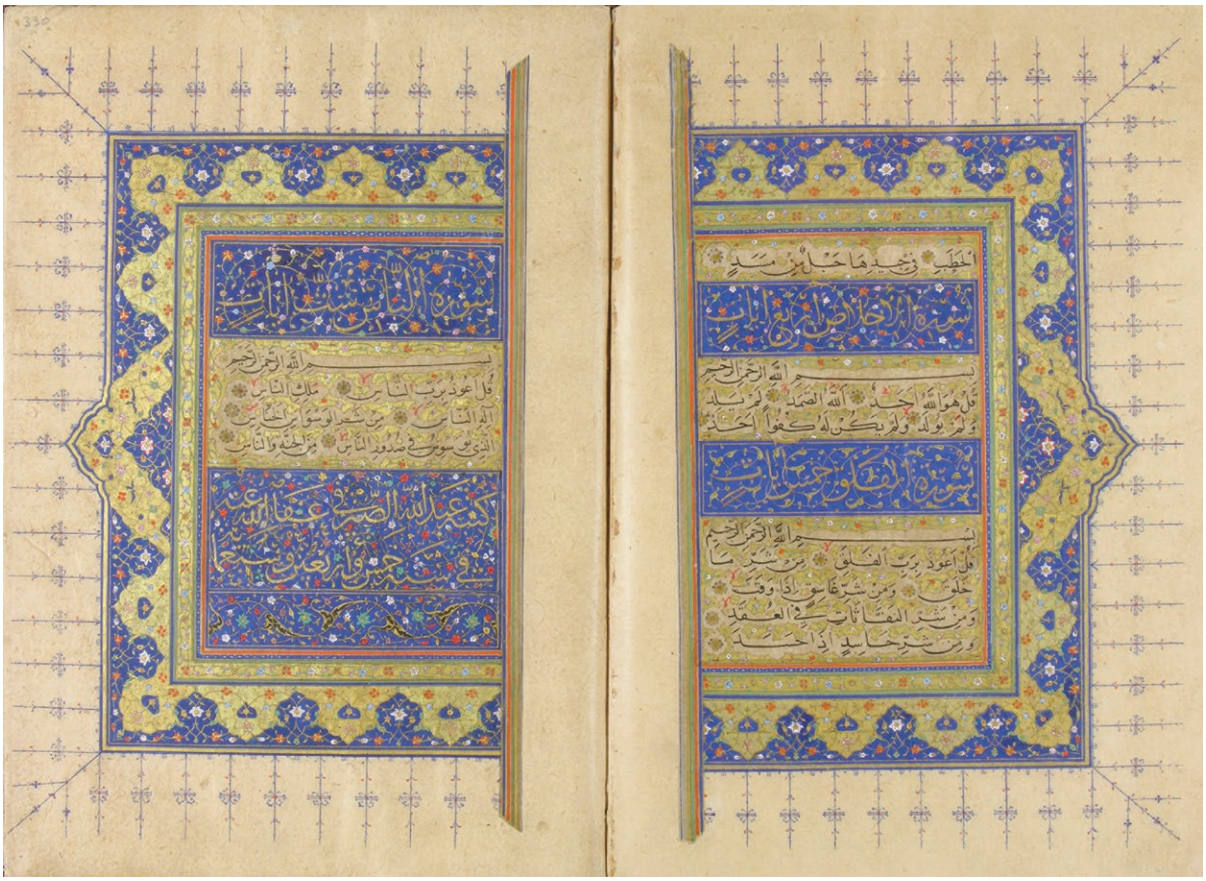


FIGURE 1. Qurʾan signed by ʿAbdallah al-Sayrafi, dated 1344–1345. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, E.H. 49, fols. 329b–330a. Image © The Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, The Directorate of National Palaces Administration.

Turkey, and Iran.[6] By tracing their calligraphic lineages back to Yaqut and thereby inscribing themselves into the long history of the Qurʾan's visual canonization, later generations of calligraphers ultimately helped to solidify the form and layout of the *muṣḥaf*, thereby emphasizing a continuity of production that is still felt to the present.

The following essays foreground three pivotal moments in the shaping of the *muṣḥaf*: the first occurred in the seventh century, the second in the eleventh century, and the final one after the 1400s. All three are identifiable through a rigorous combination of paleographic, codicological, and visual analysis. By looking closely at script transformations in conjunction with historical sources, François Déroche first presents early evidence of the tradition of copying the Qurʾan.[7] His examination of the "genizah-like" *bibliothecae coranicae* of Damascus, Fustat, Kairouan, and Sanaʿa provides a chronological framework for understanding the formation of Qurʾanic scripts and the book cultures of the nascent Muslim empire. This careful approach also reveals how stylistic shifts corresponded to larger visual discourses of identity and legitimacy, particularly with the rise of the Abbasids in the mid-eighth century. Such developments eventually informed the adoption of the horizontal format and of Kufic scripts for copies of the Qurʾan, which were distinguished from any other written documents. The *muṣḥaf* thereby became the written Qurʾan with its own physical and visual characteristics.

A second evolution occurred in eleventh-century volumes. Vertical in format, they are written in rounded scripts, as shown by Alya Karame in five imperial Ghaznavid Qurʾanic manuscripts. Through close observation, Karame investigates the circumstances of production, conceptualization, copying, and decoration of the copies and dwells on the intricate relationships between artisans responsible for the creation of these *maṣāḥif*. These manuscripts embody Ghaznavid assertions of dynastic autonomy and strength as well as their affirmation of a regional "Khurasani" identity. From the scribes' original and skilled use of multiple styles, Karame reveals not a straightforward teleological march toward cursive scripts but a conscious back and forth, an unprecedented juxtaposition of styles to create a new standard.

The third moment is exemplified by Alison Ohta's examination of manuscripts of the Mamluks (r. 1250–1517) and the rich historical documentation associated with their religious endowments. Her analysis of four manuscripts presents an overview of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Qurʾan production in Egypt. In doing so, she uncovers the innovative appropriation of different transregional modes of ornamentation and technique. This moment of formal and artistic consolidation and the narrowing of templates for the Qurʾan is also evident in Simon Rettig's essay. He considers a series of Qurʾanic manuscripts that comprise selected suras. These selections evolved into an iconic form with volumes of individual suras, namely *sura al-Anʿām*, in late fifteenth-century Istanbul. The onset of this new genre was prompted by rituals centered around the person of the Ottoman sultan Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512). These Mamluk and Ottoman examples perhaps highlight to a greater extent than we have so far acknowledged that rulers, princes, and members of the elite may have fostered—or at least prompted—some of the visual choices calligraphers and other artists made to satisfy the need and taste of their patrons.

Artists and Patrons as Tastemakers

This pivotal role of artists in determining the style and format of copies of the Qurʾan appears to be best illustrated by a group of monumental folios, which must have belonged to one of the largest and most impressive Qurʾans ever produced and which are at present scattered in collections across the world (Figure 2).[8] The difficulty in producing—and using—such a massive manuscript begs the question of why it was made in the first place. The late sixteenth-century Persian author Qadi Ahmad provides a possible explanation in his treatise *Gulistan-i Hunar* (Rose Garden of Art) composed around 1600.[9] He relates that the calligrapher ʿUmar Aqtaʾ copied a miniscule Qurʾan, one that could fit within a signet ring. However, this calligraphic feat did not

FIGURE 2. Exhibition *The Art of the Qurʾan: Treasures from the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts*, Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution. Photograph courtesy of Stanley Staniski.

impress Timur, the founder of the Timurid dynasty (r. 1370s–1405), to whom the manuscript was presented. The calligrapher then penned a Qurʾan in which each line measured more than a cubit, and a wheelbarrow was required to deliver it to the ruler's palace. Timur not only accepted this copy but showered ʿUmar Aqtaʾ with praise and favors. A stand corresponding to the book's dimensions can be found outside the Bibi Khanum mosque in Samarqand. It was probably commissioned by Ulugh Beg (d. 1449), Timur's grandson, suggesting the manuscript was displayed and may have been used at the mosque on special occasions. The scale of the folios also relates to the Timurids' monumental architectural patronage.[10] Qadi Ahmad's anecdote underlines how a single text could take multiple material forms, which in turn were governed by the relationships between artists and patrons and a set of nuanced decisions.

Through her focused study of one of the most eminent and influential calligraphers, Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi, Nourane Ben Azzouna begins to unravel the complexities of manuscript production, which was not closely tied to the court. Yaqut's career started under Abbasid caliphal patronage and ended on an ad hoc basis for Ilkhanid viziers and dignitaries. The examination of his works, from both a codicological and paleographic basis, reveals the market forces at play during the second half of his career. At this moment, economic necessity appears to have driven innovation and collaboration. The creation of volumes for anonymous patrons would in turn inform the production of later imperial Ilkhanid manuscripts, thus blurring the lines between commercial and courtly productions. The name of Yaqut continued to resonate during the Timurid and Ottoman periods as the calligrapher was acknowledged by later Persian and Ottoman authors to be the master, who canonized the six calligraphic styles after Ibn Muqla (d. 940) and Ibn al-Bawwab (d. 1022–1023). Through his actual or alleged successors, Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi represents the beginning of the *silsila*s (lineages) of calligraphers, which developed in both Iran and Turkey. As a result, Yaqut's works and those of his disciples were not only avidly sought and collected by rulers, princes, and bibliophiles, but his fame also led to the production of forgeries to the point that their number largely surpasses genuine copies.[11]

Not long after Yaqut's death in 1298–1299, one of the most luxurious Qurʾans ever created was produced. It is the lavish 30-volume set commissioned by the Ilkhanid Sultan Öljeitü (r. 1304–1316) for his tomb at Sultaniyya, which Sheila Blair discusses in her essay. From its full-sized *baghdādī* sheets, elaborate layout, and superb calligraphy, the manuscript served as a testament to the sultan's piety and wealth. By reconstructing the manuscript and uniting folios and volumes now dispersed, Blair examines the set's complex production

as well as its role within the tomb. The essay emphasizes how manuscripts and architecture complemented each other in creating an impressive monument dedicated to the glorification of Öljeitü for centuries after his death. Dated also from the late thirteenth to early fourteenth century, several volumes have been so far loosely ascribed to the "lands of Rum." Cailah Jackson situates these *maṣāḥif* within the larger production context of illuminated manuscripts of medieval Anatolia during the reign of the last Rum Seljuks (1077–1308) by examining the patronage of viziers. She sheds light on the identity of both patrons and artists and thereby presents Anatolia as an important crossroads for copying and illuminating the Qurʾan. On the basis of her findings, Jackson urges the reexamination of manuscripts, which scholars have traditionally attributed to the Ilkhanids or Mamluks on stylistic grounds alone.

Stylistic analysis coupled with original codicological approach, however, can reveal novel information. To this end, Elaine Wright takes a detailed look at a single manuscript from Safavid Iran: the magnificent *muṣḥaf* by the acclaimed calligrapher Ruzbihan. Relying on recent conservation and scientific analysis of the manuscript, Wright analyzes Ruzbihan's creative process and its implications for book production in sixteenth-century Shiraz. Her meticulous approach demonstrates how each *muṣḥaf* was a culmination of religious and practical concerns. The refurbished final pages of the Ruzbihan Qurʾan, which indicate a dramatic aesthetic shift, further affirm the important roles of the artist and the patrons, as well as those of market factors, in the creation of both religious and secular manuscripts.

Qurʾanic Manuscripts as Objects of Performance

Far from representing immobile and passive objects, Qurʾan manuscripts were regularly moved, displayed, stored away, and also read and recited in mosques, tombs, and other religious buildings. For example, a late eighteenth-century engraving of the tomb of Hatice Sultan, the mother of Mehmed IV (r. 1648–1687), depicts three reciters on the floor before the cenotaphs (Figure 3). Interestingly, the reciter on the lower right sits in front of an oblong formatted manuscript, while the two others have a vertical copy, perhaps suggesting that one of the Qurʾans may have been a historic volume in Kufic. Such manuscripts often entered royal collections before they were bequeathed to shrines and places of worship. The act of reading the Qurʾan served as an instantiation of the text's revelation and a reminder of its intrinsic oral nature. It also attests to the unique status of every copy of the Qurʾan as an object imbued with sacredness, which is activated by the recitation of its content. The performative function of the Qurʾan allows the codex to become the terrestrial vehicle for *baraka* (blessing), a special aura that would benefit anyone who would see or touch a copy of the Qurʾan or hear the reciter read from it—a theme central to several essays.[12]

The creation of libraries by the elite and the establishment of religious foundations throughout the Islamic world led to the constitution of collections, private and public, often composed of several thousand volumes.[13] Among these library holdings, the Qurʾan occupies a prominent place. Some manuscripts of ordinary quality were used for learning and study by students and worshippers, although they were always treated with respect and special care. Other volumes had more specific and prestigious functions. We know that particular manuscripts were taken off shelves or out of Qurʾan boxes (*mahfaza*) and shown to larges audiences on special occasions. For instance, large *maṣāḥif* were carried in processions in the streets of Cairo for religious holidays in the Mamluk period, a topic discussed in greater depth by Alison Ohta.[14] By placing manuscripts in particular architectural and religious establishments, she considers the role of these volumes as statements of both grandeur and piety. Sheila Blair paints a similar picture when describing the uninterrupted recitation from sumptuous Qurʾans for the soul of Sultan Öljeitü. A patron's religious affiliation may also have had an impact on the production of a manuscript, such as the Rum Seljuq Qurʾan created for Khalil ibn Mahmud ibn Qaraman in 714/1314–1315. Cailah Jackson's analysis indeed reveals a connection between Khalil and the Mevlevi order, suggesting that he or his family gifted this lavish manuscript to Jalal

FIGURE 3. Tomb of Hatice Sultan, mother of Sultan Mehmed IV. Engraving from Ignatius Mouradgea D'Ohsson (d. 1807), *Tableau Général de l'Empire Othoman*, vol. 1 (Paris: De l'imprimerie de Monsieur, 1787–1790). Photograph courtesy of American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Gennadius Library.

al-Din Rumi's shrine in Konya, where it is still housed today. Her study also highlights the possible role of Sufi fraternities and affiliations in the development of these volumes. This relationship could also explain the notable decision to use Persian rather than Turkish for the interlinear translation.

Advocating for a multisensory approach, Nina Macaraig considers the public recitations of the Qurʾan mandated within Ottoman mosques. Her careful reconstruction of the acoustic techniques and soundscapes of the sacred spaces reminds us that these manuscripts were not static works of art. As physical embodiments of the Word of God, they inspired countless hours of study, devotion, and recitation. Furthermore, these practices had a fundamental impact on architectural design, confirming the importance of the Qurʾanic recitation, which requires a multidisciplinary, multisensorial approach. Rettig's essay equally shows the link between the development of selections of suras and their recitation in the Ottoman context.

FIGURE 4. Qurʾan attributed to ʿUthman ibn ʿAffan, Near East, Abbasid Period, tenth century. Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, TIEM 457, fol. 5a. Image courtesy of the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, Istanbul.

The increasing popularity of reading *sura al-Anʿām* as a prayer for the Ottoman sultan meant these specific volumes would begin to replace codices of the Qurʾan for public recitation in imperial mosques during the reign of Süleyman I (r. 1520–1566). Although reading aloud was the prevailing norm, silent reading was also inherent to some Qurʾanic manuscripts. In this light, Ben Azzouna suggests that the small volumes that Yaqut wrote for anonymous patrons probably served as performative texts in private settings. The marginal vignettes, functioning akin to bookmarkers and guiding prescribed reading plans, further suggest that these codices were part of more personal and intimate pietistic observations.

Qurʾanic Manuscripts as Agents of Power and Prestige

Luxurious Qurʾan manuscripts were not only read and recited; at times their presence also elicited awe, allowing them to be cornerstones of nuanced political and social statements. This idea is perhaps best illustrated by copies associated with ʿUthman ibn ʿAffan (d. 655), the third Rashidun caliph after the Prophet Muhammad. Concerned about regional differences in the recitation of the Qurʾan and possible deviations, ʿUthman commissioned an official, definitive version. Multiple copies were then dispatched to the major regional centers of the nascent Islamic empire (Figure 4).[15] In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, historians and travelers describe an ʿUthmanic *muṣḥaf*, which was kept in a large chest opposite the mihrab

in the Great Mosque of Damascus. After the Friday prayer, the manuscript was brought out, and individuals would crowd around and kiss it. When the populace was under threat—whether from invasion or increased taxation—they would gather at the mosque around the ʿUthmanic Qurʾan and other ancient copies, which were carried through the streets as a plea for deliverance.[16] This reverence for early copies underlines an important dimension of Qurʾanic manuscripts: as the physical manifestation of the Word of God with prestigious provenance, they operated as agents of power. The importance of the optics of gifting, sponsoring, and endowing Qurʾanic manuscripts is expressed in many of the essays in different ways.

The *bibliothecae coranicae* may be one of the earliest examples of the importance of gifting Qurʾans. Déroche states it was very important for a mosque to own a copy of the Qurʾan but perhaps more so to have a large library filled with Qurʾanic volumes, although they likely functioned more as aide-mémoire. The gifting of manuscripts to the holiest sites of Islam served as a powerful political statement, thereby highlighting the association of Qurʾanic volumes with both political power and prestige. In that sense, we can understand why the Abbasid caliph al-Mahdi (r. 775–785) sent a large copy of the Qurʾan he had commissioned to the Prophet's Mosque in Medina. This volume would then physically and visually supplant the one previously endowed by the Umayyad governor of Iraq, al-Hajjaj ibn Yusuf (d. 714), which was kept in the sanctuary. As Déroche argues, this double act of patronage and substitution makes the Qurʾan both a symbol of Abbasid legitimacy and a constant reminder of the dynasty's authority.

In later periods, Qurʾans continue to feature prominently in the religious self-fashioning of Muslim polities.[17] For example, in 1567, on the occasion of the enthronement of the Ottoman sultan Selim II (r. 1566–1574), the Safavid shah Tahmasp I (r. 1524–1576) sent from Iran, among other gifts, a copy of the Qurʾan transcribed in Kufic allegedly by ʿAli ibn Abi Talib (d. 661).[18] Considered not only the rightful successor of the Prophet Muhammad and the first Imam in the Shiʿi tradition, ʿAli was also recognized as the "inventor" of Arabic and Qurʾanic calligraphy.[19] As Shiʿis, the Safavid rulers considered themselves more legitimate than their Sunni Ottoman neighbors. Given these sectarian tensions, the Safavids may have intended to send a subtle message to the Ottomans by linking physical copies of the holy text of Islam to ʿAli and his family as an expression of the Safavid claim for spiritual authority.[20] Such intentions became even more obvious seven years later when Shah Tahmasp sent another *muṣḥaf* for Murad III's coronation. Completed in 1538 by the celebrated calligrapher Shah Mahmud Nishapuri (d. 1564–1565), this volume was entirely penned in *nastaʿlīq*, a codified non-Qurʾanic script that developed in fourteenth-century Iran mainly for copying works in Persian (Figure 5). By the sixteenth century, *nastaʿlīq* had become synonymous with Iran as the visual embodiment of the Persian language. The Safavid gift, then, may not have been fortuitous or innocent. The Ottomans certainly recognized its symbolic message: the use of *nastaʿlīq* associated Islam with Iran and could be understood as a visual means to legitimize Safavid religious ambition and the dynasty's efforts to assert its authority to lead the global Muslim community.

Whether received as gifts or taken as spoils of war, older copies of the Qurʾan were particularly revered. It may be difficult to ascertain whether these volumes were used for recitation in mosques and tombs, but the Ottoman elite clearly considered them prized possessions. Some copies bear indications of subsequent use. In 1574, Ismihan, the daughter of Selim II, endowed to her father's tomb a copy of the Qurʾan created in 1517, possibly for Selim I (r. 1512–1520). The Qurʾan was to be explicitly used for recitation in the tomb to benefit the soul of the deceased.[21] Another illuminated Qurʾan by the sixteenth-century vizier Ferhad Pasha, a student of Ahmad Karahisari, dated 1571[22] was endowed to the mausoleum of Sultan Abdülhamid I (r. 1774–1789). The sultan himself noted that the volume should "be read at his own tomb." These two cases illustrate how older copies were endowed and used for recitation and that donors did not necessarily commission new copies for this purpose. There is, however, a notable exception: contemporaneous volumes were specifically created in the mosque at Medina to be thereafter sent to other cities within the Ottoman empire and endowed to shrines. The practice of copying the Qurʾan in the Prophet's Mosque may have developed to draw upon the *baraka* of the sanctuary due to the proximity to the tomb of Muhammad.[23]

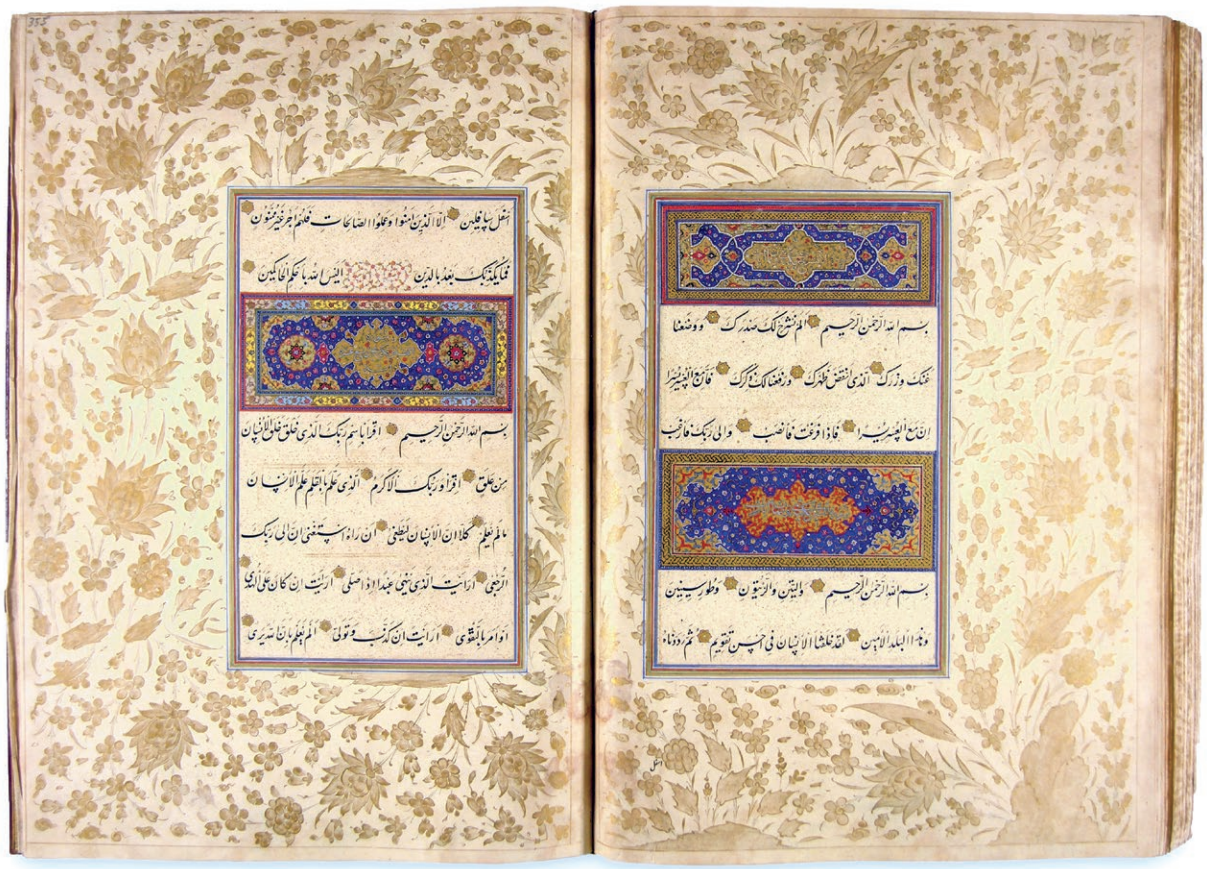


FIGURE 5. Qurʾan signed by Shah Mahmud Nishapuri and illuminated by Hasan al-Baghdadi, Iran, Safavid Period, 1538. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, E.H. 25, fols. 355b–356a. Image © The Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, The Directorate of National Palaces Administration.

Several essays in the present volume highlight the afterlives and the multiple lives of manuscripts.[24] For instance, Blair discusses how Öljeitü's 30-volume Qurʾan created in Baghdad was later reused. Taken from the tomb, some sections (*juzʾ*, pl. *ajzāʾ*) underwent complicated journeys from Sultaniyya to Istanbul and were eventually scattered around the world. The journeys of the various volumes in this particular set show that their later functions differed and depended not only on their new locations and owners but also on the symbolic resonances they conveyed. Similarly, Macaraig's essay reveals the need to consider how the power of historic volumes could be activated through recitation programs. She uses the example of a *muṣḥaf* penned by calligrapher ʿAbd al-Qadir ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhab ibn Shahmir al-Husayni in Shiraz around 1580. The copy was endowed by Sultan Ahmed III (r. 1703–1730) in 1719–1720 to the Atik Valide Mosque in Istanbul. At a later point, the manuscript must have been transferred to the Mihrimah Sultan Mosque. Three other copies penned by ʿAbd al-Wahhab are in Istanbul, and four are in Mashhad, two of which appear to have been made in Shiraz. They were exported to the Deccan and then returned to Iran as gifts and royal endowments.[25]

This continuous use and reuse of Qurʾanic manuscripts emphasize their central role in unifying large geographic expanses to the present day. As mentioned by Karame, in an act of cultural diplomacy, in 2012 the Topkapı Palace Museum Library offered a facsimile of a Ghaznavid volume to the Library of the Parliament of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Acknowledging the gift, the parliament speaker remarked on the ability of the Qurʾan to unify Muslim nations.[26] In this transfiguration, the history of this *juzʾ*—from its creation as part of a multivolume set in eleventh-century Afghanistan, its later endowment to an unknown institution, and the smudging of the names of the Prophet's companions, likely in Safavid Iran, to its eventual arrival

in the Ottoman imperial library—was reduced to its fundamental essence: a treasured embodiment of the Qurʾan. This episode underscores the duality inherent in every historic copy of the Qurʾan: the physicality of the book-object and the intangibility of the text as the Word of God.

Conclusion

In their respective ways, the authors of this volume repeatedly underscore the need to treat Qurʾanic manuscripts as distinct works and inflections of different regional traditions, historical moments, and artistic concerns. The layered meaning of each copy also underscores the importance of expanding the field, both geographically and temporally. The conference mostly focused on works featured in *The Art of the Qurʾan* exhibition and therefore limited its scope to an area extending from Istanbul in the West and Herat in the East. Despite the numerous studies of the past decades, little is still known about Qurʾanic codices, and many more doors remain to be opened. This is particularly true for regions that fell outside the purview of the exhibition and symposium, such as the western Mediterranean world,[27] sub-Saharan Africa,[28] South Asia,[29] Southeast Asia,[30] and China.[31] The study of these traditions is critical because more than any other work of art, Qurʾanic manuscripts can serve as nodal points of the interconnected manuscript cultures of the Islamic world and provide vital information for understanding its religious and visual cultures.

The essays make clear that each Qurʾan manuscript was not created in isolation but was part of a larger cultural, artistic, and political nexus. The decorative features of the Umayyad folios correlate with contemporaneous mosaics of the Dome of the Rock. The style of script by calligrapher ʿAli in the 485/1092 Ghaznavid Qurʾan is similar to that of the inscriptions on the dados of the palace of Masʿud III (r. 492–508/1098–1114). Similarly, Mamluk decorative forms appear on Cairene architecture and in manuscript frontispieces, often commissioned by the sultans. Ottoman endowment records reveal how each manuscript would have contributed to the rich soundscape, further intertwining the manuscripts with their architectural settings. In the same vein, the celebrated Ottoman calligraphers Shaykh Hamdullah (d. 1520) and Ahmed Karahisari penned Qurʾanic volumes to be read by or recited for sultans Bayezid II and Süleyman I, and they also conceived architectural religious inscriptions. Thus, Qurʾanic writings on the page and on the wall mirror each other visually in the same space. Moreover, each copy embodies an enormous level of investment of time and resources. For instance, hundreds of sheep were sacrificed to create parchment for Umayyad and Abbasid Qurʾans. Extraordinary amounts of polished paper and gold were needed for the sumptuous 30-volume Qurʾans destined for the mausoleum of Öljeitü at Sultaniyya. With the growing focus on historicizing production, one is able to see these volumes as indices of wider manuscript cultures and artistic milieus, shaped by individual motivations. As such, the diversity of styles in Rum Seljuq Anatolia testifies to both the agency of artists and the circulation of forms. Another example can be seen in Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi's calligraphic experimentation, which was driven by pragmatic necessity in late thirteenth-century Baghdad. Likewise, several hundred years later, Ruzbihan's production in Safavid Shiraz reveals the enduring commercial output and commodification of manuscripts of the Qurʾan. In that sense, one must understand these volumes as part and parcel of a larger economy of secular and religious manuscripts.

Finally, technology has changed how we investigate manuscripts. As Wright illustrates, conservation and scientific analysis are offering new insight into process and production. Blair's research was facilitated by the growing number of online resources, which will continue to foster holistic studies of now dispersed folios. Traditional publications and print catalogs privileged select illuminated pages, but the increasing trend to digitize entire manuscripts encourages, at present, a more interdisciplinary approach to their study. As the content of collections around the world becomes more known and available, we can only look forward to a future when the multifarious and enduring manuscript traditions of the Qurʾan receive the careful and meticulous attention and analysis they deserve.

Acknowledgments

We thank Julian Raby, Massumeh Farhad, Zeynep Simavi, Nancy Micklewright, Chase F. Robinson, and the anonymous peer reviewers for their encouragements and valuable comments. The conference was made possible in part through the support of the El-Hibri Foundation. We thank the Embassy of the Republic of Turkey in Washington, D.C., for hosting the keynote lecture by Jane McAuliffe.

Notes

1. For a brief overview of exhibitions of Qurʾanic manuscripts in Europe and the United States, see Massumeh Farhad and Simon Rettig, eds., *The Art of the Qurʾan: Treasures from the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art* (Washington, D.C.: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, 2016), 19–23.
2. For the history of this collection, see Edhem Eldem, "The Genesis of the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts," in Farhad and Rettig, *Art of the Qurʾan*, 118–139.
3. Three earlier conferences stressed the need to focus on the Qurʾan as a material object; see *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*, 59 (2006); Fahmida Suleman, ed., *Word of God, Art of Man* (Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 2007); and Éloïse Brac de la Perrière and Monique Burési, eds., *Le coran de Gwalior: Polysémie d'un manuscrit à peintures* (Paris: Éditions de Boccard, 2016). The *Journal of Qur'ānic Studies* and the *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* have both been essential platforms for advancing the material study of the Qurʾan and introducing a more interdisciplinary approach.
4. Simon Rettig, "Shaping the Word of God: Visual Codifications of the Qurʾan between 1000 and 1700," in Farhad and Rettig, *Art of the Qurʾan*, 77–78.
5. Esin Atıl, *The Age of Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1987), 53–58. Nourane Ben Azzouna recently argued that the style of the script is ordinary and that the copy, albeit ancient, is not from the hand of al-Sayrafi. Nourane Ben Azzouna, *Aux origines du classicisme: Calligraphes et bibliophiles au temps des dynasties mongoles (Les Ilkhanides et les Djalayrides, 656–814 / 1258–1411)*, Islamic Manuscripts and Books Series 17 (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2018), 650–651.
6. Ben Azzouna, *Aux origines du classicisme*, 29–30, n. 54.
7. Between the time of the conference in 2016 and the publication of the present volume, François Déroche has published a new book on the genesis and transmission of the Qurʾanic text in both its oral and written forms. François Déroche, *Le Coran, une histoire plurielle: Essai sur la formation du texte coranique* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2019). See in particular chapter 4, "La leçon des manuscrits," 169–229.
8. Farhad and Rettig, *Art of the Qurʾan*, 223–225. Now trimmed, they originally measured about 225 × 150 cm.
9. Vladimir Minorsky, trans., *Calligraphers and Painters: A Treatise by Qāḍī Aḥmad Son of Mīr-Munsī*, Freer Occasional Papers 3 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1959), 64. Lentz and Lowry were among the first scholars to link these folios to Timur; see Thomas Lentz and Glenn D. Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision: Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1989), 329, cat. nos. 6a–6b.
10. Sheila Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 265–267.
11. Ben Azzouna has compiled a preliminary and nonexhaustive list of dubious copies and provided insightful explanations on the reasons why they are not authentic. See Ben Azzouna, *Aux origines du classicisme*, 621–654.
12. Massumeh Farhad, "Introduction," in Farhad and Rettig, *Art of the Qurʾan*, 33–36.
13. Konrad Hirschler, *The Written Word in the Medieval Arabic Lands: A Social and Cultural History of Reading Practices* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 164–197; and İsmail Erünsal, *Ottoman Libraries: A Survey of the History, Development and Organization of Ottoman Foundational Libraries* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 2008), 9–44.

14. For example, Maqrizi mentions the procession from the Saʿid al-Suʿadaʾ khanaqah to the mosque of al-Hakim every Friday, which would attract a crowd wishing to gain *baraka* from watching them. They walked in silence with Qurʾan volumes, which they would read at the mosque and make a prayer for Sultan Salah al-Din (r. 1174–1193), who had endowed the khanaqah; see Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Maqrīzī, *Al-mawāʾiẓ waʾl-iʾtibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ waʾl-āthār*, ed. Muḥammad Zaynhum and Madīḥa al-Sharqāwī (Cairo: Maktaba Madbuli, 1998), 3:571.

15. For the history of ʿUthmanic volumes, see Claude Gilliot, "Creation of a Fixed Text," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Qurʾān*, ed. Jane Dammen McAuliffe (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 45–46; and Travis Zadeh, "From Drops of Blood: Charisma and Political Legitimacy in the Translatio of the ʿUthmānic Codex of Al-Andalus," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 39 (2008): 321–346.

16. Josef Meri, "Aspects of Baraka (Blessings) and Ritual Devotion among Medieval Muslims and Jews," *Medieval Encounters: Jewish, Christian and Muslim Culture in Confluence and Dialogue* 5, no. 1 (1999): 47–49.

17. Doris Behrens-Abouseif was able to trace the gifting of 16 luxury Qurʾan manuscripts by Muslim rulers, from the Marinids to the Safavids, and their implications within her study of Mamluk diplomacy; see Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Practicing Diplomacy in the Mamluk Sultanate: Gifts and Material Culture in the Medieval Islamic World* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2014), 54–55, 62, 66, 69, 72, 79, 82, 130, 150, 173–175.

18. This copy has not yet been precisely identified, although a fragment in a private collection was recently presented as a possible candidate. See Linda Komaroff, ed., *Gifts of the Sultan: The Arts of Giving at the Islamic Courts* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2011), 18–19, 261, cat. no. 148.

19. Minorsky, *Calligraphers and Painters*, 44.

20. Farhad and Rettig, *Art of the Qurʾan*, 158.

21. Whether these historic volumes were used for recitation in mosques and tombs is unclear, but it is clear the Ottoman elite considered them prized possessions; see Farhad and Rettig, *Art of the Qurʾan*, cat. nos. 55, 60.

22. Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, TIEM 388, Istanbul. See Farhad and Rettig, *Art of the Qurʾan*, 332–335, cat. no. 60.

23. A Qurʾan copied in Medina in 1574 was soon after endowed by Grand Vizier Sokullu Mehmed Pasha (d. 1579) to his mosque in Istanbul. See Farhad and Rettig, *Art of the Qurʾan*, 336–337, cat. no. 61.

24. These inquiries follow trends in the wider field of Islamic Manuscripts studies; see, for example, "The History of Books and Collections through Manuscript Notes," special issue, *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 9, nos. 2–3 (2018).

25. Farhad and Rettig, *Art of the Qurʾan*, 293.

26. For the event, see "Tehran Unveils Copy of Quran Manuscript from Topkapi Museum," https://www.turkishnews.com/en/content/2012/02/07/tehran-unveils-copy-of-quran-manuscript-from-topkapi-museum (accessed 29 April 2018).

27. For recent scholarship, see Arianna D'Ottone Rambach, "The Blue Koran. A Contribution to the Debate on Its Possible Origin and Date," *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 8, no. 2 (2017): 127–143; Jeremy Johns, "The Palermo Quran (AH 372/982–3 CE) and Its Historical Context," in *The Aghlabids and Their Neighbors: Art and Material Culture in Ninth-Century North Africa*, ed. Glaire Anderson, Corisande Fenwick, and Mariam Rosser-Owen (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2017), 587–610; Cheryl Porter, "The Materiality of the Blue Quran: A Physical and Technological Study," in Anderson et al., *Aghlabids and Their Neighbors*, 573–586; and Umberto Bongianino, "Quelques remarques sur l'origine des écritures coraniques arrondies en Al-Andalus (Ve/XIe-VIe/XIIe siècles)," *Al-Qantara* 38, no. 2 (2018): 153–187. A special issue of the *Journal of Qurʾanic Studies* entitled "Qurʾanic Manuscripts in the Western Islamic World" and edited by Nuria Martinez de Castilla was published in 2017.

28. For an overview of sub-Saharan African Qurʾanic manuscripts, see Sheila Blair, "Arabic Calligraphy in West Africa," in *The Meanings of Timbuktu*, ed. Shamil Jeppie and Souleymane Bachir Diagne (Cape Town, South Africa: CODESRIA/HSRC, 2008), 59–75. More recent studies include Constant Hamès, "Sura Headings and Subdivisions in Qurʾan Manuscripts from Sub-Saharan Africa: Variations and Historical Implications," *Journal of Qurʾanic Studies* 15, no. 3 (2013), 232–252; Andrea Brigaglia and Mauro Nobili, eds., *The Arts and*

Crafts of Literacy: Islamic Manuscript Cultures in Sub-Saharan Africa (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017); Sana Mirza, "The Visual Resonances of a Harari Qurʾān: An 18th century Ethiopian Manuscript and Its Indian Ocean Connections," *Afriques* 8 (2017) [no page nos.]; and Zulfikar Hijri, ed., *Approaches to the Qurʾan in Sub-Saharan Africa* (Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 2019).

29. Although South Asian Qurʾans are regularly included in collection and exhibition catalogs, there are few publications on them. For the pre-Mughal period, see Éloïse Brac de la Perrière, "The Art of the Book in India under the Sultanates," in *After Timur Left: Culture and Circulation in Fifteenth-Century North India*, ed. Francesca Orsini and Samira Sheikh (Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 2014), 301–338; Brac de la Perrière and Burési, *Le coran de Gwalior*; and Éloïse Brac de la Perrière, "Manuscripts in Bihari Calligraphy: Preliminary Remarks on a Little-Known Corpus," *Muqarnas* 33 (2016): 63–90.

30. Recent scholarship includes Annabel Teh Gallop, "Islamic Manuscripts from the Philippines in U.S. Collections: A Preliminary Listing," *Our Own Voice* (blog), April 2011 http://www.oovrag.com /bibliography/bibliography13.shtml (accessed 29 April 2018); Idries Trevathan and Rajabi Abdul Razak, "The 19th-Century Malay Qurān: A Comparative Study of Materials and Techniques," *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 1, no. 1 (2010): 79–94; Ali Akbar, "The Influence of Ottoman Qurʾans in Southeast Asia through the Ages," in *From Anatolia to Aceh: Ottomans, Turks and Southeast Asia*, ed. A. C. S. Peacock and Annabel Teh Gallop (Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 2015), 311–334; and Annabel Teh Gallop, "The Appreciation and Study of Qurʾan Manuscripts from Southeast Asia: Past, Present, and Future," *International Journal of Religious Literature and Heritage* 4, no. 2 (2015): 195–212.

31. Studies on Chinese Qurʾans have tended to be interdisciplinary and focus on calligraphy; see Sadiq Javer, "Space and Calligraphy in the Chinese Mosque," in *Calligraphy and Architecture in the Muslim World*, ed. Mohammad Gharipour and Irvin Cemil Schick (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), 400–415; Barbara Stöcker-Parnian, "Calligraphy in Chinese Mosques: At the Intersection of Arabic and Chinese Calligraphy," in Gharipour and Schick, *Calligraphy and Architecture*, 139–158; and Kristian Peterson, *Interpreting Islam in China: Pilgrimage, Scripture, and Language in the Han Kitab*, AAR Academy Series (Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 2017).

Asṭār al-awwalīn: The Qurʾanic Handwritten Tradition and Its Beginnings

François Déroche

A famous scholar from Medina, the jurisconsult Malik b. Anas (d. 796), was asked about the fate of ʿUthman's original copy of the Qurʾan. He flatly answered that it had already vanished by his lifetime.[1] However, from an early date, we hear of manuscripts known as the "*muṣḥaf* of ʿUthman": in a ceremony that took place in 979, we are told that the caliph had a *muṣḥaf* of ʿUthman in front of him,[2] and a manuscript described in the same way was already venerated in Damascus by the end of the twelfth century.[3] There is no direct evidence about the general appearance of these volumes and, more importantly, of what their script looked like. Judging by the few copies known today as a "*muṣḥaf* of ʿUthman," we must admit that the scripts of the first decades of Islam were so well forgotten by the twelfth century that any seemingly "ancient" and nice copy could have apparently been accepted as a relic of the beginnings of Islam.

The writing down of the Qurʾan was a crucial step in the history of Islam, and its most famous episode is the compilation of the text ordered by the caliph ʿUthman (r. 644–656). The accounts we have do not provide any information about the material aspect of the manuscripts that were produced at that time. They do not indicate, for instance, the variety of the Arabic script used for these first copies of the sacred text, which may explain why, with the exception of al-Nadim (d. ca. 995) in his *Fihrist* (Catalog), the knowledge about the early scripts was lost. Medieval historians reduced them to the generic term of "Kufic," which certainly accounts for the fact that later Qurʾanic manuscripts could so easily be regarded as ʿUthmanic. Even a textual aspect of much importance, the state of the *rasm*, or consonantal skeleton of the Qurʾan, was partly forgotten, and the treatises written later on that topic do not reflect accurately the earliest stage of the transmission and actually mix up information from different chronological layers.[4]

However, a body of material evidence throws light on these early developments, on what could be called by a twisted reference to the Qurʾan *asṭār al-awwalīn*, the "lines of the ancients." Legal concerns regarding the fate of damaged manuscripts of the Qurʾan led to the preservation of early witnesses in genizah-like storage places located in great mosques in the heart of various cities. This legal frame, known through an Ottoman treatise,[5] certainly draws upon earlier views. It explains why four such structures, containing hundreds of manuscripts or fragmentary volumes, have been reported. This wealth of material allows us to get an increasingly precise view of the beginnings of the Qurʾanic handwritten transmission. I shall concentrate here on the Umayyad and early Abbasid periods.

One of these major early structures was the deposit kept in the Umayyad mosque in Damascus, most of which is now part of the holdings of the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts (TIEM) in Istanbul. The collection became known in the West thanks to Johann Wetzstein, who acquired in the 1850s some fragments he later sold to the Berlin and Tübingen libraries.[6] It was obviously familiar to locals before the mid-nineteenth century as some items were pilfered at an earlier date. Muslim bibliophiles or relic collectors probably removed some material, as they did at the Great Mosque of Fustat, Egypt. Fustat is the second-oldest deposit, but the first one to have been noted by Western scholars and collectors.[7] By the end of the nineteenth century, a third deposit was identified in Tunisia. In 1897, an Egyptian traveler drew attention to the presence of a large number of folios in the Great Mosque of Kairouan kept without any care in two large cabinets.[8] In these

three cases, the material is now scattered among various collections around the world. As a result, we need a solid typology in order to bring folios that were once part of the same volumes together again. The fourth and last deposit, in Sanaʿa, Yemen, is slightly different, at least for the moment. It was discovered at the beginning of the 1970s, and although some leaves may have been taken away, the majority are still kept in Sanaʿa.[9] With the exception of the Fustat material, which is rather well cataloged,[10] the Qurʾanic manuscripts and fragments from Damascus, Kairouan, and Sanaʿa are still known only partially. Because they represent an enormous quantity of documents, scholars are able to establish reliable groupings and therefore produce typologies for the scripts, illumination, and codicological characteristics.

The description of these four deposits as genizah may be slightly misleading, for it conjures up the image of the famous Cairo repository, with its massive trove of heterogeneous archival material. These four structures are almost exclusively libraries or, more precisely, Qurʾanic libraries. In fact, it is still difficult to grasp their very specific nature. Here the collections in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF) may provide a helpful comparison. The BnF houses a large number of Qurʾanic fragments, which document the presence of more than 250 copies of the Qurʾan in Fustat, dating from the seventh to the tenth centuries.[11] Since the middle of the nineteenth century, they have been stored not very far from the rich collection of Carolingian manuscripts, including the Christian scriptures, all roughly contemporaneous with the Fustat Qurʾanic material. A survey of the Carolingian Bibles and New Testaments enumerates a total of 70 copies,[12] which were collected from various places, a striking imbalance if we remember that the Qurʾanic manuscripts all come from the same deposit. A comparison of the Fustat fragments with the Carolingian library at Saint Gallen in Switzerland, which remains more or less intact to this day, shows even further disparity. The latter includes 39 manuscripts with biblical contents,[13] but only one with both the Bible and the New Testament. Fustat is by no means an isolated case. In Sanaʿa, for instance, 926 different Qurʾanic copies on parchment were identified.[14] These observations leave aside other issues such as the use of the manuscripts and their patronage, but they underline the massive character of the production of the *muṣḥaf* during the first centuries of Islam.

Some sources provide information about this issue, yet their scope is limited insofar as they focus on particular items or simply list scripts that cannot be clearly associated with the surviving material evidence.[15] Medieval authors recorded the names of various styles of scripts, but without precise examples matching their descriptions.[16] Although these sources provide the identity of copyists active in the first three or four centuries of Islam, the earliest known preserved genuine colophon of a *muṣḥaf* dates from the tenth century. Also, to this day, no early colophon contains any information about the script the copyist used.

In the absence of such direct evidence, paleography may be seen as the discipline allowing us to ascribe a date and place of origin to a manuscript. Progress has certainly been made in the dating of these early Qurʾanic copies. Indeed, stylistic groupings, developed on the basis of paleographic analysis, can provide an answer for the date.[17] Carbon-14 analysis, the results of which cannot yet be considered entirely reliable and thus should be taken with caution, has also contributed to the setting up of a tentative chronology.[18] Mapping the production of early Qurʾanic manuscripts still eludes us, and no place connected with a given manuscript has been precisely identified. Most of the material with an established provenance (i.e., the aforementioned four collections) comes from an area west of Baghdad. Yet recent discoveries in Iran have revealed new material of great interest that contradicts the common belief that no early Qurʾanic manuscript was to be found in the region. Of course, place of safekeeping cannot be equated with place of production, unless there is further evidence to support it.[19]

The various materials said to have been used for the transcription of the successive revelations during Muhammad's lifetime did not include the codex, the most common form of book at that time in the eastern Mediterranean. It was definitely adopted as the physical support for the Qurʾanic text not long after his death, if we accept the traditional account of the events, when the decision was made to produce the final record (or records since various compilations of Muhammad's teachings were produced by the middle of the seventh century).[20] This adoption of the codex by the nascent Muslim community implied contacts with

people familiar with the techniques of copying and creating books. In the second half of the seventh century or at the beginning of the eighth century, the Arabic expression *bayna al-lawḥayn* (between two covers) became a way of designating the contents of the *muṣḥaf*: it is an obvious reference to the bindings using wooden boards, very common in earlier manuscript traditions. Muslim sources further acknowledge that Christian scribes were involved in the transcription of copies of the Qurʾan.[21]

The early scripts designated as *Ḥijāzī*, a reference to the region in northwestern Arabia where Mecca and Medina are located—although it does not mean that they were used exclusively in the Hijaz—reflect a stage of development when individual hands and practices were not perceived as problematic. One manuscript produced during the second half of the seventh century testifies to the collaboration of a team of copyists (Figures 1, 2). Five hands are clearly recognizable, not only from the shape of the letters but also from the different writing implements each of them used.[22] When we try today to estimate the number of preserved copies from this period, this idea of a collaborative work must be taken into consideration. For example, two isolated folios that are the same size but certainly written with two different versions of *Ḥijāzī* may well have been part of the same manuscript.[23] However, unless both hands appear on the same folio or bifolio, it is impossible to know whether they were originally associated in the production of the same codex or worked independently on two different copies. In spite of a close relationship between the *Ḥijāzī* and the scripts found on early Arabic papyri, the Qurʾanic text may have been subjected to a *mise en ligne* differing from

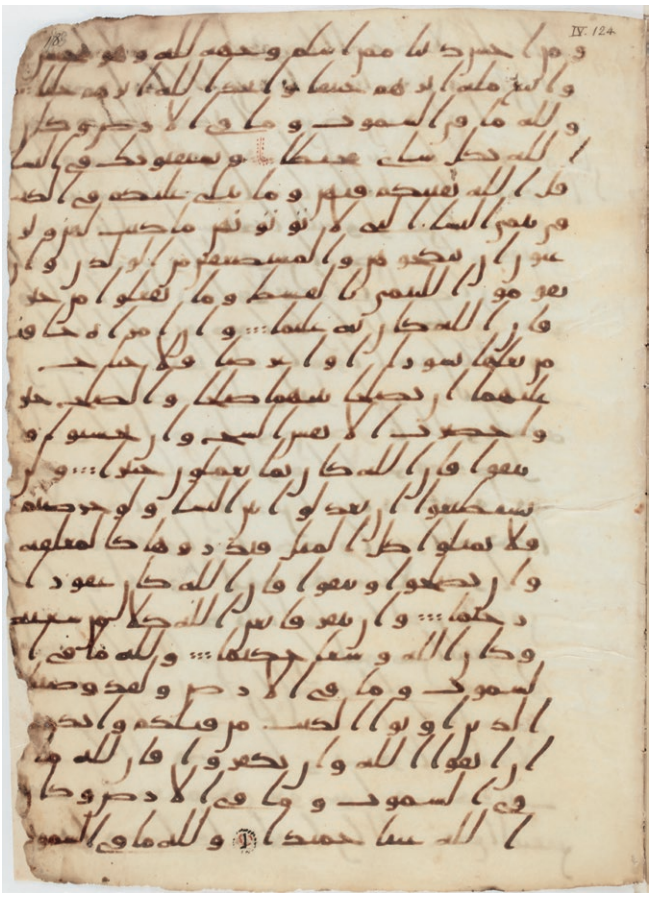


FIGURE 1. Folio copied by hand A (Q. 4:125–132). Copy of the Qurʾan known as the *Codex Parisino-petropolitanus*, Near East, Umayyad Period, third quarter of the seventh century. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arabe 328a, fol. 18a. Image courtesy of Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

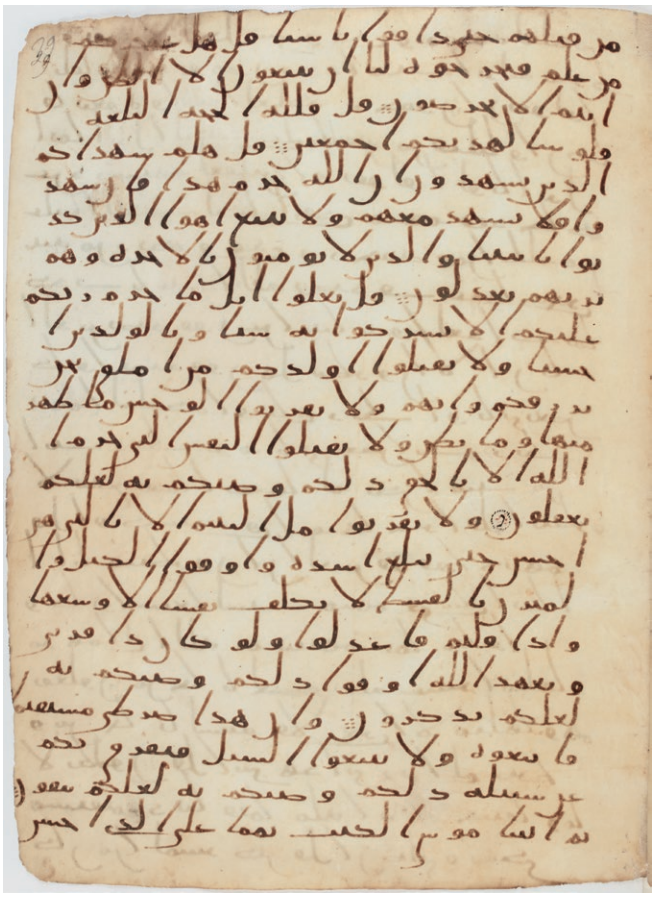


FIGURE 2. Folio copied by hand B (Q. 6:148–154). Copy of the Qurʾan known as the *Codex Parisino-petropolitanus*, Near East, Umayyad Period, third quarter of the seventh century. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arabe 328a, fol. 29a. Image courtesy of Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

that found on documents, the book hands following the rules of spacing typical of the Late Antique *scriptio continua*—adapted, of course, to the Arabic script specificities. Textual features and ^{14}C results support dating this first stage of manuscript production to the second half of the seventh century, although this date must be taken cautiously.[24]

These copies do not seem to have been fully satisfying or appropriate for at least part of the Muslim community because the production of a new type of *muṣḥaf* began in the last decades of the seventh century. Two illuminated copies, one found in the Fustat deposit and the other among the early Qurʾanic manuscripts from Damascus,[25] provide some clues about the date of their creation. The illuminations contain obvious Umayyad elements as well as motifs also found in mosaics of seventh- and early eighth-century churches excavated in Jordan.[26] The script itself, which I called *O I*, shares several features with the inscriptions of Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 685–705). It is also found in other copies (Figure 3), suggesting a dramatic change from the previous stage of the highly individual features of the *Ḥijāzī* script that characterized the production of Qurʾanic copies until then. The similitude is not only a matter of the shape of letters or mise-en-page; it also has to do with the line module the various copyists used. The largest copies have 25 lines per page, like the Fustat codex. However, other copies have a smaller number of lines, some of them only 16, which could point to multivolume sets. Despite this variation, the module for all these scripts remains fairly consistent. Apart from two cases, the lines measure between 10 and 12.7 mm in height. Interestingly enough, it seems that there is no correlation between the dimensions of the page and the size of the script module. For instance, in the largest fragment in TIEM ŞE 71 (41.2 × 36 cm; 25 lines), a line is 12.7 mm high, very close to that of ŞE 10670 (12.5 mm), although the latter is written on substantially smaller folios (24.1 × 19.3 cm; 16 lines).[27] The various manuscripts were certainly not the work of a single copyist, as some peculiarities suggest that they were produced by multiple scribes. Nonetheless, these men shared a common repertoire and used similar tools for writing.

The paleographic homogeneity found in this group of manuscripts provides a fresh view of the transformations the Arabic script and the *muṣḥaf* underwent by the late seventh and early eighth centuries. Two aspects seem especially important. First, anonymous script professionals subjected the Arabic script to a complete and specific redesigning. Second, the script that emerged from that process was spread among the copyists transcribing the Qurʾan. This may imply that the Umayyad ruling elite played a role in its diffusion; they may even have exerted some form of control over the whole process of book production.[28] The references, such as the same letter shapes and some shared practices, among those who transcribed these *maṣāḥif* suggest that some sort of teaching or training had been implemented for copyists and calligraphers. The consistent size and mise-en-page of the largest copies can be seen to be the result of official patronage, with some examples mentioned in written sources.[29] The variety of the fragments preserved, ranging from the elegant Fustat codex to more common copies, indicates that this style was popular and its usage was not restricted to manuscripts commissioned by the elite or to official patronage under the Umayyads. Calligraphy, in connection with hierography, that is to say, a script dedicated to the transcription of the sacred text, had clearly started to become a specific feature of copies of the Qurʾan.

The production of Qurʾanic manuscripts drew the attention of jurists as the *muṣḥaf* had to comply with their legal opinions. At the beginning, for obvious reasons of availability, non-Muslim craftsmen were involved in the production of copies of the Qurʾanic text. Information about this situation derives from a legal issue that is of primary importance for understanding the economy of the book: was it lawfully permitted to charge for the transcription of the Qurʾan? Muslim scholars discussed this point and referred to cases in which Christian copyists were involved.[30] Although they were probably working according to their own technical traditions, these scribes may have avoided ingredients that should not have been utilized in Islamic context. For instance, ink recipes including wine were probably discarded.

Materials were a subject of discussion. In an occurrence recounted by al-Nadim, the pious Umayyad caliph ʿUmar II (r. 717–720) turned down because of its price a copy written in gold letters he commissioned

FIGURE 3. Bifolio from a copy of the Qurʾan written in *O I* script, Near East, Umayyad Period. Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, ŞE 10670, folio not numbered. Image courtesy of Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, Istanbul.

from a calligrapher.[31] In addition to the link that may be established with both the issue of the fees and a controversy about the sums paid by the Umayyads for some copies, this account indicates that there was some debate about the materials involved in book production. In the second half of the eighth century, Malik b. Anas stated that gold should be avoided in Qurʾanic copies, but he saw no objection to the use of silver for illumination. He apparently had a copy made by his grandfather with silver ornaments.[32] In the manuscripts themselves, there is almost no trace of silver, but the absence of the precious metal may be due to technical problems inherent in its use. Silver is also known to have been used for the decoration of bindings, as well as on textiles.[33] Unfortunately, all the bindings that survived seem to be later and are all covered with leather. On the other hand, gold was present on some of the early Umayyad manuscripts discussed previously. For instance, the illuminators of the Damascus and Fustat codices used gold; in the latter, gold is also employed for *abjad* numbers indicating the groups of 10 verses. A manuscript from Sanaʿa shows decoration in gold as well.[34] The usage of gold in Qurʾanic illumination eventually disappeared in the late Umayyad and early Abbasid periods.[35] It then became quite prominent again in ninth-century copies of the Qurʾan.

Last, Malik b. Anas condemned the change of orthography, the use of the dots indicating the short vowels—except for teaching purposes—and the division of the *muṣḥaf* into multivolume sets.[36] In spite of Malik's position, these changes were to remain part of the handwritten transmission of the Qurʾan. The last one is optional, and single-volume *maṣāḥif* can be found next to multivolume sets, from 2 to 60. The other two address a question supposedly solved by the writing down of the Qurʾan under ʿUthman's reign, namely, producing a written text that would eliminate discrepancies between Muslims. An examination of the earliest copies shows that they were unable to reach that goal, and the reforms of the orthography as well as the invention of colored dots noting the short vowels were intended to "close" the text as much as possible. However, its recitation was already very diversified. The science of the readings (*qirāʾāt*) gave birth to a specialized literature, and the text was finally closed by Ibn Mujahid's reform at the beginning of the tenth century.[37]

Malik was voicing his concerns at a date later than the manuscripts under discussion here, but he was probably echoing debates that started earlier. Another script, which I called *B I*,[38] is also found in several copies of the Qurʾan (Figure 4). It might be contemporaneous with *O I* but circulated in other circles. The script itself can be related to the *Ḥijāzī* style, yet it would represent a later development. In the first stage of its

FIGURE 4. Qurʾanic text written in *B I* (Q. 68:42–70:13). Two sections from a Qurʾan, Near East, Late Umayyad or Early Abbasid Period. Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, ŞE 80, fols. 48b–49a. Image courtesy of Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, Istanbul.

evolution, the slanting of the shafts—of the *alif*, for instance—remained a characteristic feature of the script. It is found in several copies, which suggests that the highly individual nature of the early *Ḥijāzī* style no longer prevailed and that the copyists were trained to use the *B I* script, as was the case for their colleagues who transcribed copies of the Qurʾan in *O I* script. Some features are, in fact, common to both scripts: horizontal strokes filling the end of a line where necessary allowed the copyists to create a vertical line on the left-hand side of the writing surface. In parallel, the margins, which were conspicuously absent from copies in *Ḥijāzī* style, began to be part of the aesthetics of the *muṣḥaf* page. However, ornaments found in *B I* copies are quite subdued in comparison with those associated with *O I*, such as in the Damascus and Fustat codices.

Both manuscripts are important for the information they provide as well as for the chronological implications they entail. They show a dramatic change in the conception of the *muṣḥaf*, reflecting Umayyad attempts to control the visual identity of the Qurʾanic text. The diffusion of a standardized version of the early script, loosely related to the one found in official inscriptions, conveyed visually the idea that the text transcribed in the same script was also identical from one copy to another in a moment when various versions of the Qurʾan were circulating.[39] It also coincided with the emergence of a new concern, that of a book reflecting the importance and the perfection of the text through its beauty. This change is significant as it reveals the aspirations of a more sophisticated community—at least in some circles—well aware of its cultural environment.

The reasons behind this new concern can be sought in a general tendency that has been described in the following terms by Finbarr Barry Flood about the architectural patronage of the Umayyads in Damascus: "The desire to rival the best efforts of the Christians and the need to convince by appearances were adequately addressed by the construction of a monumental ensemble which was not only worthy of an imperial capital, but strongly redolent of that most familiar by sight or reputation to the Syrian subjects of the Umayyads."[40] Regarding the production of manuscripts, the new *muṣḥaf* challenged luxury Christian Bibles with its appearance. The illuminations found in the Damascus and Fustat codices, especially in the latter, rely in part on a decorative repertoire of Late Antiquity that is well attested in the mosaic floors of Jordan churches.[41] These similarities raise the question of the identity of the craftsmen who were entrusted with their decoration and suggest a desire to reach a level of visual beauty equivalent to contemporary Christian productions. The standardized script, the calamus adapted to its writing, the margins surrounding the text, and the illuminations coincide in showing that an aesthetically and ideologically motivated change had successfully taken place.

"Th[is] desire to rival the best efforts of the Christians" may have also been the reason for another development: folio volumes with 20 lines of text per page, best illustrated by "the Umayyad *muṣḥaf*" of Sanaʿa dated to the beginning of the eighth century.[42] The copy was probably completed by the end of al-Walid's reign, between 710 and 715, a dating supported by a ^{14}C analysis of the parchment that provided a date between 657 and 690.[43] The parallels that can be established between this copy and a manuscript now in Dublin (Chester Beatty Library, Is 1404) suggest that the two are contemporaneous (Figure 5).[44] Both are folio copies (44 × 36.5 versus 47 × 38 cm), produced with the same quire structure.[45] In these two codices, the script is considerably thicker than the one seen in the Umayyad codex of Fustat. It also shows a tendency to accentuate the width of the letters but relies on a writing instrument with a larger tip in order to adapt the script to a larger page. The use of such a script also helped to produce volumes that would not look too thin. The thickness of the stroke means that a technical evolution had taken place. It was not only a matter of cutting a thicker nib; it probably also involved a change in tool or material as well as an adjustment in the hand movements and position of the copyist. This evolution is all the more striking because it seems to occur somewhat suddenly. Additionally, no comparable writing implement seems to have been known in other regional manuscript traditions.

Both the Sanaʿa copy and the Dublin manuscript were produced under Umayyad rule during the first decades of the eighth century and probably in conjunction with some official context. Other folio copies

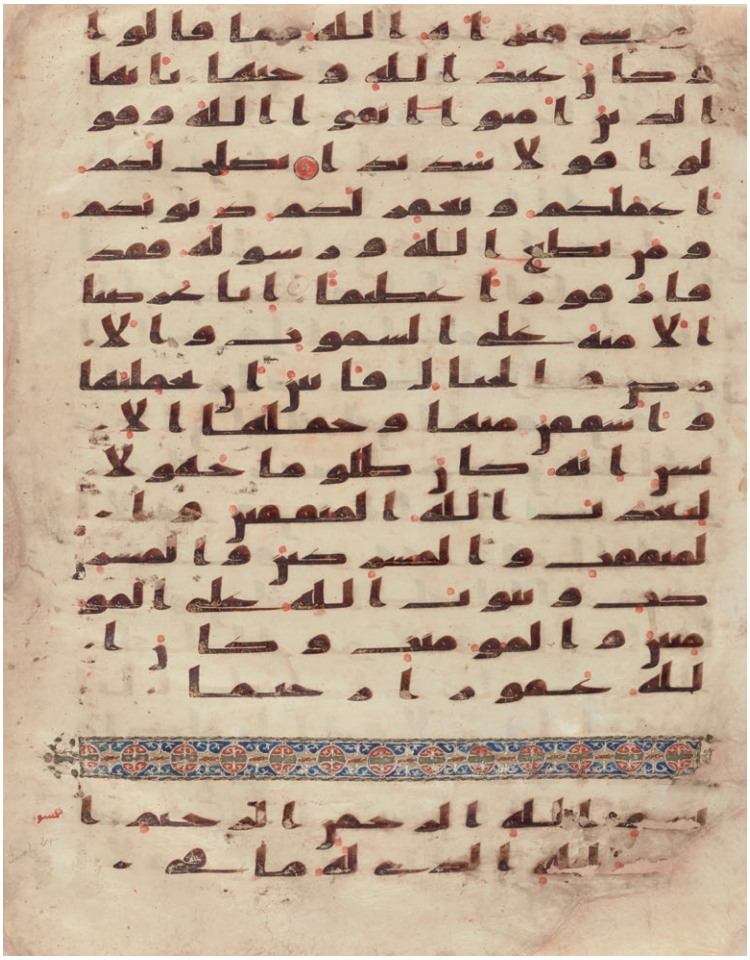


FIGURE 5. Folio from a fragment of a Qurʾan (Q. 33:69–34:1), Near East, Umayyad Period, early eighth century. Chester Beatty Library, Is 1404, fol. 157b. Image © The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.

share similar characteristics and date from the same period: one is in Kairouan,[46] and two are in Sanaʿa.[47] Their cost rose dramatically in comparison to *maṣāḥif* produced earlier, such as the Fustat codex. Here aesthetic consideration of the sacred book had materialized both in the general shape of the volume (the *muṣḥaf* must be a large book) and in the visual presentation of the text (the *muṣḥaf* must be a beautiful book). As the text of the Qurʾan is not very long, the former goal could be achieved only by a twofold change in the script: a reduction in the number of lines per page combined with an increase in the script's size.

One wonders why such copies were created. Why all these dramatic changes over a comparatively short period of time? An obvious reason is apologetic: the folio Bibles of the Middle East were a challenge in terms of visual identity, especially when one thinks of the *Codex Sinaiticus*, which is similar in size to the Qurʾanic copies under discussion (43 × 38 cm).[48] The increase in the size of the script module led to a significantly higher number of folios and hence a more impressive copy of the Qurʾan. An account by Malik b. Anas suggests that public readings from a *muṣḥaf* were instituted in Medina by al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf under the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik.[49] Were the folio manuscripts part of this rite? If so, political reasons behind their creation cannot be discarded: folio copies of the Qurʾan produced under official patronage may have served as a powerful legitimacy tool for the Umayyad dynasty.

It is no wonder that the idea was taken up again by the Abbasids. A group of three plano copies with 12 lines per page could be seen as the ultimate response in a kind of pietistic escalation. According to the aforementioned account from Malik b. Anas, the Abbasid caliph al-Mahdi (r. 775–785) sent to Medina a large copy of the Qurʾan that superseded the *muṣḥaf* sent previously by al-Hajjaj, which was then pushed aside in

the mosque.[50] In his desire to erase the memory of the Umayyads (i.e., removing the Kaʿba's veils presented by the Umayyads or wishing to take away an Umayyad addition to Muhammad's minbar),[51] al-Mahdi saw the presentation of larger copies of the Qurʾan as an effective way to eliminate the Umayyad symbolic presence from these sanctuaries. In addition, the physical features and visual attributes of these three Abbasid copies seem to echo Malik b. Anas's preoccupations with the presentation of large and beautiful volumes. The ^{14}C dating, which must be taken with the usual reservation, would support such an attribution. As a final point showing the significant material investment by the Abbasid caliph, it is worth mentioning that about 1,000 sheep hides were necessary to produce the 12-line per page copy in Cairo when "only" about 200 were needed for the folio copy of Sanaʿa.[52]

The study of the *bibliothecae coranicae* of Damascus, Fustat, Kairouan, and Sanaʿa is still at its beginning, and the conclusions offered here are only preliminary. They provide a chronological framework for the development of the Arabic scripts used in the transcription of the Qurʾan and for the book culture during the first centuries of Islam. As I mentioned, precise geography and mapping of these developments are still missing, although it seems that the Umayyad script found on the Fustat and Damascus codices did not spread to Yemen or Ifriqiya.[53] Of course, we cannot identify the sociological context behind this issue or underlying the production of some "deviant" copies not mentioned here.[54] We can only make educated guesses about the manuscripts' patrons. Sources indicate that copies of the Qurʾan were presented by prominent Umayyad and early Abbasid figures such as al-Hajjaj or al-Mahdi, but they do not provide information about more mundane situations. The large number of Qurʾanic volumes mentioned at the beginning of this essay invites us to reconsider the conclusions of scholars that the word *kitāb* in the Qurʾan may not refer to an actual book.[55] It seems quite the contrary. For early Muslim communities, judging from the contents of the four genizahs, it must have been extremely important to own a copy of the Qurʾan, or even better libraries, rich with hundreds of volumes. Hence, the whole debate between the oral and the written should be examined afresh.

Notes

1. This information is provided by Abdelouahed Jahdani, who collected opinions from Malik that are known through Ibn abi Daʾud al-Sijistani, al-Qurtubi, and Ibn Rushd al-jadd; see Abdelouahed Jahdani, "Du *fiqh* à la codicologie. Quelques opinions de Mālik (m. 179/796) sur le Coran-codex," in "Actes de la conférence internationale sur les manuscrits du Coran (Bologne, 26-28 September 2002)," special issue, *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 56 (2006): 274.
2. Adam Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islâms* (Heidelberg, Germany: C. Winter, 1922), 136.
3. Jean-Michel Mouton, "De quelques reliques conservées à Damas au Moyen-Âge. Stratégie politique et religiosité populaire sous les Bourides," *Annales islamologiques* 27 (1993): 247–254.
4. See Ibn Rushd (al-jadd), *al-Bayān wa-l-taḥṣīl wa-l-sharḥ wa-l-tawjīh wa-l-taʿlīl fī masāʾil al-mustakhraja*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥijjī (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1984–1991), 17:33–35.
5. Joseph Sadan, "Genizah and Genizah-like Practices in Islamic and Jewish Traditions. Customs Concerning the Disposal of Worn-out Sacred Books in the Middle Ages, According to an Ottoman Source," *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 43 (1986): 37–58.
6. François Déroche, "The Qurʾanic Collections Acquired by Wetzstein," in *Manuscripts, Politics and Oriental Studies: The Collector and Diplomat Johann Gottfried Wetzstein (1815–1905)*, ed. Boris Liebrentz and Christoph Rauch (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2019), 92–115.
7. See François Déroche, *La transmission écrite du Coran dans les débuts de l'islam. Le codex Parisino-petropolitanus*, Texts and Studies on the Qur'ān 5 (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2009), 7–19.
8. Muhammad Bayram Bey, "Madînat al-Qayrawân," *Al-Muqtataf* 21 (April 1897): 243. The fragments have since been restored.

9. Paolo Costa, "La moschea Grande di Sanʿâ," *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli* 34 (1974): 487, 505–506.
10. The main collection outside Egypt is kept in the BnF in Paris, which is followed by the National Library of Russia's Marcel collection in St. Petersburg. The BnF collections have been described by Michel Amari and François Déroche; see William McGuckin de Slane, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1883–1895), 89–94; and François Déroche, *Les manuscrits du Coran: Aux origines de la calligraphie coranique* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1983). The Marcel collection is currently being cataloged; see Olga Vasilyeva, "Oriental Manuscripts in the National Library of Russia," *Manuscripta Orientalia* 2, no. 2 (June 1996): 20. In Gotha, the folios acquired by J. Seetzen have been described by Wilhelm Pertsch in *Die orientalischen Handschriften der herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Gotha*, vol. 3, *Die arabischen Handschriften* (Gotha, Germany: Friedr. Andr. Perthes, 1878), 1:376–396, nos. 427–464, and some were illustrated at an earlier date by Johann Heinrich Möller in *Paläographische Beiträge aus den herzoglichen Sammlungen in Gotha* (Eisleben, Germany: G. Reichardt, 1844). The few fragments in the Vatican library have been cataloged by Giorgio Levi della Vida: Giorgio Levi della Vida, *Frammenti coranici in carattere cufico nella Biblioteca Vaticana* (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1947). Other fragments are scattered in various libraries. The holdings of Dar al-Kutub in Cairo are not yet properly described.
11. This figure does not cover the whole deposit in its pristine state. Although acquired from the same source as the Parisian ones, some fragments in Saint Petersburg or Gotha are actually not represented among the material kept in Paris.
12. According to a census I made on the basis of the online catalog of the BnF.
13. According to a census I made on the basis of the online catalog of the Saint Gallen library.
14. Hans-Caspar Graf von Bothmer, Karl-Heinz Ohlig, and Gerd-Rüdiger Puin, "Neue Wege der Koranforschung," *Magazin Forschung, Universität des Saarlandes* 1 (1999): 40.
15. Dominique Sourdel, "Le «Livre des secrétaires» de ʿAbdallah al-Bagdadi," *Bulletin d'études orientales* 14 (1952–1954): 117–118, 128–129.
16. In his *Fihrist*, al-Nadim provides various names of scripts and calligraphers active during the eighth and ninth centuries. See Muhammad ibn Ishaq ibn al-Nadim, *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, ed. Muḥammad Riḍā Tajaddud (Tehran: Marvi, 1971), 9; and Muhammad ibn Ishaq ibn al-Nadim, *The Fihrist of al-Nadim: A Tenth-Century Survey of Muslim Culture*, ed. and trans. Bayard Dodge (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), 10–11.
17. François Déroche, *Les manuscrits du Coran: Aux origines de la calligraphie coranique* (Bibliothèque Nationale, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes*, 2e partie, *Manuscrits musulmans*, t. I, 1) (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1983), 50–51.
18. Some of the results obtained so far have been collected by M. Marx and T. Jocham; see Michel Josef Marx and Tobias J. Jocham, "Zu den Datierungen von Koranhandschriften durch die ^{14}C-Methode," *Frankfurter Zeitschrift für islamisch-theologische Studien* 2 (2015): 9–43.
19. Progress in the DNA analysis of the parchment used in the production of early Qurʾanic codices could provide some answers to this question, but that would also require data about medieval animals to have been collected systematically.
20. See, for instance, François Déroche, *Le Coran, une histoire plurielle: Essai sur la formation du texte coranique* (Paris: Seuil, 2019), 142–164.
21. ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ṣanʿānī, *al-Muṣannaf*, ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-Aʿẓamī (Beirut: al-Majlis al-ʿilmi, 1972), 8:114, n. 14530.
22. This copy is known as the *Parisino-petropolitanus*, fragments of which are in the BnF (Arabe 328); the National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg; the Vatican Library; and the Khalili Collection, London. See Déroche, *Transmission écrite*, 31–43.
23. The folios are kept in the Dar al-Makhtutat in Sanaʿa, accession no. 00-25.1.
24. The role of ^{14}C dating has been increasing in recent years because it helped to answer the problem of dating early copies on what seemed a more reliable basis than paleography. Moreover, the reactivity of the tools

used for the measurements has increased over the years, and the calibration data set has become more accurate. However, in my opinion, the results do not fit in satisfactorily with the evidence gathered from other approaches. The results of ^{14}C analysis are quite valuable as a first indication of the age of the copies, but their accuracy is insufficient when it comes to arranging the material within a period which lasted less than a century.

25. The Fustat and Damascus codices are discussed in François Déroche, *Qurʾans of the Umayyads* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2014), 75–97.

26. For a study of the illuminations found between the suras, see Déroche, *Qurʾans of the Umayyads*, 85–94. Umayyad buildings like the Dome of the Rock and Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi provide some clear parallels. See, for instance, Oleg Grabar and Sari Nuseibeh, *The Dome of the Rock* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1996), 86–87, 90–91, 96, 103–104. On Christian mosaics, see, for example, Michele Piccirillo, *L'Arabie chrétienne* (Paris: Éditions Mengès, 2002), 153, 177, 216, 240.

27. Déroche, *Qurʾans of the Umayyads*, 98–99.

28. Déroche, *Qurʾans of the Umayyads,* 101–102.

29. Reports of copies of the Qurʾan being sent by al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf have been preserved. Two places are known more precisely, Fustat and Medina. See al-Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafā bi-akhbār Dār al-Muṣṭafā*, ed. M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (Beirut: Dar al-kutub al-ʿilmiyya, 1984), 2:668; Ibn Duqmāq, *Description de l'Égypte*, ed. K. Vollers (Cairo: Imprimerie nationale, 1893), 1:72–74; and al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-iʿtibār bi-dhikr al-khiṭāṭ wa-l-āthār*, ed. A. Fuad Sayyid (London: al-Furqan Foundation, 2001), 4-1:30–31.

30. Arthur Jeffery, ed., *Materials for the History of the Text of the Qurʾān: The Old Codices. The Kitāb al-maṣāḥif of Ibn Abī Dāwūd together with a Collection of the Variant Readings from the Codices of Ibn Masʿūd, Ubai, ʿAlī ibn ʿAbbās, Anas, Abū Mūsā and Other Early Qurʾānic Authorities Which Present a Type of Text Anterior to That of the Canonical Text of ʿUthmān* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 1937), 133; and Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Kitāb al-muṣannaf*, ed. ʿA. Khān al-Afghānī (Bombay [Mumbai], India: al-Dar al-salafiya, 1980), 4, n. 20228. See also Adam Gacek, "The Copying and Handling of Qur'āns: Some Observations on the *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif* by Ibn Abī Dāʾūd al-Sijistānī," *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 59 (2006): 240; and Alain George, *The Rise of Islamic Calligraphy* (London: Saqi, 2010), 52–53.

31. al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, 9; and al-Nadīm, *Fihrist of al-Nadim*, 11.

32. See Jahdani, "Du *fiqh* à la codicologie," 274–276, for collected opinions from Malik that are known through Ibn abi Daʾud al-Sijistani, al-Qurtubi, and Ibn Rushd al-jadd; on Malik's account of a *muṣḥaf* made by his grandfather, see Michael Cook, "A Koranic Codex Inherited by Mālik from His Grandfather," in "Proceedings of the Sixth International Congress on Graeco-Oriental and African Studies. Nicosia 30 April–5 May 1996," ed. V. Christides and Th. Papadopoulos, special issue, *Graeco-Arabica* 7–8 (1999–2000): 93–105.

33. Al-Jahshiyarī, *Kitāb al-wuzarāʾ wa-l-kuttāb*, ed. M. al-Saqqa, I. al-Abyari, and ʿA. Shalabi (Cairo: Matbaʿa Mustafa al-Babi al-Halabi, 1938), 37; and J. Latz, trans., *Das Buch der Wezire und Staatssekretäre von Ibn 'Abdūs Al-Ǧahsiyārī. Anfänge und Umaiyadenzeit*, Beiträge zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte des Orients 11 (Walldorf-Hessen: Verlag für Orientkunde H. Vorndran, 1958), 85–86.

34. This manuscript is Dar al-Makhtutat, Inv. 20-33.1; see Hans-Caspar Graf von Bothmer, "Architekturbilder im Koran. Eine Prachthandschrift der Umayyadenzeit aus dem Yemen," *Pantheon* 45 (1987): 6.

35. A folio copy of the Qurʾan with a ^{14}C date between 648 and 691, now kept in Musée des arts islamiques, Raqqada, R 38, does not use gold for its illuminations; see Déroche, *Qurʾans of the Umayyads*, 125–126; for a comparison of the ^{14}C dating with that of Dar al-Makhtutat, Sanaʿa, Inv. 20-33.1, see *Maṣāḥif ṣanʿā: Catalogue of the Exhibition at the Dār al-Athār al-Islamiyya* (Kuwait City: Kuwait National Museum, 1985), nos. 32, 40.

36. See Jahdani, "Du *fiqh* à la codicologie," 273–274, for the opinions of Malik about the *muṣḥaf* scattered in the works by al-Dani, al-Qurtubi, Ibn abi Zayd al-Qayrawani, and Ibn Rushd al-jadd.

37. Shady Hekmat Nasser, *The Transmission of the Variant Readings of the Qurʾan: The Problem of* Tawātur *and the Emergence of* Shawādhdh (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2013).

38. Déroche, *Catalogue*, 37, plate IX; and François Déroche, *The Abbasid Tradition, Qurʾans of the 8th to the 10th*

Centuries, Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art 1 (London: Nour Foundation in association with Azimuth Editions and Oxford University Press, 1992), 38–39.

39. Déroche, *Le Coran*, 142–64.
40. Finbarr Barry Flood, *The Great Mosque of Damascus: Studies on the Makings of an Umayyad Visual Culture* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2001), 226.
41. Déroche, *Qurʾans of the Umayyads*, 85–94.
42. *Maṣāḥif Ṣanʿā*, 11, no. 43; 12, no. 45; 15, no. 46; plate 18 (not numbered, starting in the order of the Arabic part of the book); and von Bothmer, "Architekturbilder," 4–20.
43. von Bothmer et al., "Neue Wege," 45. The result is very close to that of the folio copy in Kairouan; see *Maṣāḥif Ṣanʿā*, no. 33.
44. Arthur Arberry, *The Koran Illuminated: A Handlist of the Korans in the Chester Beatty Library* (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis, 1967), 4, no. 3a; David James, *Qurʾans and Bindings from the Chester Beatty Library* (London: World of Islam Festival Trust, 1980), 23; and Estelle Whelan, "Writing the Word of God I," *Ars Orientalis* 20 (1990): 113–147.
45. Instead of a sequence with the rectos of the first half of the quire being all hair side, the hair and flesh sides always face sides of the same nature; Whelan "Writing the Word of God I," 119; and Déroche, *Qurʾans of the Umayyads*, 109. The quire type (ternion, quaternion, or quinion) remains unclear because of the state of the manuscript.
46. *Maṣāḥif Ṣanʿā*, no. 33.
47. The manuscripts of Sanaʿa in Dar al-Makhtutat, Inv. 20-31.1 and 01-29.2, are presented in Déroche, *Qurʾans of the Umayyads*, 119–121.
48. See Thomas S. Pattie, "The Creation of the Great Codices," in *The Bible as Book: The Manuscript Tradition*, ed. John L. Sharpe III and Kimberly van Kampen (London: British Library, 1998), 61–72. On the huge manuscripts in central Asia, see Etienne de la Vaissière and Pénélope Riboud, "Les livres des Sogdiens," *Studia Iranica* 32 (2003): 127–136.
49. *Maṣāḥif Ṣanʿā*, no. 27, and the reference to al-Samhudi.
50. *Maṣāḥif Ṣanʿā*, no. 27, and the reference to al-Samhudi.
51. He was deterred from carrying out this modification by Malik b. Anas, who observed that this would have irremediably damaged the minbar itself; al-Ṭabarī, *Tāʾrikh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk*, ed. Michael Jan De Goeje (Leiden: Brill, 1879), 3:483; and Hugh Kennedy, trans., *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 29, *Al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1990), 195.
52. See Tayyar Altıkulaç, ed., *Al-muṣḥaf al-sharīf. Al-mushaf al-sharif Attributed to Uthman bin Affan (The Copy at al-Mashhad al-Huseyni in Cairo)*, 2 vols. (Istanbul: IRCICA, 1430/2009).
53. No fragment with this script has been found in these two deposits.
54. See François Déroche, "Inks and Page Setting in Early Qurʾānic Manuscripts," in *From Codicology to Technology: Islamic Manuscripts and Their Place in Scholarship*, ed. Stephine Brinkmann and Beate Wiesmüller (Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2009), 83–100.
55. Daniel Madigan, *The Qurʾân's Self-Image: Writing and Authority in Islam's Scripture* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2001).

Ghaznavid Imperial Qurʾan Manuscripts: The Shaping of a Local Style

Alya Karame

To this day, at least five surviving imperial Ghaznavid Qurʾan manuscripts (*maṣāḥif*) have not been identified or comprehensively studied.[1] Commissioned in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the texts' extensive use of gold, the exquisitely executed illumination, and the quality of the script reflect a high caliber of craftsmanship. The codices also underscore the agency of the artists and their collaborative attitude. Copied in multivolume sets, the modest size of the manuscripts indicates that they may have been created for individual use as each one could be comfortably held at arm's length. These manuscripts are artistic achievements that leave a visually memorable impact and stand out from the Qurʾanic production of the period. They were commissioned to complement the splendid court life of the Ghaznavids (r. ca. 366–581/976–1185) as well as the rich literary and artistic milieu of its elite. A number of aspects in these Qurʾans, such as the vocalization and the choice of Persian commentary (*tafsīr*) and translation, offer insight into their patrons' religious preferences, but the present essay focuses on their visual language, one that appears to continue an eastern Iranian tradition and is in dialogue with other artistic productions.

Political, Cultural, and Artistic Context

The period between the tenth and twelfth centuries witnessed significant political transformations in the Islamic world. After the breakup of the Abbasid Empire in the tenth century, a number of dynasties rose in the eastern Islamic lands, thereby shifting the importance of traditional centers of Islamic power eastward from Baghdad. The Ghaznavids, of Turkic origins, defeated the Samanids in Khurasan in 395/1005 and eventually ruled their empire from the capital city of Ghazna (in modern-day Afghanistan). The lands under their control expanded to include parts of Transoxiana and Khwarazm, with major cities such as Nishapur, Mashhad, Marv, Samarqand, Bukhara, Balkh, Herat, and Bust. Soon after their rise, the Ghaznavids were rivaled by the Turkic Seljuqs, who took control of Baghdad in 446/1055 and defeated them in Nishapur in 429/1037. The Seljuqs quickly expanded their territories to include cities once under Ghaznavid rule and most of the eastern Islamic lands until 652/1255. It was the Ghurids, however, who ended the Ghaznavids by conquering Ghazna in 569/1173 and much of eastern Iran and northern India from 581/1185.

The Ghaznavids quickly consolidated their power since Sebuktigin (r. 366–387/977–997) and his son Mahmud (r. 388–421/998–1030) built on the preexisting political structure, religious importance, and cultural traditions in Khurasan. The region emerged as a center of Arabic and Persian literature and flourished artistically, as evidenced by the surviving tenth-century ceramic wares and eleventh- and twelfth-century metalwork in cities such as Balkh and Herat.[2] Ghazna was quickly transformed into a thriving cultural center where men of letters, scientists, and the finest Persian poets were hired to write and recite panegyric poems for the court.[3] The richness of Ghaznavid artistic patronage, however, can be best seen in its architectural remains. The lavishly decorated palaces, mosques, funerary structures, and minarets, although in ruins today, still reflect the architectural programs carried out by Sultan Mahmud and his successors that

communicated the dynasty's artistically refined and politically strong image.[4] We know from the historian al-Bayhaqi (d. 469/1076) that the Ghaznavid rulers led a spectacular lifestyle with magnificent celebrations in opulent interiors of palaces with lavish furnishings.[5] It was against this backdrop of splendid court life, rich literary production, and artistic creation that the manuscripts under study here were commissioned.

The visual language of all five manuscripts developed after a series of transformations that began a century earlier in Qurʾanic production of the Mashriq.[6] The manuscripts employ the "New Style" (NS)[7] and the "Round Style" (RS)[8] scripts, which had been gradually replacing Kufic.[9] The NS was already used for copying the Qurʾan in the tenth century, and the earliest surviving *muṣḥaf* in RS was copied in 391/1000 in Baghdad by the famous calligrapher Abu al-Hasan ʿAli b. Hilal, known as Ibn al-Bawwab (d. 410/1019).[10] The NS scripts differ from Kufic in that they exhibit more contrast between their thin and thick stokes, display more vertical extensions in their ascending and descending strokes, and present triangularity in the heads of letters (such as in letter *wāw*). They do not display formal homogeneity but can still be divided into two groups: the more angular and the more rounded, or NSI and NSIII, respectively, as François Déroche classifies them.[11] The eleventh and twelfth centuries represent the peak of their use for copying the Qurʾan; the styles started to decline in the thirteenth century, and they were eventually replaced with various types of RS. The RS scripts, like NS, exhibit many variations in the period under study, and it was not until centuries later that they gained clearly identifiable characteristics that eventually led to the establishment of *al-aqlām al-sitta* (the Six Pens).[12] Henceforth, given their heterogeneity, both "RS" and "NS" are used as umbrella terms in this essay.

All five Ghaznavid manuscripts were copied on paper, which began replacing parchment by the tenth century in the Mashriq. They are vertical in format, in contrast to the horizontal format of the older Kufic manuscripts.[13] The stylization of their scripts and illumination was undoubtedly successful since some characteristic elements appear in other Khurasani manuscripts and remained in use for centuries to come.

Manuscripts

The first manuscript is the eighth *juzʾ*[14] of a dispersed Qurʾan, commissioned by the Ghaznavid Sultan Ibrahim b. Masʿud (r. 451–492/1059–1098).[15] It is housed in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library in Istanbul; however, the other volumes have yet to be identified.[16] The colophon indicates that ʿUthman b. Husayn al-Warraq al-Ghaznawi completed the copy in 484/1091, and an inscription in the four corners of the orphaned frontispiece folio that appeared at Sotheby's auction sale in 2016 provides the name of the illuminator: Muhammad, the son of ʿUthman b. al-Husayn al-Warraq al-Ghaznawi.[17] A third name, that of a certain ʿAli, appears at the bottom of an illuminated marginal device preceded by *ʿamal* (the work of), suggesting that at least three artists worked on this Qurʾan (Figure 1).[18] Besides its artistic importance, the manuscript is the first known example with Persian translation and commentary.[19] Coupled with the size of the scripts, these elements indicate that the manuscript was meant for reading.

The second manuscript does not provide the date of transcription or the names of artists involved in its production. Nonetheless, since the volume shares a number of elements with Sultan Ibrahim's Qurʾan—from the size and layout to script and illumination—and includes the same Persian commentary, there is no doubt it was an imperial Ghaznavid commission (Figure 2).[20] It is, at present, part of the "Oriental manuscripts" collection at the British Library.[21]

Now in the Astan-i Quds Razavi (Imam Reza Shrine Library and Museum) in Mashhad, the third Qurʾan was copied and illuminated by the same ʿUthman and his son Muhammad who worked on Sultan Ibrahim's Qurʾan (Figure 3).[22] It consists of 30 *ajzāʾ*, 2,131 folios with an average of slightly more than 70 folios for each *juzʾ*. ʿUthman's name appears several times in this Qurʾan, and Muhammad's name is mentioned at the end

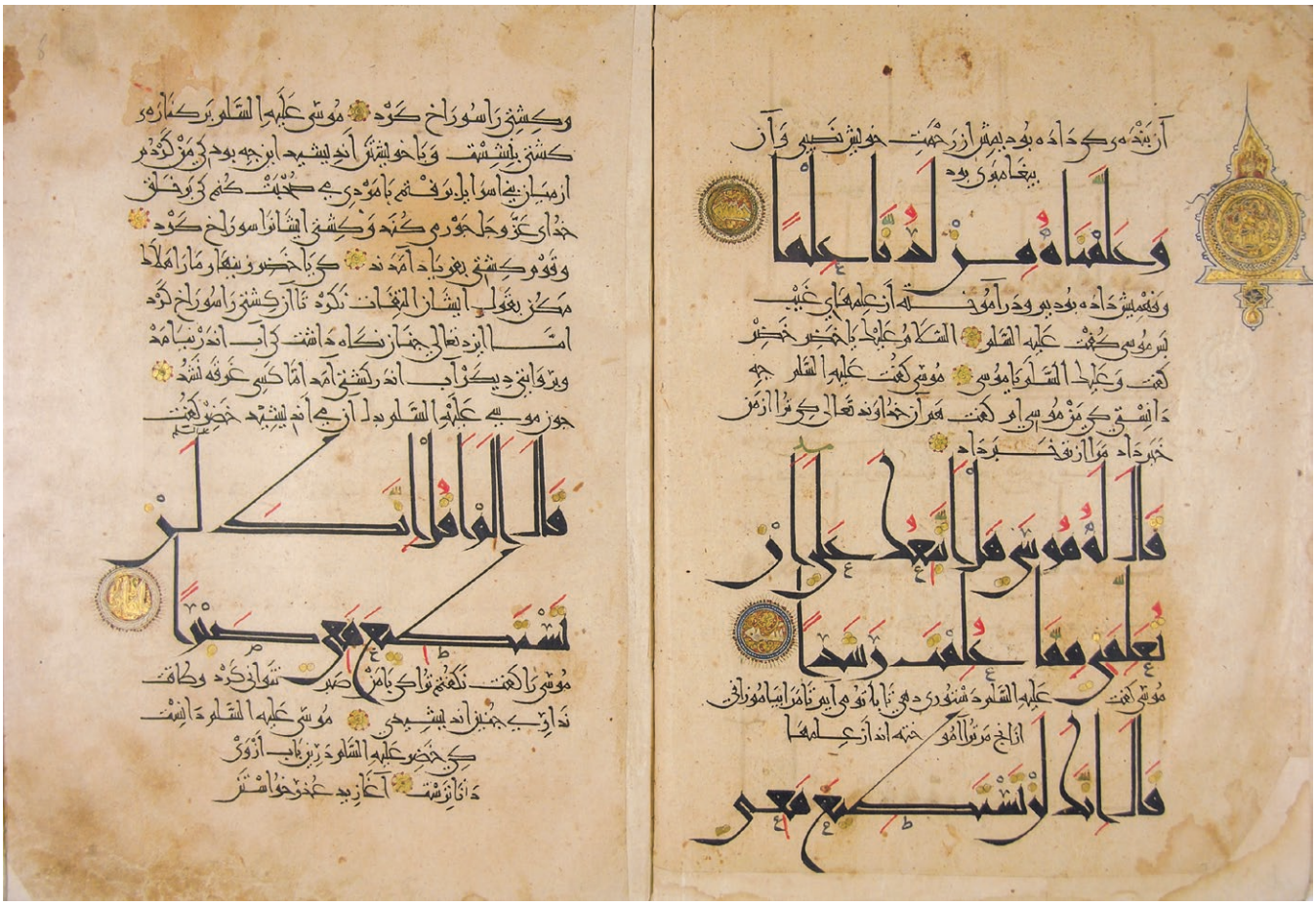


FIGURE 1 (above). Eighth *juz'* of Sultan Ibrahim's Qur'an, Khurasan, Ghaznavid period, 484/1091. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, E.H. 209, fols. 7b–8a. Image © The Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, The Directorate of National Palaces Administration.

FIGURE 2 (left). Section from a copy of the Qur'an, Khurasan, Ghaznavid period, eleventh century. The British Library, Or. 6573, fol. 17a. Image © The British Library Board.

FIGURE 3. Third *juzʾ* of al-ʿAbdusi's Qurʾan, Khurasan, Ghaznavid period, 466/1073. Astan-i Quds Razavi, Mashhad, Ms. 3053, fols. 1b–2a. Used with permission.

of the twenty-third *juzʾ*, indicating he copied at least one section.[23] The manuscript has a size similar to the Qurʾan of Sultan Ibrahim and employs visual elements and NS script strikingly similar to the two previous manuscripts.[24] The patron of this Qurʾan is Abu Jaʿfar Muhammad b. Ahmad al-ʿAbdusi, whose name appears at the end of the tenth *juzʾ*.[25] He may have been the Abu Jaʿfar Muhammad mentioned by Ibn Funduq (d. 565/1169), who was the *naqīb* (chief) and *raʾīs* (mayor) of Tus, a district in Khurasan near Mashhad.[26] He was appointed by Sultan Masʿud I (the father of Sultan Ibrahim) and was praised in the poetry of al-Thaʿalibi (d. 429/1037).[27] Hence, this manuscript and Sultan Ibrahim's are evidence that ʿUthman and his son Muhammad worked together to produce Qurʾan manuscripts for the Ghaznavid elite.

The fourth Qurʾan is dispersed among various collections around the world.[28] The colophon of its eighteenth *juzʾ* states that it was copied in 485/1092 by a certain ʿAli (*katabahu ʿAli*).[29] The name ʿAli also appears in the illuminated medallion in the left margin of this colophon folio preceded by *dhahhabahu* (illuminated) in the right-hand margin, but it is unclear whether it is the same ʿAli referred to in the colophon. Although the size of the manuscript is slightly smaller than the other Ghaznavid examples, its monumental script and lavish illumination are almost identical to those of the three other Qurʾan codices, suggesting that it belongs to the same corpus (Figure 4).[30]

The last Ghaznavid Qurʾan in the group was copied in 505/1111 in Bust, 500 km south of Ghazna, according to the colophon of its fifth *juzʾ*, now at the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris (Figure 5).[31] The colophon also states that the *juzʾ* was copied by a certain ʿUthman b. Muhammad and illuminated by ʿAli b. ʿAbd al-Rahman.[32] Many elements of the script and illumination are also present in the aforementioned manuscripts, and they all share a similar palette of gold, blue, red, and white. It is the smallest in size in the group, yet its lavish use of gold and the quality of its script, with only seven lines per page, suggest it was an expensive commission, much like the other four manuscripts.[33]

FIGURE 4. Eighteenth *juz'* of ʿAli's Qurʾan, Khurasan, Ghaznavid period, 485/1092. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, R. 14, fol. 65b. Image © The Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, The Directorate of National Palaces Administration.

FIGURE 5. Fifth *juzʾ* of the Bust Qurʾan, Bust, Ghaznavid period, 505/1111. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arabe 6041, fols. 124b–125a. Photograph courtesy of Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

Scripts

The script and layout in the imperial Ghaznavid Qurʾan manuscripts indicate a local aesthetic school. To have a closer look, I have extracted letters from each manuscript and summarily presented them in Table 1. The NSI script is employed in all except for the Bust Qurʾan. It is characterized by an oblique turn at the bottom of independent *alif*s, a diagonal stroke that crosses a thinner horizontal one in the initial *jīm* / *ḥāʾ* / *khāʾ*, a small triangular shape at the base of the *dāl* / *dhāl*, a thin oblique stroke at the top of the initial *ʿayn* / *ghayn*, triangular heads of letters such as in *wāw* and *fāʾ* / *qāf*, a trapezoidal head on *mīm*, and thin diagonal tails of letters such as in *mīm* and *wāw.* The immediately visible particularities of the Ghaznavid NSI are a contrast between thick and thin strokes, exaggerated triangular heads of letters, and the vertical appearance of the script. Although the script is almost identical in the manuscripts of Sultan Ibrahim and al-ʿAbdusi as well as in the *juzʾ* copied by ʿAli, a slight variation appears in the British Library's Qurʾan, which has more curvilinear bowls and tails of letters. The feature of curvilinearity is present in the script of the Persian commentary in the Qurʾan of Sultan Ibrahim, which has visible features of NSIII: a curved upper stroke in *dāl* / *dhāl*, a curved top in the initial *ʿayn* / *ghayn*, a curvilinear tail in *mīm*, and a curvilinear shaft in *nūn*. NSIII has less contrast than the contemporary NSI; its V-shaped ligatures are accentuated, and the balance between curvilinearity and angularity provides this script with much elegance and legibility even when small.

The colophons of these manuscripts provide us with the following information: ʿUthman copied at least the eighth *juzʾ* of Sultan Ibrahim's Qurʾan, and his son Muhammad collaborated with him on copying a Qurʾan for al-ʿAbdusi, at least its twenty-third *juzʾ*. ʿUthman must have trained his son in these scripts, and ʿAli must

TABLE 1. Letters extracted from the five imperial Ghaznavid Qurʾanic manuscripts. NSI, New Style I (with angular strokes); NSIII, New Style III (with curvilinear strokes); RS, Round Style script.

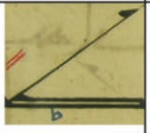
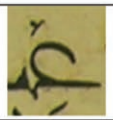
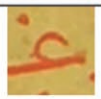
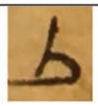
Manuscript	Script type	Alif	Jīm/ḥāʾ/khāʾ	Dāl/dhāl	Ṭāʾ/zāʾ	ʿAyn/ghayn	Mīm	Nūn	Wāw
Qurʾan of Sultan Ibrahim (484/1091)	NSI								
	NSIII								
	RS-*muhaqqaq*								
	RS-*naskh*								
British Library's Qurʾan	NSI								
	RS-*naskh*								
Qurʾan of al-ʿAbdusi (466/1073)	NSI								
ʿAliʾs Qurʾan (485/1092)	NSI								
Bust Qurʾan (505/1111)	RS-*muhaqqaq*								

FIGURE 6. A *juzʾ* containing the first quarter of Ibn Shadhan's Qurʾan, eastern Iran, Ghaznavid period, 361/971. Chester Beatty Library, Is. 1434, fol. 4b. Image © The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.

have also been educated in the same NS tradition as ʿUthman and Muhammad since his script is similar to theirs, as demonstrated by the Qurʾan he copied.

In comparison to the NS used in the tenth century, which retained features of older traditions, the NS scripts of ʿUthman, Muhammad, and ʿAli are more mature and defined by new identifiable characteristics. For example, their NSI is different from the one employed in the Isfahan Qurʾan (383/993), which still exhibited Kufic features.[34] Similarly, their NSIII evolved from that of the Palermo Qurʾan (372/982) in that the influence of non-Qurʾanic book hands (seen, for example, in the circular bowls and tails of letters) was no longer visible.[35] These departures may have been prompted by local preferences for script stylization given that some features of the Ghaznavid NSI were already found in a Qurʾan copied in eastern Iran by ʿAli ibn Shadhan al-Razi and dated 361/971 (Figure 6).[36] Like the Ghaznavid NSI, the script of Ibn Shadhan is governed by diagonal stress (seen in the thin diagonal top stroke of the initial *ʿayn* / *ghayn* and the diagonal thin tail of *mīm*), triangularity in heads of letters (*wāw*), and contrast between thick and thin strokes. Most notably, some of the layout of letters in Ibn Shadhan's Qurʾan appears exactly the same in Sultan Ibrahim's Qurʾan. Letters are extended and placed above one another, creating parallel lines with the letter *yāʾ* extended backward below the letters of the previous word, forming small V shapes (Figure 7). These similarities to Ibn Shadhan's Qurʾan suggest that the work of ʿUthman b. Husayn al-Warraq al-Ghaznawi and his peers perpetuated the script tradition of eastern Iran rather than that of Isfahan and Palermo.[37]

Unlike the maturity of NS, the Ghaznavid RS had not yet gained all the distinctive and mature features of the later *aqlām al-sitta* (The Six Pens). Nonetheless, it started exhibiting some of their later fully developed characteristics. Round script was used to copy the non-Qurʾanic Arabic passages in Sultan Ibrahim's Qurʾan,[38] the commentary in the British Library's Qurʾan, the colophons of al-ʿAbdusi's Qurʾan, and the Qurʾanic text in the Bust *juzʾ*. The latter and the Arabic passages in Sultan Ibrahim's Qurʾan have elements in the later forms of both *muḥaqqaq* and *thuluth*. These include the *tarwīs* in *alif* and its thin turn at the bottom;[39] the *shaẓiyya* of *jīm* / *ḥāʾ* / *khāʾ* that inclines to the right;[40] the bottom part of *dāl* / *dhāl*, which is deep and ends with a thin stroke pointing upward; the long shaft of *ṭāʾ* / *ẓāʾ*, which starts with a *tarwīs*; and the wide opening of *ʿayn* / *ghayn*, whose top stroke starts with thinness on the right.[41] Moreover, the Ghaznavid RS displays additional features of *muḥaqqaq* such as the long and thin tail of the final *mīm*, the shallow bowl of *nūn*, and the pointed and straight tail of *wāw*. Hence, although they display elements from both *muḥaqqaq* and *thuluth*, the Ghaznavid RS inclines toward the former. It may be more accurate, therefore, to call these scripts "RS-*muḥaqqaq*."

In addition to RS-*muḥaqqaq*, another type of RS was used in Sultan Ibrahim's Qurʾan (for titles in Persian and for the small Arabic text of the commentaries) and for the Persian commentary in the British Library's Qurʾan. Its size is smaller than RS-*muḥaqqaq*, and it resembles the earlier non-Qurʾanic book hands with

FIGURE 7. Eighth *juz'* of Sultan Ibrahim's Qur'an, Khurasan, Ghaznavid period, 484/1091. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, E.H. 209, fol. 4a. Image © The Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, The Directorate of National Palaces Administration.

some features of later *naskh*: the little *tarwīs* at the top of the *alif* and the straight end at its bottom; the subtle *shaẓiyya* of *jīm* / *ḥāʾ* / *khāʾ*; the straight ending and shallow bottom of *dāl* / *dhal*; the rectilinear form of *ṭāʾ* / *ẓāʾ*, with a straight short shaft; the small opening of *ʿayn* / *ghayn*, with little contrast in its top stroke; the short and thick tail of the final *mīm*; the concave bowl of *nūn*; and the curved tail of *wāw*. Therefore, as in the case of RS-*muḥaqqaq*, it would be more accurate to identify this script as "RS-*naskh*."

These Ghaznavid RS scripts appear to be different from contemporaneous Qurʾanic scripts such as in Ibn al-Bawwab's Qurʾan, copied in Baghdad in 391/1000. Ibn al-Bawwab's style includes attributes from *muḥaqqaq* and *naskh* but inclines toward the latter. Although its *naskh* characteristics are more dominant than in the Ghaznavid RS-*naskh*, its *muḥaqqaq* traits are less developed than in the Ghaznavid RS-*muḥaqqaq*.[42] Comparably, the famous so-called Sulayhid Qurʾan, copied in the first half of the eleventh century, displays features closer to *thuluth* than *muḥaqqaq*.[43] It presents more concave bowls and deeper tails of letters. These comparisons with contemporaneous RS scripts suggest that the inclination of the Ghaznavid RS toward *muḥaqqaq* may have been the result of a local scribal tradition that developed with ʿUthman and his peers.

This local preference for *muḥaqqaq* features is detected in the *Kitāb khalq al-nabī wa-khulqih* (Book on the Physical and Moral Characteristics of the Prophet), a work commissioned by the Ghaznavid amir Abu Mansur ʿAbd al-Rashid (r. 441–444/1049–1052), the son of Mahmud of Ghazna (Figure 8).[44] The RS employed here has both *naskh* and *muḥaqqaq* characteristics but shares several features with RS-*muḥaqqaq* of the

FIGURE 8. Copy of the *Kitāb khalq al-nabī wa-khulqih*, Ghaznavid, ca. 441/1049. Leiden University Libraries, Ms. Or. 437, pp. 2–3. Image © Leiden University Libraries.

Ghaznavid Qurʾan manuscripts: the contrast in strokes, shallow bowls of letters, oblique straight pointed tails, the *tarwīs* at the top of the *alif* with sinuosity at the bottom, and the shape of some letters. Moreover, a group of Qurʾan manuscripts copied in the first decades of the eleventh century, most likely in Nishapur, shows elements of later *muḥaqqaq*, indicating that these characteristics were favored in eastern Iran at that time.[45]

Given that only a small corpus of manuscripts survived from the Ghaznavid dynasty, no conclusions can be drawn about the other local script trends that may have developed in competition with that of ʿUthman and his peers, limiting our understanding of the regional scribal traditions of the eastern Islamic lands. Nevertheless, the stylistic similarity of the Ghaznavid scripts and those appearing on Samanid ceramics, coins, and epigraphy of eastern Iran from the tenth and eleventh centuries indicates that local stylization had already been happening.[46] For instance, the inscriptions on the rim of two white earthenware bowls from Nishapur show triangularity in the heads of letters and contrast between thick and thin strokes, two features that recall the Ghaznavid NS, although they differ in the shapes of letters.[47] Similarly, the arch within the extension of letters in the monumental inscriptions from the ninth and tenth centuries as seen in the Naʾin mosque echoes the V shapes in the backward letter extensions in Sultan Ibrahim's Qurʾan, which were traced back to the Qurʾan of Ibn Shadhan, as shown in Figure 6.[48]

Of particular relevance are the similarities between Ghaznavid Qurʾanic scripts and epigraphic inscriptions on funerary architecture from the same period. For instance, the inscription on a tombstone from Ghazna has typical Ghaznavid NSI features such as the lower diagonal bend to the right in *alif* and the sharp diagonal tails in *rāʾ* and *wāw*.[49] Similarly, the inscription on the cenotaph of Sultan Mahmud in Ghazna, dated 420/1029, displays a stylized RS featuring an *alif* that has a thin turn at the bottom exactly like that in the RS-*muḥaqqaq* of the Ghaznavid manuscripts.[50] Two and a half decades later, another inscription on the tomb of Muhammad al-Harawi (d. 447/1055) in Ghazna also exhibits bowls and a thin turn at the bottom of *alif*s, which are characteristics of Ghaznavid RS-*muḥaqqaq*.[51] But it is the floriated Kufic on a panel (Figure 9) excavated from the palace of Masʿud III (r. 492–508/1098–1114) that exhibits striking similarities to the inscription in the band just above the colophon in ʿAli's Qurʾan.[52] In both, ascenders are stretched vertically and end with pointed floral buds at their tips.

Such script stylization across media indicates that the Qurʾan manuscript was not isolated from its artistic milieu. Whether borrowings from one medium to another were merely the result of elite calligraphic trends or whether they also suggest that calligraphers copying the Qurʾan were involved in the production of ceramic wares or architectural decoration cannot be confirmed without more evidence. Nevertheless, given that potters and builders were not trained in the same way as calligraphers, it seems most likely that they collaborated with calligraphers. One can even imagine that a calligraphic design was prepared on paper for execution in a different medium such as ceramic, stucco, or marble.[53]

FIGURE 9. Dado panel from the palace of Masʿud III (r. 492–508/1098–1114), Ghazna. IsIAO Italian Archaeological Mission in Ghazna, inv. no. C2890, neg. 635/1. Image © IsIAO.

Illumination

Like the script, the illumination in the Ghaznavid manuscripts indicates the existence of a local Qurʾan aesthetic that blends old motifs with new designs. The frontispieces, finispieces, and opening and closing pages, as well as verse markers, marginal vignettes, and minute decorative elements, present striking similarities in all five manuscripts, thereby suggesting they may well have been made by the same team.

The surviving illuminated frontispieces have the same composition, with a number of similar decorative elements. Some are based on geometric interlaced forms; others are composed of intertwined floral scrolls. A combination of both is used in the Qurʾan of Sultan Ibrahim and in the manuscripts of al-ʿAbdusi and ʿAli. Sultan Ibrahim's volume has two double-page frontispieces that are decorated with patterns made of stars and chessboard-like designs (Figure 10).[54] Although the latter was used in Qurʾan manuscripts of the tenth century, the former has no precedent.[55]

The frontispieces in al-ʿAbdusi's Qurʾan also combine decorative features from the Kufic tradition with new elements. One frontispiece, made of interlaced outlined bands of Kufic script, seemingly draws on earlier repertoires, whereas the compositions of two other frontispieces are based on intertwined scrolls of fleurs-de-lis, a novel design.[56] Stylized with a pointed body, a long-extended tip that curls up at the end, two leaves, and two sepals at the bottom (one on each side), the fleur-de-lis is a decorative element found in the visual repertoire of all five Ghaznavid manuscripts.

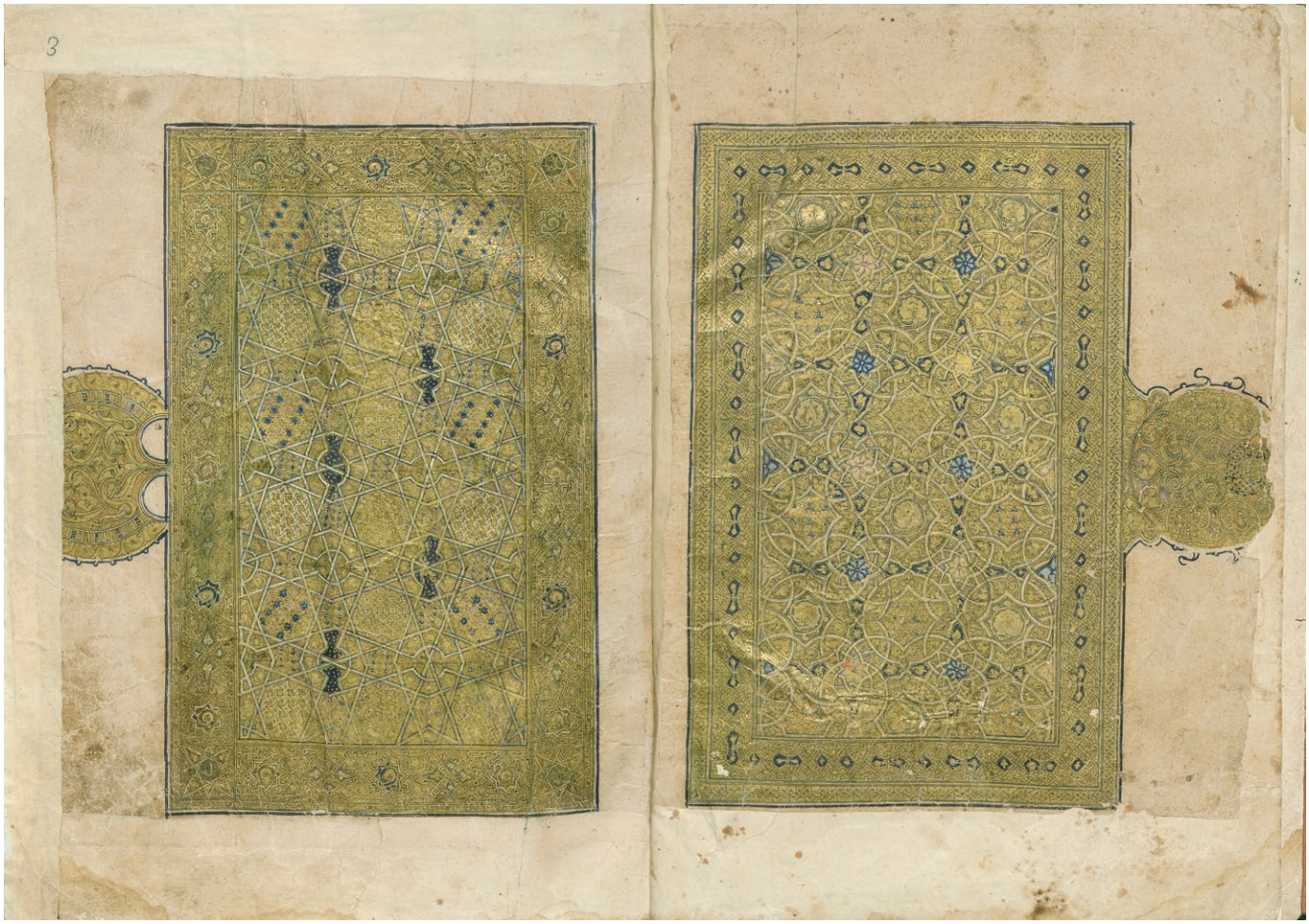


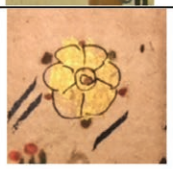
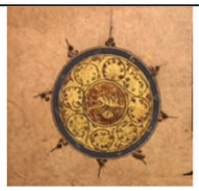
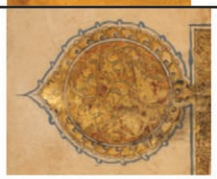
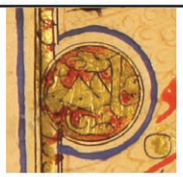
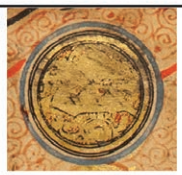
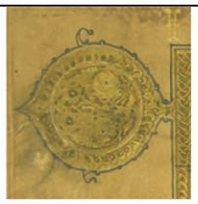
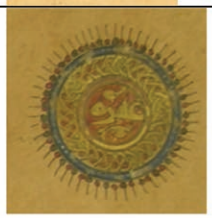
FIGURE 10. Double-page frontispiece of the eighth *juzʾ* of Sultan Ibrahim's Qurʾan, Khurasan, Ghaznavid, 484/1091. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, E.H. 209, fols. 2b–3a. Image © The Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, The Directorate of National Palaces Administration.

FIGURE 11. Opening frontispiece of the eighteenth *juzʾ* of ʿAli's Qurʾan, Khurasan, Ghaznavid period, 485/1092. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, R. 14, fol. 2a. Image © The Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, The Directorate of National Palaces Administration.

The frontispieces in ʿAli's Qurʾan are also based on two compositions: one is made of floral intertwined motifs, as in the opening of the seventh and twentieth *ajzāʾ*, and the other is decorated with an interlaced design formed by straight and curved lines that generate various shapes, as in the opening of the eighteenth *juzʾ* (Figure 11). Both designs are absent from Qurʾan manuscripts of the tenth century that configure simple geometric forms. Among the shapes formed in the eighteenth *juzʾ* frontispiece is the so-called Seal of Solomon, a six-pointed star constructed of two overlapping triangles, one pointing upward and the other downward. This element is not commonly used in earlier Qurʾan manuscripts either but is extensively present in the decoration of the Ghaznavid repertoire. For instance, it appears in the finispiece of al-ʿAbdusi's Qurʾan, in the frontispiece of the Bust copy, and as a decorative element in all five manuscripts.[57]

Another distinctive marker of the Ghaznavid illumination is the frame around the central panels of the frontispieces and finispieces. Bands of latticework, intersected by a repetition of two overlapping geometric shapes in blue, are visible on every surviving illuminated page. Contrary to the fleur-de-lis, which had already appeared stylized differently in Baghdad (as in Ibn al-Bawwab's Qurʾan) a few decades earlier, the

TABLE 2. Vignettes and verse markers extracted from the imperial Ghaznavid Qurʾanic manuscripts.

Manuscript	Vignette	Single-verse marker	Fifth-verse marker	Tenth-verse marker
Qurʾan of Sultan Ibrahim (484/1091)				
British Library's Qurʾan				
Qurʾan of al-ʿAbdusi (466/1073)				
ʿAli's Qurʾan (485/1092)				
Bust Qurʾan (505/1111)				

Ghaznavid latticework with blue forms is rooted in the visual repertoire of Qurʾan manuscripts copied in Nishapur in the first half of the eleventh century.[58] In addition, the Nishapuri group also employs the Seal of Solomon as part of its visual vocabulary, suggesting a strong link with manuscripts from Ghazna and Bust.

The vignettes, medallions, and rosettes in the corpus under study are based on older designs yet present new motifs. In all five manuscripts, marginal vignettes extending from the illuminated panels are circular and decorated symmetrically with interlaced tendrils (see Table 2). They have an outer frame made of repeated floral buds or scrolls, with a polylobed blue contour and two sinuous stems. These vignettes combine two older types that François Déroche identified in his study of Kufic manuscripts, but the polylobed contour, the sinuous stems, and symmetrically designed tendrils are not encountered earlier.[59] Rather, they are characteristic of the medallions used in the Ghaznavid Qurʾanic visual repertoire that can be traced back to the earlier Ghaznavid productions. These similarities again suggest that the illumination of the imperial

Ghaznavid manuscripts, like their scripts, departs from the tenth-century production and specifically from an eastern Iranian tradition. Further evidence of this connection is found in the first and last double-page spreads with Qurʾanic text in the Ghaznavid corpus. They are decorated in the fashion of the early Ghaznavid ones: they have a larger banner at the top and in the right and left margins, as seen in the Qurʾan of Sultan Ibrahim, in ʿAli's Qurʾan, and in the Bust Qurʾan.

Verse markers also show a combination of old and new elements. Circular medallions with thin radiating lines decorated with dots mark the end of every verse in the Qurʾan of Sultan Ibrahim. A similar design is used for tenth verse markers in the same volume, as well as in al-ʿAbdusi's and ʿAli's Qurʾans and in the Bust copy. This type of medallion appears as tenth verse markers in Kufic manuscripts, and so do the rosettes with colored dots decorating the petals that mark the end of a sentence in the Persian commentary in Sultan Ibrahim's Qurʾan.[60] Similarly, the two types of verse markers used to indicate the end of a verse in al-ʿAbdusi's Qurʾan find their origin in manuscripts of the Kufic tradition. The first one is a simple gold circle with the word *āya* (verse) inscribed within and decorated with a scroll of fleur-de-lis.[61] The second one is a rosette with dots decorating its petals, inscribed with a letter of the *abjad* system counting every tenth verse; it is related to the design of rosettes placed at the end of Persian sentences in the Qurʾan of Sultan Ibrahim.[62] These rosettes also appear as single verse markers in ʿAli's Qurʾan and in the one from Bust, further strengthening the aesthetic link between the manuscripts.[63]

New designs of verse markers are found in the manuscript of Sultan Ibrahim and in the Bust Qurʾan: every fifth verse is indicated in the margin by a circular device inscribed with the word *khamsa* (five), a crown-like form at the top, and a thin trapezoid at the bottom. In the British Library's and ʿAli's Qurʾans, it has an oval shape with a triangular base and a crown-like design at the top. Such new elements that appear in these manuscripts suggest that the illuminator of the Bust Qurʾan, ʿAli ibn ʿAbd al-Rahman, may well be the same ʿAli whose name appears at the end of the eighteenth *juzʾ* of ʿAli's Qurʾan and who perhaps participated in the illumination of the Qurʾan of Sultan Ibrahim.

The illuminators of the imperial Ghaznavid Qurʾan manuscripts must have drawn upon other artistic productions from eastern Iran and, specifically, from Khurasan. Various decorative elements and configurations echo motifs on metalwork, ceramics, stucco, and marble. For example, the frontispiece of the eighteenth *juzʾ* copied by ʿAli, as shown in Figure 11, recalls the design applied on a copper alloy basin from Khurasan, datable to the twelfth century.[64] The basin is decorated with intertwined lines that form triangles, hexagons, and lozenges, like in the frontispiece design. Similarly, the frontispieces of the seventh and twentieth *ajzāʾ* of the same Qurʾan resemble the stucco decoration from the palace of Masʿud III, under whose reign this Qurʾan was produced.[65] Parallels between Ghaznavid architectural decorative motifs and Qurʾanic illumination can particularly be detected in the trefoil shape that frames the colophon on the last folio of Sultan Ibrahim's *juzʾ* and the cenotaph of Sultan Mahmud.[66] Equally noticeable is the stylization of fleurs-de-lis as in all five manuscripts, specifically behind the text on the opening and closing folios in Sultan Ibrahim's *juzʾ* and on marble panels excavated in Ghazna.[67] The striking similarities across media and the stylization of script and illumination away from earlier aesthetic Qurʾanic traditions indicate that there was a local way of doing things that can even be defined as a Ghaznavid school.

Agency of the Artists and Their Collaboration

ʿUthman b. al-Husayn al-Warraq and his peers were skilled illuminators and calligraphers. A double-page spread in Sultan Ibrahim's Qurʾan informs us that ʿUthman was also a confident calligrapher. It displays five lines of three different scripts: a form of old Kufic, NS, and RS (Figure 12).[68] ʿUthman demonstrates here his artistic capabilities by creating a double-page spread that reinforces the feeling of a calligraphic master's specimen. Undoubtedly of great aesthetic value, such penmanship work was used as a guide for calligraphy

FIGURE 12. Eighth *juzʾ* of Sultan Ibrahim's Qurʾan, Khurasan, Ghaznavid period, 484/1091. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, E.H. 209, fols. 70b–71a. Image © The Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, The Directorate of National Palaces Administration.

students in the tradition of artistic *silsila*, or chain of transmission.[69] Including such a page in a Qurʾan was a testimony to ʿUthman's agency, which can also be detected in the way he enlarges the disconnected letters (often called the mystery letters) at the beginning of some suras. They are generally not displayed prominently in Qurʾan manuscripts, but for purely aesthetic reasons, ʿUthman provides them with visual importance.[70] These bold decisions reveal that ʿUthman regarded the Qurʾan manuscript as a work of art to demonstrate his skills and artistic creativity. Interestingly, a forgery with his name of much lower quality survives today, confirming he was a renowned calligrapher.[71]

ʿUthman's style of script and illumination were certainly seen as innovative, for the novel visual elements he introduced are utilized in manuscripts produced a century later under the Ghurids. For example, a Qurʾan copied and illuminated by Abu Bakr b. Ahmad b. ʿAbdallah al-Ghaznawi in 573/1177 shares a number of similarities with the group of imperial Ghaznavid manuscripts, such as the stylized fleur-de-lis scrolls, the vignettes with blue polylobed contour and two sinuous stems, and the typical Ghaznavid NS and RS scripts.[72] Although the manuscript's patron and place of production are unknown, its formal similarities, the rich illumination, and extensive use of gold, as well as the *nisba* of its copyist, which links him or his ancestors to Ghazna, all indicate that the manuscript was produced according to the same artistic style as the imperial Ghaznavid Qurʾan manuscripts in an important city in eastern Iran. Another imperial Qurʾan copied in 584/1188 for the fifth Ghurid sultan, Ghiyath al-Din b. Sam (r. 558–599/1163–1201), in the western part of the Ghurid sultanate also employs elements from the Ghaznavid visual repertoire.[73] These two manuscripts confirm the continuity of the style of ʿUthman and of his peers almost a century later.

The artists involved in the production of the Ghaznavid Qurʾan manuscripts must have worked accord-

ing to a preconceived plan, as suggested by the consistency in layout and sizes of the scripts. The overall coherence within each manuscript indicates that the copying and illumination happened simultaneously and were well conceived ahead of time. The decision to achieve a visual hierarchy of information as presented in the type, size, and sometimes color of the script in Sultan Ibrahim's Qurʾan underscores the great attention paid to the layout on both the macro- and microlevels. For instance, the large Qurʾanic text was copied before the small scripts, as exemplified on a number of folios,[74] and each line of the large NS script used for the Qurʾanic text in the Qurʾan of Sultan Ibrahim equals three lines of the smaller NS used for the Persian translations (see Figure 1). Similarly, each line of large RS used for hadith, poetry, and *duʿāʾ* (prayers and supplications) equals three lines of the smaller script. On the macrolevel, the visual balance between the right- and left-hand pages is apparent in all five manuscripts, with lines horizontally aligned, indicating that each spread was conceived and ruled together.[75]

Like the script, the illumination was also conceived and executed carefully. A closer look reveals that the large verse marker medallions in Sultan Ibrahim's Qurʾan were executed after the large Qurʾanic text was penned but before the small Persian text was inserted (see Figure 1). The small rosettes, marking the end of each Persian sentence, were executed in the spaces left empty during the copying, and the background illumination was placed last, as indicated by the way the decoration frames the text, medallions, dots, and vowels. The illuminated borders around the text were added after the text was copied, as is evident in the way the frame covers a letter at the end of the first lines in the Qurʾan of al-ʿAbdusi (see Figure 3). These stages of production indicate that the manuscript was completed according to a plan and that its execution took considerable time. According to the colophons of Al-ʿAbdusi's Qurʾan, it took four years to complete.[76] Consequently, someone must have been responsible for the overall supervision of the manuscripts' production. One may then surmise that this individual was ʿUthman, the eldest, who identifies himself both as the calligrapher and illuminator of Sultan Ibrahim's Qurʾan.

The five Ghaznavid manuscripts not only were works of art but also were made to be relied on. ʿUthman included marginal illuminated devices that correspond to daily, monthly, and yearly divisions for reading the Qurʾanic text.[77] His title *al-warrāq*, a term deriving from *waraq* (paper), refers to different aspects of the book industry, from production to sale.[78] The central Asian religious authority al-Samaʿani (d. 562/1166) offers a definition of the *warrāq* as someone who copied the Qurʾan, hadith, and other texts. He notes that in Baghdad the title indicated someone who manufactured and sold paper.[79] A couple of centuries later, in his *Muqaddima* (Prolegomena), Ibn Khaldun (d. 808/1405) associates the profession of *wirāqa* with copying, correcting, binding, and other related matters.[80] It is therefore plausible for ʿUthman to be familiar with all aspects of Qurʾan production and to serve as the supervisor of manuscript execution. Such an association obviously explains his confidence in developing an illuminated navigational system for the Qurʾan that combines both the artistic and the functional.

The fact that the names of Uthman's son, Muhammad, and ʿAli appear in small size within the illumination of Sultan Ibrahim's Qurʾan suggests that they may have been involved solely in the volume's decoration. We know from the colophons of the other manuscripts, however, they were also calligraphers, suggesting that Muhammad's title *warrāq* was passed to him from his father, who had trained him in both calligraphy and illumination.[81] ʿAli must have also been trained in both art forms, as suggested in the colophon of the *juzʾ* he copied and illuminated as well as in the surviving volume of the Bust Qurʾan.

The surviving material does not indicate whether ʿUthman received the royal commission and collaborated occasionally with Muhammad and ʿAli or whether the three worked at the court of Ghazna or in another city of the Ghaznavid Empire. Because the surviving *juzʾ* from the Bust Qurʾan, illuminated by ʿAli ibn ʿAbd al-Rahman, who is most likely the same ʿAli whose name appears in the illumination of Sultan Ibrahim's Qurʾan, mentions Bust as its place of production, the three may not have always collaborated. Also, some manuscripts may have been copied in Ghazna, whereas others may have been copied in Bust. It is also unclear whether these artists worked for the Ghaznavid court and whether they moved with the courtiers, who held

secondary residencies in Bust.[82] If so, the manuscripts under consideration here would be the earliest production of a royal manuscript workshop. In later Persian sources from the thirteenth century such institutions are generally called *kitābkhāna* in reference to both libraries and ateliers in which artists collaborate on manuscripts. We know about nine artists who were involved in the production of manuscripts for the Safavid prince Sultan Ibrahim Mirza (d. 984/1577). They represent two successive and overlapping generations of artists who had either familial ties (father/son) or professional links (master/pupil), just like in the case of ʿUthman, Muhammad, and Ali.[83] Although there is no firm evidence that ʿUthman and his peers worked in a court workshop, the resemblances between the manuscripts point to a common atelier of artistic production in which scripts and decorative motifs were favored over others, stylized and applied across media.

It is also unclear to what extent Ghaznavid patrons were involved in the production of manuscripts. According to the earliest *waqfiyya* (endowment charter), the author and vizier Rashid al-Din (d. 717/1318) established an artistic atelier at the end of the thirteenth century just outside the Ilkhanid capital Tabriz and would specify the material and format of manuscripts.[84] The *waqfiyya* also listed the personnel involved in the production of the works and their responsibilities. Hence, the vizier was directly involved in the commissioning of manuscripts, which suggests that the Ghaznavid elite may have had a say in the formation of their Qurʾanic visual language, especially that the script and illumination echo the epigraphic inscriptions and decoration on their buildings.

The work of ʿUthman, Muhammad, and ʿAli stemmed from earlier traditions but also incorporated new elements. As the analysis of script and illumination showed, the three craftsmen were active agents in shaping a visual repertoire that drew on Qurʾanic and non-Qurʾanic artistic productions from eastern Iran. This visual language may also have mixed Iranian elements with Indic motifs that had already been translated into Ghaznavid and Ghurid architecture.[85] Textual sources inform us that the mosque built in 408/1017 by the Ghaznavid Sultan Mahmud and described by the poet and historian al-ʿUtbi (d. 427/1035) is a richly decorated monument built from the spoils of the sultan's Indian campaigns.[86] Although nothing remains from the mosque, the discovery of Indian figures and statues in Ghazna suggests that they could have been part of the palace's opulent decoration.

With the continuous flux of people in and out of Khurasan, trade networks between Iraq and central Asia, and contacts with the fringes of the Indian world, borders became blurred and circulation of motifs became fluid. Henceforth, rather than seeing the style of the imperial Ghaznavid manuscripts as solely echoing trends that emerged in important cultural centers such as Baghdad, we should understand it as one among many that shaped the artistic production of the Mashriq.[87] To view artistic activities in motion (as part of a polycentric landscape) is to move beyond the linear understanding that a pure artistic visual language is formed in the "center" to later influence the "margin." These Ghaznavid manuscripts are evidence that the "margin" took up an important role, if not a leading one, in the production of the Qurʾan. And as the continuity between the Ghaznavid Qurʾanic visual repertoire and other contemporaneous and later dynasties in eastern Iran suggests, a local language developed diachronically and synchronically—one that was different from those of the Mamluks, Ilkhanids, and Injus but that must have been a mix of all three repertoires.[88]

Symbolic Meanings and Afterlives

With their rich illumination, lavish use of gold, and monumental stylized scripts, these imperial manuscripts made a powerful visual impact. Not only sponsors of grandiose architecture, the Ghaznavid elites were also great patrons of the arts of the book. The education of the Ghaznavid sultan, which included training in the art of writing, supports such an idea. An anecdote by the historian Ibn al-Athir (d. 630/1232) mentions that each year Sultan Ibrahim would copy in his own hand a Qurʾan that he would send along with other charitable donations to Mecca.[89] This commitment to divine scripture must have been one of the driving forces

that led the Ghaznavid sultans to commission such splendid manuscripts, the other being the formalization of Persian learning and writing, which the circulation of al-Haddadi's Persian *tafsīr* (used in Sultan Ibrahim's and the British Library's Qurʾan) had fulfilled.[90]

We do not know precisely how these manuscripts were used. Their size indicates they were commissioned for individual use, but the facts that they were copied in multiple volumes and that some had Persian commentary suggest that they may have been ordered for schools to be used by many at the same time. The condition of the manuscripts implies that they were not heavily used, and their lavishness indicates they may have been commissioned for the libraries of the elite. As sponsors of the arts, the Ghaznavid rulers used their patronage of manuscripts and other media to communicate a strong image of their empire in their own elite circles.

From expensive commissions for schools or private libraries, these Qurʾan manuscripts were, in modern times, offered to or bought by museums or private collectors. Their journey westward from what is today Afghanistan to Iran, Turkey, and Europe can be only roughly traced. The Qurʾan of Sultan Ibrahim ended its journey in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library. The British Library's volume became part of the Arabic manuscripts collection at the British Museum; it was bought from Mirza S. Ayrazoff on 19 April 1904, although one section of the same Qurʾan is in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library. The Qurʾan of al-ʿAbdusi is now in Mashhad, but it was at one point divided between Mashhad and the National Museum of Iran in Tehran.[91] The later history of the Qurʾan manuscript that includes the *juzʾ* copied by ʻAli is still unknown. It was divided among various collections in the United States, Canada, Europe, Turkey, and Kuwait.[92] Finally, the only surviving volume of the Bust Qurʾan, now in Paris, was originally in the collection of a French diplomat who acquired it in the nineteenth century.[93]

The meaning of these manuscripts shifted with time as they were appreciated as artistic objects from the "Orient" and were stripped of their religious significance. Certain aspects of their biographies suggest how these volumes were perceived throughout their lifetime. Among the manuscripts under discussion, only the later story of Sultan Ibrahim's Qurʾan is known. At some point in its lifetime, the manuscript was endowed to an institution, as indicated by a generic *waqf* inscription, but we do not know to which one or when.[94] It was appropriated when a later hand went through the whole text smudging the names of several early companions of the Prophet (*sabb al-ṣaḥāba*), such as Abu Hurayra, Abu Bakr, and ʿUthman.[95] This may be related to the practice of cursing these early companions of the Prophet and may suggest that the manuscript passed through an area and period with a large Shiʿi population, perhaps Safavid Iran.[96] This form of engagement with the text had even led to altering ʿUthman's name in the colophon to read ʿAli. A recent transformative episode occurred when a facsimile edition of its sole surviving volume was offered by the Topkapı Palace Museum Library to Iran's Majlis library, a gift that held both political and religious significance.[97] When the speaker of the Iranian Parliament, ʿAli Larijani, addressed the assembly during the ceremony, he described the Qurʾan as a force capable of drawing together Muslims separated by sectarian differences. His statement referred to a political desire to symbolically unite the Sunnis of Turkey and the Shiʿis of Iran behind the Ghaznavid Qurʾan—a statement that countered the original act of gifting the Qurʾan by the Turkish State, which originally aimed at positioning itself as the political and cultural power in the region capable of uniting the *umma* behind it. The Qurʾan of Sultan Ibrahim was hence pulled into a power play that injected in it additional political meanings, being the earliest known Qurʾan with Persian *tafsīr.*

The importance of the imperial Ghaznavid Qurʾan manuscripts does not lie only in the fact that they reveal a number of aspects about Qurʾanic production in an understudied period. They also inform about the ways in which people perceived, used, and interacted with the Qurʾan, not only as a holy text but also as a material object, a subject to be pursued in the future, the seeds of which have been planted in the current essay. Approaching a Qurʾan manuscript as a palimpsest of meanings and uncovering stories about its circulation and dispersion unfolds stories of power and appropriation that shape and keep shaping people's perception of the Qurʾan from the time of the Ghaznavids to the present day.

Notes

1. Although some key Qurʾan manuscripts copied between the tenth and twelfth centuries have been studied and published, Qurʾan production during this period has not been fully addressed yet, and I am currently preparing a book to be published with Edinburgh University Press in 2023 entitled *The Forgotten Qurʾans of the Medieval Eastern Islamic World: The Ghaznavid and Ghurid Dynasties*. I published the study of one Ghaznavid Qurʾan manuscript in an article coauthored with Travis Zadeh: Alya Karame and Travis Zadeh, "The Art of Translation: An Early Persian Commentary of the Qurʾān," *Journal of Abbasid Studies* 2, no. 2 (2015): 119–195. See also Kianoosh Motaghedi, *Warrāq-i Ghaznavi Family*, Golestan-e Honar Series 19 (Tehran: Peikareh Pub, 2016).
2. On Khurasan as a literary center, see Jan Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature* (Dordrecht, Netherlands: D. Reidel, 1968), 126–136. On ceramic production, generally called Samanid wares and associated with Nishapur, see Robert Hillenbrand, "Content versus Context in Samanid Epigraphic Pottery," in *Medieval Central Asia and the Persianate World: Iranian Tradition and Islamic Civilisation*, ed. A. C. S. Peacock and Deborah G. Tor (London: I.B. Tauris, 2015), 56–107. For examples of metalwork production in Khurasan, see the flask with the name of an official in Balkh (d. around mid-eleventh century) in I. Smirnov, ed., *Vostochnoe serebro*: *Atlas drevnei serebrianoi i zolotoi posudy vostochnogo proiskhozhdeniia, naidennoi preimushchestvenno v predelakh Rossiiskoi imperii. Izdanie imperatorskoi arkheologicheskoi kommissii ko dniu piatidesiatiletiia eia deiatel'nosti* (St. Petersburg: Izdanie Imperatorskoi Arkheologicheskoi Kommissii ko dniu piatidesiatiletiia eia deiatel'nosti, 1909), plates 81, 83. For metalwork in Herat, see the inlaid brass ewer, now in the Georgian National Museum in Tbilisi (Coll. no. 19–2008: 32) that holds an inscription stating it was decorated in Herat in 577/1181: Sheila R. Canby, Deniz Beyazit, Martina Rugiadi, and A. C. S. Peacock, *Court and Cosmos: The Great Age of the Seljuqs* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2016), 155, cat. no. 85.
3. On the courts of Sultan Mahmud and Masʿud I (r. 421–432/1030–1040) as cultural centers, see Clifford E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, *Their Empire in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran 994–1040* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1963), 131–135.
4. On Ghaznavid architecture, see Roberta Giunta, "Islamic Ghazni: An IsIAO Archaeological Project in Afghanistan—A Preliminary Report (July 2004-June 2005)," *East and West* 55, no. 1/4 (2005): 473–484; Martina Rugiadi, "'As for the Colours, Look at a Garden in Spring': Polychrome Marble in the Ghaznavid Architectural Decoration," in *Proceedings of the 7th International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East*, ed. Roger Matthews and John Curtis (Wiesbaden, Germany: Harrassowitz, 2012), 254–273; and Martina Rugiadi, "The Ghaznavid Marble Architectural Decoration: An Overview." Aga Khan Project in Islamic Architecture, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Mass., 2010), https://web.mit.edu/akpia/www/articlerugiadi.pdf (accessed 10 August 2022).
5. Al-Bayhaqi wrote a monumental Persian history of the Ghaznavid dynasty, but only the part that deals with the reign of Masʿud I survives. It became known as *Tarīkh-i masʿudi* and was published by Clifford E. Bosworth, *The History of Beyhaqi: The History of Sultan Mas'ud of Ghazna, 1030–1041* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2011). For a description of a celebration at the court of Masʿud I, see Bosworth, *Ghaznavids*, 135–137; and Bosworth, *History of Beyhaqi*, 2: 78–80.
6. The Mashriq is defined in this essay as the geographic region that extends from Egypt to the eastern border of Khurasan and stretches to the Indus valley and Sind.
7. "New Style," a term coined by François Déroche, is a shortening of "New Abbasid Style," as opposed to "Old Abbasid Style" (*les écritures abbasides anciennes*), which is Déroche's term for Kufic. New Style has been given different descriptive names in modern scholarship, such as "broken cursive," "semi-Kufic," and "broken Kufic," as well as geographic names, such as "eastern Kufic" and "eastern Persian Kufic," among others. "New Style" seems to be the most appropriate among the terms used since this group of scripts did not develop linearly from everyday cursive scripts (as "broken cursive" implies) or from Kufic

(as "semi-Kufic" and "broken Kufic" imply) and is not necessarily confined to any specific part of the Islamic lands (as "eastern Kufic" implies). Blair and Déroche provide a list of the use of different terms in modern literature: Sheila Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 143–144; and François Déroche, *The Abbasid Tradition: Qurʾans of the 8th to 10th Centuries AD*, Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art 1 (London: Nour Foundation in association with Azimuth Editions and Oxford University Press, 1992), 132.

8. I invented the term "Round Style" to refer to the round scripts used for copying the Qurʾan before their formal codification and to avoid confusion with "non-Qurʾanic book hands," Déroche's "*écritures livresques non-coraniques*," which indicate scripts used to copy non-Qurʾanic manuscripts. François Déroche, "Les manuscrits arabes datés du IIIe/IXe siècle," *Revue des Études Islamiques* 55–57 (1987–1989): 360.
9. Although the relation of Kufic to the city of Kufa in Iraq has not been established, for reasons of convenience, given that it has been widely in use since medieval times and in modern literature, I will retain the term.
10. For the earliest use of NS in Qurʾans, see the so-called Khayqani Qurʾan now dispersed among various collections in the world: Déroche, *Abbasid Tradition*, 144; and Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy*, 148–150. For the Qurʾan of Ibn al-Bawwab, see David S. Rice, *The Unique Ibn al-Bawwāb Manuscript in the Chester Beatty Library* (Dublin: Emery Walker, 1995), 11–28; and Alain George, *The Rise of Islamic Calligraphy* (London: Saqi, 2010), 127–134.
11. Déroche, *Abbasid Tradition*, 132–136.
12. *Al-aqlām al-sitta* are the round cursive proportional scripts that were adopted by the Ottoman and Iranian calligraphers. They are *muḥaqqaq*, *rayḥān*, *thuluth*, *naskh*, *tawqīʿ* and *riqāʿ*. The distinction among these scripts started appearing during the Mamluk period. For the Ottoman sources, see Muhittin Serin, *Hattat Şeyh Hamdullah hayâtı, talebeleri, eserleri* (Istanbul: Kubbealtı Akademisi Kültür ve Sanʾat Vakfı, 1992), 184–189; for the Mamluk sources, see Adam Gacek, "Arabic Scripts and Their Characteristics as Seen through the Eyes of Mamluk Authors," *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 4 (1989): 144–149.
13. By the twelfth century, a Qurʾan copied on parchment would have been very hard to find, except in the Maghrib, where it remained in use until the fourteenth century alongside the square format and distinctive forms of RS generally called Maghribi.
14. A *juzʾ* is a system of division in Qurʾan manuscripts that divides the text into roughly equal sections. It is neither a "volume," in that it does not take the beginning and end of suras into account, nor is it made of a single quire.
15. As noted on folios 238b–239a, Sultan Ibrahim ibn Masʿud "ordered its copying" (*amara bi-kitbatihi*). The number of the volume is announced on folio 2a, and the entire volume was published as facsimile under the title *al-Mujallad al-thāmin min maʿānī kitāb Allāh taʿālā wa tafsīruhu al-munīr*, ed. Ḥaʾiri (Tehran: Kitābkhāna, Mūzih wa-Markaz-I Asnād-I Majlis-I Shūrā-yi Islāmī, 2011).
16. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, E.H. 209. It covers Q. 18:60 through the end of Q. 22.
17. The Topkapı volume measures 34 × 24.5 cm after it was trimmed and rebound; Sotheby's leaf measures 30.2 × 23.8 cm and presents the exact same design as on the Topkapı manuscript's frontispiece. See Sotheby's, "Arts of the Islamic World," auction sale, lot 1, 20 April 2016, http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2016/arts-islamic-world-l16220/lot.1.html (accessed 10 August 2022). The name of Muhammad is repeated again in a small octagon within the illuminated banner on folio 85a and is preceded by *ʿamal* (the work of), confirming his involvement in the Qurʾan's illumination.
18. On folio 7b.
19. The name of the author of the *tafsīr*, Abu Nasr Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Hamdan ibn Muhammad al-Haddadi, is inscribed in four concentric circles at the beginning of the volume (folio 2a). Al-Haddadi (d. after 400/1009) was a religious scholar who lived in the city of Samarqand. For a study of the translation and commentary, see Karame and Zadeh, "Art of Translation," 150–186.

20. Its size is 33.5 × 26.5 cm. An edition of the manuscript was published by the Iranian scholar Matini. See Jalāl Matīnī, *Tafsīrī bar ʿushrī az Qurʾān-i majīd* (Tehran: Bunyad-i Farhang-i Iran, 1974).
21. The British Library, Or. 6573. It covers Q. 18:74 through Q. 25:10.
22. Two are in the Qurʾan Museum of the Astan-i Quds Razavi in Mashhad (the first *juzʾ* as no. 71 and the twenty-second *juzʾ* as no. 70), and the rest are housed in the Central Library of the same institution (3052–3071, 3075–3076, 3085, and 5020). I thank Mahdi Sahragard for providing me with a high-resolution image of this manuscript. Sahragard discusses this Qurʾan in his publication *Satr-i Mastur [Hidden Script]: The History and Stylistics of Eastern Kufic Script* (Tehran: Academy of Art and Imam Reza International Foundation, 2019), 173–185. Folios from this manuscript were published in Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy*, 197; Richard Ettinghausen, Oleg Grabar, and Marilyn Jenkins-Madina, *Islamic Art and Architecture, 650–1250* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press), 180; Martin Lings, *Splendours of Qurʾan Calligraphy and Illumination* (Liechtenstein: Thesaurus Islamicus Foundation, 2005), 57; and Aḥmad Gulchin Maʿāni, "*Shāhkārhā-yi hunarī shigift-i angīzī az qarn-i panjum hijrī wa-sar gudhasht-i ḥayrat āwar-i ān*," *Hunar Wa-Mardum* 157 (Sh. 1354/1975): 46–64.
23. Maʿāni, "Shāhkārhā-yi hunarī," 62.
24. Its size is 30 × 25 cm.
25. Maʿāni, "*Shāhkārhā-yi hunarī*," 47.
26. Ibn Funduq, *Tāʾrīkh-i Baihaq*, ed. Aḥmad Bahmany*ār* (Tehran, Sh. 1317/1938), 254–255, and cited in Bosworth, *Ghaznavids*, 197. For the definition of *raʾīs*, see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Raʾīs," by A. Havemann, C. E. Bosworth, and S. Soucek, https://doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0904 (accessed 10 August 2022).
27. Cited in Bosworth, *Ghaznavids*, 197.
28. I have reassembled this Qurʾan on the basis of the examination of the actual folios or their reproductions. The Topkapı Palace Museum Library holds the eighteenth *juzʾ* that covers Q. 23:1–25:20 (R. 14), the Aga Khan Museum in Toronto has folios from the opening of the final *juzʾ* that covers Q. 78:1–88:8 (MS 00261), the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York has one folio (37.111.2), the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., has another folio (F1929.70), the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin has one folio (Ms. 1607), the Kuwait National Museum has twenty-two folios from the seventh volume that covers Q. 5:83–110 and 113–20 (LNS 6 MS), and the Bavarian State Library in Munich holds the twentieth volume, which covers Q. 27:56–29:45 (cod. Arab. 2603).
29. The colophon was published in Lings, *Splendours*, 58.
30. Its size is 25.5 × 19.5 cm.
31. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arabe 6041. It covers Q. 23:56–34:20 and is available online; see http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8433296d.r=arabe%206041 (accessed 10 August 2022).
32. The colophon is on folio 125a.
33. Its size is 20.2 × 15.1 cm.
34. The Kufic features of the Isfahan Qurʾan are drawn from Kufic type D.Vb and can be detected in the lower return of *alif*, the shafts of *ṭāʾ*/*ẓāʾ* and *kāf*, and the shape of some *lām-alif*s. Déroche, *Abbasid Tradition*, 44–45, table IV.
35. Folios from this Qurʾan were published and discussed in Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy*, 153; Déroche, *Abbasid Tradition*, 147–151; François Déroche, "Cercles et entrelacs: format et décor des corans maghrébins médiévaux," *Comptes-rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (2011): 596–604; and George, *Rise of Islamic Calligraphy*, 122–123.
36. The Qurʾan is dispersed among various collections throughout the world: 170 folios are at the Chester Beatty Library (Is. 1434), and 16 folios are in the Istanbul University Library (Ms. A6758), including the colophon. It is a widely published Qurʾan, such as in Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy*, 152; M. Uğur Derman, *Fann*

al-khaṭṭ: tārīkhuh wa-namādhij min rawāʾiʿih ʿalā marr al ʿuṣūr, trans. Sāliḥ Saʿdāwī (Istanbul: IRCICA, 1990), 176, no. 9; David James, *Qurʾans and Bindings from the Chester Beatty Library: A Facsimile Exhibition* (London: World of Islam Festival Trust, 1980), 33–34.

37. One Qurʾan, now at the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts in Istanbul (TIEM 555), employs a script almost identical to that of ʿUthman and his peers, suggesting that it may also have been copied in the same script tradition of eastern Iran. Folios from this Qurʾan are published in Massumeh Farhad and Simon Rettig, eds., *The Art of the Qurʾan: Treasures from the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts* (Washington, D.C.: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, 2016), 174–175; and in Seracettin Şahin, *The 1400th Anniversary of the Qurʾan: Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art Qurʾan Collection* (Istanbul: Antik A.Ş. Cultural Publications, 2010), 212–215. Another *juzʾ* is in the Sarikhani Collection. See Robert Hillenbrand, *The Sarikhani Collection: An Introduction* (London: Paul Holberton, 2011), 42–45.

38. In black, blue, and red (folios 13a, 70b–77a).

39. *Tarwīs* is a term generally used to indicate the serif-like form at the beginning of a letter.

40. The *shaẓiyya* is the thickness at the starting point of a letter.

41. These defining characteristics are based on one of the earliest documents that present us with mature RS, which became commonly known as *al-aqlām al-sitta* (the Six Pens), namely, an Ottoman calligraphy exercise (*mashq*) dated 1014/1605. It was identified and studied by Derman: M. Uğur Derman, "A Remarkable Collection of *Mashq*," in *Art turc: 10eme Congrès international d'art turc*, ed. François Déroche, Antoinette Harri, and Allison Ohta, Geneva: Fondation Max Van Berchem, 1995), 251–259. Although earlier documents with visual examples of letter shapes survived, this one provides us with an illustration of all six types at once.

42. Typical *naskh* features in Ibn al-Bawwab's Qurʾan are apparent in the small openings of letters and in the form of letters such as the straight end of *alif*; the less obvious *shaẓiyya* of *jīm* / *ḥāʾ* / *khāʾ*; the shallow bottom part of *dāl* / *dhal*; and the rectilinear form of *ṭāʾ* / *ẓāʾ*, with a straight short shaft. Its typical *muḥaqqaq* characteristics are detected in the shallow bowls and diagonal tails of letters, and this is probably the reason that Nassar Mansour calls it *rayḥān*, the smaller version of *muḥaqqaq* as classified in the Six Pens. Nassar Mansour, *Sacred Script: Muhaqqaq in Islamic Calligraphy* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2011), 91–93. Other scholars designate the text as *naskh* and the sura headings as *thuluth*. For example, Rice, *Ibn al-Bawwāb Manuscript*, 85–87; and Yasser Tabbaa, "The Transformation of Arabic Writing: Part I, Qurʾānic Calligraphy," *Ars Orientalis* 21 (1991): 133.

43. The manuscript in two volumes is now in the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts (TIEM 431a, 431b), with two folios at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (40.164.4b). It was ordered by the ruler of the Sulayhid dynasty in Yemen, ʿAli ibn Muhammad al-Sulayhi, as the inscriptions at its beginning indicate. Folios from this Qurʾan were published in Rice, *Ibn al-Bawwāb Manuscript*, plate XVI; Şahin, *1400th Anniversary*, 210–211; Tabbaa, "Transformation of Arabic Writing," 134; George, *Rise of Islamic Calligraphy*, 141–143; and Farhad and Rettig, *Art of the Qurʾan*, 166–171.

44. The book is now at Leiden University Library (Ms. Or. 437). I thank Arnoud Vrolijk for providing me with a scan of the opening of the manuscript. For a study of this manuscript, see S. M. Stern, "A Manuscript from the Library of the Ghaznavid Amir ʿAbd al-Rashid," in *Paintings from Islamic Lands*, ed. Ralph Pinder-Wilson, Oriental Series 4 (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1969), 7–31; and Petrus Voorhoeve, *Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and Other Collections in the Netherlands*, 2nd ed., Codices Manuscripti 7 (Leiden, Netherlands: Leiden University Press, 1980), 162.

45. Two of these manuscripts are at the British Library (Add. 7214 and Or. 13312), one is in the Chester Beatty Library (Is. 1430), one is at the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts (TIEM 449), and one is in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library (H.S. 89). In his study of Ibn al-Bawwab's Qurʾan, Rice briefly discusses three out of the five Qurʾans as manuscripts contemporaneous with Ibn al-Bawwab's. Rice, *Ibn al-Bawwāb Manuscript*, 105–109. A detailed study of this group of manuscripts will be published in my forthcoming book; see note 1.

46. Saint Laurent had already pointed to similarities between the script used in the "Qarmathian Qurʾan" and the calligraphic style of the Samanid and Seljuq ceramics. See Béatrice Saint Laurent, "The Identification of a Magnificent Koran Manuscript," in *Les manuscrits du Moyen-Orient, essais de codicologie et de paléographie*, ed. François Déroche (Istanbul: Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes and Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1989), 122–123.

47. The bowls were excavated from the Tepe Madrasa in Nishapur. The first bowl is now in the Brooklyn Museum (86.227.8), 42.5 cm diameter (https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/125981; accessed 15 August 2022); the second is at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (40.170.15), 35.6 cm diameter (https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/40.170.15/; accessed 15 August 2022). Additional examples of the use of NS on ceramics can be seen on other bowls at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (40.170.25, 65.106.2) and on a bowl in the Iran Bastan Museum in Tehran (3076), published as plate 120 in ʿAbdallah Ghouchani, *Inscriptions on Nishapur Pottery* (Tehran: Reza Abbasi Museum, 1986), on which the *kāf* and the *ṭāʾ* are NS in type. For a study of these wares, see Oya Pancaroğlu, "Serving Wisdom: The Contents of Samanid Epigraphic Pottery," in *Studies in Islamic and Later Indian Art from the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University Art Museums* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Art Museums, 2002), 59–75.

48. Lisa Volov, "Plaited Kufic on Samanid Epigraphic Pottery," *Ars Orientalis* 6 (1966): 123, text fig. 3.a. Volov traces the chronological development of these letters' transformations and notes their eastward travel.

49. The inscription is published in Arthur M. Pope, ed., *A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 5:1746, fig. 601.

50. The tomb is published in Samuel Flury, "Le décor épigraphique des monuments de Ghazna," *Syria* 6 (1925): plate XXIV. For more examples of funerary inscriptions from Ghazna, see Roberta Giunta, *Les inscriptions funéraires de Gaznī* (Naples, Italy: Università di Napoli "L'Orientale" and Fondation Max van Berchem, 2003). For Ghaznavid Persian inscriptions, see Viola Allegranzi, *Aux sources de la poésie ghaznavide: Les inscriptions persanes de Ghazni*, 2 vols. (Paris: Presses Sorbonne Nouvelle, 2019).

51. The inscription is published in Roberta Giunta, "The Tomb of Muḥammad Al-Harawī (447/1055) at Gaznī (Afghanistan) and Some New Observations on the Tomb of Maḥmūd the Gaznavid," *East and West* 51, no. 1/2 (2001): 114.

52. This panel (C2890) and the results of the excavations, which were led by the Italian Archaeological Mission in Afghanistan and documented in the 1950s–1970s and from 2002 to the present, are available online: Ghazni Italian Archaeological Mission in Afghanistan, "Buddhist and Islamic Archaeological Data from Ghazni, Afghanistan," http://ghazni.bradypus.net (accessed 15 August 2022). I thank Viola Allegranzi for providing me with a high-resolution image of the dado panel. For the Qurʾan's colophon see Lings, *Splendours*, 58.

53. Hillenbrand and Ghouchani suggest that calligraphers may have been involved alongside potters in producing ceramic wares, and Hillenbrand offers insights on the process of translation between ceramic and paper. Hillenbrand, "Content versus Context,'' 65; and Ghouchani, *Inscriptions on Nishapur Pottery*, 6. On the migration of themes across media and, specifically, between book paintings and pottery, see Robert Hillenbrand, "The Relationship between Book Painting and Luxury Ceramics in 13th-Century Iran," in *The Art of the Saljūqs in Iran and Anatolia: Proceedings of a Symposium Held in Edinburgh in 1982*, ed. Robert Hillenbrand (Costa Mesa, Calif.: Mazda Publishers, 1994): 134–141.

54. The current frontispiece was reconstructed after a folio was taken out from the manuscript; see note 18.

55. The chessboard pattern can be seen in a Qurʾan copied in NS in the vertical format, Khalili QUR430, published in Déroche, *Abbasid Tradition*, 152, cat. no. 82, and even earlier in the ninth century Kufic Qurʾans.

56. The frontispieces from al-ʿAbdusi's Qurʾan are published in Maʿāni, "*Shāhkārhā-yi hunarī*," 58–59. Two additional frontispieces are published in Motaghedi, *Warrāq-i Ghaznavi Family*, 29, 49, 52.

57. The Seal of Solomon was used on amulets of the same period. See, for instance, the block-printed scroll now at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Acc. no. 1978.546.32). https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/452893 (accessed 18 October 2022).

58. See note 45.

59. They are are circular like type 5 vignettes, but their design is taken from that of type 4 since they contain foliated scrolls. François Déroche, *Les manuscrits du Coran: Aux origines de la calligraphie coranique.* Catalogue des Manuscrits Arabes: Manuscrits Musulman 2. (Paris: Bibliotheque nationale de France, 1983), 31–33.

60. The tenth-verse marker can be seen in, for example, Bibliothèque nationale de France Arabe 325j and Arabe 334l; see Déroche, *Les manuscrits du Coran*, 30. Déroche calls this type 4.D.II; see Déroche, *Les manuscrits du Coran*, 28–30. The rosette that marks the end of a sentence is, according to Déroche's typology, type 3.2.2.

61. It is type 1.A.I: "1" indicates a simple circle, "A" indicates a simple form, and "I" indicates no dots around the device. It can be seen, for example, in Bibliothèque nationale de France Arabe 325a. Déroche, *Les manuscrits du Coran*, 29.

62. The *abjad* is a system of counting in which letters in the Arabic alphabet are assigned numerical values.

63. They are both of type 3.2.2. Déroche, *Les manuscrits du Coran*, 29–30.

64. The basin is now part of the Khalili Collection of Islamic Art (MTW 1242). Published in Assadullah Souren Melikian-Chirvani, *Islamic Metalwork from the Iranian World 8th-18th Centuries* (London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 1982), 63, fig. 26; and Michael J. Rogers, *The Arts of Islam: Masterpieces from the Khalili Collection* (London: Thames and Hudson), 96–97, cat. 103.

65. The remains of the palace are published in Alessio Bombaci, *The Kūfic Inscription in Persian Verses in the Court of the Royal Palace of Mas'ūd III at Ghazni*, Reports and Memoirs 5 (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo, 1966); Rugiadi, "Ghaznavid Marble," figs. 1–5; and Martina Rugiadi, "Marble from the Palace of Masʿūd III in Ghazni," in *Proceedings of the 19th International Conference on South Asian Archaeology, Ravenna, 2th–6th July 2007*, ed. Pierfrancesco Callieri and Luca Colliva (Oxford, U.K.: Archaeopress, 2010), 2:297–306.

66. The tomb is published in Flury, "Décor épigraphique," plate XXIV. For another example of this form, see Rugiadi, "Marble from the Palace of Masʿūd," 303, fig. 3. This form also resonates with lobed arches, which were common during this period. See Robert Hillenbrand, "The Architecture of the Ghaznavids and Ghurids," in *The Sultan's Turret: Studies in Persian and Turkish Culture in Honour of Edmund Bosworth*, ed. Carole Hillenbrand (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2000), 164.

67. As on the arched marble panel excavated from Ghazna (IG0149b) by the Italian Archaeological Mission in Afghanistan, https://ghazni.bdus.cloud/record/IG01496b (accessed 18 October 2022).

68. Reflecting the five instances in which the verb *wurūd* appears with different meanings in the Qurʾan, following the discussion by al-Haddadi, the author of the *tafsīr.* For a detailed study of this spread, see Karame and Zadeh, "Art of Translation," 146–148.

69. On master's specimens and how they offer calligraphers the possibility of reconstructing a technique, see David Roxburgh, "On the Transmission and Reconstruction of Arabic Calligraphy: Ibn al-Bawwab and History," *Studia Islamica*, no. 96 (2003): 39–53.

70. Such as on fol. 29b.

71. A folio at the end of a Qurʾan now in a private collection attributes it to "ʿUthmān ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Warrāq," pointing to the success of his style. François Déroche, "Une reliure du Ve/xIe siècle," *Nouvelles des Manuscrits du Moyen-Orient* 4, no. 1 (1995): 4–6; and François Déroche, *Islamic Codicology: An Introduction to the Study of Manuscripts in Arabic Script* (London: al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation, 2005), 188, n. 14.

72. One volume is now in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library (E.H. 42). Folios from this manuscript were published in Derman, *Fann al-khaṭṭ*, plate 17; Lings, *Splendours*, 59; and Tabbaa, "Transformation of Arabic Writing," 125.

73. The Qurʾan was studied by Finbarr Barry Flood. See "Islamic Identities and Islamic Art: Inscribing the Qurʾan in Twelfth-Century Afghanistan," in *Dialogues in Art History, from Mesopotamian to Modern: Readings for a*

New Century, ed. Elizabeth Cropper (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2009), 96–99. The colophon was published in Finbarr Barry Flood, *Objects of Translation: Material Culture and Medieval "Hindu-Muslim" Encounter* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2009), 95. The rendition was transcribed and translated by Flood in "Ghurid Monuments and Muslim Identities: Epigraphy and Exegesis in Twelfth Century Afghanistan," *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 42, no. 3 (2005): 267.

74. But that was not the case in the British Library Qurʾan (see Figure 2) as the bowls of the large script are cut at the edges of the lines of the small script.

75. No signs of blind tooling appear on the pages, and no traces of the use of a *miṣṭara* (ruler made of stretched threads on a board) are visible, although one can imagine that such a layout could have been achieved only with the help of such a tool.

76. The manuscript was not copied in the order of the Qurʾanic text itself: sections 1, 22, 25 and 28 were copied in 466/1073, whereas sections 4 and 5 were copied in 464/1071 and section 6 was copied in 462/1069.

77. Four systems of divisions were used at once in Sultan Ibrahim's copy, segmenting the Qurʾan into 30, 60, 150, and 360 parts. Although the division of 30 may indicate a reading over a month, that of 60 over two months, and that of 360 over a year, the division of the text into 150 parts may be a reading plan for half a year. See, for example, folios 9b–10a in Sultan Ibrahim's Qurʾan, in which all four systems overlap.

78. Déroche, *Islamic Codicology*, 188–189. In addition, those who held the title of *warrāq* had other professions such as poets, judges, and *ʿulamāʾ*. For the different types of *warrāqūn*, see Saʿīd Khayrallāh, *Warrāqū baghdād fī al-ʿaṣr al-ʿabbāsī* (Riyadh, Saudi Arabia: Markaz al-Malik Fayṣal li'l-Buḥūth wa'l-Dirāsāt al-Islāmiyya, 1420/2000), 299–317; and Ḥabīb Zayyāt, *al-Wirāqa wa-ṣināʾat al-kitāba wa-muʿjam al-sufun* (Beirut: Dar al-Hamra, 1992), 15–30.

79. ʿAbd al-Karīm ibn Muḥammad Al-Samaʿānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb, XII*, ed. David S. Margoliouth (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 1912), 236. But we also know that in the early days, a *warrāq* was the author's assistant, as illustrated by an anecdote stating that the philologist al-Farraʾ (d. 207/822) had two *warrāq*s who copied his *tafsīr* during his public lecturing on the command of Caliph al-Maʾmun (r. 197–217/812–832). Johannes Pedersen, *The Arabic Book* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984), 45–46.

80. Ibn Khadūn, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, trans. Franz Rosenthal, Bollingen Series 43 (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1967), 974.

81. According to Motaghedi, another Qurʾan was copied by Muhammad ibn ʿUthman. A folio from this Qurʾan is published in Motaghedi, *Warrāq-i Ghaznavi Family*, 55.

82. Bust was the city in which Sultan Mahmud and his son Masʿud I built Lashkar-i Bazar, a complex with residential and military structures and two large palaces. It was described in contemporaneous historical sources to have had an opulent court life with hunting, banquets, and palace receptions.

83. Although the first generation received patronage from the court of Shah Tahmasp, the second generation trained or worked at the court but reached artistic maturity under Sultan Ibrahim Mirza and stayed active after his death. Marianna Shreve Simpson, *Sultan Ibrahim Mirza's Haft Awrang: A Princely Manuscript from Sixteenth-Century Iran* (Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art, 1997), 252.

84. Simpson, *Mirza's Haft Awrang*, 318.

85. For example, Bosworth notes that Indic motifs were introduced in Ghaznavid architecture as early as the mid-eleventh century, and Flood confirms that they entered the visual language of Ghaznavid architecture earlier than the expansion of the sultanate into India. See Bosworth, *Ghaznavids*, 131–135; and Finbarr Barry Flood, "Indic Elements in Twelfth-Century Afghan Stone-Carving," in *Fifty Years of Research in the Heart of Eurasia*, ed. Anna Filigenzi and Roberta Giunta (Rome: Istituto Italiano per l'Africa et Oriente, 2009), 138. Flood illustrates this cross-cultural architectural reception by bringing to light a marble relief attributable to twelfth-century Ghazni. It depicts a figurative scene that was framed by a capital and a column that are both Indian in style. For a study of the marble relief, see Finbarr Barry Flood, "A Ghaznavid Narrative Relief and the Problem of Pre-Mongol Persian Painting," in *Siculo-Arabic Ivories and Islamic*

Painting 1100–1300, ed. David Knipp (Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 2011): 257–272. For a study of the use of Indic architectural motifs in Islamic architecture, see Flood, *Objects of Translation*, chap. 5, 137–226; and Hillenbrand, "Architecture of the Ghaznavids and Ghurids," 164.

86. For a description of Mahmud's mosque, see Abī al-Naṣr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-ʿUtbī, *al-Yamīnī fī sharḥ akhbār al-sulṭān yamīn al-dawla wa-amīn al-milla maḥmūd al-ghaznawī*, ed. Iḥsan al-Thamiri (Beirut: Dār al-Taliʿa, 2004), 414–18.

87. In the discipline of Islamic Art, political centers have been regarded as cultural centers from which aesthetic trends developed and influenced others in what has been termed the "periphery." As an example, the Abbasid architectural elements that survive outside of Iraq are used as evidence of an outward diffusion of Iraqi aesthetic as in the case of the nine-dome plan and the *muqarnas* ceilings. See Terry Allen, *Five Essays on Islamic Art* (Sebastopol, Calif.: Solipsist Press, 1988). The spread of Abbasid stucco ornaments from Samarra is another case in point. See Richard Ettinghausen, "The Bevelled Style in the Post-Samarra Period," in *Archaeologica Orientalia in Memoriam Ernst Herzfeld*, ed. George C. Miles (Locust Valley, N.Y.: J. J. Augustin, 1952), 76.

88. On Qurʾan manuscripts from sultanate India, see 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): 219–238; and Finbarr Barry Flood, "Eclecticism and Regionalism: The Gwalior Qurʾan and the Ghurid Legacy to Post-Mongol Art," in *Le Coran de Gwalior: Polysémie d'un Manuscrit à Peintures*, ed. Eloïse Brac de la Perrière and Monique Burési (Paris: Editions de Boccard, 2016): 153–169. Elements in the sultanate Qurʾanic manuscripts were taken from older Ghurid tradition through various modes of adoption. I presented a paper on this subject at "Connected Courts: Art of the South Asian Sultanates," a conference organized at Wolfson College, University of Oxford, 20–21 September 2019. And a chapter is dedicated to the subject in my forthcoming book.

89. ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, *The Annals of the Saljuq Turks: Selections from al-Kāmil fi'l-Taʾrīkh of Ibn Al-Athīr*, trans. D. S. Richards (London: Routledge, 2002), 8:456, cited in Clifford E. Bosworth, *The Later Ghaznavids: Splendor and Decay. The Dynasty in Afghanistan and Northern India 1040–1186* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1977), 74. Masʿud I, Ibrahim's father, is also known to have added sections in his own hand to official chancellery documents of an excellence unseen in good secretarial hands; Bosworth, *Later Ghaznavids*, 130.

90. Karame and Zadeh, "Art of Translation," 181–184.

91. The third volume holds signs of consultations from the nineteenth century. I thank Mahdi Sahragard for providing me with images of the volume. According to Kianoosh Motaghedi, who inspected the manuscript in Mashhad, a *waqf* note is present in the manuscript stating that the twenty-third *juzʾ* was offered to the Astan-i Quds Razavi (Imam Reza Shrine Library).

92. See note 28.

93. On Charles Schefer, see Auguste Bouché-Leclercq, "Notice sur la vie et les travaux de Charles Schefer, lue dans les séances des 3 et 10 novembre 1899," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 43, no. 6 (1899): 627–668.

94. Folios 52b–53a.

95. Abu Hurayra, folios 29a, 83a, 114b; however, his name is not smudged on folio 35a; Abu Bakr, folio 53b, and ʿUthman, folio 72a.

96. On the different forms of cursing the companions, see Rosemary Stanfield-Johnson, "The Tabarra'iyan and the Early Safavids," *Iranian Studies* 37, no. 1 (2004): 64–65.

97. For the event, see "Tehran Unveils Copy of Quran Manuscript from Topkapi Museum," https://www.turkishnews.com/en/content/2012/02/07/tehran-unveils-copy-of-quran-manuscript-from-topkapi-museum (accessed 17 October 2022).

Illuminated Qurʾan Manuscripts of Late Medieval Rum (Thirteenth to Fourteenth Centuries)

Cailah Jackson

Only two dated and securely identified Qurʾan manuscripts survive from the late medieval Lands of Rum.[1] One was copied in 677/1278 for a Seljuk bureaucrat, and the other was completed in 714/1314–1315 for a Qaramanid prince. Both were produced in Konya, the former capital of the Rum Seljuks (1077–1308). Although relatively little Qurʾanic material remains from medieval Rum, what has survived is remarkably revealing about the nature of illuminated manuscript production and patronage in the region. These codices also demonstrate that Konya was hardly isolated in terms of manuscript production and that it was, to a certain extent, integrated with transregional artistic networks that encompassed Ilkhanid and Mamluk lands. These networks, which existed well before the Mongol invasions of the thirteenth century because of long-established trade routes, persisted despite the onslaught, albeit in a different shape. In the post-Mongol eastern Islamic world, visual culture was heavily impacted by motifs adopted from China, which had less of an effect on the regional aesthetics of the western Islamic world.[2] Of course, the split between East and West was quite blurred and nuanced in places, and there is much work yet to be done on our understanding of these complex and extensive networks.

The arts of the book of medieval Rum remain relatively unknown in broader Islamic art scholarship primarily because of reasons of historiography. First, they are (for the most part) unillustrated, and second, they lack obvious dynastic connections. The passion for painting exhibited by nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Western collectors, alongside their highly questionable treatment of the material itself, has emphatically shaped the modern scholarly field.[3] Within the subfield of manuscript studies, illustrated material continues to receive copious attention, although there have been several important recent publications concerning calligraphy, illumination, bookbinding, and questions of production and patronage.[4] Furthermore, the study of Islamic art remains largely oriented around imperial patronage and dynastic periodization, although scholars are increasingly questioning such frameworks.[5] Periodization is a particularly thorny issue with regard to the history of medieval Rum, which has often been divided into "Seljuk," "Beylik" (or "pre-Ottoman"), and "Ottoman" eras.[6] This rather artificial partitioning is problematic as it glosses over the complex political and cultural nuances of the period. The concurrent scholarly emphasis on the Seljuk and Ottoman periods also gives the false impression that the intervening period was relatively insignificant in terms of artistic production. A focus on transregional networks and the movement of artists can provide an effective means of redressing a sometimes rigid focus on dynastic reigns.

The late medieval Lands of Rum were beset by political instability and brief, but relatively regular, eruptions of violence. From the eleventh century until the short-lived unification of the region under the command of the Ottoman ruler Bayezid I (r. 1389–1402), Rum was populated by various Muslim, Mongol, Byzantine, and Armenian polities, as well as relatively transient Crusader forces.[7] From 1243, the Mongols became involved in the region following their decisive victory over the Rum Seljuks at the Battle of Kösedağ. As a result of this devastating loss, the Seljuks became vassals of the victors and were forced to pay them tribute.

From the later part of the thirteenth century particularly, the Seljuks were mere puppets, quietly disappearing from the historical record in 1308. For the most part, Mongol imperial authority in Rum remained distant. Instead, de facto political power was soon split between ambitious bureaucrats, Mongol governors sent from Persia, and Turkmen beys (prince or commander, Arabic *amīr*), several of whom instigated conflict and disorder over the course of the fourteenth century. Despite this, intellectual life in Konya and several of Rum's other towns flourished. The thirteenth century saw émigré scholars, dervishes, and artists who were fleeing the Mongol onslaught join Rum's towns, which were already populated by people of varying religious and ethnic backgrounds, including Arabic-, Persian- and Turkish-speaking Muslims, Christian Greeks, Armenians, and European merchants. The comparative openness and religious tolerance of this mixed landscape further encouraged the movement of scholars, craftsmen, and Sufis into the region, attracted by already existing intellectual networks and the possibility of patronage. Moreover, the breakdown in imperial Seljuk power led to a rise in the importance of other towns in the region, like Sivas and Kayseri. Although Konya was no longer the main center of political and economic activity in the region, surviving manuscript evidence suggests that it remained the primary hub for the production of the arts of the book in Rum, despite the frequent outbreak of violence (particularly as a result of Qaramanid incursions).[8]

This essay provides insight into the arts of the book of Konya and their production and patronage. By analyzing the two aforementioned Qurʾan codices dated to 1278 and 1314–1315, this chapter considers the visual and physical nature of the material and aims to situate it in relation to illuminated manuscripts from Ilkhanid and Mamluk lands. Discussions show that although artists of Konya certainly adopted some Ilkhanid and Mamluk motifs, they also appear to have generated their own distinctive designs. This chapter also examines the identity of these artists and the manuscripts' patrons and shows that medieval Rum's artistic landscapes were populated by converts to Islam, Sufi dervishes, Seljuk bureaucrats, and Turkmen princes. This chapter also examines five more Qurʾan manuscripts and explores whether, on the basis of their calligraphy and illumination, they may also have been produced in Rum.

Three Qurʾan Codices from Konya

The Qurʾan from 1278 was copied in the madrasa of Saʿd al-Din Köpek, who was master of the hunt and public works (*amīr-i shikār va miʿmār*) under the Seljuk ruler ʿAlaʾ al-Din Kayqubad I (r. 1219–1237).[9] It was copied by Hasan ibn Çuban ibn ʿAbdallah al-Qunawi ("of Konya") and illuminated by Mukhlis ibn ʿAbdallah al-Hindi ("of Hindustan/India"). The name of the scribe appears in the colophon, whereas the name of the illuminator is inscribed in cartouches above and below the colophon. Its patron was Sayf al-Din Sunqur ibn ʿAbdallah al-Sahibi, whose name and title are mentioned on dedication pages near the end of the manuscript. The single-volume Qurʾan measures 10.5 × 8 cm (length × width). Although it has been cropped substantially, its small size suggests that it was intended for personal use, rather than as an endowment. The main text of the Qurʾan is copied in an unexceptional *naskh* that lacks the consistency and finesse of Qurʾan manuscripts produced around the same time in the Ilkhanid realm. The overall appearance of the script is somewhat cramped, which is perhaps due to the small size of the text area. Broadly speaking, the calligraphy is similar to other examples of *naskh* from late medieval Rum, featuring characteristic small, straight *alif*s and *nūn*s, *yāʾ*s, *qāf*s, and *sīn*s with deep, round bowls.

Despite its diminutive nature, the Qurʾan is lavishly illuminated, featuring a total of 17 decorated pages. With the exception of very small instances of green, white, and red, all of the manuscript's illuminations are composed of gold and blue patterns and motifs. The format of the Qurʾan's illuminated text pages bears some resemblance to illuminations found in eleventh- and twelfth-century copies of the Qurʾan from greater Persia and central Asia. For example, the large head and tailpieces seen in the 1278 Qurʾan are comparable to those on the text pages of a Qurʾan dated to ca. 1000–1050.[10] Some of the Qurʾan's marginal medallions

FIGURE 1. Frontispiece, Qurʾan for Sayf al-Din Sunqur ibn ʿAbdallah al-Sahibi, copied by Hasan ibn Çuban ibn ʿAbdallah al-Qunawi and illuminated by Mukhlis ibn ʿAbdallah al-Hindi, Konya, dated end of Rabiʿ al-Akhir 677/mid-September 1278. Chester Beatty Library, Is 1466, fol. 1a. Photograph © The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.

FIGURE 2. Finispiece, Qurʾan for Sayf al-Din Sunqur ibn ʿAbdallah al-Sahibi, copied by Hasan ibn Çuban ibn ʿAbdallah al-Qunawi and illuminated by Mukhlis ibn ʿAbdallah al-Hindi, Konya, dated end of Rabiʿ al-Akhir 677/mid-September 1278. Chester Beatty Library, Is 1466, fol. 330b. Photograph © The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.

are also similar to examples seen in Qurʾanic manuscripts from the twelfth century written in "new style" Kufic.[11] The hexagonal *juzʾ* markers seen throughout the manuscript find a parallel in marginal decorations from a Qurʾan dated 1177–1178 that is possibly from Afghanistan.[12]

The mechanics of the transmission of these motifs are ultimately unclear. It is possible that artists traveling with the Great Seljuks of Iran into Anatolia in the eleventh and twelfth centuries brought styles of illumination developed in those regions with them. It is difficult to say for certain since almost no securely attributed illuminated manuscripts from the Rum Seljuks have survived. There are a number of other compositions and motifs in the 1278 Qurʾan that are, however, unusual in the wider context of the Islamic arts of the book. These include half-palmettes arranged into circles, alternating pointed-oval-and-circle borders, knotwork shapes, and multilobed cartouches (see Figures 1–3). Some of these motifs may ultimately also derive from eleventh- to thirteenth-century Qurʾan codices. Half-palmettes arranged into circles appear in a tailpiece from a twelfth- or thirteenth-century Qurʾan from Iran or central Asia, although each "circle" features two, rather than four, half-palmettes.[13] However, in their specific forms, many of the motifs of the 1278 Qurʾan do not appear elsewhere, apart from in two other manuscripts: a copy of Jalal al-Din Rumi's (d. 1273) *Maṯnavī-i Maʿnavī* (The Spiritual Couplets) that was completed in Rajab 677 (November–December 1278) in Konya and an undated Qurʾan *juzʾ*. The 1278 Qurʾan and the 1278 *Maṯnavī* (which I will not discuss in detail because it is beyond the scope of this chapter) share the same illuminator, Mukhlis ibn ʿAbdallah al-Hindi.[14] Both manuscripts feature predominantly gold-and-blue color palettes, as well as half-palmettes arranged into circles, alternating pointed-oval-and-circle borders, knotwork shapes, and multilobed cartouches. On the basis of these motifs' distinctiveness and appearance in two manuscripts produced in Konya in 1278, I have identified another manuscript as belonging to the same context.

FIGURE 3. Text page, Qurʾan for Sayf al-Din Sunqur ibn ʿAbdallah al-Sahibi, copied by Hasan ibn Çuban ibn ʿAbdallah al-Qunawi and illuminated by Mukhlis ibn ʿAbdallah al-Hindi, Konya, dated end of Rabiʿ al-Akhir 677/mid-September 1278. Chester Beatty Library, Is 1466, fol. 328b. Photograph © The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.

This manuscript is an undated Qurʾan *juzʾ* in the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery (hereafter, the "Sackler *juzʾ*").[15] The second of four volumes, the *juzʾ* is larger than the 1278 pocket Qurʾan, measuring 31.1 × 23.5 cm (length × width). It contains no information about who commissioned or produced it.[16] The manuscript is illuminated, although not as extensively as the 1278 Qurʾan, containing a double frontispiece and two framed opening text pages, as well as illuminated sura headings and *juzʾ* and verse markers (Figures 4, 5). However, the format and motifs of its illuminated frontispieces and illuminated text pages and its gold-and-blue color palette display a significant degree of similarity to the decoration of the 1278 Qurʾan. First, half-palmettes arranged into circles and alternating pointed-oval-and-circle borders both feature in the manuscript's double frontispiece. The forms of these are virtually identical to the motifs that appear in the 1278 Qurʾan. Second, knotwork shapes and multilobed cartouches appear in the head and tailpieces of the illuminated text pages. Finally, sideways pointed ovals with gold and colored petals appear as marginal markers in both manuscripts. The extent of the similarities in illumination between the 1278 Qurʾan (and *Maṯnavī*) and this *juzʾ* strongly indicates that it too was decorated by Mukhlis ibn ʿAbdallah al-Hindi in Konya in the late thirteenth century (or early fourteenth century).

The Sackler Qurʾan *juzʾ* is copied in seven lines of *muḥaqqaq*. There is only one other manuscript securely identified as a product of medieval Rum that is written in *muḥaqqaq*. It is the Qaramanid Qurʾan discussed below. The *muḥaqqaq* of the Sackler *juzʾ* is relatively neat and regularly spaced (Figure 6). However, the *muḥaqqaq* of fourteenth-century Ilkhanid and Mamluk Qurʾan manuscripts, by comparison, tends to possess more height. Typically, *alif*s in Ilkhanid copies of the Qurʾan are at least three or four times taller than their surrounding letters and often lean slightly to the left. In the Sackler *juzʾ*, the *alif*s are twice as high at most and are generally perpendicular.[17] They do display the "teardrop" *tarwīs* (head serif) that is commonly found in both Ilkhanid and Mamluk *muḥaqqaq*. Another similarity to the *muḥaqqaq* of Ilkhanid and Mamluk

FIGURE 4. Frontispiece, Qurʾan *juzʾ* (two of four), probably Konya, late thirteenth to early fourteenth century. Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Purchase—Smithsonian Unrestricted Trust Funds, Smithsonian Collections Acquisition Program, and Dr. Arthur M. Sackler. S1986.25, fols. 1b–2a. Photograph courtesy of Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Qurʾan codices is the use of the *lām-alif muḥaqqaqa mawqūfa* (literally, the "accomplished, interrupted *lām-alif*"); sources on calligraphy describe this form as "having an unfinished (cut) end of the *alif*" and a base "in the shape of an inverted *fāʾ*."[18] The letter forms of the Sackler *juzʾ* occasionally display some inconsistencies and unsteadiness. In Figure 6, for example, the final *hāʾ*s, final *lām*s, and diacritical marks (particularly the *ḍamma*s) are all of variable sizes and shapes. Moreover, the texture of the ink is irregular, being watery in some places and scratchy in others, which suggests that the scribe was not an expert in making ink. The binding of the manuscript consists of brown leather with an eight-lobed medallion at its center and four "arrow" motifs at each corner. The *juzʾ* was cropped and was repaired at a later date, which suggests that the binding is not original and perhaps dates from the fifteenth century.[19]

The only other securely identified Qurʾan from medieval Konya is physically and aesthetically very different from the 1278 Chester Beatty Qurʾan. The circumstances of its production are also unlike that of the earlier manuscript and provide additional insights into the nature of Konya's artistic environment. The manuscript was completed in 714 (1314–1315) in Konya for a bey named Khalil ibn Mahmud ibn Qaraman (d. 1340s).[20] Khalil was a member of the Qaramanid principality that was based in south central Anatolia in the cities of Larende (today known as Karaman), Ermenek, and Mut, among others. The principality temporarily captured Konya a number of times over the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries before finally securing it sometime in the mid-fourteenth century. Qaramanid lands were absorbed into the Ottoman Empire in 1487. The manuscript's calligraphy was completed by Ismaʿil ibn Yusuf, and the illumination

FIGURE 5 (above). Illuminated text page, Qurʾan *juzʾ* (two of four), probably Konya, late thirteenth to early fourteenth century. Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Purchase—Smithsonian Unrestricted Trust Funds, Smithsonian Collections Acquisition Program, and Dr. Arthur M. Sackler. S1986.25, fols. 2b–3a. Photograph courtesy of Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

FIGURE 6 (right). Text page, Qurʾan *juzʾ* (two of four), probably Konya, late thirteenth to early fourteenth century. Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Purchase—Smithsonian Unrestricted Trust Funds, Smithsonian Collections Acquisition Program, and Dr. Arthur M. Sackler. S1986.25, fol. 89b. Photograph courtesy of Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

was executed by Yaʿqub ibn Ghazi al-Qunawi. The Qurʾan is divided into two large volumes that measure 47.5–48.5 × 33.5 cm (length × width), although the manuscript has been cropped. The first and second volumes consist of 415 and 401 folios, respectively.

The Qurʾan is copied in seven lines of large, black *muḥaqqaq* that is watery, rough, and uneven in some places, again suggesting a somewhat amateurish approach to ink making (Figure 7). Like the *muḥaqqaq* of the Sackler *juzʾ*, it is also characterized by a perpendicular orientation and a relative lack of height. It also features the teardrop *tarwīs* (head serif) and the *lām-alif muḥaqqaqa mawqūfa*, both of which are mentioned above. Generally speaking, its letter forms and diacritical marks are more internally consistent than those of the Sackler manuscript. Its overall appearance, however, is still not as dramatic or elegant as that of contemporary Ilkhanid or Mamluk *muḥaqqaq*. Two double-page sections near the end of the second volume of the Qurʾan are framed with a simple gold band (folios 372b–373a and 374b–375a). The texts on these pages, as well as on folios 391b–392a and folios iib–1a of the first volume, also contain Persian interlinear translations that are written in gold *naskh.* The translated sections consist of part of the second (*al-Baqara*), seventy-eighth (*al-Nabaʾ*), seventy-ninth (*al-Nāziʿāt*), eightieth (*ʿAbasa*), ninety-third (*al-Ḍuḥā*), ninety-fourth (*al-Inshirāḥ*), ninety-fifth (*al-Tīn*), and ninety-sixth (*al-ʿAlaq*) suras. The frames were executed after the interlinear translations were added, which is clear from where small gaps have been left in the frame to accommodate the text. The frames and translations are probably contemporary with the manuscript's production because it appears that the same light blue pigment was used to outline the frames as well as the marginal medallions and sura headings. It is unclear why only certain passages have been framed in gold or translated.[21]

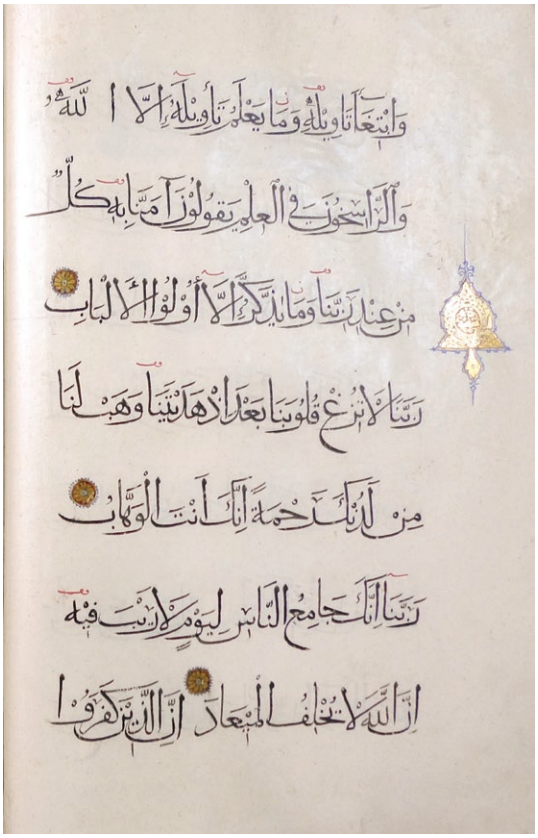


FIGURE 7. Text page, Qurʾan for Khalil ibn Mahmud ibn Qaraman, copied by Ismaʿil ibn Yusuf and illuminated by Yaʿqub ibn Ghazi al-Qunawi, Konya, 714/1314–1315. Mevlana Museum, 12-1, fol. 60b. Image courtesy of the Mevlana Museum, Konya.

The manuscript is otherwise extensively and elaborately illuminated. The first volume contains a single frontispiece, a single finispiece, and three illuminated text pages (Figure 8). The second volume contains a single frontispiece, a half-page panel inscribed with the illuminator's name, and a full-page illuminated colophon and dedication (Figure 9). Additionally, colorful sura headings and fifth- and tenth-verse markers of varying designs appear throughout the manuscript. Both volumes' frontispieces consist of fairly straightforward geometrical compositions. The frontispiece from the second volume features quite a common pattern that is based on an eightfold geometrical medallion. The first volume's frontispiece pattern is less common and has some similarities to a wooden window panel from the Eşrefoğlu Mosque (built 1296) in Beyşehir.[22] The illumination is, overall, relatively eclectic. Although some motifs and patterns do repeat, a greater variety is on display throughout the two volumes compared to the 1278 Qurʾan. Some of the manuscript's motifs are seen in other, older material from Konya. For example, a small panel on folio 284a features four half-palmettes arranged into a circle, a motif discussed above. On folio 411b of the first volume and folio 1a of the second volume, a four-pointed star is formed from crossed pointed ovals. This motif appears in the aforementioned 1278 *Maṯnavī* on folio 6b. Other elements of the manuscript's decoration are connected to fourteenth-

FIGURE 8. Frontispiece, Qurʾan for Khalil ibn Mahmud ibn Qaraman, copied by Ismaʿil ibn Yusuf and illuminated by Yaʿqub ibn Ghazi al-Qunawi, Konya, 714/1314–1315. Mevlana Museum, 12-1, fol. iia. Image courtesy of the Mevlana Museum, Konya.

century Ilkhanid and Mamluk Qurʾan illumination as well. For instance, the red crosshatched ground with blue half-palmettes is a design that is seen in contemporary manuscripts from Baghdad and Cairo.[23] Finally, the striking eight-lobed colophon and dedication of the Qaramanid manuscript bear a resemblance to similar inscribed medallions in Ilkhanid Qurʾan codices.[24] It was, of course, not unusual for artists to travel to different cities in order to find employment. These sorts of visual links suggest that artists may well have emigrated from Mamluk and Ilkhanid lands and settled in Konya, bringing their ideas and skills with them. It could also be that artists, like scholars, traveled further afield in order to improve their education, but it is unclear how common an occurrence this was in the medieval period. In any case, these connections also demonstrate that Konya was, indeed, connected to the artistic networks of Iran, Iraq, Egypt, and Syria even if its manuscripts remain less well-known.

The Qaramanid Qurʾan is covered in a dark brown leather binding that is very worn in places (Figure 10).[25] Only the front and back panels remain, the rest having been repaired at a later date. It is unclear whether the binding is original. It may be the earliest illuminated manuscript from Rum to retain its original coverings, but as mentioned above, the manuscript has been cropped, which indicates that it was re-covered at some point.[26] The front panel of each volume features a thick tooled frame that is segmented into eight parts and upper and lower bands tooled in the same way. The main panel contains a pointed circular medallion with a decagon at its center that is overlaid with pentagons. The ground comprises motifs such as lotuses, six-petaled circular flowers, and half-palmettes. The back panels are framed with a series of thin bands and tooled upper and lower bands. The main panel consists of a geometric pattern that is again made up of a central decagon and overlapping pentagons. The interstices of the front and back panels are filled with the same swirling and knotted motifs. The brown leather doublures of both volumes are block printed with curvilinear vegetal scrollwork. The design of the covers has several parallels in Mamluk and Ilkhanid bindings of the fourteenth century. The covers and doublures of a monumental Mamluk Qurʾan that was produced in the later fourteenth century are particularly similar.[27] However, the use of a decagon as the central motif is found as early as 1313 on an Ilkhanid Qurʾan from Hamadan.[28] Circular medallions with small "petals" are found on the covers of a multivolume Qurʾan from Maragha produced in 738–739/1338–1339.[29] The Qaramanid binding is very similar to that of an illuminated single-volume copy of the Qurʾan that was completed on 3 Muharram 727 (29 November 1326) by one ʿIzz al-Din al-Khattat al-Sawaji.[30] Because of the similarities between the manuscripts' coverings, others have suggested the manuscript was produced in Konya.[31] However, it is not certain that the Qaramanid binding is original. Furthermore, the doublures, illumination, and text area of the 1326 Qurʾan are totally different from anything seen in securely

FIGURE 9. Colophon and dedication, Qurʾan for Khalil ibn Mahmud ibn Qaraman, copied by Ismaʿil ibn Yusuf and illuminated by Yaʿqub ibn Ghazi al-Qunawi, Konya, 714/1314–1315. Mevlana Museum, 12-2, fol. 402a. Images courtesy of the Mevlana Museum, Konya.

FIGURE 10. Upper cover, Qurʾan for Khalil ibn Mahmud ibn Qaraman, copied by Ismaʿil ibn Yusuf and illuminated by Yaʿqub ibn Ghazi al-Qunawi, Konya, 714/1314–1315. Mevlana Museum, 12-2. Images courtesy of the Mevlana Museum, Konya.

identified manuscripts from Konya.[32] Both copies of the Qurʾan are housed in the Mevlana Museum in Konya, but when they entered the collection is unclear. Perhaps the two manuscripts were rebound at the same time in the later fourteenth century, which could explain the resemblance in coverings.

A closer look at the production circumstances of the 1278 and 1314–1315 copies of the Qurʾan gives some insight into the artistic environment of late medieval Konya. The Qurʾan from 1278 was copied by Hasan ibn Çuban ibn ʿAbdallah al-Qunawi, whereas the Qurʾan from 1314–1315 was copied by Ismaʿil ibn Yusuf. Helpfully (and a little unusually), both manuscripts mention the names of their illuminators as well. The earlier manuscript was decorated by Mukhlis ibn ʿAbdallah al-Hindi, and the later manuscript was illuminated by Yaʿqub ibn Ghazi al-Qunawi. In this small group of named artists, we have several clues that point to their possible ethnic origins. Two are local artists who possess the "al-Qunawi" *nisba*—Hasan ibn Çuban and Yaʿqub ibn Ghazi. Although both are from Konya, the rest of their names reveal somewhat different backgrounds. Yaʿqub's father's name of Ghazi suggests that he was a Muslim, possibly Turkish, whereas Hasan's use of the generic patronymic of "ibn ʿAbdallah" suggests that his own father, Çuban, was a convert to Islam.[33] The origin of the name Çuban is not entirely clear, but its link to the Mongol world appears to be strongest.[34] The "ibn ʿAbdallah" patronymic is also possessed by the illuminator of the 1278 Qurʾan, Mukhlis ibn ʿAbdallah al-Hindi. Not only does Mukhlis appear to have been a convert to Islam, but he also may have been of South Asian origin. Whether Mukhlis was actually a migrant artist or whether the *nisba* was a holdover from an earlier generation, other "al-Hindis" were not unknown in late medieval Konya. One is mentioned in the hagiography of the early Mevlevi leaders composed by Shams al-Din Aflaki (d. 1360). The author mentions one of Jalal al-Din Rumi's contemporaries, one Sharaf al-Din-i Hindi, a *khwāja* who was known for bringing back "strange and wondrous merchandise" (*matāʿhā-yi gharīb va ʿajīb*) from India to Konya.[35]

The patron of the 1278 Qurʾan was also a convert to Islam. He is named on the manuscript's dedication pages as Sayf al-Din Sunqur ibn ʿAbdallah al-Sahibi. That the patron, scribe, and illuminator of the 1278 Qurʾan were all of non-Muslim origin was not unusual for the time and place. Although it is not clear whether they were of Christian origin specifically, converts from Christianity were found in all walks of life in medieval Konya. Konya and many other towns in Rum had Christian communities consisting mainly of Greeks together with Armenians and European merchants, as well as small Jewish communities. Prominent Seljuk officials like the vizier Jalal al-Din Qaratay (d. 1254) and the *nāʾib al-salṭana* (vicegerent of the sultan) Amin al-Din Mikaʾil (d. 1277) were of Christian slave origin, whereas many royal wives were Byzantine and Georgian princesses.[36] Converts from Christianity appear to have been active in the artistic sphere too. For example, Aflaki recounts the conversion of the Christian painter (*naqqāsh*) ʿAyn al-Dawla al-Rumi to Islam after Rumi reprimands him for admiring icons of Mary and Jesus.[37] The "al-Sahibi" *nisba* in the patron's name indicates

that he was a member of the retinue of Sahib Fakhr al-Din ʿAli (d. 1288), a powerful Seljuk vizier and prominent patron of architecture. Sayf al-Din is identified in the dedication inscription as "*malik al-khawāṣṣ wa-l-ḥujjāb*" (head of the courtly elites and the chamberlains) and a "*kadkhudā*" (senior courtier). Although there is not much else known about the patron, two possible mentions of his name appear in historical sources. A Sayf al-Din Sunqur is noted as a witness in the 1281 endowment deed of an *ʿimāra* (foundation) that was built by Fakhr al-Din ʿAli in Konya.[38] One Sayf Sunqur is also mentioned in the anonymous chronicle *Tārīkh-i Āl-i Saljūq dar Ānāṭūlī* (completed after 1363), which notes that he was the imperial *chāshnīgīr* (official taster) around the year 1295.[39] According to the Seljuk historian Ibn Bibi (d. after 1285), the *chāshnīgīr* or *jāshnigīr* was of the same rank as the *amīr(i)-majlis* (master of ceremonies), one of the most senior officials in the Rum Seljuk court.[40] The connection between the Qurʾan's patron and this vizier (rather than, say, a ruler) reflects the reality of the political situation in Konya in the late thirteenth century in which Fakhr al-Din ʿAli was a major figure. Following the victory of the Mongols over the Rum Seljuks at the Battle of Kösedağ in 1243, the latter were compelled to pay tribute to their new overlords. The Seljuks' power as rulers was severely eroded, and de facto political authority in the region was soon in the hands of ambitious Seljuk bureaucrats, Mongol governors, and Turkmen beys. Until their complete disappearance from the historical record in 1308, the (often underage) Seljuk sultans were not much more than symbolic figureheads. In this tumultuous period, the day-to-day governing of Konya was managed by powerful local officials like Fakhr al-Din ʿAli, the *parvāna* (literally meaning "butterfly," but in reality, the personal assistant to the ruler) Muʿin al-Din Sulayman (d. 1277), and Amin al-Din Mikaʾil. By the 1270s, Fakhr al-Din ʿAli and his two sons had succeeded in amassing sizeable territories in western Rum that included the towns of Ladik (now known as Denizli), Honaz, Afyonkarahisar, Kütahya, Akşehir, Sandıklı, and Gorgorum (near Beyşehir).[41] He and other influential bureaucrats like the *parvāna* were also notable for their endowment of several charitable, multipurpose complexes in this period. Many of those supported by Fakhr al-Din ʿAli are particularly impressive for the creativity and artistry of their surface decoration.[42]

In 1277, however, Konya's governing order was violently disrupted. Encouraged by the Mongols' recent loss at the Battle of Elbistan in April 1277, the Qaramanids seized Konya—the first of many Qaramanid occupations of the town over the fourteenth century. After Amin al-Din Mikaʾil was killed by their forces, the beys appointed Shams al-Din Muhammad ibn Qaraman as vizier and enthroned a pretender, Jimri, as the new Seljuk ruler. The Ilkhanids quickly crushed the Qaramanid rebellion, killing Shams al-Din Muhammad ibn Qaraman in October 1277 and brutally executing Jimri in June of the following year. In response to this threat to their authority, the Mongols also decided to formally integrate Rum into their system of taxation.[43] Although this first occupation of Konya was ultimately unsuccessful, the incident signified the emergence of the Qaramanids and other Turkmen polities as notable political powers in Rum.

The production of the 1314–1315 Qurʾan coincides with a brief period in which Konya was again temporarily under Qaramanid authority. In 1314, Akhi Mustafa, the governor of Konya, was killed by Yakhshi ibn Mahmud ibn Qaraman, the brother of the Qurʾan's patron, Khalil ibn Mahmud ibn Qaraman. Early in the following year, the Qaramanids were expelled by the Mongol governor of Rum Çuban Suldus (d. 1327).[44] It is likely, given its date, that the production of the Qurʾan was made possible by the patron's increased access to the artistic networks of the town following the Qaramanids' successful occupation. Not a great deal is known about Khalil specifically. One Khalil Bahadur is mentioned in the anonymous *Tārīkh-i Āl-i Saljūq dar Ānāṭūlī* as participating in an attempted attack on Konya in 1291.[45] He was also responsible for the construction of the Sipas Mosque and a no longer extant Mevlevi *zāwiya* (Sufi convent) in Ermenek and the endowment of a field and mill to the Mevlevi *zāwiya* of Akhi Muhammad Bey ibn Qalami in Larende, which was Khalil's base from 1333 to 1340.[46] Khalil's son, ʿAlaʾ al-Din (d. 1397–98), also supported the Mevlevis, building the Aktekke Mosque (or the Mader-i Mevlana Mosque) in Larende in 1367–1368, where some of Rumi's family and the Qaramanids are interred.[47] The relationship between Khalil and the Mevlevis may explain why his manuscript entered the Mevlevi treasury. Perhaps Khalil or his descendants donated the Qurʾan as an

indication of their affinity. Moreover, Khalil's association with the Persian-speaking Mevlevis could be why Persian (rather than Turkish) interlinear translations are present in the 1314–1315 Qurʾan. Dated copies of the Qurʾan with Turkish interlinear translations exist from the early fourteenth century, although citations of paraphrases of Qurʾan verses in Qarakhanid Turkish exist from the eleventh century.[48] We also might expect to find Turkish instead of Persian since, during their 1277–1278 occupation of Konya, the Qaramanids took the unprecedented step of declaring Turkish the official language of government. Although this change was short-lived, it did mark the emergence of regional Turkmen principalities as serious political players in the region. Sara Nur Yıldız has discussed how this event has been used in modern Turkish nationalist scholarship as evidence of the Qaramanids' role as "frontier princes" who were hostile to the Mongol interlopers and "unaffected by Persian culture."[49] In light of the presence of Persian in this Qurʾan and Khalil's relationship with the Mevlevis, the portrayal of the Qaramanids as forces for "Turkification" in Rum does not wholly reflect the somewhat more complex reality—a reality in which these individuals engaged with non-Turkish intellectual culture and ruled over ethnically diverse populations.

The two Qurʾan codices of 1278 and 1314–1315 demonstrate that there was a significant degree of variety in the arts of the book of Konya in terms of codicology and decoration. Whereas the 1278 codex is small, copied in *naskh*, and illuminated in blue and gold, the 1314–1315 Qurʾan is in two large volumes, copied in *muḥaqqaq*, and decorated in a wide range of pigments. It is possible that these differences reflect the manuscripts' intended purposes. The smaller Qurʾan was almost certainly made for personal use, whereas the 1314–1315 codex could have been an endowment intended to celebrate the Qaramanids' recent occupation of Konya, given the coincidence in timing. Considering the patron's close relationship with the Mevlevi Sufis, it could also have been a gift to their Konya shrine, where it remains to this day. Although the three copies of the Qurʾan discussed above are quite different in appearance, certain motifs, such as the circular half-palmettes, appear in all three manuscripts. These motifs are unusual in the wider Islamic arts of the book but appear several times in many manuscripts produced in Konya in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which suggests that informal artistic communities operated in the town.[50]

However, a number of features of Qurʾan codices from Konya clearly show that the town was part of the artistic networks that encompassed the Ilkhanid and Mamluk realms. Elements of illumination, like polylobed roundels, and calligraphy, like the use of large-scale *muḥaqqaq*, that appear in the material discussed above find precedents in several imperial copies of the Qurʾan from Egypt, Iran, and Iraq. However, the execution of calligraphy and illumination in Qurʾan manuscripts from Konya does not reach the precision, quality, and refinement of imperial Ilkhanid and Mamluk material. In any case, the exact means of transmission remain unclear. It was hardly unusual for artists to travel in order to seek employment, and it may be that individuals came to Rum from Ilkhanid and Mamluk lands to do just that. Looking more closely at artists and patrons sheds light on certain aspects of Konya's artistic landscape. Artists were both local and from further afield, reflecting the relatively mixed nature of the contemporary population. Patrons were, broadly speaking, in positions of political privilege, even if they are not the most well-known figures from the history of the period. In neighboring regions, like Mamluk Egypt, for example, many patrons of illuminated manuscripts came from the imperial hierarchy, but in the absence of such structures in Rum, individuals of local political importance filled this gap. There is little evidence for a specific workshop or atelier in Konya. The 1278 Qurʾan was copied in a madrasa, which appears to have been a fairly typical copying location for illuminated and nonilluminated manuscripts alike. Beyond Konya, illuminated Qurʾan manuscripts were probably also produced in Rum's other towns, such as Sivas, Erzincan, and Bursa, which became more important as regional bases following the fall of the Seljuks. However, material supporting this has unfortunately not survived (or remains undiscovered). Although small in number, these copies of the Qurʾan call attention to the importance of Konya as a regional production center for the arts of the book. Including non-Qurʾanic material, around a dozen illuminated manuscripts are securely identified as products of late medieval Konya, alongside a handful produced elsewhere in Rum.[51] This number suggests that the town's artistic scene was

relatively well-developed and resilient in the face of ongoing disruption and continued to attract craftsmen and patrons from a number of walks of life.

Further Possible Qurʾan Material from Rum

On the basis of the manuscripts discussed above and others from Konya not mentioned in this chapter, I have identified four other Qurʾan codices as potential products of Rum.[52] For the sake of simplicity, I shall term these manuscripts (1) the Freer and Chester Beatty *ajzāʾ*, (2) the Harvard folios, (3) the Khalili and İnebey *ajzāʾ*, and (4) the New York *juzʾ*. These copies of the Qurʾan all exist in fragmentary states, either as incomplete sets of *ajzāʾ* or as detached folios. It is unclear what happened to the remaining parts of these multivolume Qurʾan manuscripts or why, in the case of the Harvard folios, one manuscript has been disassembled. None of these manuscripts mention a production location or the name of a patron, although the New York *juzʾ* contains a colophon.

The undated Qurʾan *ajzāʾ* from the Freer Gallery of Art and the Chester Beatty Library are parts 17 and 21 of 30, respectively.[53] The volumes are both bound in dark brown leather, although the designs differ.[54] Both manuscripts are cropped but retain similar dimensions.[55] They are copied in three lines of *muḥaqqaq* with contemporary interlinear Persian translations written in *naskh*. The style of *muḥaqqaq* is a little unusual, being somewhat unwieldy. However, it is neatly executed and consistent in its letter forms—more so than the *muḥaqqaq* of the Qaramanid Qurʾan. The two volumes possibly belong to the same Qurʾan because they have very similar styles of illumination and calligraphy. The illuminated opening text pages of the manuscripts both feature large headpieces that contain inscribed multilobed cartouches with knotwork shapes on either side and slim tailpieces that are filled with curvilinear, gold half-palmettes on a reddish-bronze ground (Figure 11). The design of the headpieces and the manuscripts' marginal decorations resemble those seen in the 1278 Qurʾan and the Sackler *juzʾ* discussed above. These manuscripts' headpieces also feature multilobed cartouches flanked by knotwork shapes. These multiple similarities indicate that these *ajzāʾ* were probably produced in late thirteenth-century or early fourteenth-century Konya. Another sign that these manuscripts might be from Rum is the unusual presence of a gold eagle within a marginal medallion on folio 144a of the Freer *juzʾ* (Figure 12). The pigments appear to be identical to those in the rest of the manuscript, so it was perhaps not overpainted at a later date. The existence of figural art in a Qurʾan is extremely rare. However, human and animal heads also feature in the block-printed leather doublure of the Khalili Qurʾan *juzʾ* that was possibly also produced in Rum. Eagles, particularly of the double-headed variety, are relatively common in the medieval iconography of the region, appearing in architectural decoration, textiles, woodwork, metalwork, coinage, and ceramics.[56] A marginal medallion featuring two intertwined birds (perhaps peacocks) appears in a copy of Sultan Walad's (d. 1312) *Maṣnavī-i Valadī* that was produced shortly before 1332 in Konya.[57] If the Freer *juzʾ* is indeed from Konya, it is therefore not the only illuminated manuscript from the town that features marginal bird medallions.

The detached Qurʾan folios from the Harvard Art Museums (HAM) number 56 in total, although smaller numbers of folios from the same manuscript do exist in other collections such as the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (LACMA).[58] The folios are framed in red, blue, and gold and measure approximately 24.6 × 19.8 cm (length × width). They are copied in three lines of *muḥaqqaq* that although large in size, is quite uneven in its letter forms and irregular in its overall appearance. Partially damaged (and rather messy) inscriptions on the illuminated frontispieces state that the manuscript was endowed to a "Madrasa al-Sayfiyya" by one Mangutimur (or Möngke-Temür). These inscriptions are undated, so it is not clear whether they were written at the time of the manuscript's production. Their untidiness would suggest that they were added later, as contemporary endowment notes are usually integrated into the text area. In the medieval period, there were Sayfiyya madrasas in Aleppo and Cairo.[59] The name Mangutimur is mostly attached to

FIGURE 11 (above). Illuminated text pages, Qurʾan *juzʾ* (17 of 30), probably Konya, late thirteenth to early fourteenth century. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, F1940.16, fols. 1b–2a. Photograph courtesy of Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

FIGURE 12 (left). Marginal medallion with bird, Qurʾan *juzʾ* (17 of 30), probably Konya, late thirteenth to early fourteenth century. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, F1940.16, fol. 144a. Photograph courtesy of Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

people who lived in the thirteenth century, such as the *khān* of the Golden Horde who ruled from 1267 to 1280, although it does appear as late as the fifteenth century.[60] It would therefore seem that the manuscript was probably endowed at some point in the later medieval period to a (presumably) Mamluk madrasa. However, this does not rule out the suggestion that the manuscript is from Rum. It would not be the first illuminated manuscript that was copied in the region and endowed to a distant library within decades of its production.[61] Each *juzʾ* is split into four parts, all of which are preceded by a pointed-oval frontispiece and double illuminated text pages (Figure 13).[62] This division is clear from the inscription in one pointed oval that reads "the fourth part of the tenth volume" (*al-qism al-rābiʿ min al-juzʾ al-ʿāshir*). The format of the folios' illuminated text pages is very similar to those of the 1278 Qurʾan and the Sackler *juzʾ*, containing inscribed multilobed cartouches with small knotwork shapes on either side. Again, the marginal medallions resemble the verse markers of the 1278 Qurʾan and the Sackler *juzʾ*, as well as those of the Freer and Chester Beatty *ajzāʾ*, although the color palette of the Harvard folios uses brighter blues and reds.

Most telling of all is the presence of pointed-oval frontispieces. This type of frontispiece appears in several manuscripts produced in Konya.[63] In all of these manuscripts, the oval is large, filling a significant portion of the page; freestanding; and of similar proportions. As far as can be ascertained, pointed-oval frontispieces of this particular style do not appear elsewhere in the Islamic manuscript record. Although the means of transmission are not clear, it may be that they were adapted from decoration seen in Christian manuscripts produced in and around the region of Rum. For example, large pointed ovals with Christ in Majesty at their center appear in the frontispieces of Gospels of the Nicaean School (ca. 1150–1250).[64] Large inscribed pointed ovals also appear on several folios of a Syriac Bible that was copied and illuminated by one Bukhtishuʿ in 1212–1213 in the no longer extant Monastery of Mar ʿAziza in present-day southeastern

FIGURE 13. Folio, Qurʾan *juzʾ* (1 of 30), probably Konya, late thirteenth to early fourteenth century. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, M.73.5.558. Photograph courtesy of LACMA Collections.

Turkey.[65] Where pointed ovals do appear in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Islamic illumination from beyond Konya, they are either relatively small or narrow in shape, embedded in frames, or formed from S-shaped curves (as seen in ogee arches).[66]

Two volumes from the Khalili manuscript set survive (the second and thirteenth *ajzāʾ*), and there are five volumes from the İnebey manuscript set (the sixth, tenth, fourteenth, sixteenth, and twentieth *ajzāʾ*).[67] Of these, only the thirteenth and fourteenth volumes contain substantial illumination, although all have illuminated verse markers and sura headings written in gold *muḥaqqaq*. The manuscripts' sizes and zones of text are very nearly the same dimensions.[68] The script of both is *muḥaqqaq* that is neat, consistent, and well spaced. The ascenders lean very slightly to the left but do not reach the height of Ilkhanid *muḥaqqaq*. Both of the Khalili *ajzāʾ* are covered in dark brown leather bindings that feature an eight-armed star that extends beyond an octagon on a plain ground. A similar motif appears on an Ottoman covering dated 1434, although it also appears within a circle in a manuscript binding from 1356.[69] As mentioned above, the block-printed leather doublures feature animal and human heads at the ends of curvilinear scrollwork. The animals appear to include elephants, dragons, and unicorns, whereas the human heads don tall hats known as *qalansuwa*. Such headgear was commonly worn by members of *futuwwa*-based organizations (see below for more on such individuals) in the late medieval period and was associated by the famous scholar al-Biruni (d. after 1050) with the constellation Cepheus.[70] In analyzing the development of such iconography, Sylvia Auld terms it "*waq-waq* arabesque" and highlights its appearance on several pieces of medieval Persian metalwork, arguing that it possessed astronomical significance.[71] She suggests that this imagery was brought into greater Persia and Anatolia by the Mongols and that its popularity during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries may be due to an unusually high number of solar eclipses at the time and an ensuing interest in astrology, astronomy, and the zodiac.[72] In any case, it is unusual (although not unheard of) to see these motifs in a manuscript and in a Qurʾan binding no less.[73] The İnebey manuscripts, which appear to have been slightly cropped on the side edges, are all covered in nearly the same style of binding. These differ from the Khalili coverings and are perhaps fourteenth- or fifteenth-century Mamluk designs.

The illumination of both sets of *ajzāʾ* is fairly similar, although key differences are present. The thirteenth and fourteenth *ajzāʾ* both open with full-page illuminations and illuminated text pages. In the Khalili volume, these are of the single variety, whereas the İnebey *juzʾ* contains (partially missing) double frontispieces and text pages. The Khalili frontispiece consists of an empty eight-lobed medallion surrounded by curvilinear motifs on a ground of red cross-hatching (Figure 14). The İnebey frontispiece has an empty six-lobed medallion at its center that is set into a square of blue ground that is decorated with gold and polychrome half-palmettes. The illuminated text pages are also different from each other. The Khalili volume's illuminated text pages contain only a headpiece, identical in style to the headpiece of the full-page illumination, which sits atop a plain gold frame. The remaining İnebey text page has head and tailpieces that consist of a discolored inscription outlined in gold on a dark red ground, with blue corner squares containing curvilinear motifs on either side.

Since the surviving volumes do not overlap, it is possible that they are from the same 30-part manuscript, but it is difficult to be sure given the differences in binding and illumination. The *ajzāʾ* could be from different manuscripts but decorated by the same artist (or team of artists) or in the same workshop. Although there is no evidence concerning the existence of workshops in this period, surviving material suggests that there must have at least been informal communities of artists who exchanged ideas and techniques, which accounts for some of the visual overlaps discussed in this chapter.[74] Moreover, several of the manuscripts from later medieval Konya (Qurʾanic or otherwise) are large, complex objects that must have been carefully planned by several individuals, including, at the very least, one calligrapher, one illuminator, and one bookbinder. Whether or not they are from the same Qurʾan, it is possible that they were produced in Rum, probably in the first half of the fourteenth century. Although the illumination does not bear much of a resemblance to

the manuscripts discussed in the first part of this chapter, it does look similar to another illuminated manuscript that was almost certainly produced in early fourteenth-century Konya: *Anīs al-Qulūb* by Burhan al-Din al-Anawi.[75] The frontispiece of *Anīs al-Qulūb* consists of a single pointed oval, whereas its illuminated title pages comprise inscribed six-lobed medallions set into squares containing gold curvilinear motifs on dark blue ground. The headpieces, tailpieces, and main frame all consist of thick, gold strapwork. Although the medallions are inscribed rather than empty and there is strapwork rather than calligraphic cartouches, the format of the illumination is certainly comparable to the Khalili and İnebey *ajzāʾ*.

FIGURE 14. Frontispiece, Qurʾan *juzʾ* (13 of 30), possibly Rum, late thirteenth to early fourteenth century. Khalili Collection, QUR 132, fol. 1a. © Khalili Family Trust. Photograph courtesy of The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art.

The New York *juzʾ* is the thirtieth volume of a 30-part Qurʾan.[76] Its attribution to Rum is perhaps the least certain out of the manuscripts discussed in the second part of this chapter. Nevertheless, there are some indications that the *juzʾ* is from the region, rather than elsewhere. The volume, unlike the others examined above, contains a colophon. This inscription, on folio 40a, notes that the manuscript was copied by Husayn, son of Hasan, known as (*al-mulaqqab bi-*) Husam the poor/mendicant Mevlevi (*al-faqīr al-mawlawī*), at the end of Rabiʿ al-Awwal 734 (early December 1333).[77] A Mevlevi named Husam al-Din Husayn was the representative of Sultan Walad in Erzincan, but it is unclear whether this was the same individual as the scribe.[78] The Mevlevis had *zāwiya*s all over Rum by the end of the fourteenth century, and the 'al-Mawlawi' *nisba* is found in several nonilluminated manuscripts produced in cities like Larende, Niğde, and Sivas. By comparison, the number of manuscripts produced outside of Rum copied by Mevlevi scribes is relatively small.[79] Given its date of 1333, it is therefore possible, although far from certain, that the manuscript was copied in Rum. On folio 40b, there is another inscription, this time in Anatolian Turkish. It reads, "[This] was from the among the volumes of Akhi Yusuf."[80] It is not clear who this individual was.[81]

The *akhī*s were organized into hierarchical fraternities or guild-like organizations based on *futuwwa* (loosely translated as "chivalry") that were prominent throughout Rum in the fourteenth century.[82] Although few illuminated manuscripts produced by or for them have survived, they are mentioned in several sources pertaining to late medieval Rum.[83] For example, Ibn Battuta, who traveled through the region in the early 1330s, mentions meeting the *akhī*s many times in towns such as Antalya, Denizli, Konya, Aksaray, Kayseri, Sivas, Erzincan, Erzurum, Tire, Manisa, and Bursa.[84] Around 20 *akhī*s are also mentioned in Aflaki's hagiography of the early Mevlevis, including Akhi Mustafa and Akhi Muhammad Bey ibn Qalami, both of whom are mentioned above. Although the mention of an *akhī* could connect the manuscript to Rum, the possibility, of course, remains that the manuscript came into the possession of Akhi Yusuf sometime after it was produced.

The manuscript does not appear to have been cropped, so its binding may be original. The dark brown leather covering features an eight-pointed star formed from two overlapping squares at its center. Similar

FIGURE 15. Frontispiece, Qurʾan *juzʾ* (30 of 30), possibly Rum, end of Rabiʿ al-Awwal 734/early December 1333. New York Public Library, Spencer Arab Ms 3, fol. 1a. Photograph courtesy of New York Public Library Digital Collections.

motifs on plain leather ground appear on bindings that are possibly from fourteenth- or fifteenth-century Egypt or Syria.[85] The main script is *muḥaqqaq* that is very neat, consistent, and even and copied in five lines. The style of *muḥaqqaq* is very similar—in fact, almost identical—to the calligraphy of the Khalili and İnebey *ajzāʾ* discussed above. As in these manuscripts, sura headings are written in gold, although in this instance, they are copied in *naskh* rather than in *muḥaqqaq*. It is possible that Husam al-Faqir al-Mawlawi also wrote these manuscripts. At the very least, the New York *juzʾ* was, perhaps, copied in the same location. Since the New York manuscript is substantially larger than the Khalili and İnebey *ajzāʾ*, it is evidently not part of the same Qurʾan. It measures 34.9 × 26.2 cm, and the size of its text area is 21.5 × 15.6 cm. Marginal fifth- and tenth-verse markers are visible throughout the text. The single illuminated frontispiece consists of an eight-lobed medallion with an eight-armed flowerlike shape at its center (Figure 15). This shape is decorated with gold palmettes on a blue ground and contains a central gold circle with silver details. The eight-lobed medallion is set into a square that is filled with gold floral curvilinear motifs on a black ground. Slim head and tailpieces are filled with an orange-bronze ground and the same style of gold floral curvilinear motifs. The main panel of the single illuminated text page contains a ground of fine red cross-hatching and half-palmette scrollwork outlined in black. The head and tailpieces consist of a central panel with a white inscription on a gold and orange-bronze ground and blue corner squares containing floral motifs. The composition of the frontispiece and illuminated text page bears more than a passing resemblance to the illuminations of the Khalili and İnebey *ajzāʾ* discussed above. All three manuscripts' frontispieces feature multilobed medallions set into squares with head and tailpieces, although the specific motifs and color palettes of each are relatively different. The illuminated text page of the New York *juzʾ* is comparable to that of the İnebey manuscript, with their similar blue corner squares. The marginal verse markers of all three manuscripts are very similar as well. In all three, the fifth-verse markers are flat-based teardrops that contain a floral motif and are bordered by pointed petals. The tenth-verse markers consist of a central

circle containing the word "*ʿashr*" surrounded by polychrome petals and eight gold points. In all cases, the execution of the marginal medallions is a little untidy, in contrast to those found in Mamluk and Ilkhanid manuscripts, which are usually executed in a more precise and refined manner.

Conclusion

The manuscripts from 1278 and 1314–1315 are the only two surviving, dated Qurʾan codices whose colophons confirm their origins in late medieval Konya. In addition to these two, a third manuscript, the undated Sackler *juzʾ*, was almost certainly also produced in late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century Konya. Finally, there are four partial copies of the Qurʾan that on the basis of their illuminations or inscriptions may also have been produced in the Lands of Rum. Considering this material as a group, it is clear that Qurʾanic material from Rum cannot easily be summarized. Qurʾan codices were produced in a variety of sizes and decorated in a number of ways. Six of the seven manuscripts described in this chapter were copied in large-scale *muḥaqqaq*, although there does not appear to have been much uniformity in the particular style of the script. On the whole, however, it does not quite match up to the more elegant *muḥaqqaq* visible in contemporary Ilkhanid and Mamluk copies of the Qurʾan (although the calligraphy of the Khalili, İnebey, and New York *ajzāʾ* is of a relatively high quality). In terms of illumination, the overall picture remains relatively diverse. That being said, a number of motifs make repeat appearances such as the inscribed multilobed cartouche flanked by knotwork shapes and the alternating circle-and-pointed-oval knotwork border. The large pointed-oval frontispiece—a frontispiece style associated strongly with Konya in particular—is also present in the Harvard folios. These motifs appear to be unique to manuscripts from Rum and, as far as I can ascertain, do not appear in contemporary illumination from other parts of the Islamic world. Of course, there are some aspects of illumination that do appear to have originated in Ilkhanid and Mamluk ateliers, such as the combination of blue half-palmettes on red crosshatched ground and the presence of inscribed polylobed roundels.

Looking more closely at artists and patrons when possible sheds light on aspects of the contemporary artistic landscape. In addition to local scribes and illuminators, like Hasan ibn Çuban ibn ʿAbdallah al-Qunawi and Yaʿqub ibn Ghazi al-Qunawi, individuals of non-Turkish and non-Muslim origin, like Mukhlis ibn ʿAbdallah al-Hindi, also participated in the production process (although it is ultimately unclear whether Mukhlis actually emigrated from South Asia). Finally, with the scribe of the New York *juzʾ* (Husam al-Faqir al-Mawlawi), there is a suggestion of Mevlevi involvement in the production of Qurʾanic material. The patrons of Qurʾanic manuscripts reflect the reality of contemporary power dynamics. In the late thirteenth century, powerful Seljuk viziers like Fakhr al-Din ʿAli were able to amass great wealth, territory, and supporters, one of whom—Sayf al-Din Sunqur ibn ʿAbdallah al-Sahibi—was a high-ranking bureaucrat. Although little about him is known, he clearly had the means to finance the production of a lavish pocket Qurʾan. The large and extensively decorated Qurʾan of Khalil ibn Mahmud ibn Qaraman demonstrates the growing fortunes of the Turkmen principality and how the patron was able to access the well-established artistic networks of Konya. Looking at Khalil in more detail also reveals that he was not an archetypal "frontier warrior" but rather a Persian-speaking Mevlevi adherent.

These seven manuscripts underline the importance of Konya as a center of illuminated manuscript production and also highlight the possibility that material identified as Ilkhanid and Mamluk may, in fact, belong to Rum. Although these copies of the Qurʾan may not reach the level of virtuosity displayed in monumental imperial manuscripts from neighboring regions, they certainly indicate that Rum was more than a mere periphery where the arts of the book are concerned. Despite persistent political instability, Rum's scribes, illuminators, and bookbinders carried on, producing richly decorated Qurʾan manuscripts that have survived as rare testaments to their creativity and skill.

Acknowledgments

This chapter is based on material examined for my Ph.D. thesis ("Patrons and Artists at the Crossroads: The Islamic Arts of the Book in the Lands of Rūm, 1270s-1370s," University of Oxford, 2017), now published as *Islamic Manuscripts of Late Medieval Rūm, 1270s–1370s: Production, Patronage and the Arts of the Book* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020). My research, fieldwork, and write-up were generously supported by the Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Al Thani Graduate Scholarship, the Khalili Research Centre, the Barakat Trust, and the Gibb Memorial Trust. I am also very grateful to the staff of the Freer Gallery of Art and the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, the New York Public Library, the İnebey Library, the Mevlana Museum, the Khalili Collection, and the Chester Beatty Library for allowing me to examine the manuscripts discussed in this chapter. Finally, I sincerely thank Simon Rettig, Sana Mirza, and the anonymous reviewers for their valuable comments on earlier drafts of this work.

Notes

1. In line with recent scholarship, I use "Rum" rather than Anatolia or Turkey because it is a more accurate reflection of contemporary medieval terminology. It also circumvents the ethnic or nationalist essentialism that characterizes much of the twentieth-century scholarship of this period. Sibel Bozdoğan and Gülru Necipoğlu, "Entangled Discourses: Scrutinizing Orientalist and Nationalist Legacies in the Architectural Historiography of the 'Lands of Rum,'" *Muqarnas* 24 (2007): 1–6; and Patricia Blessing, *Rebuilding Anatolia after the Mongol Conquest: Islamic Architecture in the Lands of Rūm, 1240–1330* (Farnham, U.K.: Ashgate, 2014), 3.
2. Finbarr Barry Flood and Gülru Necipoğlu, "'Global' Empires and the World-System (1250–1450)," in *A Companion to Islamic Art and Architecture*, vol. 2, *From the Mongols to Modernism*, ed. Finbarr Barry Flood and Gülru Necipoğlu (Hoboken, N.J.: John Wiley and Sons, 2017), 579–583.
3. These activities include the removal (or theft) of illustrations from manuscripts and albums and the splitting of folios to maximize sales profits. A well-known example of this is George Demotte's (1877–1923) dismantling of the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* that was probably produced for the Ilkhanids in the 1330s. Sheila Blair, "Rewriting the History of the Great Mongol Shahnama," in *Shahnama: The Visual Language of the Persian Book of Kings*, ed. Robert Hillenbrand (Aldershot, U.K.: Ashgate, 2004), 35–50. See also Robert Hillenbrand, "Western Scholarship on Persian Painting before 1914: Collectors, Exhibitions and Franco-German Rivalry," in *After One Hundred Years: The 1910 Exhibition "Meisterwerke Muhammedanischer Kunst" Reconsidered*, ed. Andrea Lermer and Avinoam Shalem (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2010), 201–229.
4. See, for example, Alain George, *The Rise of Islamic Calligraphy* (London: Saqi Books, 2010); Karin Scheper, *The Technique of Islamic Bookbinding: Methods, Materials and Regional Varieties* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2015); and Elaine Wright, *The Look of the Book: Manuscript Production in Shiraz, 1303–1452* (Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 2012).
5. Finbarr Barry Flood and Gülru Necipoğlu, "Frameworks of Islamic Art and Architectural History: Concepts, Approaches, and Historiographies," in *A Companion to Islamic Art and Architecture*, ed. Finbarr Barry Flood and Gülru Necipoğlu (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2017), 2–56.
6. For a critical analysis, see Oya Pancaroğlu, "Formalism and the Academic Foundation of Turkish Art in the Early Twentieth Century," *Muqarnas* 24 (2007): 67–78.
7. For example, Claude Cahen, *The Formation of Turkey: The Seljukid Sultanate of Rūm: Eleventh to Fourteenth Century* (Harlow, U.K.: Longman, 2001); and Charles Melville, "Anatolia under the Mongols," in *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, ed. Kate Fleet (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 51–101.
8. The material discussed in this chapter is part of a larger corpus of manuscripts, most of which are not

copies of the Qurʾan. For more manuscripts from medieval Rum, see Cailah Jackson, "An Illuminated Manuscript of Early Fourteenth-Century Konya? *Anīs al-Qulūb* (MS Ayasofya 2984, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Istanbul)," *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 8 (2017): 85–122; "The Illuminations of Mukhlis ibn ʿAbdullah al-Hindi: Identifying Manuscripts from Late Medieval Konya," *Muqarnas* 36 (2019): 41–60; and *Islamic Manuscripts of Late Medieval Rūm, 1270s–1370s: Production, Patronage and the Arts of the Book* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020).

9. Chester Beatty Library (CBL), Dublin, Is 1466, fols. 329b–330a. The madrasa is no longer extant. Zeren Tanındı, "Anadolu Selçuklu Sanatında Tezhip: Müzehhip Muhlis b. Abdullah el-Hindî ve Halefleri," in *Arkeoloji ve sanat tarihi araştırmaları: Yıldız Demiriz'e armağan*, ed. M. Baha Tanman and Uşun Tükel (Istanbul: Simurg, 2001), 141–150; Elaine Wright, *Islam: Faith, Art, Culture: Manuscripts of the Chester Beatty Library* (London: Scala, 2009), 72; Sheila Canby, Deniz Beyazıt, Martina Rugiadi, and A. C. S. Peacock, *Court and Cosmos: The Great Age of the Seljuqs* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2016), cat. no. 185; and Jackson, *Islamic Manuscripts*, 23–57.
10. Khalili Collection, London, QUR284. David James, *The Master Scribes: Qurʾans of the 10th to 14th Centuries AD* (London: Nour Foundation in association with Azimuth Editions and Oxford University Press, 1992), 24–27, cat. no. 1.
11. The term "new style" Kufic was coined by François Déroche in *The Abbasid Tradition: Qurʾans of the 8th to the 10th Centuries AD* (London: Nour Foundation in association with Azimuth Editions and Oxford University Press, 1992), 132–137.
12. Topkapı Palace Museum Library (TSMK), Istanbul, E. H. 42, fol. 95b. Martin Lings, *The Quranic Art of Calligraphy and Illumination* (London: World of Islam Festival Trust), plate 19; and Alya Karame, "Qurʾans from the Eastern Islamic World between the 4th/10th and 6th/12th Centuries" (Ph.D. diss., University of Edinburgh, 2016), 168–180, figs. 5.1–5.6, 5.8, 6.11, 6.23, 7.11, 8.19.
13. Richard Ettinghausen, Oleg Grabar, and Marilyn Jenkins-Madina, *Islamic Art and Architecture, 650–1250* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2001), fig. 430.
14. Mevlana Museum (MMK), Konya, 51. Mevlana Museum, *Maṯnavī-i maʿnavī: chāp-i ʿaksī az rū-yi nuskhah-'i khaṭṭī-i Qūnyah (Mūzah-'i Mawlānā): tārīkh-i kitābat 677 Hijrī-i Qamarī* (Tehran: Markaz-i Nashr-i Dānishgāhī, 1992); Zeren Tanındı, "1278 Tarihli En Eski Mesnevi'nin Tezhipleri," *Kültür ve Sanat* 8 (1990): 17–22; Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ Müzesi Müzelik Yazma Kitaplar Kataloğu* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2003), 45–55; and Jackson, *Islamic Manuscripts*, 23–57.
15. Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington, D.C., S1986.25. The manuscript was published in Glenn D. Lowry and Milo Cleveland Beach with Roya Marefat and Wheeler M. Thackston, *An Annotated and Illustrated Checklist of the Vever Collection* (Washington, D.C.: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, 1988), 16–17, no. 4, where it was attributed to Mamluk Egypt.
16. A later inscription on folio 175b notes that the manuscript was endowed by Muhammad Saʿid ʿAli to the Tayluniyya/Tiluniyya Madrasa (built 1398–1399) in Jerusalem. Muḥammad ʿUthmān al-Khaṭīb, *Al-Awqāf al-Islāmiyya fī Filasṭīn fī al-ʿAṣr al-Mamlūkī* (Irbid, Jordan: Dār al-Kitāb al-Thaqāfī, 2013), 55, n. 3.
17. See, for example, Massumeh Farhad and Simon Rettig, eds., *The Art of the Qurʾan: Treasures from the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts* (Washington, D.C.: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 2016), 202–205, cat. no. 24.
18. Adam Gacek, *The Arabic Manuscript Tradition: A Glossary of Technical Terms and Bibliography. Supplement* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2008), 17, 84. For further examples, see Farhad and Rettig, *Art of the Qurʾan*, 196–200, cat. no. 23. For these calligraphic terms, see also Appendix II of Adam Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts: A Vademecum for Readers* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2009).
19. Similar bindings are seen on several manuscripts produced in Cairo that date from the late 1330s until the first quarter of the fifteenth century. Alison Ohta, "Covering the Book: Bindings of the Mamluk Period, 1250-1516" (Ph.D. diss., University of London, 2012), 177–183, figs 4.64, 4.181.
20. MMK, 12. Zeren Tanındı, "Konya Mevlâna Müzesi'nde 677 ve 665 Yıllık Kur'an'lar Karamanlı Beyliği'nde Kitap Sanatı," *Kültür ve Sanat* 12 (1991): 42–44; Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ Müzesi Müzelik*, 12–13; Şennur Atalay

Varol, "Konya Mevlânâ Müzesi'nde Bulunan '12' Envanter Numaralı Kur'an-ı Kerim'in Tezhip Açısından Değerlendirilmesi," *Kalemisi* 4, no. 8 (2016): 107–140; and Jackson, *Islamic Manuscripts*, 90–104.

21. The only commonalities that I have been able to find are that all the passages (except from folios iib–1a) are from the thirtieth *juzʾ* (although the full *juzʾ* is not framed or translated) and that all are Meccan suras, although, again, many other Meccan suras are not framed or translated. It may be that as the verses shorten toward the end of the text, they are easier to memorize and the patron wanted them highlighted and translated in order to facilitate this.
22. This window panel is on display in Konya's İnce Minareli Medrese Museum of Stone and Woodwork but is unnumbered. Jackson, *Islamic Manuscripts*, fig. 2.14.
23. David James, *Manuscripts of the Holy Qurʾan of the Mamlūk Era* (Riyadh: King Faisal Center for Research and Islamic Studies, 1999), figs. 31, 51.
24. TSMK, E. H. 248. James, *Manuscripts of the Holy Qurʾan*, fig. 86.
25. I am very grateful to Alison Ohta for her thoughts on the manuscript.
26. The earliest dated and securely identified binding from Rum is from a nonilluminated copy of Sadr al-Din al-Qunawi's (d. 1274) *Tafsīr al-Fātiḥa* that was copied in Ankara in Rabiʿ al-Awwal 703 (October–November 1303) by Ibrahim ibn Shaʿban (TSMK, A. 110). Zeren Tanındı, "Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi'nde Ortaçağ İslam Ciltleri," *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Yıllık* 4 (1990): 102–149, fig. 15. The Qaramanid Qurʾan binding displays some visual connections to early Ottoman bindings. The use of different designs on the upper and lower covers is seen on Ottoman manuscripts until the 1460s; 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 on behalf of L'Association Internationale de Bibliophilie, 1993), 5. The same authors also highlight the use of wide, segmented borders, which appear on the Qaramanid Qurʾan, on several Ottoman bindings of the first half of the fifteenth century. Finally, they also point out that the small corner ornament of crossed half-palmettes overlaid with a half-ogive also appears on Ottoman bindings of the 1440s and 1450s, as well as fourteenth-century Iranian bindings (*Turkish Bookbinding*, cat. nos. 1, 2, figs. 2, 3, 27).
27. John Rylands Library, Manchester, 42. Ohta, "Covering the Book," fig. 4.7.
28. Dar al-Kutub, Cairo, Rasid 72. Ohta, "Covering the Book," fig. 6.24.
29. For one volume, see Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 29.58. Sheila Blair, "The Ilkhanid Quran: An Example from Maragha," *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 6 (2015): 174–195.
30. MMK, 13. Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ Müzesi Müzelik*, 13–14. See note 31.
31. Tanındı, "Konya Mevlâna Müzesi'nde 677," 43–44; Zeynep Demircan Aksoy, "XIV. Yüzyıl Anadolu Türk Tezhip Sanatı Tasarımları" (Ph.D. diss., Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University, 2011), 134–142.
32. Tanındı, "Konya Mevlâna Müzesi'nde 677," 44; Cailah Jackson, "Patrons and Artists at the Crossroads: The Islamic Arts of the Book in the Lands of Rūm, 1270s–1370s" (Ph.D. diss., University of Oxford, 2017), figs. 91–97.
33. Annemarie Schimmel, *Islamic Names* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1989), 8. This was particularly the case in Rum as well as the Mamluk world.
34. The most well-known owners of this name were the Mongol Çhubanids (1335–1357).
35. Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad Aflākī, *Manāqib al-ʿārifīn*, ed. Tahsin Yazıcı (Tehran: Dunyā-i Kitāb, 1362 [1959–1961]), I, 91.
36. Rustam Shukurov, "Harem Christianity: The Byzantine Identity of Seljuk Princes," in *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East*, ed. A. C. S. Peacock and Sara Nur Yıldız (London: I.B. Tauris, 2012), 115–150.
37. Aflākī, *Manāqib al-ʿārifīn*, I, 552–553.
38. Sadi Bayram and Ahmet Hamdi Karabacak, "Sahib Ata Fahrü'd-Din Ali'nin Konya, İmaret ve Sivas Gökmedrese Vakfiyeleri," *Vakıflar Dergisi* 13 (1981): 31–70, 39.
39. Anonymous, *Anadolu Selçukluları devleti tarihi*, ed. Feridun Nafiz Uzluk (Ankara: Çaphane-ye Kemal, 1952), 92.

40. Ibn Bībī, *Kitāb al-Avāmir al-ʿAlāʾiyya fī al-ʿUmūr al-ʿAlāʾiyya*, ed. Adnan Sadık Erzi (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1956), fol. 164.

41. Ibn Bībī, *Kitāb al-Avāmir*, fol. 657; Karīm al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Aqsarāyī, *Musāmarat al-Akhbār va Musāyarat al-Akhyār*, ed. Osman Turan (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1944), 74. The vizier's two sons were killed in 1277, and most of their territories were lost soon after. The family retained control of Afyonkarahisar into at least the first half of the fourteenth century. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Ṣāḥib Atā Oghullari," by Colin Imber, https://doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_6465 (accessed 4 August 2022).

42. Despite the richness of architectural decoration in late medieval Konya, I have not found any overlap in motifs or patterns between architecture and illuminated manuscripts. Additionally, the scripts used appear to be quite different. Blessing, *Rebuilding Anatolia*, 21–67.

43. Melville, "Anatolia under the Mongols," 70–71.

44. Melville, "Anatolia under the Mongols," 89.

45. Anonymous, *Anadolu Selçukluları devleti tarihi*, 60, 63, 85, 89.

46. Akhi Muhammad Bey and his *zāwiya* are mentioned in Aflākī, *Manāqib al-ʿārifīn*, II, 962. Mevlüt Eser and Yusuf Küçükdağ, "Ermenek Mevlevihanesi/Karamanoğlu Halil Bey Tekkesi," in *Tarihçiliğe Adanmış Bir Ömür Prof. Dr. Nejat Göyünç'e Armağan*, ed. Hasan Bahar and Mustafa Toker (Konya, Turkey: Selçuk Üniversitesi, 2013); Hasan Özönder, "Karaman (Lârende) Mevlevîhânesi," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 14 (1994): 143–152; Ş. Barihüda Tanrıkorur, "Karaman Mevlevîhânesi," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, http://islam ansiklopedisi.org.tr/karaman-mevlevihanesi (accessed 4 August 2022).

47. İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı, *Âbideleri ve kitâbeleri ile Karaman tarihi: Ermenek ve Mut âbideleri* (Istanbul: Baha Maatbası, 1967), 253; Blessing, *Rebuilding Anatolia*, 66.

48. Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts (TİEM), Istanbul, 73. This manuscript was copied in 734/1333–1334 by Muhammad ibn al-Hajj Dawlatshah al-Shirazi. Zeki Velidi Togan, "The Earliest Translation of the Qurʾan into Turkish," *İslam Tetkikleri Enstitüsü Dergisi* 4, no. 1 (1964): 1–19. The manuscript was perhaps copied in Rum. The same scribe completed a copy of Rumi's *Masnavi* in 744/1343–1344 that given the date, style of illumination, and four-column format, was probably produced in Rum (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Cod. pers. 35). The scribe, of course, could have emigrated from the Ilkhanid realm following the fall of the regime in 1335. Joseph Aumer, *Die persischen Handschriften der K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in München* (Munich: In Commission der palm'schen Hofbuchhandlung, 1866), 14.

49. Osman Turan, "Anatolia in the Period of the Seljuks and the Beyliks," in *The Cambridge History of Islam*, ed. P. M. Holt, Ann K. S. Lambton, and Bernard Lewis (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 251–253. See also Sara Nur Yıldız, "Karamanoğlu Mehmed Bey: Medieval Anatolian Warlord or Kemalist Language Reformer? Nationalist Historiography, Language Politics and the Celebration of the Language Festival in Karaman, Turkey, 1961–2008," in *Religion, Ethnicity and Contested Nationhood in the Former Ottoman Space*, ed. Jorgen Nielsen (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2012), 147–170. Jürgen Paul has also noted that the ethnic (i.e., Turkish) background of these principalities remains an important aspect of Turkish scholarship. The predominant use of the word *beylik* in both English and Turkish secondary sources is itself indicative of their role in the Turkification of Rum, despite the fact that they intermarried with non-Turkish women, engaged with Persian intellectual culture, and ruled over populations that included non-Turkish subjects. Jürgen Paul, "Mongol Aristocrats and Beyliks in Anatolia. A Study of Astarābādī's *Bazm va Razm*," *Eurasian Studies* 9 (2011): 105–158, 109.

50. See Jackson, "Illuminated Manuscript," 106–109, for a more detailed discussion of the "Konya school" of illumination.

51. See note 8.

52. Aside from the 1278 *Masnavi* mentioned earlier in this chapter, there are a number of securely identified and illuminated non-Qurʾanic manuscripts from late medieval Rum. For these manuscripts and their bibliography, see Jackson, *Islamic Manuscripts*. There are Qurʾan manuscripts that have been attributed to Rum by others that I do not discuss since more work needs to be done to confirm these attributions. See James, *Master Scribes*, cat. nos. 49–52; James, *Manuscripts of the Holy Qurʾan*, 173–177; Demircan

Aksoy, "XIV. Yüzyıl Anadolu," 91–100, 124–164; and Farhad and Rettig, *Art of the Qurʾan*, 182–185, cat. no. 20. The final manuscript (TIEM, 437–9) is lavishly illuminated, although, as far as I have seen, none of the decorations explicitly relate to securely attributed manuscripts from Konya. Moreover, there are no inscriptions in the manuscript suggesting that it was produced there. It may well be from Konya, but stronger evidence is needed before confirming this attribution.

53. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., F1940.16, and CBL, Is 1458. For the former, see *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution Showing the Operations, Expenditures, and Condition of the Institution for the Year Ended June 30 1941* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1942), 53, plate 3. For the latter, see Arthur J. Arberry, *The Koran Illuminated: A Handlist of the Korans in the Chester Beatty Library* (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis, 1967), cat. no. 83.

54. The Freer *juz*ʾ's binding features a geometric field radiating from a 12-armed medallion, whereas the Chester Beatty *juz*ʾ's binding has a dodecahedron and a gold 12-pointed star at its center with gold corner pieces. The Chester Beatty doublures are later marbled paper replacements, whereas the Freer doublures are block-printed leather.

55. The Freer *juz*ʾ measures 27.7 × 17.8 cm (length × width), and the CBL *juz*ʾ is 27 cm in length with the same width.

56. See, for example, Nazan Ölçer, "The Seljuks and Artuqids of Medieval Anatolia," in *Turks: A Journey of a Thousand Years, 600–1600*, ed. David J. Roxburgh (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2005), cat. nos. 65, 69, 70, 82, 85, 88.

57. MMK, 74, fol. 220b. Jackson, "Patrons and Artists," 137–151, fig. 157. See also Tanındı, "Anadolu Selçuklu Sanatında Tezhip," 148; Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ Müzesi*, 108–110; Zeren Tanındı, "Mevlâna Celâleddin Rûmî'nin ve Sultan Veled'in Konya Mevlâna Müzesindeki Eserlerinin Tezhipli İlk Örnekleri," in *Mevlâna Ocağı, Mevlâna'nın Doğumunun 800. Yılına Armağan*, ed. Mehmed Bayyiğit (Konya, Turkey: Kombassen Vakfı Yayınları, 2007), 163–178; and Demircan Aksoy, "XIV. Yüzyıl Anadolu," 306–318.

58. HAM, 1919.140.1–55 and 1919.161; LACMA, M.73.5.557–558. As far as I know, there are also 10 folios in the Minassian Collection of Brown University (A 98 3, Box 2, Folders 82–91, Manuscript 21, fols. 1–10) and one folio in the Aga Khan Museum, Toronto (AKM310). One of the Harvard folios (1919.161) was exhibited in *Islamic Art from the Collections of the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University*, Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass., 1 August 1974, but it does not appear to have been published.

59. The Aleppo madrasa was extant from at least the early thirteenth century, and the Cairo madrasa had been built by at least the mid-fourteenth century. Yasser Tabbaa, *Constructions of Power and Piety in Medieval Aleppo* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 1997), 100; Jonathan Porter Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo: A Social History of Islamic Education* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2014), 94, 113.

60. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Mangū-Tīmūr," by W. Barthold and Yu Bregel, https://doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_4926 (accessed 4 August 2022). Another Mangutimur was a chieftain of the Jurchen people of Manchuria (d. 1433). Morris Rossabi, "The Ming and Inner Asia," in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 8, *The Ming Dynasty, Part 2: 1368–1644*, ed. Denis C. Twitchett and Frederick W. Mote (Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 267.

61. For example, an illuminated copy of *Laṭāʾif al-Ḥikma* by Siraj al-Din al-Urmawi (d. 1283) that was copied on 4 Dhu al-Hijja 684 (31 January 1286) was later endowed to the Tabriz library of the Ilkhanid vizier Rashid al-Din Hamadani (d. 1318). The vizier's rectangular seal appears on several folios (Bibliothèque nationale de France [BNF], Paris, Persan 121). Francis Richard, *Splendeurs Persanes: manuscrits du XIIe au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1997), cat. no. 5; Jackson, "Patrons and Artists," 107–111.

62. HAM, 1919.161 and 1919.140.38; LACMA, M.73.5.558.

63. Aside from the Harvard folios, I know of at least nine manuscripts from Konya in which pointed-oval frontispieces appear. Jackson, "Illuminated Manuscript," 103–104; and *Islamic Manuscripts*, ch. 1–2.

64. Annemarie Carr, "Gospel Frontispieces from the Comnenian Period," *Gesta* 21, no. 1 (1982): 3–20, figs. 7–8.

65. The Morgan Library, New York, M. 235. Barbara Drake Boehm and Melanie Holcomb, *Jerusalem, 1000–1400: Every People Under Heaven* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2016), cat. no. 34.

66. For example, see BnF, Arabe 2324, fol. 129a and Supplément arabe 1567. Frantz Chaigne, "Le décor enluminé sous les Īl-khānides: Entre assimilation et innovation, de l'Iraq à la Chine," *Beiträge zur Islamischen Kunst und Archäologie, herausgegeben von der Ernst-Herzfeld-Gesellschaft* (Wiesbaden, Germany: Reichert Verlag, 2012), 3:253–265, fig. 2; and Richard, *Splendeurs Persanes*, cat. no. 28. Large pointed-oval frontispieces could share a common ancestor. A calligraphic band in the shape of a pointed oval appears in the frontispiece of a very small Qurʾan written in new style Kufic. The manuscript was sold at Sotheby's (lot 14, "Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures," 16 October 1996, sale LN6647), and its current location is unknown. It is dated to the eleventh century in the sale catalog.

67. Khalili Collection, London, QUR433 (*juzʾ* 2) and QUR 132 (*juzʾ* 13); and İnebey Library, Bursa, Genel 5059–5060, 5062–5064 (*ajzāʾ* 6, 10, 14, 16, 20). James, *Master Scribes*, 193–199; Jackson, "Illuminated Manuscript," 112–121.

68. Both Khalili *ajzāʾ* measure 23.2 × 16.5 cm. The fourteenth *juzʾ* (Genel 5062) in the İnebey collection measures 22.4 × 16.5 cm. Both text areas measure 15.5 × 10.1 cm.

69. The 1356 manuscript (Dār al-Kutub, Cairo, Raṣīd 70) is discussed in Ohta, "Covering the Book," 13–14, 128–129, 134–135, 577, figs 1.4, 4.3, 4.21, 4.23, 4.177. It does not appear to have been previously published. The 1434 manuscript (İnebey Library, Bursa, Ulu Cami 435) is also discussed in the same source on pp. 483–484, figs. 6.51, 6.53, 6.55. See also Zeren Tanındı, "15th Century Ottoman Manuscripts and Bindings in Bursa Libraries," *Islamic Art* 4 (1991): 143–173, 153, fig. 2; and Raby and Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding*, cat. no. 3.

70. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Ḳalansuwa," by W. Björkman, https://doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_8747 (accessed 4 August 2022); Sylvia Auld, "Another Look at the Waq-Waq: Arabesques and Talking Heads," in *L'arbre anthropogène du Waqwaq, les femmes-fruits et les îles des femmes. Recherches sur un mythe à large diffusion dans le temps et l'espace*, ed. Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont (Naples, Italy: Università degli studi di Napoli "L'Orientale," 2007), 139–170.

71. See, for example, a silver-inlaid brass basin made probably in Ayyubid Damascus in the late 1240s. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., F1955.10. Auld, "Another Look at the Waq-Waq," plates 11–12.

72. Auld, "Another Look at the Waq-Waq," 156.

73. British Library, London, Or. 8193. Auld, "Another Look at the Waq-Waq," fig. 6. The *waqwaq* motif also appears in a corner ornament on folio 118b of Arabe 2324 (see note 66).

74. See note 50.

75. Jackson, "Illuminated Manuscript," 85–112.

76. New York Public Library, New York, Spencer Arab Ms 3. Barbara Schmitz, *Islamic Manuscripts in the New York Public Library* (New York: New York Public Library, 1992), 282–284.

77. Additional volumes of this Qurʾan may exist. Jackson, *Islamic Manuscripts*, 219, n. 17.

78. Farīdūn ibn Aḥmad Sipahsālār, *Risālah-ʾi Farīdūn ibn Aḥmad Sipahsālār dar aḥvāl-i Jalāl al-Dīn Mawlavī*, ed. Saʿīd Nafīsī (Tehran: Iqbāl, 1325 [1946–1947]), 154–155. See also İsmet Miroğlu, "Erzincan," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi,* vol. 11, ed. Halis Ayhan and Ahmet Yılmaz (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1995), 318–321, 319; Tahir Erdoğan Şahin, "Erzincan'da Mevlevîlik Hareketleri," in *9. Millî Mevlâna Kongresi* (Konya, Turkey: Selçuk Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1998), 123–141, 138; and Jackson, *Islamic Manuscripts*, 171. On Erzincan manuscripts generally, see Zeren Tanındı, "Seçkin Bir Mevlevi'nin Tezhipli Kitapları," in *M. Uğur Derman. 65 Yaş Armağanı*, ed. İrvin Cemil Schick (Istanbul: Sabancı Üniversitesi, 2000), 513–536; and Jackson, *Islamic Manuscripts*, ch. 4.

79. The earliest is a manuscript that is dated 4 Shaʿban 706 (9 February 1307). It is a copy of the second volume of Rumi's *Masnavi*. The scribe, Musa ibn Yahya ibn Hamza al-Mawlawi, completed the manuscript in Damascus (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Cod. pers. 45). Aumer, *Die persischen Handschriften*, 16.

80. "*Akhī Yūsuf hazretindin . . . cüzlerin[den]di*."

81. Two tombstones in Ankara (a noted late medieval center of *akhī* activity) dating from the 1380s bear

this name. For these, see Étienne Combe, Jean Sauvaget, and Gaston Wiet, *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, vol. 18 (Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale), nos. 787 005, 789 005.

82. See, for example, Rachel Goshgarian, "*Futuwwa* in Thirteenth-Century Rūm and Armenia: Reform Movements and the Managing of Multiple Allegiances on the Seljuk Periphery," in *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East*, ed. A. C. S. Peacock and Sara Nur Yıldız (London: I.B. Tauris, 2012), 227–263.

83. The earliest dated copy of the *Shāhnāma* by Abu al-Qasim Firdawsi (d. 1020), which was copied in 1217, was read (not copied) by one Akhi Muhammad ibn Akhi Muthla(?) probably sometime in the thirteenth or fourteenth century (*muṭālaʿa al-ʿabd al-muḥtāj ilā raḥmat Allāh taʿālā katabahu Akhī Muḥammad ibn Akhī Muthlā*(?) *duwumī dar māh-i mubārak-i Muḥarram*). The manuscript was, perhaps, produced for the Rum Seljuks (Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze, Florence, Magl.Cl.III.24, fol. 264b). Angelo Michele Piemontese, "Nuova luce sur Firdawsi: Uno 'Šahnāma' datato 614/1217 a Firenze," *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*, n.s., 30 (1980): 1–38; Angelo Michele Piemontese, *Catalogo dei manoscritti persiani conservati nelle biblioteche d'Italia* (Rome: Istituto poligrafico e zecca dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato, 1989), 112–115; Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy*, 366, 400, n. 4; and Canby et al., *Court and Cosmos*, cat. no. 84.

84. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *The Travels of Ibn Battuta, A.D. 1325–1354*, ed. and trans. H. A. R. Gibb (Cambridge: Hakluyt Society, 1962), 2:422, 426, 429–430, 433–434, 437–438, 444, 450.

85. Duncan Haldane, *Islamic Bookbindings in the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London: World of Islam Festival Trust in association with The Victoria and Albert Museum, 1983), cat. nos. 6–9; and Schmitz, *Islamic Manuscripts*, 282.

A Luxury Market? Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi's Qurʾans

Nourane Ben Azzouna

Islamic art history often seems to be driven by the dichotomy between luxurious, courtly or elite art, on the one hand, and commercial productions, on the other hand. This essay aims to question the putative universality and immutability of this division through the case of the famous calligrapher Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi and the manuscripts of the Qurʾan he produced.[1] Since the fourteenth century, the historical developments in calligraphy in Arabic script have been schematized with the metaphor of a tree. The trunk is formed by three successive masters from Baghdad: Ibn Muqla (d. 328/940), Ibn al-Bawwab (d. 413/1022), and Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi (d. 698 /1298–1299). Then, this "Baghdadi trunk" sprouts several regional branches. This conceptualization can be criticized on several grounds, notably for being reductive. However, it shows that Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi was recognized as one of the most important calligraphers of the medieval period, a practitioner with great impact in the following centuries. Indeed, he has been regarded as *qiblat al-kuttāb* (the cynosure of calligraphers) and credited with the canonization of the so-called Six Pens: *muḥaqqaq*, *thuluth*, *tawqīʿ*, *rayḥān*, *naskh*, and *riqāʿ*. Today, his name appears in more than 130 manuscripts, a figure that seems to be an absolute record for the premodern period.[2] It suggests that Yaqut's copies came to be considered luxurious and prized objects, avidly sought by collectors, but the question remains as to whether this has always been the case. In other words, was Yaqut's oeuvre part of the courtly or the commercial realm during his own lifetime? By studying the historical sources on Yaqut and the manuscripts bearing his name, this chapter will attempt first to reconstruct his life and career and then to identify the codices that can be considered genuine productions by him and not later forgeries. Comparing the context of creation with the formal characteristics of these volumes, especially the Qurʾans, will make it possible to better evaluate the latter: are they royal or courtly works, that is commissioned by or dedicated to the caliph, the sultan, or members of the court, or were they motivated by or intended for other layers of society? If royal or courtly productions can be identified thanks to the presence of a dedication, other productions are more enigmatic. I propose to group them under the general category of commercial, bearing in mind that the market itself is not uniform and can present different levels and qualities of artifacts. Yaqut's Qurʾan manuscripts are distinguished by a contrast between the lack of a dedication and exceptional material qualities, which raises the question of the existence of a kind of luxury book market in Baghdad at the end of the thirteenth century.

Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi's Life and Career

Several contemporaneous sources such as Ilkhanid chronicles and Ilkhanid and early Mamluk biographical dictionaries allow us to capture a rather precise picture of Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi's life and career.[3] Most likely of Turkish, Anatolian origin and born in the 1230s, Yaqut became a slave of the last Abbasid caliph, al-Mustaʿsim Billah (b. 609/1212–1213, r. 640–56/1242–1258), hence his *nisba* al-Mustaʿsimi. He was most likely raised within the caliphal palace in eastern Baghdad. Yaqut was given the traditional education of scribes

(*kuttāb*), which was based on Arabic language, grammar, *adab* (belles lettres), and calligraphy. We know the names of some of his masters, including, for calligraphy, Zaki al-Din ʿAbdallah b. ʿAli b. Habib al-Baghdadi (d. 683/1284–1285), who was a librarian for al-Mustaʿsim, as well as the famous musician and music theorist Safi al-Din ʿAbd al-Muʾmin al-Urmawi (613–693/1216–1294).[4]

The fall of the Abbasids in 656/1258 represented a radical shift in the history of the Islamic world. It also had major consequences for artistic patronage, particularly for the arts of the book, as the new rulers, the Mongol Ilkhans, were not Muslim at first, not Arabic speaking, and not sedentary. After the execution of al-Mustaʿsim, Yaqut entered into the service of ʿAlaʾ al-Din ʿAtaʾ Malik al-Juwayni (r. 657–681/1259–1283). The latter was not only the brother of the new grand vizier (*ṣāḥib dīwān*) Shams al-Din Muhammad al-Juwayni (d. 683/1284) but also governor of Iraq and an official historian. Yaqut notably taught scribal art (*kitāba*) and calligraphy to the Juwayni family's sons until their disgrace and deaths in 681–683/1283–1284.[5]

After this date, the sources suggest that Yaqut's service was not attached to a particular patron. He occasionally worked as a scribe for highly ranked Ilkhanid officials and dignitaries, especially the successors of the Juwaynis in Iraq. They included Fakhr al-Dawla Iliya Ibn Hibat Allah al-Israʾili (r. 688–90/1289–1291), the brother of Grand Vizier Saʿd al-Dawla and his representative in Iraq. Timurid historian Khʷandamir described him as being "as ignorant as Plato was wise."[6] Another Ilkhanid dignitary is ʿAdud al-Din Abu al-Karam Manuchihr ibn Iranshah al-Dastjirdani, who was the nephew of the *waqf* administrator, later chief secretary and governor of Iraq, Jamal al-Din Abu al-Hasan ʿAli ibn Muhammad al-Dastjirdani (r. 688–696/1290–1297).[7] However, while working as a scribe for various patrons, Yaqut had to find other sources of income. He mainly served as a librarian in the library of the Madrasa al-Mustansiriyya under the supervision of historian and scholar Ibn al-Fuwati (d. 723/1323).[8] He additionally taught *kitāba* and/or calligraphy, notably to princes and dignitaries' sons, such as Ibn al-Fuwati's.[9] Yaqut likely produced fine manuscripts for the market as well.

His Manuscripts

Among the 133 manuscripts bearing Yaqut's name, only 11 are certainly or at least almost certainly genuine. The criteria that I used to assess their authentic character concern, first, their overall coherence: historical notes (colophon and dedication, if applicable) and material characteristics (codicological aspects, illumination, and, ideally, binding) must all be consistent. The colophon must be coherent in itself and consistent with the other historical information provided in the manuscript and by external sources. Some colophons show dates that are not only too early but also historically incongruous. For instance, a Qurʾan dated AH 630 and dedicated to al-Mustaʿsim Billah, who became caliph only in AH 640, can surely be dismissed as a forgery.[10] Similarly, since Yaqut was not only a calligrapher, especially of the Qurʾan, but also a *kātib-muḥarrir* (scribe), *adīb* (litterateur), and poet, the colophon must show as few grammar and spelling mistakes as possible. It must also be intact, that is, not scraped, altered, or overwritten. Last, the colophon folio as a whole must be consistent with the rest of the volume. The page should be made of the same paper as the others in the manuscript.

We must also take into consideration codicological evidence. Paper from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries can easily be distinguished from fifteenth-century and later paper. Leaves are thicker, more opaque, and more irregular. Moreover, manuscripts from late thirteenth-century Baghdad were predominantly made of quinions (quires of five bifolios). As for decoration, late thirteenth-century illumination differs greatly from early fourteenth-century and later illumination. Gold still dominates, but around 1300, illuminators started to experiment with new chromatic harmonies that include blue and more colors. The complication, however, is that undecorated volumes could be illuminated at a later period. Similarly, manuscript decoration could be retouched, restored, and, consequently, altered sometime after the original completion. How then can we discern whether a manuscript allegedly by Yaqut is a genuine redecorated

volume or a later forgery? To this aim, three components of the codex can be examined in greater detail and in relation to each other: the handwriting, the signature, and the type of (re)decoration.

Regarding Yaqut's handwriting, I first considered a manuscript of the Qurʾan whose authenticity was first established by François Déroche and later confirmed by other scholars.[11] It is copied in *naskh* and dated to the beginning of Muharram 688/January–February 1289. Using this manuscript as a benchmark, I then compared all the other copies in *naskh* whose authenticity cannot be excluded for this or that inconsistency without ignoring the fact that the handwriting of a calligrapher could change as he aged or because of his working conditions and his style could also evolve and be modified through his constant practice and research toward perfecting his art. In other words, as Konstanty Jażdżewski puts it, "a copyist should not be confused with his hand."[12]

The fact that Yaqut seems to have had a true characteristic signature helped to resolve the issues of the existence of different *naskh*s and of other calligraphic styles. Colophons of the most consistent manuscripts present the same formulation. They generally start with *wa kataba* (and he wrote), instead of *katabahu* (he wrote it). The signature itself is always reduced to the calligrapher's first name, Yaqut, followed by his *nisba*, al-Mustaʿsimi, without any additional epithets. The date specifies at least the month and sometimes a precise part of the month, such as *awāʾil* (at the beginning) or *al-ʿashr al-awwal* (during the first 10 days). The days of the week can also be noted. This is important because the colophon is even more reliable when the date and the day of the week accurately correspond. A different layout often distinguishes the colophon from the Qurʾanic text. It is also highlighted by illumination, and two manuscripts bear the signature of the illuminator Muhammad ibn al-Saʿati. The decoration of two to three other volumes can also be attributed to him (see list below). Last, I noticed that Yaqut's manuscripts have, in general, been preserved in their original state—with the exception of the bindings—or slightly restored or redecorated but without major alteration, likely because Yaqut was held in high esteem.

The 11 genuine or most likely genuine manuscripts thus identified consist of a *Dīwān*, a collection of prayers, and nine copies of the Qurʾan. In chronological order, they are as follows:

1. *Dīwān* of the pre-Islamic poet Qutba ibn Aws, known as al-Hadira, dated to Safar 682/May 1283 (Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul, Ayasofya 3933; Figure 1).
2. Collection of prayers for the seven days of the week, dated to 11 Dhu'l-Hijja 682/1 March 1284 (Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, Ar. 4237).
3. Qurʾan, copied in Baghdad in Jumada I 685/June–July 1286 (National Museum of Iran, Tehran, No. 4277).
4. Qurʾan, copied in Baghdad in 685/1286–1287; the illumination can be attributed to Muhammad ibn al-Saʿati (Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, Istanbul, TIEM 507; Figures 2, 11).
5. Qurʾan, copied in Baghdad at the beginning of Rajab 686/mid-August 1287 (Astan-i Quds-i Radawi, Mashhad, Iran, AQR 120).
6. Qurʾan, dated to the first 10 days of Muharram 688/end of January to beginning of February 1289 (Bibliothèque nationale de France [BnF], Paris, Arabe 6716).
7. Qurʾan, dated to 7 Rabiʿ I 693/5 February 1294 (Topkapı Palace Museum Library [TSMK], Istanbul, E.H. 74; Figures 3, 4, 14).
8. Qurʾan, dated to Wednesday, 4 Shaʿban 693/30 June 1294; the illumination is signed by Muhammad ibn al-Saʿati (Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, Istanbul, TIEM 505; Figures 5, 6).
9. Qurʾan, dated to Friday, 3 Dhu'l-Hijja 694/14 October 1295; the illumination is signed by Muhammad ibn al-Saʿati (Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye 22; Figures 7, 10).
10. Qurʾan, dated to Safar 696/December 1296 (Mevlana Museum, Konya, Turkey, No. 15).
11. Qurʾan, dated to 27 Ramadan 696/19 July 1297; the illumination can be attributed to Muhammad ibn al-Saʿati (TSMK, Istanbul, E.H. 61; Figures 8, 9, 12).

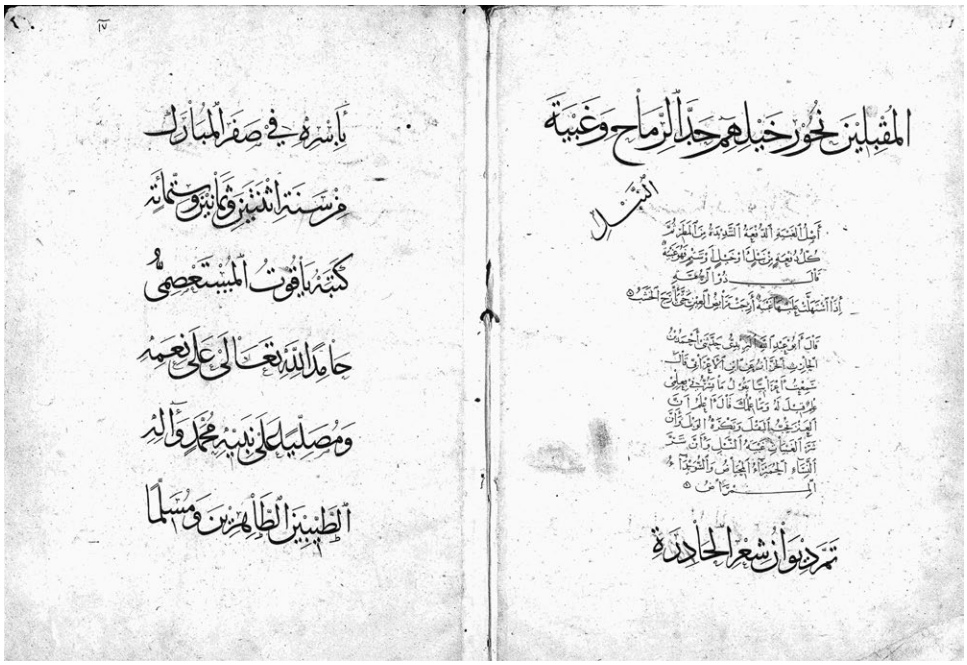


FIGURE 1. Last folios with text and colophon. *Dīwān* of al-Hadira copied by Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi, probably Baghdad, Ilkhanid period, Safar 682/May 1283. Süleymaniye Library, Ayasofya 3933, fols. 16b–17a. Image © The Directorate of the Manuscripts Institution of Turkey.

FIGURE 2. Last folios with text (Q. 112–114) and colophon. Qurʾan copied by Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi and probably illuminated by Muhammad ibn al-Saʿati, Baghdad, Ilkhanid period, 685/1286–1287. Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, TIEM 507, fols. 246b–247a. Image courtesy of the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, Istanbul.

FIGURE 3 (above). Illuminated opening double page with text (Q. 1–2:12). Qurʾan copied by Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi, probably Baghdad, Ilkhanid period, 7 Rabiʿ I 693/ February 5, 1294. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, E.H. 74, fols. 2b–3a. Image © The Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, The Directorate of National Palaces Administration.

FIGURE 4 (left). Last folio with text (Q. 114) and colophon. Qurʾan copied by Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi, probably Baghdad, Ilkhanid period, 7 Rabiʿ I 693/5 February 1294. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, E.H. 74, fol. 251a. Image © The Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, The Directorate of National Palaces Administration.

FIGURE 5. Illuminated opening double page with text (Q. 1–2, part of 13). Qurʾan copied by Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi and illuminated by Muhammad ibn al-Saʿati, probably Baghdad, Ilkhanid period, Wednesday, 4 Shaʿban 693/30 June 1294. Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, TIEM 505, fols. 2b–3a. Image courtesy of the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, Istanbul.

FIGURE 6. Last folios with text (Q. 111–114) and colophon. Qurʾan copied by Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi and illuminated by Muhammad ibn al-Saʿati, probably Baghdad, Ilkhanid period, Wednesday, 4 Shaʿban 693/30 June 1294. Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, TIEM 505, fols. 253b–254a. Image courtesy of the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, Istanbul.

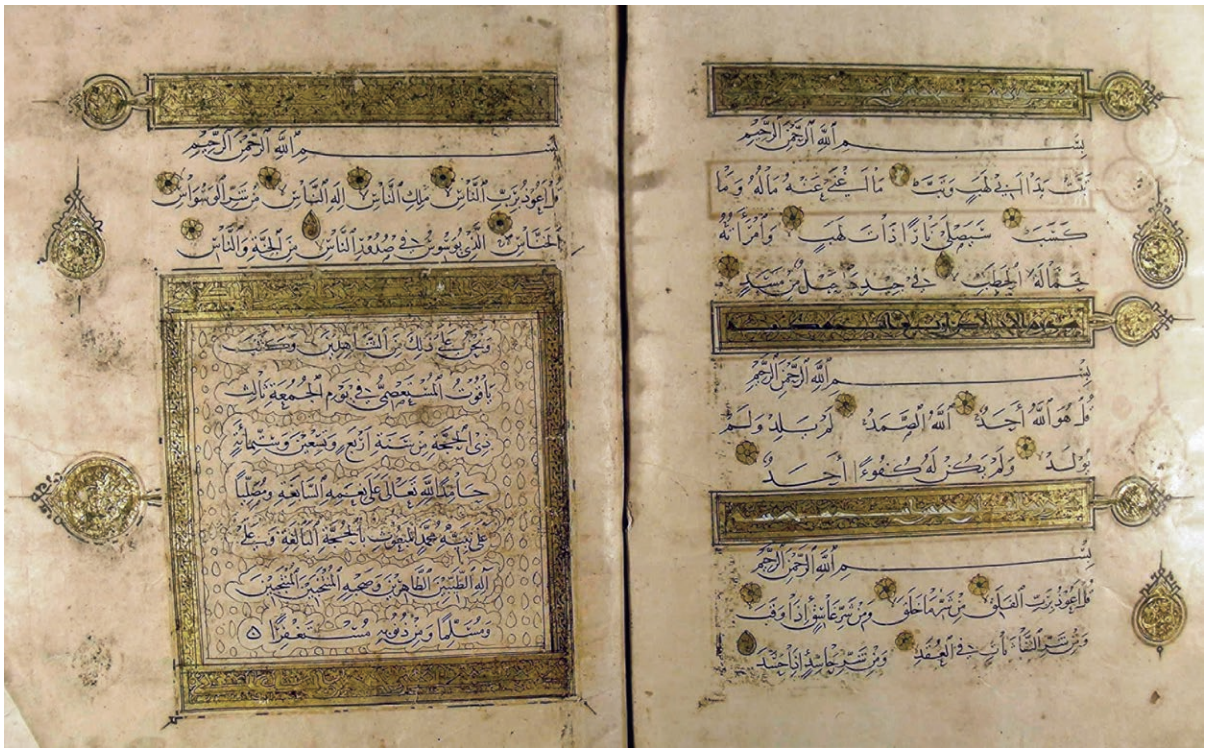


FIGURE 7. Last folios with text (Q. 111–114) and colophon. Qurʾan copied by Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi and illuminated by Muhammad ibn al-Saʿati, probably Baghdad, Ilkhanid period, Friday, 3 Dhu'l-Hijja 694/14 October 1295. Süleymaniye Library, Nuruosmaniye 22, fols. 267b–268a. Image © The Directorate of the Manuscripts Institution of Turkey.

FIGURE 8. Illuminated opening double page with text (Q. 1–2, part of 9). Qurʾan copied by Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi and probably illuminated by Muhammad ibn al-Saʿati, probably Baghdad, Ilkhanid period, 27 Ramadan 696/19 July 1297. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, E.H. 61, fols. 2b–3a. Image © The Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, The Directorate of National Palaces Administration.

FIGURE 9. Last folios with text (Q. 111, part of 2–114) and colophon. Qurʾan copied by Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi and probably illuminated by Muhammad ibn al-Saʿati, probably Baghdad, 27 Ramadan 696/19 July 1297. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, E.H. 61, fols. 315b–316a. Image © The Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, The Directorate of National Palaces Administration.

The earliest manuscripts are copied in a variety of calligraphic styles. The *Dīwān* of al-Hadira (Figure 1) stands out because it shows a special layout: each hemistich is written on a line in *muḥaqqaq* that continues obliquely into the margin in *tawqīʿ*, whereas the commentaries are written in *naskh*. This feature thus allows for the comparison of these three different scripts. The collection of prayers for the seven days of the week and the earliest Qurʾan are penned in *rayḥān*, whereas all of the following *muṣḥaf*s are in *naskh*. The shape and tracing of letters as well as the compositional schemes are generally consistent throughout the volumes. These characteristics leave virtually no doubt that they are the work of one sole hand. Yaqut's penmanship is notably distinguished by highly codified letter shapes and proportions. He also traces the letters with very fine and thin lines: the width of the pen used in some volumes can be estimated at less than half a millimeter. The well-balanced placement of letters, words, and lines on the page achieves an effect of both precision and flexibility.

As a matter of fact, a careful study of this corpus of manuscripts by Yaqut testifies to the calligrapher's constant experimentation. It is noticeable in the early 1280s for the different calligraphic styles and from 1285 onward for the *naskh* script in particular. Indeed, it is possible to distinguish between two groups of Qurʾans in *naskh*: the volumes of the 1280s, on the one hand (Figure 2), and those of the 1290s, on the other hand (Figures 3–9). The lack of variation within each group, which are both stylistically homogeneous, suggests a voluntary change. The *naskh* of the 1290s shows several shapes that seem to be borrowed from *tawqīʿ*. This novel style, a form of "*naskh- tawqīʿ*" was followed by Yaqut's successors. One may even won-

der whether this kind of calligraphic experimentation did not influence the emergence and development of the *nastaʿlīq* script a few generations later in the second half of the fourteenth century. Moreover, the first preserved manuscript is dated to May 1283, which is two to three months after the death of ʿAlaʾ al-Din al-Juwayni (on 4 Dhu'l-Hijja 681/6 March 1283). Therefore, all manuscripts are dated to the last part of Yaqut's life and career. This was a time when he was not attached to any specific patron but was independent, working for various individuals and carrying out several occupations simultaneously. Indeed, none of these manuscripts mentions a patron or a dedicatee. Moreover, they are rather numerous for one single calligrapher. They also consist of the "best sellers" of the period. It is, of course, difficult to pinpoint the most popular volumes of a given period, but one possible source of information is the inventories of libraries. The inventory of the Ashrafiyya library in Damascus seems to be the oldest one preserved from the Arab world.[13] It lists about 2,100 manuscripts, among which 38% are volumes of secular poetry. Works by pre-Islamic poets such as al-Hadira were especially favored. As for prayer books and Qurʾans, they were certainly among the most popular works.

Thus, we can surmise that Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi's manuscripts may have been produced to be sold to specific individuals, for instance, in the Madrasa al-Mustansiriyya, where they may have been made, or on the book market in Baghdad. In other words, Yaqut's manuscripts underscore that the collapse of the Abbasid dynasty and the rise of the Ilkhans did not put an end to the production of Arabic manuscripts in general and of Qurʾans in particular. On the contrary, the production continued. Yet it was at least partly motivated by and oriented toward another target audience, which is most likely the market. This raises the question, What type of market? Did this evolution in terms of patronage and clientele impact the manuscripts' form and lead to a reduction in the quality of both materials and workmanship, especially in calligraphy and illumination?

Courtly Versus Commercial Production

Unfortunately, no manuscript dedicated to any of Yaqut's patrons, such as the last Abbasid caliph al-Mustaʿsim and his successors in Iraq, especially ʿAlaʾ al-Din al-Juwayni, has survived. However, a few royal or princely Qurʾans produced in Baghdad or elsewhere in Iraq and Iran at the end of the twelfth century and in the first half of the thirteenth century are preserved and can be used as comparative material. Among these, we can notably mention the following:

- A 30-volume Qurʾan made in 588/1192–1293 for Abu ʿAbdallah Muhammad, a son of the Abbasid caliph Al-Nasir (r. 575–622/1180–1225), now dispersed.[14]
- Another 30-volume Qurʾan that was made for the Zangid governor of Sinjar, Qutb al-Din Abu al-Muzaffar Muhammad ibn Zangi b. Mawdud (r. 594–616/1197–1219), of which six *ajzaʾ* are preserved.[15]
- A seven-volume Qurʾan with a Persian translation and a copy of the Persian version of Tabari's *Tafsīr* that were made for the library of vizier Abu al-Qasim Harun ibn ʿAli ibn Zafar Dindan, who served the last Ildaguzid governor of Azerbaijan, Uzbak ibn Muhammad ibn Ildaguz (r. 607–622/1210–1225), of which only the first volume is preserved.[16]

In comparison to these Qurʾans, Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi's *maṣāḥif* primarily stand out because of their nature: they are not multivolume sets, but single-volume manuscripts.[17] Moreover, except for three Qurʾan manuscripts that are in the quarto format, which is the second-largest format after the folio,[18] most of Yaqut's *maṣāḥif* are octavos, which is the most common format during his lifetime. One is even smaller, a sextodecimo.[19] In medieval Islamic visual and graphic cultures, size was certainly one of the most, if not the most, important and symbolic signifiers. For instance, chancery documents and scripts were ranked from the largest to the smallest according to the status of their addressee. In addition, later royal Ilkhanid

FIGURE 10. Illuminated double-page frontispiece. Qurʾan copied by Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi and illuminated by Muhammad ibn al-Saʿati, probably Baghdad, Ilkhanid period, Friday, 3 Dhu'l-Hijja 694/14 October 1295. Süleymaniye Library, Nuruosmaniye 22, fols. 1b–2a. Image © The Directorate of the Manuscripts Institution of Turkey.

Qurʾans were all produced in the folio format. Their size suggests that Yaqut's Qurʾanic copies were not meant to demonstrate a patron's status and wealth or to be seen as public statements of generosity and piety. Instead, the functions of these Qurʾans were of another nature.

Despite their smaller size and the corresponding use of small-scale calligraphic styles such as *rayḥān* and *naskh*, Yaqut's copies of the Qurʾan are exceptional because of their excellent calligraphy that exemplifies the master's fame and reputation. Furthermore, each volume was illuminated, and some illuminations are innovative. For instance, the BnF Qurʾan frontispiece shows a rather conservative conception.[20] It recalls one of the opening pages of Ibn al-Bawwab's *muṣḥaf* (folios 7b–8a), but its execution is less skillful: the white band that delineates the geometric forms in the central panel is not continuous; the octagons are irregular, and the vegetal motifs are coarse and arranged in very simple fashion. Overall, it creates a repetitive effect. However, in comparison to earlier and contemporaneous frontispieces, these opening pages are distinguished by several innovative aspects. First, whereas other frontispieces usually combine various types of filling patterns (inscriptions and geometric and/or vegetal motifs), the structural composition here is based on geometry, whereas the filling motives are exclusively vegetal. Second, the frontispiece is framed not by a latticework band, but by a vegetal one, and the marginal vignettes are filled with petals.[21] Last, even though it may have been retouched later, this double page presents an unprecedented richer and more graded palette.

As mentioned above, the illuminations of two other Qurʾans are signed by Muhammad ibn al-Saʿati (Figures 6, 7; see also Figures 5, 10), and those of two to three other *maṣāḥif* can be attributed to him (Figures 8, 9, 11, 12).[22] Muhammad ibn al-Saʿati used similar compositions with intersecting circles and circular arcs,

FIGURE 11. Illuminated double-page frontispiece. Qurʾan copied by Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi and probably illuminated by Muhammad ibn al-Saʿati, Baghdad, Ilkhanid period, 685/1286–1287. Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, TIEM 507, fols. 2b–3a. Image courtesy of the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, Istanbul.

FIGURE 12. Illuminated double-page frontispiece. Qurʾan copied by Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi and probably illuminated by Muhammad ibn al-Saʿati, probably Baghdad, Ilkhanid period, 27 Ramadan 696/19 July 1297. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, E.H. 61, fols. 1b–2a. Image © The Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, The Directorate of National Palaces Administration.

FIGURE 13. Penultimate folio with text (Q. 22, part of 78). *Juzʾ* 17 of Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan, probably illuminated by Muhammad ibn al-Saʿati, Baghdad, Ilkhanid period, ca. 706–710/1306–1311. Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, TIEM 538, fol. 200b. Image courtesy of the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, Istanbul.

FIGURE 14. Illuminated double-page frontispiece. Qurʾan copied by Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi, probably Baghdad, Ilkhanid period, 7 Rabiʿ I 693/5 February 1294. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, E.H. 74, fols. 1b–2a. Image © The Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, The Directorate of National Palaces Administration.

which evoke another frontispiece in Ibn al-Bawwab's Qurʾan (folios 284b–285a), but they also present several innovative features. The illuminator created a continuous transition between the central field and the border. The filling patterns are only vegetal and finely executed. Of particular note are the spiraling tendrils that stand out because of a linear drawing. Some half-palmettes show a very short lower part and, conversely, a very elongated and curved upper stem that bears a weighty circle. The shape of some trefoils is also noticeable: the central leaflet is forked, with a fleshy part that bends in one direction and a very elongated part that is curved in the opposite direction. The lateral leaflets are somewhat cordate (heart-like.) The palette is dominated by gold, but it also includes a variety of colors such as red, blue, and green, as well as white and black. Moreover, although vegetal motifs are generally gilded and placed on a colored background, here we observe the opposite, with half-palmettes and trefoils painted in red, blue, green, white, or black on a golden background.

Finally, I must note that the characteristic style of Muhammad ibn al-Saʿati also appears in Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan (Figure 13).[23] Incidentally, another of Yaqut's Qurʾans prefigures more precisely the so-called golden age of Ilkhanid illumination. It is the copy dated 693/1294 (TSMK, E.H. 74), whose frontispiece (Figure 14) presents a grandiose composition centered around a 10-pointed star. Sections of the central star are repeated in the corners, thereby creating the illusion of an infinite space seemingly continuing beyond the frame. The filling patterns are particularly refined and dominated by pairs of half-palmettes arranged in a symmetrical fashion: they are placed back-to-back, notably on semicircular arcs. The frontispiece and the vignette are framed by scalloped vegetal borders. Last, the palette is rich, notably in the backgrounds; it is also shaded, and it shows a new balance between gold and blue.

Conclusion

Medieval historical sources allow dividing Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi's life and career into two radically different periods. During the first 40–50 years, Yaqut seems to have worked exclusively under royal patronage, first for the last Abbasid caliph al-Mustaʿsim and then for his successor in Iraq, ʿAlaʾ al-Din al-Juwayni. However, no manuscript dedicated to either has survived. From 1283 onward Yaqut continued his career without the support of a single patron. He worked as a scribe for Ilkhanid officials and dignitaries of high rank but minor cultural significance and at the same time served as a librarian in the Madrasa al-Mustansiriyya's library. Yaqut also taught *kitāba* and/or calligraphy, and he was simultaneously a professional copyist and calligrapher.

It is interesting to note that the 11 manuscripts that can be considered genuine codices by Yaqut all belong to this second and last phase of his life and career. Their context of production, that is, the apparent lack of a significant royal or courtly patron of scholars and artists in late thirteenth-century Baghdad and the fact that Yaqut was obviously obliged to carry out different tasks for different bosses at the same time, suggests that the creation of these volumes itself was a mere bread-and-butter job. In other words, they were produced either on demand or for sale to ordinary individuals. The difference between the first and last phases of Yaqut's career is the absence of a protector in the latter. What ensures his status and means of subsistence is not his relationship with a patron and the recognition of his talents by that patron, but, among other activities, the production of manuscripts. Whether this production was on demand or spontaneous, for sale, does not change the fact that it was not his talent in general but each particular codex that was rewarded, paid for, most likely, by different individuals. It is in this sense that this production can be qualified as commercial.

This hypothesis is first supported by the large number of volumes produced and preserved. Eleven manuscripts, including nine Qurʾans, may seem too small a number. However, as mentioned above, this is an absolute record for a single calligrapher in the medieval period. This hypothesis is also corroborated by the fact that none of these codices bears a dedication to a specific patron. Moreover, they are copies of very popular texts such as the Qurʾan, books of prayers, and volumes of pre-Islamic poetry. Last, they are single-volume manuscripts of medium to small format and size, which makes them not only affordable but also symbolically neutral. In other words, the material properties of this production give it an open quality that broadens its appeal to a wide range of potential buyers, which further suggests that it was made for sale. Nevertheless, these manuscripts are exceptional because of their execution. The high-level calligraphy and the innovative illuminations make Yaqut's codices unrivalled in that period, which suggests that even if they were intended for the market, they were luxury artifacts oriented toward a high-level clientele, such as the urban economic and cultural elites.

Four, perhaps five, Qurʾanic manuscripts were most likely copied by Yaqut and illuminated by one single illuminator, Muhammad ibn al-Saʿati. Was this professional association sponsored by a patron? Or was it motivated by only the desire of the two artists to practice together? The lack of important patrons in late thirteenth-century Baghdad supports the second hypothesis, especially if one considers that Yaqut associated with other illuminators as well.[24] This group of artists then seems to have collaborated in a free and fluid manner.

Yaqut died in 698/1298–1299, three years after the Ilkhan ruler Ghazan's conversion to Islam on 2 Shaʿban 694/17 June 1295. This event opened the second and more well-known half of the Ilkhanid period. Several of Yaqut's collaborators worked for the Ilkhans. This was the case for his fellow calligrapher Ahmad al-Suhrawardi (654–741/1256–1340), who copied the so-called Anonymous Baghdad Qurʾan, which was probably commissioned by Ghazan. He seems to have worked for the Ilkhans up to Abu Saʿid (r. 716–736/1316–1335).[25] This was also the case of illuminator Muhammad ibn al-Saʿati, whose hand can be identified in Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan. Another example is the anonymous illuminator of Yaqut's Qurʾan dated 693/1294

(TSMK, E.H. 74), whose style is very similar to that of Muhammad ibn Aybak ibn ʿAbdallah, the master illuminator who signed both the Anonymous Baghdad Qurʾan and Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan. The longue durée activity of these artists and the continuation of several of their practices, such as the association between a calligrapher and an illuminator or a team of illuminators, but on a larger and remarkable scale after the conversion of Ghazan reveal in fine an interesting back and forth movement between the court and the city, the courtly and the commercial.

Notes

1. This chapter is based on Nourane Ben Azzouna, "Le siècle de Yāqūt al-Mustaʿṣimī," in *Aux origines du classicisme: Calligraphes et bibliophiles au temps des dynasties mongoles (Les Ilkhanides et les Djalayirides, 656–814 H./1258–1411)*, Islamic Manuscripts and Books Series 17 (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2018), 37–138, in which more details and full references can be found.
2. The complete list is provided in Ben Azzouna, *Aux origines du classicisme*, 49–60.
3. For the complete list of sources, see Ben Azzouna, *Aux origines du classicisme*, 39–42.
4. Bashshār ʿAwwād Maʿrūf and ʿImād ʿAbd al-Salām Raʾūf, eds., *Al-Ḥawādith al-jāmiʿa wa al-tajārib al-nāfiʿa* (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1997), 541; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Talkhīṣ majmaʿ al-ādāb fī muʿjam al-alqāb,* ed. Muḥammad al-Kāẓim (Tehran: Wizārat-i Farhang wa Irshād-i Islāmī, 1415/Sh. 1374/1995), no. 4523; Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafiyyāt wa al-dhayl ʿalayhā*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, n.d.), no. 567; Sirāj Shīrāzī, *Tuḥfat al-muḥibbīn dar āyīn-i khūshniwīsī wa laṭāʾif-i maʿnawī-i ān*, ed. Īraj Afshār, Muḥammad-Taqī Dānish-Pajūh, and Karāmat Raʿnā Ḥusaynī (Tehran: Mīrāth-i Maktūb, Sh. 1376/1997), 131.
5. ʿAwwād Maʿrūf and ʿAbd al-Salām Raʾūf, eds. *Al-Ḥawādith al-jāmiʿa*, 465–466; Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafiyyāt*, no. 567.
6. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Talkhīṣ*, no. 2014; Khʷāndamīr, *Dastūr al-wuzarāʾ*, ed. Saʿīd Nafīsī (Tehran: Iqbāl, Sh. 2535/1976), 299.
7. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Talkhīṣ*, no. 650. The expressions used in the sources are *yaktub ʿalayh*, which probably signifies working as a scribe for someone or writing from the mouth of someone; *yuḥarrir khaṭṭah ʿalayh*, producing a good copy of a draft; and *yataraddad ilā khidmatih*, putting oneself at the service of someone.
8. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Talkhīṣ*, nos. 3136, 4745.
9. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Tārīkh*, ed. Adnan Darwich (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1994), 2:705.
10. This manuscript is no. 1379 in the Gulistān Palace Library, Tehran.
11. BnF, Paris, Arabe 6716. See François Déroche, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes*, *Deuxième partie: Manuscrits musulmans. Les manuscrits du Coran. Du Maghreb à l'Insulinde* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1985), no. 523.
12. Konstanty Kl. Jażdżewski, "Identifizierungsprobleme bei Schreiberhänden," in *Probleme der Bearbeitung mittelalterlicher Handschriften*, ed. Helmar Härtel, Wolfgang Milde, Jan Pirożyński, and Marian Zwiercan (Wiesbaden, Germany: O. Harrassowitz, 1986), 325–326.
13. The library was founded by an Ayyubid dignitary, al-Ashraf Ahmad ibn al-Qadi al-Fadil, within the mausoleum of the Ayyubid sultan al-Ashraf (r. 626–635/1229–1237). Konrad Hirschler, "'Catching the Eel'—Documentary Evidence for Concepts of the Arabic Book in the Middle Period," *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 12 (2012): 224–234.
14. This Qurʾan appeared on the art market in 1977. See Yasin Hamid Safadi, *Calligraphie islamique* (London: Chêne, 1978), no. 59. It was split up and sold in separate sections and folios. A fragment of the 29th *juzʾ* is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, accession no. 2004.89, http://www.metmuseum.org/collections/search-the-collections/140012527?img=0 (accessed 11 October 2018).

15. Diya Azzawi and David James, *Manuscripts of the Holy Qurʾān from the Beginning to the Fall of Baghdad, H656, AD1258* (St. Helier, U.K.: Touch Editions, 2010), 176–177.
16. BnF, Supplément persan 1610, http://gallica.BnF.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84272044.r=suppl%C3%A9ment+persan+1610.langFR (accessed 11 October 2018).
17. Only a few royal or princely single-volume Qurʾans are preserved from the late Abbasid period. This is the case of a *muṣḥaf* made for the Salghurid ruler of Fars, Ibn Abi al-Muzaffar Saʿd ibn Zangi Atabak (r. 593–623 or 629/1196–1226 or 1230) in 599/1203: Markus Ritter and Nourane Ben Azzouna, *Der Goldkoran aus der Zeit der Seldschuken und Atabegs. Cod. arab. 1112 der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München / The Golden Qurʾān from the Age of the Seljuks and Atabegs. Cod. arab. 1112 of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich* (Graz, Austria: Adeva, 2015), Angang/Appendix 2, no. 30.
18. The three exceptions are National Museum of Iran, No. 4277; Süleymaniye Library, Nuruosmaniye 22; and TSMK, E.H. 61.
19. BnF, Arabe 6716.
20. BnF, https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8433294k/f8.image.r=arabe%206716 (accessed 26 August 2019).
21. It remains unclear whether this vegetal border is original or was later overpainted.
22. Muhammad b. al-Saʿati signed TIEM 505 and Nuruosmaniye 22. Also attributed to him are the illuminations of TIEM 507, TSMK E.H. 61, and the fifteenth *juzʾ* of a 30-volume Qurʾan. The latter's attribution to Yaqut is not very convincing, but still, a late thirteenth-century date of production is plausible: Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London, QUR29. See Linda Komaroff and Stefano Carboni, eds., *The Legacy of Genghis Khan: Courtly Art and Culture in Western Asia, 1256–1353* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2002), 268, no. 62.
23. Öljeitü's Bagdad Qurʾan was copied by an anonymous calligrapher and illuminated by a team of illuminators including Muḥammad ibn Aybak b. ʿAbdallah, who signed one volume, as well as Muhammad ibn al-Saʿati, whose style is recognizable in several volumes such as *juzʾ* 1 (Universitätsbibliothek, Leipzig, B. or. 001, fol. 5) and *juzʾ* 17 (TIEM 538); see Ben Azzouna, *Aux origines du classicisme*, 234–249, plate 32. On this Qurʾan, see also Sheila S. Blair, "Sultan Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan: A Life History," this volume.
24. Another of his Qurʾans (Mevlana Museum, No. 15) seems to have been illuminated by at least two illuminators.
25. Ben Azzouna, *Aux origines du classicisme*, 213–234, 403–410; see also figure 2 in Blair, "Sultan Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan," this volume.

Sultan Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan: A Life History

Sheila S. Blair

The Qurʾan codices produced at the beginning of the fourteenth century for the court of the Ilkhanids, the Mongol rulers of Iraq and Iran from 1256 to 1353, rank among the most spectacular of those known. At least five of these imperial Qurʾans have survived.[1] Now dispersed in collections around the world, each set once comprised 30 parts (*ajzāʾ*; sing. *juzʾ*), each part containing dozens of very large sheets of polished paper with bold calligraphy and elaborate decoration in gold, ultramarine, and other expensive materials. Each set took years to produce, typically by a team of craftsmen.

Of these five sets, the largest and most ambitious is the one commissioned by Sultan Öljeitü (r. 1304–1316) from his capital at Baghdad and bequeathed to his tomb at Sultaniyya, here called Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan (Figure 1).[2] Selections from 15 parts survive in Turkey, Germany, Denmark, Bosnia, and elsewhere (Table 1).[3] Dates within the extant folios range from 706/1306–1307 to Dhu'l-Hijja 710/April–May 1311.[4] The

FIGURE 1. Double-page spread with the end of sura 8 and the beginning of sura 9 from *juzʾ* 10 of Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan, a 30-volume set copied by an anonymous calligrapher and illuminated by Muhammad ibn Aybak for Sultan Öljeitü and bequeathed to his tomb at Sultaniyya. Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, TIEM 538, fols. 109b–110a. Image courtesy of the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, Istanbul.

TABLE 1. Surviving folios from Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan. Abbreviations: EMS is the Ezzat-Malek Soudavar Collection; TIEM is the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts; and TSMK is the Topkapı Palace Museum Library. A dash (—) indicates not applicable; a question mark (?) indicates the accession number of the manuscript is questionable.

Juzʾ	Sura:verse	Collection	Folios	Comments
1	—	TIEM 538	1a	Certificate of commissioning
	—	TIEM 538	1b	Right page of illumination
	2:9–2:124	TIEM 538	2a–44b	—
	2:141	Leipzig	5a	Closing text page
4	3:173–4:4	Dresden	1a–16b	—
6	4:160, 4:162, 5:3	Sarikhani	—	Three fragments of single lines
	5:4, 5:5	Afshar	—	Two fragments of two lines
7	—	TSMK E.H. 243	1a	Certificate of commissioning
	—	TSMK E.H. 243	1b–2a	Double page of illumination
	5:82–6:110	TSMK E.H. 243	2b–68b	—
8	6:140–7:87	TIEM 538	45a–95b	—
10	—	Leipzig	1a	Certificate of commissioning
	—	Leipzig	1b–2a	Double page of illumination
	8:41	Leipzig	2b–3a	Opening text pages
	8:41–42	Leipzig	4b	—
	8:43–9:73	TIEM 538	96a–145b	—
17	—	TIEM 538	146a	Certificate of commissioning
	—	TIEM 538	146b	Right page of illumination
	21:2–22:78	TIEM 538	147a–201a	—
20	—	TSMK E.H. 245?	—	—
	27:59–29:44	TSMK E.H. 245?	1a–54b	—
	—	TSMK E.H. 245?	55a–56b	Closing spread of illumination
21	29:45–33:30	TSMK E.H. 234	1a–60b	—
22	—	Sarajevo	—	Trimmed; incomplete
24	41:9–41:13	Copenhagen	—	Two trimmed folios
25	43:21–45:32	Dresden	17a–50a	—
	45:32	Dresden	50b–51a	Unfinished closing pages of text
27	—	Sarajevo	—	Incomplete; trimmed
29	67:1	Leipzig	5b	Opening right page of text
	67:3–77:40	Leipzig	6a–61b	—
30	103:1–103:3	EMS	1a	—

illumination is signed by the most famous illuminator of the day, Muhammad ibn Aybak ibn ʿAbdallah, who probably supervised a team of craftsmen. The calligrapher signs himself only "the poor slave in need of God's mercy." Although sometimes thought to be Ahmad al-Suhrawardi, the most renowned calligrapher of the time and Muhammad ibn Aybak's frequent partner, the calligrapher here uses a different signature and hand and remains unidentified.[5]

Despite all the documentation within Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan, many questions remain, and in this essay I examine it in further detail, particularly the folios now in the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts (TIEM) in Istanbul. I begin by exploring how this stupendous set was made, looking at paper, transcription, and illumination. I then turn to how the set was used, examining first its endowment to the sultan's tomb at Sultaniyya and then its subsequent dispersal to the Ottoman lands and beyond. My purpose is to show how the function of Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan evolved by recounting its life history.

Paper

The first step in making Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan, like the other imperial sets made for the Ilkhanid court, was to produce large sheets of polished paper. The Mamluk chronicler al-Qalqashandi (d. 1418) enumerated the nine sizes of paper standard in this period.[6] The largest were the full-sized *baghdādī* sheets. Comparing these proportions and measurements to extant manuscripts, we can calculate that this description fits a sheet approximately 73 cm high by 110 cm wide. Folding each large sheet down the middle gives dimensions of 73 × 55 cm for each page of a bifolio, approximately the dimensions enumerated by al-Qalqashandi of 1.5 by 1 (Egyptian linen) cubit. There is a practical reason for this size: the full sheet approaches the limit of what an individual papermaker can lift from the mold.[7]

Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan is the only set from the period transcribed on these full-sized *baghdādī* sheets.[8] The other imperial sets are approximately half as large. The closest comparison is the Anonymous Baghdad Qurʾan, the set copied in that city by Ahmad al-Suhrawardi and illuminated by Muhammad ibn Aybak ibn ʿAbdallah a few years before Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan (Figure 2).[9] David James and others have argued convincingly that the Anonymous Baghdad Qurʾan was begun for Öljeitü's predecessor, Ghazan (r. 1295–1304), perhaps for his mausoleum. The vizier Rashid al-Din (1247–1318) was in charge of Ghazan's pious foundation in Baghdad and had fine manuscripts read aloud there, so the vizier may have supervised the completion of the set after the sultan's death.[10] This large half-*baghdādī* sheet was also used for the other manuscripts made for Rashid al-Din, whether Qurʾan manuscripts or copies of other historical and religious texts.[11] Most other manuscripts from the period are

FIGURE 2. Left-hand page from the Anonymous Baghdad Qurʾan with the signature of the calligrapher Ahmad al-Suhrawardi in the center and the place of production (Baghdad) and the date (707/1307–1308) in the gold rubrics. Metropolitan Museum of Art, 55.44; Rogers Fund, 1955. Image courtesy of Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

one-quarter the size of Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan, including many single-volume Qurʾan manuscripts penned by Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi and other well-known calligraphers.[12]

The sheets of paper used in these imperial Qurʾans were not only very large but also very carefully prepared. Examined under a microscope, the paper of the Anonymous Baghdad Qurʾan shows well-beaten, long white fibers under a flawless size and glaze.[13] These large polished sheets must have been expensive, especially in view of the almost profligate use of paper in these sets in which regular pages have only five lines of text surrounded by wide blank spaces such that the written area occupies far less than half of the total area of each sheet.[14] In contrast, the typical quarto- or octavo-size copies of the Qurʾan penned by Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi have more condensed text, with 13 or 15 lines per page and narrow spaces between the lines.[15] The religious and historical manuscripts prepared for Rashid al-Din have more than twice as many lines of text, typically 30 to 35 per page.[16] Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan required some 1,000 of these full-sized *baghdādī* sheets; the other imperial sets consumed no more than half that amount of paper.[17] In contrast, the small single-volume Qurʾan manuscripts needed the equivalent of a mere 30 such full-sized *baghdādī* sheets. Assembling all the materials to produce so many of these large sheets for these imperial sets would have been a herculean task. Workers would have had to gather sufficient materials so that all the paper would match, and papermakers would have needed to produce far more sheets than finally used since many of them would have been flawed and unsuitable for such a deluxe set.[18]

Transcription

Calligraphy confirms the expense of these imperial Qurʾans. Calligraphers penned the text using a majestic version of the script known as *muḥaqqaq* (literally, "exact").[19] One of the so-called Six Pens canonized in this period, *muḥaqqaq* has diacritical marks for vowels and other punctuation added with a smaller pen. The version used in Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan is distinct, with a certain crowding of letters and a notable slant to the left propelling the eye forward. It also displays many characteristics of *thuluth* such as the inclusion of more curved tails to the letters. For most contemporary Qurʾans, from the single-volume manuscripts by Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi to the 30-part Anonymous Baghdad Qurʾan transcribed by Ahmad al-Suhrawardi in *muḥaqqaq* (see Figure 2), calligraphers in this period typically used very dark black ink.

Several of these imperial Qurʾan codices are more elaborate. To pen the so-called Mosul Qurʾan, another set transcribed for Sultan Öljeitü, ʿAli ibn Muhammad ibn Zayd used gold ink that was outlined in black, with black for diacritical marks (Figure 3).[20] Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan is the fanciest of all: each page contains three lines of gold script outlined in black sandwiching two lines of black script outlined in gold, with diacritical marks added in the contrasting inks. Examining the calligraphy under magnification shows that the thin outlines run over the thicker lines of the script, so the calligrapher must have penned the letters and markings before they were outlined with contrasting colors. Such outlining (Arabic *tazmīk*) was a specialty of an experienced illuminator, known from contemporary signatures in several Qurʾan manuscripts made for the Ilkhanids' contemporaries, the Mamluks, and on objects with gilded decoration as well.[21] Outlining required even more care and time than penning the text, and the outliner often corrected the shape of the letters, as it must have been difficult for even a trained calligrapher to control a reed pen large enough to produce the stroke more than half a centimeter wide found in Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan.[22]

Transcribing the Mosul Qurʾan (see Figure 3) required three utensils: a wide pen for the gold letters, a thin pen for the black diacritical marks, and an even thinner pen for the black outlines around the gold letters.[23] Transcribing Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan required six implements: two wide pens for the gold and black letters, two thin pens for the gold and black diacritical marks, and two even thinner pens for the outlines around the letters. Switching implements took time and hence incurred extra cost, as it required a calligrapher or his assistants to go over the text repeatedly.

FIGURE 3. Left-hand page with the heading *Sura al-Rūm* (The Byzantines, chapter 30) from *juzʾ* 21 of the Mosul Qurʾan, a 30-volume set commissioned by the viziers Rashid al-Din and Saʿd al-Din for Sultan Öljeitü, dated Rajab 710/November 1310. Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, TIEM 540, fol. 13a. Image courtesy of the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, Istanbul.

Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan also uses an extraordinary amount of gold. To produce the gold ink used for the text and outlining in this imperial set, a craftsman had to grind gold leaf with honey or gum arabic for hours. Next, he washed away the medium, leaving gold dust or powder that was then suspended in a water-soluble binding medium to make an ink. This kind of gold is sometimes called shell gold, as Europeans often used mussel shells to collect the gold ink or paint.[24]

Chrysography, writing in gold, had been practiced as early as the third century BCE, but most early Qurʾans such as the Blue Qurʾan datable to the tenth century and the Ibn al-Bawwab Qurʾan of 391/1000–1001 use gold leaf.[25] Paint, which allows more fluid forms but requires much more gold, became common only from later medieval times in both Islamic and European manuscripts. Close examination of several Qurʾans in the Chester Beatty Library suggests that in Iran and the surrounding region the turning point was the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[26]

The effect of all this gold in Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan was to add a performative quality to the manuscript. The outlining highlights the individual words, and the pages sparkle as they are turned. The gold brings the text in these magnificent volumes to life.

FIGURE 4. Right-hand page of illumination at the beginning of *juzʾ* 17 of Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan. Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, TIEM 538, fol. 146b. Image courtesy of the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, Istanbul.

Illumination

In Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan, gold was used not just for the calligraphy and outlining but also for the copious illumination, which includes a plethora of verse markers and chapter titles throughout, as well as two sets of decorated spreads at the beginning and the end of every *juzʾ*. Each section in these imperial Qurʾan sets opens and closes with a double-page spread of densely painted illumination. Each "carpet" page displays a large rectangular field with a central palmette extending into the margin such that most of the surface is painted in gold, the same basic format as that used in the frontispiece to Rashid al-Din's theological treatises (Figure 4).[27]

In each *juzʾ* of the imperial Qurʾans, the adjacent spreads with the opening and closing pages of text are more elaborate than regular text pages, with exclusively gold calligraphy and extra decoration. On the opening spread of text, the Qurʾanic verses in gold occupy the central three lines of writing (Figure 5). They are typically surrounded by cloud bands against a brightly painted scrolling ground. This block of text is set within a magnificently braided gold frame from which palmettes project in the outer margins at the top and bottom of the pages. The medallions connect to cartouches within the gold frame that contain short texts written in white. The texts give additional details such as the number of the *juzʾ*, the number of *ayāt* (verses) and words in the *juzʾ*, or other pious sayings about the nature of the revelation.

The closing spreads of text in each *juzʾ* of Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan are similarly elaborate, although the number of lines of Qurʾanic text is more variable since it depends on how many words were needed to

FIGURE 5. Left-hand page of text opening *juzʾ* 17 of Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan, with the word *waqf* (endowment) added on three sides in the early sixteenth century. Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, TIEM 538, fol. 147a. Image courtesy of the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, Istanbul.

FIGURE 6. Right-hand page of text closing *juzʾ* 17 of Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan. Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, TIEM 538, fol. 200b. Image courtesy of the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, Istanbul.

complete the text in the volume. The gold text on the closing pages consequently ranges from two to four lines.[28] In the pages at the end of *juzʾ* 17, for example, the Qurʾanic text occupies the top four lines, with an illuminated cartouche in the bottom line containing a phrase written in white outlined in black saying that "God the Magnificent spoke the truth, and the noble prophet reported it" (Figure 6). The closing pages of *juzʾ* 8 also have four lines of Qurʾanic text with a similar text at the bottom saying that "the noble prophet reported it," but the illumination is simpler (Figure 7). The illuminator could not enclose the text because a frame would have run over the verse marker that projects into the outer margin. Hence, he omitted the gold frame and the gold ground around the letters within the box at the bottom. Instead, he simply crosshatched the ground beneath the floral scroll and added a gold palmette in the margin.

Examination of several text folios in Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan under magnification shows that the gold illumination was applied using a different technique than the gold ink used for the calligraphy and outlining.[29] For the illumination, the illuminator used gold leaf, sheets of gold hammered to extreme thinness and laid on some sort of sticky substance such as gum arabic or egg white (glair).[30] Leaf not only requires far less gold than ink but also produces a surface that is more even and less granular.

Unfinished pages from *juzʾ* 24 in Copenhagen and *juzʾ* 25 in Dresden suggest a plausible scenario for how the illuminator worked.[31] Using a thin pen, red ink, and a compass, he delineated two circles where the gold leaf should be applied, adding brief instructions to identify the type of ornament needed before painting the

FIGURE 7. Left-hand page of text closing *juz*ʾ 8 of Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan. Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, TIEM 538, fol. 95a. Image courtesy of the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, Istanbul.

area with a ground as preparation for laying the leaf. For example, to mark an individual verse, he drew a circle in red ink and wrote the number zero (a point or small circle) to indicate a single verse, the same kind of preliminary drawing that Muhammad al-Kashi, the master illuminator in Rashid al-Din's workshop, used in the copy of his theological treatise now in Paris.[32] For the larger marginal ornament that indicates a group of 10 verses, the illuminator of Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan used a compass to draw concentric circles, outlined the larger circle with a fringe, and wrote the letter *ʿayn* to designate verse 10 (*ʿashr*) or the tenth (*ʿushr*).[33] He then painted a tinted undercoat within the circles in preparation for laying the gold leaf, always applied first since any loose particles of gold leaf or the act of brushing them away might disturb any other colors that had already been put down.

The unfinished text pages that close *juzʾ* 25 in Dresden illustrate the differences between the two methods of applying gold as ink or as leaf (Figure 8).[34] The calligrapher ended the *juzʾ* by writing the last two lines of the Qurʾanic text in the center of each page, using a wide pen charged with gold ink. Using a thinner pen, the illuminator then outlined the gold letters in black, taking care to execute outlines that were often more regular than the thick strokes produced by the calligrapher. For example, the outliner squared up the diamond shapes used for the diacritical points.

FIGURE 8. Unfinished left-hand page with sura 45:40 closing *juzʾ* 25 of Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan. Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, MS Eb. 444, fol. 51a. Image © SLUB Dresden, Digital Collections (Mscr.Dresd.Eb.444).

The supplementary phrases that fill the boxes at the top and bottom of each page are done differently, as the letters in them might have been left in reserve like the ones at the end of *juzʾ* 8 (see Figure 7) or painted in white like the ones at the end of *juzʾ* 17 (see Figure 6). To execute the supplementary text, the calligrapher or illuminator began with gold ink, using a thin pen to outline the letters and a thick pen to write the diacritical marks. He then switched to a very thin pen charged with black ink to outline the letters and diacritical marks. Next he prepared the areas intended for gold leaf, using a very thin pen charged with red ink to outline the frame around the written area and to delineate the marginal palmettes and the circular marker for verse 32 within the Qurʾanic text. Following this, he painted a primer on the rectangular frame, palmettes, and circle, all areas that would have been covered with gold leaf. He never completed the final stages of laying down the gold leaf and painting the floral scrolls surrounding the central Qurʾanic text and the gold and painted ground around the supplementary text at the top and bottom (compare Figures 6, 8)

These details are interesting not only for helping us see the different techniques used to apply gold and the many steps artists needed to execute this magnificent set, but as Boris Liebrenz pointed out, the unfinished folios also show that the 30 parts (*ajzāʾ*) of Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan were not completed sequentially.[35] The unfinished folios in Copenhagen contain text from *juzʾ* 24. Other unfinished pages in Dresden from *juzʾ* 25 lack not only the textual ornaments such as verse markers but also the chapter headings. *Juzʾ* 27 in Sarajevo also lacks verse markers. Although these folios from parts 24, 25, and 27 are unfinished, folios from two later ones—*juzʾ* 29 in Leipzig and *juzʾ* 30 in the Ezzat-Malek Soudavar Collection—are complete, including the verse markers and chapter headings (Figure 9).[36]

FIGURE 9. Left-page of text with sura 103:1–3 from *juzʾ* 30 of Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan. Ezzat-Malek Soudavar Collection. Photograph courtesy of Abolala Soudavar.

Dates in contemporary Qurʾans confirm that the individual *ajzāʾ* of a multipart set were not necessarily executed in sequence. The disorder suggests that a calligrapher like the qadi ʿAbdallah ibn Ahmad ibn Fadlallah al-Qazwini, who copied and illuminated a 30-part Qurʾan in Maragha in 738–739/1338–1339, had access to another 30-part set and simply reached for any part to copy without necessarily following the sequence of the text.[37] A different scenario may have held in the case of Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan, which was executed by a team of artists. Given the size and scale of the project and the variety of illumination in it, Muhammad ibn Aybak did not work alone and must have been in charge of a team, who would have been assigned different parts. Nourane Ben Azzouna has attributed some of the illumination, such as the concluding double spread to *juzʾ* 17, to Muhammad ibn al-Saʿati.[38] Other assistants who worked on parts 24, 25, and 27 may not have been as proficient or worked more slowly, the same variation in quality between master and assistants seen in the contemporary copy of Rashid al-Din's theological treatise in Paris.[39]

But as Liebrenz also pointed out, this irregular order also makes it more difficult to estimate the time it took to execute any particular set.[40] For example, if, as is the case with Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan, the copying of *juzʾ* 1 is dated 706/1306–1307 and the illumination of *juzʾ* 7 is dated five years later in Dhu'l-Hijja 710/April–May 1311, we cannot simply average and say that it necessarily took a year to finish each part. These sets took years to create, but unless we have the beginning and end dates, we cannot estimate just how many years.

Endowment to Öljeitü's Tomb at Sultaniyya

This imposing Qurʾan manuscript was endowed to Sultan Öljeitü's tomb at Sultaniyya (Figure 10). Magnificent certificates of commissioning written in white within an elaborate square of gold illumination open four of the surviving parts.[41] The text, with slight variations, says that Sultan Öljeitü, who receives a panoply of titles, ordered the set and sometimes adds that he paid for it out of his own monies. In addition, the opening left-hand pages of illumination from *juzʾ* 7 in Istanbul and *juzʾ* 10 in Leipzig have the endowment (*waqf*) text written in a neat black hand above and below the illumination.[42] The inscriptions say that this *juzʾ*, along with the others that come before and after it, was to be placed in the tomb (*rawḍa*) within the pious foundation (*abwāb al-birr*) that Sultan Öljeitü had founded at Sultaniyya. Öljeitü's father, Arghun (r. 1284–1291), had selected the site in northwestern Iran for a new summer capital, and his son had it enlarged, dubbing it *sulṭāniyya* (the imperial).[43] The city focused on the sultan's tomb, an enormous domed octagon constructed between 705/1305–1306 and 713/1313–1314 that remains one of the landmarks of world architecture.[44]

Looking closely at contemporary events may help to explain why the manuscript was endowed to the sultan's tomb while the illumination of parts 24, 25, and 27 and possibly other sections was still incom-

FIGURE 10. View of Öljeitü's tomb at Sultaniyya, with the tomb room at the right. Photograph courtesy of Sheila Blair and Jonathan Bloom, 1978.

plete.[45] The sultan must have ordered the Qurʾan at the same time as or slightly after he had commissioned the tomb, as an inscription on the finispiece of the first *juzʾ* says that the anonymous calligrapher copied it in 706/1306–1307, the year after construction had begun on the tomb and the first year that coins were minted at Sultaniyya.[46] Work on the manuscript seems to have proceeded apace for several years, as the illumination in parts 7 and 21 is dated several years later in Dhu'l-Hijja 710/April–May 1310.[47] For four years, from 709/1309–1310 to 712/1312–1313, Öljeitü spent the winters near Baghdad, likely related to his conversion to Shiʿism at that time.[48] He may have seen the manuscript in production during his first winter in Iraq from 27 Jumada II 709 to 27 Shawwal 709 (2 December 1309 to 30 March 1310). At that time tomb construction was also advancing, for the east portal bears the date 710/1310–1311, presumably marking completion of the exterior decoration. The sultan, concerned that the splendid Qurʾan would not be ready in time, may have ordered the Baghdad workshop to speed up production. The work in *juzʾ* 25 in Dresden shows that the illuminators were rushing to finish. The verse markers and chapter headings at the beginning of the *juzʾ* do not have all of the colors added on top of the gold, and the spaces for illumination in the last two-thirds of the *juzʾ* (folios 17r–51r) remain undecorated. Despite the hurry to finish the illumination, Öljeitü may have brought the manuscript back still incomplete when he departed Baghdad after one of his winter sojourns there in 711/1312 or 712/1313 in time for the tomb's dedication during the summer of 713/1313. The event was celebrated with great ceremony, marked by the issuance of several commemorative coins, attended by the major Sufis of the day, and even recorded in Mamluk sources.[49] The splendid Qurʾan would have been an appropriate sign of the site's importance, and its unfinished and uneven nature was apparently not a problem for the contemporary audience, who probably would not have seen all the volumes at the same time.

In the years following its dedication, Öljeitü's tomb was revamped by appending a rectangular hall at the back and plastering the interior (Figure 11). Work began during the sultan's lifetime but continued after his death on 30 Ramadan 716/16 December 1316 into the reign of his son and successor, Abu Saʿid (r. 1317–1335). An inscription detached from the upper layer of plaster within the tomb gives the year 720/1320–1321,

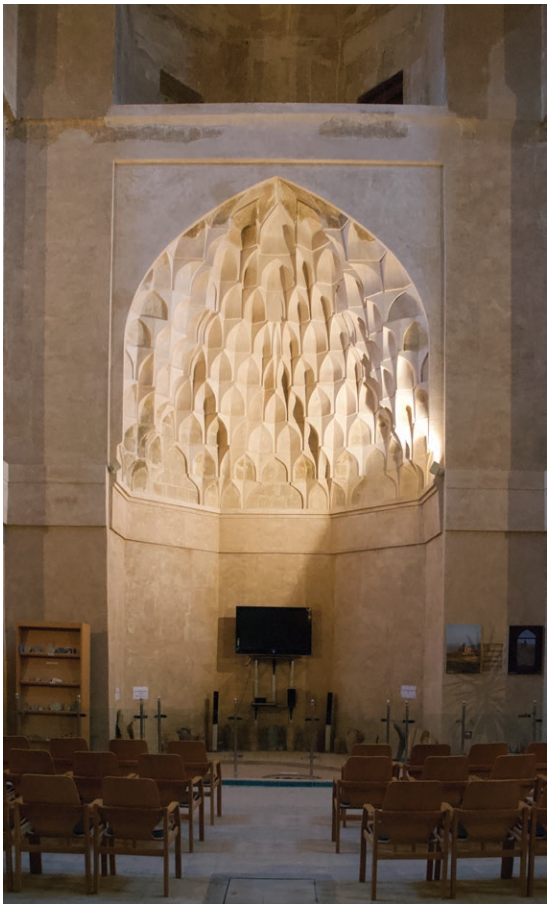


FIGURE 11. Rear rectangular hall added to Öljeitü's tomb at Sultaniyya, where mourning ceremonies would have taken place. Photograph courtesy of Sheila Blair and Jonathan Bloom, 2009.

presumably marking the end of the work.[50] We do not know the reasons for the major reconstruction of the tomb, but the effect was to transform a simple tomb into a site of pilgrimage, with a multichambered hall surrounded by adjacent and abutting structures that provided extensive services for visitors.[51] Later travelers to the site mention metal windows and grilles in the building, including one that once separated the central octagonal room from the rear rectangular hall.[52] Adam Olearius, who visited Sultaniyya in 1637 as secretary to the embassy that the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp sent to the shah of Persia, described how one part of the interior was set off by a spectacular brass grate or rail to form a sort of choir that housed the sultan's cenotaph.[53]

A contemporary painting from the Great Mongol *Shahnama* produced for the Ilkhanid court in the 1330s helps us to envision the mourning ceremonies that took place in the tomb room at Sultaniyya (Figure 12).[54] The painting illustrates the lamentation over the bier of Alexander the Great but is set in a tomb much like Öljeitü's at Sultaniyya, with a tiled dado below walls painted with blue designs. Mourners surround the bier and rend their hair. Four large tapers in candlesticks of the type standard in the Ilkhanid period fill the air with smoke.[55] Rich textiles drape the coffin.[56] The inclusion of so many accouterments that are specific to the Ilkhanid period underscores the scene's connection to contemporary life.

The endowment deed to the pious foundation at Tabriz for Öljeitü's vizier, Rashid al-Din, fills out details of the ceremonies carried out in such tombs.[57] Qurʾan manuscripts were stored there, safely protected behind a screen secured with two chains and strong locks to safeguard the precious objects inside. On the nights of Ramadan and other holy days, a trio took turns reciting the Qurʾan around the clock near the screen of the tomb. At evening prayer, the tomb's sweeper lit fresh beeswax candles and placed them in candlesticks in front of the reciters. He also put a little incense in a long-handled censer beside the lattice to allow a sweet smell to pervade the tomb and perfume the reciters' noses.[58]

A very large Qurʾan like the monumental set endowed to Öljeitü's tomb was not meant to be "read" in the sense that a modern reader picks up and peruses a novel from beginning to end. Rather, the reciters would have recited the sacred text aloud from memory. The enormous volumes might have been brought out for display on special occasions such as the anniversary of the sultan's death to serve as visible reminders of his piety, wealth, and stature. The Mongols cultivated monumentality in all their arts, and these Qurʾan manuscripts were no exception.[59] The Mongols also loved gold, deeming it an imperial color.[60] The gold in this enormous set, added using two different techniques that produce different surface textures, would have glittered as someone turned the pages in the dim interior lit by smoky candles.[61] One goal of Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan, then, was to provoke awe.

FIGURE 12. Folio from a *Shahnama* (Book of Kings) by Firdawsi (d. 1020); recto: the bier of Iskandar (Alexander the Great), Tabriz, ca. 1330. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, F1938.3. Photograph courtesy of Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

The Ottoman Sojourn and Beyond

Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan remained at the sultan's tomb until the early sixteenth century, when the Ottomans occupied Sultaniyya in October 1534 during Sultan Süleyman's campaigns through the two Iraqs.[62] After the entourage returned to Istanbul, the court scriptorium under the historian and artist Matrakçı Nasuh produced an illustrated chronicle about the sultan's journeys.[63] Probably worked up from sketches made en route and completed in 944/1537, the manuscript contains a double-page spread (folios 31b–32a) with the earliest known depiction of Sultaniyya.[64] The painting shows the tomb as the highlight of the city, the largest building in it, and an iconic structure with its eight minarets. The chronicle gives no information about what the Ottomans found at Sultaniyya, but they must have taken folios from Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan back to Istanbul. Qurʾan manuscripts were sometimes royal gifts from the Safavids to the Ottomans, as in the large single-volume copy that the Safavid shah Tahmasp I sent to mark the accession of Selim II in Safar 974/September 1566.[65] But there is no record of any gift exchange in the 1530s when the Ottomans and Safavids were at war. Rather, the Ottomans must have seized many sections of Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan as booty.

Such a scenario is likely because inscriptions and seals in the TIEM volume show that it was already in the hands of the Ottoman vizier Rüstem Pasha a decade after the Ottoman occupation of Sultaniyya. A formal inscription in large gold *muḥaqqaq* framing the original certificate of commissioning on the opening page of *juzʾ* 17 (folio 146a) states that in Shaʿban 951/October 1544 Rüstem Pasha endowed the Qurʾan manuscript (*muṣḥaf*) to the tomb of Süleyman's son Şehzade Mehmed (d. 6 November 1543).[66] Nine pages at the beginning or end of the individual *ajzāʾ* assembled within the volume are also stamped with Mehmed's seal.[67]

The Ottomans had good reason to take parts of Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan as booty, for they collected and refurbished prized Qurʾan manuscripts from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and then endowed them to furnish the many mosques being erected around the Ottoman capital.[68] Rüstem Pasha and his wife Mihrimah, Süleyman's daughter, whom the vizier married in November 1539, were early and active players in this game. In addition to the section from Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan that the vizier donated to the tomb of Şehzade Mehmed, the couple bequeathed several other manuscripts by famous Ilkhanid calligraphers to foundations in Istanbul. While doing so, Rüstem Pasha frequently had renowned Ottoman artists restore and embellish these Ilkhanid codices. According to a note written in it, a Qurʾan manuscript transcribed by ʿAbdallah Sayrafi in 745/1344–1345, for example, was illuminated by the painter Kara Memi in 962/1554–1555, was rebound by the binder Mehmed Çelebi in 963/1555–1556, and had supplementary text added by the calligrapher Hasan in 964/1556–1557 for the treasury of Rüstem Pasha.[69] The careful treatment of this older manuscript is not surprising, for the Ottomans regarded ʿAbdallah Sayrafi as a link in the chain of transmission (*silsila*) of a calligraphic style that stretched from the Ilkhanid calligrapher Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi to the Ottoman calligrapher Shaykh Hamdullah (d. 1520).[70]

The text collected in the TIEM volume of Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan made it a particularly suitable gift in honor of Süleyman's son, as the folios combine two of the Qurʾanic references to the Prophet Solomon, namesake of the Ottoman sultan Süleyman. Mentioned by name seven times in the Qurʾan, Solomon is lauded for three qualities: his power and knowledge as a ruler, his prophethood, and his magical powers.[71] Folio 33b from *juzʾ* 1 in the TIEM volume contains the passage from sura 2:102 describing Solomon's power, an appropriate encomium for the son of a powerful sultan who had just returned from a world-conquering journey. Folios 165–166 from *juzʾ* 17 in the TIEM volume contain the passage from sura 21:78–82 mentioning Solomon's judgment, power, and knowledge. Such references linked the prophet Solomon to Sultan Süleyman, who frequently made allusions to Qurʾanic passages naming Solomon and who bore the epithet *süleyman-i zamān* (the Solomon of the age) in his endowment deed and in inscriptions on public fountains.[72] Such a comparison was clear in the eyes of Süleyman's contemporaries, as a letter from Shah Tahmasp for the opening ceremony of the Süleymaniye in Istanbul compares the justice, wisdom, wealth, and building activities of the Biblical Solomon with those of the Ottoman sultan.[73]

Despite the endowment notices in these Qurʾan volumes excoriating anyone who changed them, such alterations did happen. The opening page of the TIEM volume has a large note written in black at the bottom saying that when Rüstem Pasha realized that people were changing things in it contrary to the law, he wanted to preserve the manuscript, but it was difficult to implement the terms so he placed it in his wife's mosque.[74] Intended to celebrate her husband's promotion to grand vizier in November 1544, Mihrimah's first mosque complex at Üsküdar was constructed at the same time as the mosque complex for her late brother Şehzade Mehmed.[75] Rüstem Pasha was also involved in its construction, so it is no surprise that he was able to transfer the volume between the two complexes. At some later point the volume from Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan was returned to Şehzade Mehmed's tomb, for it was there on 1 January 1914 from whence it was transferred to the TIEM.[76]

The volume that Rüstem Pasha endowed to Şehzade Mehmed's tomb was not the only part of Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan that the Ottomans brought back from Sultaniyya. The three parts (*ajzāʾ* 7, 20, and 21) of the set that are part of the Emanet Hazinesi Collection in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library may well have come at the time of Süleyman's campaigns as well. At least two of the three preserve the decorated opening and closing pages, suggesting that they were removed intact.[77] One of them (*juzʾ* 7) also contains an appropriate Solomonic reference, saying that God guided all the prophets, including Solomon (sura 6:84).[78]

We have even more evidence to show that the volume in Leipzig must have come to Istanbul along with the TIEM volume, for the two volumes share folios from several of the same parts (see Table 1).[79] The TIEM volume contains folios from four parts (*ajzāʾ* 1, 8, 10, and 17), and the Leipzig volume has continuous or nearby folios from two of the same parts (*ajzāʾ* 1 and 10). Looking at the contents shows that the TIEM volume was the parent, the Leipzig volume the offspring. Not only does the TIEM volume have more folios from more parts with more illuminated pages, but the Leipzig folios also seem to have been removed from it in order to make a complimentary volume with an appropriately decorated opening including a certificate of commissioning and an illuminated spread. To arrange a suitable opening for the Leipzig volume, someone removed the opening folios of *juzʾ* 10 from the TIEM volume and stuck them in front of the rest of the Leipzig text, which contains most of *juzʾ* 29.[80] Joining the decorated folios to the regular text folios required making a folio that is a laminate of two separate pages from discrete *ajzāʾ*: folio 5 in Leipzig has the closing text page of *juzʾ* 1 on the recto and the opening text page from *juzʾ* 29 on the verso. It was culled from parts.

The binding of the Leipzig volume also ties it to the Ottomans. The fine exterior covers display a large central cartouche with arabesques and scrolls and corner pieces in the shape of cloud collars, a style introduced in Istanbul in the late fifteenth century.[81] The binding seems to have been patched together from disparate parts, as the central panel has pressure-molded decoration, whereas the pendants and corners are painted.[82]

More unusual are the doublures, or inside covers, which display stamped diamond-shaped designs in square Kufic.[83] The center diamond has the profession of faith, with the background blackened against raised letters spelling out the phrase "There is no god but God; Muhammad is His prophet." The pendants have the name *ʿalī* revolving four times outward from a central dot, a type of design known as *chār ʿalī* (four *ʿalī*s). Reading the black filler around the *char ʿalī* spells out the name *muḥammad*, revolving four times outward from the center, a design sometimes dubbed *chār muḥammad*.

Square Kufic script was used in the Ilkhanid period, but the designs differ from those on the doublure. The last type of dirham issued by Öljeitü's son Abu Saʿid in the years before his death in 736/1335 has the profession of faith in square Kufic, the same legend as that found in the larger square on the doublure, but on coins it is laid out differently and is surrounded by the name of the four orthodox caliphs.[84] Designs with four sacred names in square Kufic were also used to decorate Öljeitü's tomb at Sultaniyya, A *chār muḥammad* in brick decorates the underlayer of decoration on the northeast iwan.[85] A *chār ʿalī* painted on plaster is found on the revetment in the center vault of the south gallery.[86] The designs from Sultaniyya, however, are simpler, with only one set of names, and centripetal, unlike the centrifugal arrangement on the doublure.

The type of square Kufic in the small squares on the doublures with two sets of four sacred names in positive and negative arranged in centrifugal designs had been used as architectural decoration since medieval times. The earliest surviving example occurs on the lintel over a pair of windows on the north facade of the tomb in the Madrasa Rukniyya, constructed in Damascus in 624/1227.[87] This design became particularly popular in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, especially in Cairo. The tomb constructed for the Mamluk sultan al-Mansur Qalawun in 683–684/1284–1285 contains eight fine panels in marble mosaic with mother-of-pearl inlay with a repeated design that is identical in layout to that on the doublure.[88] Simpler examples of similar designs were also rendered in mosaic and stone in several later buildings in Cairo, Anatolia, and Syria.[89] The *chār ʿalī* / *char muḥammad* design seems to be found exclusively in Sunni environments.

Square Kufic underwent a revival during the time of Süleyman, possibly as a result of exposure to earlier Ilkhanid models or of émigré Persian artists.[90] For example, the frontispiece to a volume of religious texts that Ahmad Karahisari (d. 1556) penned around 1550 for Sultan Süleyman, perhaps not coincidentally transcribed on the very large folios of half-*baghdādī* size that had been used in Öljeitü's time for imperial Qurʾans (see Figure 2), displays similar diamond-shaped boxes filled with square Kufic inscriptions, a smaller one containing the phrase "Praise to God" repeated centripetally around the outside of the diamond and a larger one with sura 112.[91]

Designs with sacred names or pious phrases in square Kufic were also used to decorate contemporary Ottoman buildings and objects. Several square panels in contrasting colors of stone adorn the mosque for Şehzade Mehmed.[92] One bears the names of God, Muhammad, and the four orthodox caliphs. Another on the north wall has the phrase "Praise to God," again repeated four times around the edges and connected in the center with interlaced stems. The design contains several mistakes (e.g., in one case, the word *subḥān* is miswritten with a tooth instead of a *ḥā'*). The mason was probably working from a drawing, and one in the Topkapı Scroll contains exactly this design, with white paint used to cover up some of the mistakes.[93] Such a drawing might well have been produced by Ahmad Karahisari, who is thought to have designed the inscriptions in the building.[94] Similar panels in square Kufic decorate talismanic shirts, including a magnificent example whose fineness connects it to the patronage of Süleyman.[95]

The unusual doublure on the volume in Leipzig, which differs from the filigreed and gilded type standard in the Ottoman period, thus seems to be an Ottoman creation in a retardataire style to underscore the manuscript's origin in the Ilkhanid period.[96] We have no evidence of how, or even if, the original volumes of Öljeitu's Baghdad Qurʾan were bound and no surviving examples of decorated doublures from the Ilkhanid period.[97] The doublure in Leipzig seems to be what the Ottomans thought might have been typical of the Ilkhanid period.

The Ottomans might also have seen the testament of faith and the invocation of the names of God and Muhammad on the doublure as invoking prophylactic power, useful since they did not always keep the folios of Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan in Istanbul but took the Leipzig volume, and perhaps others, on campaign. According to a Latin inscription of the flyleaf of the Leipzig volume, Johann Friedrich Gleditsch (1653–1716) presented it to the Senate Library in Leipzig on 9 May 1694.[98] A well-known printer and book merchant, he obtained many of his books as war booty (*Türkenbeute*) from the Ottoman siege of Vienna in 1683, and a later catalog even assumes that this codex was one of the books stolen at that time from the camp of the Grand Vizier Kara Mustafa Köprülü (1634–1683).[99]

The Ottomans likely brought the volume of Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan on campaign to ward off evil and ensure victory, like the talismanic shirt that the Viennese seized as booty at the same time.[100] Such shirts were often inscribed with specific Qurʾanic verses and phrases evoking desire for victory.[101] The one in Leipzig is covered with pious inscriptions written in black and gold, including large ones with Qurʾan 61:13, requesting God's help and a speedy victory, and Qurʾan 2:127, *fasayakfīkahum* ([God] will suffice you against them), the longest word in the Qurʾan and a phrase that acquired talismanic significance in early Islamic times.[102]

Already at the battle of Siffin in 657, Umayyad troops reportedly carried Qurʾan manuscripts impaled on the tips of their spears, although it is more likely that these may actually have been amulets with Qurʾanic verses suspended around the soldiers' necks for their talismanic power.[103] By Ottoman times, calligraphers produced tiny (5–6 cm) Qurʾans known as *sancak* to be encased in boxes and attached to battle standards.[104] The talismanic shirts inscribed with Qurʾanic verses may also have functioned as enrobed or embodied Qurʾan manuscripts, thus extending the protective power of the sacred word.[105]

The Leipzig volume of Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan was not the only one that the Ottomans took to Saxony. Liebrenz suggested that the Dresden volume was also *Türkenbeute* that reached the Royal Saxonian Library there at least by the early eighteenth century and possibly at the end of the seventeenth.[106] His suggestion is confirmed by a graffito at the bottom of the last page in an odd mixture of Persian and Turkish reporting that "the number of leaves in the noble Koran is fifty leaves."[107] The mixture of Turkish in the Persian phrase suggests that the volume had been in Ottoman hands. The folios have been trimmed to 59 × 44 cm, about three-quarters of the original size (73 × 50 cm), and mounted in a simple Ottoman-style binding with a cartouche design created with incised and gilded lines, rather than the pressure molding and painting used on the Leipzig cover. The volume contains 51 folios from Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan, some unfinished, that comprise most of *juzʾ* 25.[108] The opening page of text, badly rubbed and soiled, is preceded by a blank leaf that is equally damaged and has been folded. The folios seem to have had a rough time before arriving in Dresden. Some of the damage may have occurred during the battles in Saxony, but some must have occurred while the manuscript was still at Sultaniyya, as other parts of the manuscript have suffered similarly.

This is the case with two other volumes of Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan that may have accompanied the Ottomans on campaign as well. Parts 22 and 27 have recently been identified in Bosnia.[109] Now in the Gazi Husrev Bey Library in Sarajevo, they were transferred there from the Ferhad Pasha Mosque in Banja Luka, the second most important city in Bosnia, which lies about 200 km to the northwest. After the Ottomans conquered the city in 1527 or 1528, it became the residence of the governor of the *sanjak* of Bosnia in the mid-sixteenth century. Ferhad Sokolović, a cousin of Grand Vizier Mehmed Pasha Sokolović (Sokollu), served as governor of Bosnia from 1574 before becoming beglerbeg of the newly formed pashalic of Bosnia in 1580. At that time, he founded the eponymous mosque in the lower part of the city, reportedly the most beautiful in Banja Luka.[110] The two parts of Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan, both of which are incomplete, bear no signatures or dates. Like the volume in Dresden, some folios have been folded and trimmed from the 59 × 40 cm dimensions of the largest, and some of those in volume 27 in Sarajevo lack illumination such as verse markers.[111]

Other Pathways from Sultaniyya

Although the Ottomans removed parts of Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan from the sultan's tomb at Sultaniyya, they did not take the entire manuscript. Some folios were still there a century after Süleyman's campaigns when Olearius saw them in situ during his visit in 1637.[112] He described them as larger than a cubit, with letters as long as a man's finger and alternating black and gold lines, so there is no question that he was referring to folios from Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan. Olearius added that he took some leaves, which he kept in the prince's library. Olearius is surely referring to the two folios of Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan that ended up in Copenhagen, for the prince that he mentioned, Frederick III of Gottorp, was also the King of Denmark, whose library was incorporated into the Royal Library there. The two leaves from *juzʾ* 24 are unfinished and have been trimmed to 59 × 44 cm, smudged, and folded. They thus resemble the ones in Dresden and Sarajevo, so the damage may well have happened to all of the folios before they left Sultaniyya.

The travels, history, and mysteries of Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan endure, and other folios and fragments from hitherto unknown *ajzāʾ* continue to appear. The Ezzat-Malek Soudavar Collection owns a complete folio

from *juzʾ* 30 (Figure 9). Like the ones in Copenhagen, Dresden, and Sarajevo, it has been folded and trimmed and has suffered water damage. It also has a graffito scrawled in the outer margin that reads *waqf ṣaḥīḥ* (genuine endowment).[113]

Several fragments from *juzʾ* 6 of Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan have been sold to private collectors as well. Given their damaged condition, these folios and pieces too might well have remained at Sultaniyya after the Ottoman took the major and better-preserved sections, but they might also have been taken on campaign with the Ottomans and preserved somewhere in Europe. More of the manuscript may have survived and someday surface on the art market.

The Changing Functions and Value of Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan

Like the other imperial Qurʾans made for the Ilkhanids, the magnificent set transcribed at Baghdad for Sultan Öljeitü's tomb has had a rich history over the past seven centuries, and tracking its "peregrinations" allows us to trace some of the varied uses of such a work of art. Commissioned to adorn the patron's mausoleum, one of the largest brick domes in the world, it was made for a convert to Islam. Rather than a text to be consulted, the set—through its size, color, and materials—was intended to signify the patron's largesse and stature and to ensure his remembrance after his death, despite its unfinished state.

Volumes from the 30-part set were later seized as booty, first by the Ottomans after the occupation of Sultaniyya in 1544 and then by Europeans after the siege of Vienna in 1683 as what Liebrenz amusingly called "*Perserbeute*" and "*Türkenbeute*."[114] In both cases the volumes belonged to the spoils of war, still impressive for their size and glitter. But the Ottomans added another layer of meaning: they saw these volumes and others by famous Ilkhanid masters of the Six Pens as links in the calligraphic tradition that lasted down to their own time in an unbroken chain. For the Ottomans, this Qurʾan manuscript also functioned as a talisman to ward off evil and ensure victory, and despite—or perhaps because of—its size, they carried volumes from it on campaign, somewhat like a calligraphic shirt. For European bibliophiles like Gleditsch, this Qurʾan manuscript was an outstanding example of book production, to be set in the development of the book market, including encyclopedias and journals, that developed at the turn of the eighteenth century. For Olearius, it was a souvenir for a prince's library. Collectors today value it for its artistic merits, not just its enormous size but its superb materials and eye-catching style. Its qualities of grandeur and gold made it appeal beyond the original patron to others ranging from Ottoman courtiers to German ambassadors and contemporary collectors. Its function has evolved as well, from a pious endowment and an object of display and performance to a sign of conquest, a souvenir of war booty, an apotropaic accouterment, and a museum masterpiece. This magnificent Qurʾan, like its contemporaries, has been "read" in many different ways.

Notes

1. David James, *Qurʾāns of the Mamlūks* (London: Alexandria Press, 1988), reprinted with some corrections, notably the addition of *hijra* dates and translations of the Arabic texts on the illustrated pages, as *Manuscripts of the Holy Qurʾān from the Mamlūk Era* (Riyadh: King Faisal Centre for Research and Islamic Studies, 1999), nos. 39, 40, 42, 45, 46. James's book is fundamental for the study of these manuscripts, and here I do not repeat much of the valuable information in it except to correct a few typos and slight errors in dates. Other sets or sections occasionally appear on the market. For a recent comprehensive study of all the manuscripts produced in this period, see Nourane Ben Azzouna, *Aux origines du classicisme:*

Calligraphes et bibliophiles au temps des dynasties mongoles (Les Ilkhanides et les Djalayirides, 656–814/1258–1411), Islamic Manuscripts and Books Series 17 (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2018).

2. James, *Qurʾāns of the Mamlūks*, no. 40. Later studies of this set, notably the folios now in Germany, include Boris Liebrenz, "Troubled History of a Masterpiece: Notes on the Creation and Peregrinations of Öljeytü's Monumental Baghdad Qurʾān," *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 7, no. 2 (2016): 217–238; and Ben Azzouna, *Aux origines du classicisme*, §4.1.2.1, 234–249.

3. The part of this set belonging to the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts (TIEM) in Istanbul was included in the splendid exhibition held during the winter of 2016–2017 at the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C.; see Massumeh Farhad and Simon Rettig, eds., *The Art of the Qurʾan: Treasures from the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts* (Washington, D.C.: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, 2016), 196–201, no. 23. I warmly thank Massumeh Farhad and Simon Rettig along with Zeynep Simavi and Sana Mirza for all of their help in arranging for me to get to the conference and exhibition, despite my leg being in a cast, and in providing me with excellent images for study. The TIEM volume (Ms. 538, often mistakenly cited as Ms. 339, as in James, *Qurʾāns of the Mamlūks*, no. 40) contains 201 folios with text from *ajzāʾ* 1, 8, and 10 in addition to all of *juzʾ* 17. Three more sections in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library (TSMK) in Istanbul (E.H. 234, 243, and 245) are cataloged briefly by F. E. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Arapça Yazmalar Kataloğu*, vol. 1 (Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 1962), nos. 171, 195, 178, respectively. Simon Rettig informs me that TSMK E.H. 245 is actually the accession number of the *juzʾ* from the set made for Rashid al-Din (James, *Qurʾāns of the Mamlūks*, no. 46, where it is listed as E.H. 248), but Ben Azzouna, *Aux origines du classicisme*, 574, uses the shelf number 245 as well. I have no further information about the correct number of the volume in TSMK, so I have listed it here as E.H. 245?. For details on the folios in Leipzig (Universitätbibliothek, B. or. 1, digitized at https://www.qalamos.net/receive/DE15Book_manuscript_00000491, accessed 18 August 2022), Dresden (Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Mscr.Dresd.Eb. 444, digitized at http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id416541909, accessed August 18, 2022), and Copenhagen (Royal Danish Library, Cod. Arab 43), see Liebrenz, "Troubled History," 218–219. There are also several folios and fragments in private collections. One complete folio in the Ezzat-Malek Soudavar Collection is reproduced in the present essay (Figure 9); I thank Abolala Soudavar for bringing it to my attention and allowing me to illustrate it here. Two fragments from *juzʾ* 6 sold at Sotheby's in 1998 were published by David James, "More Qurʾāns of the Mamluks," *Manuscripta Orientalia* 13, no. 2 (2007): no. 40a, and are now in the Hossein Afshar Collection; see Aimée Froom, ed. *The Legacy of Persian Art: Masterpieces from the Hossein Afshar Collection* (Houston: Museum of Fine Arts, 2017), 18–19. The Sarikhani Collection (I. Ms. 1003) acquired three fragments from nearby folios in the same *juzʾ* in 2000. I thank Ina Sandman for sharing this information and providing an image of them. After I had completed a draft of this essay, Kenan Surkovic, editor in chief of *Islamic Arts Magazine* in Istanbul, contacted me and informed me about two parts (*ajzāʾ* 22 and 27) that are now are in the Gazi Husrev Bey Library in Sarajevo, where they had been misidentified as sixteenth century (nos. 4372–4373 on page 38 of their catalog, which was not available to me). I look forward to his full publication of this important new discovery and thank him for his permission to mention them here.

4. *Juzʾ* 1 (Universitätbibliothek Leipzig, B. or. 1, fol. 5a) is dated 706/1306–1307, *juzʾ* 7 (TSMK, E.H. 243) and *juzʾ* 8 (TIEM, fol. 95a) are dated 707/1307–1308, and the illumination of *ajzāʾ* 7 and 21 (TSMK, E.H. 243, 234) is dated Dhu'l-Hijja 710/April–May 1311.

5. See the latest discussion in Ben Azzouna, *Aux origines du classicisme*, 237–238.

6. On paper in the Islamic lands, see Jonathan Bloom, *Paper before Print: The History and Impact of Paper in the Islamic World* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2001), especially 53–56, for a discussion of Ilkhanid papers and the sizes enumerated by al-Qalqashandi.

7. Sheila Blair and Jonathan Bloom, "Timurʾs Koran: A Reappraisal," in *Sifting Sands, Reading Signs: Studies in Honour of Géza Fehérvári*, ed. Barbara Brend and Patricia Baker (Bristol, U.K.: Furnace Publication, 2006), 10–11; Jonathan Bloom, "How Paper Changed the Literary and Visual Culture of the Islamic Lands," in *By the Pen and What They Write: Writing in Islamic Art and Culture*, ed. Sheila Blair and Jonathan Bloom (London: Yale University Press, 2017), 119.

8. According to James, *Qurʾāns of the Mamlūks*, 235, the folios in Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan typically measure 72 × 50 cm; the ones in the TIEM volume measure 70.8 × 48.5 cm and have been trimmed slightly.
9. James, *Qurʾāns of the Mamlūks*, nos. 39, 78–92; and Ben Azzouna, *Aux origines du classicisme*, §4.1.2, 213–234. The folios in it measure 50 × 35 cm. The date of Ramadan 702/April–May 1303 is found on the illumination of *juzʾ* 2 (James, *Qurʾāns of the Mamlūks*, 235), but James does not identify where this volume is; in his discussion of the set (p. 78), he miswrote this date as Shaʿban 701/April 1302. The date of 707/1307–1308 is found on the detached page of illumination from the end of an unidentified *juzʾ* (fig. 2); James (caption to fig. 47, p. 79) noted that the page was the colophon from one of the last four sections of the set that are now missing and perhaps even the very last volume because of its elaborate decoration; hence, he took it as the date of completion of the set.
10. Sheila Blair, "Calligraphers, Illuminators and Painters in the Ilkhanid Scriptorium," in *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan*, ed. Linda Komaroff (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2006), 174. The most recent study of Rashid al-Din is Stefan Kamola, *Making Mongol History: Rashid al-Din and the Jamiʿ al-Tawarikh* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019).
11. Blair, "Calligraphers, Illuminators and Painters," 167–182. The most recent study of Rashid al-Din's manuscript production, especially the compendium of four theological books entitled *Majmūʿa Rashīdiyya* dated 707–710/1307–1311 in Paris, is Nourane Ben Azzouna and Patricia Roger-Puyo, "The Question of Manuscript Production Workshops in Iran According to Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allah al-Hamadhānī's *Majmūʿa Rashīdiyya* in the Bibliothèque nationale de France," *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 7, no. 2 (2016): 152–194. The folios in the Paris manuscript measure 52.3 × 38.2 cm but have been trimmed at least 2 cm.
12. Sheila Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 251–253, fig. 7.3. A single-volume Qurʾan manuscript copied by Yaqut in 685/1286–1287 (TIEM 507) was also in the Washington exhibition (Farhad and Rettig, *Art of the Qurʾan*, cat. no. 21).
13. Bloom, *Paper before Print*, 53.
14. Interestingly, the height of the written area is approximately the same as the width of the folio.
15. See, for example, a quarto-size manuscript dated Jumada I 685/July 1286 in the Islamic Museum in Tehran (No. 4277; Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy*, fig. 7.1) with 13 lines per page and an octavo-size manuscript dated 685/1286–1287 (TIEM, No. 507; Farhad and Rettig, *Art of the Qurʾan*, cat. no. 21) with 15 lines per page. On Yaqut's production, see further the chapter on Yaqut in Ben Azzouna, *Aux origines du classicisme*, 37–138; and Nourane Ben Azzouna, "A Luxury Market? Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi's Qurʾans," this volume.
16. Rashid al-Din's theological compendium in Paris, for example, has 35 lines per page; see Ben Azzouna and Roger-Puyo, "Manuscript Production Workshops," 159.
17. Each volume in Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan contains approximately 55 folios of text, in addition to opening and closing pages of illumination. James, *Qurʾāns of the Mamlūks*, 235, no. 40, was wrong here when he said 68; he may have been misled by the jumbled and multipart groups of folios in some collections.
18. French papermakers in the late eighteenth century, using wire molds and improved technology, still produced many flawed sheets. In one example from 1799, only 40% of the sheets pulled from one vat were superfine quality. See Leonard N. Rosenband, *Papermaking in Eighteenth-Century France: Management, Labor, and Revolution at the Montgolfier Mill, 1761–1805* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 161, table L. I owe this reference and much of my knowledge about paper to Jonathan Bloom.
19. Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy*, 242–260; Nassar Mansour, *Sacred Script: Muhaqqaq in Islamic Calligraphy* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011), esp. 72–90.
20. James, *Qurʾāns of the Mamlūks*, no. 42; Farhad and Rettig, *Art of the Qurʾan*, cat. no. 24; Ben Azzouna, *Aux origines du classicisme*, §4.1.2.2, 249–262. In addition to the sections noted by James, *juzʾ* 5 is in the Sarikhani Collection (I. Ms. 1510); see Robert Hillenbrand, *The Sarikhani Collection: An Introduction* (London: Paul Holberton, 2011), 64–67. The TIEM volume (Ms. 540) comprises 57 folios, with the first five pages of *juzʾ* 2 followed by all of *juzʾ* 21, not 22 as noted in Farhad and Rettig, *Art of the Qurʾan*, 202.
21. James, *Qurʾans of the Mamlūks*, 66–67, seems to be incorrect here where he translates *zammaka* as

"encrust"; for an alternative reading, see Sheila Blair, "Place, Space, and Style: Craftsmen's Signatures in Medieval Islamic Art," in *Viewing Inscriptions in the Late Antique and Medieval World*, ed. Antony Eastmond (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 242; Liebrenz, "Troubled History," 226.

22. I thank Professor Wheeler Thackston for this observation and for all his help reading the notes added to this manuscript.

23. Some scholars have questioned whether a brush might have been used for outlining, but examining the pages under magnification shows the uniform thickness and continuous contours indicative of a pen. Persian artists were masters of the pen, even to the extent of using it to imitate a brush such that it is often difficult to distinguish without magnification; see Sheila Canby, "The Pen or the Brush: An Inquiry into the Technique of Late Safavid Drawings," in *Persian Painting from the Mongols to the Qajars: Studies in Honour of Basil W. Robinson*, ed. Robert Hillenbrand (London: I.B. Tauris, 2000), 75–82.

24. On the uses of gold, see Cheryl Porter, "The Uses of Metal in Islamic Manuscripts," in *The Making of Islamic Art: Studies in Honour of Sheila Blair and Jonathan Bloom*, ed. Robert Hillenbrand, Edinburgh Studies in Islamic Art (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2022), 260–279; https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/9781474434300-018/pdf. I warmly thank her for sharing this article with me in advance of publication and responding to my many queries.

25. In addition to Porter, "Uses of Metal," for the Blue Qurʾan, see Jonathan Bloom, "The Blue Koran Revisited," *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 6, nos. 2–3 (2015): 196–218. Kristine Rose Beers, conservator at the Chester Beatty Library (CBL), kindly examined the Ibn al-Bawwab Qurʾan (Is 1431) and documented leaf gold.

26. Cheryl Porter determined that gold ink/paint was used for the royal Seljuq Qurʾan dated 582/1186 (CBL, Is 1438) as well as for another copy from the thirteenth century (CBL, Is 1449). The latter has gold leaf for decoration in addition to gold ink, as is the case with Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan. Kristine Rose Beers examined CBL, Is 1439, a large Qurʾan datable to ca. 1200, and found that it also seemed to display a crude shell gold. I thank them both for their time and energy in tackling my pesky queries. Basic details about these Qurʾans are given in A. J. Arberry, *The Koran Illuminated: A Handlist of the Korans in the Chester Beatty Library* (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis, 1967), nos. 41, 43, 45, 133; more up-to-date information and color pictures are published in Elaine Wright, *Islam: Faith, Art, Culture: Manuscripts of the Chester Beatty Library* (London: Scala, 2009), figs. 1, 72, 87–95.

27. Ben Azzouna and Roger-Puyo, "Manuscript Production Workshops," 165, fig. 1.

28. The unfinished pages at the end of *juzʾ* 25 in Dresden (fols. 50b–51a) have only two lines of text, as does the set at the end of *juzʾ* 20 in Istanbul (James, *Qurʾans of the Mamlūks*, fig. 63); the page at the end of *juzʾ* 1 in Leipzig (fol. 5b) has three lines of text.

29. Sheila Blair, *Text and Image in Medieval Persian Art* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), 133–134.

30. François Déroche, *Islamic Codicology: An Introduction to the Study of Manuscripts in Arabic Script* (London: Al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation, 2005), 147–148; Porter, "Uses of Metal."

31. Blair, *Text and Image*, 131–134; Liebrenz, "Troubled History," 225; Ben Azzouna, *Aux origines du classicisme*, 246–247.

32. Ben Azzouna and Roger-Puyo, "Manuscript Production Workshops," 177, 189.

33. See the detached page in Copenhagen published in Blair, *Text and Image*, fig. 4.15, and folio 27b in Leipzig published in Liebrenz, "Troubled History," fig. 6. Ben Azzouna, *Aux origines du classicisme*, 246, thought this sign resembled an Indian 6, but such an identification does not make sense because this is the end of the first tenth of the sura.

34. Examining the folio (51a) on the Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek's website (see note 3) allows the viewer to zoom in on the details.

35. Liebrenz, "Troubled History," 225, although he was slightly incorrect in identifying the folios in Dresden as part of *juzʾ* 28, rather than *juzʾ* 25.

36. *Juzʾ* 29 in Leipzig is complete except for the last 10 verses of the sura; the folio in the Ezzat-Malek Soudavar

Collection (Figure 9) contains text from near the end of the *juzʾ* as well, so it is logical to conclude that these sections were completely finished.

37. Sheila Blair, "The Ilkhanid Qurʾan: An example from Maragha," *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 6 (2015): 174–195; and "The Archeology of a Manuscript," in *Adle Nāma: Studies in Memory of Chahriyar Adle*, ed. ʿAlīreẓā Anīsī (Tehran: Research Institute for Cultural Heritage and Tourism, 2018), 15–34. The books in Rashid al-Din's theological treatise were not executed in chronological order either; see Ben Azzouna and Roger-Puyo, "Manuscript Production Workshops," 175, table 3.
38. Ben Azzouna, *Aux origines du classicisme*, 245–246.
39. Using analysis of both pigments and style, Ben Azzouna and Roger-Puyo, "Manuscript Production Workshops," 184–185, table 3, were able to prove that a team of up to eight illuminators had worked Rashid al-Din's theological treatise in Paris.
40. Liebrenz, "Troubled History," 228.
41. The certificates for volumes 1 and 17 are TIEM 538, fols. 1a, 146a; the latter is reproduced in Zeren Tanındı, "The Manuscripts Bestowed as Pious Endowments by Rüstem Pasha, the Grand Vizier of Süleymân the Magnificent," in *Soliman le Magnifique et Son Temps*, ed. Gilles Veinstein (Paris: Documentation française, 1992), fig. 8. Ben Azzouna (*Aux origines du classicisme*, plate 30) illustrates the certificate from *juzʾ* 7 in Istanbul (TSMK, E.H. 243). Liebrenz gives a transcription of the certificate from *juzʾ* 10 in Leipzig (fol. 1r) in *Arabic, Persian and Turkish Manuscripts in the University Library Leipzig, Being an Abridged Translation of H. O. Fleischer*, Codices Orientalium Linguarum Qui in Bibliotheca Senatoria Civitatis Lipsiensis Asservantur, a document he kindly shared with me and has posted on the web at academia.edu (accessed 18 August 2022). James, *Qurʾans of the Mamlūks*, gives a translation of the text (p. 93) and a transcription (p. 236) but omits the last two words, "and his family," after Muhammad. The certificates at the beginning of *ajzāʾ* 1 and 10 specify that Öljeitü ordered the manuscript from his own monies; that phrase is missing in *ajzāʾ* 7 and 17, the latter of which adds the adjective *al-ṭāhirīn* (the pure) after mentioning Muhammad's family.
42. James, *Qurʾans of the Mamlūks*, 94, 236, fig. 61, and Ben Azzouna, *Aux origines du classicisme*, 234–237, plate 31a, transcribe, translate, and illustrate the one from *juzʾ* 7 (TSMK, E.H. 243, fol. 2a). Liebrenz's catalog transcribes the one in Leipzig.
43. Sheila Blair, "The Mongol Capital of Sulṭāniyya, 'the Imperial,'" *Iran* 24 (1986): 139–152.
44. Blair, *Text and Image*, chap. 4, gives the latest chronology of the tomb construction. Earlier studies of the inscriptions, which provide the basis for much of the chronology, include Sheila Blair, "The Epigraphic Program of Uljaytu's Tomb at Sultaniyya: Meaning in Mongol Architecture," *Islamic Art* 2 (1987): 43–96; and ʿAbdallah Ghouchani, *Gunbad-i Sulṭaniyya bi istinād-i katība-hā* (Tehran: Ganjīna-yi hunar, Sh. 1381/2002).
45. I have not seen pictures of *juzʾ* 22 in Sarajevo, so I cannot say whether the illumination in it was ever completed. Ben Azzouna, *Aux origines du classicisme*, 248–249, was the first to put the manuscript's unfinished state in chronological context.
46. Ben Azzouna, *Aux origines du classicisme*, plate 32, illustrates the finispiece. The coins are described in Sheila Blair, "The Coins of the Later Ilkhānids: Mint Organization, Regionalization and Urbanism," *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* 27 (1982): 211–230.
47. See note 4.
48. Charles Melville, "The Itineraries of Sultan Öljeitü, 1304–16," *Iran* 28 (1990): 55–70, gives details of all the sultan's visits to Baghdad. Coins dates Öljeitü's conversion to late 709/1310, following his visits to the Shiʿi shrines around Najaf that winter; see Sheila Blair, "The Coins of the Later Ilkhanids: A Typological Analysis," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 26 (1983): 297–299. A superb mihrab in the congregational mosque in Isfahan dated Safar 710/July 1310 with specifically Shiʿi inscriptions marks the sultan's conversion as well: Sheila Blair, "Writing about Faith: Epigraphic Evidence for the Development of Twelver Shi'ism in Iran," in *People of the Prophet's House: Artistic and Ritual Expressions of Shi'i Islam*, ed. Fahmida Suleman (London: Ismaili Institute in association with the British Museum and Azimuth Editions, 2015), 107.

49. The coins included a unique design with a circular obverse and hexagonal reverse and special copper issues; see Blair, "Coins of the Later Ilkhānids," 223. For some of the Mamluk sources, see Donald Little, "The Founding of Sulṭāniyya: A Mamlūk Version," *Iran* 16 (1978): 170–175.

50. Ghouchani, *Gunbad-i Sulṭaniyya*, 17, figs. 20, 21, 118.

51. The reconstruction is discussed at length in Blair, *Text and Image*, 117–127.

52. J. W. Allan's article "'Oljeitu's Oranges': The Grilles of the Mausoleum of Sultan Oljeitu at Sultaniyya" has never been published but amasses the relevant descriptions, including the fifteenth-century accounts of the Italians Contarini and Barbaro and the Persian chronicler Hafiz-i Abru. I thank Professor Allan, emeritus professor of Eastern Art at the University of Oxford, for sharing it with me.

53. Adam Olearius, *The Voyages & Travels of the Ambassadors Sent by Frederick, Duke of Holstein, to the Great Duke of Muscovy and the King of Persia*, 2nd ed. (London: John Starkey and Thomas Bassett, 1669), 186–187. On Olearius, see also Elio Brancaforte, *Visions of Persia: Mapping the Travels of Adam Olearius*, Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature 48 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003); I have had many spirited conversations with Elio Brancaforte and owe him many thanks.

54. "Bier of Iskandar," Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., F1938.3; Oleg Grabar and Sheila Blair, *Epic Images and Contemporary History: The Illustrations of the Great Mongol Shahnama* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), no. 39.

55. Linda Komaroff and Stefano Carboni, eds., *The Legacy of Genghis Khan: Courtly Art and Culture in West Asia, 1256–1353* (London: Yale University Press, 2002), nos. 160, 162, 166.

56. Yuka Kadoi, "Textiles in the Great Mongol *Shahnama*: A New Approach to Ilkhanid Dress," in *Dressing the Part: Textiles as Propaganda in the Middle Ages*, ed. Kate Dimitrova and Margaret Goehring (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2014), 156, fig. 3.

57. Sheila Blair, "Ilkhanid Architecture and Society: An Analysis of the Endowment Deed of the Rab'-i Rashidi," *Iran* 22 (1984): 67–90.

58. On incense, see Nina Ergin, "The Fragrance of the Divine: Ottoman Incense Burners and Their Context," *Art Bulletin* 96, no. 1 (2014): 70–97.

59. Bernard O'Kane, "Monumentality in Mamluk and Mongol Art and Architecture," *Art History* 19 (1996): 499–522.

60. Thomas Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange in the Mongol Empire* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 67–69. On the Ilkhanids' use of gold in Ilkhanid painting, see Christiane J. Gruber, "Real Absence: Imagining God in Turco-Persian Book Arts, 1300–1600 CE," in *Figurations and Sensations of the Unseen in Judaism, Christianity and Islam: Contested Desires*, ed. Birgit Meyer and Terje Stordalen (London: Bloomsbury Methuen Drama, 2016), 132–152.

61. One gets a good sense of the scale and movement when looking at the short film of Beate Wiesmüller, former conservator at the Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, turning the pages of their volume, available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7QNU0ppHoVA (accessed 18 August 2022).

62. Blair, *Text and Image*, 131–134; Liebrenz, "Troubled History," 231–232.

63. Istanbul University Library, Yıldız 5964; facsimile edition with introduction by H. G. Yurdaydin, *Beyān-i Menāzil-i Sefer-i ʿIraḳeyn-i Sulṭān Süleyman Hān* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1976). See also Nurhan Atasoy, *Swordman, Historian, Mathematician, Calligrapher: Matrakcı Nasuh and His Menazilname* (Istanbul: Masa, 2015), a work that was not available to me. Zeynep Yürekli-Görkay is also preparing a monograph on it and a few related manuscripts to be published by Edinburgh University Press: *An Ottoman Sense of Place: Topographical Illustration between Europe and Iran* (Z. Yürekli-Görkay, unpublished, personal communication).

64. Esin Atıl, *The Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1987), 86, fig. 39b; Sheila Blair and Jonathan Bloom, *The Art and Architecture of Islam: 1250–1800* (London: Yale University Press, 1994), fig. 3; and Blair, *Text and Image*, fig. 4.32.

65. Linda Komaroff, *Gifts of the Sultan: The Arts of Giving at the Islamic Courts* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 2011), 17–19. Her figure 5 reproduces a depiction of the event when the embassy arrived the following spring from a manuscript of the *Şehnāme-i Selīm Hān* (TSMK, A.3595, fols. 53b–54a). On the movement of manuscripts in the context of Safavid-Ottoman relations, see also Filiz Çağman and Zeren Tanındı, "Remarks on Some Manuscripts from the Topkapı Palace Treasury in the Context of Ottoman-Safavid Relations," *Muqarnas* 13 (1996): 132–148.

66. Tanındı, "Pious Endowments by Rüstem Pasha," fig. 8. For the building, see Blair and Bloom, *Art and Architecture of Islam*, 218; and Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (London: Reaktion Books, 2011), 191–207.

67. *1400. Yılında Kurʾan-ı Kerim*, ed. Müjde Unustası (Istanbul: Antik A.Ş. Kültür Yayınları, 2010), no. 54. The folios (1b, 94b–95a, 147a, 147b, 148a, and 199b–200a) mark the beginning of *juzʾ* 1, the end of *juzʾ* 8, and the beginning and end of *juzʾ* 17.

68. Zeren Tanındı, "13–14 Yüzyılda Yazılmış Kuranların Kanuni Döneminde Yenilenmesi," *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Yayınları* 1 (1980): 140–152. Two single-volume examples taken from Iran and now in the TIEM were exhibited in Washington, D.C., along with Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan: one calligraphed by Arghun al-Kamili in 741/1340–1341 (TIEM 452) and another copied and illuminated by al-Hajj Majd al-Din ibn Ahmad al-ʿAfifi al-Qazvini in Safar 787/March 1385 (TIEM 11); see Farhad and Rettig, *Art of the Qurʾan*, cat. nos. 26–27.

69. Tanındı, "13–14 Yüzyılda," 140–146, figs. 1–8; Atıl, *Age of Sultan Süleyman*, no. 14.

70. As shown by a note in another manuscript of ʿAbdallah Sayrafi that was refurbished by the Ottomans (TIEM 487); Farhad and Rettig, *Art of the Qurʾan*, cat. no. 25, esp. n. 29.

71. The Prophet Solomon is mentioned in Qurʾan 2:102, 4:163, 6:84, 21:78–82, 27:15–44, 34:14, and 38:31–32. On his depiction in the Qurʾan, see *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān*, s.v. "Solomon," by Priscilla Soucek, https://doi.org/10.1163/1875-3922_q3_EQCOM_00188 (accessed 12 July 2022).

72. Gülru Necipoğlu-Kafadar, "The Süleymaniye Complex in Istanbul: An Interpretation," *Muqarnas* 3 (1985): 100–101.

73. Cited in Necipoğlu-Kafadar, "Süleymaniye Complex," n. 39.

74. Farhad and Rettig, *Art of the Qurʾan*, 197.

75. Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 301–305.

76. Farhad and Rettig, *Art of the Qurʾan*, 197.

77. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi*, 51, mentions the certificate of commissioning and opening spread of illumination *juzʾ* 7 (TSMK, E.H. 243). James, *Qurʾans of the Mamlūks*, illustrates the left side of the illuminated frontispiece from this *juzʾ* (fig. 61) as well as the left side of the illuminated frontispiece (fig. 55), the right side of the opening text spread (fig. 54), and the left side of the closing text spread (fig. 63) from *juzʾ* 20 (TSMK, E.H. 245?). It would be worthwhile to see exactly what folios and text are in these volumes, but no information is now available beyond Karatay's brief catalog entries.

78. Three of the other four Qurʾanic references to Solomon as one of the prophets (4:63), to his relations with the Queen of Sheba (27:15–44), and to his power over the jinn (38:30–40) occur in *ajzāʾ* 6, 19, and 23, which are missing from extant sections of Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan. One about the jinn from 34:12–14 is in *juzʾ* 22 now in Sarajevo.

79. Farhad and Rettig, *Art of the Qurʾan*, 197, already made this connection between the Leipzig and TIEM sections, although they mistakenly thought the Leipzig volume contained folios from three *ajzāʾ* (1, 8, and 10), whereas it actually has folios from only two of the same sections (1 and 10) in addition to *juzʾ* 29.

80. All that is missing from *juzʾ* 29 in the Leipzig volume is the last nine verses (41–50) of sura 77.

81. Liebrenz, "Troubled History," 220–222, fig. 1. He rightly compares the layout of block-pressed ornaments, the central pointed lobed medallion with two pendants, background gilding, floral scrolls in red, wide spaces between the central design and the cloud-collar cornerpieces, and narrow borders to those on

a manuscript produced for Sultan Bayezid II in 1500, as shown in Julian Raby and Zeren Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding in the 15th Century: The Foundation of an Ottoman Court Style* (London: Azimuth, 1993), cat. no. 31. They attribute (p. 182) the introduction of this style to the binder Ghiyath al-Din al-Isfahani, who came to the court of Mehmed II ca. 1475.

82. Such repairs may have been necessary because of the peregrinations of this volume. I thank Jake Benson for this suggestion and for discussing Ottoman bindings with me.

83. Liebrenz, "Troubled History," 222–223, fig. 2. For an analysis of this script, see Tehnyat Majeed, "The Phenomenon of the Square Kufic Script: The Cases of Īlkhānid Iṣfahān and Baḥrī Mamlūk Cairo" (Ph.D. diss., University of Oxford, 2006).

84. Blair, "Coins of the Later Ilkhanids," 305, plate 13.

85. Ghouchani, *Gunbad-i Sulṭaniyya*, 23, plate 67, fig. 13.

86. Blair, "Epigraphic Program," no. 21, fig. 15; Ghouchani, *Gunbad-i Sulṭaniyya*, 26, plate 91.

87. For the building, see Ernst Herzfeld, "Studies in Architecture: III," *Ars Islamica* 11, no. 12 (1946), 20–27; and Terry Allen, "Madrasah al-Rukniyah extra muros," *Ayyubid Architecture* (Occidental, Calif.: Solipsist Press, 2003), http://www.sonic.net/~tallen/palmtree/ayyarch/ch9.htm#damas.mrukn (accessed 25 September 2019). The panel is illustrated at ARCHNET, https://archnet.org/sites/1843/media_contents/37258 (accessed 18 August 2022). See also Majeed, "Square Kufic Script," 39, fig. 12; and Bernard O'Kane, "Stars and Symmetry: The Prophet Muhammad's Name in Architectural Inscriptions," in *Inscriptions from the Islamic World*, ed. Bernard O'Kane, Andrew Peacock, and Mark Muehlhaeusler (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, in press).

88. Majeed, "Square Kufic Script," 39ff, fig. 13; Tehnyat Majeed, "The Chār Muḥammad Inscription, *Shafāʿa*, and the Mamluk Qubbat al-Manṣūriyya," in *Roads to Paradise: Eschatology and Concepts of the Hereafter in Islam*, vol. 2, *Continuity and Change: The Plurality of Eschatological Representations in the Islamicate World*, ed. Sebastian Günther and Todd Lawson (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2017), 1010–1032.

89. Majeed, "Square Kufic Script," 39–40, figs. 14–19.

90. A rectangular panel in square Kufic appears already on a scroll compiled by ʿAtaʾ Allah Muhammad al-Tabrizi in 862/1458 for Sultan Mehmed II (TSMK, E.H. 2878); see David Roxburgh, ed., *Turks: A Journey of a Thousand Years, 600–1600* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2005), no. 246. A section from an undated scroll (Sotheby's London, "Arts of the Islamic World," 7 October 2015, no. 201) shows the profession of faith in square Kufic laid out just like that on the Leipzig doublure. Similar designs with slightly different layouts were used on other scrolls as well; see Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Topkapı Scroll—Geometry and Ornament in Islamic Architecture* (Santa Monica, Calif.: Getty Center, 1995), 265, no. 68b.

91. TIEM 1443, fols. 1b–2a; Atıl, *Age of Sultan Süleyman*, no. 10; Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy*, 494–496, fig. 11.8.

92. Images of these panels are available on https://www.artstor.org/ (accessed 27 September 2019).

93. Necipoğlu, *Topkapı Scroll*, 240, fig. 1.

94. Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 198–199.

95. TSMK, 13/1150; Atıl, *Age of Sultan Süleyman*, no. 122. Hulya Tezcan has written extensively on these talismanic shirts; see, for example, *Tılsımlı Gömlekler / Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Koleksiyonundan (Ciltli)* (Istanbul: Timaş, 2011).

96. This was Liebrenz's conclusion as well; "Troubled History," 222–223. Alison Ohta and Bora Keskiner both concur; I thank them heartily for responding to my requests for their expert opinions.

97. The most recent treatment of early Persian booking is Elaine Wright, *The Look of the Book: Manuscript Production in Shiraz 1303–1452* (Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art, 2012), 255–281.

98. Liebrenz, "Troubled History," 219, n. 10; Ben Azzouna, *Aux origines du classicisme*, 574.

99. Liebrenz, "Troubled History," 229–230.

100. Boris Liebrenz, "Türkenhemd," in *Ein Garten im Ärmel: Islamische Buchkultur*, ed. Verena Klemm (Leipzig, Netherlands: Universitätsverlag, 2008): 22–23; and Liebrenz, "Troubled History," 219–220, n. 10.

101. The shirt in Istanbul has suras 48, 36–46, and 18. Francis Maddison and Emilie Savage-Smith, *Science, Tools and Magic*, Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art 12 (London: Nour Foundation, 1997), 119, no. 49, suggest that the presence in particular of sura 48 (The Victory) suggests a military use for a contemporary Iranian talismanic shirt.

102. Sheila Blair and Jonathan Bloom, "Inscriptions in Art and Architecture," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Qurʾān*, ed. Jane McAuliffe (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 163–178; Sheila Blair, "Written, Spoken, Envisioned: The Many Facets of the Qurʾan in Art," in *Word of God, Art of Man: The Qurʾan and Its Creative Expressions*, ed. Fahmida Suleman (London: Oxford University Press, 2007), 271–284; and Sheila Blair, "Invoking God's Protection: The Iconography of the Qurʾanic Phrase *fasayakfīkahum allāh*," in *Farr-e Firouz*, vo. 5 of *Distinguished Scholars of the Cultural Heritage of Iran*, special edition in Honor of Dr. Firouz Bagherzade, ed. Shahin Aryamanesh (Tehran: Aryaramna Press, 2019), 15–34.

103. Travis Zadeh, "Touching and Ingesting: Early Debates over the Material Qurʾan," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 129, no. 3 (2009): 445, citing Martin Hinds, "The Ṣiffīn Arbitration Agreement," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 17, no. 1 (1972): 95–96.

104. Atıl, *Age of Sultan Süleyman*, nos. 17, 21; Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy*, 481–483, fig. 11.3; and Heather Coffey, "Between Amulet and Devotion: Islamic Miniature Books in the Lilly Library," in *The Islamic Manuscript Tradition: Ten Centuries of Book Arts in Indiana University Collections*, ed. Christiane Gruber (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), 78–115.

105. I owe the suggestion of the dialectic between manuscript and shirt to the anonymous reviewer, who made many helpful suggestions, particularly about this section of the essay.

106. Liebrenz, "Troubled History," 219, 229–232.

107. The text reads *ʿadad-i awrāq-i muṣḥaf-i sharīf elli varaqdır*.

108. The missing folios from the beginning of the *juzʾ* would have contained the last eight verses of sura 41 (verses 47–54), sura 42, and the beginning of sura 43 (verses 1–20).

109. See note 3.

110. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Banjaluka," by B. Djurdjev, https://doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_1190 (accessed 12 July 2022).

111. The two illustrations that Kenan Surkovic kindly shared with me showed such missing illumination in *juzʾ* 27. He did not provide any illustrations from *juzʾ* 22.

112. Olearius, *Voyages & Travels*, 186–187; Blair, *Text and Image*, 131; and Liebrenz, "Troubled History," 224, 230.

113. The word *ṣaḥīḥ* (correct, accurate) is a common textual emendation; see Adam Gacek, *The Arabic Manuscript Tradition: A Glossary of Technical Terms & Bibliography* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2001), 82. The complete phrase *waqf ṣaḥīḥ* is scrawled in a similar script and location on the final page from the *juzʾ* of the Mosul Qurʾan now in Amasya (Amasya, Turkey: Bayazit Library, K1052). I thank Simon Rettig for this reference. On the page in the Ezzat-Malek Soudavar Collection (Figure 9), the first letters of each word have been rubbed out, perhaps deliberately to obscure the pious endowment.

114. Liebrenz, "Troubled History," 231.

Mamluk Qur'ans: Splendor and Opulence of the Islamic Book

Alison Aplin Ohta

Although Islamic sources tell us of the existence of vast libraries during the Abbasid (750–1258) and the Fatimid (969–1171) caliphates, the evidence of these has long disappeared, and it is only from the Mamluk period (1260–1516) that a substantial corpus of manuscripts survives so that developments in calligraphy, illumination, and bookbinding can be readily understood.[1] By the fourteenth century, Cairo had become the cultural, religious, and intellectual center of the Islamic world, fostering a milieu in which the written word was valued and treasured, and the manuscripts that were produced during this period stand as testimony to this. Mamluk sultans, amirs, and the civilian elite created a society in which patronage flourished with the construction of religious and educational institutions, providing the impetus for the production of the necessary furnishings, including fine Qur'an manuscripts.[2] They commissioned these volumes for their private libraries and endowed religious institutions with books for teaching and study, as well as monumental copies of the Qur'an to be used during religious ceremonies that were often placed in elaborate boxes for safekeeping.[3]

Today, these Qur'an manuscripts are scattered in collections throughout the world, and for many we are able to trace their history from their beginnings through the presence of colophons, which often record the name of the scribe and date of copying, at times note their illuminators, and on rare occasions mention their binders. Also, dedicatory roundels often include the name of their patron, and endowment certificates (*waqfiyya*) identify the institution and date on which they were presented.

The earliest extant Mamluk Qur'an manuscripts date from the end of the thirteenth century and are distinguished, in particular, by their use of geometrical patterns of measured complexity for their illumination and binding decoration that continued to be used until the end of the Mamluk period for architectural decoration, woodwork, and other media.[4] In the 1460s, however, changes are noted in the ornament of Mamluk manuscripts that can be directly attributed to developments in Persian illumination and bindings of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. These included the adoption of the lobed almond profile with cloud-collar profiles for cornerpieces in both illumination and bindings with stamped and gilded decoration often accompanied by elegant polychrome filigree doublures.[5] The bold, brassy red-gold palette typical of Mamluk illumination of the fourteenth century was now combined with spindly floral sprigs in delicate hues forming borders and occupying the interstices of the patterns typical of Turcoman illumination in the fifteenth century.

This chapter will examine four single-volume Mamluk Qur'an manuscripts in the collections of the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts (TIEM) in Istanbul.[6] The earliest of these is dated December 1313 (TIEM 450),[7] the second is dateable to the end of the fourteenth century (TIEM 445),[8] and the other two are dateable to the end of the fifteenth century, one commissioned for the treasury of Sultan Qaytbay (r. 1468–1492; TIEM 533)[9] and the other (TIEM 508) most likely copied for the treasury of Amir Qansuh Khamsmiyya min Tarabay (d. 1496).[10] As such, they provide information on developments in the choice of script, illumination, and binding decoration from the early to the late Mamluk period.

All of the Qurʾan manuscripts under consideration are single volumes; however, it should be noted that the Qurʾan was also copied in a variety of formats. It was most commonly divided into 30 parts, each one called a *juzʾ* (pl. *ajzāʾ*), which allows for the Qurʾan to be read over a period of a month, particularly during the month of Ramadan. It was also often copied in two volumes of equal halves and in quarters and on occasion was copied in seven parts.[11]

Throughout the Mamluk period, large monumental Qurʾan manuscripts were produced with sizes ranging between 73 × 50 and 112 × 94 cm.[12] Of the volumes under discussion in this chapter, one of them (TIEM 445) falls into this category because it measures 75 × 50 cm and was copied at the end of the fourteenth century.[13]

Joseph von Karabacek's study of Islamic paper sizes based on the information contained in Qalqashandi's book entitled *Ṣubḥ al Aʿshʾa* (The Dawn for the Blind), written in 1412, lists nine types of paper and their uses by government offices during the Mamluk period.[14] The largest was called *baghdādī al-kāmil*, measuring 109.9 × 73.9 cm (width × height), followed by *baghdādī al-nāqiṣ*, measuring 97.77 × 65.15 cm.[15] This size of paper was reserved for the copying of Mamluk Qurʾan manuscripts, and these sheets were folded in half and quarters to achieve the desired size. Sheila Blair has shown that *baghdādī* paper was also used for the copying of Ilkhanid Qurʾan manuscripts.[16]

These manuscripts present a picture of the developments in Qurʾan production in Mamluk Cairo in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, allowing for the tracing of changes in calligraphy and styles of illumination. As they were commissioned by the sultan and members of the elite and were often endowed to a mosque or madrasa in the patron's name, they represent the pinnacle of book production in the Mamluk period. This chapter discusses these manuscripts and places them within the context of their time while providing a comparison with other relevant examples.

The *Muṣḥaf* Dated 1313 (TIEM 450)

This single-volume Mamluk Qurʾan (TIEM 450) is well-known and was published in some depth in David James's seminal work on Qurʾan manuscripts of the early Mamluk period, and its calligraphy was analyzed by Sheila Blair.[17] It measures 34.5 × 24.5 cm, which equates to a quarter of the *baghdādī* size of paper and as such is not a large volume. The colophon records that it was commissioned by Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad (first reign, 1293–1294; second reign, 1299–1309; third reign, 1310–1341) in 1313, and the name of the scribe, Shadhi ibn Muhammad ibn Shadhi ibn Daud ibn ʿIsa ibn Abi Bakr al-Ayyub, a descendant of the Ayyubid house of Kerak, appears in panels above and below the roundels.[18] The date of the completion of the manuscript is recorded in the roundel as the third day of Ramadan in 713, which equates to the last Tuesday of the month in December 1313.

Unusually, two additional short certificates on the final folio inform us that the text is without error, signed by Muhammad al-Sarraj al-Muqri, whose epithet identifies him as a teacher of *tajwīd*, or perfect pronunciation of the Qurʾan. Another certificate records that the vocalization was checked by Khalil ibn Muhammad al-Bahnasi, who was most likely responsible for the second set of voweling marks in blue.[19] It bears the seal of Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512), which indicates that it was in Istanbul before the Ottoman conquest of Egypt in 1516 and entered the museum from the Mausoleum of Sultan Selim II (r. 1566–1574). The Qurʾan manuscript was later rebound in an Ottoman binding.

It is written in *naskh* in gold outlined in black ink with 11 lines to a page, which was the most common script for the copying of Mamluk Qurʾan manuscripts until 1320, when it was superseded by *muḥaqqaq* (Figure 1). The sura headings are written in gold in a stylized Kufic on a blue background with blossoms and leaves.[20] Blair observes that Shadhi uses a distinctive style of *naskh* with sweeping curves on an undulating baseline.[21] Some letters impinge on each other, and the letter *nūn* curls around the verse markers, making

FIGURE 1. Qurʾan copied by Shadhi ibn Muhammad ibn Shadhi ibn Daud ibn ʿIsa ibn Abi Bakr al-Ayyub for Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad, Cairo, 1313. Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, TIEM 450, fols. 188b–189a. Image courtesy of the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, Istanbul.

it appear rushed, with words being omitted.[22] She notes that it continues the style of *naskh* that had been current in twelfth-century Syria. The marginal ornaments denoting half a *ḥizb*, or section, and the fifth- and tenth-verse markers are in gold outlined in blue.

The Qurʾan opens with a double frontispiece with a 10-pointed star at the center of each page that contains verse 42 from *sura Fuṣṣilat* (*tanzīlun min ḥakīmin ḥamīdin* [a revelation from the All-Wise, the Praiseworthy]) inscribed at the center of the stars (Figure 2).[23] It extends into a repeat pattern with quarter stars in each of the corners and is surrounded on three sides by a wide border of palmettes on a hatched ground. These patterns based on 10-pointed stars created repeat designs of measured complexity and continued to be used until the end of the Mamluk period in a variety of media. Anthony Lee, writing in 1987, observed these decagonal patterns represented a departure from traditional methods of geometrical pattern design based on triangular and square grids for 6- or 12-pointed stars and at that point in time it was not immediately obvious how to form repeating patterns with 10-pointed stars.[24]

The creation of some of these patterns can be associated with the *girih* mode of geometry (a Persian word meaning "knot") described by Gülru Necipoğlu in her pioneering work on the Topkapı Scroll, which is dated to the fifteenth century and thought to be a series of design blueprints for Timurid architects who were drawing on a long and established tradition.[25] The *girih* tiles relate to a subset of the patterns in the Topkapı Scroll—specifically those with tenfold or decagonal geometry.[26] As Necipoğlu demonstrated, these patterns appear as architectural decoration on monuments dated to the tenth century in Iraq and Iran, and she goes on to suggest that Baghdad, the capital of the Abbasid caliphate, was the source of these patterns that came to be used widely throughout the Muslim world, although she points out that the architectural monuments associated with Abbasid Baghdad have long disappeared.[27] Her arguments are lengthy and complex and have been the subject of much discussion. Rogers agreed with Necipoğlu in assigning an origin for the *girih* patterns to Baghdad but found her association of these geometric designs with the atomistic

FIGURE 2. Qurʾan copied by Shadhi ibn Muhammad ibn Shadhi ibn Daud ibn ʿIsa ibn Abi Bakr al-Ayyub for Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad, Cairo, 1313. Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, TIEM 450, fols. 1b–2a. Image courtesy of the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, Istanbul.

philosophy of Muʿtazilism and the Sunni revival unconvincing.[28] Bier felt that Necipoğlu failed to recognize the spiritual implications of the designs as she stresses that such patterns render visible mathematical concepts and abstract thought related to the development of mysticism in the twelfth century.[29] Saliba also questioned Necipoğlu's suggestion that a relationship existed between the artisans and mathematicians of Abbasid Baghdad facilitating the execution of complicated geometrical patterns in architecture and other media.[30] In a later publication, Necipoğlu reexamined her conclusions in her analysis of a Persian manuscript entitled *Fī tadākhul al-ashkāl al-mutashābiha aw al-mutawāfiqa* (On Similar and Complementary Interlocking Figures), which is thought to date to the fifteenth century and contains instructions on how to construct complex geometrical patterns.[31] She suggests it was compiled as a result of exchanges between mathematical astronomers and artisans involved in creating ornamental geometrical patterns. She establishes that it was in the territory of the Great Seljuqs and the Abbasid Caliphate that the development of ornamental geometry took place between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries with the development of geometrical designs, including pentagonal and decagonal stars forming rosettes, found decorating a tympanum in the north dome of the Friday Mosque of Isfahan (1088–1089).[32] She dismisses her earlier associations of star and polygon patterns with the Sunni revival, given, as she puts it, "the multi-sectarian constituents of the polities in which it had been adopted."[33] Bonner, following Hankin in his study of Islamic geometrical designs, shows that by using a polygonal tessellation (triangles, squares, hexagons, octagons) of the plane, the pattern lines in these polygons define the actual design.[34] His overview of the existing architectural record also indicates that the Seljuqs were the first to develop designs based on the fivefold system (5- and 10-pointed stars), which made full use of rhombic, rectangular, and hexagonal repeat units.[35]

The patterns related to the decagonal symmetry family are distinguished, as defined by physicists Paul Steinhardt from Princeton and Peter J. Lu from Harvard, by the presence of five shapes: the decagon, pentagon, hexagon, rhombus, and bow tie, which are combined to form the grids necessary for the creation of these complex patterns over large surfaces without gaps or disruptions in the symmetry (Figure 3).[36]

Thus, in terms of understanding the geometry of this type of design, we can observe these changes in repeat geometrical patterns of angular interlace based on 10-pointed stars in fourteenth-century Mamluk illumination. This must have been derived from a long-standing tradition, but unfortunately, the dearth of illuminated Qur'an manuscripts from earlier periods does not allow us to trace this development in any depth.

These frontispieces are followed by two illuminated text pages on a hatched background of intertwining palmettes, and the text finishes on a background of palmettes on a red hatched ground.[37] This is followed by two fully illuminated finispieces, which are the earliest recorded occurrence of a 12-armed star polygon in Mamluk illumination (Figure 4), which was later used extensively in Qur'an manuscripts of the late fourteenth century and is also found in Ilkhanid illumination and on bindings.[38]

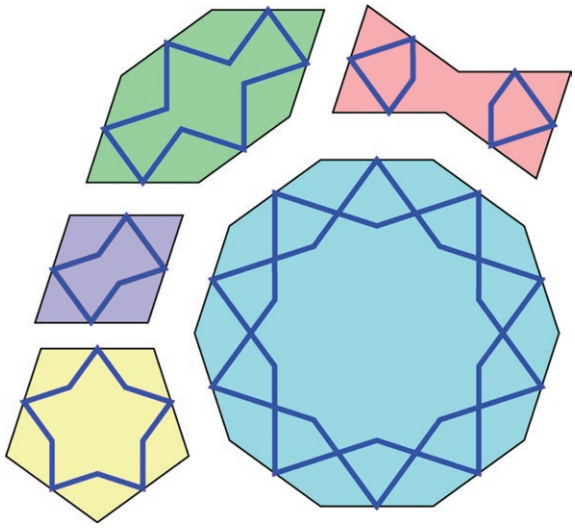


FIGURE 3. The five *girih* tiles. Paul Steinhardt and Peter J. Lu, "Decagonal and Quasi-Crystalline Tilings in Medieval Islamic Architecture," *Science* 315, no. 5815 (2007), fig. 1f. Courtesy of Dr. Peter J. Lu.

FIGURE 4. Qur'an copied by Shadhi ibn Muhammad ibn Shadhi ibn Daud ibn 'Isa ibn Abi Bakr al-Ayyub for Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad, Cairo, 1313. Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, TIEM 450, fols. 302b–303a. Image courtesy of the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, Istanbul.

FIGURE 5. Qurʾan illuminated by Sandal for Baybars Jashnagir, Cairo, 1304–1306. British Library, Add. 22406, vol. 7, fols. 1b–2a. Image © The British Library Board.

The name of the illuminator, Aydughdi ibn ʿAbdallah al-Badri, appears in two tiny inscriptions between the gold border and the hasp of the opening text pages, as does the name of the outliner of the letters, ʿAli ibn Muhammad al-Rassam, known as Al-Aʿsar, the left-handed, on the hasp of the final text folios.[39] We are able to trace the work of the illuminator Aydughdi ibn Badri from 1304 to 1320 through three other manuscripts.[40] The most important of these is the Qurʾan of Baybars Jashnagir, in which Aydughdi played a subsidiary role. In the inscription in the hasp of the border of folio 3b (TIEM 450), he describes himself as the pupil of Sandal, who was one of two illuminators for the Baybars Qurʾan and responsible for volumes 3, 5, and 7.[41] Several contemporary sources describe it as one of the wonders of the age, and it is said to have cost Baybars 1,600 dirhams to have it copied in gold (Figure 5).[42] The calligrapher was Muhammad ibn al-Wahid Sharaf al-Din Muhammad al-katib al-Zarʾi al-Misri, known as Ibn al-Wahid (d. 1311), who was born in Damascus and trained in Baghdad under the master calligrapher Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi (d. 1298) but spent most of his working life in Cairo, where he was the *kātib al-sharīʿa* (legal secretary) at the Mosque of al-Hakim, where Baybars restored the minarets in 1305 after the 1303 earthquake.[43] He had a considerable reputation as a scribe and is described as a good linguist, but his character had a seamier side, as he is reputed to have bought calligraphy from his students that he would then resell at a much higher price as his own work.[44]

The patron, Rukn al-Din Baybars, was the majordomo (*ustādār*) at the court of Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad, who he later deposed in 1309 and sent into exile, but he held power for only a year before he was himself deposed and executed with the return of al-Nasir Muhammad in 1310. There is no existing *waqfiyya*, but its large size (47.5 × 32 cm, which equates to half a *baghdādī* sheet) indicates it was copied for presentation to a religious institution. It is mentioned in the endowment deed for the *khānaqā* (Sufi mansion) of Baybars, where it was intended for readings of the Qurʾan on Fridays. We know little of its subsequent history in Cairo, and it entered the British Library in 1858, bought from Messrs. Boone, booksellers in Bond Street.[45]

This Qurʾan is unusual for a number of reasons. It is, first of all, copied in seven parts and in a form of

thuluth known as *ashʿar*, a curvilinear script that was not normally used for copying the text of the Qurʾan and was not used again.[46] Each folio has an even number of lines to a page, six in all, whereas it was usual for the text to be copied in an uneven number of lines, five, seven, etc. The sura titles are copied in *thuluth* in gold with red safflower tinting the gold.[47] As Blair notes, this style of script is distinctive and differs from normal *thuluth* with shallower curves and is more compressed. She notes it is close to the style used in sura headings of other Mamluk *maṣāḥif* copied in gold, and he may have adopted it to write an entire Qurʾan manuscript.[48]

The illumination of each volume by Sandal opens with a double frontispiece with a 10-pointed star that extends in a pattern of geometrical interlace in the manner followed by two illuminated text pages. The name of Aydughdi appears on the opening text page of the seventh volume in the panels above and below, where he is described as undertaking the task of *zammaka*, the outlining of the letters (*tazmīk*); Aydughdi must have been working under the supervision of Sandal and was at the beginning of his career.

Each volume has a final illuminated page giving the name of the patron, Rukn al-Din Baybars; the scribe; and the date of completion of the volume. By charting the dates on each of the volumes, it can be deduced that each section of the Qurʾan took about two months to transcribe.

In looking at the similarities in illumination between these Qurʾan manuscripts, we observe that Aydughdi was still working in the tradition of his former master, Sandal. The similarities can be listed as follows:

1. the repeat pattern extending from a 10-pointed star
2. the fillers of the interstices of the pattern
3. the broad palmette borders with tear drops
4. the use of hatching as a background in the borders and the text pages

In addition, although not found on the Baybars Qurʾan, the placement of words from *sura Fuṣṣilat* at the center of the stars is present in another Qurʾan illuminated by Sandal, now in the Chester Beatty Library. This indicates that Aydughdi was continuing a tradition that had been established in the work of Sandal some 10 years earlier and was to continue to the end of the Mamluk period (Figure 6).[49]

The *Muṣḥaf* Dateable to the End of the Fourteenth Century (TIEM 445)

We now turn to the second Qurʾan (TIEM 445), which is dateable to the end of the fourteenth century when a larger, bolder type of *muḥaqqaq*, known as *muḥaqqaq jalī*, began to be used for Mamluk Qurʾans, copied on bifolios of full *baghdādī* size (Figure 7).[50] The Qurʾan measures 75 × 50 cm and is copied in large *muḥaqqaq,* script with 11 lines to a page, with the sura titles in white Kufic on a blue or black background of scrolls intertwined with blossoms. Unfortunately, the large *waqfiyya* at the end of the manuscript has been damaged, making it impossible to decipher the patron or the institution to which it was endowed, and three folios are missing. It was rebound in the late Ottoman period.[51]

The manuscript was included by David James in his catalog of Mamluk Qurʾans, but he makes only a fleeting reference to it, most likely because it does not fall readily into either of the two groups that he used to classify the Qurʾan manuscripts associated with Sultan Shaʿban (r. 1363–1376), who commissioned several large volumes for his Ashrafiyya Madrasa and that of his mother, Khwand Baraka, Umm al-Sultan, both completed between 1368 and 1369.[52] These two groups, as categorized by James, are known as the "star polygon" group and those that were illuminated by Ibrahim al-Amidi.[53]

The star polygon group comprises four Qurʾans that are now in the Dar al-Kutub in Cairo. All the opening frontispieces feature a centerpiece of a star polygon set in a central square with verses from the Qurʾan set

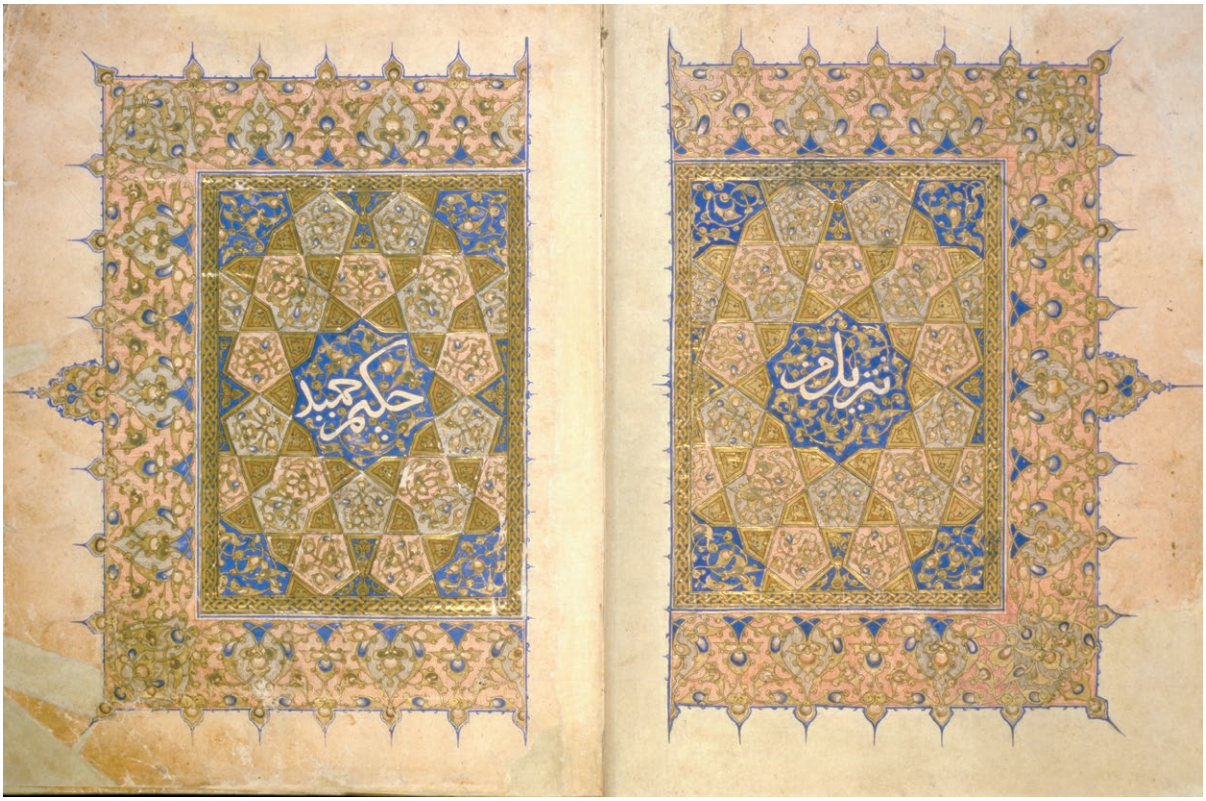


FIGURE 6 (above). Qur'an illuminated by Sandal, Cairo, ca. 1300–1310. Chester Beatty Library, Is 1479, fols. 1b–2a(1v–2r). Image © The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.

FIGURE 7 (left). Qur'an copied by 'Ali ibn Muhammad al-Muktib al-Ashrafi, Cairo, ca. 1370–1375. Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, TIEM 445, fol. 1a. Image courtesy of the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, Istanbul.

FIGURE 8. Qurʾan copied by Yaʿqub ibn Khalil ibn Muhammad ibn ʿAbd al-Rahman al-Hanafi, Cairo, ca. 1356. Dar al-Kutub, Rasid 8, fols. 1b–2a. Image courtesy of Dar al-Kutub, Cairo.

in cartouches above and below the panel and a palmette lotus border. There are small differences between them in terms of the organization of the pages, but they are united with the use of the star polygon.

Rasid 8 was bequeathed on 13 June 1368 by Sultan Shaʿban to his mother's madrasa, which he built to commemorate her journey to Mecca. David James thought the volume had originally been commissioned for the Mosque of Sultan Hasan because the date of the colophon with the signature of the calligrapher Yaʿqub ibn Khalil ibn Muhammad ibn ʿAbd al-Rahman al-Hanafi in 1356 corresponds to the year of the mosque's completion.[54] It is written in *muḥaqqaq* with 11 lines to a page.

The opening pages feature a small 12-armed star polygon within a larger gold star with inscriptions (Figure 8) in *thuluth* from *sura al-Wāqiʿa* (56:78–80) above and below the panel. The opening and final pages of text are illuminated with deep gold borders with the sura titles set within cartouches (Figure 9).[55]

The second group is distinguished by the illumination of Ibrahim al-Amidi, which, with its wide range of strong colors and patterns based on a variety of geometries, belongs to another tradition and is quite different from anything produced in Cairo at this time. His *nisba* suggests that he hailed from Amid (present-day Diyarbakır) in Anatolia, and James speculates Ibrahim al-Amidi may have received his training in Iraq or Iran.[56] James has also identified a number of Qurʾan manuscripts that he attributes to al-Amidi on a stylistic basis, but only one is signed.[57]

Rasid 10 was bequeathed by Sultan Shaʿban to his madrasa in May 1376. It was completed on 12 July 1372 by the calligrapher ʿAli ibn Muhammad al-Muktib al-Ashrafi, the same scribe that David James assigned on a stylistic basis to the Qurʾan manuscript under discussion (TIEM 445). The *waqfiyya* is elaborately written

FIGURE 9. Qurʾan copied by Yaʿqub ibn Khalil ibn Muhammad ibn ʿAbd al-Rahman al-Hanafi, Cairo, ca. 1356. Dar al-Kutub, Rasid 8, fols. 2b–3a. Image courtesy of Dar al-Kutub, Cairo.

in *riqāʿ* on a pink ground with arabesques. The Qurʾan begins with an exceptional double frontispiece whose design is based on a series of decagons set within a repeat pattern. The interstices of the trellis on a blue ground are filled with floral ornaments and palmettes in a varied bright palette of pinks, orange, gold, and red (Figure 10).

The opening pages bear the text of *sura al-Fātiḥa* in superb *muḥaqqaq jalī* that covers both pages, differing from the normal practice of having *sura al-Fātiḥa* on the first page followed by the first three verses from *sura al-Baqara* on the facing page. The text lies on a background with small dots in groups of three and stylized blossoms.

The Qurʾan manuscripts in these two groups represent very different traditions, and for both groups James has drawn a comparison with those copied and illuminated at an earlier date in Iran and Baghdad.[58] Qurʾan TIEM 445 opens with a double frontispiece, and the layout of the page can be compared to those of the star polygon group of Qurʾans, but in this case the star polygon has been replaced with a rosette of overlapping circles (Figure 7). The palette is a pleasing one of muted hues of blue, pinks, and mauves achieved through the use of white borders on the petals. The central panel is bordered with a band of chinoiserie composed of blossoms, peonies, and leaves followed by another band of similar composition. Again, this can be compared to the floral decoration of the borders of the star polygon Qurʾans, namely, Rasid 10.

The opening pages of illumination are followed by two pages with the suras *al-Fātiḥa* and *al-Baqara* on separate pages on a background of palmettes. James has attributed the calligraphy in *muḥaqqaq* to the scribe ʿAli ibn Muhammad bin Muktib al-Ashrafi, who copied Rasid 10.[59] Blair has commented that "his hand is very good if not great with strong sweeping strokes"; however, she notes that his treatment of the letter *alif* is often uneven.[60] The sura titles written in Kufic are contained in cartouches and display great variety in the treatment of the ornament, sometimes in black, gold, and white stylized Kufic set on floral backgrounds or circular scrolls on grounds of different colors (Figure 11).

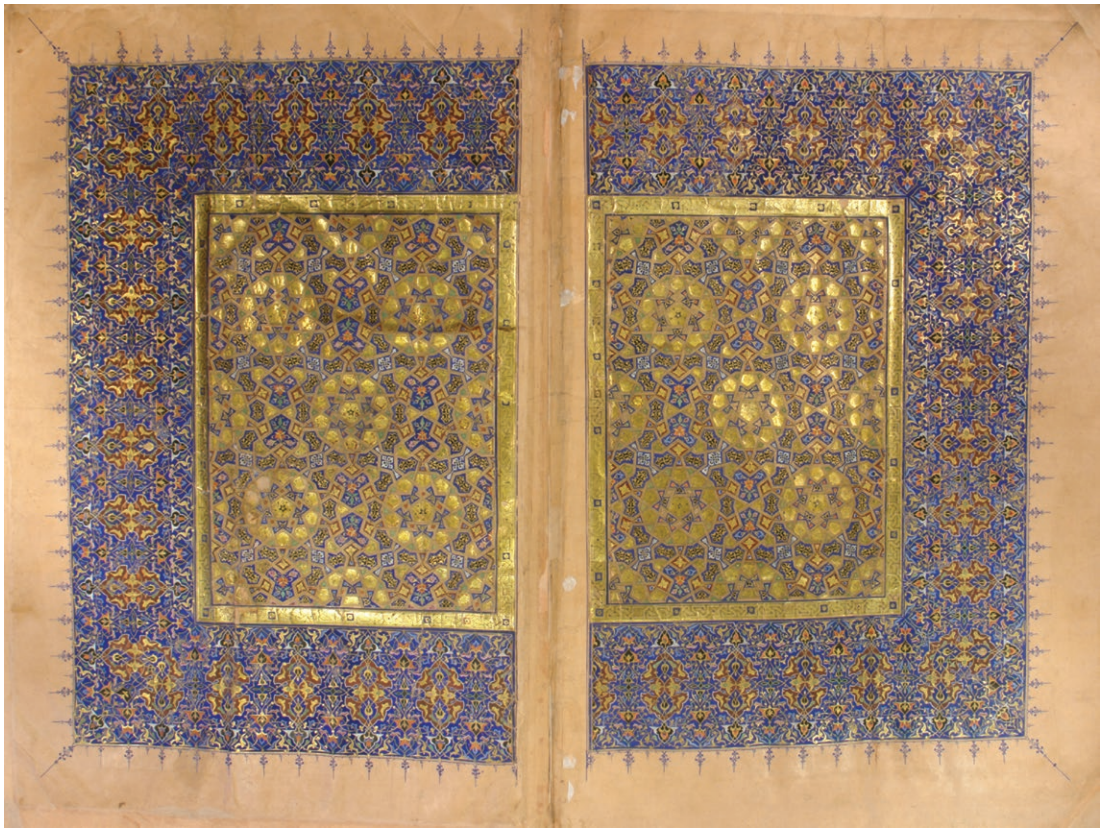


FIGURE 10 (above). Qurʾan endowed to the madrasa of Sultan Shaʿban, Cairo, 1372. Dar al-Kutub, Rasid 10, fols. 2b–3a. Image courtesy of Dar al-Kutub, Cairo.

FIGURE 11 (left). Qurʾan copied by ʿAli ibn Muhammad al-Muktib al-Ashrafi, Cairo, ca. 1370–1375. Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, TIEM 445, fol. 3a. Image courtesy of the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, Istanbul.

FIGURE 12. Upper cover of *Saḥīḥ of Bukhārī* copied for Sultan Khushqadam, Cairo, 1462. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, A. 247/2, fol. 1a. Image © The Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, The Directorate of National Palaces Administration.

The illumination of both these Qurʾan manuscripts from the fourteenth century is distinguished, in particular, by its use of geometrical ornament based on star patterns, including more complex designs based on 10-pointed stars and, later, star polygons, creating patterns of measured geometric complexity reflecting the continuation of a well-established tradition that continued to be used until the end of the Mamluk period. *Muḥaqqaq* becomes the preeminent script for the copying of Qurʾan manuscripts, replacing the use of *naskh*. The Qurʾan groupings known as the star polygon group and those illuminated by Ibrahim al-Amidi represent a myriad of influences in terms of their illumination with the appearance of the star polygon and elegant, colorful borders of chinoiserie.

These developments were reflected in metalwork and architectural decoration of the period. For example, the window grilles inserted into the transitional zone of the dome of the funerary complex of Sunqur al-Saʿdi, who was the *naʾib al-jaysh* (secretary of the army) during the third reign of Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad, built between 1315 and 1321 offer a plethora of geometric designs that include 12-rayed star polygons and 10-pointed stars in decagons.[61] A pattern of eight-armed star polygons is found decorating the doors of the mosque of the Fatimid vizier al-Salih Talaʾiʿ (1160), where the existing doors are copies made in 1935 of the originals in the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo that date from 1303, when it was restored after the earthquake.[62] The star polygon also appears on a series of bindings of a 30-part Qurʾan with a *waqf* for Sultan Hasan.[63] Blossoms and peony flowers are found in the architectural decoration of the Sultan Hasan complex and in the illuminations of Qurʾans of the period, for example, TIEM 445 (Figure 11).[64]

Behrens-Abouseif has drawn analogies between the arts of the book and the decoration of the mosque of Sultan Hasan. ʿAbdullah Kahil also observes that many of the decorative features of the complex are

FIGURE 13. Detail of floral decoration with arabesques on the façade of the *sabīl maktab* of Qaytbay in Saliba Street, Cairo, 1480. Photo by the author.

related to those of the arts of the book, revealing a cross-fertilization between the various media facilitated through the widespread use of paper.[65]

By the middle of the fifteenth century changes are noted in the illumination and bindings of Mamluk Qurʾan manuscripts that included the introduction of lobed profiles with quarter cloud-collar profiles for the cornerpieces, the use of naturalistic floral ornament, and fine filigree leather doublures on a pasteboard ground for bindings.[66] The earliest known example to date of these developments within the Mamluk realm is found on a binding and in the illumination of a manuscript copied for Sultan Khushqadam (r. 1461–1467).[67] A lobed profile with cusped cornerpieces is used to decorate the cover (Figure 12), and on the opening page of illumination the interstices of the pattern extending from an eight-pointed star are filled with spindly palmettes on an ultramarine background typical of Shirazi illumination styles.

Turcoman elements in miniature painting were observed by Esin Atıl in manuscripts produced in Cairo in 871/1466 following the dispersal of Pir Budaq's atelier after his death and in Firdawsi's *Shāhnāma* (Book of Kings) produced for Qansuh al-Ghuri (r. 1501–1516), indicating the presence of artists working at the Mamluk court who had been trained in the Turcoman tradition of painting in the Qara Qoyunlu school of Baghdad and the Aq Qoyunlu school of Shiraz.[68] The date of 1462 on the Khushqadam manuscript suggests that contacts existed earlier than 1466 and that Turcoman artists and craftsmen were present in Cairo facilitating the transmission of the new styles of ornament into the Mamluk repertoire. Julian Raby and Zeren Tanındı, in their seminal work on Ottoman bindings of the fifteenth century, also noted similar changes in the binding and illumination styles of Ottoman manuscripts, particularly those copied for Mehmed II (r. 1441–1481), which they attribute to the presence of Persian binders, calligraphers, and illuminators at the Ottoman court after the defeat of the Aq Qoyunlu at the Battle of Başkent in 1472.[69]

These changes in ornament are recorded in the architectural decoration and metalwork of the reign of Sultan Qaytbay, who sponsored a revival in the arts, crafts, and architecture through his patronage and refurbishment program.[70] As Behrens-Abouseif remarks, "The arts of the Qaytbay period display new patterns in the floral repertoire of architectural decoration and in the decorative arts and book illumination. For the first time in Mamluk art, we find naturalistic flower motifs integrated between arabesques, in masonry, stucco, marble carving and inlay."[71] The arabesque with floral motifs is used extensively in stone carving during the Qaytbay period, for example, on the façade of the *sabīl maktab* in Saliba Street, Cairo (1480; Figure 13), and in metalwork on a candlestick made for Fatima al-Khassbakiyya, wife of Sultan Qaytbay.[72] The two Qurʾan manuscripts copied in the latter part of the fifteenth century reflect these changes in their illumination and bindings.

The First *Muṣḥaf* Dateable to the End of the Fifteenth Century (TIEM 533)

This Qurʾan copied for Sultan Qaytbay (TIEM 533) illustrates the new developments in illumination and binding. It measures 56.7 × 39.5 cm, representing half a full *baghdādī* sheet of paper.[73] It bears the seal of Bayezid II, indicating its presence in Istanbul before the Ottoman conquest of Egypt.[74] It includes a *tafsīr* at the end of the text that explains the words and phrases in each sura and states it was copied by Muhammad ibn Saʿud Al-Shafiʿ, most likely at the same time as the text. In terms of its illumination, calligraphy, and binding this Qurʾan is outstanding.

It opens with two pages of very fine illumination that draw on styles developed in Turcoman Iran in the fifteenth century (Figure 14). The central panel has a lobed medallion with a full cloud-collar profile at its center with cusped cornerpieces. The spiraling palmettes that decorate the interior of the medallion, the cornerpieces, and the borders are punctuated with delicate floral ornament, all representative of the Turcoman style.

The opening pages are followed by two pages of illuminated text enclosed in frames that employ a lavish use of two-toned gold on an ultramarine background. The text is written in fine gold *muḥaqqaq* with nine lines to a page set within a gold frame. The sura titles in a spindly *thuluth* display great variety in their treatment, and of note is the use of vermillion for the scrolls as in the heading for *sura Al ʿImrān*, which makes its

FIGURE 14. Qurʾan copied for Sultan Qaytbay, Cairo, late fifteenth century. Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, TIEM 533, fols. 1b–2a. Image courtesy of the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, Istanbul.

appearance in the illumination of other Mamluk manuscripts of the period.[75] Delicate floral sprigs decorate the frames of the marginal cartouches.

The manuscript quite possibly retains its original binding, but it may have been rebound after its presentation to the Ottoman sultan Bayezid II. It exhibits many elements that are found on Turcoman bindings and later on fine Mamluk bindings of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries: the large, sunken, gilded medallion and cornerpieces along with the segmented borders stamped with an elegant palmette meander on a gilded ground. The ground of the center field is painted in gold with elegant blossoms. The doublure with its large medallion and cornerpieces with pronounced borders outlined in gold incorporating cloud-collar forms on a background of very fine filigree work on a blue background can be compared to the doublures found on Turcoman bindings such as the *Dīvān of Qasimi* copied for governor of Shiraz and Baghdad Pir Budaq Qara Qoyunlu (d. 1466; TIEM 1986) in 1459 and those on Mamluk bindings of the late fifteenth century.[76]

The flap is decorated with gilded scrolling vines that are reminiscent of those found on the stamped cover of the binding made for a manuscript dedicated to Sultan Muhammad, the son of Sultan Qaytbay, who ruled briefly between 1496 and 1498[77] and the architectural decoration of the lunette of the mihrab of the mosque of Qijmas al-Ishaqi, built between1479 and 1482 in Cairo.[78]

The production of these fine manuscripts and accompanying bindings suggest that specialized workshops undertook commissions resulting in unique productions for a defined Cairene elite. Strands of the traditional Mamluk style of illumination and binding decoration were combined with new styles of ornament and new binding techniques such as filigree work on a pasteboard ground for the doublures that had been refined in Timurid and Turcoman court ateliers and were then transferred into the Ottoman and Mamluk repertoires. These styles and techniques represented innovative change, but the more traditional styles of Mamluk illumination were not abandoned; rather, they were often combined, as represented in the next Qurʾan manuscript.

The Second *Muṣḥaf* Dateable to the End of the Fifteenth Century (TIEM 508)

The final Qurʾan (TIEM 508) measures 50.5 × 36.5 cm, equivalent to half a sheet of *baghdādī* paper, and is written in *naskh* with seven lines to a page with an interlinear translation in Turkish; folios 3–5 were added at a later date.[79] The inclusion of Turkish is not surprising, as it was the lingua franca of the Mamluk court, although Arabic was the language reserved for all official correspondence.

The illumination of this Qurʾan is a mixture of the old with the new. The Qurʾan opens with two full pages of illumination with the name and rank of the patron, Qansuh *Amīr Akhūr* (master of the stables), at the center of a 10-pointed star set within a trellis pattern reminiscent of the work of Sandal, albeit with different fillers for the interstices and a different type of trellis.

The opening page is bordered with a meander of delicate blossoms on a blue ground in the Turcoman tradition, but the side panels include gold blossoms on a gold/safflower background, giving a brassy effect typical of Mamluk illumination of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (Figure 15). A similar observation can be made for the marginal ornament with a pendant filled with floral decoration, standing in contrast to the traditional design of the marginal medallion marking a quarter of a *ḥizb* (Figures 16, 17). Likewise, the illumination of the sura titles relies on a traditional Mamluk layout and palette of gold, red, and blue. The floral decoration can be compared to the opening page of a manuscript in Turkish of the *Dīwān of Aşık Paşa* that was commissioned by the same patron.[80]

The binding of the Qurʾan is exceptional. The large almond profile on the cover is filled with intertwining split palmettes, as are the cusped cornerpieces, with key points of the pattern gilded, a feature associated

FIGURE 15. Qurʾan copied for Qansuh *Amīr Akhūr*, Cairo, late fifteenth century. Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, TIEM 508, fol. 2a. Image courtesy of the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, Istanbul.

with Turcoman bindings (Figure 18). The flap is covered with a profusion of floral ornament derived from the Timurid repertoire that also occurs on Ottoman bindings and is decorated with an elegant cartouche that may be compared to that on another Mamluk binding of a Qurʾan dated 1491 with a *waqfiyya* in the name of Inal Bay, who was governor of Tripoli, dated 1497–1498.[81]

The Qurʾan is distinguished by its doublure, which uniquely carries the name of its patron in gilded filigree leather work (Figure 19). His name and titles carry across to the back cover from the front, with a small cartouche on the spine. The inscription reads,

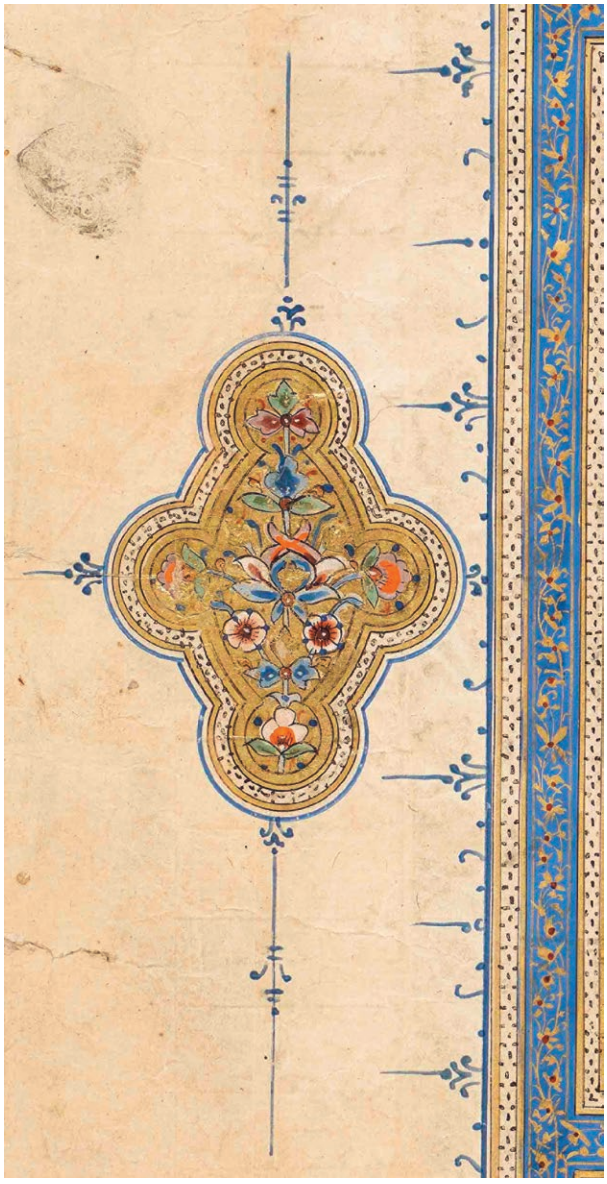


FIGURE 16 (left). Detail of Figure 15: ornamental marginal medallion. Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, TIEM 508, fol. 2a. Image courtesy of the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, Istanbul.

FIGURE 17 (below). Marker for a quarter *ḥizb* from a Qurʾan copied for Qansuh *Amīr Akhūr*, Cairo, late fifteenth century. Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, TIEM 508, fol. 51b. Image courtesy of the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, Istanbul.

Front doublure: *bi-rasm al-khizāna mawlānā al-muqarr al-ashraf al-karīm al-ʾālī* (By the order of the Treasury of his most noble, honorable, and exalted excellency)

On the small lobed cartouche on the spine of the flap: *Qānṣūh Amīr Akhūr Kabīr* (Qansuh, grand amir of the stables)

Back doublure: *al-mawlawī al-sayyidī al-malikī al-makhdūmī al-sayfī* (His excellency the master, the royal, the well-served, the sword)

Flap: *al-malikī al-ashrafī aʾazz Allāh anṣārahu* (In the service of al-Malik al-Ashraf. May God make his victories glorious.)

The lobed central roundel lies on a golden ground, with pendants outlined in blue, and is filled with overlapping burgundy arabesques. The lobed cornerpieces have filigree arabesques in red leather on a gold ground with arrangements of groups of three small punches in the pasteboard. The combination of red burgundy leather on a golden yellow pasteboard ground can be compared to the filigree doublures of

FIGURE 18. Upper cover of a Qurʾan copied for Qansuh, *Amīr Akhūr* Cairo, late fifteenth century. Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, TIEM 508. Image courtesy of the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, Istanbul.

FIGURE 19. Doublure of a Qurʾan copied for Qansuh, *Amīr Akhūr* Cairo, late fifteenth century. Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, TIEM 508. Image courtesy of the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, Istanbul.

the binding of a manuscript copied for Mehmed II, dated 1476.[82] However, unlike the Ottoman arabesques, which are detailed with veins and droplets, the Mamluk ones are plain. Both pasteboards carry small groups of dots pressed into the board.

The small cartouche on the spine of the flap provides a clue to the identity of the patron. More than a dozen amirs bore the name of Qansuh in the second half of the fifteenth century; however, another manuscript, a copy of the *Dīwān of Aşık Paşa*, written in Turkish and dated 1477, carries a dedicatory roundel also in the name of Qanṣūh *Amīr Akhūr*.[83] This individual may be identified as Amir Qansuh Khamsmiyya min Tarabay, who was appointed *amīr akhūr kabīr* during the reign of Sultan Qaytbay in 1481 and held this position until 1496, when he became commander of the army. Qansuh Khamsmiyya later took power, having deposed Sultan Muhammad, the son of Qaytbay, but held power for only a matter of days before being killed.

This Qurʾan is representative of the combination of styles that draw on different traditions that sets the key to understanding development in the arts of the book in Mamluk Cairo in the late fifteenth century. In this instance, the innovative use of the filigree leather doublures cut to include the name of the patron is combined with illumination styles of the fourteenth century as well as those that were appropriated from the Turcoman/Iranian repertoire.

These four manuscripts are outstanding examples of the skill and artistic sensibilities of their illuminators, calligraphers, and binders, and as such, with their removal to Istanbul, they were valued and treasured. Two of the manuscripts (TIEM 450 and 533) bear the seal of Bayezid II, indicating their presence in Istanbul before the Ottoman conquest of Egypt in 1516, when the two other volumes must have been removed to Istanbul from Cairo. It is probable that these manuscripts were diplomatic gifts, and Ibn Iyas records that Sultan Qaytbay sent gifts to Bayezid II on three occasions in 1485, 1494, and 1496, but unfortunately, there is no record of a Qurʾan being presented to the Ottoman sultan.[84] With the defeat of the Mamluks in 1516, the Ottomans inherited the mantle that had been the preserve of the Mamluks as leaders of the Islamic world while also acquiring the title of caliph.[85] As such, these Qurʾans would have been recognized as their rightful inheritance, and the endowment certificates of two of the Qurʾan manuscripts are indicative of this: TIEM 508 to the mausoleum of Ahmed II (r. 1643–1695) and TIEM 445 to the mosque of Kasımpaşa in Istanbul.

In conclusion, the religious significance of these Qurʾan manuscripts remains paramount; however, their illuminations, calligraphy, and bindings enhance our understanding of the development of ornament, calligraphy, and decorative techniques during the Mamluk period. The illumination and binding decoration of Qurʾan manuscripts of the fourteenth century drew on a rich storehouse of complex geometric patterns that continued to be used until the end of the sultanate. This stands as testimony to the long tradition of geometrical ornament in Egypt that continued long after it had disappeared from the Ottoman and Persian binders' and illuminators' repertoire. Likewise, during the mid-fourteenth century *muḥaqqaq* became the dominant script for the copying of Qurʾan manuscripts, but with the demise of the sultanate, its use declined, and it was superseded by *thuluth* and *naskh.*

A new aesthetic is discerned in the Qurʾan manuscripts and bindings of the mid- fifteenth century, inspired in the main by developments in Timurid and Turcoman ateliers that were then translated into a Mamluk context. The more traditional Mamluk palette of red and brassy gold was not discarded, and neither was geometrical ornament; rather, they were combined with Turcoman elements of illumination that included lobed almond profiles filled with a profusion of sinuous palmettes and delicate borders with floral sprigs. In bindings, the techniques of filigree on a polychrome pasteboard ground for the doublures along with the gilding and stamping that had been part of Persian binders' repertoire since the late fourteenth century were employed for the covers and doublures of these lavish manuscripts. These new elements did not replace the more traditional styles; rather, they were used in tandem with one another. From this study a picture emerges of a manuscript tradition imbued with vitality. The variety and diversity of ornament found on these manuscripts over a period of 250 years continues to stir wonderment and admiration in the eyes of the beholder.

Notes

1. Ruth Mackensen, "Moslem Libraries and Sectarian Propaganda," *American Journal of Semitic Languages* 51 (1934–1935): 83–113; Youssef Eche, *Les Bibliothèques Arabes, Publiques et Semi-publiques en Mésopotamie, en Syrie et en Egypte au Moyen-Âge* (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas,1967), 203–217; Paul Walker, "Fatimid Institutions of Learning," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 34 (1997): 179–200; Houari Touati, *L'armoire à sagesse* (Paris: Flammarion, 2003), 93–112; Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *The Book in Mamluk Egypt and Syria (1250–1517): Scribes, Libraries and Market* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2018), 15–42.
2. David James, *Qurʾans of the Mamluks* (London: Alexandria Press, 1988), 27–33.
3. Fāyiza Maḥmūd ʿAbd al-Khāliq al-Wakīl, *Athāth al-Muṣḥaf fī Miṣr fī ʿAṣr al-Mamālīk* (Cairo: Dār al-Qāhīra, 2004).
4. The earliest known dated Qurʾan is in the Central Awqaf Library in Cairo (Ms. 2254), dated 1291. I thank Khaled Yossef for this information.
5. Elaine Wright, *The Look of the Book: Manuscript Production in Shiraz, 1303–1452* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012), 255–292.
6. These manuscripts were included in the first major exhibition on the Qurʾan in the United States held at the Smithsonian's Arthur M. Sackler Gallery between October 2016 and February 2017. See Massumeh Farhad and Simon Rettig, eds., *The Art of the Qurʾan: Treasures from the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts* (Washington, D.C.: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, 2016), 248–265.
7. Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, TIEM 450, 34 × 24 cm; see Farhad and Rettig, *Art of the Qurʾan*, cat. no. 37; Sheila Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 326–328, fig. 8.5; François Déroche and Almut von Gladiss, *Der Prachtkoran Buchkunst zur Ehre Allahs im Museum für Islamische Kunst* (Potsdam, Germany: UNZE Verlagsgesellschaft, 1999), 115; Oleg Grabar, Nazan Ölçer, and Ahmet Ertuğ, *In Pursuit of Excellence: Works of Art from the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts*, ed. Robert Bragner (Istanbul: Ahmet Ertuğ, 1993), plate 11; Nazan Ölçer, Şule Aksoy, Sevgi Kutluay, Alev Özay, Cihat Soyhan, Gönül Tekeli,

Sabahat Gül, and Daniş Baykan, *Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi* (Istanbul: Akbank, 2002), 176–177; *The 1400th Anniversary of the Qurʾan: Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art Qurʾan Collection* (Istanbul: Antik A.S. Cultural Publications, 2010), 256–257, cat. no. 58; James, *Qurʾans of the Mamluks*, cat. no. 6, figs. 34–38, 69–70; and David James, "Some Observations on the Calligrapher and Illuminators of the Koran of Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-Jāshnagīr," *Muqarnas* 2 (1984): 147–157.

8. Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, TIEM 445, 75 × 50 cm; see Farhad and Rettig, *Art of the Qurʾan*, cat. no. 38; Déroche and Gladiss, *Der Prachtkoran Buchkunst*, 116, fig. 53; *1400th Anniversary of the Qurʾan*, 258–59, cat. no. 59; James, *Qurʾans of the Mamluks*, cat. no. 33.
9. Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, TIEM 533, 56.5 × 41 cm; see Farhad and Rettig, *Art of the Qurʾan*, cat. no. 40, fig. 53; *1400th Anniversary of the Qurʾan*, 264–265; Zeren Tanındı, "Bayezid II's Collection of Illuminated Books," in *Kasayid-i Efsahi der meth-i Sultan Bayezid / Esfahi's Odes in Praise of Sultan Bayezid*, ed. Anadol Çağatay (Istanbul: Sakip Sabancı Müzesi, 2012), 7–33.
10. Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, TIEM 508, 50 × 35 cm; see *1400th Anniversary of the Qurʾan*, 266–267, cat. no. 63; Alison Ohta, "Filigree Bindings of the Mamluk Period," *Muqarnas* 21 (2004): 267–276; Alison Ohta, "Binding Relationships: Mamluk, Ottoman and Renaissance Bindings," in *The Renaissance and Ottoman World*, ed. Anna Contadini and Claire Norton (Farnham, U.K.: Ashgate, 2013), 221–224; Zeren Tanındı, "Two Bibliophile Mamluk Emirs: Qansuh the Master of the Stables and Yashbak the Secretary," in *The Arts of the Mamluks in Egypt and Syria-Evolution and Impact*, ed. Doris Behrens-Abouseif (Bonn: Bonn University Press, 2012), 269–279.
11. See, for example, the Qurʾan of Baybars Jashnagir, British Library, Add. 22406-13, 704–706/1304–1306.
12. The largest extant Mamluk Qurʾan is in the collection of the Dar al-Kutub, Cairo, and measures 112 × 94 cm, copied in 1468 for the treasury of Sultan Qaytbay by Janem al-Sayfi Jani Bak, who held the position of *dawādār al-kabīr* (executive secretary), literally "the keeper of the royal inkwell." Under the Circassian Mamluks, the office of *dawādār al-kabīr* was one of the highest ranks in the sultanate. Large-volume Qurʾan manuscripts were also produced for the Ilkhanid Sultan Öljeitü, of which the largest measures 71 × 49.5 cm, now in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library, E.H. 245. Bernard O'Kane has suggested that the presence of the Öljeitü Qurʾan in Cairo copied in Hamadan in 1313 may have provided the impetus for the production of large volumes as a reflection of rivalry between the Mamluks and the Ilkhanids: "Monumentality in Mamluk and Mongol Art and Architecture," *Art History* 19, no. 4 (1996): 499–522.
13. Dar al-Kutub, Cairo, Rasid 15, is the largest extant Qurʾan of the fourteenth century, measuring 105 × 75 cm; the Qurʾan is called *Muṣḥaf al-Kāf* because of an especially large letter *kāf* on one folio. It was copied by Muhammad al-Muktib al-Shihabi and illuminated by Ibrahim al-Amidi for Amir Sayf al-Din Sarghitmish ibn ʿAbdallah al-Ashrafi, an amir of Sultan Shaʿban in 776/1374; Bernhard Moritz, *Arabic Palaeography: A Collection of Arabic Texts from the First Century Hidjira till the Year 1000* (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyya, 1905), plates 60, 61; James, *Qurʾans of the Mamluks*, 207, cat. no. 34; and Nassar Mansour, *Sacred Script Muhaqqaq in Islamic Calligraphy* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011), 106–108.
14. Joseph von Karabacek, *Islamic Paper*, trans. Don Baker (London: Archetype Publications, 2001), 65; Jonathan Bloom, *Paper before Print: The History and Impact of Paper in the Islamic World* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2001), 53–54.
15. Adam Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts: A Vademecum for Readers* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2009), 191–192.
16. Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy*, 251. See also Sheila Blair, "Sultan Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan: A Life History," this volume.
17. James, *Qurʾans of the Mamluks*, cat. no. 6, figs. 34–38, 69–70; Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy*, 328–329.
18. James, *Qurʾans of the Mamluks*, fig. 35.
19. Farhad and Rettig, *Art of the Qurʾan*, 249.
20. Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, TIEM 450, fol. 3a; see Farhad and Rettig, *Art of the Qurʾan*, 248.
21. Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy*, 328, fig. 8.5.
22. Farhad and Rettig, *Art of the Qurʾan*, 250–251.

23. Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, TIEM 450, 34.5 × 24.5 cm, dated 713/1313, fol. 2a; see James, *Qurʾans of the Mamluks*, cat. no. 6, fig. 34.
24. Anthony Lee, "Islamic Star Patterns," *Muqarnas* 4 (1987): 187.
25. Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Topkapı Scroll: Geometry and Ornament in Islamic Architecture* (Santa Monica, Calif.: Getty Research Institute, 1995).
26. I thank Dr. P. J. Lu for his helpful explanation.
27. Necipoğlu, *Topkapı Scroll*, 91–98.
28. John Michael Rogers, "Notes on a Recent Study of the Topkapi Scroll: A Review Article," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 60, no. 3 (1997): 433–439.
29. Carol Bier, "The Topkapi Scroll: Geometry and Ornament in Islamic Architecture by Gülru Necipoğlu," *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin* 30, no. 2 (1996): 243–244; Carol Bier, "Art and Mithal: Reading Geometry as Visual Commentary," *Iranian Studies* 41, no. 4 (2008): 491–495.
30. George Saliba, "Artisans and Mathematicians in Medieval Islam," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 119, no. 4 (1999): 637–645.
31. Gülru Necipoğlu, "Ornamental Geometries: A Persian Compendium at the Intersection of Visual Arts and Mathematical Sciences," in *The Art of Ornamental Geometry: A Persian Compendium and Complementary Interlocking Figures. A Volume Commemorating Alpay Özdural*, ed. Gülru Necipoğlu (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2017), 11–79.
32. Necipoğlu, "Ornamental Geometries," 30, fig. 11 b/c.
33. Necipoğlu, "Ornamental Geometries," 31.
34. Ernest Hanbury Hankin, *The Drawing of Geometric Patterns in Saracenic Art* (Calcutta: Government of India Central Publications Branch, 1925), 4; and Jay Bonner, *Islamic Geometric Patterns, Their Historical Development and Traditional Methods of Construction* (New York: Springer, 2017).
35. Bonner, *Islamic Geometric Patterns*, 38.
36. Paul Steinhardt and Peter J. Lu, "Decagonal and Quasi-crystalline Tilings in Medieval Islamic Architecture," *Science* 315 (2007): 1106–1110; and Sebastian Prange, "The Tiles of Infinity," *Saudi Aramco World* 6, no. 5 (2009): 27.
37. See James, *Qurʾans of the Mamluks*, figs. 36–38.
38. See James, *Qurʾans of the Mamluks*, 180–197; and Sheila Canby, *Shah Abbas: The Remaking of Iran* (London: British Museum, 2009), fig. 81, for the frontispiece of an Ilkhanid Qurʾan dated 739 /1338–1339, National Museum of Iran, Tehran, Ms. 4242.
39. For an image of the inscriptions, see Farhad and Rettig, *Art of the Qurʾan*, 249.
40. Qurʾan of Baybars Jashnagir, British Library, Add. 22406-13, 704–706 /1304–1306; *al-Fawāʾid al-Jalīyya*, British Library, Ms. 3025, the correspondence of al-Nasir Daʿud, Amir of Kerak (602–659/1206–1261), the great grandfather of the scribe Shadhi ibn Muhammad, who copied TIEM 450; and Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul, Ayasofya 4823, dated 720/1320, a complete version of *al-Fawāʾid al-Jalīyya*.
41. The other illuminator of the manuscript was Muhammad ibn Mubadir, who was responsible for parts 1, 2, 4, and 6. James, *Qurʾans of the Mamluks*, 40–47.
42. James, *Qurʾans of the Mamluks*, 34–73; and Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy*, 345–348. James stated that Baybars paid 1,500 dinars for the copying, as recorded in Ibn Iyas, but it was 1,500 dirhams, which is equivalent to 750 dinars. I would like to thank Doris Behrens-Abouseif for drawing my attention to this.
43. James, *Qurʾans of the Mamluks*, 36.
44. James, *Qurʾans of the Mamluks*, 37; and Behrens-Abouseif, *Book in Mamluk Egypt*, 120.
45. A small note on the flyleaf of the seventh volume records it had been purchased from a clergyman who had been to Cairo. It was rebound sometime in the nineteenth century in an Ottoman style binding.

46. Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy*, fig. 8.13. This is a hybrid script said to be a combination of *muḥaqqaq*, *thuluth*, and *naskh*.

47. Cheryl Porter, "Color Analysis and the Roles of Economics, Geography and Tradition in the Artist's Choice of Colors for Manuscript Painting," in *And Diverse Are Their Hues: Color in Islamic Art and Culture*, ed. Sheila Blair and Jonathan Bloom (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2011), 204–221.

48. Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy*, 348.

49. Chester Beatty Library, Is. 1479, 33 × 25 cm; see James, *Qurʾans of the Mamluks*, cat. no. 3, illustrated in fig. 32. This pattern, based on a 10-pointed star, was to persist to the end of the Mamluk period. It is used on the opening pages of two Qurʾan manuscripts, albeit with a different palette and fillers for the interstices copied for Qansuh *Amīr Akhūr*: Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, TIEM 508, discussed in this article, and another copied for Qansuh al-Ghuri in 1503, the penultimate Mamluk Sultan who ruled between 1501 and 1516, Dar al-Kutub, Cairo, Rasid 73.

50. Nassar Mansour, *Sacred Script Muhaqqaq in Islamic Calligraphy* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011), 106–108; and Farhad and Rettig, *Art of the Qurʾan*, 253.

51. Farhad and Rettig, *Art of the Qurʾan*, 253. It was donated to the Kasım Piyale Mosque built by Piyale Pasha (ca. 1515–1578), a renowned Ottoman admiral, in 1573.

52. James, *Qurʾans of the Mamluks*, cat. no. 33. Other portions are in the Chester Beatty Library, Is. 1629, and in the Keir Collection (vi.11), now on long-term loan to the Dallas Museum of Art.

53. See James, *Qurʾans of the Mamluks*, cat. no. 24 for Dar al-Kutub, Cairo, Rasid 8, 75 × 50 cm; cat. no. 28 for Dar al-Kutub, Cairo, Rasid 6, 71 × 51 cm; cat. no. 29 for Rasid 7, 85 × 53 cm; cat. no. 30 for Dar al-Kutub, Cairo, Rasid 54, 70.5 × 55.5 cm.

54. James, *Qurʾans of the Mamluks*, 180–182, cat. no. 24.

55. James, *Qurʾans of the Mamluks*, fig. 126.

56. James, *Qurʾans of the Mamluks*, 202.

57. See James, *Qurʾans of the Mamluks*, cat. no. 32 for single volume, Dar al-Kutub, Cairo, Rasid 10, 73.5 × 50.8 cm, signed by Al-Amidi; cat. no. 31 for two volumes, Dar al-Kutub, Cairo, Rasid 9, 70.5 × 55.5 cm; cat. no. 34 for single volume, Dar al-Kutub, Cairo, Rasid 15, 105 × 77 cm; cat. no. 35 for 30-volume Qurʾan, Chester Beatty Library, Is. 1462, *juzʾ* 4; British Library, Or. 848, *juzʾ* 9; and Chester Beatty Library, Is. 1465, *juzʾ* 12.

58. James, *Qurʾans of the Mamluks*, 178–234.

59. James, *Qurʾans of the Mamluks*, fig. 130.

60. Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy*, 323.

61. Doris Behrens Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2007), fig. 112.

62. Illustrated in Alison Ohta, "Covering the Book: Bindings of the Mamluk Period 1250-1516" (Ph.D. diss., University of London, 2012), fig. 5.22, https://eprints.soas.ac.uk/16626/1/Ohta_3496.pdf (accessed 20 August 2022).

63. See, for example, the front cover of a Qurʾan (*juzʾ* 30) endowed to the mosque of Sultan Hasan, Cairo, 1356, Dar al-Kutub, Cairo, Rasid 59, 46.5 × 36 cm, in Ohta, "Covering the Book," fig. 5.19.

64. Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, fig. 168.

65. Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 41; Abdullah Kahil, "The Sultan Hasan Complex in Cairo, 1356-1364" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 2002).

66. Wright, *Look of the Book*, 48–124, 255–282.

67. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, A.247/2, dated 867/1462; see Julian Raby and Zeren Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding in the 15th Century: The Foundation of an Ottoman Court Style* (London: Azimuth Editions, 1993), fig. 10.

68. Esin Atıl, “Mamluk Painting in the Late Fifteenth Century,” *Muqarnas* 2 (1984): 163.

69. Raby and Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding*, 69.

70. Luigi de Giosa, “The Revival of Architecture and of the Decorative Arts in Cairo and the Mamluk Provinces during the Reign of Sultan Qaytbay (1468-1496)” (Ph.D. diss., University of London, 2015).

71. Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 90.

72. Candlestick made for Fatima al-Khassbakiyya, wife of Sultan Qaytbay, Museum of Islamic Art, Doha; see James Allan, *Metalwork Treasures from the Islamic Courts* (Doha: Museum of Islamic Art, 2002), cat. no. 10.

73. Farhad and Rettig, *Art of the Qurʾan*, 258, cat. no. 40. It was endowed to a mosque in Üsküdar constructed by Sultan Ahmed III in honor of his mother in 1718–1719 and was later donated to the Atik Valide Mosque in Üsküdar (1583) built for Nurbanu Sultan, the wife of Selim II and the mother of Murad III.

74. The manuscript was brought to the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts from the Üsküdar Atik Valide Mosque on 6 November 1916 (f. 438a).

75. For example, title roundel of *Kitāb al-Furūsiyya* for Sultan Abu Saʿid Qansuh (r. 1498–1500), Topkapı Palace Museum Library, A.2129, 30 × 24 cm, in Alison Ohta, “Filigree Bindings of the Mamluk Period,” *Muqarnas* 21 (2004): 267–276, fig. 9.

76. Barbara Brend, “The Arts of the Book,” in *The Arts of Persia*, ed. Richard Ferrier (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1989), 239, fig. 13; Ohta, “Filigree Bindings,” fig. 7.

77. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, A.2303, 42.5 × 30 cm, dated 903/1498, illustrated in Ohta, “Covering the Book,” fig. 6.42.

78. Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, fig. 291.

79. Farhad and Rettig, *Art of the Qurʾan*, 262–264, cat. no. 42. A final folio records that it was repaired on 20 February 1849 under the supervision of ʿAli Şefik Bey, who worked for the Ministry of Imperial Endowments at the order of Sultan Abdülmecid I (r. 1839–1861). It bears the seal of Ahmed I (r. 1603–1617) on folios 641b and 642a, and it was brought to the museum from the Mausoleum of Sultan Ahmed I on 5 April 1914.

80. Tanındı, “Two Bibliophile Emirs,” 267–279.

81. Chester Beatty Library, Is. 1486, 47.5 × 33.6 cm; see David James, *Qurʾans and Bindings from the Chester Beatty Library* (London: World of Islam Festival Trust, 1980), cat. no. 41. James notes that the calligrapher Ahmad b. Bakht-Khoja al-Shafiʿi al-Tarabulsi later moved to Istanbul, where in 909–910/1504–1005, he copied another Qurʾan in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library; illustrated in Ohta, “Covering the Book,” fig. 4.157.

82. Doublure of Ottoman binding for Mehmed II, Keir Collection, PT1, 31 × 20 cm, dated 881/1476, illustrated in Raby and Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding*, 165.

83. Tanındı, “Two Bibliophile Emirs,” 267–79.

84. Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Practising Diplomacy in the Mamluk Sultanate* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2014), 89–90; Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i’al-zuhūr fī waqā’i’ al-duhūr*, ed. M. Mustafa (Wiesbaden, Germany: Franz Steiner, 1975), 3:316. In 1485 gifts amounting to 10,000 dinars and a letter of investiture from the Abbasid caliph were sent to appease Bayezid II because an Ottoman ambassador and the gifts that he was bringing to Bayezid from the Bahmanid ruler of the Deccan had been seized by the Mamluk governor in Jeddah and the gifts had been sent on to Qaytbay. He returned the items with his gift to Bayezid II. Later in 1494, Qaytbay sent slaves, gemstones, and weapons, and in 1496 Qaytbay sent Bayezid II a lion, giraffe, and red parrot along with textiles.

85. The Abbasid caliph was removed to Istanbul at the time of the conquest and was then made to abdicate his title in favor of Sultan Selim.

A Sixteenth-Century Shiraz Masterpiece: Chester Beatty's Ruzbihan Qur'an

Elaine Wright

In the late 1920s, the then London-based American mining magnate and philanthropist Alfred Chester Beatty purchased a magnificent and rather large sixteenth-century Qur'an.[1] Renowned for having a good eye and for selecting only the finest manuscripts available for his library, Chester Beatty would have been delighted to add the manuscript to his growing collection. The manuscript is not dated, but its decoration indicates that it was produced in Shiraz, in southwest Iran, and that work on it probably began about 1550. By that time, Shiraz had been a major center of book production for some two centuries; although it was most well-known as a center of commercial production, throughout the centuries fine manuscripts—the result of princely and other high-level patronage—were also produced there. The Chester Beatty manuscript is clearly a product of this upper level of patronage, but unfortunately there are no inscriptions in the manuscript naming a patron, and any flyleaves that might once have contained notes or seal impressions indicating the original and subsequent owners of the manuscript have not survived.[2]

The manuscript is renowned for being the work of the calligrapher Ruzbihan Muhammad al-Tabʿi al-Shirazi, who signed the manuscript's colophon. Ruzbihan's name appears in four other copies of the Qur'an,[3] and he is presumably the individual whom Qadi Ahmad refers to in his late sixteenth-century treatise on calligraphers and painters as one of the four stellar calligraphers of Shiraz.[4] However, although every one of the manuscript's 445 folios (890 pages) is decorated—and despite the decoration being every bit equal in quality to the calligraphy—none of the names of the obviously highly talented artists and craftsmen responsible for the decoration are known.

In fact, it was surely the manuscript's very fine program of decoration—the combined quality, extent, complexity, and diversity of which exceeds that of most, if not all, other sixteenth-century Shiraz Qur'ans—as much as its calligraphy that attracted Chester Beatty and led him to purchase the manuscript. However, as great a connoisseur of manuscripts as Chester Beatty was, it was not possible for him to understand and thus appreciate the manuscript as thoroughly as we can today. The still rather new technical innovation of digital photography has revolutionized the study of manuscripts. In this case, full-page, high-resolution digital photographs of each of the 890 pages of the manuscript, along with more than 1,500 low-resolution photographs of minute details of the decoration and calligraphy that adorn each page, meant the manuscript could be easily studied without repeatedly handling its intrinsically fragile paper folios. However, photographs alone are not sufficient to study any manuscript, and a further factor that facilitated the study (including the photography) of the manuscript was that it had been disbound to allow conservation of it to take place. This made it possible to manipulate the folios, safely and easily, for examination under a microscope, something that would not have been possible if the large and heavy manuscript were bound.

The manuscript had survived the more than four and a half centuries since it was produced in very good condition, except for one major problem. The frame that surrounds the text area of each page consists of several bands of colored pigments—orange, blue, and green—as well as gold, each one finely outlined in black. Scientific testing of the manuscript revealed the green to be the copper-bearing pigment known as atacamite. Over the years, the copper had gradually burned through the paper, causing it to split.

Surprisingly, some folios were severely damaged while others were undamaged or only minimally damaged. Where the paper had split in the same area on consecutive folios, the folios had become interlocked with one another, often causing further splitting of the page if the folios were turned. It was, therefore, impossible to allow anyone to study the manuscript or to put it on display, so in 2012 it was decided that the manuscript would be disbound so it could be conserved. Then, once the split sections of the paper had been repaired[5] and the pigments had been consolidated, it was decided that the manuscript would remain unbound for a period of time to allow study of it to take place. In 2016, certain of the results of the research that had taken place in the intervening years were presented as part of an exhibition of some 50 folios of the fully conserved manuscript.[6] What is presented here is an overview of some of that research.[7]

The Writing and Reading of the Text

The first step in the production of the manuscript would have been the selection and preparation of the paper to be used. In particular, the surface of the paper had to be suitably burnished to allow the nib of the calligrapher's reed pen to glide smoothly over it. However, besides this practical function, burnishing also served an aesthetic aim, for it added a sheen to the surface of the paper that could be, as in the case of the Chester Beatty manuscript, a major contributor to the overall beauty of the manuscript. Once the paper had been burnished, a *misṭara* was used to impress into each page a grid of lines indicating the particular layout of the text that was to be used. The *misṭara* itself consisted of a piece of heavy card strung with fine cords, which, when pressed into a sheet of paper, left an impression of each cord.[8]

The layout of the text consists of a series of five panels of long and short lines of script, a layout that was especially popular for sixteenth-century Persian Qurʾans and Qurʾans modeled on them (Figure 1). At the top, middle, and bottom of the text area is a long panel filled with a single line of large-scale script in either blue or gold ink: *muḥaqqaq* in the upper and lower panels and *thuluth* in the middle one. Between these are two shorter, but deeper, panels, each consisting of four lines of small-scale *naskh* script in black ink. Filling the space at either side of these short lines is a small vertical panel of decoration. Before Ruzbihan began to copy any of the text, an illuminator covered each long panel with a layer of sprinkles of pink pigment—probably safflower—or layers of both pink and gold sprinkles, with gold ink then used on panels of only pink sprinkles and blue ink used on pink-and-gold-sprinkled panels. The arrangement of the ground decoration and ink colors is the same on facing pages (for example, upper and lower panels of gold ink on pink sprinkles and a middle panel of blue ink on pink-and-gold sprinkles) but alternates from opening to opening. There are, however, variations in the pink sprinkles throughout the manuscript, which suggests that several individuals were involved in this aspect of the manuscript's decoration: sometimes the pink pigment is more red than pink; the density and size of the sprinkles vary, which also causes some panels to appear darker than others; and sometimes the sprinkles are less distinct than usual, with the ground cover appearing rather blotchy—looking almost as though the pigment had been applied with a sponge—or even as though a pale pink wash has instead been applied to the paper. Grounds such as these appear to be highly unusual.[9] Much more common is the treatment of the lines of black *naskh* script, which were copied directly onto the undecorated paper, and only later was a layer of gold sprinkles added over top the script.

Because the text was copied in three different styles of script (the nib of each reed pen was cut in a specific manner for each style of script), three ink colors, and two sizes, copying the text by beginning at the top of each page and continuing to the bottom of it would have meant constantly having to change pens and inks, not to mention the mental adjustment from writing one style and size of script to another. It also would have meant risking a possible change in the viscosity of one color of ink as it sat unused while the calligrapher copied out lines in another color; likewise, allowing expensive blue or gold ink to dry on the nib of a pen, even slightly, while another pen was being used was something the calligrapher surely would have

FIGURE 1. A standard opening of text copied as upper and lower panels of *muḥaqqaq* script, middle panels of *thuluth*, and, between them, shorter lines of *naskh* script. Ruzbihan Qurʾan, Shiraz, Iran, Safavid period, production begun probably ca. 1550. Chester Beatty Library, Is 1558, fols. 147b–148a. Image © The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.

wanted to avoid. Blue ink (made from the mineral lapis lazuli) and gold were expensive, and even in a manuscript as lavish as Chester Beatty's Ruzbihan Qurʾan, such possible wastage of precious materials would undoubtedly have been averted at all costs. It therefore seems that the text was instead copied noncontinuously: the calligrapher might have begun by copying out all lines of blue *muḥaqqaq* script on one or several gatherings and then copied all the lines of blue *thuluth* script on those same gatherings before moving onto all lines of gold script. Only once all the panels of large-scale script were completed were the numerous lines of small-scale, black *naskh* script added. This process is suggested by the chance survival of notes, written in a tiny everyday hand in black ink, along the outer edge of some folios (Figure 2). Each of these edge notes is positioned opposite and perpendicular to a large-scale script panel, with the bottom edge of the note running along the outer edge of the page. Each note consists of the exact text now contained in the panel, and, as such, these notes functioned as guides to the copying of the text. They were clearly never intended to survive and should have been lost when the folios were trimmed during the binding process. Thus, as with so many aspects of the manuscript's production, the process involved is evident to us today only because of an error, in this case one made during the binding process.

There are, in fact, just seven folios on which the notes have survived, in each case on both sides of the folio. On four pages, or folio sides, all notes have survived fully intact, as have those on folio 154a (Figure 2), but on seven pages all that remain are a few telltale strokes, not enough to be able to read the text. Falling between these extremes are another three pages: one with just one note, which has only partially survived

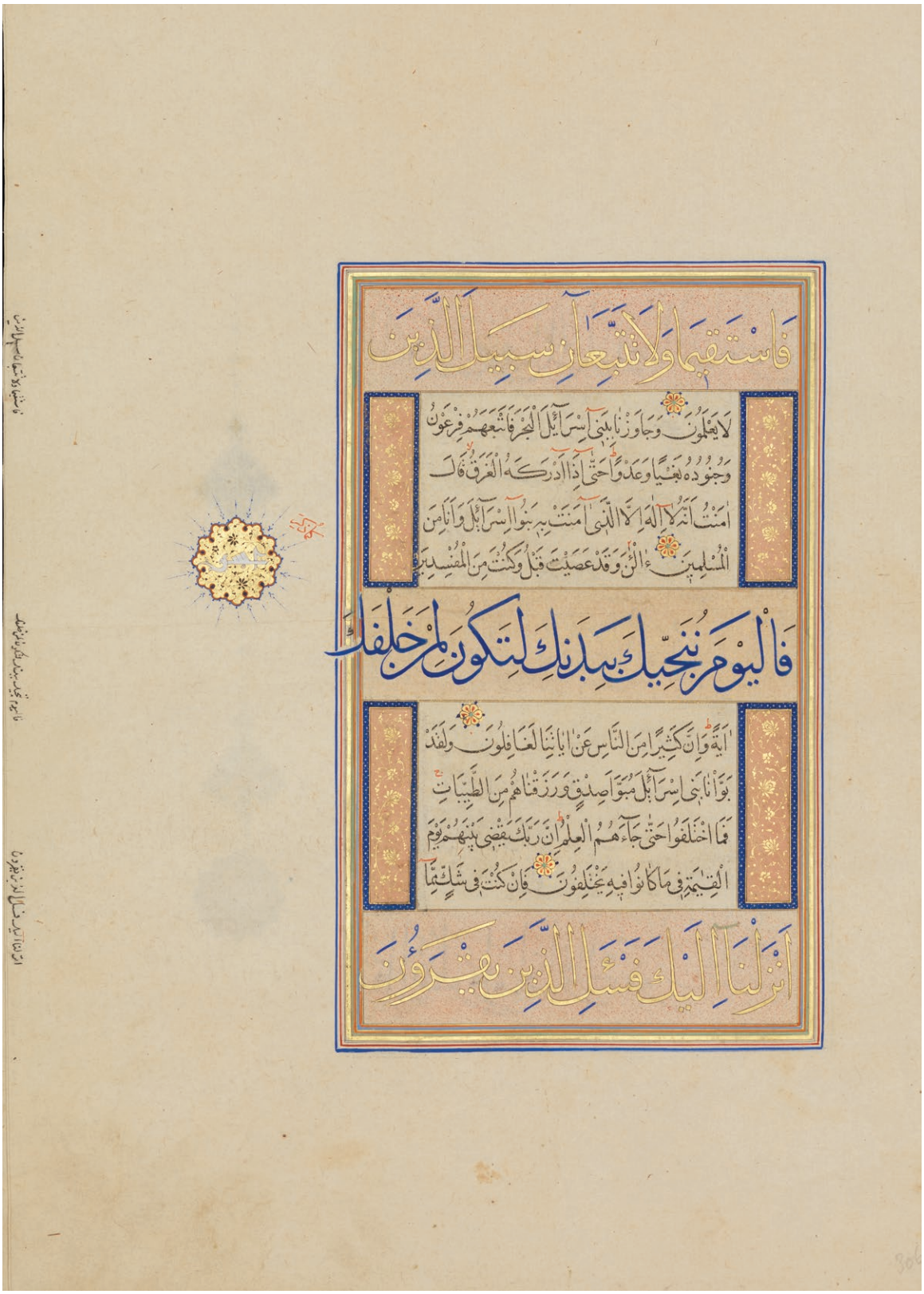


FIGURE 2. Notes written along the outer edge of the page, in an everyday hand, contain the text that is to be written in each of the large-scale script panels. Ruzbihan Qur'an, Shiraz, Iran, Safavid period, production begun probably ca. 1550. Chester Beatty Library, Is 1558, fol. 154a. Image © The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.

but can, nevertheless, be easily read, and two other pages, on each of which only two of three notes can be read. Admittedly, in some cases, only the very upper tips of the letters have survived, but often this is sufficient to determine that the note matches the text of the panel. Edge notes such as these, intended as a guide to the calligrapher in the copying of the large-scale script of the upper, middle, and lower panels of each page, have survived in other copies of the Qurʾan and seem not to have been strictly a Shiraz phenomenon.[10]

No such edge notes exist for the panels of *naskh* because none were needed. Once the calligrapher had completed all the panels of large-scale script, he merely filled in the blanks, so to speak, with *naskh*. On any one page, he began the upper block of small-scale black *naskh* script with the next word following on from the last word of the upper panel and then continued on until he reached the word preceding the first one of the middle panel. He then repeated this process for the lower block of *naskh*.[11]

Occasionally, as the text was being copied onto the page, words or phrases were mistakenly omitted. Within the lines of *naskh* script, these are often haplographic errors, wherein the same word or phrase occurs twice within a short section of the original text, but the calligrapher mistakenly copied out only one such occurrence. Presumably, looking back to his model after having copied the first occurrence of the word or phrase in question, the calligrapher's eye mistakenly jumped to the end of its second occurrence, thereby skipping the preceding text. When the omission was realized, it was corrected by squeezing the omitted words in wherever there was space for them, usually, in the case of the lines of small-scale *naskh*, writing them on a slant in order to squeeze them in above the line in which the omission occurred. If the added words are covered with gold sprinkles like the rest of the *naskh* script, the sprinkles are a clear indication that the omission was caught early and that its correction was part of the first stages of production, with the omission perhaps having been caught and corrected by Ruzbihan himself. Sometimes, if the omission was rather long, the skipped words were placed within one of the small vertical panels that border the lines of *naskh* and, again, whether the added words lie on top of the decoration or whether it is worked around them provides a clue as to when the omission was caught and corrected. In the case of the Ruzbihan Qurʾan, more than 50 omissions were caught and corrected within the lines of *naskh* script, and just under 30 were caught and corrected in the lines of large-scale script, a rather modest number considering the length of the text being copied.[12] Ruzbihan was not alone in making such omissions, as they are found in many other manuscripts, at times with the missed words added in the margin and an arrow drawn to direct the reader to the location in the main text where the skipped words should occur.[13]

As opposed to omissions, only 11 actual errors were made and corrected, all of which occur within the panels of large-scale script and most of which consist of the wrong letter, or letters, having been written; a few concern the writing of an incorrect orthographic mark. Different methods of correction were used, probably indicating that the corrections were made by different people and probably at different periods in the manuscript's history. The most common method is exemplified by the correction in the upper panel on folio 43b of the manuscript (Figure 3). There, an error occurred just to the right of the verse marker, where the faint, but still visible, erased letters can be seen. While copying the text of Q. 3:82, Ruzbihan initially wrote the words "the victors/victorious" (الغالبون [*al-ghālibūn*]), where he should have written "the transgressors" (الفاسقون [*al-fāsiqūn*]). This error presumably resulted because of the combined occurrence of the graphic similarity of the two words and an obvious lapse in concentration on Ruzbihan's part. The change in wording meant that those who turn their backs on the Word of God were being described as victors not transgressors, but luckily, this serious error was caught and corrected. Here and with certain other errors, the erroneous letters were presumably licked off the surface of the paper, probably before the ink was completely dry, so that only a faint ghost of the letters remains. In fact, an eighth-century source records that, at that time at least, licking still moist ink was a usual method of erasure and that "one of the traits of manliness was the ink on a man's clothes and lips."[14]

Once the text had been copied, 37 annotations (some consisting of a single word) were added, in red ink, in the margins of the manuscript. From certain of these notes, it is clear that the text of the Ruzbihan

FIGURE 3. Detail: Faintly visible to the right of the verse marker are letters incorrectly written by the calligrapher, which he erased (probably by licking the still wet ink off the page) before writing the correct letters over top. Ruzbihan Qurʾan, Shiraz, Iran, Safavid period, production begun probably ca. 1550. Chester Beatty Library, Is 1558, fol. 43b. Image © The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.

Qurʾan is the reading of ʿAsim ibn Abi al-Najud of Kufa (d. 745), as transmitted by his student, Hafs ibn Sulayman (d. 796). Of the 14 recognized readings of the Qurʾan, this is the one that was adopted by the Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth century, making it the most widely recognized reading of its time,[15] and it remains the most popular reading and the one used for most printed copies of the Qurʾan.

Most of these annotations deal with the pronunciation of a single word, some are orthographic peculiarities affecting the spelling but not necessarily the pronunciation of a word, whereas others fall somewhere in between. Several annotations indicate differences, with regard to a specific word, between the reading of Hafs and that of Shuʿba ibn Ayyash (d. 809), another transmitter of the reading of ʿAsim. Usually, a small Persian numeral 2 (۲) has been added above the line of base text, in red or green ink (depending on whether it occurs within the lines of black *naskh* or large-scale *muḥaqqaq* or *thuluth* script, respectively), to indicate the word to which the marginal annotation refers.

Besides the differences between the Hafs and Shuʿba readings stated in the marginal notes, other differences are indicated exclusively within the lines of the base text. These occur frequently throughout the manuscript and consist mainly of additional orthographic marks, which conform to the Shuʿba reading (these usually specify a different voweling of a word but occasionally indicate a change in the consonant pointing of a verbal prefix), or of circles drawn around existing marks that must be ignored in order for the word to conform to the Shuʿba reading. These additions to the text are also executed in red or green ink to differentiate them from the Hafs reading of the base text (e.g., at the left end of Figure 3 and in the first line of Figure 4). In addition, although infrequently, a medial *alif* in red or green ink has sometimes been added to a word.[16] Also added to the text, in great abundance, in red or green ink, are *madda*s, the tilde-like long mark placed above the line that indicates a prolongation of a vowel.

The small recitation marks—single letters or groups of letters—that appear above each line of text were also added once the main text had been copied, again in either red or green ink (see Figure 4). Recitation of the Qurʾan is a fundamental element of the Islamic faith: Muslims believe that God revealed the Qurʾan to Muhammad through the Archangel Gabriel, who, after delivering each revelation to Muhammad, commanded him to recite it back to him, pronouncing each word exactly as it was spoken by God. Speaking the words of God aloud is therefore regarded almost as a reenactment of Muhammad's original receiving of the revelations and thereby as a sort of giving back to God of what Muhammad received and then gave to mankind.[17]

Several styles of recitation exist, and each is subject to *tajwīd*, the system of rules governing the correct means of reciting the Qurʾan in terms of "rhythm, timbre, sectioning of the text and phonetics."[18] The word *tajwīd* derives from the triliteral Arabic root *j-w-d*, meaning "to become better" or "to improve," so by following the rules of *tajwīd*—and thereby reciting the Qurʾan in a manner as close as possible to that in which God revealed it to Muhammad—one's understanding of the Qurʾan is improved. Specifically, the meaning of

FIGURE 4. Detail: Added in red ink above the lines of *naskh* script are tiny recitation marks (letters) and, in the first line, a Persian numeral 2 (۲) indicating the alternate voweling of the word above which it appears. Ruzbihan Qurʾan, Shiraz, Iran, Safavid period, production begun probably ca. 1550. Chester Beatty Library, Is 1558, fol. 140a. Image © The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.

the Qurʾan is considered to be "expressed as much by its sound as by its content and expression," therefore correct recitation of it is mandatory.[19] The science of *tajwīd* covers a range of subjects concerning the recitation of the holy text, and the points of pronunciation noted in the marginal notes of the Ruzbihan Qurʾan, as well as the other alterations and additions to the base text concerning pronunciation discussed in the preceding paragraphs, are all part of *tajwīd*.[20]

Besides knowing exactly how to recite each word correctly, another important aspect of *tajwīd* is knowing where within the text to pause and how to resume recitation after a pause or complete stop. In an English text, the reader is guided in this respect by a series of symbols—punctuation marks—the purpose of which is, of course, to elucidate meaning by alerting the reader when one idea stops and another begins or, in the case of a colon or semicolon, to indicate that the two parts of a sentence are closely linked parts of a single thought or idea. Without such indicators of when to pause one's reading or when not to, there is the potential for meaning to be blurred or even completely distorted. Traditionally, Arabic did not include punctuation marks (they were introduced in the late nineteenth century for use in non-Qurʾanic writing); although this could pose problems in the comprehension of any type of text, such potential for ambiguity or outright misunderstanding is totally impermissible within the context of the Qurʾan. Thus, a "code" of letters—abbreviations of words or phrases—exclusive to the Qurʾan evolved.

Each of these recitation marks instructs the reciter how to proceed at the point where it occurs: pause, stop, or continue to read the text without a break of any kind. What the reader does depends on whether the text on either side of the tiny recitation mark is linked in terms of syntax and/or semantics. Recitation marks are included in most, but not all, Qurʾans. Eleven different marks are used in the Ruzbihan Qurʾan; like the marginal annotations and the various interlinear additions to the text, the recitation marks are all covered with gold sprinkles, as is the script itself. The next step in the production of the manuscript, once the sprinkling of gold had been applied, was the addition of the verse markers.

Each of the Qurʾan's 114 suras consists of various numbers of verses, with the end of each verse marked by a small device. In most copies of the Qurʾan, the same device is used throughout the manuscript, but in

the Ruzbihan Qurʾan three main types of verse markers are used, one of which occurs only within the lines of *naskh* script, whereas the other two are used in the panels of large-scale *muḥaqqaq* and *thuluth* scripts. The former is a six-petaled rosette (see Figure 4); the latter are a five-petaled rosette (see the middle panel of folio 148a in Figure 1) and a five-armed windmill-like device (see Figure 3). These little devices are much more elaborate than those in most other manuscripts: all are gold with a line of punching along the inner edge of each petal or arm; a translucent red pigment is used to accentuate the rosette or windmill shape; and blue dots or a blue outline highlight the outer contour of each device. A fourth, much simpler device resembles a small snail and occurs on just over 40 pages, where it seems to function as a correction, added in places where a verse marker had originally—and mistakenly—not been added.

As Ruzbihan copied out the lines of black *naskh* script, he left a space at the end of each verse; later, an illuminator filled the space with one of these little devices (see Figure 4). (Within the lines of large-scale *muḥaqqaq* and *thuluth* scripts, there was no need to leave a space, as a marker could always easily be fitted in above the single line of script; see Figure 3.) If the last word of the verse ended with the letter *nūn*, as was often the case, instead of leaving a blank space, the common convention was to stretch out the bowl of the *nūn*, making it a bit shallower than usual and extending it as far as the point at which the first letter of the next verse would be placed. The verse marker then fit perfectly into the resulting "scooped-out" space (see Figure 1).

Occasionally, a verse marker was not added. Sometimes, it seems this was because the calligrapher failed to leave a space for it or he left only a very small space, thereby eliminating the obvious visual clue that usually signaled where one was to be placed. In some such cases, a marker was nevertheless added, which would suggest that the illuminator was sometimes guided by the text itself, probably another copy of the text in which the placement of verse markers was clearly indicated. However, there are also times when a marker was added in a place where no space had been left and no marker was required.

The Decoration of the Text

Being so tiny, the verse markers are a largely unnoticed—although numerous and important—element of any Qurʾan. The most spectacular illuminations are those that typically mark the beginning, middle, and end of any sixteenth-century Shiraz Qurʾan and Qurʾans modeled after those of Shiraz. In the Ruzbihan Qurʾan, these now constitute five double pages and one single page of illumination, with the first opening of the manuscript consisting of paired *shamsa*s (sunbursts). As is usual in these Qurʾans, they are inscribed with verse 17:88 of the Qurʾan, which states (Figure 5),

> Say: If the whole
> Of mankind and jinns
> Were to gather together
> To produce the like of this Qurʾan,
> They could *not* produce the like thereof,
> Even if they backed up each other
> With help and support.

As often noted, this verse functions as a sort of conceit because, although the mention of the Qurʾan is to the actual revelation itself, it can also be taken to refer to the spectacular decoration of the particular manuscript at hand. Read as such, the verse is a challenge to others to produce a manuscript every bit as beautiful.

Following the *shamsa*s is a frontispiece, executed in the same mainly blue and gold palette, that is clearly the work of the same artist. Predictably, the two central gold medallions of the frontispiece contain the first sura of the Qurʾan, *al-Fātiḥa* (The Opening), which is a change from earlier practice that usually saw all of

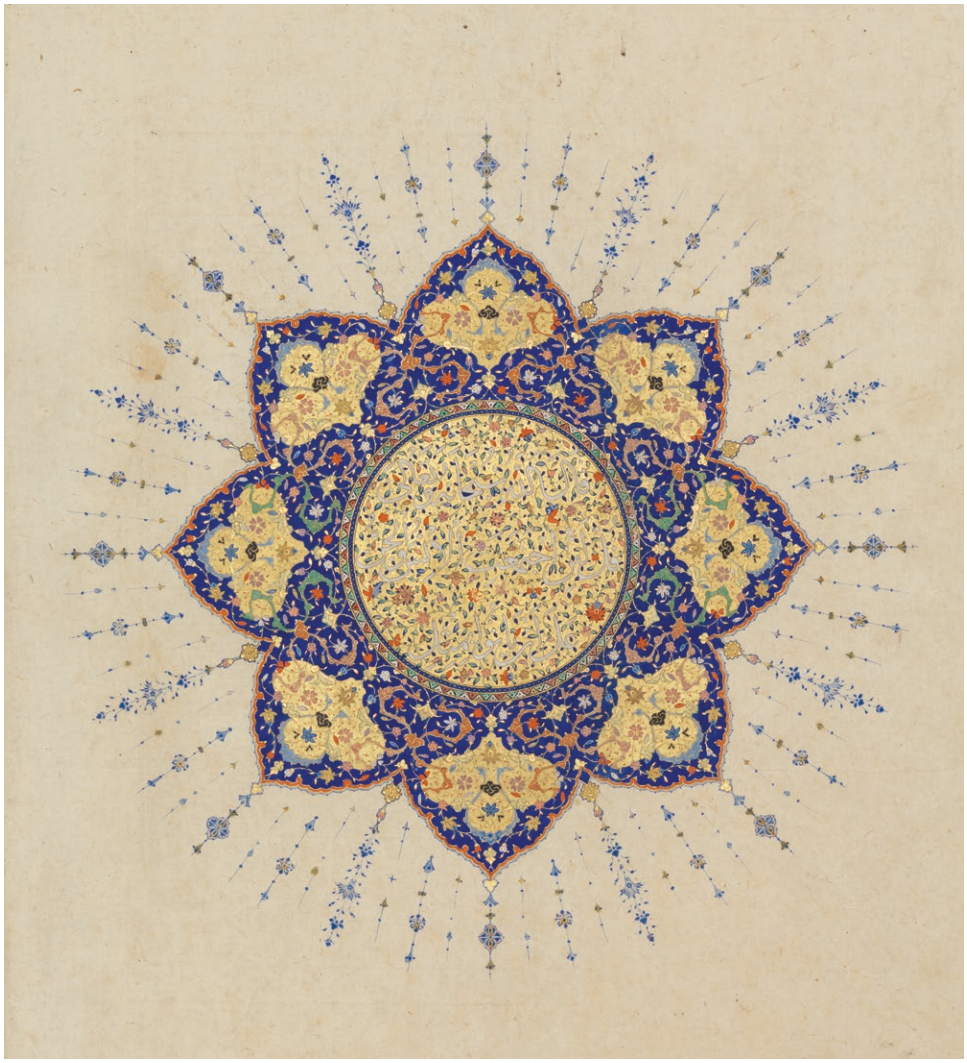


FIGURE 5. Detail: One of a pair of identical, facing *shamsa*s inscribed with Q. 17:88. Ruzbihan Qurʾan, Shiraz, Iran, Safavid period, production begun probably ca. 1550. Chester Beatty Library, Is 1558, fol. 1a. Image © The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.

the first sura contained within the right half of a frontispiece and the beginning of the second sura on the left half. The next opening, folios 3b–4a, and the opening that is folios 208b–209a (Figure 6) are similar. Each is arranged like all openings of text in the manuscript, but both are fully illuminated. A large and elaborate heading at the top of the right-hand page of the opening announces the beginning of the sura: *al-Baqara* (The Cow), the second sura (on folio 3b), and *al-Kahf* (The Cave), the eighteenth sura and the approximate middle of the Qurʾan, on folio 208b. A deep border, from which long rays emanate, sits above the main rectangle of the heading, and the lines of text that fill the remainder of the opening are set in "clouds" and surrounded by illumination. This more extravagant treatment of these two sura headings, in comparison with all others in the manuscript, is a standard feature of Shiraz Qurʾans of the period.

Highlighting the end of the manuscript, there is, today, a double-page finispiece, enclosing the final three suras of the Qurʾan (Figure 7), which is followed by a single page containing the beginning of a prayer—introduced by a heading—that is to be read once one has finished a complete reading of the text. The prayer ends mid-sentence, so it is clear that it would have continued onto a second, now lost facing page. In

FIGURE 6. Detail: The right-hand page of an illuminated opening with a heading announcing the beginning of Q. 18, *sura al-Kahf* (The Cave), the approximate middle of the manuscript. Ruzbihan Qurʾan, Shiraz, Iran, Safavid period, production begun probably ca. 1550. Chester Beatty Library, Is 1558, fol. 208b. Image © The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.

addition, codicological evidence suggests a *fālnāma* (a manual on using the Qurʾan for prognostication that is typically written in *nastaʿlīq* script) followed the prayer and was probably spread over two openings. Both the prayer and the *fālnāma* are typical elements of contemporary copies of the Qurʾan produced in Shiraz.

Ultramarine (made from the mineral lapis lazuli) and gold are the main pigments used for the beginning, middle, and end illuminations, as well as for all other illuminations in the manuscript. Always, for areas of gold ground, such as those in the *shamsa*s, gold paint was used to cover the ground, and then the colored blossoms and leaves were painted over it. This is evident throughout the manuscript in areas where the colored pigment has cracked and flaked, exposing the gold ground beneath. However, if the ground was dark blue, all details were added first (including the colored blossoms and leaves and even the fine, scrolling gold vines of an arabesque), then each little detail was finely outlined in black, and finally the blue pigment was carefully and painstakingly painted around each minute detail. This is obvious from areas where the dark blue pigment passes over a bit of a black outline, a colored petal, or a gold vine or stem. Ultramarine is a difficult pigment to work with, as it tends to stick to the brush and, because of its shard-like structure, pigments painted over it tend to be absorbed rather than lying on the surface of it. Because of its structure, it is also difficult to burnish, and these areas of dark blue ground are unburnished and rough to the touch. There are, however, many areas in the manuscript where the blue has, in fact, been overpainted. One of these areas is the light blue panel at the lower edge of the left half of the finispiece, wherein the gold script and burgundy blossoms lie on top of the blue ground (see Figure 7). This panel has been scientifically tested, and it was found that a thin layer of wax was applied over the surface of the blue, which presumably functioned to even out the shard-like surface of the blue, making it less absorbent. Mixing the ultramarine with white lead probably also made the resulting light blue pigment easier to write and paint over.[21]

The most prevalent occurrence of ultramarine being overpainted is in the small vertical panels on either side of each block of *naskh* script (see Figure 1). In most manuscripts, these panels are undecorated, although in some they might be filled with a few simple gold blossoms or some sort of more elaborate decoration that is, however, identical, or basically so, on every page. The Ruzbihan Qurʾan is unusual in that these small panels are always decorated, with one of two related types of decoration. There are more than 3,000 of these panels in the manuscript, and the first type of decoration fills some 13% of them. It consists

FIGURE 7. The finispiece of the manuscript. Ruzbihan Qurʾan, Shiraz, Iran, Safavid period, production begun probably ca. 1550. Chester Beatty Library, Is 1558, fols. 444b–445a. Image © The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.

of multicolored blossoms on a punched gold ground, with the panel surrounded by a dark blue frame overpainted with tiny delineations in a cross-and-stroke pattern in white (Figure 8). Always, in each panel, there are three lotuses, and set between them are small, usually red and blue blossoms that sort of resemble small butterflies. Various tiny leaves, rosettes, and buds fill the surrounding space.

The same types of blossoms, identically arranged, are used in the second type of decoration, which consists of monochrome blossoms set against a colored ground (see Figures 1, 2, 4). Because the blossoms are monochrome and because the petals never overlap, they appear as though they have been stenciled onto the colored ground. However, they have, in fact, been painted with a brush. Blossoms that are gold or black (and sometimes those that are white) were painted using a one-step process (presumably because of the viscosity of those pigments), but the painting of blue, burgundy, and, sometimes, white blossoms was a two-step process that involved first painting the petals using a thin wash of pigment and then overpainting the tips of the petals with the same pigment, but apparently a slightly less aqueous version of it. The lotuses, the largest of the blossoms in each panel, are always between about 0.55 and 0.6 cm long, with the longest petal usually being no more than 0.3 cm long, so being able to paint them at all, let alone painting one layer and then adding a second onto the tip of each petal, is a highly impressive feat. These same types of blossoms are also used in some sura headings (Figure 9).[22]

The grounds onto which the monochrome blossoms of this second type of decoration are painted are a wide range of colors—peach, burgundy, purple, green, gray, "sand," black, and brown—with a wide range of

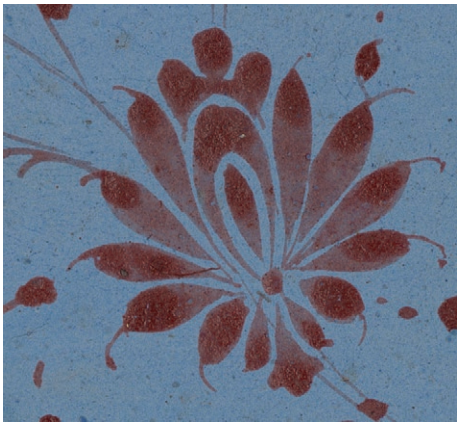


FIGURE 8 (above). Detail: Thirteen percent of the small vertical panels on either side of the lines of *naskh* script are decorated with multi-colored blossoms on a punched gold ground. Ruzbihan Qurʾan, Shiraz, Iran, Safavid period, production begun probably ca. 1550. Chester Beatty Library, Is 1558, fol. 132b. Image © The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.

FIGURE 9 (left). Rotated detail of lower script panel: A lotus (0.6 cm long) showing the overpainting of the tips of the petals. Ruzbihan Qurʾan, Shiraz, Iran, Safavid period, production begun probably ca. 1550. Chester Beatty Library, Is 1558, fol. 443b. Image © The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.

tints and shades of all colors (except black and brown) being used. However, the most popular color is blue, from dark to light, overpainted with gold, white, burgundy, or blue blossoms, although the single most common combination in the manuscript is gold blossoms on a dark blue ground. None of the pigments in these panels have been tested, but it can be assumed that the dark blue grounds (those that are pure ultramarine, as in Figure 1), especially, were also treated with a layer of a waxlike substance that allowed the blue to be overpainted.

A surprising feature of the panels with a ground color of peach, green, gray, or sand is that each consists of a separate piece of dyed paper that has been pasted in place (see Figure 2). In all other panels, the ground color has been painted directly onto the surface of the page, as one would expect. Presumably, the desired colors and effects of the pasted-on panels could not be obtained with ordinary pigments, so washes (or dyes) were used instead. Because applying such thin, aqueous substances directly onto the paper of the folio would probably have caused it to cockle,[23] the color had to be applied to separate pieces of paper that, once dry, were pasted in place. The paper itself seems thin and is characterized by the presence of long, dark fibers that seem to have absorbed the dye more than the surrounding paper.[24] Once the ground of a panel had been painted or a separate piece of dyed paper had been pasted in place, the blossoms were added. Finally, a colored frame, overpainted with cross-and-stroke delineations in black or white pigment, was added around each panel, with a thin line of gold, outlined in black, added on either side of it.

FIGURE 10. Detail: One of several headings in the manuscript in a mainly blue and gold palette with a gold-ground cartouche. Ruzbihan Qur'an, Shiraz, Iran, Safavid period, production begun probably ca. 1550. Chester Beatty Library, Is 1558, fol. 131b. Image © The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.

FIGURE 11. Detail: This heading uses the same composition as Figure 10, and in the ground surrounding the cartouche the same motifs (blossoms and palmettes) are identically positioned. Ruzbihan Qur'an, Shiraz, Iran, Safavid period, production begun probably ca. 1550. Chester Beatty Library, Is 1558, fol. 441b. Image © The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.

As with these small vertical panels, the treatment of the sura headings sets the Ruzbihan manuscript apart from most other contemporary Qur'ans. Typically, in sixteenth-century Shiraz copies of the Qur'an, the same few—maybe two, three, or four—rather simple compositions, employing a restricted, mainly gold and blue, palette are used repeatedly throughout a manuscript: each consists of a large cartouche surrounded by a blue and gold ground, whereas the cartouche itself has a gold ground overpainted with a limited variety of simply rendered blossoms or, often, merely buds. (Occasionally, there is no cartouche, only a simple rectangle of decoration.) In the finest manuscripts, these standard gold-ground headings might be interspersed among others for which a wider palette and more varied (and more carefully executed) blossoms and compositions were used. In the Chester Beatty manuscript, only about a third of all headings are of the standard gold-ground type (Figure 10), for which 13 different compositions were used. Although these gold-ground headings are more varied, often with more intricate cartouche shapes, than in most manuscripts, they are, nevertheless, as a group, overshadowed by all other headings in the manuscript, even though the same compositions were frequently used for both groups of headings. The difference between the two groups—and the cleverness of the artists in manipulating a single composition to produce two very different headings—is evident if one compares the headings on folios 131b and 441b of the manuscript (Figures 10, 11). In both, an arabesque with multicolored blossoms fills the cartouche, but the type of vine, as well as the type, color, and placement of the blossoms, differs. However, the opposite is true of the surrounding ground, wherein the same motifs (blossoms or palmettes) are identically positioned in both headings, although the color of the blossoms usually differs and, occasionally, the type of blossom, too, is not the same (such as the blossom placed midpoint at the end of each end heading: a red and blue butterfly blossom in Figure 10 but a pink "pointed-petal" lotus in Figure 11). Yet despite the overall composition being the same and despite

FIGURE 12. One of ten openings at the end of the manuscript decorated in an aesthetic different from that used for the other openings of text in the manuscript. Ruzbihan Qurʾan, Shiraz, Iran, Safavid period, production begun probably ca. 1550. Chester Beatty Library, Is 1558, fols. 437b–438a. Image © The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.

the exactness of detail in the ground surrounding the cartouche, two very different headings have been produced, and this has been achieved mainly through the manipulation of color. Specifically, besides the obvious introduction of a wider palette, there is an altering of the coloring of certain areas of the ground (e.g., note the difference in the division of space at either end of the heading in Figure 10 versus Figure 11) and an altering of the relationship between the color of a specific motif and the color of the ground around or adjacent to it (e.g., note the large gold palmettes at either end of Figures 10 and 11). Thus, not only does the Ruzbihan Qurʾan incorporate a far greater number of different compositions for its sura headings than is typical of sixteenth-century copies of the Qurʾan, but also, even when a composition is repeated, as it often is, the results can be—and usually are—startlingly different.

Most of the openings in the manuscript are, of course, like the one reproduced here as Figure 1: the only illumination is the sprinkling of the areas of text (before or after the text was copied), the tiny verse markers, the small vertical panels, and the marginal devices marking every fifth and tenth verse of a sura (see Figures 1, 2). The final 10 openings of text immediately preceding the finispiece (folios 434b–444a) are, however, executed in a strikingly different aesthetic than that of these standard pages of text. The same basic elements and motifs are used as in the rest of the manuscript, but a change in taste has occurred, one that can be seen in broad terms as a move from a more classical style of decoration to one in which an almost discordant conglomeration of patterns and colors prevails (Figure 12).

It is obvious that these pages were originally meant to be the same as all other text pages but were reworked, which involved both painting over certain areas of the existing decoration and adding new decoration where none had previously existed. That certain areas were overpainted is obvious, for example,

in the middle panels of Figure 12, where a black outline was added around the original *thuluth* script, set a few millimeters away from the contour of each letter. Clearly visible within the tiny space between the black contour line and the edge of each letter is the original pink-and-gold-sprinkled ground. Other times, as in the dark blue panels of this same opening, the panel was completely overpainted, with both new illumination and new script added. This is evident in places where the ink has been thinly applied, allowing the new ground color to show through (as with the gold ink of these dark blue panels) or, for example, when a thick white ink has cracked and flaked, exposing the new ground color beneath, as on folio 433a. Although overpainting appears to have been limited to the large-scale script panels, new illumination was added around the lines of small-scale *naskh* script, usually with the script first being outlined. The small vertical panels and some sura headings were also affected by the change in aesthetic, although these areas do not appear to have been overpainted, which suggests the pages had been only partially illuminated when the decision to alter the decoration was made. The small vertical panels are now densely patterned in a wide range of colors, and some sura headings incorporate unusual colors used nowhere else in the manuscript, such as the intense, almost fluorescent orange used in one of the sura headings on folio 442b. Colors used in only tiny amounts elsewhere in the manuscript are, in this final section of it, used to cover relatively large areas in both the vertical panels and sura headings, such as the pink color also used on folio 442b. The finispiece was affected, too, although only partially, by the change in aesthetic, and the burgundy color of the middle panel on folio 445a (Figure 7) is another example of a color used to a much greater extent on these final openings than anywhere else. The increased complexity of the layout of some openings was yet one more element of the change in aesthetic: in all standard openings of text, facing pages are identically arranged and illuminated, as in Figure 1, but now in some openings one page is basically a vertical flip of the other. For example, in Figure 12 dark blue is used for the lower panel of one page but for the upper panel of the facing page, with light blue likewise used in two of the three sura headings—one placed in the upper panel of one page and the other in the lower panel of the facing page.[25]

It seems that at some point, after the text had all been copied—but before the decoration of the manuscript had been completed—the decision was made to alter the aesthetic of the decoration. Presumably, it was originally intended that all folios would be reworked, and it seems that the plan was to begin at the end of the manuscript and gradually progress toward the beginning: a further four openings of text, on folios 430b–434a, have been partially reworked. However, for some reason this program of reworking the decoration was soon brought to a halt. The costs involved would have been considerable, both in terms of the additional pigments required and the man-hours needed to apply them, but these additional expenditures surely would have been anticipated before work began, so there must have been some other reason, one that likely will never be known for certain. Nor will we likely ever know for whom the manuscript was made. Nevertheless, four and a half centuries after work on the manuscript began, we can, by looking closely, understand and appreciate the ingenuity and talent of those responsible for the manuscript's production.

Notes

1. The folios of the manuscript (Chester Beatty Library, Is 1558) each measure approximately 42.7 × 29 cm.
2. One original flyleaf has survived, but it bears only the impression of what was presumably the original doublure (inside cover) of the manuscript's binding.
3. The other four copies of the Qurʾan are (1) Astan-i Quds Library, Mashhad, Iran, No. 136, dated 954/1547, signed "Ruzbihan"; see A. G. Maʾānī, *Rāhnāma-yi ganjīnah-yi Qurʾān* (Mashhad, Iran: Kitābkhānah-yi Astan-i Quds, 1347/1968–1969); and Kianoosh Motaghedi, "Ruzbihan Shirazi, the Genius of His Calligraphy and Illumination," in *Masterpieces of Art in the Astan-i Quds Reza Library, from the First to the Ninth Centuries*, nos. 4–5 (Mashhad, Iran: 1392/2013), 32–41; (2) Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, London, QUR60, undated, signed "Ruzbihan Muhammad al-Tabʿi al-Shirazi"; see David James, *After Timur: Qurʾans of the*

15th and 16th Centuries, The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art 3 (London: Nour Foundation in association with Azimuth Editions and Oxford University Press, 1992), cat. no. 40; (3) Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, London, QUR111, dated AH 952 (AD 1545–1546), signed "Ruzbihan al-Tabʿi al-Shirazi"; see James, *After Timur*, cat. no. 39; and (4) private collection, London, undated, signed "Ruzbihan al-Tabʿi al-Shirazi"; see Sotheby's, "Arts of the Islamic World," 22 April 2015, lot 73; and Christie's, "Arts of the Islamic and Indian Worlds," 27 April 2017, lot 96. Another manuscript, a copy of a poem by the eighth Shiʿi imam, ʻAli Riza (d. 818), consisting of only six folios, is also purportedly signed "Ruzbihan Muhammad al-Tabʿi al-Shirazi"; see Christie's, "Arts of the Islamic and Indian Worlds," 21 October 2016, lot 32.

4. Qādī Aḥmad, *Calligraphers and Painters: A Treatise by Qādī Ahmad, Son of Mīr Munshī (circa A. H. 1015/1606)*, trans. V. Minorsky (Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art, 1959), 67. The other three calligraphers named are Mawlana Shams al-Din Muhammad Zahir, Mir ʿAbd al-Qadir Husayni, and Hafiz ʿAbdallah. Ruzbihan's name, like that of Shams al-Din Zahir, is given by Qādī Aḥmad preceded by the honorific *mawlānā*, meaning "our lord" or "our master," used as a title of respect for a religious personage but also more generally for anyone worthy of high esteem.
5. Unfortunately, there is at this time no means of preventing further corrosion of the paper by the pigment atacamite; therefore, at some time in the far distant future—perhaps in another few hundred years—the manuscript may well require further conservation for this same problem.
6. *Lapis and Gold: The Story of the Ruzbihan Qurʾan*, 15 April–28 August 2016, Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.
7. The full results of the research on the manuscript are presented in detail in Elaine Wright, *Lapis and Gold: Exploring Chester Beatty's Ruzbihan Qurʾan* (Dublin: Chester Beatty Library; and London: Ad Ilissum/Paul Holberton Publishing, 2018).
8. For a ruling board, or *miṣṭara*, attributed to seventeenth- or eighteenth-century Turkey, see Metropolitan Museum of Art, "Board for Ruling Paper," https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/452420 (accessed 8 June 2018).
9. Pink-sprinkled grounds for panels of script have been located in only two other Qurʾan manuscripts: (1) British Library, London, Or. 11544; see Colin F. Baker, *Qurʾan Manuscripts, Calligraphy, Illumination, Design* (London: The British Library, 2007), 8, 71–74; and (2) Aga Khan Museum, Toronto, Ms. 485; see Duncan Haldane, "Arts of the Celestial Pen: Qurʾans from the Library of the Institute of Ismaili Studies," in *Word of God, Art of Man: The Qurʾan and Its Creative Expressions, Selected Proceedings from the International Colloquium, London 18–21 October 2003*, ed. Fahmida Suleman (Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press; and London: Institute of Ismaili Studies, 2007), 58–59. Both manuscripts are undated, although the former was produced before 1576, at which time, according to an unclear note in the manuscript, it apparently entered a princely Indian library. The outer margins of a third copy of the Qurʾan, Chester Beatty Library Is 1546, dated 903/1497–1498, are also filled with pink to red sprinkles, but they may be a later, perhaps Indian, addition to the manuscript. Panels with the pink-and-gold combination of sprinkles have not been noted in any other manuscript.
10. For example, edge notes have also been located in Chester Beatty Library Is 1548, another large, presumably Shiraz Qurʾan, undated but with decoration that relates closely to another Qurʾan in the same collection, Is 1534, which is dated 982/1574–1575. They also occur in another undated Chester Beatty Qurʾan, Is 1545, which was likely produced in Tabriz.
11. The existence of edge notes is somewhat surprising, as it would seem to make more sense for the text to have been copied completely from a model, namely, another basic and unbound ("marked-up") copy of the Qurʾan, which would eliminate the need for the time-consuming task of adding the notes to each page. Such a model would be needed for the copying of the lines of *naskh* script; but also, no orthographic marks other than consonant points are included in the edge notes, and the calligrapher might well have occasionally had to refer to a model to be certain these also were correctly added. Presumably, too, once the layout and sequencing of the text had been determined, they would be repeated for other manuscripts, resulting in a saving of time and hence money each time they were reused. No such evidence of the reuse of the exact pattern of text sequencing used in the Ruzbihan Qurʾan has been located, although this perhaps is not surprising considering the vast number of manuscripts produced, especially in a major

center of book production such as Shiraz, and the comparatively small percentage of manuscripts to have survived. In poetry and other texts, the text of the subheadings found throughout a manuscript were at least sometimes indicated in similar notes, placed along the upper or lower edge of the page. I would like to thank Serpil Bağcı for kindly providing this information along with photographs of two Shiraz copies of Ahmedi's *Iskendernāma* in which such notes appear: Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 679, dated 906/1500, and Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, No. 1921, dated 926/1519–1520.

12. However, not all omissions of text were caught and corrected, one uncaught omission being the words "on the earth" from Q. 11:6, in the upper block of *naskh* script on folio 156a. The omission probably occurred because of confusion over the occurrence of an *alif* followed by *lām-alif* twice in short succession. That this omission was never caught perhaps indicates that no final check of the completed text was ever made.

13. For example, as on folio 200b of Chester Beatty Library Is 1485, a fourteenth-century Mamluk Qurʾan.

14. For this and other erasure and cancellation methods, although generally referring to those used in earlier manuscripts, see Adam Gacek, "Technical Practices and Recommendations Recorded by Classical and Post-Classical Arabic Scholars Concerning the Copying and Correction of Manuscripts," in *Les manuscrits du Moyen-Orient: Essais de codicologie et de paléographie, Actes du Colloque d'Istanbul (26–29 Mai 1986),* ed. François Déroche (Istanbul: Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes; and Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1989), 58–59. For the manliness quote, made by Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī (d. 96/714), Gacek (59, n. 76) cites ʿUthmān ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ṣalḥā al-Shahrazūrī, *Muqaddima ibn al-Salāh fī ʿulūm al-ḥadīth* (Damascus, 1972), 98, and Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ghazzī, *al-Durr al-naḍīd*, ff. 150a–150b (the folio reference presumably is to Princeton University Library, Ms. 1375).

15. *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾan*, vol. 4 (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2004), s.v. "Readings of the Qurʾan," by Frederik Leemhuis, 361; also see Jane McAuliffe, "The Qurʾan," in *The Art of the Qurʾan: Treasures from the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts*, ed. Massumeh Farhad and Simon Rettig (Washington, D.C.: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 2016), 43–49.

16. However, the text is, in general, characterized by the frequent inclusion of a medial *alif* in places where only a short *a* appears in modern printed copies of the text (or in the base text of the Corpus Coranicum website, which is the Hafs reading; see http://corpus.quran.com/java/overview.jsp [accessed 20 June 2018]).

17. E. A. Rezvan, "The Qurʾan and Its World: VI. Emergence of the Canon: The Struggle for Uniformity," *Manuscripta Orientalia* 4, no. 2 (June 1998): 18, refers to the recitation of the Qurʾan as a "ritual return to the act of its revelation"; also see Massumeh Farhad's introduction to Farhad and Rettig, *Art of the Qurʾan*, 31–32, for instructions included in various *waqf* documents (deeds of donation) on the recitation of the Qurʾan in mosques and other religious institutions.

18. K. Nelson, *The Art of Reciting the Qurʾan* (1985; repr., Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001), xvii.

19. See Nelson, *Art of Reciting*, 14.

20. Another aspect of *tajwīd* is the expected etiquette (ādāb) of both reciter and listener. For a discussion of the treatise on *ādāb* of al-Nawaʾī (d. 676/1277) and for observations on actual recitation sessions that the author attended in Cairo in the late 1970s, see Frederick Mathewson Denny, "The Adab [Etiquette] of Qurʾan Recitation: Text and Context," in *International Congress for the Study of the Qurʾan*, ed. A. H. Johns and S. Husain M. Jafri (Canberra: Southeast Asia Centre, Faculty of Asian Studies, Australian National University, 1981), 143–158. Also see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., vol. 10 (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2000), s.v. "Tādjwīd," by Frederick Mathewson Denny, 72–75; Nelson, *Art of Reciting*, 57, 91, 186; and *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾan*, vol. 4 (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2004), s.v. "Recitation of the Qurʾan," by Anna M. Gade, 370, 374.

21. As suggested by Kristine Rose Beers, head of conservation at the Chester Beatty Library, who has also provided the information explaining the difficulties of working with ultramarine (personal communication at various times between 2014 and 2017). Scientific testing of the pigments in the manuscript was conducted onsite at the Chester Beatty Library in late 2013 and early 2014 by two teams of scientific specialists from France and Italy working as part of MOLAB® (Mobile Laboratory) Transnational Access Service.

22. This process became evident from the examination of the blossoms under high magnification and was

then confirmed by the discovery of an incorrectly painted blossom (in the lower right vertical panel of folio 185a): the overpainting of the central, "looped" petal extends beyond the contour of the original layer of pigment, clearly indicating the existence of two separate layers of pigment.

23. As suggested by Kristine Rose Beers.

24. Interestingly, the dyed paper appears to be exactly the same type of paper, usually dyed shades of peach but sometimes green and then, once pasted in place, overpainted with gold designs, that is later used for the inner border of seventeenth-century Mughal album folios; see Elaine Wright, *Muraqqa', Imperial Mughal Albums from the Chester Beatty Library* (Alexandria, Va.: Art Services International, 2008), 40.

25. Vertically flipped compositions also occur on folios 435b–436a, 436b–437a, and 443b–444a.

The Qurʾanic Soundscape of Mimar Sinan's Mosques: A Survey of Recitation Programs and the Unusual Case of the Hadım İbrahim Paşa Mosque at Silivrikapı

Nina Macaraig

> To this mosque there shall be appointed ten persons . . . who have great skill and talent in reading the Qurʾan with a beautiful voice. These persons will gather every Friday in the . . . mosque shortly before noon; every one of them will read from the Holy Qurʾan with a soul-caressing and beautiful voice in a way that will awake pleasure in the listener, by closely following the traditions and rules of chanting and reciting (*tecvid ve tertile riayet ederek*)."[1]

These words are from the 990/1582–1583 title deed of the charitable endowment (*vakfiye*) that belonged to Nurbanu (ca. 1525–1583), wife to Selim II, mother to Murad III, and patron of the Atik Valide Mosque Complex in Istanbul.[2]

On the basis of the argument that for most Muslims the everyday lived experience of the Qurʾanic text occurred through its aural rendition, as described in this source, this essay will examine the *muṣḥaf* from the vantage point of its acoustic rendition. A representative sample of 14 of Mimar Sinan's mosques in Istanbul will serve as case studies to investigate the interplay between Qurʾanic recitation and built environment; their soundscape can be reconstructed with the help of the many endowment deeds preserved in archives, museums, and collections in present-day Turkey. Following an introduction to the orality and aurality of the Qurʾanic text, Mimar Sinan's measures to construct an appropriate acoustic space, and the reciters' location within the prayer hall, I will consider both the shape and content of the recitation programs, as they were determined by the ruling decorum as much as by patrons' individual preferences. The case of Chief White Eunuch Hadım İbrahim Paşa's mosque will then serve to illustrate such preferences in greater detail. The overall aim here is to retrieve sixteenth-century Ottoman worshippers' experience of the Holy Word.

The Sounds of the Qurʾan

Whereas Christian understanding of scripture focuses on silent reading, in Islam it cannot be separated from its acoustic rendition. In fact, the first verses revealed around 610 to the Prophet Muhammad, as orally conveyed through the angel Gabriel, were "Recite! In the name of thy Lord and Cherisher who created" (Q. 96:1).[3] The name "Qurʾan" itself means "recitation," and it was not until 650 that its verses were compiled into an authoritative written version. The Qurʾan was, and still is, meant to be recited loudly, in a reenactment of the initial revelation.

The oral nature of the Qurʾanic text is evident in several characteristics: phrases and patterns frequently repeat themselves, rhyme allows for relatively easy memorization and recall, and oaths and exhortations presuppose a listening audience. It is also evident in what Michael Sells has called "sound figures" or

"sound vision."[4] Complex sound patterns stretch over lengthy passages, accentuate theologically critical moments—such as the prophecy, the creation, and Judgment Day[5]—and create bridges to preceding and following passages. Hence, sound and meaning are intertwined. For example, the Arabic sound *hā* denotes a female pronoun but can also be an interjection of surprise, wonder, or sorrow and often ties together key rhymes.[6] This complexity also accounts for the Qurʾan's resistance to translation into other languages. Navid Kermani has argued that Islam spread so quickly throughout seventh-century Arabia because of the sophisticated beauty of the Qurʾanic text, which detractors failed to surpass in their poetic attempts to disprove its divine nature.[7] In Kristina Nelson's words, "the significance of the revelation is carried as much by the sound as by its semantic information. In other words, the Qurʾan is not the Qurʾan unless it is heard."[8]

This explicit orality had two consequences: because the reception of the revelation is an auditory process, the ability to hear has become conflated with the ability to truly understand the revelation. The Arabic verb *samʿ* (literally, the physical act of hearing) denotes either of these two acts.[9] The second consequence is the formation of a system that determines how the Qurʾanic text should be read "in terms of rhythm, timbre, sectioning of the text, and phonetics."[10] This system is called *ʿilm al-tajwīd* or *ʿilm al-qirāʾāt* and was also taught in the recitation schools (*darülkurra*) of Ottoman mosque complexes. Different manners of recitation rested on the authority of famous reciters who established substantial followings, resulting in seven major and three minor canonical readings.[11] Reciters chanting the Qurʾan in mosques usually use a melodic style called *tajwīd*—in contrast to *tartīl*, a steady even chant. Reciters do not impose a melody, but rather allow the text's rhythmic qualities to suggest musical ornamentations. A skilled reciter uses effects such as extension of phonemes (*madd*), nasalization (*ghunna*), pauses, and repetition in a way that emphasizes specific passages, suggests multiple meanings, and increases dramatic tension. Thus, the reciter enhances the listeners' emotional participation in the text-as-event and involves them affectively, intellectually, and spiritually.

Mosque Acoustics

All of this could not have been unbeknown to mosques' builders and architects. Although the Qurʾan can be recited anywhere, the most appropriate setting is the mosque. Therefore, mosque space is not only a place for the community to gather or a visual emblem to the presence of Islam but also a stage for the performance of the Qurʾanic text-as-event and the reenactment of the initial, oral revelation. Architects must have thought of ways to optimize the acoustic experience of this ritual performance. That some sixteenth-century Ottomans considered the quality of the performance in particular mosques superior can be gathered from a *fetva* of Süleyman the Magnificent's mufti, Ebusuʿud Efendi: he ruled it canonically impermissible to attend Friday prayer in a mosque other than the one in the worshipper's residential quarter if the reason was to listen to a better recital.[12]

That Sinan was most concerned with creating an acoustic space appropriate for Qurʾan recitation and other worship activities is obvious from his conscious use of building elements and technical means. Ideally, a mosque affords good audibility and visibility of the *qibla* wall from all points. Good audibility depends on even dispersion of initial sound reflections, good reflection of all frequencies, and even decay of sound during reverberation time. Reverberation time should be long enough to amplify sound and give it a numinous character but short enough to make spoken and chanted speech intelligible.

Sinan's preference for centralized, domed spaces might have worked to the acoustics' disadvantage. Domes cause sound reflections to converge in one single point, thus creating acoustic hot spots.[13] What technology could Sinan employ to counteract this disadvantage? First, he could manipulate the mosque interior's volume by adjusting the height and the dome's circumference. Larger volume results in longer reverberation time; the Süleymaniye, with its height of ~48 m and volume of ~115,000 m^3, is a case in point (Figure 1).[14] The distribution of building elements in the interior and the walls' articulation also provided

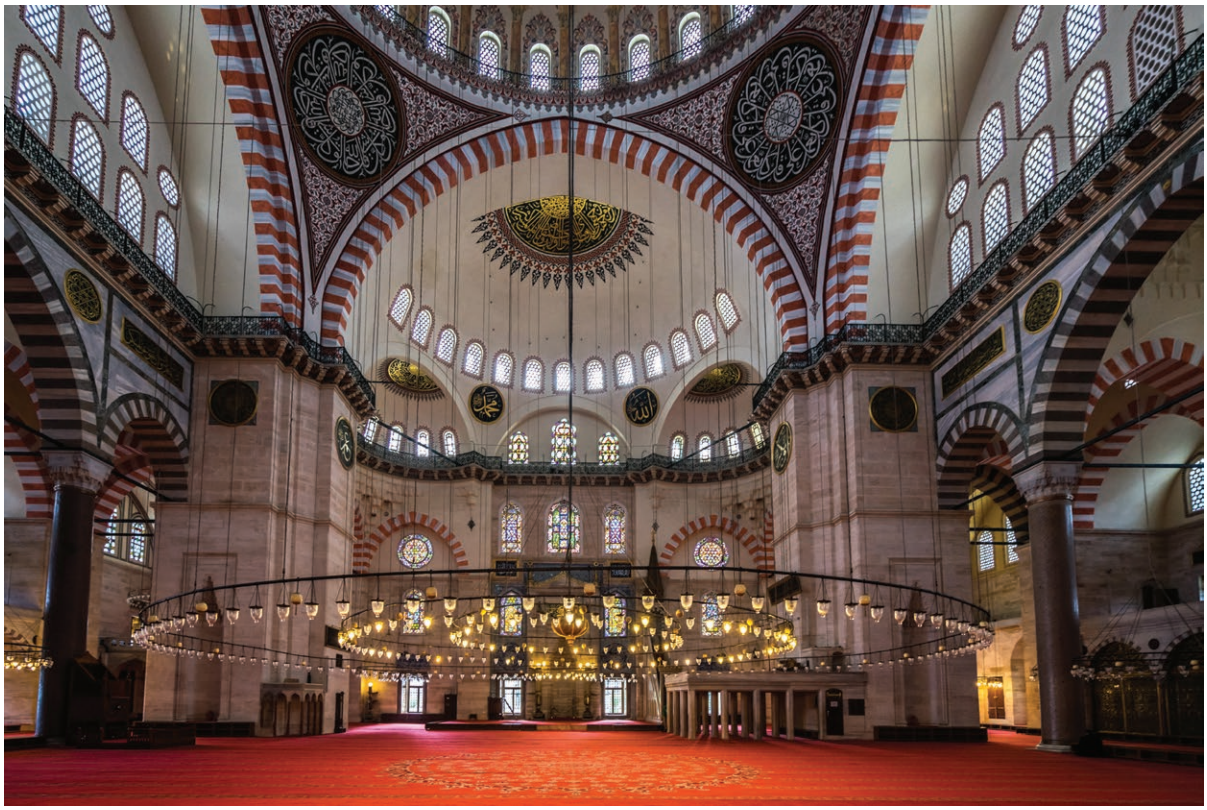


FIGURE 1. Interior of the Süleymaniye Mosque built by Mimar Sinan, Istanbul, 1548–1559. Image courtesy of iStockphotos.

structural means to manipulate reverberation time and sound distribution. Not only for visual and structural but also acoustic effect—that is, to refract and diffuse sounds—Sinan added abutting half domes and smaller lateral domes, inserted windows in the walls, and applied *muqarnas* in the transition zones. He chose four enormous columns as load-carrying structural elements, creating both visual and acoustic continuity between the side wings and central space and counteracting standing waves.

The quality of the ceiling, walls, and floor played an important role. Whereas the so-called *horasan* plaster—a type of plaster made of brick dust and lime, as well as admixtures such as plant fibers—applied to the dome and walls is sound absorbent because of its flax or hemp fiber content, tiled surfaces throughout are highly sound reflective.[15] Prayer rugs provided not only a softer surface for the worshippers to prostrate themselves but also a sound-absorptive measure, as shown in a study by Nicola Prodi and Matteo Marsilio.[16] Sinan equally accounted for the sound-absorbing quality of worshippers' bodies, with as many as ~4,500 worshippers attending.

The most obvious evidence of Sinan's acoustic awareness is sound vessels, known as Helmholtz resonators. According to preserved accounting books, 255 clay jugs were ordered for the mosque's dome.[17] Because I have not been able to measure the vessels, I cannot draw any conclusions about their absorptive and resonant qualities, which depend on the volume, length, and neck diameter. In any case, Helmholtz resonators absorb some sound waves while allowing others to be reradiated outward in a hemispheric distribution pattern, thus strengthening the reradiated sound. With their help, Sinan was able to absorb undesirable frequencies and to diffuse sound in the problematic dome.

These combined measures make the Süleymaniye's interior a very reverberant, "live" space that gives a feeling of grandeur. Although lower frequencies of around 500 Hz have a reverberation time of 8 s and therefore interfere with speech intelligibility, higher frequencies of around 1 kHz have a reverberation time

FIGURE 2. Interior of the Hagia Sophia, Istanbul. Illustration "Sainte Sophie" after Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau Général de l'Empire Othoman* (Paris: Imprimerie de Monsieur, 1788–1824).

of 5.9 s.[18] Qurʾan reciters usually chant in a fairly high register, so a time of 5.9 s facilitates both intelligibility and a timbric effect. This timbre lent the reciters' performance a majestic quality and encouraged their virtuosity. And it would have drawn an audience searching for an edifying acoustic experience of the holy book.

The Placement of Qurʾan Reciters

Within this carefully constructed acoustic space, where exactly were the reciters located? To answer this, we primarily have to look to architectural features, as well as one pictorial source: reciters' and preachers' platforms can be found integrated, for example, in the Süleymaniye, where they are attached to three of the four central piers (Figure 1). To the fourth pier, right of the mihrab and supported by 16 columns, is attached the large muezzin's platform, where reciters would also have sat in larger groupings. Such an arrangement of reciters kneeling in several rows lined up on the muezzin's platform also appears in an engraving illustrating prayers in the Hagia Sophia in Mouradgea d'Ohsson's *Tableau Général de l'Empire Othoman*, published in 1788–1824 (Figure 2), which was based on the Istanbul-born author's intimate familiarity with Ottoman culture.[19] Opposite the muezzin's platform in the Süleymaniye is a rectangular pulpit on a total of seven porphyry columns. On the two rear platforms, a single person with a Qurʾan stand in front of them can comfortably sit.

The Nişancı Mehmed Paşa Mosque in intra muros Istanbul (1584 and 1589) features two small, square stone pulpits integrated in the *qibla* wall corners (Figure 3). The pointed arches of the square platforms

FIGURE 3. Interior of the Nişancı Mehmed Paşa Mosque built by Mimar Sinan, Istanbul, 1584–1589. Image courtesy of the author.

with their beautifully carved balustrades are supported on two engaged and one freestanding colonettes, the latter made of porphyry; the pulpits are accessible over staircases hidden inside the walls. Also for this mosque the foundation charter clearly specifies some of the reciters' locations: *sura al-Kahf* (18, The Cave) was to be read every Friday by one reciter on the *mahfil* (platform) at the front, and so was *sura al-Fatḥ* (48, The Victory) after morning prayer by one of the four muezzins.[20] Another space where muezzins and reciters could sit were the galleries or balconies often found above the portal. In addition, wooden pulpits could be moved around inside the prayer hall. And, of course, reciters could also sit anywhere on the floor, propping up the Holy Book with the help of a Qurʾan stand. Although it may be a worthwhile future endeavor to create acoustic models of these various options and compare how location would have influenced the audibility and quality of recitation, so much can be said at this point: locations higher above the ground, as facilitated by platforms, ensure a better dispersion of sound and better audibility in a crowded prayer hall.

Mimar Sinan's Mosques and Their Recitation Programs

In order to arrive at a meaningful analysis, the 14 mosques included in this study were chosen on the basis of three criteria (Table 1). First, the patrons had to constitute a relatively coherent social group to ensure that the selection of Qurʾan passages was based on similar beliefs and shared aesthetic preferences and aspirations. Only this shared background makes it possible to establish "normative" recitation programs that also allow for recognizing extraordinary cases. Because of their status or relationship with the Ottoman court—as sultan, viziers, court officials, or female members of the sultan's family—the patrons listed here shared a similar cultural horizon and had access to Mimar Sinan's services. Second, this rather homogeneous group still needed to include a cross section of patrons of different status, even though the focus here is not on how status and financial means might determine the recitative programs. Finally, the respective endowment charters needed to be preserved and accessible.[21]

The survey then resulted in Table 2, which illustrates the presence and frequency of the recital of certain suras and indicates which ones were more unusual in their occurrence. On the basis of that information, one may reconstruct a normative or typical Ottoman mosque's recitation schedule and its message (Table 3). After the morning prayer, worshippers and visitors would hear *sura Yāʾ Sīn* (36)—thought of as the "heart" of the Qurʾan, it mentions not only the Prophet Muhammad as the religion's central figure but also the central doctrine of the revelation and the hereafter. Following the afternoon prayer, the religious history of humankind, the emergence of Islam, and Christians' duty to convert would be conveyed with *sura Āl ʿImrān* (3, The Family of Imran). *Sura al-Mulk* (67, The Dominion) concluded the day after evening or night prayer. This specific sura can be likened to the hymns of other faiths: it reminds the listener of the contrast between the outer and the inner world and describes the spiritual such that humans can relate it to their everyday world. The aural message progressed over the day from the most significant teachings of Islam, over Islam's place in human history, and finally to the religion's spiritual content. Didactically, this constitutes a well-conceived and logical thematic progression.[22]

Here, Gülru Necipoğlu's notion of decorum in mosque architecture is pertinent: size and the presence and number of domes and minarets were determined by the patron's status at court.[23] But, of course, norms and rules are there to be broken; ways and means to personalize a standardized template, whether a mosque or a recitation program, always existed. Only two mosques—those of the grand viziers Kara Ahmed Paşa and Sokollu Mehmed Paşa—featured this standard recitation program, whereas the majority of patrons made adjustments. In the five cases of the Süleymaniye, the Atik Valide Mosque, the Kılıç Ali Paşa Mosque, the Sinan Paşa Mosque, and the Nişancı Mehmed Paşa Mosque, the standard program was augmented by one or two more unusual suras (or parts thereof); their content can be interpreted as conveying a message of particular import to the patron (Tables 4–8).

TABLE 1. List of mosques, construction dates, and patrons based on Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (London: Reaktion Books, 2005).

Mosque	Construction date	Patron's name	Patron's status
Atik Valide Mosque, Üsküdar	1571–1586	Nurbanu	Wife and later mother of the sultan, *valide sultan*
Ferruh Kethüda Mosque, Balat	1562–1563	Ferruh Kethüda	Steward to grand vizier
Hadım İbrahim Paşa Mosque, Silivrikapı	1551	Hadım İbrahim Paşa	Chief white eunuch in palace, governor-general of Anatolia, fourth vizier
Kara Ahmed Paşa Mosque	1555, 1565–1572	Kara Ahmed Paşa	Grand vizier, son-in-law of the sultan
Kılıç Ali Paşa Mosque	1578–1581	Kılıç Ali Paşa	Grand admiral
Mihrimah Sultan Mosque, Üsküdar	1543–1548	Mihrimah	Daughter of the sultan, wife of the grand vizier
Mihrimah Sultan Mosque, Edirnekapı	1563–1570	Mihrimah	Daughter of the sultan, wife of the grand vizier
Molla Çelebi Mosque, Fındıklı	1570–1584	Molla Çelebi	Army judge
Nişancı Mehmed Paşa Mosque, Karagümrük	1584–1589	Nişancı Mehmed Paşa	Chancellor, vizier
Piyale Paşa Mosque	1565–1573	Piyale Paşa	Grand admiral
Şemsi Ahmed Paşa Mosque, Üsküdar	1580–1581	Şemsi Ahmed Paşa	Governor-general of Rumelia, royal companion
Sinan Paşa Mosque, Beşiktaş	1554–1556	Sinan Paşa	Grand admiral
Sokollu Mehmed Paşa Mosque, Azapkapı	1573–1578	Sokollu Mehmed Paşa	Grand vizier, son-in-law of the sultan
Süleymaniye Mosque	1548–1559	Süleyman the Magnificent	Sultan

For example, in the Süleymaniye the addition of *sura al-Anʿām* (6, The Cattle), which was chanted by a particularly large number of 41 reciters, appears to have carried a political message, as the first verse praises God as the omnipotent creator and the last verse gives divine legitimization to worldly power: "It is He [Allah] Who hath made You (His) agents, inheritors of the earth: He hath raised you in ranks, some above Others" (Q. 6:165). This served as an auditory reminder of God's absolute and Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent's God-given power. In another instance, in the Nişancı Mehmed Paşa Mosque one could hear *al-Fatḥ* (48) after morning prayers and *al-Kahf* (18) every Friday on the tribune in the mosque's front section (Figure 3). While *al-Fatḥ* refers to victory coming from courage, devotion, faith, and patience and enjoins believers to remember God and follow the Prophet, *al-Kahf* refers to the brevity, uncertainty, and vanity

TABLE 2. Suras recited and their timing.

Sura	Meaning	Timing	Occurrences	Number
al-Fātiḥa (1, The Opening)	Opening chapter; considered a synthesis of the Qurʾan; prayer for guidance and mercy of God	Read after every prayer	Molla Çelebi; Mihrimah Sultan, Üsküdar (Fridays); Piyale Paşa (Fridays)	3
al-Baqara (2, The Heifer)	Exhortation to faith, obedience, and sense of personal responsibility	Read after Friday prayer	Atik Valide (only throne verse), Kılıç Ali Paşa	2
Āl ʿImrān (3, The Family of Imran)	General view of religious history of mankind; explains the birth of Islam and its ordinances; emphasizes duty of Christians to accept Islam	Read after afternoon prayer by one person	Atik Valide; Ferruh Kethüda; Kara Ahmed Paşa; Kılıç Ali Paşa; Mihrimah Sultan, Üsküdar; Nişancı Mehmed Paşa; Sinan Paşa; Sokollu Mehmed Paşa; Süleymaniye	9
al-Anʿām (6, The Cattle)	Expounds the doctrine of Islam in relation to pagan Arabia; tells of Abraham's belief and conviction	Read after the morning prayer by one person	Hadım İbrahim Paşa, Sinan Paşa (unspecified time), Süleymaniye (unspecified time, but 41 reciters)	3
al-Kahf (18, The Cave)	Brevity, uncertainty, and vanity of this life, told by means of parables	Read every Friday on the *mahfil* (raised platform) in the front by one person	Nişancı Mehmed Paşa	1
Yāʾ Sīn (36)	"Heart of the Qurʾan"; concerns the central figure in the teaching of Islam, the central doctrine of the revelation and the hereafter	Read after morning prayer by one person	Atik Valide; Ferruh Kethüda; Kara Ahmed Paşa; Kılıç Ali Paşa; Mihrimah Sultan, Üsküdar; Nişancı Mehmed Paşa; Piyale Paşa; Sinan Paşa (several times/day, Fridays); Sokollu Mehmed Paşa; Süleymaniye	10
al-Fatḥ (48, The Victory)	Victory comes from courage, devotion, faith, and patience; enjoins one to remember God and follow the Prophet	Read after the morning prayer by one of the four muezzins on the *mahfil*	Nişancı Mehmed Paşa	1
al-Wāqiʿa (56, The Inevitable)	Certainty of Judgment Day; God's power, goodness, and glory; the truth of the revelation	Read before evening prayer	Kılıç Ali Paşa	1

TABLE 2. *Continued.*

Sura	Meaning	Timing	Occurrences	Number
al-Mulk (67, The Dominion)	Comparable to hymns or psalms in other faiths; contrast between the shadows of reality here and the eternal reality, between the surface world and the profound inner world; describes the spiritual in terms of the things we see and understand	Read after evening/night prayer by one person	Atik Valide, Kara Ahmed Paşa, Kılıç Ali Paşa, Nişancı Mehmed Paşa, Sinan Paşa, Sokollu Mehmed Paşa, Süleymaniye (unspecified time)	7
al-Ikhlāṣ (112, The Purity of Faith)	Sums up unity and oneness of God; often professed	Read 500 times after the morning prayer by six reciters	Hadım İbrahim Paşa	1

TABLE 3. Typical time table.

Time	Sura	Meaning
After morning prayer	*Yāʾ Sīn* (36)	"Heart of the Qurʾan"; concerns the central figure in the teaching of Islam and the central doctrine of revelation and the hereafter
After afternoon prayer	*Āl ʿImrān* (3)	General view of religious history of mankind; explains the birth of Islam and its ordinances; emphasizes duty of Christians to accept Islam
After evening/night prayer	*al-Mulk* (67)	Compare to hymns or psalms in other faiths; contrast between the shadows of reality here and the eternal reality, between the surface world and the profound inner world; describes the spiritual in terms of the things we see and understand

of this life. Neither of these were recited in any of the other surveyed mosques, and one may argue that the patron's status as a freeborn Muslim among the many converts at court and his career full of ups and downs—from chancellor to vizier and vice versa more than once and even as this mosque was erected—had something to do with his emphasis on victory through faith and patience, as well as the uncertainty of life.[24]

In the three cases of the Mihrimah Sultan Mosque in Üsküdar, the Piyale Paşa Mosque, and the Ferruh Kethüda Mosque, the program was reduced to one or two standard suras (Tables 9, 10). Maybe this change occurred because of economic reasons, allowing patrons to forgo paying salaries to a larger number of reciters. It may also have been due to the patrons' indifference toward Qurʾanic recitation as an art form. Usually, *Yāʾ Sīn*—the heart of the Qurʾan—remained at the minimum, as in the Piyale Paşa Mosque. In the two cases of the Mihrimah Sultan Mosque in Edirnekapı and the Şemsi Ahmed Paşa Mosque, the *vakfiye* does not specify any sura at all and mentions only the recitation of 10 verses that are not further identified or the chanting of a *juzʾ*, a thirtieth portion. In another two cases, the patrons entirely deviated from the standard program—these were Hadım İbrahim Paşa and Molla Çelebi. The latter, for example, had the opening sura, *al-Fātiḥa* (1, The Opening), recited after every single prayer.

TABLE 4. Suras recited in the Süleymaniye.

Sura	Time
Yāʾ Sīn (36)	After morning prayer
Āl ʻImrān (3)	After afternoon prayer
al-Mulk (67)	Unspecified
al-Anʿām (6)	Unspecified

TABLE 5. Suras recited in the Atik Valide Mosque.

Sura	Time
Yāʾ Sīn (36)	After morning prayer
Āl ʻImrān (3)	After afternoon prayer
al-Mulk (67)	After evening prayer
al-Baqara (2:285–286)	After Friday noon prayer

TABLE 6. Suras recited in the Kılıç Ali Paşa Mosque.

Sura	Time
Yāʾ Sīn (36)	After morning prayer
Āl ʻImrān (3)	After afternoon prayer
al-Wāqiʻa (56)	Before evening prayer
al-Mulk (67)	After night prayer
al-Baqara (2)	After Friday prayer

TABLE 7. Suras recited in the Sinan Paşa Mosque.

Sura	Time
Yāʾ Sīn (36)	After morning prayer, after Friday prayer, before evening prayer
Āl ʻImrān (3)	After afternoon prayer
al-Mulk (67)	After night prayer
al-Anʿām (6)	Every day, unspecified

TABLE 8. Suras recited in the Nişancı Mehmed Paşa Mosque.

Sura	Time
Yāʾ Sīn (36)	After morning prayer
al-Fath (48)	After morning prayer, on one of the tribunes in the mosque's front
Āl ʻImrān (3)	After afternoon prayer
al-Mulk (67)	After evening prayer
al-Kahf (18)	After Friday noon prayer, on one of the tribunes in the mosque's front

TABLE 9. Suras recited in the Mihrimah Sultan Mosque, Üsküdar.

Sura	Time
al-Fatiha (1)	Unspecified
Yāʾ Sīn (36)	After morning prayer
Āl ʻImrān (3)	After afternoon prayer

TABLE 10. Suras recited in the Ferruh Kethüda Mosque.

Sura	Time
Yāʾ Sīn (36)	After morning prayer
Āl ʻImrān (3)	After afternoon prayer

An Unusual Recitation Program: The Case of the Hadim İbrahim Paşa Mosque at Silivrikapi

One patron who created an unusual Qurʾanic soundscape in his modest mosque near the old Byzantine city walls, at Silivrikapı, was Hadım İbrahim Paşa (Figures 4–6). His endowment deed gave the following instructions:

> From among the honest and god-fearing six men shall be appointed to each recite every day after the morning prayer the *sura al-Ikhlāṣ* [112, The Purity of the Faith] 500 times and dedicate the accumulated blessings to the founder's soul, and they shall each receive a daily salary of two *dirhem* [small silver coin], and one more man from among the worthy Qurʾan reciters shall be appointed to recite every day after the noon prayer on the mosque's tribune ten Qurʾan verses and dedicate the

FIGURE 4 (right). Exterior of the Hadım İbrahim Paşa Mosque at Silivrikapı built by Mimar Sinan, Istanbul, 1551. Image courtesy of the author.

FIGURE 5 (below). Interior of the Hadım İbrahim Paşa Mosque at Silivrikapı built by Mimar Sinan, Istanbul, 1551. Image courtesy of Wikimedia Commons, courtesy of Dick Osseman.

> accumulated blessings to the founder's soul, and he shall receive a daily salary of one *dirhem*, and fifteen men from among the pious and righteous shall be appointed to gather after the afternoon prayer so as to each repeat the profession of faith one thousand times in the usual, well-known manner and dedicate the accumulated blessings to the founder's soul, and they each shall receive a daily salary of 1.5 *dirhem*.[25]

Completed in 1551, the mosque consists of a 12 m dome on a cubical base fronted by a five-bayed portico, as befits the patron's rank.[26] In the interior, each side of the cube is divided into three arches. Whereas the mihrab and the portal are set into the facing, slightly larger central arches, the lateral arches circum-

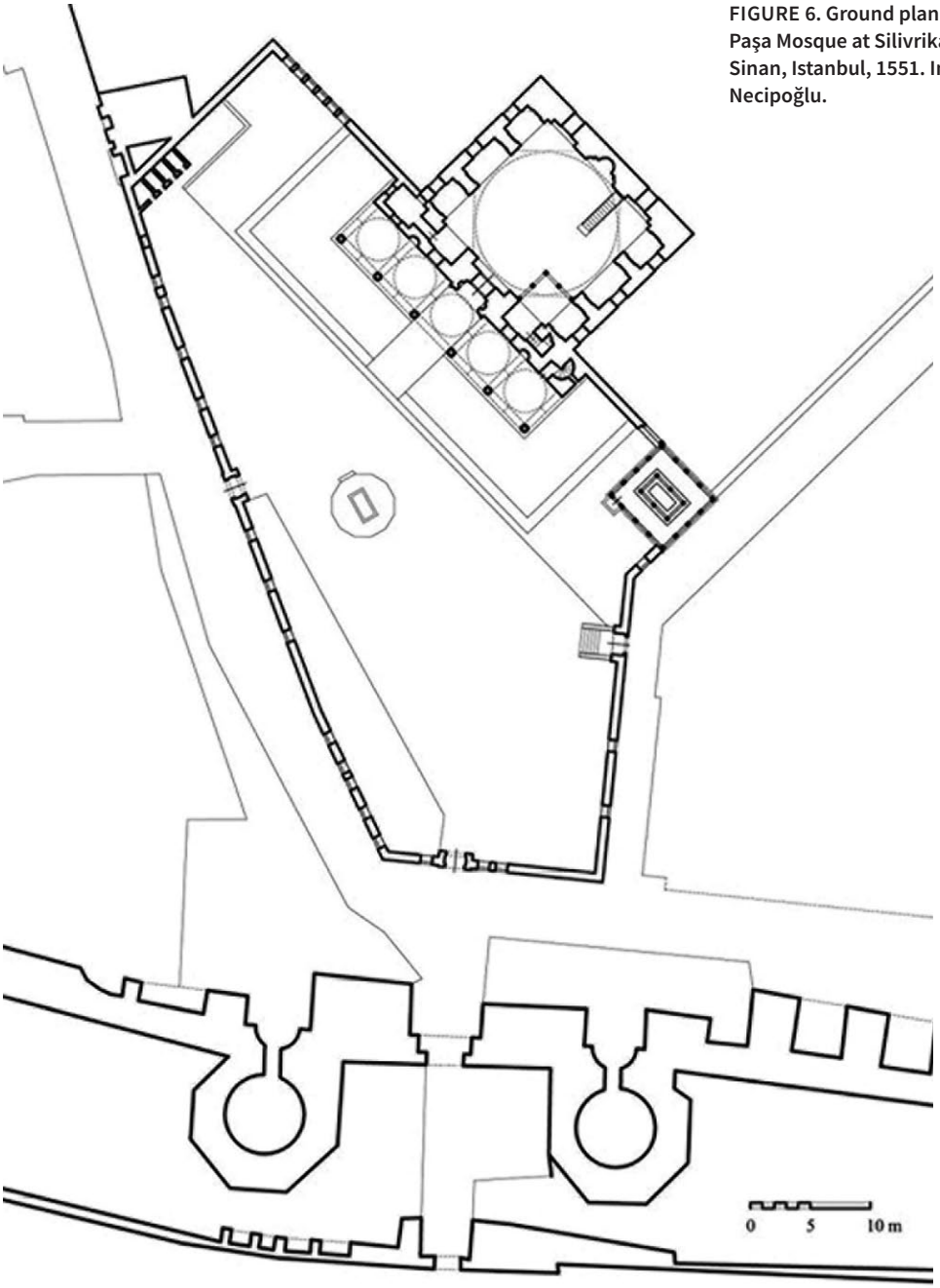


FIGURE 6. Ground plan of the Hadım İbrahim Paşa Mosque at Silivrikapı built by Mimar Sinan, Istanbul, 1551. Image courtesy of Gülru Necipoğlu.

scribe two tiers of windows, rendering the interior particularly bright. The register above these 12 arches consists of eight arches, with conch shell squinches sitting atop the corner arches. The existence of resonators in the transition zone or the dome cannot be ascertained, as the most recent round of renovations has not laid open any mouths of jugs serving that purpose. Within the interior space, two locations served the reciters working in this mosque: a square muezzin's platform inserted into the corner to the right upon entering the prayer hall (Figure 6) and a pulpit for a single reciter, which rests on a somewhat unusual console attached to a lateral pier on the left-hand side (Figure 5).

The recitation program, as it would have been broadcast from the single-person pulpit and the muezzin's tribune, exhibits several idiosyncrasies (Table 11). After morning prayer, instead of *Yāʾ Sīn*, worshippers heard six reciters chanting the four verses of *al-Ikhlāṣ* 500 times each:

TABLE 11. Ranking of mosques based on number of reciters.

Rank	Mosque (Date)	Patron (Status)	Total number of paid persons reciting
1	Süleymaniye Mosque (1548–1559)	Süleyman the Magnificent (sultan)	174
2	Atik Valide Mosque, Üsküdar (1571–1586)	Nurbanu (wife of sultan, mother of sultan)	111
3	Hadım İbrahim Paşa Mosque, Silivrikapı (1551)	Hadım İbrahim Paşa (guardian of the imperial palace, governor-general of Anatolia, fourth vizier, second vizier)	55
4	Kılıç Ali Paşa Mosque (1578–1581)	Kılıç Ali Paşa (grand admiral)	43
5	Kara Ahmed Paşa Mosque (1555, 1565–1572)	Kara Ahmed Paşa (grand vizier, son-in-law of the sultan)	42
6	Mihrimah Sultan Mosque, Üsküdar (1543–1548)	Mihrimah (daughter of sultan, wife of grand vizier)	40
7	Ferruh Kethüda Mosque, Balat (1562–1563)	Ferruh Kethüda (steward to grand vizier)	36
8	Molla Çelebi Mosque, Fındıklı (1570–1584)	Molla Çelebi (army judge)	16
9	Piyale Paşa Mosque (1565–1573)	Piyale Paşa (grand admiral)	14
10	Sinan Paşa Mosque, Beşiktaş (1554–1556)	Sinan Paşa (grand admiral)	13
11	Mihrimah Sultan Mosque, Edirnekapı (1563–1570)	Mihrimah (daughter of the sultan, wife of the grand vizier)	11
	Nişancı Mehmed Paşa Mosque, Karagümrük (1584–1589)	Nişancı Mehmed Paşa (vizier, chancellor)	11
	Şemsi Ahmed Paşa Mosque, Üsküdar (1580–1581)	Şemsi Ahmed Paşa (governor-general of Rumelia)	11
12	Sokollu Mehmed Paşa Mosque, Azapkapı (1573–1578)	Sokollu Mehmed Paşa (grand vizier, son-in-law of the sultan)	7

Say: He is Allah, The One and Only;
Allah, the Eternal, Absolute;
He begetteth not, Nor is He begotten;
And there is none Like unto Him.

Thus, they emphasized the oneness of God in contrast to the concept of Trinity, a statement suitable in a neighborhood dominated by Christian residents. Then, another group of seven—the imam, the four muezzins, one teacher, and one student—recited *al-Anʿām*, most likely from the muezzin's tribune since the single-person pulpit is too small to have accommodated all of them. This sura describes the nature of God and the emptiness of this world's life in contrast to his creation, reminds the listener that the rebellious will be punished, and gives divine legitimization to power. The patron also appears to have been particularly interested in promoting the education of reciters. In addition to teacher and student chanting *al-Anʿām*, he stipulated that five young reciters read 10 verses after Friday prayer, a stipulation unique in its emphasis on age. Moreover, by employing 55 reciters, the patron managed to push his way past several grand viziers and even Sultan Süleyman's daughter Mihrimah when it came to their number. Constructing a larger mosque would have meant breaching the decorum, but an acceptable way to elevate his status was plentiful recitation, which consequently necessitated the integration of a muezzin's platform in the rather small prayer hall, a feature not seen in other mosques that Mimar Sinan built for officials of Hadım Ibrahim Paşa's rank.

Thus, Hadım İbrahim Paşa's recitation program differed from others in its sizeable population of reciters, in its strong emphasis on a sura addressing the Christian concept of the Trinity, and in its singular attention to promoting young reciters. A closer look at the Paşa's biography yields some explanation as to the reasons behind his choices and preferences. Born in the 1470s and likely of Bosnian origin, İbrahim ibn Abd al-Muʿin—his assumed Muslim name, according to his endowment deed—came into the imperial palace as a tribute child, or *devşirme*. At some point, maybe before he reached the Ottoman capital or maybe even in the palace, he was castrated and thus joined a long lineage of eunuch slave-servants in the service of Islamic rulers and Ottoman sultans.[27] Following his conversion to Islam, İbrahim, like all *devşirme* of intellectual promise, received his education and training as page boy in the inner courtyard of the Topkapı Palace and subsequently rose through the ranks until becoming chief white eunuch and guardian of the imperial palace under Süleyman the Magnificent (r. 1520–1566).

This position was called *Kapu* or *Babüssaade Ağası*, meaning the keeper of the gate of felicity, the threshold between the private and the public parts of the palace, where the sultan would show himself during court ceremonies. He resided in a room next to the gate and received a daily stipend, cloth allowance in both cash and kind, and an annual cash amount. Being responsible for the ongoings in the palace, he went out with the sultan on the processions to Friday prayer but otherwise stayed behind during campaigns and hunting excursions to represent the ruler and to maintain peace and order. Moreover, until 1584–1585 the chief white eunuch also supervised the imperial harem; thereafter, stewardship of the harem was taken over by black eunuchs, usually Abyssinians who arrived in Istanbul via Egypt.[28]

Given the managerial skills that chief white eunuchs developed in their position, it should not come as a surprise that many of them were appointed to serve on the Imperial Council and even as grand vizier. Metin Kunt has counted 26 grand viziers holding office in the sixteenth century, and five of these—meaning almost 20%—were eunuchs who originally hailed from the Balkans.[29] Indeed, Hadım İbrahim Paşa held successive positions as governor-general of Anatolia, fourth vizier (1544), lieutenant governor of Istanbul (1548–1549), third vizier (ca. 1551), second vizier (1553), and once more lieutenant governor of Istanbul (1553–1555). In 1555, he was asked to retire on account of his old age, and he died in 1562.[30] The Ottoman official and historian Mustafa ʿĀli described him as possessing unquestionable dignity and propriety.[31]

How may his identity as a castrated and therefore childless *devşirme* and then chief white eunuch have influenced his choices as patron of both architecture and recitation?[32] One motivation that resonated with

all Ottoman patrons of mosques, charitable building complexes, and even freestanding fountains can be found in a hadith—a saying of the Prophet Muhammad: "When a man dies, his good deeds come to an end, except three: ongoing charity, beneficial knowledge, and righteous offspring who will pray for him."[33] As Leyla Kayhan Elbirlik has stated in reference to the construction of fountains and schools with integrated fountains, "as eunuchs, patronage . . . communicated a much deeper yearning, one that was instigated by the absence of that which rendered them everlasting. Through dispensing water, the eunuchs created the illusion of giving life, which in principle stemmed from the desire to outlast death."[34]

Although certainly a valid argument where it covers the element of ongoing charity, in the case of Hadım İbrahim Paşa attention should be paid to the elements of beneficial knowledge and the prayer of offspring. Hadım İbrahim Paşa's endowment comprised seven charitable structures, listed here in the order they are mentioned in his endowment charter: (1) the congregational mosque at Silivrikapı, (2) another, smaller mosque in the neighborhood of İsa Kapusu, also in Istanbul, (3) a primary school (*mekteb*) in the same neighborhood, (4) a primary school in the neighborhood of Isfendiyar, Istanbul, (5) another primary school in the Silivrikapı neighborhood, (6) a theological seminary (madrasa) in the neighborhood of İsa Kapusu, and (7) a well serving weary travelers in the neighborhood of Yenikapı, a gate in the ancient city walls. Thus, four of his seven charitable monuments—that is, 57%—served to pass on knowledge to children and adolescents. Moreover, he stipulated that the five young reciters mentioned above be recruited either from among the offspring of his own manumitted household slaves or from among the students of the schools he had founded. Thus, although childless in a biological sense, through his simultaneous and interlinked patronage of education and recitation, Hadım İbrahim Paşa firmly ensured righteous offspring in a symbolic and intellectual sense—offspring who would pray and recite the Qurʾan for him daily and, through the sound of their prayer as well as the holy book, guarantee immortality, transporting his soul to paradise, the most sacred place conceivable.

Concluding Remarks

Even if architectural history's emphasis on vision as the primary mode of perception and inquiry may never be shifted, the role of Qurʾanic recitation as integral to the original conception and design of Ottoman mosques is beyond doubt—much like reciters' platforms were integral to some prayer halls. A wealth of archival material allows us to reconstruct the Qurʾanic soundscape of foundations across the vast empire and over many centuries, to investigate the tension between decorum and individuality, and to identify the idiosyncratic attitudes and preferences of patrons with their recitation programs, which conveyed specific messages to a larger public of worshippers. A case in point is the Hadım İbrahim Paşa Mosque, which has been singled out here: although its small size in reality rendered a muezzin's tribune for reciters redundant, Hadım İbrahim Paşa's keen interest in recitation (as well as his desire to further the education of young reciters) resulted in such an addition to the prayer hall.

Recitation programs such as the ones presented here may also be useful for scholars to identify and contextualize manuscripts of partial Qurʾan copies that were specifically endowed to Ottoman mosques. As Simon Rettig has convincingly argued, the early sixteenth-century rise of such partial copies, of which large numbers have survived, in lieu of single codices containing the entire text must have been linked to the public performance of the holy text in shrines and mosques.[35] Although pocket-sized manuscripts that suggest private devotional use exist, other manuscripts with selections of suras feature characteristics facilitating public use (and, as I would argue, shared use by groups rather than single individuals): First, they are larger in size, maybe because several reciters needed to share copies in order to glance at the verses they were to chant. Second, usually starting atop a new page and sometimes even rendered in different styles of script, each sura is physically and visually separated from the preceding and succeeding ones; therefore, ease of

FIGURE 7. Qurʾan, Shiraz, Iran, Safavid period, ca. 1580, endowed to the Atik Valide Mosque in 1719–1720. Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, TIEM 247, fols. 169b–170a. Image courtesy of the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, Istanbul.

use was guaranteed for multiple reciters looking at the pages. Finally, the suras are not arranged in their numerical order but in a way likely based on the order in which they were recited according to the recitation program determined by the patron. The particular rise and voluminous production of the so-called *enʿam-ı şerif*, a collection starting with *sura al-Anʿām* (6), which was also chanted in the Süleymaniye and Sinan Paşa Mosques, can then be connected to imperial and subimperial Ottoman patrons favoring that very sura for its message emphasizing God's absolute and the sultan's God-given power.[36]

One should also keep in mind that manuscripts of selections of suras or codices with the complete Qurʾanic text were not the only media through which users of the space experienced a material embodiment of the holy book. The epigraphic program also embodied the sacred words in perpetuity, emphasized via beautiful calligraphy in wall painting and on colorful Iznik tiles. Indeed, the majority of mosque visitors would not have been able to leaf through the *en'am-ı şerif* manuscripts, only gaze at the inscriptions. The aural and visual interplay between recitation and epigraphic programs has been discussed in detail elsewhere.[37] In any case, one should never forget that the words inscribed on the walls as well as in the stunning Qurʾan copies dedicated to mosques—such as the sixteenth-century Shirazi *muṣḥaf* kept in the Mihrimah Sultan Mosque in Üsküdar (Figure 7) until 1916—were not meant to remain silent on the pages;[38] rather, they were intended to soar through beautiful architectural spaces, such as the mosques constructed by Mimar Sinan.

Acknowledgments

I thank Massumeh Farhad and Simon Rettig for their invitation to contribute to the symposium "The Word Illuminated: Form and Function of Qurʾanic Manuscripts" at the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery and to the resulting book. Parts of this essay have been published previously in Nina Ergin, "The Soundscape of Sixteenth-Century Istanbul Mosques: Architecture and Qurʾan Recital," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 67, no. 2 (2008): 204–221. The portion of the essay concerning Hadım İbrahim Paşa was presented at the symposium "Sound and the Sacred," convened by Sharon Gerstel at the University of California, Los Angeles, in November 2017. I also owe a debt of gratitude to Sana Mirza for her hard work, Bihter Esener for her assistance with the figures and to Evren Sunnetçioğlu and Christiane Gruber for help with accessing literature.

Notes

1. Directorate General of Endowments (Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü, hereafter VGM), Ankara, D. 1766, p. 150. This volume contains the transcription of the Ottoman Turkish text in Latin letters, and the original phrase included here follows its transcription conventions. For the full text of the endowment deed in English translation, see Nina Macaraig, *Çemberlitaş Hamamı in Istanbul: The Biographical Memoir of a Turkish Bath* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019), 248–285.
2. In the Ottoman Empire, mosques and mosque complexes were generally established together with a charitable endowment (*vakıf*) that would draw revenue from agricultural tax, rent payments from urban and rural real estate, and similar sources. This applied to imperial, subimperial, and commoners' patronage; it was the sultan's prerogative to hand the revenue sources over to the patron, thus basically diverting them from the state's treasury. The revenue then funded at least partially the construction of the mosque and its dependencies and, later on, fully the salaries of its staff, the maintenance of the buildings providing charity, and the daily expenses of institutions such as hospitals, hospices, soup kitchens, and the like. Each endowment's conditions were laid out in detailed charters, thousands of which have been preserved in the archives of the VGM in Ankara, Turkey, as well as in other archives and libraries in those regions once under Ottoman rule.
3. All quotations from the Qurʾan are taken from the following translation: 'Abdullah Yusuf 'Ali, trans., *The Meaning of the Holy Qurʾan* (Beltsville, Md.: Amana, 1997).
4. Michael Sells, *Approaching the Qurʾan: The Early Revelations* (Ashland, Ore.: White Cloud Press, 1999), 164.
5. Sells, *Approaching the Qurʾan*, 185.
6. Sells, *Approaching the Qurʾan*, 186.
7. Navid Kermani, *Gott ist schön: Das ästhetische Erleben des Koran* (Munich: Beck, 1999).
8. Kristina Nelson, *The Art of Reciting the Qurʾan* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2001), xiv.
9. Kermani, *Gott ist schön*, 173.
10. Nelson, *Art of Reciting*, xvii.
11. See Christopher Melchert, "Ibn Mujāhid and the Establishment of Seven Qurʾanic Readings," *Studia Islamica* 91 (2000): 5–22.
12. Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (London: Reaktion Books, 2005), 57, n. 3.
13. On the acoustic properties of concave surfaces and domes, see F. Alton Everest, *Master Handbook of Acoustics*, 4th ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2001), 237, 286.
14. These measurements previously were available from the project website of CAHRISMA (Conservation

of Acoustical Heritage by the Revival and Identification of Sinan's Mosque Acoustics). For information on CAHRISMA, see Christoffer A. Weitze, Claus Lynge Christensen, and Jens Holger Rindel, "Comparison between In-Situ Recordings and Auralizations for Mosques and Byzantine Churches," in *Proceedings of Joint Baltic-Nordic Acoustical Meeting, August 2002, Lyngby, Denmark* (Ultragarsas, 2003), 53–57, https://orbit.dtu.dk/en/publications/comparison-between-in-situ-recordings-and-auralizations-for-mosqu (accessed 4 August 2022).

15. Mutbul Kayılı, "Mimar Sinan'ın Camilerinde Akustik Verilerin Değerlendirilmesi," in *Mimarbaşı Koca Sinan Yaşadığı Çağ ve Eserleri*, ed. Sadi Bayram (Ankara: Vakıflar Müdürlüğü, 1988), 545–547, n. 4.
16. Nicola Prodi and Matteo Marsilio, "On the Effect of Domed Ceiling in Worship Spaces: A Scale Model Study of a Mosque," *Building Acoustics* 10 (2003): 117–134.
17. Ömer Lütfi Barkan, *Süleymaniye Cami ve İmaret İnşaatı (1550–1557)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1972–1979), 2:171.
18. See note 14.
19. Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau Général de l'Empire Othoman*, 7 vols. (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1788–1824). On the author, see Elisabeth Fraser, "Dressing Turks in the French Manner: Mouradgea d'Ohsson's Panorama of the Ottoman Empire," *Ars Orientalis* 39 (2009): 198–230; and Elisabeth Fraser, *Mediterranean Encounters: Artists between Europe and the Ottoman Empire, 1774–1839* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2017), chap. 3.
20. VGM, D. 572/233/57.
21. For two further studies using the same group of mosques but considering the relation between inscription and recitation and the hierarchy of recitation programs, see, respectively, Nina Ergin, "A Multi-sensorial Message of the Divine and the Personal: Qurʾanic Inscriptions and Recitation in Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Mosques," in *Calligraphy and Architecture in the Muslim World*, ed. Mohammad Gharipour and Irvin C. Schick (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), 105–111; and Nina Ergin, "A Sound Status among the Ottoman Elite: Architectural Patrons of Sixteenth-Century Istanbul Mosques and Their Recitation Programs," in *Music, Sound and Architecture in Islam*, ed. Michael Frishkopf and Federico Spinetti (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2018), 37–58.
22. It should also be noted here that specific Qurʾan verses—such as the so-called Throne Verse (2:285–286), which was also recited in the Atik Valide Mosque (see Table 5)—were considered to have apotropaic powers. See, for example, B. A. Donaldson, "The Koran as Magic," *Muslim World* 27 (1937): 254–266; and Francesca Leoni, "Sacred Words, Sacred Power: Qurʾanic and Pious Phrases as Sources of Healing and Protection," in *Power and Protection: Islamic Art and the Supernatural* (Oxford, U.K.: Ashmolean Museum, 2016), 53–65. Yet the construction of Mimar Sinan's mosques, especially during the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent, has been considered a manifestation of the Sunnitization of Ottoman Istanbul, and since the Qurʾan's extraliturgical, apotropaic usage was in the "realms of 'folklore' or 'lower' religion in theological and academic discourse" (Leoni, p. 53), such meaning would have been coincidental rather than officially sanctioned by the chief Islamic jurisprudent.
23. Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*. For a consideration of recitation programs in the light of "decorum," see Ergin, "Sound Status."
24. See Ergin, "Multi-sensorial Message," 114.
25. VGM, D. 574/87/41. Translation by author.
26. On the mosque, its inscriptions, and its endowment, see Abdülkadir Erdoğan, "Silivrikapı'da Hadım İbrahim Paşa Camii," *Vakıflar Dergisi* 1 (1938): 29–33.
27. Castration and thus the lack of offspring to which a father would feel affinity and dedication were considered a means to ensure absolute allegiance to the master or ruler. For more on the "production" of eunuchs in the Ottoman Empire, see A. Ezgi Dikici, "The Making of Ottoman Court Eunuchs: Origins, Recruitment Paths, Family Ties, and 'Domestic Production,'" *Archivum Ottomanicum* 30 (2013): 105–136.

28. On the ascendancy of black eunuchs, see Yıldız Karakoç, "Palace Politics and the Rise of the Chief Black Eunuch in the Ottoman Empire" (master's thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2005). Jane Hathaway has extensively published on black eunuchs; see, among others, "Out of Africa, into the Palace: The Ottoman Chief Harem Eunuch," in *Living in the Ottoman Realm: Empire and Identity, 13th to 20th Centuries*, ed. Kent Schull and Christine Isom-Verhaaren (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2016), 225–238; "Habeshi Mehmed Agha: The First Chief Harem Eunuch (Darüssaade Ağası) of the Ottoman Empire," in *The Islamic Scholarly Tradition: Studies in History, Law, and Thought in Honor of Professor Michael Allan Cook*, ed. Asad Q. Ahmad, Michael Bonner, and Behnaz Sadeghi (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2011), 179–195; and, *Beshir Agha, Chief Eunuch of the Ottoman Imperial Harem* (Oxford, U.K.: Oneworld, 2006).
29. Metin Kunt, "Ottoman White Eunuchs as Palace Officials and Statesmen (1450–1600)," in *Mediterranean Slavery Revisited (500–1800)*, ed. Stefan Hanss and Juliane Schiel (Zurich: Chronos, 2014), 330.
30. For a summary biography, see Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 391–392.
31. Mustafa ʿĀli, *Künhü'l-ahbâr*, Nuruosmaniye Library, Ms. 3409, fol. 127a, as referred to in Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 392, 546, n. 27.
32. For a study of the collective behavior of court eunuchs as architectural patrons, see A. Ezgi Dikici, "Obscure Roots, Solid Foundations: A Comparative Study on the Architectural Patronage of Ottoman Court Eunuchs" (master's thesis, Koç University, 2009).
33. Muslim ibn al-Hajjaj al-Qushayri, *Sahih Muslim, Being Traditions of the Sayings of the Prophet Muhammad as Narrated by His Companions and Compiled under the Title al-Jami' us-Sahih: Rendered into English by Abdul Hamid Siddiqi, with Explanatory Notes and Brief Biographical Sketches of Major Narrators* (Lahore: Muhammad Ashraf, 1971–1975), no. 1631.
34. Leyla Kayhan Elbirlik, "Dialogue Beyond Margins: Patronage of Chief Eunuchs in the Late 16th Century Ottoman Court," *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı* 22 (2010): 89.
35. See Simon Rettig, "The Rise of the *Enʿam*: Manuscripts of Selections of Suras in the Early Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Empire," this volume.
36. Among Mimar Sinan's mosques included in this study, only the Süleymaniye and the Sinan Paşa Mosques included the sixth sura in their recitation programs. We also know that the mosque in the Topkapı Palace's inner courtyard had a group of 40 reciters who chanted that sura. The greatest volume of *enʿam-ı şerif* copies dates to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a period past the scope of the present essay; a study of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century recitation programs may shed more light on the connection between manuscripts and mosques.
37. A large variety in the way in which the aural and visual texts interlocked existed, with the aural text sometimes exceeding the visual and vice versa. Much as with the recitation programs discussed here, patrons could and did communicate personal preferences through the selection of specific suras and their placement. See Ergin, "Multi-sensorial Message," 105–118.
38. Massumeh Farhad and Simon Rettig, eds., *The Art of the Qurʾan: Treasures from the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts* (Washington, D.C.: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 2016), 292–295, cat. no. 49.

The Rise of the *Enʿam*: Manuscripts of Selections of Suras in the Early Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Empire

Simon Rettig

Since at least the late eighth century, codices of the Qurʾan have appeared in a variety of formats. In order to control the appearance of these manuscripts, religious and legal scholars elaborated and issued strict rules regarding the visual appearance of the Qurʾan. Although they advocated for single copies comprising the entire text (*muṣḥaf*, pl. *maṣāḥif* in Arabic), Qurʾans in multiple volumes rapidly gained favor for practical reasons.[1] By dividing the text into sections of equal length, ranging from 2 to 30 volumes, the copyists created codices that were both portable and accessible to more worshipers at a given time. Once separated into sections, manuscripts of the Qurʾan were also more suitable for liturgical use, especially recitation.

Around the year 1500, another format of the Qurʾan gradually developed in Ottoman Turkey. It consisted of selected chapters of the Qurʾan in one volume. After the eighteenth century, these works became known as *enʿam-ı şerif* in Turkish as they usually began with the sixth chapter of the Qurʾan, *sura al-Anʿām* (The Cattle), often preceded by the first sura, *al-Fātiḥa* (The Opening).[2] Usually modest in size and of varying quality, such volumes were created in Istanbul, Cairo, and throughout the Ottoman empire for private and devotional usage. To this day, hundreds, if not thousands, of such copies have survived. The production of so many "books of prayers" suggests that these compendia were among the most popular books in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Ottoman empire. They were primarily commissioned by members of the Ottoman elite, who endowed them to various religious institutions for public use, although copies of the *enʿam-ı şerif* were also "owned by members of the orthodox religious clergy who were . . . frequently initiates of the various Sufi orders or their affiliates."[3] From the late seventeenth century onward, additional non-Qurʾanic elements were integrated into the volumes. After a few suras, which were always organized in the order of the Qurʾan, *hilye*s (verbal descriptions of the Prophet Muhammad and also of other major figures of early Islam[4]) were added. Representations of the holy shrines of Mecca and Medina and literary texts such as the *Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt* (Waymarks of benefits), a collection of prayers on the Prophet Muhammad composed by fifteenth-century Moroccan Sufi shaykh and writer Muhammad al-Jazuli (d. 1465), also became popular.[5]

If the development of these later mass-produced books of prayers are relatively well-known thanks to recent studies, the origin and formative stages of collections of Qurʾanic chapters remain obscure.[6] According to Annemarie Schimmel, it was the celebrated Ottoman calligrapher Shaykh Hamdullah who around 1500 introduced selections of suras as well as volumes with only the sixth Qurʾanic chapter, *al-Anʿām*.[7] Unfortunately, she did not provide any explanation for this development. Hamdullah ibn Mustafa Dede, better known as Shaykh Hamdullah (d. 1520), is acknowledged as the founder of the Ottoman school of calligraphy under the reign of Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512). He began his career in Amasya as instructor to then prince Bayezid and followed him to Istanbul, where the latter was enthroned in 1481. For the rest of his life, Shaykh Hamdullah was active in the Ottoman capital until his death in 1520.[8] Extremely prolific, he developed a new canon for the six Qurʾanic cursive scripts known as *al-aqlām al-sitta*, which include *thuluth*, *naskh*, *riqāʿ*, *tawqīʿ*, *rayḥān*, and *muḥaqqaq*. As recounted by later sources, the shaykh modified and redefined the form

of the *naskh* and *thuluth* styles by following the model developed by Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi, the celebrated late thirteenth-century calligrapher active in Baghdad. Alongside numerous copies of the Qurʾan, Shaykh Hamdullah produced a number of selections of suras. In addition to such works, small volumes containing only one sura—mainly *al-Anʿām*, the sixth chapter of the Qurʾan—were also created. Although these Qurʾanic selections have long been known, scholars have paid little attention to their sudden popularity around the year 1500 at the Ottoman court or at least to the genre's association with the most celebrated calligrapher of the time and his disciples.

This chapter offers some preliminary thoughts on the pre-Ottoman origins of the selection of suras, focusing thereafter on volumes produced in the first half of the sixteenth century, especially on manuscripts with only *sura al-Anʿām*. The examination of the codicological features of these works may help us understand the development of a new and original visual identity of codices with Qurʾanic content. These features also underline the function of these manuscripts, which as I shall argue, were by the mid-sixteenth century no longer limited to private pietistic practices in the Ottoman sphere. On the contrary, specific formats, layouts, and scripts, together with the identity of makers and patrons, point to the public usage of these volumes. Single copies of *sura al-Anʿām* attest to the development of an imperial religious practice, which consisted of daily recitations of this specific Qurʾanic chapter, an act destined to enhance the sultan's political and military power as well as his spiritual and moral authority. Ottoman emphasis on *sura al-Anʿām* first flourished during the reign of Bayezid II at the end of the fifteenth century as a form of personal piety among the sultan's entourage. It was fully instituted as a public ritual in imperial mosques by the reign of Süleyman I (r. 1520–1566).

Pre-Ottoman Selections of Suras: Genuine Manuscripts or Later Forgeries?

The reason for gathering selections of the Qurʾan into discrete volumes is still uncertain, as is their first appearance. Alexandra Bain has argued that the earliest dated example is a manuscript penned by Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi.[9] The copy includes suras *al-Fātiḥa* (1, The Opening), *al-Anʿām* (6, The Cattle), *al-Kahf* (18, The Cave), *Sabāʾ* (34, Sheba), and *Fāṭir* (35, The Originator, also called *al-Malāʾika*, The Angels). The colophon in a decorated cartouche proclaims, "Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi wrote it. May God forgive him" (Figure 1).

The manuscript's headings, rosettes, and marginal medallions seemingly typify late thirteenth- to early fourteenth-century illuminated designs. On the opening page, a mandorla in the same style as the other decorated devices attests that the manuscript "was copied for the treasury of the great sultan of the caliph al-Mustaʿsimi in Dhu'l-Qaʿda 690 [October–November 1291]." The mistake in the name of the last Abbasid caliph—al-Mustaʿsimi instead of al-Mustaʿsim—together with the year 1291, which postdates al-Mustaʿsim's death in 1258, suggests that the manuscript is a later production. The textual arrangement, which consists of three lines in *naskh* above and below a large central band in bold *thuluth* style, also does not conform to Yaqut's authentic works. According to Nourane Ben Azzouna, today 11 genuine manuscripts are known.[10] Moreover, the dimensions of the zone of text are also unusual: the double square format (i.e., a ratio of 1:2) developed only later in Iran during the fourteenth century; to my knowledge, it does not appear in earlier manuscripts. As Ben Azzouna has noted, the decoration of the opening mandorla and of the colophon cartouche is homogeneous and looks "ancient."[11] Both motifs seem contemporaneous with the manuscript. They suggest a later date in a style that emulates the illumination, associated with Yaqut's time and late thirteenth-century Baghdad. Finally, a comparison of the calligraphy to Yaqut's definitive works confirms that this selection of suras is by a different—and later—hand than by the "cynosure of calligraphers" (*qiblat al-kuttāb* in Arabic), as Yaqut was later called. The fact that this copy may be a forgery raises the issue of the time of its production. Ben Azzouna putatively ascribed the manuscript to the fourteenth century. It may

FIGURE 1. Selection of suras signed by Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi, Iraq, Baghdad, dated Dhu'l-Qaʿda 690 (October–November 1291), more likely Iraq or Anatolia, ca. 1350–1400. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, R. 70, fols. 70b–71a. Image © The Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, The Directorate of National Palaces Administration.

be, indeed, a late Ilkhanid or Jalayirid copy created at a time when Yaqut had already acquired considerable fame and his works were avidly sought out and collected. The present volume made its way to Anatolia no later than 1450: Zeynep Atbaş has convincingly argued the addition of illuminated devices on the opening double page with *sura al-Fātiḥa* and the binding are attributable, on a stylistic basis, to Bursa in the first half of the fifteenth century.[12] The manuscript, therefore, was probably part of the collections of Murad II (1421–1444, 1446–1451) and Mehmed II (1444–1446, 1451–1481) before it entered the Ottoman royal library in the Topkapı Palace with Bayezid II's seal imprint.[13] In fact, it is mentioned in the inventory of Bayezid II's library, compiled by ʿAtufi and dated 1503–1504; it appears at the end of the section listing copies of the Qurʾan as *sura al-Anʿām bi-khatti Yaqut* (*sura al-Anʿām* by the hand of Yaqut).[14] Several copies—genuine or forged—of the Qurʾan and other religious or poetic works associated with Yaqut also figure in the inventory, an indication that volumes penned by the calligrapher were highly valued.[15]

The reference to the selection of suras in ʿAtufi's "catalog" is critical for two reasons: First, it confirms that such a volume was already named *al-Anʿām* as early as 1500 even though the work contained several other chapters of the Qurʾan. Second, and perhaps more importantly, it confirms the Ottoman association of the genre with the calligrapher and, through the dedication in the opening mandorla, with the ruler. In other words, in the mind of the Ottomans, the most famous calligrapher, Yaqut, created a new type of Qurʾanic codex in which *sura al-Anʿām* seemingly dominates for the most legitimate leader of the universal Muslim community of the time, that is, the Abbasid caliph al-Mustaʿsim.

Another volume in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library comprises the same selection of Qurʾanic chapters, suras *al-Fātiḥa* (1), *al-Anʿām* (6), *al-Kahf* (18), *Sabāʾ* (34), *al-Malāʾika* (or *Fāṭir*, 35), and it has been ascribed to fourteenth-century Baghdad.[16] Like in traditional copies of the Qurʾan, the chapters are contiguous on a

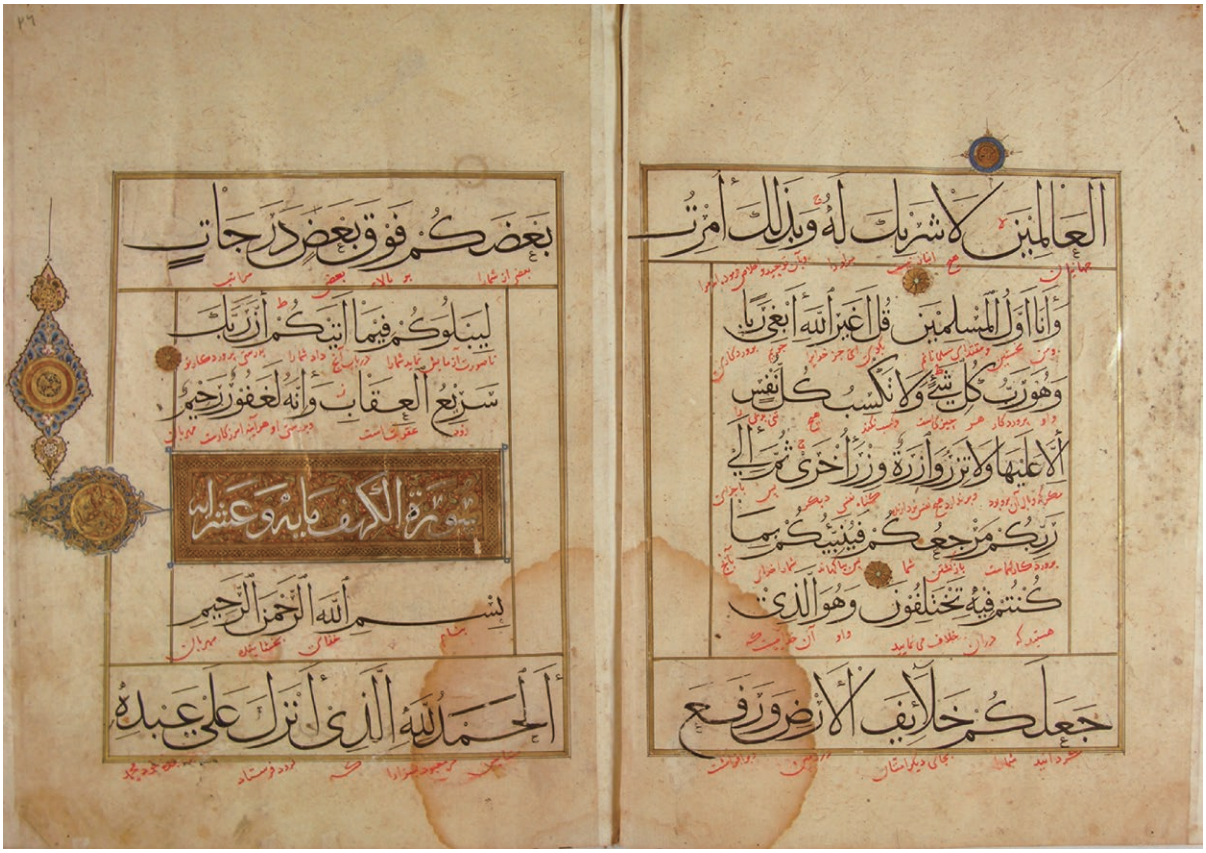


FIGURE 2. Selection of suras attributed to Arghun al-Kamili, Iraq, Baghdad, Ilkhanid period, ca. 1320–1330. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, E.H. 69, fols. 25b–26a. Image © The Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, The Directorate of National Palaces Administration.

page. The text layout consists of two large lines of *muḥaqqaq* script that frame a block of five smaller lines in *rayḥān*. Interlinear Persian translation is written obliquely in red *naskh* (Figure 2).

The text includes finely illuminated sura headings and marginal medallions, which recall similar examples found in manuscripts from Iraq and western Iran in the first half of the fourteenth century.[17] A spurious—and probably later—inscription has been added, alleging that the manuscript was copied by Arghun al-Kamili. Presented as one of Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi's students but more likely simply following Yaqut's calligraphic method, Arghun spent his entire career in Baghdad copying Qurʾans and designing architectural inscriptions in the second quarter of the fourteenth century.[18] Although it is difficult here to attribute the manuscript to a particular calligrapher, the quality and balance of the scripts undoubtedly point to the work of a master of that period.[19] Apart from the text's religious content, the fact that the copy was ascribed to Arghun, one of the most celebrated calligraphers of the late Ilkhanid period, may explain its careful refurbishment with blocks of original text as well as marginal illuminated motifs cut and remounted on to new pages.

New folios were inserted, probably to replace badly damaged ones, and the text arrangement follows the original layout, including lines of *muḥaqqaq* and *rayḥān* but without the interlinear Persian translation (Figure 3). The selection opens with *sura al-Fātiḥa* displayed on an illuminated double page. The decorative motifs consist of gold vegetal scrolls unfurling on a blue ground, characteristic of Persian illuminations in the fifteenth century that were subsequently adopted by Ottoman artists around 1500. The heading of *sura al-Anʿām* on the next folio offers another type of decoration, a late fifteenth-century illuminated design, which spread from central Asia and Iran to Anatolia. It combines minute gilded leafy sprays on a blue ground

FIGURE 3. Selection of suras attributed to Arghun al-Kamili, Iraq, Baghdad, Ilkhanid period, ca. 1320–1330. The page on the right is original, whereas the one on the left is a later addition, probably from ca. 1500 when the manuscript was refurbished. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, E.H. 69, fols. 60b–61a. Image © The Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, The Directorate of National Palaces Administration.

and fine stylized vegetal designs in black on gold background. The refurbishment, therefore, was probably conducted at the court workshop in the first decades of the sixteenth century, when the manuscript entered the Ottoman collections.

Another copy of a selection of suras was also produced in fourteenth-century Iran. The volume, now dispersed, was likely made in Baghdad around 1370 during the reign of the Jalayirid sultan Shaykh Uways (r. 1356–1374) and is said to have contained five suras, starting with *al-Anʿām* (Figure 4).[20] Abolala Soudavar has attributed the copy to Abu Muhammad ʿAbd al-Qayyum ibn Muhammad ibn Karamshah-i Tabrizi.[21]

The bold *muḥaqqaq* in black and outlined in gold and the refined illumination undoubtedly parallel works by master calligraphers trained by Ahmad al-Suhrawardi, ʿAbdallah al-Sayrafi, and Arghun al-Kamili and point to royal Jalayirid patronage. The dimensions of the page (45 × 33 cm) place the manuscript within the same category as those commissioned by members of the ruling elites. Yet it is smaller than the imperial Qurʾans in 30 volumes produced for the Ilkhanid ruler Öljeitü (r. 1304–1316) and meant to be displayed in his shrine. As the fourteenth-century dispersed selection of suras to which this folio belonged may have been trimmed, the original size was probably even larger, possibly 50 × 35 cm, which approximately corresponds to half-*baghdādī* size and equals the previous manuscript attributed to Arghun.[22] As a result, the scale, splendid calligraphy, and lavish illuminations suggest this work must have been a royal commission. Its use, however, still remains unclear. Was it intended for an intimate, private oratory or a shared, public congregational mosque?[23] Of particular note is the layout of the text, which follows the organization of a regular and complete *muṣḥaf*. It is indeed presented contiguously with chapters following each other in an uninterrupted manner and marginal medallions indicating verse count and textual divisions much like in a

FIGURE 4. Folio from a dispersed selection of suras attributed to Abu Muhammad Abd al-Qayyum ibn Muhammad ibn Karamshah-i Tabrizi, possibly Iraq, Baghdad, Jalayirid period, ca. 1350–1370. Art and History Collection on long-term loan to the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., LTS1995.15.1.

full copy of the Qurʾan. As the folio in Figure 4 demonstrates, *sura al-Kahf* and its heading have been placed right after the end of *sura al-Anʿām*, which occupies the first line of the page.

The later history of this dispersed selection of suras is not known. Similarly, the identity of the owner of the Topkapı volume (E.H. 69; Figures 2, 3) is not clear, and the manuscript carries no inscriptions or seal impressions. Only its refurbishment indicates that by the sixteenth century it was part of the Ottoman library. What these manuscripts suggest, however, is that the genre of selections of suras probably originated in fourteenth-century western Iran and Iraq, a region ruled over by the Ilkhanids and their successors.[24] More precisely, development of selections of suras as independent volumes seems to appear in the second half of the fourteenth century, when western Iran, Iraq, and parts of Anatolia were under the control of the Jalayirids. The Topkapı manuscript and the copy ascribed to Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi (R. 70; Figure 1) also exemplify that such works were first created for elite and courtly circles and ascribed to some of the most talented calligraphers. The practice seems to continue into the Timurid period, as exemplified by a selection of suras penned by the Timurid prince Ibrahim Sultan ibn Shahrukh, who governed Shiraz and the Fars region between 1415 and his death in 1435. An accomplished calligrapher, Ibrahim Sultan completed the copy in 827/1423.[25] It comprises 16 folios, each measuring 65 by 45 cm; the Qurʾanic text is written in gold *muḥaqqaq* outlined in black or black *thuluth* and adorned with fine illuminations characteristic of the Shirazi arts of the book of the period.[26] The volume, however, differs from the previous examples, for it does not contain the same suras: 12 in number, they include *al-Fātiḥa* (1), *Yāʾ Sīn* (36), *al-Fatḥ* (48), *al-Dahr* or *al-Insān* (76), *al-Nabāʾ* (78), *al-Fajr* (89), *al-Shams* (91), *al-Sharḥ* (94), *al-Kāfirūn* (109), *al-Ikhlāṣ* (112), *al-Falaq* (113), and *al-Nās* (114). Here, *sura al-Anʿām* is conspicuously absent.

In a subtle manner, these selections of suras link the Ottomans to the Mongols. Ottoman calligraphers traced the origins of their "school" back to Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi. They also admired and valued the works by subsequent fourteenth-century masters, such as ʿAbdallah al-Sayrafi and Arghun al-Kamili, and emulated Timurid models, which were already available to them in large numbers by 1500 as part of the Ottoman treasury.[27] Like calligraphers, Ottoman sultans, and Bayezid II in particular, may have looked upon their Ilkhanid, Jalayirid, and Timurid predecessors. Commissioning and creating some of the same selections of suras allowed Ottoman patrons and artists to express their admiration for earlier masters and to show their ability not only to emulate but also eventually to outdo their forerunners. In their quest for legitimacy, they also inserted themselves into a perceived continuous line of religious thought and pietistic practice. In that sense, the Ottoman sultan Bayezid II and the calligrapher Shaykh Hamdullah looked beyond the Mongols and their successors to find the ultimate and perfect model: the calligrapher Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi and his alleged patron, the Abbasid caliph al-Mustaʿsim.

Sultan Bayezid II, the Calligrapher Shaykh Hamdullah, and the Selections of Suras

The tradition of combining chapters from the Qurʾan into independent single volumes gained momentum under Bayezid II in Anatolia in the late fifteenth century. At this time, the production of selections of suras, which could include as many as 10 chapters, and of manuscripts with only *sura al-Anʿām* became widespread.

The genre's popularity is particularly evident in the work of Shaykh Hamdullah, who signed dozens of volumes of single suras or of selected Qurʾanic chapters. Many others are attributable to him on stylistic grounds.[28] His students were equally active in producing such volumes. Shaykh Hamdullah developed a model that differed from the examples ascribed to Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi and his successors. Several such volumes that include Bayezid II's seal were kept in the Topkapı Palace libraries and must have been available to Shaykh Hamdullah. As discussed above, the refurbishment of some fourteenth-century copies, such as E.H.

69, indicates that these earlier models were known and circulated beyond the library.[29] Instead of simply duplicating them, Shaykh Hamdullah introduced new features, laying a framework for a distinctively Ottoman format of the selection of suras.

Among the many codices signed by or attributed to him is a manuscript now kept in the Library of Congress that stands out for its layout and fine execution.[30] Neither the content nor the format and particular arrangements of the calligraphic styles of the various Qurʾanic chapters have received much attention. The manuscript opens with a dazzling illuminated double page dedication, which is written in gold *thuluth* on an elaborate ground of different shades of blue. It claims that the copy was made for Firuz Ağa ibn ʿAbd al-Hayy, who was the *hazine darbaşı* (head of the Imperial Treasury) of Sultan Bayezid II between 1492 and 1512. The stylistic link between this double page and the other illuminated designs as well as the outstanding lacquered binding suggests that the volume was probably produced around 1500. The workmanship recalls contemporaneous works from Aq Qoyunlu Tabriz and may have been created by craftsmen who emigrated from Iran.[31]

Sura al-Fātiḥa (1, The Opening) is located on the page following the dedication (Figure 5). Written in gold

FIGURE 5. ***Sura al-Fātiḥa*** **and** ***sura al-Anʿām*****, verses 13–16, in a selection of suras attributed to Shaykh Hamdullah, Turkey, Istanbul, Ottoman period, before 1512. Library of Congress, manuscript not foliated. Image courtesy of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.**

muḥaqqaq on a gilded background adorned with deep blue vegetal scrolls, it fits on one page of seven lines. *Al-Fātiḥa* is immediately followed by *sura al-Anʿām*, starting here with verse 13 as the bifolio with the beginning of the chapter is now missing. It is penned in black *muḥaqqaq* in seven lines. The subsequent chapter is *sura al-Kahf* (18, The Cave); it has the same textual layout but is written in black *thuluth*. Chapter 34 (*sura Sabāʾ*, Sheba), chapter 35 (*sura Fāṭir*, The Creator), and chapter 36 (*sura Yāʾ Sīn*, Letters *Yāʾ Sīn*) are followed at the end by chapter 48 (*sura al-Fatḥ*, The Victory). Each sura presents a different arrangement. *Sura Sabāʾ* has three lines of *muḥaqqaq* with two intermediary blocks of four lines in *rayḥān* style.

Sura Fāṭir exhibits the same layout but with three large lines of *thuluth* and a block of four smaller ones in *naskh* (Figure 6). The text of suras *Yāʾ Sīn* and *al-Fatḥ* comprise 11 lines per page and are penned in *naskh* style. In the mid-1980s, the manuscript was X-rayed in order to reveal the erased inscription on the last folio that "frames" on three sides the last word of *sura al-Fatḥ*, which appears in the middle of the page. What could be partially deciphered were the words "Ibn al-Shaykh," the *laqab* (nickname) of Shaykh Hamdullah. As a result, the manuscript has been attributed to the famous calligrapher, who incidentally also signed the architectural inscriptions of the mosque built by Firuz Ağa in 1491 near Haghia Sophia.[32]

A comparison between Qurʾanic manuscripts signed by Shaykh Hamdullah and the Library of Congress copy suggests, however, that the latter may not be the work of the celebrated Ottoman calligrapher after

FIGURE 6. *Sura Fāṭir* **in a selection of suras attributed to Shaykh Hamdullah, Turkey, Istanbul, Ottoman period, before 1512. Library of Congress, manuscript not foliated. Image courtesy of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.**

all. The script generally lacks the evenness of his style. Another questionable feature is the location of the inscription. In Shaykh Hamdullah's works, the colophon and his signature are usually laid out and written before the ruling lines are added, which is not the case here. The manuscript, however, was clearly copied by a highly accomplished calligrapher, trained in the art of the *aqlām al-sitta*, or the six styles, which Shaykh Hamdullah had recodified. It is tempting to propose that the Library of Congress volume is the work of one of his students, possibly Husayn Shah ibn ʿAbdallah, his adoptive son. As Uğur Derman noted, Shaykh Hamdullah signed pieces written by Husayn Shah as "a mark of high esteem."[33] In his early career, Husayn Shah is called a *kātib* (scribe) in the *Divan-ı Hümayun* (Imperial Council) and in 1505–1506, he was *kātib* in the *Hazine-i Amire* (Royal Treasury), when Firuz Ağa was in office.

The manuscript's superb illumination and binding confirm that it was a collaboration of several highly accomplished artists, possibly working in the court workshop. Firuz Ağa probably used this luxurious copy for private devotions, as such copies were often intended for such a purpose.[34] Some of the manuscript's features may also suggest another more public use, perhaps in Firuz Ağa's own mosque. First, there is the size. Measuring 35.5 × 21.5 cm, the volume is larger than any selection of suras produced by Shaykh Hamdullah or any other calligrapher at the time. It corresponds to the dimensions of contemporaneous complete copies of the Qurʾan, which were often used for public display. Second, the visual arrangement and organization of the Library of Congress's volume are highly unusual and differ from previous manuscripts. Each sura is visually distinct, with a different script and text layout. Unlike copies of the Qurʾan and other selections of suras in which chapters succeed one another without a break, Firuz Ağa's copy offers another presentation. Every sura starts atop a new page, and therefore, each chapter is visually and physically separated from the others.

For instance, *sura al-Anʿām* ends on the penultimate line of the recto page (Figure 7). The last line was left blank, whereas it normally would have been inscribed with the heading of the next chapter, in this case, *sura al-Kahf*. Instead, the sura begins on the verso of the folio. To maintain the overall design layout, the last part of the final verse of *sura al-Kahf* was reduced in size to fit at the bottom of the page, thus allowing the heading of *sura Sabāʾ* to sit at the top of the facing page (Figure 8). As a result, the seven suras within the selection create separate groupings, further distinguished by the different scripts and layouts. These singular features may also explain the manuscript's function: Firuz Ağa's selection of suras was not meant to be read from beginning to end in a continuous manner. Each chapter could be read independently and would be recited at a specific time of the day, as specified by the patron of the mosque. Like the dispersed Jalayirid selection of suras, the Library of Congress volume may actually have served in lieu of a whole *muṣḥaf* or a *juzʾ* set. As a result, in shrines, where the Qurʾan was read and recited to secure divine blessings for the founder or his or her relatives and, eventually, for all Muslims, the selection of suras would function like a *muṣḥaf*: it was endowed to a specific religious site and displayed in front of the reciters to serve as a physical embodiment of the orally recited Word of God. Firuz Ağa's manuscript may signal a change in devotional practice through the intermediary of Qurʾanic manuscripts, which likely occurred in the late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Ottoman sphere. The volume would be used for the recitation of a particular sura at a given time instead of reading it from a whole *muṣḥaf*. It also demonstrates how calligraphers and artists experimented with the formal and visual qualities of codices with Qurʾanic content to distinguish different types. An examination of the content, format, and layout of the selections of suras by Shaykh Hamdullah, as well as his students and peers, is critical in order to shed more light on the evolution of codices such as the Library of Congress volume.[35] If selections of suras became increasingly popular around 1500, it is the unprecedented number of volumes containing only *sura al-Anʿām* that is staggering.

FIGURE 7. ***Sura al-Anʿām*** **in a selection of suras attributed to Shaykh Hamdullah, Turkey, Istanbul, Ottoman period, before 1512. Library of Congress, manuscript not foliated. Image courtesy of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.**

FIGURE 8. ***Sura Sabāʾ*** **in a selection of suras attributed to Shaykh Hamdullah, Turkey, Istanbul, Ottoman period, before 1512. Library of Congress, manuscript not foliated. Image courtesy of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.**

Ottoman Volumes of *Sura Al-Anʿām*

ʿAtufi's inventory of 1503–1504 singled out the selection of suras by Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi. However, it did not provide any details about the other 82 volumes of *sura al-Anʿām* kept in two boxes (*sunduq*) in the Ottoman treasury.[36] It is also unclear whether the copies were all stamped with Bayezid II's seal and whether they were selections of suras or singletons of *al-Anʿām.* Yet the sixth Qurʾanic chapter may have held a particular importance for Bayezid II, who may have used single volumes of *al-Anʿām* for daily use, as suggested in the memoirs of his Genoese page Menavino: each morning, 41 reciters would come to the mosque in the third court of the Topkapı Palace in order to recite *sura al-Anʿām* at the request of Bayezid II.[37] As Gülru Necipoğlu noted, the recitation would heighten "the sultan's success and well-being."[38] The tradition of daily recitation of the sura, which led to the production of volumes devoted to only the sixth chapter of the Qurʾan, can therefore be associated with this Ottoman sultan.

In general, the layout of the volumes follows the canon established by Shaykh Hamdullah. A typical example is demonstrated by a manuscript in the Topkapı Palace (E.H. 290). Its pocket-sized dimensions

FIGURE 9 (above). *Sura al-Anʿām* signed by Shaykh Hamdullah, Turkey, Istanbul, Ottoman period, undated, ca. 1500–1510. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, E.H. 290, fols. 22b–23a. Image © The Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, The Directorate of National Palaces Administration.

FIGURE 10 (right). *Sura al-Anʿām* signed by Shaykh Hamdullah, Turkey, Istanbul, Ottoman period, undated, ca. 1500–1510. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, E.H. 290, fol. 23b. Image © The Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, The Directorate of National Palaces Administration.

suggest that it was used for private devotion. The text block is formatted as a double square, and the calligraphy is a minute *naskh* (Figures 9, 10). The colophon stands apart from the sura text and appears on the page following the chapter's end. Marginal devices or inscriptions that mark the divisions within the Qurʾanic text are conspicuously absent.

The numerous copies of *sura al-Anʿām* manuscripts would almost always follow this format. Yet no two works, even by the same calligrapher, are identical, and they always present certain differences, either in the layout of the text or the style of illumination. For example, two copies were penned and

FIGURE 11. ***Sura al-Anʿām*** **copied and illuminated by Naqqash Fadl Allah, Turkey, Istanbul, Ottoman period, dated 912/1506. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, E.H. 320, fol. 1b. Image © The Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, The Directorate of National Palaces Administration.**

illuminated by Naqqash Fadl Allah, known as Ibn al-ʿArab, in 912/1506.[39] Both manuscripts include unframed colophons, which appear independently on the last page, separated from the rest of the text. They are written in the *thuluth* script, but one has three lines to the page, and the other has four lines. The illuminated headings are also treated differently in the two manuscripts (Figures 11, 12). Another novelty is the addition of the prayer that was to follow the recitation of the sura. The prayer is written in *naskh* and appears at the end of the chapter. It is written in a smaller *naskh* script than the Qurʾanic text and is introduced with the heading *hadhā al-duʿāʾ* (this the prayer) to signal that the *duʿāʾ* is an addendum.

A fine unsigned and undated copy in the Topkapı Palace Library (Figure 13) that is attributable, on stylistic grounds, to the second quarter of the sixteenth century includes another prayer: an abridged version of the supplication of the prophets (*duʿāʾ rusul Allāh*).[40] It appears in the margin of folio 34a adjacent to verse 124, in which the disbelievers say, "We will not believe until we receive one (exactly) like those received by Allah's messengers."

Here, the two consecutive names of God on the second and third lines are written in gold. The location also marks the place where the Qurʾanic recitation must stop (*waqf lāzim*) to avoid alteration of the meaning.

FIGURE 12. ***Sura al-Anʿām*** **copied and illuminated by Naqqash Fadl Allah, Turkey, Istanbul, Ottoman period, dated 912/1506. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, E.H. 321, fol. 1b. Image © The Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, The Directorate of National Palaces Administration.**

Incidentally, the pause also allows for the prayer of the prophets to be performed aloud. The *duʿāʾ* is penned in smaller *naskh* than the sura's text and is inscribed diagonally in an illuminated cartouche. At the end of the volume, the prayer for completing the recitation of *sura al-Anʿām* immediately follows the sura and is also copied in a smaller *naskh*. The size of the script indicates that it is a non-Qurʾanic textual addition, and as such, it should not be considered equal to the sacred text.

A larger volume of *sura al-Anʿām* offers another layout for the sura and its accompanying prayers. Although undated, it is signed by Qasim ibn ʿAbdallah, "slave (*ghulamān*) of . . . Sultan Süleyman," and can be attributed to the second quarter of the sixteenth century.[41] The text is in *naskh* and is written in nine lines per page. It opens with a fine illuminated heading. At the end of the volume, the sura is immediately followed first by the prayer of the prophets and then the completion prayer. Both are copied in the same script as the Qurʾanic text and are integrated in the central zone of text (Figures 14, 15). Their headings are not illuminated, however, and titles are simply penned in red ink and gold. The colophon, which follows the second prayer, is also penned in *naskh* but in a minute format in order to differentiate it visually from what precedes. Although the patrons of these two manuscripts are not identified, the volumes' careful execution and intimate size suggest that they may have been completed for a member of the Ottoman elite, possibly

FIGURE 13. ***Sura al-Anʿām*****, unsigned and undated, Turkey, probably Istanbul, Ottoman period, ca. 1525–1550. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, B.10, fols. 33b–34a. Image © The Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, The Directorate of National Palaces Administration.**

living in the palace. The copies could have been used for daily recitation of the sura, a practice initiated by Bayezid II.

Reciting a sura brought protection and *baraka* (divine blessing), and those recurrent in the selections of suras discussed earlier were particularly popular.[42] *Sura al-Anʿām*, however, stands apart. As mentioned above, 41 men recited it simultaneously every morning for Bayezid II so that his wishes would be fulfilled. The reason for this choice might be explained by the sura's content. *Al-Anʿām* was revealed in the late Meccan period in a time when the Muslim community struggled for survival.[43] By reaffirming the Islamic principles, the chapter encouraged the Prophet and his companions to oppose the disbelievers and to warn them about the wrongdoing of their actions. The parallel with the Ottoman sultan and his subjects contending with European Christian powers but even more with the Shiʿi Safavids of Iran may explain the popularity of the sura in the late fifteenth and through the sixteenth century. Its recitation was a means for the Ottoman sultan to seek protection at a time when Shah Ismaʿil I (r. 1501–1524) and his Qizilbash followers were threatening the eastern territories of the Ottoman dominion around 1500. In this regard, *sura al-Anʿām* may be of special interest if we consider its "rise" through the Sufi prism, in particular during the first part of Bayezid II's reign when the Halveti order gained favor with the sultan. The brotherhood's shaykh Jamal

FIGURE 14. ***Sura al-Anʿām*** **signed by Qasim ibn ʿAbdallah, Turkey, probably Istanbul, Ottoman period, ca. 1525–1550. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, B.11, fols. 21b–22a. Image © The Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, The Directorate of National Palaces Administration.**

al-Khalwati (d. 1499) joined Amasya in 1475 when Bayezid was governor and later Istanbul when the latter became sultan, as Jamal had premonitory visions that helped Bayezid to conquer the throne over his rivals.[44] Like some other Sufi orders at the time, the Halvetis showed pro-ʿAlid sentiments that they gradually curbed during the process of Sunnitization of the Ottoman state and the sectarian dispute with the Safavids under Selim I and Süleyman I.[45] It has been noted that Bayezid II's favorite calligrapher, Hamdullah, who was also his calligraphy teacher in Amasya, was also a shaykh of several brotherhoods, including the Halvetiye, before he later became affiliated with the Naqshbandi order in Istanbul.[46] This is confirmed by one of his copies of *sura al-Anʿām*.[47] It is undated but is attributable to the 1480s–1490s on the stylistic basis of the illuminated heading, and therefore, it might be seen as an early copy made at the beginning of Bayezid II's reign. Following the end of the sura and the colophon on folio 33b is the beginning of a hadith attributed to ʿAli b. Abi Talib that started on the next folio, which is now missing.[48] ʿAli is described with Shiʿi expressions such as *Amīr al-muʾminīn* (commander of the faithful) and *Imām al-muttaqīn* (leader of the righteous), but the text includes also Sunni invocations like *karrama Allāhu wajhahu* (may God exalt his face), evidence of what has been described as ʿAlid Sufism, notably in fifteenth-century Anatolia.[49] In this context, the understanding of *sura al-Anʿām*'s content takes on a special dimension when examined through the Sufi prism, and Halveti in particular, for it deals with the question of authority, both spiritual and temporal. *Sura al-Anʿām* evokes all the Biblical prophets and their missions. It narrates the story of Abraham and his descendants, and it draws a comparison between the book of Moses and the one sent down to Muhammad. The sura extols God as all-

FIGURE 15. ***Sura al-Anʿām*** **signed by Qasim ibn ʿAbdallah, Turkey, probably Istanbul, Ottoman period, ca. 1525–1550. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, B.11, fols. 22b–23a. Image © The Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, The Directorate of National Palaces Administration.**

powerful and the ultimate guide, and it concludes as follows: "It is He who has appointed you viceroys in the earth, and has raised some of you in rank above others, that He may try you in what He has given you. Surely thy Lord is swift in retribution; and surely He is All-forgiving, All-compassionate."[50]

The term *khalīfa* (pl. *khalā'if*), which translates as "successor," "ruler," or "viceroy," may have had a particular resonance for members of a dynasty that had long sought to justify the legitimacy of its rule. By progressively incorporating Sufistic notions of authority into a legalistic framework from the time of Bayezid II's rule onward, the Ottoman sultans were seen not only as the temporal successor to the Prophet (*khalīfa rasūl Allāh*)—and part of the spiritual lineage of the Biblical prophets—but also as God's vice-regent (*khalīfa Allāh*), a title not used since the fall of the Abbasids, implying that the Ottomans were divinely ordained to govern.[51] As Hüseyin Yılmaz wrote,

> Against the Safavid threat and Turkoman uprisings with Alid sympathies, the Abbasid affiliation confirmed the Ottoman's spiritual attachment to the family of the Prophet and emphasized their championing the true faith. These considerations created a vague impression that the Abbasid was still in effect in the sense that the Mongols only ended the Abbasid dynasty and their executive capacity to rule while the House of Osman rightfully inherited their authority to rule over the Muslim community."[52]

With Süleyman I eventually assuming the title of caliph, they also wanted to give more prominence to their historical attachment to the Abbasid caliphate. In the eyes of the Ottomans, *sura al-Anʿām* became a means to link the two dynasties together.

It is during the reign of Süleyman I that the sixth Qurʾanic chapter is officially listed as one of the main suras to be recited in imperial mosques for the protection of the ruling monarch and his empire. The *vakfiye* (endowment deed) of Sultan Süleyman I's mosque complex (Süleymaniye), built between 1548 and 1559, sheds light on this development. In her analysis of the document, Gülru Necipoğlu notes the presence of 41 reciters (*enamcılar*), who daily delivered *sura al-Anʿām* "for the strengthening of the sultan's sovereignty."[53] Although the time of day for the recitation is unspecified, the recitation may have taken place every morning, following the schedule at the Topkapı Palace during Bayezid II's reign, as is recounted by Menavino. It would also be critical, if not essential, for the Qurʾanic text to be physically present during the recitations. For this purpose, instead of using a *muṣḥaf*, either in one volume or in sections, the selection of suras or simply the *sura al-Anʿām* would serve in lieu of the whole Qurʾan. Placed on a stand in front of the reciter, the volume would represent the Word of God in its entirety, a practice that was implemented and perhaps initiated by Bayezid II. As mentioned earlier, ʿAtufi's inventory of the treasury's library confirms this practice with the reference to two chests, each one containing 41 volumes of *sura al-Anʿām.* These texts were undoubtedly integral to the ritual of the *enamcılar*, each one using a copy from these cases.

Like his predecessors Shaykh Hamdullah and Naqqash Fadl Allah, the famed calligrapher Ahmad Karahisari (d. 1556) produced single copies of *sura al-Anʿām*.[54] One of his earliest such works was completed in 945/1538–1539.[55] The sura is copied in *naskh* in nine lines of text per page. It is followed by the *taṣliya* (invocation of God's blessing upon the Prophet), written in three lines in bold *thuluth*, whereas the recitation's completion prayer is in *rayḥān* script and inscribed on the verso of the last folio (24b). If this arrangement follows the design established by earlier Ottoman calligraphers, the opening folios with the beginning of the sura present a novel and original layout (Figure 16). On each page, two central roundels include the Qurʾanic text in nine lines and copied in minute *naskh*. Two large horizontals bands frame the roundels above and below. The upper right cartouche presents the sura's title in gold, whereas the text in the three other bands, copied in black ink, continues with the sura, which appears in the circles. Majestic *muḥaqqaq* is used throughout.

At least two other *sura al-Anʿām* volumes by Ahmad Karahisari display this unprecedented layout: an undated volume in the Süleymaniye Library and a second one, dated 954/1547–1548, in the collections of the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts.[56] The latter has an opening similar to the 1538–1539 copy with the central roundels occupied by text in minute *naskh* and the four horizontal cartouches in *muḥaqqaq*, this time all penned in gold. Four rosettes surround the circles. In the Süleymaniye Library's *al-Anʿām*, however, the particular layout appears in a different location of the manuscript. It is used later on folios 9b–10a, which bear verses 99 to 130 (Figure 17). Verse 124, which requires a pause in the Qurʾanic recitation and where the prayer of the prophets can be recited, is located in the left roundel. The phrase "Prophets of God" (*Rusul Allāh*) is written in gold and stands out almost in the center of the circle. Although outside the scope of this essay, it is tempting to argue that the formatting of the text in these copies of *sura al-Anʿām* by Karahisari served as the foundation for calligraphic *hilye* (verbal depiction of the Prophet Muhammad) that developed in the late seventeenth century with Ottoman calligrapher Hafız Osman (d. 1698).[57] Christiane Gruber recently argued that the latter may have been inspired by Ottoman architectural plans as well as by frontispieces in Mamluk manuscripts of Sufi content, such as copies of al-Busiri's *Ode to the Mantle of the Prophet*.[58] Karahisari's works, such as the two aforementioned *al-Anʿām*s, may be, in fact, the primary source of inspiration for Hafız Osman—or at least served as a link—in the development of the *hilye*'s design. Karahisari did not reserve this particular layout only for *sura al-Anʿām* because he also used it in his eponymous Qurʾan on a double page toward the beginning of the volume (folios 3b–4a) that contains verses from *sura al-Baqara*.[59]

A new visuality for *sura al-Anʿām* is also emphasized by the marginal decorations in these two volumes.

FIGURE 16. ***Sura al-Anʿām*** **signed by Ahmad Karahisari, Turkey, Istanbul, Ottoman period, 945/1538–1539. Süleymaniye Library, Ayasofya 19–3, fols. 1b–2a. Image © The Directorate of the Manuscripts Institution of Turkey.**

Stylized vegetal friezes created with stencils run on the three external sides of each page. They further differentiate these single copies of the *sura al-Anʿām* not only from Qurʾanic sets in which such ornamentation is conspicuously absent but also from previous Ottoman volumes of *al-Anʿām*. In a certain sense, they mirror the architectural decoration in contemporaneous Ottoman mosques. It may not be incidental that such evolutions in Karahisari's works appeared at a time when chief architect Sinan was developing his own style of architecture, with, notably, the complex of Şehzade Mehmed completed in 1548.[60] These two copies by Ahmed Karahisari display full mastery of the calligraphic arts by juxtaposing different styles and layouts in which traditions of fourteenth-century Qurʾans, as represented by Arghun al-Kamili and ʿAbdallah al-Sayrafi, merge with the developments of Shaykh Hamdullah and his contemporaries. Ahmad Karahisari, however, departed from Shaykh Hamdullah's styles and developed his own particular visual identity for Qurʾanic scripts, *muḥaqqaq* and *thuluth* in particular, which he juxtaposed in the larger bands of his suras *al-Anʿām*. This feature also appears in the Qurʾanic inscriptions of the Şehzade Mosque, an indication that they may have been designed by Karahisari.[61] The formal parallels between the dome of the place of worship and the inscribed circles of the manuscript as well as between the restrained ornamentation in the sanctuary and those in the margins of the Süleymaniye copy may further strengthen this attribution to the calligrapher. One may even postulate that his copies of *sura al-Anʿām* were intended for the Friday mosques built at the time.[62]

Integral to the daily religious rituals in mosques, volumes with *sura al-Anʿām* were now equal to a whole *muṣḥaf* or a section of it when they were used by the reciter and were visible to the worshippers. The texts also became part of the architectural environment as the Ottomans in the mid-sixteenth century augmented the performative aspect to reciting from a copy of a sura or of a collection of suras, a tradition that

FIGURE 17. ***Sura al-Anʿām*** **signed by Ahmad Karahisari, Turkey, Istanbul, undated. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Murakka 5, fols. 9b–10a. Image © The Directorate of the Manuscripts Institution of Turkey.**

can be traced back to the Jalayirid and Timurid periods. Ahmed Karahisari's majestic *sura al-Anʿām* confirms this idea (Figure 18).[63] With its combination of four different scripts on a page (*thuluth*, *muḥaqqaq*, *naskh*, and *rayḥān*) and the contrast between black and gold scripts, the calligrapher's mastery transcribes visually the power of the sura's message, which was recited in the sanctuary of the person who would appear in the eyes of contemporary Ottomans to be the legitimate and uncontested sultan-caliph. The end of the chapter in Karahisari's *sura al-Anʿām* is written entirely in gold and is followed on the verso of the page by the completion prayer penned in bold *muḥaqqaq* in black. Its proportions equal the imperial volumes of the Ilkhanid Öljeitü, which Süleyman I brought back from his Persian campaign in 1533.[64]

In contrast to many earlier and contemporaneous copies of the Qurʾan and volumes of *sura al-Anʿām* with marginal devices indicating divisions and subdivisions, prostration markers, and signs for recitation, Karahisari's copies are devoid of any such elements. The sixth Qurʾanic chapter appears as a stand-alone. These aesthetic and artistic choices illustrate the merging of political discourse and spiritual and religious developments during the reign of Süleyman I. The conquest of Syria and Egypt by Selim I in 1516–1517 brought the Hejaz under Ottoman sovereignty, making the Ottoman sultan the de facto custodian of the two holy cities of Mecca and Medina and also Jerusalem.[65] The seizure of Baghdad, the former capital of the Abbasid caliphate, then in the hands of the Safavids, by Süleyman in 1535 enhanced the prestige of the House of Osman, even though the symbolic power of the caliphate was transferred to Cairo by the Mamluks after the sack of the city by the Mongols in 1258. Uniting these cities together under the authority of Istanbul

FIGURE 18. ***Sura al-Anʿām*** **signed by Ahmad Karahisari, Turkey, Istanbul, Ottoman period, undated, ca. 1550. Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, TIEM 1443, fols. 11b–12a. Image courtesy of the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, Istanbul.**

eventually meant that the Ottoman sultan was seen as the legitimate successor of the Prophet, on the one hand, and as the heir of the Abbasid caliph, on the other, the universal ruler with God-given power. Central to the formulation of this concept was the figure of Ebusuʿud Efendi, who was the chief imperial mufti (*shaykh al-Islām*) between 1545 and 1574.[66] As testified by the foundational inscription of the Süleymaniye composed by Ebusuʿud, Süleyman is "the caliph resplendent with divine glory who performs the command of the hidden book."[67] This notion, however, was developed and eventually formalized by Halvetis, whose order, as we have seen, rose to prominence with Bayezid II's accession to the throne.[68] The brotherhood, among others such as the Naqshbandi and Mevlevi orders, was not only favored by Süleyman but also by Ebusuʿud, who appointed many Halveti shaykhs as Friday preachers.[69] Finally, it should be noted here that calligrapher Ahmad Karahisari was also affiliated with the Halveti *tariqa* and was buried next to his master, Shaykh Ishak Karamani.[70] To a certain extent, one can say that the aforementioned attributes of caliphal authority are visually emphasized and justified in Karahisari's majestic *sura al-Anʿām*. The grand mise-en-page in the volume highlights the sura and amplifies its message in a manner similar to the inscriptions in the Süleymaniye mosque, where it was most likely intended to be used.[71] It can be argued that Ahmad Karahisari achieved for Süleyman I, or perhaps more accurately brought to a culmination, what Shaykh Hamdullah created for Bayezid II decades earlier: a novel visual form and a new role for the Qurʾanic text in service of the Ottoman sultan.

Conclusion

The practice of reciting certain suras on particular occasions and to obtain blessings dates to the early periods of Islam. The compilation of selected suras into volumes, however, seems to originate in fourteenth-century western Iran and Iraq during late Ilkhanid/early Jalayirid rule. At this stage, it is difficult to explain the underlying reasons for the emergence of such works. On the basis of the Jalayirid dispersed copy and the one made for and penned by the Timurid prince Ibrahim Sultan, the tradition originally developed within a princely context and, more specifically, within the private circles of the ruler. Accounts of the Ottoman court after 1480 further support this hypothesis. Menavino's observations on the daily recitations of *sura al-Anʿām* in the Topkapı Palace coupled with ʿAtufi's specific reference to volumes with this single Qurʾanic chapter in his inventory of the royal library testify to Bayezid II's particular interest. The multitude of volumes produced during his reign and that of his successors confirms that the practice was also current among a growing number of individuals within the Ottoman elite. The popularity of *sura al-Anʿām* beyond the palace's walls becomes evident under Süleyman I when it was regularly recited in imperial mosques, shrines, and places of worship built by members of the royal household. This evolution from the private to the public sphere follows the Ottoman sultan's quest for dynastic legitimacy and his efforts to present himself as the heir, both spiritually and morally, of the biblical prophets and of Muhammad, all of whom are mentioned in *sura al-Anʿām*. Additionally, the sixth Qurʾanic chapter may have served theologians, legal scholars, and Sufis—the Halveti order in particular—as a way to develop a theoretical framework to affirm the position of the Ottoman ruler as the rightful successor to the Prophet Muhammad and as God's vice-regent on Earth. This title, which was favored by the late Abbasid caliphs, was seldom used thereafter in the Mongol and early Ottoman periods.[72]

The recitation of specific chapters of the Qurʾan encouraged the creation of a visual counterpart, that is, the production of volumes containing a single sura. Under Bayezid II and Selim I, the more modestly formatted copies suggest that the recitation of *sura al-Anʿām* was limited to the close circles of the sultan. By the second half of Süleyman I's reign, the larger manuscripts, with their new page layouts, attest to the institutionalization of daily readings of the sura in sanctuaries, where the physical copy could also be displayed for worshippers. The court calligrapher Shaykh Hamdullah, the founder of the Ottoman school of calligraphy, greatly contributed to the shaping of the small-size volumes, which he mainly copied in *naskh*. He also recodified this script after the late Abbasid calligrapher Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi. Decades later, Ahmad Karahisari, the other renowned Ottoman calligrapher, developed his own style of scripts, especially for *muḥaqqaq* and *rayḥān*, which, in turn, he used in his copies of *sura al-Anʿām*. Like Shaykh Hamdullah before him, he succeeded in transforming Yaqut's style, so much so that Karahisari was later called the "Yaqut of Anatolia" (*Yaqut-i Rum*). With this reference to Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi, we circle back to the beginning of this essay and the fourteenth-century forged selection of suras, attributed to the famed Abbasid calligrapher, which was later carefully stored in Bayezid II's library. The Ottomans, sultans and calligraphers alike, probably considered the manuscript to be the Ur-copy of all *enʿam* volumes, a work whose replication both orally through recitation and manually through calligraphy needed to be reenacted.

Copies of *sura al-Anʿām* created in late fifteenth-century and sixteenth-century Istanbul exemplify how the Qurʾan, pietistic practices, political thought, and art coalesced to create a religious, temporal, and dynastic continuum from the time of the revelation through the Abbasid Caliphate to Ottoman rule. The many volumes of *sura al-Anʿām* visually embody the rise of Ottoman Sunnism. They are the material evidence of efforts to strengthen the dynastic legitimacy of the House of Osman and of a nascent Ottoman imperial ideology—a process that was initiated by Bayezid II and came to full fruition under Süleyman I.

Notes

1. Early popular and literary works of the genre known as *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān* (The Virtues of the Qur'an) often consisted of chapters on the copying of the Qur'an and specific aspects concerning the Qur'anic codex; Asma Asfaruddin, "The Excellences of the Qur'ān: Textual Sacrality and the Organization of Early Islamic Society," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 122, No. 1 (2002): 1–24. On the topic of legal texts on the physical characteristics of manuscripts of the Qur'an, see also Adam Gacek, "The Copying and Handling of Qur'āns: Some Observations on the Kitāb al-Maṣāḥīf by Ibn Abī Dā'ūd Al-Sijistānī," *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 59 (2006): 229–252; and Abdelouahed Jahdani, "Du fiqh à la codicologie: Quelques opinions de Mālīk (m. 179/796) sur le Coran-codex," *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 59 (2006): 269–280.
2. Alexandra Bain, "The Late Ottoman *En'am-ı Şerif*: Sacred Text and Images in an Islamic Prayer Book" (Ph.D. diss., University of Victoria, 1999). See also Alexandra Bain, "The *En'am-ı Şerif*: Sacred Text and Images in a Late Ottoman Prayer Book," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 19 (2001): 213–238.
3. Bain, "Late Ottoman *En'am-ı Şerif*," 2.
4. An *en'am-ı şerif* copied by Sayyid ʿAli al-Hamdi, known as Hafiz al-Qur'an, and dated Muharram 1127/January 1715 presents *hilye*s of the four Rashidun caliphs as well as of Hasan and Husayn; Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., S1986.482, fols. 175b–178a. Glenn D. Lowry and Milo Cleveland Beach, *An Annotated and Illustrated Checklist of the Vever Collection* (Washington, D.C.: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 1988), 27.
5. For examples of the multifarious aspects of such Qur'anic material, see the chapter "Personal Manuscripts of the Qur'an" in Keith Small, *Qur'ānS: Books of Divine Encounter* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, 2010), 137–166.
6. For a detailed investigation of a late copy, see, for instance, Christiane Gruber, "A Pious Cure-All: The Ottoman Illustrated Prayer Manual in the Lilly Library," in *The Islamic Manuscript Tradition: Ten Centuries of Book Arts in Indiana University Collections*, ed. Christiane Gruber (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), 116–153.
7. Annemarie Schimmel, *Calligraphy and Islamic Culture* (New York: New York University Press), 58.
8. The reference work on Shaykh Hamdullah's life, career, and legacy remains Muhittin Serin, *Hattat Şeyh Hamdullah: Hayâtı, Talebeleri, Eserleri* (Istanbul: Kubbealtı Akademisi Kültür ve San'at Vakfı, 1992). See also the recent entry in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 3rd ed., s.v. "Hamdullah Efendi," by Hilal Kazan, https://doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_30255 (accessed 5 March 2018). For a summary of the calligrapher's work, see Julian Raby and Zeren Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding in the 15th Century: The Foundation of an Ottoman Court Style* (London: Azimuth Editions, 1993), 96–100; Sheila S. Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 479–481; and Hüseyin Gündüz, "Türk Hat Sanatında Şeyh Hamdullah ve Ahmed Karahisâri," in *Hat ve Tezhip Sanatı*, ed. Ali Rıza Özcan (Ankara: T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2009), 77–83.
9. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, R. 70. Bain, "Late Ottoman *En'am-ı Şerif*," 51, 190–192, cat. no. 1. See also Nourane Ben Azzouna, *Aux origines du classicisme: Calligraphes et bibliophiles au temps des dynasties mongoles (Les Ilkhanides et les Djalayirides, 656-814/1258–1411)* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2018), 633–634.
10. See Nourane Ben Azzouna, "A Luxury Market? Yaqut al-Musta'simi's Qur'ans," this volume.
11. Ben Azzouna, *Aux origines du classicisme*, 634.
12. Zeynep Atbaş, "Artistic Aspects of Sultan Bayezid II's Book Treasury Collection: Extant Volumes Preserved at the Topkapı Palace Museum Library," in *Treasures of Knowledge: An Inventory of the Ottoman Palace Library (1502/3–1503/4)*, vol. 1, *Essays*, ed. Gülru Necipoğlu, Cemal Kafadar, and Cornell H. Fleischer, Muqarnas Supplements 14 (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 187–188, figs. 29–30.
13. Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Spatial Organization of Knowledge in the Ottoman Palace Library: An Encyclopedic Collection and Its Inventory," in Necipoğlu et al., *Treasures of Knowledge*, 12.

14. Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, Ms. Török F59. See Zeynep Atbaş, "Appendix I. Preliminary List of Manuscripts Stamped with Bayezid II's Seal in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library," in Necipoğlu et al., *Treasures of Knowledge*, 938 [17].

15. Zeren Tanındı, "Arts of the Book: The Illustrated and Illuminated Manuscripts Listed in 'Atufi's Inventory," in Necipoğlu et al., *Treasures of Knowledge*, 214. On the question of "forged" Yaqut's copies, notably the ones made at the Timurid courts that entered Bayezid II's library, see David J. Roxburgh, *The Persian Album, 1400–1600: From Dispersal to Collection* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2005), 84–86; Nourane Ben Azzouna, "Manuscripts Attributed to Yāqūt al-Musta'ṣimī (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 Gerelyes (Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2009), 113–123.

16. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, E.H. 69. Fehmi Edhem Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Arapça yazmalar kataloğu* (Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 1966), cat. no. 194.

17. For comparative examples, see Massumeh Farhad and Simon Rettig, eds., *The Art of the Qurʾan: Treasures from the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts* (Washington, D.C.: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 2016), 208–217.

18. On Arghun al-Kamili, see David James, *Qurʾāns of the Mamlūks* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1988), 156–160; and Ben Azzouna, *Aux origines du classicisme*, 140, 410–416.

19. Two other pages, now in the Khalili Collection, have been attributed to Arghun al-Kamili. They present a text layout similar to E.H. 69 as well as illuminations in the same style. David James, *The Master Scribes: Qurʾans of the 10th to 14th Centuries AD* (New York: Nour Foundation in association with Azimuth Editions and Oxford University Press, 1992), 106–107.

20. Several collections hold folios, such as the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Museum of Islamic Art in Doha. On the Met folio, see the entry by Marika Sardar in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* (Fall 2010): 15. The King Abdulaziz Center for World Culture (Ithra) recently acquired one page; Idries Trevathan, Mona AlJalhami, Murdo MacLeod, and Mona Mansour, eds., *The Art of Orientation: An Exploration of the Mosque through Objects* (Munich: Hirmer Publishers, 2020), 122–123.

21. Abolala Soudavar, *Arts of the Persian Courts: Selections from the Art and History Trust Collection* (New York: Rizzoli, 1992), 50–51.

22. The full *baghdādī* size (~72 × 50 cm) was used for imperial Ilkhanid manuscripts of the Qurʾan. See Sheila S. Blair, "Use and Functions of Qur'ānic Text," *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 59 (2006): 194. On sets of the Qurʾan destined for Öljeitü's shrine, see Sheila Blair, "Sultan Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan: A Life History," this volume.

23. François Déroche mentions the traveler Ibn Battuta attending the recitation of certain suras after the afternoon prayer in the mosque in Jalayirid Tabriz. Déroche also acknowledges that the production of selections of suras developed at this time in Iran and suggests these copies were for private usage. François Déroche, "Written Transmission," in *The Blackwell Companion to the Qur'ān*, ed. Andrew Rippin (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2006), 182.

24. It should be noted that the practice of reciting entire suras as prayers—understood as *duʿāʾ* (invocation) and not *salat* (obligatory prayer)—has been an integral part of the Muslim devotional daily life since the early Islamic period. See *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., vol. 2 (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 1991), s.v. "Duʿāʾ," by Louis Gardet; and *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*, vol. 4 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), s.v. "Recitation of the Qur'ān," by Anna M. Gade. See also Guy Burak, "The Section on Prayers, Invocations, Unique Qualities of the Qurʾan, and Magic Squares in the Palace Library Inventory," in Necipoğlu et al., *Treasures of Knowledge*, 343–344.

25. The work is preserved in the Astan-i Quds Razavi in Mashhad, Iran, Acc. No. 414. A fac-simile was published in Sh 1392/2014. I am indebted to Shiva Mihan for bringing this manuscript to my attention. See also *Masterpieces of Astan Quds Razavi Library and Museum: The Collection of Qurʾan Manuscripts (from 10th–16th Century)* (Mashhad, Iran: Art Creation of Astan Quds Razavi, 2013), 62–66.

26. Comparative examples of Qurʾanic manuscripts from Timurid Shiraz have been published in Farhad and Rettig, *Art of the Qurʾan*, 226–235.

27. Ben Azzouna, "Manuscripts Attributed to Yāqūt al-Mustaʾṣimī," 117–119.

28. For a summary of Shaykh Hamdullah's codification of scripts, see Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy*, 479–481.

29. Other examples include Qurʾans copied by Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi and ʿAbdallah Sayrafi (Topkapı Palace Museum Library, E.H. 227 and E.H. 49) that were lavishly refurbished during the reign of Süleyman I in the mid-sixteenth century. See Esin Atıl, *The Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1987), 53–55.

30. The first published mention of the manuscript is a five-line entry in Fawzi Mikhail Tadros, *The Holy Koran in the Library of Congress, a Bibliography* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1993), 5, no. 21. The little-studied copy was also the topic of a short essay: Eleanor Sims, "An Illuminated Manuscript Copied by Shaykh Hamdullah in the Library of Congress in Washington, DC," in *9th International Congress of Turkish Art* (Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Millî Kütüphane Basımevi, 1995), 3:203–212.

31. For an overview on Ottoman illuminations during the reign of Bayezid II and the artistic connections between Herat, Tabriz, and Istanbul around 1500, see Banu Mahir, "II. Bâyezid dönemi nakkaşhanesinin Osmanlı tezhip sanatına katkıları," *Türkiyemiz* 60 (1990): 4–9; and Gülnihal Küpeli, "Tezhip sanatında yenilik arayışları: II. Bâyezid dönemi (1481–1512)," in Özcan, *Hat ve Tezhip Sanatı*, 321–341. See also Simon Rettig, "Regarding the East: Notes on Artists of the Book from Iran in Late Fifteenth-Century Istanbul," in *Art and Culture of Books in the Islamic World, Festschrift in Honor of Prof. Zeren Tanındı*, ed. Aslıhan Erkmen and Şebnem Tamcan (Istanbul: Lâle Yayıncılık, 2022), 443–455.

32. The mosque and its inscription are referenced in Howard Crane, trans., *The Garden of the Mosques: Hafiz Hüseyin al-Ayvansarayî's Guide to the Muslim Monuments of Ottoman Istanbul*, Studies in Islamic Art and Architecture 8 (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2000), 173.

33. Uğur Derman, *Letters in Gold: Ottoman Calligraphy from the Sakıp Sabancı Collections, Istanbul* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998), 52–53.

34. A luxury Qurʾan penned by Shaykh Hamdullah and illuminated by Hasan ibn ʿAbdallah was made for Bayezid II as a personal copy because the dedication at the beginning of the volume starts with "to be read by" followed by the name of the sultan; Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy*, 480–481. The manuscript is now kept in the Istanbul University Library, AY 6662. On Hasan ibn ʿAbdallah, see Zeren Tanındı, "Illumination and Decorative Designs in Qurʾanic Manuscripts," in Farhad and Rettig, *Art of the Qurʾan*, 111.

35. Bain has analyzed another selection of suras as well as two single volumes of *sura al-Anʿam* by Shaykh Hamdullah in her dissertation; Bain, "Late Ottoman *En'am-ı Şerif*," 52–58.

36. Himmet Taşkömür and Hesna Ergun Taşkömür, "Transliterated Text of MS Török F. 59," in *Treasures of Knowledge: An Inventory of the Ottoman Palace Library (1502/3–1503/4)*, vol. 2, *Transliteration and Facsimile Register of Books (Kitāb al-Kutub), MS Török F. 59*, ed. Gülru Necipoğlu, Cemal Kafadar, and Cornell H. Fleischer, Muqarnas Supplements 14 (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 16 [17] {17} and {18}.

37. These reciters are called *enʿamcı*s, an indication that they recited only *sura al-Anʿām*. Necipoğlu, "Spatial Organization of Knowledge," 46. They numbered 41 reciters and not 40, a number confirmed not only by the total of volumes kept in the two chests in the treasury but also by the later *vakfiye* (endowment deed) of the Süleymaniye mosque that provided the salary of 41 *enʿamcı*s who were paid three *akçe*s per day. Ahmet Koç and Ömer Özdemir, "Kanûnî vakfiyesi'ne Göre Süleymaniye Camii ve Görevlileri," *Diyanet ilmî dergi* 53, no. 2 (2017): 134–135, 137.

38. Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1992), 121.

39. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Istanbul, E.H. 320 and E.H. 321. On Fadl Allah, see Tanındı, "Arts of the Book," 217–219.

40. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Istanbul, B.10. The volume measures 24.5 × 16.5 cm, and the zone of text measures 13.8 × 7.2 cm, which corresponds almost to a double square.

41. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Istanbul, B.11. The volume measures 32 × 20.7 cm, and the zone of text measures 19.5 × 11 cm.

42. On the prophylactic and protective powers attributed to Qurʾanic recitation, see Francesca Leoni, "Sacred Words, Sacred Power: Qurʾanic and Pious Phrases as Sources of Healing and Protection," in *Power and Protection: Islamic Art and Supernatural*, ed. Francesca Leoni (Oxford, U.K.: Ashmoleum Museum, 2016), 53–67. Numerous essays have dealt with the practice of sura recitation at a given time of the day or for special occasions in various contexts. Of particular interest are Leor Halevi, "The Paradox of Islamization: Tombstone Inscriptions, Qur'ānic Recitations, and the Problem of Religious Change," *History of Religions* 44, no. 2 (2004): 134–136; Tetsuya Ohtoshi, "The Manners, Customs, and Mentality of Pilgrims to the Egyptian City of the Dead: 110–150 A. D.," *Orient* 29 (1993): 26–27; and Florian Sobieroj, "Repertory of Sūras and Prayers in a Collection of Ottoman Manuscripts," *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 59 (2006): 370–373.

43. On recent debates about the time of the revelation of certain parts of the sura, see Gabriel Said Reynolds, "6 al-Anʿām (Les troupeaux)," in *Le Coran des historiens*, vol. 2, *Commentaire et analyse du texte coranique, tome 1: Sourates 1–26*, ed. Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi and Guillaume Dye (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2019), 238–241.

44. John J. Curry, *The Transformation of Muslim Mystical Thought in the Ottoman Empire: The Rise of the Halveti Order, 1350–1650* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), 69–72.

45. The *silsila*s (genealogies) of the Halveti shaykhs are traced back to ʿAli, and one had the same master as the founder of the Safavid order, Shaykh Safi al-Din. On the Shiʿi inclinations of the Halvetis, see Curry, *Transformation of Muslim Mystical Thought*, 25, 32, 40, 273–275. See also Hüseyin Yılmaz, *Caliphate Redefined: The Mystical Turn in Ottoman Political Thought* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2018), 50, 210; and John J. Curry, "Some Reflections on the Fluidity of Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy in an Ottoman Sunni Context," in *Ottoman Sunnism: New Perspectives*, ed. Vefa Erginbaş (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019), 194–195. The issues of Ottoman religiosity and Sunnitization were recently addressed in Rıza Yıldırım, "The Rise of the 'Religion and State' Order: Re-confessionalisation of State and Society in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire," in Erginbaş, *Ottoman Sunnism*, 12–43.

46. Bain, "Late Ottoman *En'am-ı Şerif*," 37–38.

47. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Istanbul, E.H. 289. The text of the sura is in *naskh* on nine lines per page. The zone of text measures 13 × 7.8 cm.

48. Folio 33b bears a catchword, thereby indicating that another folio followed. The sentence starts with *ruwya ʿan* (it was narrated by) instead of *qāla* (said), which marks the doubts about the authenticity of the saying. It is interesting to note that the last folio with ʿAli's hadith was removed because the volume may be one of the earliest examples of the *enʿam-ı şerif* understood as a volume comprising the sixth sura and non-Qurʾanic material. Another manuscript that deserves further study is mentioned in ʿAtufi's inventory and combines *sura al-Anʿām* with the collection of prayers entitled *Ḥizb al-Baḥr* (The Litany of the Sea) composed by Abu'l-Hasan al-Shadhili (d. 1258), founder of the Shadhili order. See Burak, "Section on Prayers," 345, 360, no. 114.

49. Vefa Erginbaş, "Reappraising Ottoman Religiosity in the Last Decades of the Sixteenth Century: Mustafa Darir's *Siret* and Its Alid Content," in Erginbaş, *Ottoman Sunnism*, 72–73. See also Rıza Yıldırım, "Sunni Orthodoxy vs. Shi'ite Heterodoxy? A Reappraisal of Islamic Piety in Medieval Anatolia," in *Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatolia*, ed. A. C. S. Peacock, B. De Nicola, and S. N. Yıldız (Farnham, U.K.: Ashgate, 2015), 287–308, in particular 300–306.

50. Q6:165. The English translation is from Arthur J. Arberry, *The Koran Interpreted* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1955).

51. See Yılmaz, "The Caliph and the Caliphate," in *Caliphate Redefined*, 181–217, 210–211, in particular for the Halveti conception of the caliphate. See also H. Erdem Çipa, *The Making of Selim: Succession, Legitimacy, and Memory in the Early Modern Ottoman World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2017), 233–235.

52. Yilmaz, *Caliphate Redefined*, 285–286.

53. Gülru Necipoğlu-Kafadar, "The Süleymaniye Complex in Istanbul: An Interpretation," *Muqarnas* 3 (1985): 98. See also the recent essay by Nina Ergin, "The Soundscape of Sixteenth-Century Istanbul Mosques. Architecture and Qurʾan Recital," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 67, no. 2 (2008): 205–207; and Nina Macaraig, "The Qurʾanic Soundscape of Mimar Sinan's Mosques: A Survey of Recitation Programs and the Unusual Case of the Hadım İbrahim Paşa Mosque at Silivrikapı," this volume.

54. Much has been written on Ahmad Karahisari. Süheyl Ünver referenced some of Karahisari's works in A. Süheyl Ünver, *Hattat Ahmet Karahisarî 1469–1556* (Istanbul: Kemal Maatbası, 1964). A recent major publication is Muhittin Serin, *The Sun of Calligraphy: Ahmed Şemseddin Karahisâri and His Manuscript of the Qurʾan* (Istanbul: Klasik Türk Sanatları Vakfı, 2015). For a good overview of Ahmad Karahisari's achievements and career, see Atıl, *Age of Sultan Süleyman*, 46–52; and Gündüz, "Türk Hat Sanatında," 83–86. A detailed study of Karahisari's style of calligraphy can be found in Nassar Mansour, *Sacred Script: Muḥaqqaq in Islamic Calligraphy* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011), 173–200.

55. Süleymaniye Library, Ayasofya 19-3. Folio 1a bears the seal of Sultan Mahmud I and the endowment's note, which indicates that the manuscript entered the library of the Haghia Sophia mosque at the time of its foundation in 1739.

56. Süleymaniye Library, Murakka 5, and Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, TIEM 1438.

57. For a recent overview on the developments of the *hilye*, see Tim Stanley, "From Text to Art Form in the Ottoman Hilye," in *Filiz Çağman'a Armağan*, ed. Ayşe Erdoğu, Zeynep Atbaş, and Aysel Çötelioğlu (Istanbul: Lâle Yayıncılık, 2018), 559–570; and Christiane Gruber, *The Praiseworthy One: The Prophet Muhammad in Islamic Texts and Images* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2018), 285–301.

58. Gruber, *Praiseworthy One*, 287–288.

59. The copy was completed and illuminated some 30 years after Karahisari's death, an indication that it was left unfinished when he died in 1556. Filiz Çağman, "The Ahmed Karahisari Qurʾan in the Topkapı Palace Library in Istanbul," in *Persian Painting from the Mongols to the Qajars: Studies in Honour of Basil W. Robinson*, ed. Robert Hillenbrand (London: I.B. Tauris, 2000), 57–74. One of the folios with the circle layout has been reproduced in Mansour, *Sacred Script*, 197, fig. 42.

60. Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2005), 104, 191–207.

61. Gülru Necipoğlu ventured this hypothesis in *Age of Sinan*, 198–199. See also Gülru Necipoğlu, "Qurʾanic Inscriptions on Sinan's Imperial Mosques: A Comparison with Their Safavid and Mughal Counterparts," in *Word of God—Art of Man: The Qurʾan and Its Creative Expressions*, ed. Fahmida Suleman (Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 2007), 75–76.

62. There is no indication of who might have been the original patron. The copy Murakka 5 bears the seal impression of the endowment to the library of the Süleymaniye Mosque by Mustafa Fatihzade in 1002/1593–1594. A folio with the circle layout in a third volume dated 947/1540–1541 was reproduced in Ünver, *Hattat Ahmet Karahisarî 1469–1556*. The manuscript is kept in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library with accession number E.H. 2112. I was unable to look at this copy.

63. *Sura al-Anʿām* has been combined with other non-Qurʾanic texts (selected hadiths and excerpts from al-Busiri's *Ode to the Mantle of the Prophet*) and various calligraphic examples all by Karahisari's hand into an album whose production's date is unknown. It bears the seal of Mahmud I (r. 1730–1754). Şule Aksoy, "Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesinden Bir Osmanlı Hat Sanatı Klasiği: Karahisari Albümü," *P, Sanat, Kültür, Antika Dergisi* 21 (Spring 2001): 66–75. Karahisari's *Enʿam*—as the album has often been called—and the evolution of the *enʿam-ı şerif* from 1550 to the end of the seventeenth century will be the subject of a future study.

64. Farhad and Rettig, *Art of the Qurʾan*, 197. See also Blair, "Sultan Öljeitü's Baghdad Qurʾan," this volume.

65. Because the Mamluks were also Sunnis, the war against them had no legal grounds. The justification for the war's legitimacy was formulated at the beginning of Süleyman's reign. Association of the Mamluks with the Safavids justified the conquest of Mamluk territory. Çipa, *Making of Selim*, 6–7.

66. Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 28. For the inclusion of Sufistic language, imagery, and conception of the caliphate into the Ottoman jurisprudential discourse by Ebusuʿud, see Yılmaz, *Caliphate Redefined*, 214–215.
67. Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 208.
68. The idea of the Ottoman sultan as both the perfect and most legitimate ruler and universal caliph was fully articulated in the late sixteenth century during Murad III's reign by ʿAli Dede (d. 1598), a Halveti shaykh who served as keeper of Süleyman's tomb. See Yılmaz, *Caliphate Redefined*, 273–275.
69. Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 53–55.
70. Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 484.
71. Ahmed Karahisari may have started working on the inscriptions' program of the mosque, but his death in 1556 left Sinan to choose the calligrapher's adopted son Hasan Karahisari to complete them. Only the latter is referenced in the account book. Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 216, 532, n. 132.
72. Yılmaz, *Caliphate Redefined*, 197–198.

About the Contributors

Nourane Ben Azzouna is an associate professor in the Institute of Art History, and deputy dean of the Faculty of Historical Sciences at the University of Strasbourg, France. Previously, she was an assistant professor in the Institute of Art History at the University of Vienna, Austria (2013-2016), and an assistant curator for the Islamic arts at the Agence France Museums – Louvre Abu Dhabi (2009–2013). She holds a PhD from the École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris, France (2009). Her research interests include the codicology and palaeography of Arabic and Persian manuscripts, images, and painting in medieval Islam, and transculturality.

Sheila S. Blair retired several years ago from the Norma Jean Calderwood University Professorship of Islamic and Asian Art at Boston College and the Hamad bin Khalifa Endowed Chair in Islamic Art at Virginia Commonwealth University, positions she shared with her husband and colleague Jonathan Bloom. Together and separately, they have written or edited a score of books and hundreds of articles on all aspects of Islamic art. Her special interests are the uses of writing and the arts of the Mongol period, especially architecture and manuscripts.

François Déroche is professor at the Collège de France, Paris, where he holds the chair "History of the Qurʾan. Text and Transmission." He previously taught at the École Pratique des Hautes Études. The world-leading expert on early Qurʾanic manuscripts and Islamic codicology, Déroche has published extensively. Among his books are *Qurʾans of the Umayyads* (Brill, 2014), *The One and The Many: The Early History of the Qurʾan* (Yale University Press, 2022), and with other authors, *Islamic codicology. An introduction to the study of manuscripts in Arabic script* (al-Furqan, 2006).

Cailah Jackson received her doctorate from the University of Oxford in 2017 and has held fellowships at the Bodleian Library, the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies, and Wolfson College, University of Oxford. Her research centers on the Islamic arts of the book of the late medieval period, with a focus on Anatolia and Iran. She is the author of *Islamic Manuscripts of Late Medieval Rūm, 1270s–1370s: Production, Patronage and the Arts of the Book* (Edinburgh University Press, 2020), and is currently working on a book concerning the manuscripts of the Mevlevi Sufis.

Alya Karame is a research associate at the Orient-Institut Beirut, writing her book on medieval Qurʾans. She was the holder of the Mellon Postdoctoral fellowship (2019–2020) at the American University of Beirut where she also taught. Previously, she was a fellow of the Khalili Research Centre at the University of Oxford, supported by the Barakat Trust (2018–2019). Before that, Alya joined the Kunsthistorisches Institut research program in Florence *Connecting Art Histories in the Museum* and was based for two years at the Museum of Islamic Art in Berlin (2016–2018). She obtained her PhD in Islamic Art History from the University of Edinburgh (2018) and her MA in History of Art and Archaeology from the School of Oriental and African Studies (2011). She has received numerous awards in support of her research and has lectured widely on her work.

Nina Macaraig received her doctorate from the University of Minnesota in 2005. From 2005 to 2017, she worked at Koç University, Istanbul, becoming Associate Professor in the Department of Archaeology and History of Art in 2014. She specializes in Ottoman architectural history, particularly the "lesser" monuments within its canon, such as bathhouses and soup kitchens, as well as the built environment's sensory aspects. She has published award-winning articles on acoustics and gender and on Ottoman incense burners, several edited volumes, and the monograph *Çemberlitaş Hamamı in Istanbul: The Biographical Memoir of a Turkish Bath* (Edinburgh University Press, 2019).

Sana Mirza is Head of Scholarly Programs and Publications at the Smithsonian's National Museum of Asian Art. She received her BA in history and art history with a minor in Islamic Studies from George Mason University and her MA and PhD from the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University. Her dissertation examines Qurʾanic manuscripts produced in the city of Harar, Ethiopia, from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries and their Red Sea and Indian Ocean milieus. Sana has published in *Afriques* and *Annales d'Éthiopie* as well as contributed to several exhibition catalogues, including *The Art of the Qurʾan: Treasures from the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts*.

Alison Aplin Ohta is currently Director of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, a position she has held since 2004. After studying for a BA in Arabic at the University of Durham and later Japanese at the University of Western Australia, she received her MA and PhD in Islamic Art History from the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. Her research interests and publications focus on the study of the Islamic book, bookbinding, and Qurʾan illumination during the Mamluk and Ilkhanid periods.

Simon Rettig is the Associate Curator for the Arts of the Islamic World at the Smithsonian's National Museum of Asian Art. He received his BA from the École du Louvre and his MA and PhD from Aix-Marseille University, France; he joined the Smithsonian in 2012. A specialist of the arts of the book from Iran and Turkey, he has curated the exhibitions *Nastaʿliq: The Genius of Persian Calligraphy*, *The Prince and the Shah: Royal Portraits from Qajar Iran,* and, with Massumeh Farhad, he cocurated *The Art of the Qurʾan: Treasures from the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts*.

Elaine Wright is the former Curator of the Islamic Collections at the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (1998–2017). Her research examines the various (mainly non-illustrative) aspects of Islamic manuscripts to better understand the materials and processes by which they were produced. Her publications include *The Look of the Book: Manuscript Production in Shiraz, 1303–1452* (2014), and she is the main author of *Muraqqaʿ, Imperial Mughal Albums from the Chester Beatty Library* (2008). Her most recent publication is *Lapis and Gold, Exploring Chester Beatty's Ruzbihan Qurʾan*, Ad Ilissum, London, and the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, 2018.

Index of Persons and Places

Notes: The prefix 'al-' is ignored in alphabetic ordering of entries. Page numbers in *italics* refer to illustrations.