

**HOW LAND CAME INTO THE PICTURE: RENDERING HISTORY IN THE
FOURTEENTH-CENTURY *JAMI AL-TAWARIKH***

by

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	ii
LIST OF FIGURES.....	viii
CHAPTER	
1. Introduction.....	1
Stylistic Changes that Occurred in the <i>Jami al-Tawarikh</i> Land Renditions.....	9
Overview of the Dissertation.....	17
2. Methodological Survey of the Modern Study of Ilkhanid Books.....	18
Methods of Studying Ilkhanid Paintings in Books in the Field of Art History.....	20
Hegelian Model.....	20
Panofskian Iconography.....	23
Patronage/Workshops.....	26
Influence.....	29
Ornament.....	40
Text/Image.....	43
Methods of Studying Ilkhanid Texts of History in the Field of History....	45
Source of Information about the Past.....	45
Historiographical Analysis.....	49

Methods of Studying Ilkhanid Texts of Astronomy.....	53
Teleological Narrative in the Field of History of Science.....	53
Source of Information about the Authors' Scholarship and Environments in the Field of History.....	59
3. How Land Renditions Function.....	65
Spiritual States – “Moses Hearing God's Voice”.....	66
Framing/Framed – “Prophet Salih Produces a Camel from a Rock”.....	70
Country/City – “City of Iram”.....	74
Known/Unknown – “Alexander in the Fog”.....	79
Center/Periphery – “Muhammad, Abu Bakr and the Herd of Goats”.....	82
Spaces of Text and Image on a Page – “Mountains of India”.....	84
Cultural Spaces – “Mountains between India and Tibet”.....	86
Three-Dimensional/Two-Dimensional, Two-Dimensional/One- Dimensional – “Musa Slays the Giant ‘Uj ibn ‘Anaq (Og)”.....	88
Before and After – “Moses in the Bullrushes”.....	91
Time Stopped – “Abd al-Muttalib and al-Harith about to Discover Zamzam”.....	94
Conclusion.....	98
4. Historiography in the <i>Jami al-Tawarikh</i> Land Renditions.....	99
Center/Periphery – Islamizing and Interpolating History.....	101
Center/Periphery – Compiling and Distributing History.....	107
Land Imageries as Historiographical Topoi.....	116
Cloud and Hill – “Moses Hearing God’s Voice”.....	118
Cloud and Hill – “Musa Slays the Giant ‘Uj ibn ‘Anaq (Og)”...125	125
Fog – “Alexander in the Fog”.....	128

	Water and Tree – “Moses in the Bullrushes”.....	131
	Shadow and Tree – “Muhammad, Abu Bakr and the Herd of Goats”.....	136
	Rock – “Prophet Salih Produces a Camel from a Rock”.....	142
	Architecture – “City of Iram”.....	144
	Tense Moment – “Abd al-Muttalib and al-Harith about to Discover Zamzam”.....	147
	Conclusion	150
	Appendix.....	154
5.	Relating Spaces and Times in Astronomy and Governance.....	165
	Astronomy.....	168
	Conceptualization of Space through the Medieval <i>Zij</i>	176
	The Recanonization of the Discipline of Astronomy through the <i>Tadhkira</i>	180
	The Relativity of Space and Time in Terms of the Positions and Movements of Bodies in the <i>Tadhkira</i>	184
	Relative Spaces and Times in the <i>Jami al-Tawarikh</i> Land Renditions.....	186
	Governance.....	189
	Center/Periphery – Naming in Relation to China.....	191
	Transience/Permanence – Itinerant and Settled Government.....	203
	Center/Periphery and City/Pasture in the <i>Jami al-Tawarikh</i> Land Renditions.....	207
	Conclusion	209
	Appendix.....	212
6.	Conclusion.....	215

FIGURES.....	219
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	263

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure

- 1 Artist Unknown
“Battle Between Abu’l-Qasim and the Samanid Muntasir” and “Muntasir Crossing the Jayhun”
Jami al-Tawarikh ("Compendium of Chronicles"), text by Rashid al-Din
Iran, 1306 – 7
f.170r
Edinburgh University Library
Picture Source: Purchased from the Edinburgh University Library.....219
- 2 Artist Unknown
“Hushang”
Jami al-Tawarikh ("Compendium of Chronicles"), text by Rashid al-Din
Iran, 1306 – 7
f.4r
Edinburgh University Library
Picture Source: Purchased from the Edinburgh University Library.....220
- 3 Artist Unknown
“Two Emperors of the Qi and Liang Dynasties”
Jami al-Tawarikh ("Compendium of Chronicles"), text by Rashid al-Din
Iran, 1306 – 7
f. 254r
Khalili Collection
Picture Source: Sheila Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles: Rashid al-Din’s Illustrated History of the World*, London, 1995.....221
- 4 Artist Unknown
“Moses in the Bullrushes”
Jami al-Tawarikh ("Compendium of Chronicles"), text by Rashid al-Din
Iran, 1306 – 7
f.7v
Edinburgh University Library
Picture Source: Purchased from the Edinburgh University Library.....222

- 5 Artist Unknown
 “Abd al-Muttalib and al-Harith about to Discover Zamzam”
Jami al-Tawarikh ("Compendium of Chronicles"), text by Rashid al-Din
 Iran, 1306 – 7
 f. 41r
 Edinburgh University Library
 Picture Source: Purchased from the Edinburgh University Library.....223
- 6 Artist Unknown
 “Moses Hearing God’s Voice”
Jami al-Tawarikh ("Compendium of Chronicles"), text by Rashid al-Din
 Iran, 1306 – 7
 f. 8r
 Edinburgh University Library
 Picture Source: Purchased from the Edinburgh University Library.....224
- 7 Artist Unknown
 “Mustard Plant and Seeds”
 De Materia Medica of Dioscorides
 Syria, 1229
 Ahmed III 2127, folio 83b, Topkapi Library
 Picture Source: <http://www.ee.bilkent.edu.tr/~history/early.html>.....225
- 8 Artist Unknown
 “Lion and Jackal”
Kalila wa Dimna
 Iraq, 1200-20
 Bibliothèque Nationale
 Picture Source:.....226
- 9 Artist Unknown
 “The Bird Catcher and the Doves”
Kalila wa dimna
 Baghdad, first half of 13th century.
 Hazine 363, folio 99b, Topkapi Library
 Picture Source: <http://www.ee.bilkent.edu.tr/~history/early.html>.....227
- 10 Artist Unknown
 “Socrates and His Students”
Mukhtar al-Hikam wa-Mahasin al-Kalim (‘Choice Maxims and Finest Sayings’),
 text by al-Mubashshir,
 Syria, beginning of 13th century
 Ahmed III 3206, folio 40a, Topkapi Library
 Picture Source: <http://www.ee.bilkent.edu.tr/~history/early.html>.....228
- 11 Artist Unknown

- Varqa va Golshah*
Shiraz, first half of 13th century
Hazine 841, folio 33b, Topkapi Library
Picture Source: <http://www.ee.bilkent.edu.tr/~history/early.html>.....229
- 12 Artist Unknown
Varqa va Golshah
Shiraz, first half of 13th century
Hazine 841, folio 33b, Topkapi Library
Picture Source: <http://www.ee.bilkent.edu.tr/~history/early.html>.....230
- 13 Yahya ibn Mahmud al-Wasiti
“Abu Zayd recites His poetry about the *hajj*”
Maqamat, text by al-Hariri
Baghdad, 13th century
ms. arabe 5847, Bibliothèque Nationale
Picture Source: Oleg Grabar, *Maqamat Al-Hariri Illustrated Arabic Manuscript from the 13th Century*, London, 2003.....231
- 14 Yahya ibn Mahmud al-Wasiti
“Entrance to the City”
Maqamat, text by al-Hariri
Baghdad, 13th century
ms. arabe 5847, Bibliothèque Nationale
Picture Source: Oleg Grabar, *Maqamat Al-Hariri Illustrated Arabic Manuscript from the 13th Century*, London, 2003.....232
- 15 Artist Unknown
A folio from ‘*Aja’ib al-Makhlūqat* (“The Wonders of Creation”), text by Zakariya ibn Muhammad al-Qazwini
Iran, 14th century
British Library Or. 14140
Picture source: The British Library website
<http://www.bl.uk/collections/arabmss.html>.....233
- 16 Artist Unknown
“The Investiture of Ali”
Athar-i Baqiya (“Chronology of Ancient Nations”), text by Abu al-Raihan al-Biruni
d. 440 AH, 1048AD
Edinburgh University Library MS Or 161
Picture source: Metropolitan Museum website.....234
- 17 Artist Unknown
“Iskandar at the Talking Tree”
The Great Mongol Shahnama

- Iran, 1330's
Freer Gallery of Art
Picture Source:
<http://www.asia.si.edu/collections/zoomObject.cfm?ObjectId=10115>.....235
- 18 Artist Unknown
“Nushirvan Eating the Food Brought by the Sons of Mahbud”
The Great Mongol Shahnama
Iran, 1330's
Metropolitan Museum of Art
Picture Source: http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/khan2/ho_52.20.2.htm.....236
- 19 Artist Unknown
“Bahram Gur Hunting the Wile Ass”
The Great Mongol Shahnama
Iran, 1330's
Worcester Art Museum, MA
Picture Source: <http://www.worcesterart.org/Collection/Islamic/1935.24.html>..237
- 20 Artist Unknown
“Shah Zav Enthroned”
The Great Mongol Shahnama
Iran, 1330's
Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian
Picture Source: <http://www.lacma.org/khan/intro/2.htm>.....238
- 21 A folio from *Zij-i Ilkhani*, text by Nasir al-Din al-Tusi
Iran, 1272
Picture Source: David King, *In Synchrony with the Heavens: Studies in Astronomical Timekeeping and Instrumentation in Medieval Islamic Civilization, Leiden, Boston, 2004* , p.63.....239
- 22 Map made by Lelewel based on the *Zij-i Ilkhani*
Picture Source: David King, *World-maps*, Fig. 1.7.4.....240
- 23 Artist Unknown
“Moses Hearing God’s Voice”
Jami al-Tawarikh ("Compendium of Chronicles"), text by Rashid al-Din
Iran, 1306 – 7
f. 8r
Edinburgh University Library
Picture Source: Purchased from the Edinburgh University Library.....241
- 24 “Moses Hearing God’s Voice”, detail
Picture Source: Purchased from the Edinburgh University Library.....242

25	Artist Unknown “Prophet Salih Produces a Camel from a Rock” <i>Jami al-Tawarikh</i> ("Compendium of Chronicles"), text by Rashid al-Din Iran, 1306 – 7 f. 1v Edinburgh University Library Picture Source: Purchased from the Edinburgh University Library.....	243
26	“Prophet Salih Produces a Camel from a Rock”, detail Picture Source: Purchased from the Edinburgh University Library.....	244
27	Artist Unknown “City of Iram” <i>Jami al-Tawarikh</i> ("Compendium of Chronicles"), text by Rashid al-Din Iran, 1306 – 7 f. 1r Edinburgh University Library Picture Source: Purchased from the Edinburgh University Library.....	245
28	“City of Iram” detail Picture Source: Purchased from the Edinburgh University Library.....	246
29	Artist Unknown “Alexander in the Fog” <i>Jami al-Tawarikh</i> ("Compendium of Chronicles"), text by Rashid al-Din Iran, 1306 – 7 f. 19r Edinburgh University Library Picture Source: Purchased from the Edinburgh University Library.....	247
30	“Alexander in the Fog”, detail Picture Source: Purchased from the Edinburgh University Library.....	248
31	Artist Unknown “Muhammad, Abu Bakr, and the Herd of Goats” <i>Jami al-Tawarikh</i> ("Compendium of Chronicles"), text by Rashid al-Din Iran, 1306 – 7 f. 57r Edinburgh University Library Picture Source: Purchased from the Edinburgh University Library.....	249
32	“Muhammad, Abu Bakr, and the Herd of Goats” detail Picture Source: Purchased from the Edinburgh University Library.....	250
33	Artist Unknown “Mountains of India”	

	<i>Jami al-Tawarikh</i> ("Compendium of Chronicles"), text by Rashid al-Din Iran, 1306 – 7 Khalili Collections Picture Source: Sheila Blair, <i>A Compendium of Chronicles: Rashid al-Din's Illustrated History of the World</i> , London, 1995.....	251
34	“Mountains of India” detail Picture Source: Sheila Blair, <i>A Compendium of Chronicles: Rashid al-Din's Illustrated History of the World</i> , London, 1995.....	252
35	Artist Unknown “Mountains between India and Tibet” <i>Jami al-Tawarikh</i> ("Compendium of Chronicles"), text by Rashid al-Din Iran, 1306 – 7 Khalili Collections Picture Source: Sheila Blair, <i>A Compendium of Chronicles: Rashid al-Din's Illustrated History of the World</i> , London, 1995.....	253
36	“Mountains between India and Tibet” detail Picture Source: Sheila Blair, <i>A Compendium of Chronicles: Rashid al-Din's Illustrated History of the World</i> , London, 1995.....	254
37	Artist Unknown “Musa Slays the Giant ‘Uj ibn ‘Anaq” <i>Jami al-Tawarikh</i> ("Compendium of Chronicles"), text by Rashid al-Din Iran, 1306 – 7 f. 9v Edinburgh University Library Picture Source: Purchased from the Edinburgh University Library.....	255
38	“Musa Slays the Giant ‘Uj ibn ‘Anaq” detail Picture Source: Purchased from the Edinburgh University Library.....	256
39	Artist Unknown “Moses in the Bullrushes” <i>Jami al-Tawarikh</i> ("Compendium of Chronicles"), text by Rashid al-Din Iran, 1306 – 7 f.7v Edinburgh University Library Picture Source: Purchased from the Edinburgh University Library.....	257
40	“Moses in the Bullrushes” detail Picture Source: Purchased from the Edinburgh University Library.....	258
41	Artist Unknown “‘Abd al-Muttalib and al-Harith about to Discover Zamzam”	

	<i>Jami al-Tawarikh</i> ("Compendium of Chronicles"), text by Rashid al-Din Iran, 1306 – 7 f. 41r Edinburgh University Library Picture Source: Purchased from the Edinburgh University Library.....	259
42	“Abd al-Muttalib and al-Harith about to Discover Zamzam” detail Picture Source: Purchased from the Edinburgh University Library.....	260
43	Table of <i>zij</i> Production in the Islamic World Picture Source: Kennedy, “A Survey,” <i>Transactions of the American Philosophical Society</i> , 1956, p. 168.....	261
44	Oljeitu’s itinerary Picture Source: Melville, “Itineraries,” <i>Iran</i> 28, 1990, p.58.....	262

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Persian painting on paper as an art-historical corpus first appeared in the Ilkhanid environ (1258-1370), one of the four divisions within the Mongol Empire, located in present-day Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan, and Azerbaijan. Unlike paintings from previous periods in Persian and Arabic speaking societies, the Ilkhanid book illustration at once cooperates and vies with the text on a more or less equal footing and is composed in such a way as to suggest a sense of pictorial space.¹ The functional and stylistic change is so revolutionary that scholars place the beginning of the whole tradition of Persian painting in the Ilkhanid period. The scholarly consensus has been that this resulted mainly from contacts with China and its landscape paintings. In order to offer another explanation, this dissertation focuses on grand vizier Rashid al-Din's world history *Jami al-Tawarikh*, the earliest surviving manuscript to employ the new strategies of painting in a systematic manner.

The paintings that I study here come from the Arabic copy housed in the Edinburgh University Library and the Khalili Collections, which date from 1314- 5 and is

¹ Sheila Blair, "The Development of the Illustrated Book in Iran," *Muqarnas* 10 (1993), 266-74.

considered to be the earliest surviving copy of the *Jami al-Tawarikh*.² In the original condition, this copy would have had three volumes: Volume 1 devoted to a history of the Mongols, Volume 2 to a biography of the Ilkhanid ruler Oljeitu and a history of non-Mongols, and Volume 3 to geography. The surviving portions of the Arabic copy make up only a fragment of this monumental undertaking. There are 210 folios surviving from Volume 2, making up about a half of the history of non-Mongols, covering the ancient history of Persia and Arabia, the Prophet Muhammad and the caliphates, the Ghaznavids (962 – 1186), Saljuqs (1040 – 1157), and Khwarazmshahs (1077 – 1220), and the history of China, India, and the Jews. The original size of each folio would have been about 50 cm by 36 cm on expensive Baghdadi paper.³ There are seventy illustrated folios in the Edinburgh portion and thirty-five in the Khalili portion. The painting sizes vary, but most are rectangular and about 25 cm by 10cm. The most frequently illustrated subject matters are battle scenes (27 of 70), court scenes with a seated authoritative figure (29), or portraits of Chinese emperors (16) (**Figures 1 - 3**). The seventy paintings achieve a uniform style and seem to belong to one tradition.

The Arabic copy of the *Jami al-Tawarikh* is not a new subject of study to historians of Islamic art. Among many publications on the manuscript, two are especially important for their pioneering work. David Talbot Rice and Basil Gray's monograph *The Illustrations to the World History of Rashid al-Din* visually analyze each painting and identifies particular styles in the Edinburgh portion of the *Jami al-Tawarikh*.⁴ They also

² Some of the paintings in the two fourteenth-century Persian copies of the *Jami al-Tawarikh* at the Topkapi Library may also be contemporaneous to the Arabic copy. At the time of writing, the Topkapi Library was closed for renovation and did not permit an entry to the researcher.

³ Sheila Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles: Rashid al-Din's Illustrated History of the World*, London, 1995, 38. This estimate is that of Sheila Blair.

⁴ David Talbot Rice and Basil Gray, *The Illustrations to the World History of Rashid al-Din*, Edinburgh, 1976.

categorize ethnic groups of depicted figures by their headgear and garments. In the *Compendium of Chronicles*, Sheila Blair studies both the Edinburgh and Khalili portions of the manuscript from a codicological and historical perspective.⁵ She explains the kinds of paintings that would have been available to the *Jami al-Tawarikh* scribes and painters, how they would have worked to produce the manuscript, and what kind of impact the manuscript had on later manuscripts of history. This dissertation takes her reconstruction and analysis as its research foundation.

The text of the *Jami al-Tawarikh* has also generated much research in the fields of history and literature and has been translated into European languages. Scholars have focused on the Persian text, however, from the later copies of the *Jami al-Tawarikh* housed in the Topkapi Library because it is more complete than the Arabic fragment, the subject of this dissertation. Among them, Wheeler Thackston's translation of the first two volumes of the Persian *Jami al-Tawarikh* gives an overview, philological analysis, and the comparative notes on the text of the *Jami al-Tawarikh*.⁶ His translation of the last volume on the history of the world still awaits publication.

This study adds to the current scholarship by focusing its investigation on the representations of the plant organisms, various forms and bodies of water, and geological features. These pictorial environments of land allowed for the innovative painting style in the Ilkhanid period. In the *Jami al-Tawarikh*, artists appropriate motifs and techniques of landscape painting that are traceable to Chinese traditions: cloud forms, twisting and bending tree trunks, rolling hills, loose brushwork, transparent wash, undulating lines, calligraphic strokes, objects cut on the edges of the picture plane, and compositions that

⁵ Blair, *Compendium*.

⁶ Rashid ad-Din, *Rashiduddin Fazlullah's Jami'u't-Tawarikh Compendium of Chronicles: a History of the Mongols*, v. 1, 2, 3, trans. by Wheeler Thackston, Cambridge, 1998 – 9.

take into account the whole of the picture space. In so doing, the *Jami al-Tawarikh* painters newly created an illusion of atmosphere, three-dimensional space, and passage of time.

These pictorial environments of land in the *Jami al-Tawarikh* have been called “landscape” or “landscape elements.” In the discourses of Chinese and European art history, the term “landscape” refers to a distinct genre unlike “still life,” for instance. It is also a theoretical construct; W. J. T. Mitchell argues that “landscape is not a genre of art but a medium” to frame landscape as a socio-political concept.⁷ Likewise, Denis E. Cosgrove connects landscape to society and defines landscape as “a way of seeing – a way in which some Europeans have represented to themselves and to others the world about them and their relationships with it, and through which they have commented on social relations.”⁸ A historian of Chinese art Martin Powers argues that landscape offers an infinite potential for variance allowing signification of social mobility as opposed to depictions of cultural products which are class-specific.⁹ On the other hand, Jerome Silbergeld links landscape to cosmic order and concludes that “China’s interest in landscape/*shanshui* lies not so much in land-shape as in essence, in the energy that animates the land, the same energy that runs through us all.”¹⁰

In the field of Islamic art history, landscape has been discussed mainly as a setting to the narrative the painting seems to deliver. Priscilla Soucek argues that post-fifteenth century landscapes had a function “to provide the context for the depiction of events,

⁷ W. J. T. Mitchell, *Landscape and Power*, Chicago, 1994, 5.

⁸ Denis E. Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*, London, 1984.

⁹ Martin Powers, “When is landscape like a body?” in *Landscape, Culture, and Power*, ed. by Yeh Wen Hsin, Berkeley, 1998, 1 – 21. Powers, *Pattern and Person: Ornament, Society, and Self in Classical China*, Cambridge, 2006. Powers, *Art and Political Expression in Early China*, New Haven, 1991.

¹⁰ Jerome Silbergeld, “Landscape Theory from a Chinese Space-Time Continuum” *Landscape Theory/ the Art Seminar*, eds. by Rachael Ziady DeLue and James Elkins, 2008, 281.

usually of a story.”¹¹ Since the pictorial representations of nature did not form an independent genre in the Islamic world, I would like to suggest calling them “land renditions.” By coining a term that is more suitable to the paintings at hand, I hope to firmly situate them in the context of world art and to bring the discussion to an interdisciplinary level. Moreover, the term “land rendition” implies that it is foundational to paintings, controlling overall composition, visual experience, and signification. Throughout this dissertation, I will use the term ‘landscape’ when referring to other scholars’ work and the term ‘land rendition’ when making my own arguments.

In twenty-one of the seventy paintings in the *Jami al-Tawarikh*, the land renditions play an important role in the viewer’s experience of encountering the paintings (**Figures 4 - 6**). As we shall see in Chapter 3, the land renditions in these paintings create multiple pictorial spaces to suggest a particular relationship between visual elements. Since only a fraction of the original manuscript survives, this dissertation does not consider the pictorial programme of land renditions. It makes a selection of paintings that display a range of new land renditions and analyzes their compositions and significations and aims to raise the discussion to an interdisciplinary level.

The *Jami al-Tawarikh* was written and illustrated in one single imperial project; the writing of the history took place in conjunction with creating the new painting style. Considering that painting was part of the *Jami al-Tawarikh* project from its inception and that Rashid al-Din’s ambition was to surpass any other history writing project to date, it may be useful to explore how the new ways of painting may have participated in or

¹¹ Priscilla Soucek, “The Role of Landscape in Iranian Painting in the Fifteenth Century” in *Landscape Style in Asia, Colloquies on art & archaeology in Asia v. 9*, ed. by William Watson, London, 1980, 86. She bases her argument on her analyses of the fifteenth-century manuscripts, such as Khwaju Kirmani’s *Humay u Humayun*.

facilitated the construction of a collective memory in the Ilkhanid reader/viewer. This is especially crucial since the Ilkhanids began their book making project after a rupture they created by demolishing previous political dynasties, like the 500-year old Abbasid Empire (749 – 1258) centered on Baghdad and 200-year old Saljuq dynasts (1038 – 1194) in Greater Iran. This rupture was both political and art historical, marking a clear end of the pre-Mongol polities and painting traditions in the region.

After the rise of Genghis Khan in Mongolia around 1200, most of Eurasia came under the control of one family. His grandson Hulagu came and conquered the Middle East, sacking Baghdad in 1258. As descendants of Hulagu, the Ilkhanids ruled the region for eighty years. Based on the study of Ilkhanid palace tiles, Tomoko Masuya argues that the Ilkhanid rulers used both local and Chinese “symbols of rulership,” *Shahnama* (“Book of Kings”) and Chinese dragons and phoenixes, respectively.¹² She implies that these multicultural symbols were understood by some, if not all, members of the Ilkhanid court. In fact, both local authorities who were familiar with the pre-Mongol traditions and newcomers from Central Asia and China composed a diverse court community. Rashid al-Din himself was a born Jew, who after converting to Islam at the age of thirty rapidly rose up on the political ladder to become the grand vizier under two Ilkhanid rulers, Ghazan Khan (1295 – 1304) and Oljeitu (1304 – 1316). Thomas Allsen argues that there were Ongguts, Khitans, Uighurs, Tibetans, Tanguts, Mongols, and Chinese in

¹² Tomoko Masuya, “Ilkhanid Courtly Life” in *The Legacy of Genghis Khan*, eds. by Linda Komaroff and Stefano Carboni, New York, 2002, 102. Her evidence may not be that clear-cut, however. The scenes from *Shahnama* had been used in Islamic artworks made outside of the Iranian court context. Similarly, dragons and phoenixes had been in use outside of the court context in China before the advent of the Mongols. These tiles, therefore, may have not been representative of the Ilkhanid rulership although they may have conveyed to the viewer the wealth and taste of the Ilkhanid rulers, by way of which the viewer understood their power.

the Ilkhanid court working as soldiers, administrators, physicians, translators, etc.¹³ One can assume that the Ilkhanid courtiers of various backgrounds were the immediate, if not also the main, audience of the *Jami al-Tawarikh*. How did the manuscript help them remember the past?

The *Jami al-Tawarikh* presumably included a section on geography, as Rashid al-Din lays out in the introduction that, "Tome Three is an exposition of the shapes of the climes and routes through realms" although this section was either never written or has not survived.¹⁴ This inclusion suggests that Rashid al-Din's vision of historiography in the *Jami al-Tawarikh* project encompassed geographical knowledge and concepts. Patrick Gautier Dalche finds similar importance of geography in European universal histories from the fifth to fourteenth centuries.¹⁵ He argues that by the fourteenth century, "geography was no longer simple illustration of historical text but was one of the conditions of the text's intelligibility."¹⁶ We can only guess at the content of the geography section in the *Jami al-Tawarikh*.¹⁷ It may have been similar to that of a later geographical writing, *Nuzhat al-Qulub* ("Pleasure of the Hearts" 1340) of Hamd-Allah Mustawfi Qazwini, which describes cities and roads between the cities in the Middle East.¹⁸ The possible link between the missing section of the *Jami al-Tawarikh* and *Nuzhat al-Qulub* deserves thorough research, which may lead to a better understanding of

¹³ Thomas Allsen, *Culture and Conquest in Mongol Eurasia*, Cambridge, UK, 201, 6.

¹⁴ Thackston, *Jami'u't-Tawarikh*, 11. Rashid al-Din, *Jami al-Tawarikh*, ed. by Bahman Karimi, 2 vols, Tehran, 1983, 16.

¹⁵ Patrick Gautier Dalche, "L'espace de l'histoire: le role de la geographie dans les chroniques universelles," in *L'historiographie medievale en Europe*, edited by Jean-Philippe Genet, Paris, 1991, 287 – 300.

¹⁶ Dalche, "L'espace," 290.

¹⁷ Allsen, "Geography and Cartography" in *Culture*, 103 – 114. Allsen concludes that Rashid al-Din must have had an extensive geographical knowledge based on the evidence that he included detailed and accurate information about the mountains, rivers, and other land features in Central Asia and East Asia.

¹⁸ Hamd-Allah Mustawfi Qazwini, *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat-al-qulub*, trans. by Le Strange, Leiden, 1915 – 16. I thank Prof. Charles Melville for pointing this out to me.

the pictorial land renditions in the *Jami al-Tawarikh* as well as of geographical study in the Ilkhanid court.

While leaving this as a future project, I take the inclusion of the geography section in the *Jami al-Tawarikh* as a cue to expand Rashid al-Din's historiography to the greater intellectual community in the Ilkhanid court, where different ways of thinking may have been interconnected. One discipline of study that received enormous funding on an imperial level from the beginning of the Ilkhanid rule was astronomy. The Ilkhanids not only built the state-of-the-art observatory at Maragha, but also handpicked scholars like Nasir al-Din al-Tusi (d. 1274), who later became the most prominent astronomer and mathematician at the Ilkhanid court.¹⁹ In his treatises, al-Tusi defines and explicates scientific methods of conceptualizing space and time.

How could studying Ilkhanid historiography and astronomy be relevant to the discussion of *Jami al-Tawarikh* paintings? Since the *Jami al-Tawarikh* paintings achieve a stylistic uniformity throughout the manuscript, the *Jami al-Tawarikh* painters probably worked together in the court workshops (*kitabkhana*).²⁰ In addition, there are no surviving signatures or biographies of painters from the Ilkhanid period, which indicates collaborative creation and not much emphasis on individual merits. Given that we do not know whether they were literate, I do not claim that the *Jami al-Tawarikh* painters were well-versed in Rashid al-Din's historiography or al-Tusi's astronomy. Although examining the extent to which historiographical and astronomical concepts may have

¹⁹ Aydin Sayili, *The Observatory in Islam and Its Place in the General History of the Observatory*, Ankara, 1988.

²⁰ The workshop operations of the later periods are better-documented. Thomas Lentz and Glenn Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, Los Angeles, 1989. Marianna Shreve Simpson and Massumeh Farhad, *Sultan Ibrahim Mirza's Haft Awrang*, Washington D.C., 1997.

been accessible in the Ilkhanid court is a subject of study in its own right, I do not propose to trace the Ilkhanid transmission of knowledge.

Yet, instead of taking for granted that painters were mere physical laborers, can we understand their creations as participants in the Ilkhanid discursive space and pictorial environment? In his study of bronze ornaments from the Han dynasty, Martin Powers has argued that the act of art making is never neutral and that the artists have to make a social and epistemological choice.²¹ My premise here is similar to that of Powers. Both Rashid al-Din and al-Tusi were politically and financially powerful agents in the Ilkhanid intellectual community, and their scholastic projects were in fact the creative work of many people, including the *Jami al-Tawarikh* painters. I will suggest that Rashid al-Din's historiography and al-Tusi's astronomy provided new means through which the Ilkhanids remembered the historical world and observed the physical world. Could the land renditions in the *Jami al-Tawarikh* have also provided an arena for a larger intellectual discourse, which included historiography and astronomy, where the visual rendition of space, time, and memory was negotiated? This dissertation hopes to picture the Ilkhanid epistemological environment in a larger context to provide new hypotheses and expositions about the *Jami al-Tawarikh* land renditions.

Stylistic Changes in the *Jami al-Tawarikh* Land Renditions

It is not that the entire painting production from the Ilkhanid period marks an equal departure from previous periods; many Ilkhanid paintings in fact look similar to those from before. Nevertheless, the range in style shifted greatly from that in the past to

²¹ Powers, *Pattern*. Powers, *Expression*.

include some paintings that seem to belong to another tradition altogether.²² To articulate this shift, it is necessary to compare the style of pre-Ilkhanid paintings to the Ilkhanid one. This is not to ignore the particularity of each manuscript production; surely, the patronage and workshop environment differed greatly from one manuscript project to another. Making a general comparison would, therefore, not be as useful. Instead, paintings are compared here only in terms of the issues that concern this dissertation: the paintings' relationships to the texts and the pictorial spaces they create.

The paintings in pre-Ilkhanid scientific texts, such as the *De Materia Medica* of Dioscorides (1228), are mainly composed of visual elements that are so directly linked to the content of the text that they seem to act as diagrams.²³ For example, in “Mustard Plant and Seeds,” the plants seem to have been flattened in a glass slide for better observation under a microscope (**Figure 7**). There is no pictorial environment for these plants, let alone an illusionary pictorial space. The scribe even wrote over the plants, as if to undermine whatever visual effects the painting might create alone.

Some literary works from the pre-Ilkhanid periods are based on narratives with protagonists and settings. Such manuscripts include the Indo-Arabic animal fable of *Kalila wa Dimna*, the Arabic *Mukhtar al-Hikam wa-Mahasin al-Kalim* (“Choice Maxims and Finest Sayings”), and the Persian romance of *Varqa va Golshah*, all from the early

²² Oleg Grabar, “The Visual Arts, 1050 – 1350” *Cambridge History of Iran*, v. 5, ed. by J. A. Boyle, Cambridge, 1968, 626 – 58. Komaroff and Carboni, *Legacy*.

²³ M. M. Sadek, *The Arabic Materia Medica of Dioscorides*, St-Jean-Chrysostome, Quebec, 1983. Richard Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, Paris, 1962. Hugo Buchthal, “Early Islamic Miniatures from Baghdad,” *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, V., 1942, 19 – 39, Buchthal, “‘Hellenistic’ Miniatures in Early Islamic Manuscripts,” *Ars Islamica*, VII, 1940, p. 125 – 33. Kurt Weitzmann, “The Greek Sources of Islamic Scientific Illustrations,” *Archaeologica Orientalia in Memoriam Ernst Herzfeld*, ed. by George C. Miles, Locust Valley, 1952. Ernst J. Grube, “Pre-Mongol and Mamluk Paintings,” in *Islamic Painting and the Arts of the Book*, ed. by B. W. Robinson, London, 67 – 128.

thirteenth century (**Figures 8 -12**).²⁴ In them, the paintings contain visual elements or solid background color to hint at the pictorial environments. The outdoor scene in *Varqa va Golshah*, for instance, contain plants and rock formations as well as the figures (**Figure 11**). Another page from the same manuscript has blue backdrop against which the figures are set (**Figure 12**). Likewise, “The Bird Catcher and the Doves” in *Kalila wa dimna* has solid red background (**Figure 9**).

The pictorial environments are richer in the thirteenth-century copies of dramatic anecdotes known as the *Maqamat* (assemblies) by al-Hariri (**Figures 13, 14**).²⁵ Many paintings from these manuscripts are filled with visual elements that represent the surroundings of the figures. For example, the “Entrance to the City” is full of plants, animals, water, hills, and buildings (**Figure 14**). In the *Maqamat*, the paintings expand vertically, and some, including the “Entrance to the City,” take over entire pages, physically free from the written texts. On the scale of elaborateness of pictorial environment, the paintings in the scientific texts without any indication of the pictorial environment represent one end of the spectrum from the pre-Ilkhanid periods, while the *Maqamat* paintings seem to represent the other.

Some paintings from the Ilkhanid period look much like those from the pre-Ilkhanid scientific manuscripts, with no indication of the pictorial environment. In the fourteenth-century copy of Abu Yahya Zakariya’ibn Muhammad al-Qazwini’s (1203 – 1283) encyclopedic treatise, *’Aja’ib al-makhluqat wa-ghara’ib al-mawjudat* (“Marvels of Things Created and Miraculous Aspects of Things Existing”), for instance, most paintings are made of single visual elements with textual captions accompanying them

²⁴ Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*.

²⁵ Grabar, *The Illustrations of the Maqamat*, Chicago, 1984.

(**Figure 15**).²⁶ This is not unlike the paintings in the pre-Ilkhanid *De Materia Medica* of Dioscorides. For example, on a folio from the British Library copy of *'Aja'ib*, the images of animals are arranged tabularly around the texts. Like the “Mustard Plants and Seeds” from the *De Materia Medica*, no environment is depicted here.

In contrast, the pictorial environments in Ilkhanid manuscripts mark a clear departure from the pre-Ilkhanid periods. Unlike before, the Ilkhanid book production emphasizes illustrating manuscripts of history more than other kinds of manuscripts. Moreover, the paintings in them look radically different from all the illustrated pre-Ilkhanid manuscripts. The earliest of these are “The Investiture of Ali” and “The Day of Cursing,” two paintings from the 1307-8 Persian copy of *Athar-i Baqiya*, al-Biruni’s history of the tenth century (**Figures 16**).²⁷ Later examples include the paintings from the 1315 Arabic copy of the *Jami al-Tawarikh* (“Compendium of Histories”), written by Vizier Rashid al-Din and illustrated in his workshops (the subject of this dissertation), and the 1330 copy of the *Shahnama* (“Book of Kings”), an epic composed by Firdawsi in the eleventh century, also known as *The Great Mongol Shahnama* (**Figures 17 – 20**).²⁸ The paintings from these manuscripts employ a completely new set of strategies to evoke an illusion of three-dimensional space. The architectural elements in these paintings are rendered in three-quarter views and layered, giving a sense of a receding space. It is the

²⁶ Stefano Carboni, “The Wonders of Creations and the Singularities of Ilkhanid Paintings: A Study of the London Qazwini, British Library Ms. Or. 14140,” Ph.D. dissertation, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1992.

²⁷ Blair, “The Religious Art of the Ilkhanids,” in *Legacy*, 118.

²⁸ For a general discussion of the Ilkhanid illustrated manuscripts, see Robert Hillenbrand, “The Arts of the Book in Ilkhanid Iran,” in *Legacy*, 134 – 67. The images from and the scattered sheets of Persianate paintings collected and known as the Diez albums are not discussed here because of their unclear provenances. J.M. Rogers argues that the images in the Diez albums are illustrations to the *Ta'rikh-i Mubarak-i Ghazani* in *Central Asiatic Journal*, v. 14, n1-3, 227.

land elements, however, that most significantly create a sense of pictorial space in the Ilkhanid manuscripts.

How were these land elements rendered differently from those of the pre-Ilkhanid paintings? In the pre-Ilkhanid manuscripts of the *Kalila wa Dimna* and *Varqa and Golshah*, land elements are represented by their biologically or geologically distinctive parts. They are whole and isolated; they rarely overlap with other elements or one another, and they are rarely cut on the edges of the picture plane. They are generally cross-sectional or diagrammatical, displaying their inner mechanisms and physical parts. For example, a flower is not represented as a cluster of petals but instead exhibits its inner parts, such as a pistil, stamina, and calyx in distinctive colors. A rock formation also reveals lumps or strata in various colors.

Here, the land elements are arranged linearly, in a horizontal procession from one end of the picture to the other, usually from right to left. The linear organization of the visual elements moves the viewer's eye in a sequence. Not unlike the reading of text, time is released linearly in the viewer's experience of looking at the painting, one visual element after another.

Although in the *Maqamat*, the land elements do not necessarily exhibit their inner mechanisms, they are still depicted without the particularities of time, space, and relationships to the figures. As a result, they seem to represent the universal form, as in a textbook or a travel guide. For example, in the "Entrance to the City," trees and plants are both blooming and bearing fruit, with their leaves evenly spaced in two rows facing each other on two sides of the branches and stalks (**Figure 14**). Likewise, the pool of water has homogenous ripple patterns regardless of its source or usage. Although the

land elements in the *Maqamat* do not always form a straight horizontal line, most still line up curvilinearly. For example, in the painting where Abu Zayd recites his poetry about the *hajj*, the viewer's eye moves in a linear sequence following the directions of the figures' eyes, camel's heads, and the outlines of the hills (**Figure 13**).

This universality of form and linearity of eye movement, so prevalent in pre-Ilkhanid land renditions, are absent from Ilkhanid ones. For example, in "The Investiture of Ali" from the Ilkhanid copy of the eleventh-century polymath Abu al-Rayhan al-Biruni's *Al-Athar al-baqiya* ("Chronology of Ancient Nations"), the tree trunks and plant stalks bend and lean, and leaves grow in multiple directions (**Figure 16**). They seem specific to this pictorial environment rather than representing a general outdoor scene. Moreover, although the soil and grass at the top and bottom of the picture are composed in horizontal bands, because the space in the middle is left more or less unpainted, the two horizontal bands seem to signify foreground and background. This layering gives a sense of depth. The modeling and shading of the soil, clouds, and air also make them look weighty, as if occupying a three-dimensional space.

The particularity of land elements and the illusion of three-dimensional space are even more pronounced in the *Jami al-Tawarikh*. For example, in "Moses Hearing God's Voice," both the whirling clouds at the top and the arid hills moving up and down above and around the figures situate the viewer in a particular environment of the religiously recognizable event (**Figure 6**). The modeling, shading, and calligraphic outlining here create an illusion of three-dimensional space where the bodies of the figures are positioned. The linear procession, characteristic of the pre-Ilkhanid renditions of nature, is not applicable here. Instead, the visual elements in "Moses Hearing God's Voice"

seem to move in time already within the pictorial space and in a non-linear fashion. They seem to be positioned in a three-dimensional space with atmosphere.

In this regard, *The Great Mongol Shahnama*, the Ilkhanid copy of Firdawsi's literary epic, trumps all Ilkhanid manuscripts of history. Here, the pictorial environments are elaborate, and the illusion of a three-dimensional space is seamless. For example, in "Iskandar at the Talking Tree," the gnarled rock formations and the two trees coiling around each other look specific to this pictorial environment, inviting the viewer into their visual space at the end of the known world (**Figure 17**). As a result, the paintings seem to visually transport the viewer into another world.

The pages of the Ilkhanid manuscripts of history are much larger than those from the pre-Ilkhanid periods. This does not necessarily mean, however, that the Ilkhanid paintings are accordingly larger. In fact, the horizontal formats used in the *Jami al-Tawarikh* paintings can be more limiting than the vertical compositions of those in the *Maqamat*. As was the case in the pre-Ilkhanid periods, pages devoted solely to the paintings are also rare in the Ilkhanid manuscripts. The Ilkhanid paintings are distinguished from before less in their size than how they relate to text boxes on the same page.

In pre-Ilkhanid manuscripts, the painting and the text share the page without visual markers of separation between them. The negative space in the painting is also often left unpainted like that of the text. In "Lion and Jackal" of *Kalila wa Dimna*, for example, the pictorial space becomes part of the text space, which is two-dimensional (**Figure 8**). Even when the negative space is painted, it is usually painted with one homogenous color, blue or red, still evoking a sense of two-dimensionality (**Figure 9, 12**).

In a manuscript like *Varqa va Golshah*, the paintings are sandwiched between two framed text boxes, making them look as if they are assigned pictorial spaces separate from the texts (**Figure 11**). Yet, they still do not have their own frames, and the negative space in these paintings extends to all sides of the page. This makes the physical boundaries of the pictorial spaces unclear and, in so doing, the reader/viewer shifts from reading the text to viewing the painting without attributing much significance to the change.

In the *Jami al-Tawarikh*, on the other hand, all the paintings are separately framed in not just one but in multiple layers (**Figures 1 – 6**). This signals a mechanical break from the text and a point, at which the reader of the text is introduced to the experience of the painting as a viewer. By preparing the reader to “function” as a viewer, these frames separate the viewing of the painting from the reading of the text. In most of the *Jami al-Tawarikh* paintings, the negative space is painted in varying shades and forms. This rendering of the negative space makes it as if the painting sits on a separate piece of paper from the text, further enhancing the difference between the text and painting.

On most *Jami al-Tawarikh* pages, the width of the image box coincides with that of the text box. When the painting is inserted somewhere in the middle of the page, it interrupts the flow of the text from top to bottom. When it sits on the top of the page or at the bottom, it precludes or concludes the reading of the text. In these ways, the reading and viewing are brought together as two equally important parts of the experience of encountering a page. While sharing the pages with the texts, the paintings seem to vie with texts, possessing their own spaces that are not subjugated to the texts. Rather than

illustrating the text, the paintings seem to enrich the overall experience of encountering a book. Such close study motivates this research on the paintings of the *Jami al-Tawarikh*.

Overview of the Dissertation

In what follows, Chapter 2 gives an overview of the scholarship related to the present study, while Chapter 3 contains the visual analysis of the selected images. In Chapter 4, the land renditions are analyzed in terms of their functions as visual historiographical topoi. Chapter 5, then, explores how the new compositions in the land renditions may have related to the Ilkhanid astronomy and complex forms of governance in terms of space and time. The texts discussed in Chapter 4 and 5 are typed in original languages in the corresponding appendices. Chapter 6 offers a conclusion and discussion of the formation of Persian painting. In the end, this dissertation hopes to contribute to current scholarship by adding new modes of visual analysis and by interpreting paintings in relation to contemporary intellectual accomplishments.

CHAPTER 2

Methodological Survey of the Modern Study of Ilkhanid Books

Surviving illustrated and unillustrated books produced in the Ilkhanid period cover diverse subject matters, such as history, geography, astronomy, religion, and poetry.²⁹ Among them, this discussion focuses on the manuscripts of history and astronomy. The manuscripts of history are Abu'l Qasim al-Kashani's *Tarikh-i Oljeitu* (“The History of Oljeitu”), Hamd Allah Mustawfi Qazwini's *Tarikh-i Guzida* (“Select History”), Wassaf-i Hadrat's ("Court Panegyrist") *Tajziyat al-amsar wa-tazjiyat al-asar* ("The Allotment of Lands and Propulsion of the Ages"), Banakati's (d. 730/1329-30) *Rawdat al-albab fi tawarikh al-akabir wa al-ansab*, (“A General History from the Earliest Times to the 14th Century”), Juvaini's *Tarikh-i Jahan-gusha* (“The History of World Conqueror”) and Rashid al-Din's *Jami al-Tawarikh* (“Compendium of Chronicles” Volume 1 of which is also called *Tarikh-i Mubarak-i Ghazani* “The History of Ghazan”). Whether considered to be literature or history, the eleventh-century poet Firdawsi’s epic about Persian kings, *Shahnama* (“Book of Kings”) was made into many illustrated

²⁹ Titles of the Ilkhanid books can be found in Boyle, *Cambridge History of Iran* and Allsen, *Culture*.

manuscripts in the Ilkhanid period: the *Small Shahnama* and the *Great Mongol Shahnama*.³⁰ An illustrated copy of the eleventh-century polymath Abu al-Rayhan al-Biruni's *Al-Athar al-baqiya* ("Chronology of Ancient Nations") adds to this list.

In addition, Ilkhanid Iran produced many important astronomical writings, such as Nasir al-Din al-Tusi's (d. 673/1274) *Zij-i Ilkhani* ("The Ilkhanid Table"), *Tahrir al-majisti* ("Commentary on the Almagest" 1247), *Dhayl-i mu'iniya sharh-i mu'iniya*, *Hall-i mushkilat-i mu'iniyya* (these two writings are put together as "Tusi Couple"), and *al-Tadhkira fi'ilm al-hay'a* ("Memoir on Astronomy" 1261). It also funded books of geography like Hamd Allah Mustawfi Qazwini's (d. 740/1339-40) treatise *Nuzhat al-qulub* ("Heart's Bliss"), Abu Yahya Zakariya'ibn Muhammad al-Qazwini's (1203 – 1283) cosmography *'Aja'ib al-makhlukat wa-ghara'ib al-mawjudat* ("Marvels of Things Created and Miraculous Aspects of Things Existing"), and Shams al-Din Amuli's encyclopedia, the *Nafa'is al-funun fi 'ara'is al-'uyun* ("Gems of Science and Brides of Springs").

Among the surviving Ilkhanid manuscripts, Rashid al-Din's *Jami al-Tawarikh*, the *Small Shahnama*, the *Great Mongol Shahnama*, and Qazwini's *'Aja'ib* were illustrated. As I will explain in detail below, the paintings in these books have been the subjects of study in the field of art history. Historians have studied the texts of the Ilkhanid manuscripts of history, and the historians of science have analyzed the texts of the Ilkhanid astronomical and geographical writings. The survey here considers the methods that have been used to study the books of history and astronomy produced in the Ilkhanid period throughout the history of the three modern academic disciplines of art

³⁰ For the *Small Shahnama*, see Marianna Shreve Simpson, *The Illustration of an Epic: the Earliest Shahnama Manuscripts*, New York, 1979.

history, history, and history of science. It aims to critique the existing methods and discern what old or new methods may be fruitful in studying the pictorial land renditions in the *Jami al-Tawarikh*.

Methods of Studying Ilkhanid Paintings in Books in the Field of Art History

Hegelian Model

The modern study of the history of Persian painting began in the early twentieth century, with *Persian Miniature Painting* (1933), a survey by Laurence Binyon, J.V.S. Wilkinson, and Basil Gray (often called BWG, the initials of the three authors), and *A Survey of Persian Art* (1938-9) by Arthur Upham Pope.³¹ Although collected objects, such as metal vessels and carpets, had been catalogued before the 1930's, the scholars who wrote these books were the first to establish Persian art as a discrete category of historical inquiry.³² The two publications grew out of the seminal exhibition in 1931 in London, the Burlington House Exhibition of Persian Art. The Ilkhanid manuscripts and paintings exhibited there consisted of two sections of the fourteenth-century Arabic copy of the *Jami al-Tawarikh*, then housed in the Edinburgh University Library and the Royal Asiatic Society, twenty-two paintings from *the Great Mongol Shahnama*, the *Kalila wa Dimna* of 1236, and the Chester Beatty Library *Small Shahnama*.

³¹ Laurence Binyon, J.V.S. Wilkinson, and Basil Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting*, London, 1933. Arthur Upham Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art*, London, 1938 – 9.

³² The scholarship also began in the United States; the first scholarly journal especially for Islamic art, *Ars Islamica*, was published in 1934 in Ann Arbor by the University of Michigan. The French scholarship began around the same time, with the publication of Ivan Stchoukine's *La Peinture iranienne sous les derniers 'Abbasides et les Il-Khans*, Bruges, 1936.

The scholarly concern then seems to have been to identify what is “Persian” or “Iranian” about the “spirit,” “mind,” or “feeling” that permeated the artworks produced in the Iranian regions. For example, Binyon writes that “behind this art (Persian art) is an Oriental mind, which regards the problem of picture-making from a quite different point of view from that of the European mind.”³³ He maps out how to discern different “minds” in paintings by claiming that “if we seek for an extreme expression of the Western spirit in art, we shall find it in Michelangelo ... [because] in all his work we divine a passionate preoccupation with the human body, ... [and] in absolute contrast are ... Chinese landscapes, ... [in which] man is but a traveller, small and insignificant beside the towering crags and cloudy peaks.”³⁴ The use of brushstroke, muted color, and elements of nature, he argues, are characteristic of Chinese “spirit.” He then drives home his point that “the Persian conception is between these two ... [because it is] largely concerned with heroic story, yet...the nude human form, as a means of expression, is entirely absent from Persian painting.”³⁵

This early scholarship was premised on the Hegelian ideas of regional or temporal “spirit” (*Geist*), which presumed to manifest itself in the form of art.³⁶ As a result, the scholars began their inquiries with ancient artworks which in their estimation exhibited truer or purer Iranian “spirit,” while later artworks became tainted by “foreign influences,” such as Arab, European, and Chinese art.³⁷ For example, in his analysis of

³³ Binyon et al., *Miniature*, 5.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 3.

³⁶ Unlike Riegl, another historian of the Hegelian school, however, these scholars did not use Persian artworks to build their theoretical concepts. Rather, they used Hegelian tools to understand and explain a mass of Persian artworks exhibited in London.

³⁷ In the case of the paintings, however, Binyon writes that “it was not possible to exhibit any example dating back before the Mongol invasions of the thirteenth century,” which serves as a reason for not discussing the earlier artworks, for instance, those from the Sassanian period. Binyon et al., *Miniature*, 17.

the *Jami al-Tawarikh* paintings, Binyon argues that "the power of Chinese example is chiefly visible in the abjuring of colour, the natural birthright of Iran ... not [in] that colour is absent, but it is not used in the Persian way, [and] at the same time the line has little or none of the sweeping force or the subtlety of the Chinese brush."³⁸ Here, he identifies and isolates the visual elements that are "natural" to Iran and China rather than studying each image as a whole. He finds the technique of fine line drawing, juxtaposition of brilliant colors, predilection for expressive figures, and the motif of princely activities in gardens particularly demonstrative of Iranian "spirit."³⁹

Early scholars also saw it fit to put the history of Persian art in terms of the history of European art, as if the latter provided a blueprint usable for any visual culture. For example, Eric Schroeder, a scholar active in the 1940's, drew a Persian version of the trajectory of formation-development-culmination-decay, which was used to describe European art history at the time as it presumably culminated in the Renaissance.⁴⁰ He saw the Ilkhanid period or the fourteenth century as a formative phase, the Ilkhanid through Timurid periods or the fifteenth century as a developmental phase, the early Safavid period or the sixteenth century as "culmination," and the Safavid period onward as "decay." Just as scholars of European art linked Renaissance artworks to Antiquity, he also examined the paintings from the Safavid period in relation to the Sassanid period (224-651 CE). This approach to Persian art through the lens of the history of European art may stem from Hegel's idea that the "spirit" and history are universal.

³⁸ Ibid., 13.

³⁹ Later scholar Basil William Robinson also describes Persian painters having "happy unconsciousness of our classic rules of anatomy and perspective" and sees "strong Chinese influences" in Ilkhanid paintings. Robinson, *Persian Miniatures*, Oxford, 1957, 6 - 7. He also writes that the Ilkhanid painting style is "an uneasy mixture of far-eastern elements, which predominate, with European (mainly Byzantine) features and occasional reminiscences of pre-Islamic Persian traditions." Robinson, ed., *Islamic Painting and the Arts of the Book*, London, 131.

⁴⁰ Eric Schroeder, *Persian Miniatures in the Fog Museum of Art*, Cambridge, 1942.

By using the Hegelian model, these early scholars constructed a master narrative of the history of Persian painting and identified important monuments, such as *The Great Mongol Shahnama* and the *Jami al-Tawarikh*. Overall, the field of the history of Islamic art has now moved away from the Hegelian model and has opened to different methods and approaches. Yet, some of the effects of the Hegelian model of the early scholarship are still felt today. That post-Safavid paintings are still poorly studied may be due to the trajectory set up in earlier scholarship, in which the post-Safavid period was viewed as the phase of decay. Furthermore, the premises and approaches used for European art are still applied by some to the study of Persian painting, at times without having their applicabilities examined. Some of these applications have proven to be fruitful, for instance, the iconographical approach that is explained in the next section. An awareness of the benefits and disadvantages of using the models developed in the field of European art history is, however, crucial to the success of these applications.

Panofskian Iconography

Using Panofsky's construct of iconography, scholars like Richard Ettinghausen studied and problematized how Ilkhanid paintings related specifically to their original political, economic, geographical, and linguistic environments. For example, in his article "On Some Mongol Miniatures," Ettinghausen analyzed the iconography of the motif of a seated prince in the Ilkhanid paintings in relation to the earlier, twelfth-century, metalwork and Sassanid sculptures.⁴¹ In the same article, he linked some fourteenth-century paintings from the Diez albums and Hazine 1518 in the Topkapi Museum in

⁴¹ Ettinghausen, "On Some Mongol Miniatures" *Kunst des Orients* 3, 44-65.

Istanbul to the Chinese handscroll format, in light of the active diplomatic relationships between Iran and China at the time period.

Since Ettinghausen's accomplishments, the method of identifying motifs and patterns and making sense of them within the context of society contemporaneous to the paintings runs through the field of the history of Islamic art. The interpretation of motifs and patterns in terms of their iconographical meanings, however, may not be easily applicable to the Ilkhanid paintings. Ettinghausen himself realized this difficulty in his iconographical study of the unicorn (*karkadan*) motif in *The Great Mongol Shahnama*. He explains that "it is likewise quite natural that the Near Eastern artist was entirely unaware of the symbolical meaning of the animal that he copied. It does happen that in Islam the animal carries with it mental associations different from those of its prototype. In China the ch'i-lin is the noblest and most perfect of all animals, the emblem of goodness and virtue, and its appearance a sign of happy augury, while the *karkadan*, which at least in one case took over its shape, is a ferocious and tyrannical beast."⁴² At the level of art making, as well, Ilkhanid paintings appropriate the techniques originating in different traditions, Byzantine, Chinese, and from the Islamic world. As explained in Chapter 1, the Ilkhanid environment was indeed cross-continental and multi-cultural, which allowed a possibility for layers of meanings for each motif or painting.

Basil Gray's *Persian Painting* of 1961 and Ettinghausen's *Arab Painting* of 1962 were studies that stemmed from this iconographical approach. Unlike earlier publications by Pope, BWG, or Schroeder, Gray's survey begins by situating the paintings geographically and linguistically in the Persian-speaking regions centered on Iran. More importantly, Gray did not presume that one consistent trait existed through time or from

⁴² Ettinghausen, *The Unicorn*, Washington D.C., 1950, 157.

workshop to workshop. Instead, he examined each painting case by case, encouraging in-depth inquiries into different workshop operations, patterns of consumption, and significations in specific geographical and linguistic environments.

With the publication of *Arab Painting*, Ettinghausen was the first to define Persian painting in a temporal relation to the non-Persian paintings of the Islamic world, which he called Arab painting.⁴³ He firmly placed the ending of "Arab Painting," that is non-Persian painting, and the beginning of "Persian Painting" in the Ilkhanid period. He defined a temporal boundary between "Arab Painting" and "Persian Painting," a boundary that falls on the Ilkhanid production. For decades, scholars have taken this boundary for granted, and one can find it in books like two widely-used surveys *The Art and Architecture of Islam 650-1250* (first in 1987 and in 2001) by Ettinghausen, Oleg Grabar, and Marilyn Jenkins-Madina and *The Art and Architecture of Islam 1250-1800* (1994) by Sheila Blair and Jonathan Bloom.⁴⁴

How can we justify the temporal boundary between "Arab Painting" and "Persian Painting"? Although the terms suggest that the manuscripts that they illustrate are in Arabic and Persian, respectively, this is simply not the case. The pre-Ilkhanid *Varqa va Golshah*, for instance, is a manuscript in the Persian language, but the paintings in them are considered to be Arab painting. The Ilkhanid *Jami al-Tawarikh* was written in both Persian and Arabic, and the paintings from the Arabic copy of the *Jami al-Tawarikh* are considered to be Persian painting. As suggested by Blair and Bloom, the change may

⁴³ The general attitude of discrediting the production of illustrated manuscripts in Arabic existed as early as the time of the publication of Binyon et al., *Miniature*. Binyon writes that "Small as was the Arab contribution to the arts of Islam, it was probably least of all in painting, in which the Semitic races have never excelled." Ibid., 17.

⁴⁴ Richard Ettinghausen, Oleg Grabar, Marilyn Jenkins-Madina, *Islamic Art and Architecture, 650 – 1250*, New Haven, 2001. Sheila Blair and Jonathan Bloom, *The Art and Architecture of Islam 1250 – 1800*, New Haven, 1994.

have been linked to patronage; the most powerful patrons for the illustrated manuscripts shifted from Arabic speakers to Persian speakers in the Ilkhanid period. Patronage is an important element in the production of paintings and the viewers' reading of them and is discussed further in the following section.

Patronage/Workshops

Patterns of patronage and workshop operations are socio-economically interrelated and are therefore discussed together here. Concerning Ilkhanid painting production, there are not many surviving writings from which we can discern conditions of patronage or workshop operations. As a result, the paintings themselves have served as means through which historians of art have conjectured on patronage and workshops in the Ilkhanid period. For example, in the *Epic Images and Contemporary History: the Illustrations of the Great Mongol Shahnama* (1980), Oleg Grabar and Sheila Blair study the *Great Mongol Shahnama* now dispersed all over the world. The high quality and complexity of the paintings from this manuscript makes it art historically important, and yet a thorough research has been difficult because of its current condition with many folios spliced, paintings glued to unrelated texts, and housed in numerous locations. Taking on the daunting task of making sense of the *Great Mongol Shahnama*, Grabar and Blair point out that the book contains many images of enthronements, battle scenes, and the life of Alexander the Great, the most famous foreign ruler in Iran before the advent of the Mongols. They argue that the Ilkhanids identified with Alexander and frequently

illustrated the events in his life to use the *Great Mongol Shahnama* as a tool to legitimize their rule in Iran.

Blair similarly argues in the *Compendium of Chronicles* that the *Jami al-Tawarikh* had a propagandistic function accommodating the Ilkhanid patrons. She concludes that the *Jami al-Tawarikh* served to justify the Mongol rule despite their non-Muslim origin.⁴⁵ In one of the first monographs on the fourteenth-century illustrated fable of *Kalila wa Dimna*, Jill Sanchia Cowen also highlights the "strong ethical and spiritual convictions" of a late Ilkhanid vizier Ghiyath al-Din son of Rashid al-Din, whom she presumes to be the patron.⁴⁶ She argues that the *Kalila wa Dimna* illustrations "amplify and deepen the tales' ethical and spiritual content" and reflect the patron's morals.⁴⁷

In *Epic Images*, Grabar and Blair recognize that the landscape based on the techniques originating in China was one of the most important innovations of the Ilkhanid artists. Yet, they base their arguments solely on the figural representations. Likewise, Blair argues for the propagandistic role of *Jami al-Tawarikh* because battle scenes and conquests are the most frequently illustrated subject matter for the

⁴⁵ Blair, *Compendium of Chronicles*, 55. Although the Ilkhanids had a non-Muslim origin, by the time Rashid al-Din took on the project of the *Jami al-Tawarikh*, they had already converted to Islam and taken up Islamic practices. I would assume, therefore, the propaganda of the *Jami al-Tawarikh* engaged more profoundly with the local political discourse, within the Islamic cultures. Oleg Grabar, *Mostly Miniatures*, Princeton and Oxford, 2000. Blair, "Development."

⁴⁶ The *Panchatantra* ("Five Principles"), originally written in Sanskrit in the third century BCE may have been first translated into Pahlavi by Nushirvan's physician Borzuy around 570 CE. The text then evolved to include many stories that originated from different cultures, including the Persian-speaking one. The manuscript that Jill Cowen focuses on is a fourteenth-century copy now housed in Istanbul University (call number 1422). Jill Cowen, *Kalila wa Dimna*, New York and Oxford, 1989, 36. For the review of this book, see Marianna Shreve Simpson, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 111, No. 2 (Apr. - Jun., 1991), 401-402. Simpson is skeptical about Cowen's conclusion that the patron was Ghiyath al-Din.

⁴⁷ Cowen, *Kalila*, 17.

Ghaznavids.⁴⁸ Could the function of land renditions be also politically driven? The amount of energy and effort that was apparently put into creating and executing the new ways of rendering land, alone, tells us that it is necessary to have an in-depth look at how land rendition functions visually and otherwise. The following three sections, Influence, Ornament, and Text/Image, lay out the methods used in current scholarship in order to address the functions of Ilkhanid land renditions.

Both Grabar and Blair argue that an imperial production like the *Jami al-Tawarikh* project required systemization, speed, and collaboration in the workshops. Grabar attributes the "monotony" of Ilkhanid paintings to the "creation and popularization of a new vocabulary of forms" and "new interest in history and to the systematic distribution all over Iran of Rashid al-Din's historical volumes."⁴⁹ In the *Compendium of Chronicles*, Sheila Blair argues that the artists of the *Jami al-Tawarikh* "quickly filled the many spaces left for illustration in this large manuscript by combining stock figures in a limited set of compositions."⁵⁰ More recently, in the catalogue of the exhibit "The Legacy of Genghis Khan: Courtly Art and Culture in Western Asia, 1256–1353," Komaroff argues that Ilkhanid artists studied Chinese techniques from textiles rather than directly from paintings, implying fluidity between the two media.⁵¹

⁴⁸ Blair, *Compendium*, 55. As Blair points out, the section on Ghaznavid history is highly illustrated and the most illustrated subject matter does concern battles and conquests. Yet, we do not actually know how this may compare to the rest of the manuscript because most of the manuscript has not survived.

⁴⁹ Grabar, "Visual Arts," 653.

⁵⁰ Blair, *Compendium*, 87.

⁵¹ Komaroff and Carboni, *Legacy*, 183. The exhibit took place at the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Los Angeles County Museum of Art in 2002 and 2003.

The painting of the *Jami al-Tawarikh* probably took place in royal workshops in and near Tabriz.⁵² The Ilkhanid workshop operations may have been based on the master/disciple model, as conjectured by David Talbot Rice and Basil Gray. The sixteenth-century librarian Dust Muhammad, the first Iranian to record the biographies of painters, does lay out art history by listing master/disciple chains from the Ilkhanid period onward: beginning with Ahmad-i Musa and descending to Amir Dawlatyar, Master Shams al-Din, Khwaja Abd al-Hay, Junayd, and so on.⁵³ In *The Illustrations to the World History of Rashīd al-Dīn* (1976), the first monograph on the Edinburgh portion of the *Jami al-Tawarikh*, Rice and Gray categorize paintings by style and name each style after an imaginary master of that style. Although this analysis is based on circular logic, it tells us that the *Jami al-Tawarikh* paintings achieve a more or less uniform style throughout the manuscript even though they seem to have been executed by multiple artists. In order to address this collaborative workshop situation, this dissertation will use the term “artists” in the plural rather than “artist” in the singular in referring to the makers of the *Jami al-Tawarikh* paintings.

Influence

Early scholars such as Binyon and Pope invoked “Chinese influence” in their discussion of Ilkhanid paintings.⁵⁴ For example, Binyon writes that “the Persian novel in

⁵² Blair, *Compendium*. In her dissertation *Illustration*, Simpson, on the other hand, contends that non-royal workshops in Tabriz produced the *Small Shahnamas* of the Freer Gallery, which were sold in an art market that was independent of the Ilkhanid court.

⁵³ Dust Muhammad (1540), Preface to the Bahram Mirza album, trans. by Wheeler Thackston, *A Century of Princes, Sources on Timurid History and Art*, Cambridge, 1989, 345.

⁵⁴ Ettinghausen also explains the unicorn (*karkadann*) motif in *The Great Mongol Shahnama* as “Chinese influence.” Analyzing the iconography of the unicorn motif in the Islamic art, Ettinghausen explains

the Bodleian Library, which preserves a number of very interesting Iranian features and is far less under Chinese influence," as if the "Iranian features" and "Chinese influence" contradict each other.⁵⁵ After reading the sixteenth-century Safavid librarian Dust Muhammad's preface to an album that he compiled for the prince Bahram Mirza in 1544, Pope dwelled on the legendary painter Mani, who according to Dust Muhammad painted in the Chinese style:

On it [Artangi Tablet] he [Mani] had painted and portrayed the likenesses of humans, animals, trees, birds and various shapes that occur only in the mirror of the mind through the eye of imagination and that sit on the page of possibility in the visible world only with fantastic shapes...

[Mani's followers] took his [Mani's] painted silk, which was known as the Artangi Tablet, as their copybook for disbelief and refractoriness and, strangest of all, held that silk up as an equal to the Picture Gallery of China (نگارخانه چین), which is known to contain images of all existing things, as the poet Shaykh Muslihuddin Sa'di of Shiraz has said of the two at the beginning of the Gulistan:

There is hope that one not frown in boredom, for
a garden is not a place of solitude:
If adorned by lordly attention, it is a Chinese
Gallery and an Artangi Tablet.⁵⁶

Pope traced artworks that supposedly followed the Manichean style and discarded them from his discussion of Persian paintings.⁵⁷ He used philological evidence mainly to better distinguish the Iranian "spirit" from "foreign influences."⁵⁸

that "it is likewise quite natural that the Near Eastern artist was entirely unaware of the symbolical meaning of the animal that he copied. It does happen that in Islam the animal carries with it mental associations different from those of its prototype. In China the ch'i-lin is the noblest and most perfect of all animals, the emblem of goodness and virtue, and its appearance a sign of happy augury, while the karkadann, which at least in one case took over its shape, is a ferocious and tyrannical beast." Ettinghausen, *Unicorn*, 157. Here, he analyzes the meaning of the *karkadan* from the perspective of the "origin" Chinese meanings rather than from the perspective of the interests of the patrons, artists, and viewers at the time the painting was made. It is interesting to note that his analysis is in large part based on al-Qazwini's *'Aja'ib al-makhlūqat*.

⁵⁵ Binyon et al., *Miniature*, 31.

⁵⁶ Thackston, *Century*, 12.

⁵⁷ Pope, *Survey*.

Ivan Stchoukine puts a spin on this idea and divides Iranian paintings into three categories: Sassanid, Abbasid, and Mongol.⁵⁹ Here he includes paintings from pre-Mongol Baghdad, such as the *Maqamat*, in the discussion of Iranian paintings since, according to him, the “Abbasid school” resulted from the relationship between Abbasids and Iranians. In his close analyses of the landscapes (“paysage”) in Iranian paintings, he argues that both “Abbasid school” and “Mongol school” used hybrid styles, effecting in decoration and illusion of space, respectively.⁶⁰ His emphasis on the effect of the cross-cultural style is something this dissertation will follow.

Concerning the *Great Mongol Shahnama*, David Talbot Rice writes that "The Demotte Shah Nama may perhaps be taken as the first *wholly* Persian book that has come down to us. The Edinburgh Rashid al-Din, in fact, constitutes a prologue to it, and many of its miniatures are already truly Iranian, and not merely eclectic products, where Arab, Chinese, Mongol, and probably Uighur elements are mixed rather than combined" (my italics).⁶¹ While Rice identifies various cultural origins of the visual elements in the *Jami al-Tawarikh*, he differentiates them from what is “Persian,” which he argues was first accomplished in the *Great Mongol Shahnama*.

Since the 1960's, scholars have pinpointed precisely in which Chinese artworks we can see the techniques similar to those used in the Ilkhanid land renditions. As for the

⁵⁸ Priscilla Soucek, "Nizami on Painters and Painting," in *Islamic Art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, ed. by R. Ettinghausen, New York, 1971, 9-20. For an extensive bibliography on the story of Mani, see David Roxburgh, *Prefacing the Image, Studies and Sources in Islamic Art and Architecture* v. 9, Boston, 2001, 175 - 9. As David Roxburgh points out, not every scholar believes that the literary extolling of Chinese art refers to the reality. For instance, Djalal Khaleghi-Motlagh argues that the metaphor stands “for any place or town with good-looking inhabitants” Khaleghi-Motlagh, Djalal, “Chinese-Iranian Relations. X. China in Medieval Persian Literature” *Encyclopedia Iranica* 5, 454 – 55.

⁵⁹ Stchoukine, *Peinture*.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 105 – 120.

⁶¹ David Talbot Rice, *Royal Asiatic Journal*, v. 14, n1-3, 182 (my italics). The Demotte Shah Nama is an old name for the *Great Mongol Shahnama*.

techniques and motifs, Güner Inal points out that the gradation of color on the ground and the overlapping of visual elements in the illustrations to the *Jami al-Tawarikh* are techniques used in the Tang paintings.⁶² Inal also points to the Freer Gallery twelfth-century handscroll with an *arhat* in the forest, attributed to Fan Long, as the pictorial inspiration for the tree trunks in the *Jami at-Tawarikh* paintings.⁶³ In *Compendium of Chronicles*, Sheila Blair links the technique of foreshortening used in the *Jami al-Tawarikh* to a style found in Tang paintings.⁶⁴

As for specific Chinese paintings, Inal compares the *Jami al-Tawarikh* (Hazine 1653) to the twelfth-century handscroll depicting Wen Ch'i's captivity in Mongolia, housed in the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston and to the eleventh-century painting by Ts'ui Po housed in the Palace Museum in Taipei.⁶⁵ Priscilla Soucek points to Chinese medical texts with illustrations, such as the twelfth-century copy of *Ch'ung-hsiu Cheng-ho Cheng lei Pen-ts'ao*, as the source for the renditions of trees in the Edinburgh *Jami al-Tawarikh*.⁶⁶ In *Epic Images and Contemporary History*, Oleg Grabar and Sheila Blair point to the Buddhist cave paintings from the Tang period in China and Central Asia, ceramics, and textile as sources for *The Great Mongol Shahnama*.⁶⁷ Robert Hillenbrand

⁶² Güner Inal, "The Fourteenth-century Miniatures of the Jami al-Tawarikh in the Topkapi Museum in Istanbul, Hazine Library no. 1653," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1965, 184. As for renditions of nature, scholars have pointed to Tang paintings, while for the composition of a court scene with attendants, Emel Esin argued for Han paintings as the source. Emel Esin, "Court Attendants in Turkish Iconography," *Central Asiatic Journal*, v. 14, n. 1-3, 78-117. As for some depictions of the clothes, Byzantine sources were also discussed.

⁶³ Inal, "Artistic Relationship between the Far and the Near East as Reflected in the Miniatures of the Gami At-Tawarih," *Kunst des Orients*, v. 10, 1975, 108 – 143.

⁶⁴ Blair, *Compendium*, 71.

⁶⁵ Inal, "Jami al-Tawarikh," 184.

⁶⁶ Soucek, "Landscape," 91.

⁶⁷ Grabar and Blair, *Epic Images and Contemporary History: the Illustrations of the Great Mongol Shahnama*, Chicago, 1980, 42.

also finds the Chinese Buddhist images to be the inspiration for *the Great Mongol Shahnama*.⁶⁸

Identifying the possible Chinese inspirations for the Ilkhanid invention of land rendering techniques is an important and necessary step for further research. It provides us with essential information about the patterns and economics of artistic exchange. In the process, however, scholars have generally lamented the inferior quality of the Iranian "copies" after the Chinese "originals." This contrasts, curiously, with the same scholars' evaluation of the Ilkhanid paintings as works that revolutionized the painting tradition in the Islamic world. Perhaps Ettinghausen best expresses these conflicting assessments by arguing that "while there is in the *Demotte Shahnama (The Great Mongol Shahnama)* a much stronger consciousness of the ambient than had previously existed in Iranian paintings, ... [the settings] lack the impression of reality and the sense of space in depth that is found in their Far Eastern prototypes ... [because the] perspective devices derived from Chinese landscape painting ... are usually applied without real understanding of the artistic and optic laws involved."⁶⁹

An evaluation of Ilkhanid paintings according to a Chinese standard has run through most, if not all, scholarly work.⁷⁰ In the illustrations of the *Jami al-Tawarikh*,

⁶⁸ Robert Hillenbrand, "The Arts of the Book in Ilkhanid Iran" in *Legacy* by Komaroff and Carboni, 134 - 167.

⁶⁹ Ettinghausen, "World Awareness and Human Relationships in Iranian Painting" *Highlights of Persian Art*, Boulder, Colorado, 1979, 247.

⁷⁰ In *Space in Persian Painting*, Leo Bronstein assesses that Persian painting never reached the level of European painting in its artistic achievement of representing space. He argues that in Persian painting, there is a "strange conception of space and perspective" despite Iran's "constant contact with the arts of other countries (especially of China)" and that "the space of Iranian painting is neither a two-dimensional space, nor a three-dimensional..., *it is about to become three-dimensional.*" He further contends that the "limitations" and the "deformative, illogical absurdities" in Persian painting arise from this "*about.*" He further argues that "why did Europe create its formula of three-dimensionality...whereas the Near East, the East in general, did not...It was because the West discovered the "machine" and the East did not. Iran belonged to the cyclic mentality of tool-facture (the *feudal* collective mentality) and not of machine-facture

Grabar finds a "monotony which is not always alleviated by the astounding quality of the drawing."⁷¹ And he finds the Ilkhanid land renditions to be "very simple" while "conscious of spatial values."⁷² Analyzing the image, "Muhammad Receiving the Submission of the Banu'l-Nadir," in the Khalili portion of the *Jami al-Tawarikh*, Sheila Blair calls the rendition of architecture "a clumsy attempt to show three-dimensional space."⁷³ Blair comments on "Mountains between Tibet and India" in the same manuscript that "the lavish use of silver and gold shows the importance of the painting, which despite its novelty remains somewhat pedestrian in its additive composition."⁷⁴ Inal's study concludes that "compared with these landscape elements [in the Chinese paintings], those in the miniature (Hazine 1653 *Jami al-Tawarikh*) are flat and decorative."⁷⁵

As for *The Great Mongol Shahnama*, Grabar and Blair contend that "the Chinese devices for the representation of landscape in the Demotte manuscript form a grabbag of themes with no collective coherent meaning or application in Chinese art."⁷⁶ As a result, they argue, "the Chinese motifs themselves do not form a coherent ensemble which can be identified in Chinese art as characteristic of a single time or place."⁷⁷ Similarly, Linda Komaroff argues that "Persian landscapes differ in both concept and detail from those depicted in Chinese paintings...[because they] incorporate certain generic features from

(the "capitalistic" collective mentality)." Leo Bronstein, *Space in Persian Painting*, New Brunswick and London, 1994, 31 - 32, 54, 64 - 65.

⁷¹ Grabar, "Visual Arts."

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Blair, *Compendium*, 72.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 77.

⁷⁵ Inal, "Jami al-Tavarikh," 187.

⁷⁶ Grabar and Blair, *Epic Images*, 42.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 42.

Chinese painting, for example the rugged contours of the mountains, ... without the sense of mass, texture, space, monumentality, or intimacy of the originals."⁷⁸

Since the motifs and techniques to paint the *Jami al-Tawarikh* paintings neither follow one specific style nor participate in any known artistic discourse from China, the assessments in terms of the Chinese standard has not enlightened the significations of these paintings in the Ilkhanid context. In fact, there is no reason to believe that the Ilkhanid artists' goal was to represent a three-dimensional space or to render land as close to reality as the Chinese artists had done. It is unlikely that the Ilkhanid artists compared their works to the Chinese "originals" or ranked themselves according to how well they "copied" them.

Furthermore, Chinese visual culture is not monolithic or unchanging; therefore, it cannot serve as a standard against which any corpus of paintings can be evaluated. On the contrary, "Chinese" landscape paintings changed continuously over time. James Watt argues that Yuan landscape paintings departed from earlier ones in terms of how they represented a three-dimensional space.⁷⁹ He contends that "whereas in previous Southern Song paintings the middle distance had been shrouded in mist, at this time (Yuan period) there appeared in paintings a continuous ground leading from the foreground to distant mountains." Not only were Chinese landscape paintings changing over time, but they also differed from region to region within the political boundaries of China.⁸⁰ In fact,

⁷⁸ Komaroff and Carboni, *Legacy*, 183. As for land renditions, Hillenbrand suggests that the Ilkhanid artists were not as good as the Chinese artists on purpose. He argues that the Ilkhanid artists painted figures and trees out of proportion because they had their "own way of seeing," which he does not elaborate any further. Hillenbrand, *Legacy* by Komaroff and Carboni, 142-143.

⁷⁹ James Watt, "A Note on Artistic Exchanges in the Mongol Empire," in *Legacy* by Komaroff and Carboni, 72.

⁸⁰ Painters from the Islamic world were recorded to have been in Yuan China. Yuan Chen, "Chinese Painters from the Western Regions," and "Writings in Chinese by Authors from the Western Regions under the Yuan" in *Western and Central Asians in China under the Mongols*, trans. and annotated by Chien

what "China" means is a scholarly problem in the field of the history of Chinese art, for which Sinologists have generated many theoretical and historical discussions.⁸¹

Addressing these subtleties is necessary in the analyses of visual experience of art made in a cross-cultural context like that of the Ilkhanid paintings.

Given the scholarly perspective, this dissertation asks what the *Jami al-Tawarikh* land renditions accomplish instead of what Chinese landscape paintings do. Can we benefit from studying what the land renditions succeed in doing rather than what they fail to do? An analysis and discussion of the *Jami al-Tawarikh* land renditions in a positive sense in the Ilkhanid context promises a better understanding of how the land renditions function in the pictures, how artists and patrons created them, how viewers saw them, and how they related to China.

Recently, the relationship between Persian visual culture and those of other parts of the world has received new scholarly attention. A series of articles gathered in a special volume of *Islamic Art* (1981) was devoted to the analyses of the Chinese techniques and motifs in the fifteenth-century paintings from the Istanbul Albums Hazine 2153 and Hazine 2160, now in the Topkapi Museum.⁸² Studying the same set of albums, Toh Sugimura found more Chinese paintings that could have served as sources for the Topkapi paintings⁸³ Similarly, Jessica Rawson traces the dragon patterns from China to

Hsing-hai, Los Angeles, 1966, 203-216, 295-305. Wai-Kam Ho and Sherman Lee, *Chinese Art under the Mongols: The Yuan Dynasty (1279-1368)*, Cleveland, 1968. Marsha Smith Weidner, "Aspects of Painting and Patronage at the Mongol Court, 1260-1368" *Artists and Patrons, Some Social and Economic Aspects of Chinese Painting*, ed. by Chu-tsing Li, Kansas City, 1989, 37-60.

⁸¹ Robert Thorp and Richard Vinograd, *Chinese Art and Culture*, New York, 2001. Jonathan Hay "Questions of Influence in Chinese Art History," *Res* 35, spring 1999, 240 – 262.

⁸² Eleanor Sims and Ernst Grube, eds., *Islamic Art* v.1, New York, 1981.

⁸³ Toh Sugimura, *The Encounter of Persia with China. Senri Ethnological Studies*, n. 18, Osaka, 1986.

Iran to argue that there was a great interchange between the two cultures.⁸⁴ Both Priscilla Soucek and Yolanda Crowe have studied ceramic production from a cross-cultural perspective.⁸⁵ Jill Cowen links the images of Kabba to the maps in the cave paintings in China.⁸⁶ Yuka Kadoi's article "Cloud Patterns: the Exchange of Ideas between China and Iran under the Mongols" 2002 problematizes the patterns of clouds specifically.⁸⁷

Exhibitions and conferences reflect this surge in interest, as well. As mentioned in the last section on patronage and workshops, the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Los Angeles County Museum of Art hosted an exhibit "The Legacy of Genghis Khan" that amassed a great number of Ilkhanid art works, including many folios of the *Jami al-Tawarikh*. This exhibition generated new inquiries into the Ilkhanid visual culture and led to the publication of *The Legacy of Genghis Khan: Courtly Art and Culture in Western Asia, 1256-1353*.⁸⁸ The Freer Gallery exhibited ninth-century Iraqi ceramics in relation to those in China.⁸⁹ The Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston and the National Gallery in London exhibited Bellini's work, including portraits of the Ottomans, in "Bellini and the East."⁹⁰ In the 2005 Annual Conference of the College Art Association, Oleg Grabar and Eva R. Hoffman hosted a session on "Islamic Art and the

⁸⁴ Jessica Rawson, "Chinese Motifs in Iranian and Turkish Art" in *Chinese Ornament the Lotus and the Dragon*, London, 1984, 145 – 198.

⁸⁵ Priscilla Soucek, "Ceramic Production as Exemplar of Yuan-Ilkhanid Relations," *Res* 35, spring 1999, 125 – 141. Yolanda Crowe, "Some Timurid Designs and their Far Eastern Connections," in *Timurid Art and Culture: Iran and Central Asia in the Fifteenth Century*, eds. by Lisa Golombek and Maria Subtelny, Leiden and New York, 1992.

⁸⁶ Cowen, "A Pictorial Map in the Dongdasi: Chinese Cosmological Representation of Islamic Pilgrimage Sites," *Oriental Art* v. 47 n. 5 (2001), 84– 92.

⁸⁷ Yuka Kadoi, "Cloud Patterns: the Exchange of Ideas between China and Iran under the Mongols," *Oriental Art* v. 48 n. 2 (London, 2002), 25 – 36.

⁸⁸ Komaroff and Carboni, *Legacy*.

⁸⁹ It was called "Iraq and China: Ceramics, Trade, and Innovation" and lasted from December 4, 2004 to July 17, 2005.

⁹⁰ The date of the Boston exhibit was from December 14, 2005 to March 26, 2006, and that of the London one was from April 12 to June 25 of 2006.

Rest of the World."⁹¹ This eventually led to a publication of a collection of essays on the artistic exchange between Islamic world and Europe.⁹²

Less is available from the perspective of the historians of Chinese art with regard to the study of Persian paintings and its use of Chinese techniques and motifs. The only full-fledged attempt that I am aware of is that of Max Loehr in the first issue of *Ars Orientalis* in 1954. There he almost disdainfully describes the paintings in the Istanbul albums Hazine 2153 and Hazine 2160:

We see a strange blend of a Western concept of space with a rudimentary understanding of Chinese landscape convention. The lack of integration of the picture space is startling. The crisply executed rocky river scene with bare trees at the bottom forms a spatial unit, which is most awkwardly juxtaposed to the flattened characterless terrain above; the latter provides no adequate transition to the mountain landscape at the top, with its mounted hunters, rocky heights, and cloud-flecked sky.⁹³

Such descriptions as "rudimentary," "lack of integration," "awkwardly," "flattened," "characterless," and "no adequate" are clearly disparaging characterization. Commenting on another picture in the albums, he displays his general Sino-centric mistrust of the non-Chinese artists and collectors:

The quality of the picture is generally so poor that it can be no more than a third-rate copy of paintings in the manner of Wang Yuan (Jo-Shui; fourteenth-century), and is, in all probability, the work of a foreigner...Yet the picture was considered Chinese by the Persian owner, who added the inscription: 'This is from the aggregate of the superior works of the superior masters of Cathay.'⁹⁴

⁹¹ The program included Alicia Walker's "Magic and Meaning in Byzantine Art: Pseudo-Arabic Ornament and the San Marco Cup," Persis Berlekamp's "Rashid al-Din's Tansuqnamah: A Case Study in the Challenges of Artistic and Cultural Exchange," Mark D. DeLancey's "Between Mosque and Palace: Defining Identity through Ritual Movement in Ngaoundere, Cameroon," Anne Swartz's "The Impact of Islamic Art and Culture on Pattern and Decoration in the 1960's and 1970's," Nina Cichocki's "Roman Thermae, Turkish Bath, European Hotel Hamam: The Circuitous Journey of a Concept and Its Architecture," Lora Sariaslan's "When West Meets East at the Domabahce Palace in Istanbul: Synthesis or Identity Crisis?," David Carrier's "Islamic Carpets in Paintings: An Alternative Theory of the Origin of the Art Museum," and Valerie Gonzalez's "Aesthetic Connection Versus Cultural Differentiation: Comparing Islamic and Western Art."

⁹² Eva R. Hoffman, ed., *Late Antique and Medieval Art of the Mediterranean World*, Malden, MA, 2007.

⁹³ Max Loehr, "The Chinese elements in Four Istanbul Albums," *Ars Orientalis*, v.1, n.1, 1954, 88.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 85.

Here, terms like "poor" and "third-rate" are equated with "foreign" and "Persian." By no means does Loehr represent the general attitude of Chinese art historians, who in fact have not shown much interest in Persian paintings.

On the other hand, Chinese art historians have studied more extensively the cross-cultural phenomenon between China and Central Asia. For example, Qiang Ning finds political motives for the Central Asian patrons of Buddhist arts, who constructed their identities in relation to China.⁹⁵ Jonathan Hay has eloquently written about the complex webs of interconnectedness between Chinese and Central Asian visual cultures throughout the whole of Chinese history.⁹⁶ They have examined the local motives for appropriating foreign art and addressing the complexities of the significations in the cross-cultural creativity.

In the history of European art, I note the case-studies of Albrecht Dürer's (1471 – 1528) relationship to Italian art. No European art historian claims that Dürer's trips to Italy initiated a sudden impulse in him to copy the Italian mode of painting; nor does one explain that Dürer did not make an exact copy of Italian paintings because of his ignorance or misinterpretation.⁹⁷ In fact, Dürer is considered to have actively and selectively embraced the Italian Renaissance. Beginning with the contemporary biographer Celtis, European art historians have examined and re-examined the motivation behind Dürer's conscious appropriation of the Italian art and the effects on the later painters. In the eyes of European art historians, Dürer competed with both German and

⁹⁵ Qiang Ning, *Art, Religion, and Politics: the Dunhuang Cave of the Zhai Family*, Honolulu, 2004.

⁹⁶ Hay, "Questions of Influence."

⁹⁷ Giulia Bartrum, *Albrecht Dürer and His Legacy: the Graphic Work of a Renaissance Artist*, Princeton, 2002. Joseph Koerner, *The Moment of Self-portraiture in German Renaissance Art*, Chicago, 1993. David Hotchkiss Price, *Albrecht Dürer's Renaissance: Humanism, Reformation, and the Art of Faith*, Ann Arbor, 2003.

foreign painters by adopting the foreign techniques and visual elements. While I do not argue here that the methods of studying Chinese or European artworks are directly applicable to the Ilkhanid paintings, I will keep them in mind in articulating how the Ilkhanids gained by inventing a whole new painting style in their local context.

Ornament

Historians of Islamic art have argued that the *Jami al-Tawarikh* landscapes have an ornamental function. Robert Hillenbrand posits that some landscapes in the *Jami al-Tawarikh* serve "merely as a miniaturized decorative backdrop for the large-scale creatures occupying center stage."⁹⁸ In her discussion of "Shakyamuni Offering Fruit to the Devil," a folio in the Khalili *Jami al-Tawarikh*, Blair argues that "by squeezing the large figures into the narrow rectangular space and reducing the landscape" the artists create an image that clearly conveys the message.⁹⁹ Here she suggests that the land rendition hinders the delivery of the central message.

The theoretical framework of ornament can be found in Oleg Grabar's *The Mediation of Ornament*.¹⁰⁰ In one sense, "ornament," Grabar writes, "is itself or exhibits most forcefully an intermediate order between viewers and users of art, perhaps even creators of art, and works of art, ..., characterized by one central feature: while necessary to the comprehension of a work of art, ... [it is] not, except in a few extreme cases, the work of art itself."¹⁰¹ He compares this idea of "ornament" to a prism "mediating

⁹⁸ Hillenbrand, "Book," 141.

⁹⁹ Blair, *Compendium*, 78.

¹⁰⁰ Grabar, *Ornament*.

¹⁰¹ Grabar, *Ornament*, 45.

between the world and the text or the text and its readers." In this light, he considers geometry, calligraphy, architectural images, and, more importantly for this dissertation, images of nature as "ornamental."¹⁰² He contends that even when images of nature have meanings, they are only iconographic, and "the charge of these meanings ... is often quite low," which makes their ornamental function the primary one.¹⁰³ His argument is, however, based on the examples of metalwork, ceramics, textile, architecture, illumination, and drawing, but noticeably not of manuscript illustration. The "decorative" function that Hillenbrand and Blair find in the land renditions in the *Jami al-Tawarikh* fits the meaning of "ornament" in this sense.

In another sense, as Grabar shows, "ornament" acquires a theoretical function, helping us understand how some "meaningless" ornaments "gain" meaning through their link to contemporary circumstances in those exceptional, "extreme cases." Grabar has applied this theory to certain uses of geometry, such as the planning of the eleventh-century North Dome in the Great Mosque of Isfahan.¹⁰⁴ He argues that geometry here gained meaning from being linked to the political ambitions of Taj al-Mulk, the patron of the North Dome and the rival of Nizam al-Mulk, the patron of the South Dome in the same mosque complex. Neither he nor any other scholar has discussed land renditions in these terms, however.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² Ibid., 204.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 210.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 147. Oleg Grabar, *The Great Mosque of Isfahan*, New York, 1990.

¹⁰⁵ Grabar alludes to "French" philosophers of semiotics in the beginning of the book, *Mediation of Ornament*. His construct of ornament, I find, is similar to Derrida's idea of *differance*, which both *spaces* and *temporalizes*. Grabar's ornament mediates as Derrida's text spaces; and Grabar's ornament can gain meaning through our understanding of the historical connections as Derrida's text can be read in the present through the temporalizing movement of signification. Derrida's work has been heavily criticized by later philosophers and linguists, including Noam Chomsky. Among the criticisms are that Derrida's argument is circular and that he is an egoistic nihilist proving nothing, leading nowhere. Grabar's work, on the other hand, has not generated much following theoretical discussions. Jacques Derrida, *Speech and Phenomenon and other Essays*, trans. by David Allison, Evanston, 1973, "Differance," 129-160.

The theory of ornament assumes that there is a simple semiotic structure around each sign, which has a one-to-one correspondence to a signified and is read by the viewer within a pre-established system of language. According to Grabar, if a sign does not have such a structure around it, it is an ornament. The semiotic structure that Grabar describes may be applicable to the selected examples in his book. The choice of two categories, iconological sign or ornament, can be constricting, however, in discussions of other artworks from the Islamic world.¹⁰⁶ Gülru Necipoglu, for instance, has spoken of "an intermediary zone between the decorative and the symbolic" when discussing post-Ilkhanid geometrical drawings used for architectural purposes.¹⁰⁷

This may be because scholars recognize that an apparent lack of a simple signifying structure around a sign does not necessarily mean that it is an ornament. Yasser Tabbaa reads the geometry in *muqarnas* (a scalactic form in Islamic architecture) from the perspective of the teachings of the Muʿtazilites, a Muslim sect that asserts the single and sempiternal essence of God.¹⁰⁸ He contends that the patterning of the interior of the *muqarnas* dome through a process of repeated divisions, as opposed to the smoothing of the dome's interior to form a perfect hemisphere, was a religious gesture acknowledging the finiteness of everything except God. Keith Critchlow finds an additional meaning in geometric patterning used for architecture, linking it to cosmological drawings.¹⁰⁹ A set of dodecagons, for instance, may represent the

¹⁰⁶ And this may be one of the reasons why the theories of ornament did not generate much follow-up discussion.

¹⁰⁷ Gülru Necipoglu, *The Topkapi Scroll—Geometry and Ornament in Islamic Architecture*, Santa Monica, 1995, 122.

¹⁰⁸ Yasser Tabbaa, *The Transformation of Islamic Art During the Sunni Revival*, Seattle, 2001. Tabbaa, "The Muqarnas Dome: Its Origin and Meaning," *Muqarnas* 3 (1985), 61- 74.

¹⁰⁹ Keith Critchlow, "Astronomical and Cosmological Symbolism in Islamic Patterns: The Objectivity of Sacred Geometry" in *Theories and Principles of Design in the Architecture of Islamic Societies*. ed. by Margaret Sevckenko, Cambridge, 1998, 47 – 56.

archetype of universe. Both Tabbaa and Critchlow articulate the functions of architectural geometry in relation to contemporaneous intellectual endeavors. Inspired by such approaches, this dissertation also allows room for more complex ways in which visual elements may signify than as icons and explores the possibility of interpreting the *Jami al-Tawarikh* land renditions in light of Ilkhanid intellectual discourses.

Text/Image

Historians of Islamic art have read the *Jami al-Tawarikh* landscapes in conjunction with the content of the text surrounding them in the manuscript. Hillenbrand argues that the function of some *Jami al-Tawarikh* landscapes is to “create an atmosphere or to comment on the action, rather than simply to provide a background.”¹¹⁰ Similarly, Basil Gray argues that certain landscapes in the *Jami al-Tawarikh* set the mood of the story, thus participating somewhat in telling of the story.¹¹¹ In the case of *The Great Mongol Shahnama*, Ettinghausen argues that the landscapes “underline the mood of the portrayed subject.”¹¹² Sheila Blair, in her discussion of “Grove of Jetava” in the Khalili portion of the *Jami al-Tawarikh*, tags the trees as “Bodhi trees” and argues that they create a spiritual space for the Buddha. She implies that the landscape here helps the textual narrative tell the story of the Emancipation of the Buddha.¹¹³

Oleg Grabar and Sheila Blair argue that this kind of relationship between text and landscape was more mature and resolved in *The Great Mongol Shahnama* than in the

¹¹⁰ Hillenbrand, “Book,” 165.

¹¹¹ Rice and Gray, *Illustrations*.

¹¹² Ettinghausen, “World Awareness,” 247.

¹¹³ Blair, *Compendium*, 78.

Jami al-Tawarikh. They contend that in *The Great Mongol Shahnama*, “we are not dealing simply with old or new conventions to *represent* space, but with the creation of what has been called a “pictorial space,” a coherent representation of three-dimensional space which does not reproduce nature or reality but makes a topic visually possible.”¹¹⁴ On the other hand, Priscilla Soucek argues that it was only after the fifteenth century that landscapes in Persian painting had a function “to provide the context for the depiction of events, usually of a story.”¹¹⁵

Relating the paintings to the adjacent textual narratives sheds light on how the reader/viewer may have encountered the illustrated manuscripts. This is especially important for the study of the pre-Safavid paintings from the Persianate world because all paintings on paper from this time period accompany texts in manuscripts. In current scholarship of the Ilkhanid paintings, however, the relationships between text and image have been examined mainly in terms of the content that they convey. Knowing that the *Jami al-Tawarikh* paintings made a stylistic departure from previous paintings, can we benefit from also examining the form and manner in which the text and image narrate the story?

For the study of post-Ilkhanid Persianate paintings, scholars have looked at the text/image relations from a perspective that emphasizes form in addition to content. For example, Massumeh Farhad examined the interface between literary and pictorial aesthetics and called seventeenth-century Persian single sheet paintings “stories in

¹¹⁴ This, they argue, evidences that the artists of *The Great Mongol Shahnama*, unlike the artists of the *Jami al-Tawarikh*, had internalized the Chinese techniques so that their use of these techniques had nothing to do with the “original applications” as found in the Chinese sources. Grabar and Blair, *Epic Images*, 35, 42 (their italics and quotation).

¹¹⁵ She bases her argument on her analyses of the fifteenth-century manuscripts, such as Khwaju Kirmani’s *Humay u Humayun*. Soucek, “Landscape,” 86.

pictures.”¹¹⁶ Sussan Babaie linked seventeenth-century Persian paintings to aurality of contemporaneous poems.¹¹⁷ In his study of fifteenth-century albums, David Roxburgh has put paintings and texts in albums from a structuralist point of view and in light of the patrons’ modes of collecting.¹¹⁸ Similarly, this dissertation offers new analyses and theorizations of text/image relationships in the *Jami al-Tawarikh* land renditions in order to articulate how they may have told history visually.¹¹⁹ To this end, it is also relevant to survey how historians have studied the Ilkhanid texts of history.

Methods of Studying Ilkhanid Texts of History in the Field of History

Source of Information about the Past

Since the nineteenth century, many Ilkhanid histories have been translated into European languages. I. N. Berezin was the first to translate Rashid al-Din's *Jami al-Tawarikh* into Russian in 1868.¹²⁰ Also in the nineteenth century, Henry Yule translated

¹¹⁶ Massumeh Farhad, “Safavid Single Page Painting, 1629 – 1666” Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1987, 264.

¹¹⁷ Susan Babaie, “The Sound of the Image/The Image of the Sound: Narrativity in Persian Art of the 17th Century,” in *Islamic Art and Literature, special issue of Princeton Papers: Interdisciplinary Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, ed. by Oleg Grabar and Cynthia Robinson, 2001, 143-162.

¹¹⁸ David Roxburgh, “The Aesthetics of Aggregation: Persian Anthologies of the Fifteenth Century,” in *Art and Literature*, ed. by Grabar and Robinson, 119 – 42. Roxburgh, *The Persian Album, 1400 – 1600: from Dispersal to Collection*, New Haven, 2005.

¹¹⁹ In the field of the Chinese art history, Anita Chung has re-examined the *jie hua*, the paintings with the images of architecture, which became an important genre first in the Yuan court. She argues that despite the disparagement of the non-literati paintings of *jie hua* in current scholarship, they served as significant visual markers of social boundaries in the political discourse of Qing China. Such new ideas can refuel the field, leading to fruitful researches. Anita Chung, *Drawing Boundaries: Architectural Images in Qing China*, Honolulu, 2004.

¹²⁰ I. N. Berezin, "Sbornik letopisey. Istoriya mongolov, sochineniye Rashid ad-Dina. Istoriya Chingiz-Khana do vosshestviya yego na prestol. Russkiy perevod s pre disloviyem," *Trudi VORAO*, Ch.XIII, SPb. 1868. The interpretation of his work is based on A.K. Arends' interpretation in the section "Jami'u't-Tawarikh in the Soviet Union" in *Central Asiatic Journal*, v. 14, n.1-3, 1970.

and edited the section on the history of China in English.¹²¹ A more extensive translation of the *Jami al-Tawarikh* in English was edited by Henri Corider and published in four volumes in 1913-6. From 1946 to 1965, a group of Russian scholars, including A. Romaskevitch and I. Petrushevsky, published a complete translation into Russian in three volumes.¹²² Karl Jahn's French translation of the *Jami al-Tawarikh* section on the history of the Franks was published in the *Histoire Universelle de Rasid al-Din Fadl Allah Abul-Khair* 1951.¹²³ Jahn also translated into English the section on the history of India in Rashid al-Din's *Jami al-Tawarikh*.¹²⁴ More sections of the *Jami al-Tawarikh* were further translated into German by Jahn: the history of China in *Die Chinageschichte des Rashid ad-Din* (1971), the history of the prophets in *Die Geschichte der Kinder Israels des Rasid al-Din* (1973), the history of the Franks in *Die Frankengeschichte des Rasid al-Din* (1977), and the history of India in *Die Indiangeschichte des Rasid al-Din* (1980).¹²⁵ In comparison to histories written in other periods from the Islamic world, the Ilkhanid histories have been made more accessible to Western scholars.

A recent project in this direction is Thackston's English translation of the Persian copies of Rashid ad-Din's *Jami al-Tawarikh: Rashiduddin Fazlullah's Jami'u't-Tawarikh Compendium of Chronicles: a History of the Mongols*, the first volume published in 1998

¹²¹ Henry Yule, tran. and ed., *Cathay and the Way Thither: Being a Collection of Medieval Notices of China*, London, 1913 – 6. In addition to the *Jami al-Tawarikh*, he collected and translated the writings of Odorico da Pordenone (1265?-1331), Francesco Balducci Pegolotti (14th century), Joannes de Marignolis, Ibn Batuta (1304-1377), and Bento de Gois (1562-1607).

¹²² Rashid al-Din, *Sbornik letopisey*, trans. by A. Romaskevitch and I. Petrushevsky, Tom I, II, III, 1946, 1952, 1960, 1965.

¹²³ Rashid al-Din, *Histoire Universelle de Rasid al-Din Fadl Allah Abul-Khair*, trans. by Karl Jahn, Leiden, 1951.

¹²⁴ Rashid al-Din, *Rashid al-Din's History of India, Collected Essays with Facsimiles and Indices*, trans. by Karl Jahn, *Central Asiatic Studies*, v.10, 1965.

¹²⁵ Rashid al-Din, *Die Chinageschichte des Rashid ad-Din*, trans. by Karl Jahn, Vienna, 1971. Rashid al-Din, *Die Geschichte der Kinder Israels des Rasid al-Din*, trans. by Karl Jahn, Vienna, 1973. Rashid al-Din, *Die Frankengeschichte des Rasid al-Din*, trans. by Karl Jahn, Vienna, 1977. Rashid al-Din, *Die Indiangeschichte des Rasid al-Din*, trans. by Karl Jahn, Vienna, 1980.

and is yet to be completed. So far, he has translated up to the histories of the Mongols, leaving the section on the histories of the other peoples, such as the Europeans, Chinese, and Indians, for later. When finished, this will be the most complete English translation of the *Jami al-Tawarikh*.

Analytical interpretations of Ilkhanid histories began with the publication of W.W. Barthold's seminal work, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, first in Russian in 1900, and translated into English in 1928. This work identifies the available sources for the study of Turkestan in Arabic, Persian, and Chinese and gives a large survey of the historical events that occurred there since the arrival of the Muslim armies in the eighth century and through the rise of the Mongol Empire in the twelfth. Barthold's approach to Ilkhanid histories is to peruse them for as much information as possible in order to compose a master narrative on Mongol Empire, discussing aspects ranging from politics to cooking.

Until the 1980's, Barthold's master narrative approach continued to inspire the field of Mongol studies.¹²⁶ In English, not many interpretive books were published until David Morgan's *The Mongols* (1986). This publication refueled the field of Mongol studies in English. One of the reasons is his clear language and his situating the Mongol history within the context of world history, which drew scholars of broader spectrum, rather than only "a few specialists in historical exotica."¹²⁷ As he set out to describe "what actually did happen ... to make the extraordinary Mongol phenomenon comprehensible," he walks the reader through the major events in the Mongol history

¹²⁶ Works like Bertold Spuler's *Die Mongolen in Iran: Politik, Verwaltung und Kulture der Ilchanzeit 1220 – 1350*, 1968, Otto Frank's *Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches*, 1932-52, and J.J. Saunders' *The History of the Mongol Conquests*, 1971 are examples of this.

¹²⁷ David Morgan, *The Mongols*, New York, 1986, 2.

step by step while explaining the Mongol structures of army, law, taxation, communications, and government.¹²⁸ As Morgan explicitly hoped, his work became a stepping stone for more detailed succeeding research.¹²⁹

In the late 1990's and in this century, research has become more thematic, highlighting a selected few, and not all, aspects of the Mongol Empire. This approach made it possible for more in-depth inquiry in a specific subject or in the interrelationships among few aspects, rather than sacrificing details and subtleties for the purpose of surveying the whole material. The leading scholar in this direction is Thomas Allsen, whose books *Commodity and Exchange in the Mongol Empire a Cultural History of Islamic Textiles* 1997 and *Culture and Conquest in Mongol Eurasia* 2001 address specific issues of the cultural exchanges that took place between the Ilkhanid Empire and Yuan China.¹³⁰ In these publications, Allsen carefully records every mention of cultural exchange between the two polities from various histories produced by the Ilkhanid Empire and Yuan China. He charts the movements of people between Ilkhanid Iran and Yuan China and links them to the changes in cultural productions in the two polities. For example, he follows an Ilkhanid geographer Jamal al-Din, who went to China during the reign of Mongke, and argues that the Chinese learned from him the geography of the

¹²⁸ Ibid., 2.

¹²⁹ He laments the comparable paucity of the biography of Genghis Khan. Ibid., 29. Other scholars of this generation include Rudi Lindner and Peter Jackson, who also helped broaden the field. Lindner wrote important books on the rise of Ottomans and their transformations from nomadic to sedentary lives, such as *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia*, Bloomington, Indiana, 1983. Jackson explored the Indian perspective on the Mongol phenomenon in *Mongols and India 1221 – 1351*, Ph.D. dissertation, Churchill College, Cambridge, 1977. He laid out the formation of the Mongol states in “From Ulus to Khanate: The Making of the Mongol States, c. 1220 – c. 1290” in *The Mongol Empire and its Legacy*, eds. by Reuven Amitai-Preiss and David Morgan, Leiden, 1999, 12 – 38. Recently, Peter Jackson explained the military, administrative, and religious relationships between the Mongol empire and Europe in his book, *The Mongols and the West 1221-1410*, Harlow, U.K., 2005.

¹³⁰ Allsen concentrates on the political and military structures of the Mongol Empire in the earlier periods in *Mongol Imperialism the Policies of the Grand Qan Mongke in China, Russia, and the Islamic Lands, 1251-1259*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1987. Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange in the Mongol Empire: a Cultural History of Islamic Textiles*, Cambridge, U.K., 1997. Allsen, *Culture*.

Middle East.¹³¹ In the end, he convincingly argues that cultural production in the Mongol realm enjoyed enormous fluidity.

Most scholars in the field of Mongol studies see their field to be interdisciplinary by definition because the Mongols themselves were multi-cultural, multi-lingual, multi-religious, and multi-governmental. David Morgan and Thomas Allsen have effectively argued that Mongol studies require scholars well-versed in many different languages and fields of studies and more collaboration of scholars with different specializations. The collection of articles in *The Mongol Empire and Its Legacy* (1999) was one of the first efforts to bring together scholars specializing in different fields.¹³² Historians of the Islamic world, such as Charles Melville and A. H. Morton, and historians of China, such as T. H. Barrett, contributed articles to this volume. I hope that Morgan and Allsen's vision will be fully realized in future and that historians and art historians of the Islamic world and China and the Mongol specialists will work together in more projects.

Historiographical Analysis

In comparison to the last section which highlighted how historians have approached the content of Ilkhanid histories, this section will survey how they have studied the practice of history writing in the Ilkhanid period.¹³³ In the volume on the Mongol period in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, J. Rypka analyzes the writing styles of

¹³¹ Allsen, "Geography and Cartography."

¹³² Amitai-Preiss and Morgan, *Empire*.

¹³³ There is no monograph on this subject. Charles Melville offers a general survey of the history writing in the Ilkhanid courts in "Historiography iv. Mongol Period," *Encyclopaedia Iranica* XII/4 (2004), 348-56. Allsen traces the Central and East Asian sources and formats available to Rashid al-Din in writing the *Jami al-Tawarikh* in "Historiography" in *Culture*, 83 – 102.

Ilkhanid histories and links them mainly to the biographies of the authors.¹³⁴ Similarly, Boyle argues that in the *Jami al-Tawarikh* "references to Europe and Europeans are practically non-existent," especially the events relating to Crusaders. This, he argues, is because Rashid al-Din "was by no means immune from those feelings of 'indifference, caused by a sense of superiority and contempt, which the Muslims always showed, except for a few occasions, for the western world.'" ¹³⁵ I. P. Petrushevsky finds evidence in the *Jami al-Tawarikh* that Rashid al-Din "strove for feudal disintegration and sought to turn the authority of the Ilkhan into a tool of the military-feudal oligarchy."¹³⁶

More recently, scholars have placed the *Jami al-Tawarikh* in the category of world history or universal history, which also includes the tenth-century history of al-Tabari and the fourteenth-century history of Ibn Khaldun.¹³⁷ Franz Rosenthal and Robert Humphreys see universal history as a "genre."¹³⁸ They define that universal history as having a larger scope than the genres of dynastic history and local history and having been written in a narrative style rather than an annalistic fashion. Rosenthal sees the advent of the genre of universal history as a sign of decadence; he argues that universal

¹³⁴ J. Rylpka, "Poets and Prose Writers" in *Cambridge History of Iran*, by Boyle, 621- 625.

¹³⁵ J. A. Boyle and Karl Jahn eds., *Rashid al-Din Commemoration Volume (1318-1968) Central Asiatic Journal*, v. 14, n.1-3, 1970, 63 and 67. Boyle, "The Arabic Historiography of the Crusades" in *Historians of the Middle East*, eds. by B. Lewis and P. M. Holt, London, 1962, 98.

¹³⁶ P. Petrushevsky, *Rashid al-Din Comemoration Volume*, by Boyle and Jahn, 162.

¹³⁷ Chase Robinson, on the other hand, places the rise of the universal history in the ninth century when, he argues, other formats of history writing arose, as well. He defines universal history as "a history of the world" and includes in this category a wide variety of histories, ranging from Ibn Ishaq's *Sira*, the biography of the Prophet Muhammad, and at-Tabari, who wrote a history on a grander scale both in spatial and temporal scope. Although Robinson's general argument that history writing was a strategy to solve socio-political problems is convincing, his putting together various forms of historiography into one category seems to be an overgeneralization. He does not problematize the rise of universal history, as well, and does not address the rupture that happened in the history writing tradition. Robinson, *Islamic Historiography*, Cambridge, 2003.

¹³⁸ Franz Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, Leiden, 1968. Stephen Humphreys, *Islamic History: a Framework for Inquiry*, Princeton, 1991.

historians merely "copied" their sources and aimed more for "quantity than quality."¹³⁹ Humphreys, on the other hand, links the rise of the genre of universal history to the increasing use of Persian in the historiography of the Islamic world and to the Persian historians' preference for narrative rather than annalistic recording.

In comparison, Bernd Radtke argues that universal history was not merely another genre but was rather a site where historians challenged and refined premises and methods of historiography.¹⁴⁰ He distinguishes universal history from "sacred history," which he argues began with the Koran and culminated in al-Tabari's *Tarikh al-rusul wa'l muluk* in the tenth century. In comparison, Radtke assesses, universal history began with al-Tabari and culminated in Ibn Khaldun in the fourteenth century. He reasons that the world, the subject matter of universal history, is by definition unfamiliar to any one historian, and therefore the historian needs to formulate rather than record the "reality" of history. In writing universal history, then, historians had to choose or invent a way to formulate reality, and, in so doing, engaged in a methodological discourse with other universal historians.

From the surviving histories, Radtke finds three differences between sacred history and universal history: (1) epistemologically, sacred history relies on transmission of traditions (*hadith*) as the authority of knowledge, whereas universal history uses analogy and syllogism and at times the author's own perception and experience; (2) cosmologically speaking, sacred history relies on traditions to conceptualize universe and space, whereas universal history uses astronomical calculations and mathematics; (3) for representing time, sacred history uses an annalistic format, based on a linear model,

¹³⁹ Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*, 28

¹⁴⁰ Radtke, *Weltgeschichte und Weltbeschreibung im mittelalterlichen Islam*, Stuttgart, 1992.

beginning with the Creation and ending with the Judgment Day, while universal history uses a dynastic or caliphal format, based on a cyclical model, where dynastic rises and falls happen repeatedly.¹⁴¹

In their study of the history of the Islamic world, both Rosenthal and Radtke have noticeably looked down upon or skimmed over the *Jami al-Tawarikh*.¹⁴² Rosenthal claims that Rashid ad-Din "was unable to master his material" and hesitates to delve into the writing of the *Jami at-Tawarikh*.¹⁴³ Radtke does mention Rashid al-Din, but devotes only one page to him while allotting dozens of pages to the discussion of al-Tabari and Ibn Khaldun. This may be because the patrons of the *Jami al-Tawarikh* were Mongols, foreigners to the Middle East, and the *Jami al-Tawarikh* centers on the Mongol history rather than the history of the Middle East. Rosenthal and Radtke's attitude contrasts with J. Rypka's assessment in *The Cambridge History of Iran* that "indeed the principal historical works of the Mongol period are amongst the finest ever produced by any of the Islamic peoples."¹⁴⁴

In fact, the *Jami al-Tawarikh* was written in Arabic and Persian, the languages of histories from the pre-Ilkhanid Islamic world. Moreover, the collective memory of the Ilkhanids as facilitated by manuscripts like the *Jami al-Tawarikh* participated in the political discourses of the post-Ilkhanid Islamic world. For example, the Timurids and the Mughals claimed descent from the Mongols, and copies of the *Jami al-Tawarikh*

¹⁴¹ The *Jami al-Tawarikh* fits Radtke's definition of universal history. Rashid al-Din does not use *isnad* or an annalistic format but astronomical calculations and a more or less cyclical model. But, more crucially, Rashid al-Din does not rely on analogy or syllogism to validate his account. He actually uses no tool to validate his account; instead, he writes a disclaimer in the two prefaces to the *Jami al-Tawarikh*.

¹⁴² The Ilkhanid histories were also beyond the temporal scope of Julie Meisami's *Persian Historiography* 1999. Humphreys, *Framework for Inquiry*. Lewis and Holt, *Historians*.

¹⁴³ Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*, 93.

¹⁴⁴ Rypka, "Poets and Prose Writers," 621.

survive today because people of the later Islamic world collected and housed them.¹⁴⁵

Clearly, the *Jami al-Tawarikh* formed a significant part of the history writing tradition in the Islamic world; therefore, studying it in conjunction with other world histories from the Islamic world may be more beneficial than isolating it. Accordingly, this dissertation compares the *Jami al-Tawarikh* to the world histories from the pre-Ilkhanid period in order to articulate how it continued and changed the existing tradition of historiography and to situate the *Jami al-Tawarikh* land renditions in this context.

Methods of Studying Ilkhanid Texts of Astronomy

Teleological Narrative in the Field of History of Science

Ilkhanid writings of astronomy feature in larger surveys of the history of science.¹⁴⁶ Nasir al-Din al-Tusi's *Zij-i Ilkhani* ("The Ilkhanid Table"), *Tahrir al-majisti* ("Commentary on the Almagest" 1247), *Dhayl-i mu'iniya sharh-i mu'iniya*, *Hall-i mushkilat-i mu'iniyya* (these two writings are put together as "Tusi Couple"), and *al-Tadhkira fi'ilm al-hay'a* ("Memoir on Astronomy" 1261) have been part of the larger

¹⁴⁵ For the detailed provenance of the Edinburgh and Khalili portions of the Arabic copy of *Jami al-Tawarikh*, see Blair, *Compendium*.

¹⁴⁶ Writings of geography from the medieval Islamic world came in three forms: itinerary or travelogue, treatise of tables (*zij*), and wonders (*ajajib*). The itineraries and travelogues have interested general historians, while the treatises of tables were studied by historians of mathematics, science, and engineering. As for the wonders, more research is necessary. Maps and tools of geography have been a subject of study for the historians of cartography. The geographers of the medieval Middle East were not only the most advanced but also the most numerous, as attested by the large number of surviving writings of geography and tools, such as astrolabes. Tawfiq Fahad, *L'étrange et le merveilleux dans l'islam médiéval*, Actes du colloque tenu au Collège de France à Paris, en mars 1974. Paris, 1978. Astronomical writings come in the form of *zij* and *tadhkira* as will be discussed in Chapter 5.

trajectories that historians of science have drawn to explain the development of science on a global level.

The *Zij-i Ilkhani* is included in Edward Kennedy's seminal work on scientific tables from the Islamic world.¹⁴⁷ In a survey of 109 surviving *zijs*, he finds that every treatise called *zij* from the eighth to fifteenth century contains at least fourteen types of tables: chronology, trigonometric functions, spherical astronomical functions, equation of time, mean motions, planetary equations, planetary stations and retrogradations, parallax, planetary sectors, eclipse tables, visibility tables, geographical tables, star tables, and astrological tables.¹⁴⁸ In the survey, he clearly explains the computational and tabulating methods of each table category and then analyzes twelve *zijs* in terms of the tables that each contains, from *Al-zij al-mumtahan* of Yahya ibn Abi Mansur (c. 810) to *Zij-i Ilkhani* of Nasir al-Din al-Tusi (1260) to *Zij-i Sultani* of Ulugh Beg (c. 1440).¹⁴⁹ Here, Kennedy groups geographical tables with the astronomical tables since both were based on similar calculations of celestial bodies.

Adding to this, David King in his article, "On the Astronomical Table of the Islamic Middle Ages," identifies more categories of tables: sexagesimal multiplication tables, spherical astronomical tables, tables for the times of Muslim prayers, tables giving the direction of Mecca, tables of auxiliary functions for computations in spherical astronomy, tables for marking sundials, tables for marking astrolabes and quadrants, and

¹⁴⁷ Edward Kennedy, "A Survey of Islamic Astronomical Tables," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, New Series, v. 46, part 2 (May, 1956).

¹⁴⁸ These are Kennedy's own title for each table category.

¹⁴⁹ The University of Frankfurt has begun an electronic database of Kennedy's findings, called PARAMS, Database of Parameter Values Occurring in Islamic Astronomical Sources. The program is downloadable from the university website: <http://user.uni-frankfurt.de/~dalen/programs.htm#ta>. According to this website, of two thousand values of "astronomical parameters, such as the obliquity of the ecliptic, solar, lunar, and planetary mean motions, eccentricities, and epicycle radii, latitude and eclipse parameters," four hundred have been entered into the program so far.

planetary equation tables.¹⁵⁰ He further delves into the tables for the times of Muslim prayers in his book, *In Synchrony with the Heavens: Studies in Astronomical Timekeeping and Instrumentation in Medieval Islamic Civilization Studies I-IX Volume 1 The Call of the Muezzin (Figure 21)*.¹⁵¹

As for the other writings of Nasir al-Din al-Tusi, George Saliba analyzes *Tahrir* in relation to Greek sources, such as the *Almagest*, that Nasir al-Din al-Tusi explains and corrects.¹⁵² Edward Kennedy examines together the *Dhayl* and *Hall* to explain their shared content and the change of the lunar model in the later *Hall*.¹⁵³ Regarding the *Tadhkira*, John Livingston argues that it was an entirely new form of astronomical writing used as a textbook for students.¹⁵⁴ This new form, Livingston contends, was picked up by later scientists, Qutb al-Din (1236-1311) in his *Tuhfat al-shahiyyah* and *Nihayat al-idrak fi dirayat al-aflak* and Ibn al-Shatir (1304-1379/8) in his *Nihayat al-su'ul fi tahsil al-usul*. F. J. Ragep has focused his scholarly work on *al-Tadhkira*, and his *Nasir al-Din al-Tusi's Memoir on Astronomy* offers an English translation and also his much detailed and insightful annotations and explanations.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁰ David King, "On the Astronomical Tables of the Islamic Middle Ages," *Colloquia Copernicana*, 13, 1975, 37-56 (reprinted in King, *Islamic Mathematical Astronomy*, London, 1986).

¹⁵¹ King, *In Synchrony with the Heavens Studies in Astronomical Timekeeping and Instrumentation in Medieval Islamic Civilization Studies I-IX Volume 1 The Call of the Muezzin*, Leiden and Boston, 2004. As for the tables for marking astrolabes and quadrants, Francois Charette has studied those from the Mamluk period in *Mathematical Instrumentation in Fourteenth-Century Egypt and Syria, the Illustrated Treatise of Najim al-Din al-Misri*, Leiden and Boston, 2003.

¹⁵² George Saliba, "The Role of the *Almagest* Commentaries in Medieval Arabic Astronomy: A Preliminary Survey of Tusi's Redaction of Ptolemy's *Almagest*," *Archives Internationales d'histoire des sciences* 37 (1987), 3-20 (reprinted in G. Saliba, *A History of Arabic Astronomy Planetary Theories during the Golden Age of Islam*, New York, 1994, 143-160).

¹⁵³ Kennedy, "Two Persian Astronomical Treatises by Nasir al-Din al-Tusi" *Centaurus* 27, n. 2 (1984), 109-120. Kennedy, "Late Medieval Planetary Theory" *Isis*, 57, 1966, 365-378.

¹⁵⁴ John Livingston, "Nasir al-Din al-Tusi's *al-Tadhkirah*: A Category of Islamic Astronomical Literature" *Centaurus* 17 (1972), 260-275.

¹⁵⁵ F. J. Ragep, "The Two Versions of the Tusi Couple," *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy*, 1, 1991, 285-91. W Hartner, "Nasir al-Din al-Tusi's Lunar Theory," *Physis*, 11, 1969, 287-304. Ragep, *Nasir al-Din al-Tusi's Memoir on Astronomy (al-Tadhkira fi 'ilm al hay'a)* 2 vols, New York, 1993. In his review, George Saliba critiques Ragep's reading of medieval texts in that it does not take into account the authors' personal

Nasir al-Din al-Tusi was the director of the Ilkhanid observatory at the city of Maragha. Modern scholars have grouped him together with later scientists from the Maragha observatory, such as Mu'ayyad al-Din al-Urdi and Ibn al-Shatir, as the Maragha "school." Historians Otto Neugebauer, Noel Swerdlow, and Edward Kennedy were the first to point out the similarity between the works of the Maragha school and the sixteenth-century scientist Copernicus. Now it is generally believed that the latter must have had access to the *Zij-i Ilkhani* or other Maragha school works, such as Ibn al-Shatir's (fl. Damascus, d. 777/1375) *al-Zij al-jadid*.¹⁵⁶

In contrast to the astounding number of *zij*s from the medieval Middle East, only few maps made from the *zij*s' geographical data survive.¹⁵⁷ This has been a great disappointment to historians of science, such as Edward Kennedy, because the people of the Middle East had an advanced technology to make maps.¹⁵⁸ To explain the dearth of maps, some scholars argue that medieval scientists must have made maps, which simply

or scholarly motivations and assumes instead that every piece of information provided is a historical fact. Saliba, "Writing the History of Arabic Astronomy: Problems and Differing Perspectives," *The Journal of the American Oriental Society*, October 1, 1996, v. 116, n. 4, 709-718, especially, 713-714. Abbas Sulaiman, *Nasir al-Din al-Tusi al-Tadhkira fi 'ilm al-hay'a ma'a dirasat li-ishamat al-Tusi al-falakiya*, Kuwait, 1993.

¹⁵⁶ Kennedy, "Late Medieval Planetary Theory" in *The Life and Work of Ibn al-Shatir an Arab Astronomer of the Fourteenth Century*, eds. by Kennedy and Imad Ghanem, Aleppo, 1976. Kennedy, "Survey." As for the possible link between Nasir al-Din al-Tusi and Copernicus, Otto Neugebauer suggests that Copernicus had access to a Greek translation of the Maragha school work, such as the manuscript now housed in the Vatican Library, Vat. gr. 211. Neugebauer, *A History of Ancient Mathematical Astronomy* 3 vols, Berlin, 1975. On the other hand, Saliba sees an Italian, Guillaume Postel (1495-1581), who was supposedly fluent in Arabic, as the connection. Saliba, "Writing." Julio Samso suggests that Copernicus came in contact with Byzantine manuscripts, such as MS. Vat. Gr. 211, a translation of an Arabic treatise that included al-Tusi's work. Samso, "Astronomical Tables and Theory" in *The Different Aspects of Islamic Culture v. 4 Science and Technology in Islam*, eds. by A Y Al-Hassan, Maqbul Ahmed, and A Z Iskandar, Paris, 2001, 233.

¹⁵⁷ By "map," I mean a static visual representation of geographical data through a method of projection onto a plane defined by absolute coordinates.

¹⁵⁸ Kennedy, "Mathematical Geography" in *Encyclopedia of the History of Arabic Science*, eds. by Rushdi Rashid and Regis Morelon, London, 1996.

did not survive.¹⁵⁹ Thomas Allsen, for example, concludes this for the Ilkhanid maps based on the evidence of surviving descriptions of Ilkhanid maps.¹⁶⁰ What remains to be addressed, however, is the reason for maps not to have survived when the *zijs* did. It may very well reflect the shift in mode of collecting in the later Islamic world. Yet, on the level of production, as well, the recorded *zijs* far outnumber maps. To answer this question, including whether maps cost more or take longer to make, further research is necessary.

Some scholars have made their own maps from the information found in the medieval *zijs*. For example, Lelewel made a map based on the geographical information found in Nasir al-Din al-Tusi's *Zij-i Ilkhani* (**Figure 22**). Although this endeavor fulfills our curiosity as to how the maps would have looked if they were made, it does not tell us

¹⁵⁹ The field of the history of cartography is still at an early stage. Maps from the Islamic world had been widely known; for example, al-Idrisi's maps in the *Kitab Rujar* were published already in 1926-7 in Karl Miller's *Mappae arabicae. Arabische Weltkarten des 9 – 13. Jahrhunderts in arabischer Urschrift, lateinischer Transkription und Übertragung in neuzeitliche Kartenskizzen*, 6 vols. in 3 folders, Stuttgart, 1926 – 27. It was not until 1992, however, that John Brian Harley and David Woodward first put forward a more interpretive survey of the Middle Eastern maps in *The History of Cartography* v. 2 p. 1 *Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies*, Chicago, 1987 – 1992. In this book, medieval maps are grouped into two categories: Ptolemaic school and "al-Balkhi" school. According to them, only one medieval geographer belongs to the Ptolemaic school, namely, al-Idrisi of the twelfth century, while "al-Balkhi" school consists of three geographers from the tenth century, Ibn Hawqal (900), al-Istakhri (early and mid 900's), and al-Muqaddasi (946). In her review, Karen Pinto criticizes that the method employed in *The History of Cartography* is "positivistic" and argues that the study of medieval maps needs "proper dating" and accounting for "possible syncretisms" introduced to the maps by the later copiers. Karen Pinto, "Review of *The History of Cartography: Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies*, J. B. Harley and David Woodward, ed. v. 2, Chicago, 1992" *Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review*, v. 1, n. 1 (February 1994), 109 – 115. Indeed, in the discussions of medieval maps, the authors of *The History of Cartography* closely follow much older scholarship. For example, their analysis of the "Balkhi" maps is similar to that of J. H. Kramer, a scholar active in the 1930's. J. H. Kramers, "La question Balkhi-Istakhri-Ibn Hawkal et l'Atlas de l'Islam", *Acta Orientalia* 10 (1932), 9-30. Although *The History of Cartography* is still the only survey on the subject, its content needs to be brought up to date. Since the late 1990's, newer ideas have entered the field of the history of cartography, with the publications like David King, *World-Maps for Finding the Direction and Distance to Mecca. Innovation and Tradition in Islamic Science*, Leiden, 1999. Here, King focuses on the early modern geographers' usage of astrolabes and tables in *zijs* to determine the *qibla* (direction to Mecca). In her dissertation, Kathryn Ebel challenges how we define maps. She argues that the Ottoman images of urban spaces should also be counted as maps and studied as such. Kathryn Ebel, *City Views, Imperial Visions: Cartography and the Visual Culture of Urban Space in the Ottoman Empire, 1453-1603*. Ph.D. dissertation, the University of Texas at Austin, 2002.

¹⁶⁰ Allsen, "Geography and Cartography."

much about medieval scholarship. Other modern scholars have given up on *zijs* altogether and have focused instead on the few surviving maps, such as those in al-Idrisi's *Kitab Rujar (The Book of Roger)*.¹⁶¹ Whether this attention is driven purely by the modern interest in maps or is derived from a historical assessment of importance is debatable.

In these projects, scholars have treated *zijs* as if they were tools with which to achieve something else, like maps, and not the final products on their own. This is contrary to what is apparent in the surviving *zijs*, that the tables themselves seem to be what medieval scientists aimed to achieve. Many later *zijs* and commentaries were revised and refined versions of older *zijs*, demonstrating that the table was the form in which astronomical and geographical information was communicated. This dissertation asks why and how the form of table, in addition to the content, functioned as a means through which the people of the medieval Middle East conceptualized space.

Many projects of historians of science are concerned with marking the watersheds that led to the mathematics and science of today. Accordingly, many scholars have focused on determining who did what first, categorizing schools of thought, and identifying the premises and methods of each school. In dealing with medieval texts, however, tracing origins and sorting them into groups may reflect our teleological aim more than the society from which these texts came. In fact, medieval scholars may have copied and transmitted earlier scholars' texts to add more credit to their present work and

¹⁶¹ Miller, *Mappae arabicae*.

to show their scholarly prowess.¹⁶² For this reason, it may be difficult to determine solely from their texts how many premises and methods they indeed shared.

Instead, interpreting these writings in relation to their contemporaneous scholarly, cultural, and political environments and other cultural productions can benefit scholars from other fields than history of science. In the Ilkhanid case, for example, although recognizing the link between Nasir al-Din al-Tusi and Copernicus is significant in its own right, it tells us little about Nasir al-Din al-Tusi and shifts our focus instead to Copernicus' readership and scholarship.¹⁶³ Analyzing how Nasir al-Din al-Tusi organized his astronomical findings and his subject of study, the physical world, will relate his work to his associates and patrons. This could shed light on how astronomy operated in the Ilkhanid intellectual discourse and provided the Ilkhanids with the tools and methods to conceptualize physical space and time. Knowing this could add an important dimension to our understanding of the Ilkhanid viewership, particularly, which encountered the *Jami al-Tawarikh* land renditions.

Source of Information about the Authors' Scholarship and Environments in the Field of History

In current scholarship in the discipline of history, Ilkhanid writings of geography have not been grouped together as a corpus of study.¹⁶⁴ Instead, Ilkhanid geographical writings have served as examples or evidences for research that focuses on other subjects than the Ilkhanid period. For example, the most complete work on Hamdallah Mustawfi

¹⁶² For this reason, Saliba argues that one needs to take medieval geographical writings with "a grain of salt." Saliba, "Writing," 713.

¹⁶³ Kennedy and Ghanem, *Ibn al-Shatir*.

¹⁶⁴ Allsen "Geography and Cartography."

Qazwini's (d. 740/1339-40) geographical treatise *Nuzhat al-qulub* ("Heart's Bliss") is still that of Le Strange of 1915.¹⁶⁵ Abu Yahya Zakariya'ibn Muhammad al-Qazwini's (1203 – 1283) *'Aja'ib al-makhlūqat wa-ghara'ib al-mawjudat* ("Marvels of Things Created and Miraculous Aspects of Things Existing") and Hams al-Din Amuli's encyclopedia, the *Nafa'is al-funun fi 'ara'is al-'uyun* ("Gems of Science and Brides of Springs") still await in-depth analyses.¹⁶⁶ We can, however, learn from current scholarship on other geographical writings to explore what kinds of future research may be fruitful in studying the Ilkhanid material.

Tarif Khalidi argues that geographical writings served lexical or administrative purpose.¹⁶⁷ Khalidi discusses Ibn Fadlallah al-'Umari's (d. 1349) *Masalik al-Absar* and Qazwini's (d. 1283) *Athar al-Bilad*; the former focused on territorial sanctity in response to the urgency of land loss in regions like Andalusia, Palestine, Iraq, and Iran, while the latter is on historical topography that can be used for keeping track of endowment deeds.¹⁶⁸ Such political needs may have indeed fueled Ilkhanid patronage for geography. With this possibility in mind, we may benefit from studying the Ilkhanid writings of geography together with contemporaneous governance.

In *La Géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu du 11e siècle*, André Miquel identifies some ninety geographical books that survive from the eleventh century and earlier, written by authors ranging from Musa b. Nusayr (d. c. 716) to Hatib (d. 1071).¹⁶⁹ By examining contemporaneous society, Miquel concludes that these

¹⁶⁵ Mustawfi, *Nuzhat-al-qulub*, by Le Strange.

¹⁶⁶ Melville, "Hamd-Allah Mostawfi" in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, New York, 2006.

¹⁶⁷ Tarif Khalidi, *Arabic Historical Thought in the Classical Period*, Cambridge, 1994, 219.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 219 – 222.

¹⁶⁹ Andre Miquel, *La Géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu du 11e siècle*, Paris, 1967, 16 – 36.

geographical writings served as tools of commerce, politics, and travel.¹⁷⁰ He further complicates the link between *adab* literature and geography, generating much follow-up discussion.¹⁷¹ Could we also benefit from studying the cultural functions of Ilkhanid geographical writings?

More recently, Houari Touati and Michael Chamberlain have elaborated on the link between traveling and networking.¹⁷² In dealing with the topic of medieval intellectualism in *Islam et voyage au Moyen Age*, Touati focuses on the mechanics of scholarly travel. Touati premises that “the learned of the medieval Islamic world were fanatics of travel,” and that “their attachment to travel is not [a result] of superstition, nostalgia, or tradition, but of method.” Medieval culture, as Touati constructs, combined rituality and intellectuality in one movement. He contends that, on the ritualistic side of travel, mystics encouraged experiencing life on the frontier or of symbolically defending the territory of Islam. On the intellectual side, scholars constructed the identity of Islam based on the dogmatic foundation of the *hadith* (traditions), on the linguistic horizon of the pure Arabic language presumably spoken by the Bedouins in deserts, and on the imagination of the political domain and space of *Dar al-Islam* (“The house of Islam”).

Touati argues that the importance of genealogical transmission of traditions in the early Islam meant that disciples had to travel to be in the audience of well-known masters. On the other hand, there were suspicions as to whether writing could be a valid medium of transmission because it fixed, formalized, standardized, and decontextualized verbal utterances, and, in so doing, it could put an end to the transmission of *hadith* through

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., Chapter 3.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 19 ; A much shorter version of the similar overview was published in the chapter "Geography" in *Arabic Science*, by Rashid and Morelon. Khalidi, *Historical Thought*, 221.

¹⁷² Houari Touati, *Islam et voyage au Moyen Age*, Paris, 2000. Michael Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190 – 1350*, Cambridge, UK, 1994.

living, oral memories. These disputes continued into the tenth- to fourteenth-century period; al-Khatib al-Baghdadi (1070) wrote that “if the legal decision concerning the two (oral and written) types of the *hadith* were the same, don’t you see, the collectors of the traditions would not need to endure the pains of travel to go to faraway countries, to meet and listen to the learned.”¹⁷³

Competition of authority also lay between listening and seeing, the latter of which Touati associates with the Mu’tazilites, Greek philosophy, sciences of medicine (including anatomy, zoology, biology) and astronomy (including geography), and, foremost, the Reason. Touati contends that, as humanistic interests grew from the tenth to fourteenth century, history became more universal, and geography as a discipline based upon seeing gained independence and importance, as exemplified by Muqaddasi’s work (946). By the time Ibn Battuta (1304-1368) was writing his travelogue, he argues, Muslim literati constructed the identity of Dar al-Islam by reading books and looking at maps, rather than through traveling physically or hearing masters speak.

In *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus 1190-1350*, Chamberlain explores how scholars used knowledge to gain power. By studying travelogues, chronicles, and biographical dictionaries, he hypothesizes and finds evidence that scholars and rulers in medieval Damascus competed with one another for fame, prestige, livelihood, and legitimacy, through “lecturing, reading, writing, reproducing texts, debating, discipleship, and scholarly friendship,” rather than such European devices as “decrees, titles, charters, patents, and deeds.” Rulers of Damascus did not build state agencies to legitimize themselves; rather, they befriended the local elites, followed the correct codes of behavior, held audiences for transmissions of *‘ilm* (knowledge), and

¹⁷³ This was quoted in Touati, *Islam et voyage*.

encouraged building of *madrasa* (schools) and tombs through *waqf* (endowment), to achieve political, military, economic, and cultural mutual dependency.

The personalized relations between rulers, elites, and aspiring elites allowed fluidity between scholar, warrior, and religious elite identities, social mobility, and versatility of social mechanisms such as *madrasa* and *waqf*. This fluidity prompted continuous renegotiations and competitions between scholars, warriors, religious elites, and rulers. In *madrasas* (schools), *mansab* (status or position of a teacher) was not inherited; therefore, scholars engaged in a continuous play of “seizing, resigning, increasing, trading or passing on, and defending” their *mansab*. Through writing and reading biographical dictionaries, scholars and rulers imagined their status, ranked their fame and errorless memory, ordered, and reordered their power structure.

Although lineage and family connections played an important role in determining the winners of these fierce competitions, other determinants included powerful patrons, diplomatic supporters, and loyal “lovers.” To achieve favors or “benefits” through patronage, diplomacy, and loyalty, scholars, warriors, and religious elites constructed theatrical or performative celebrity personae, by donning symbolic garb, by heralding their sophistication through highly stylized manners, or by undertaking certain “purity” rituals in transmitting *ilm*. Chamberlain also finds fluidity in the production of text and the “circular displacement between the oral and the written, between production and reproduction,” which encouraged elites and aspiring elites to “perform,” rather than read, the texts in the physical presence of one another and, thus, ritualized the transmission of knowledge.

Chamberlain and Touati's ideas and models may be applicable to the study of the Ilkhanid book production. In the Ilkhanid period, rulers' indirect patronage of illustrated books through Rashid ad-Din could be seen as part of a larger dynamic among local elites and Mongol rulers who were initiated into the amalgam of local and Mongol power structures. The paintings in Rashid ad-Din's *Jami at-Tawarikh* may have been "performed" or "activated" as the reader read out loud the texts accompanying them. The displacement between the seen and the painted may have resembled that between the oral and the written. Chamberlain's construct of personalized competition and displacement between the oral and the written through performance can explain the formation and consumption of visual as well as textual culture.

Touati's argument that scholarly activities carried out ideological and dogmatic tasks for hegemony allows for the possibility that the Ilkhanids may have also instated their political power through funding and promoting intellectual endeavors. Ilkhanid books such as the *Jami al-Tawarikh* may have confirmed the Ilkhanid rulership by participating in local intellectual discourses. Here I will explore this link between power and academe by examining Nasir al-Din al-Tusi's geographical writings in terms of their valence in the cultural discourses of the Ilkhanid intellectual community. In so doing, I hope to articulate what and how the *Jami al-Tawarikh* land renditions may have signified to the Ilkhanid reader/viewer.

CHAPTER 3

How Land Renditions Function

The earliest surviving copy of *Jami al-Tawarikh* is the fourteenth-century Arabic manuscript now housed in the Edinburgh University Library and Khalili collections in London. The 105 paintings from the surviving portion mostly depict battle scenes, court scenes with a seated authoritative figure, and portraits of Chinese emperors. Although studying the whole pictorial programme of this copy would be necessary and useful, the surviving portion is a mere fragment, and treating it as if it were a whole manuscript only distorts its original condition. Since two monographs on the surviving portion are already available, Basil Grey's *Rashid al-Din's Chronicles* and Sheila Blair's *Compendium of Chronicles*, this study focuses on the land renditions in the *Jami al-Tawarikh* paintings. This is because they play an important role in making the paintings look drastically different from pre-Ilkhanid ones.

Here, I select ten *Jami al-Tawarikh* paintings, for which artists seem to have designed land renditions as an integral part from their inception. In these paintings, land renditions show not only a high level of finish and complex relations to other visual elements but also a wide range of new techniques and motifs originating in Chinese landscape paintings. By closely examining a select few, I intend to make an in-depth analysis of how new land renditions added to or changed the visual experience of

encountering paintings. A close study will also enable me to explore a wide range of possible readings of these land renditions, which will in turn lead to new connections and interpretations. For the same purpose of highlighting the pictorial land renditions, this chapter only examines paintings while later chapters address text/image relations in great detail.

Many compositions in the *Jami al-Tawarikh* paintings have been considered "additive" or "tripartite" in a negative light, for not being “representational” or “coherent.”¹⁷⁴ In this study, I will identify what they achieve compositionally rather than what they fail to achieve. The focus is on how the land renditions visually relate to the other elements in the paintings as well as how they may help the other elements relate to one another. While I neither claim that the functions listed below are comprehensive nor that there is a one-to-one correspondence between land rendition and function, I hope that this study will open a broader discussion on how land renditions operate. All titles and folio numbers below adhere to Sheila Blair's reconstruction.¹⁷⁵

Spiritual States – “Moses Hearing God's Voice”

On the recto side of Folio 8 in the Edinburgh portion of the *Jami al-Tawarikh* is the image of Moses' encounter with God (**Figures 23, 24**). Here, the compositional center is the figure of Moses, enveloped in a massive cloak which outlines his contorted body. His knees are spread far apart facing left while his upper body is twisted to the

¹⁷⁴ Blair used the term "additive" in *Compendium*, 77 and 80. Grabar used "tripartite" in his description of Ilkhanid paintings in “Visual Arts,” 653. Both terms, "representational" and "coherent" were used by Grabar in his analysis of the Ilkhanid paintings in *Epic Images*.

¹⁷⁵ Blair, *Compendium*, Appendix 2.

right with his arms stretched out to the sky. Although there is some shading in the cloak, it is mainly executed in opaque and firm lines, which resonate with the dark strokes in his furrowed brows, pupils, mustache, and beard.

In contrast, the elders lying about or, rather, strewn on the bottom third of the picture are rendered hairless, in thin faint strokes and not in detail. Because the artists painted the figures' body parts, such as heads, limbs, and torsos, without keeping the integrity of each figure's body, the figures do not seem to have discrete bodies; in fact, they seem to form one amalgamated mass. The same wide and diluted black wash outlines some of the body parts, further enhancing their collective appearance. While occupying the entire bottom third of the picture, the collective body of the elders has a shape that dips directly under the feet of Moses. It is here that the artists added lines irrelevant to any representation in the image, as if to visually cross out the individualities of the elders.

By using contrasting painting techniques for Moses and the elders, the artists bring our focus to the visual dichotomy between them. While Moses' contorted body and pronounced facial features suggest his physical tension and mental concentration, the elders' collective appearance under the feet of Moses highlights the latter's singular presence in comparison. The narrative in the accompanying text also speaks of the different roles that the three protagonists, God, Moses, and the elders, play: while Moses is personally invited to climb Mount Sinai to hear God's speech to all Israelites, the elders are stationed at the base camps, waiting to hear Moses' experience afterwards.

All the figures, Moses and the elders, seem immobile. Whether seated or lying about, the figures are visually rooted in their respective places. Stacked on top of one

another, the elders are stationary and have no prospect of moving in the near future. Because Moses' facial expression and bodily gestures are pictorially pronounced, he seems to be capable of stirring in comparison to the limp and still figures of the elders. Even so, his disproportionately large legs are securely grounded on the foothold, which the artists articulate with two black lines right under his feet. Overall, the figures seem motionless, as if time has halted for them.

As has already been pointed out, the artists use a set of techniques and motifs to render the clouds and hills that can be characterized as Chinese. The clouds, for example, are the most consistently modeled elements in the picture. The scrolls that shape the clouds are shaded not only with light and dark blue but also with white highlights. The brown negative space in the air is also modeled and shaded; the air that is near the clouds is darker than the air farther away, as if one can see, touch, and feel the weight of the air.

This pronounced contrast between light and shadow makes the clouds look weighty and ferocious: about to thunder and pour rain. The cloud forms do not touch the figures, except for Moses' right hand, as if both are aware of the overwhelming power of the clouds upon the figures. Only Moses sits up straight and looks right into the clouds. Moreover, the contrast between light and shadow exaggerates the rapid swelling and tight curling of each scroll of the clouds. As a result, they seem to whirl around at high velocity, constantly changing their shapes and positions at every instance.

The hills are situated between the motionless figures of elders at the bottom of the picture and the racing clouds at the top and seem to move at yet another velocity. Outlined in calligraphic strokes of varying thickness, the sinuous hills create a sense of motion and rhythm as in a musical cadence. By moving up and down at a relatively low

frequency, the hills occupy a space where time moves more slowly than that of the clouds. Yet, unlike the state of the figures, time has not stopped for the hills.

As a result, the pictorial spaces occupied by the figures, clouds, and hills seem to be linked to three different temporal movements rather than to one. These spaces are, therefore, distinctive not only in length, width, and height, but also in time. With this variable of time, the represented spaces seem to be four-dimensional rather than three-dimensional as in Euclidian space. Because each pictorial space here seems to be associated with its own distinctive time, it may be useful to appropriate the term, “space-time,” from post-Einstein physics.

The space-times of the figures, clouds, and hills are not disjointed from one another. By moving up and down, the hills allow the clouds to move in and out of their space-time. In response, the clouds playfully engage with the hills by going around and between them and by appearing to have tails that end in the spaces between the hills and seem to caress them coyly. Through this visual intimacy, the clouds and hills allow the viewer’s eye to oscillate between the two different space-times.

On the other hand, the hills are rendered in full physical contact with the figures; there is not a single body part that is not touching the hills, except for Moses’ two hands. In this physical proximity, the motionless elders seem to form the base of the hills and to metamorphose into the land rendition. The metamorphosis is also evoked in the pair of Moses and the central hill. But because of Moses’ articulated facial expression and gesturing and because the central hill is the tallest in the image, Moses seems to participate in the movement of the hills more than the elders. By physically reaching out to the sky, Moses appears also to relate to the space-time of the clouds.

There is horizontal symmetry around the hills; the collective body of the elders at the bottom of the picture reflects and echoes the body of clouds and air at the top. This symmetry creates a direct visual relationship between the elders and the clouds that are otherwise indirectly related through Moses.

In the experience of looking at this painting, the viewer's eye continually crosses the boundaries of depicted bodies through the land renditions between and around them. In the process, the land renditions prompt the viewer to visually relate different space-times. This visualization becomes part of the signification of the painting; the viewer may *see* in this painting the relationship between the different spiritual states of Moses and the elders. This may extend even further to imply a break in religious history; if the elders' beliefs and practices were of the past, Moses' connection to God through the Ten Commandments looks forward to a new era.¹⁷⁶

Framing/Framed – “Prophet Salih Produces a Camel from a Rock”

On the verso of Folio 1 is a painting with a she-camel, which appears before Salih as God's sign for his prophecy (**Figures 25, 26**). Salih raises his arm in the miraculous production of the she-camel, as the people of Thamud watch on. The painting has a horizontal tripartite composition: the she-camel emerging from a rock on the left, Salih in the center, and the infidel people of Thamud on a hilly ground on the right.

The most pronounced parts of Salih's body are his hands and face. His hands are disproportionately large, as long as half his arms, and have detailed line work, displaying the skin folds on the palms and knuckles. The two thumbs of the raised hands point to

¹⁷⁶ I thank Prof. Christianne Gruber for thinking this through with me.

his face, which also has fine lines as if to indicate his age and wisdom. His robe is outlined in purple, rare in the *Jami al-Tawarikh*, but is not shaded, leaving the interior unpainted in the state of the paper. Set against the solid blue cape and the red peeping out under it, the unpainted robe makes Salih's body seem pliant and even weak. In contrast to the prominent hands and face, his body hunches over and seems to be barely holding itself up.

The figures on the right, on the other hand, appear to be firmly seated on the ground in the upright positions. Their robes are modeled and shaded, giving a clear sense of the body underneath. The two bodies of the figures on the bottom right are intertwined to form a visual base for the figures above them. In so doing, they visually support, enforce, and stabilize the body mass of the figures here. Equipped with varying headgears and elaborate vessels of food and drink, these figures seem familiar or connected with the material world around them. They are also surrounded by the brown land space, which further substantiates them. The visual difference between Salih and the figures on the right may resonate with how the text describes them. In the accompanying text, they are narrated to be at a spiritual distance: Salih connects to God to bring monotheism to the idolatrous infidels.

On the left, the she-camel and the surrounding rock are painted in similarly toned brown. The two visual elements are further brought together in some of the calligraphic strokes that outline the rock formations and that contour the head, neck, and legs of the she-camel. This proximity makes the she-camel's metamorphosis out of the rock visually persuasive. At the same time, the she-camel and rock are differentiated in execution. The artists use calligraphic strokes to paint the overhanging, overlapping, and punctuated

rock formations and the plants growing in every crevice. Because these strokes vary much in thickness and are even smudged in some places, they evoke tactile texture. For the she-camel, on the other hand, the artists use thin outlining and smooth shading for the body, and neatly arranged parallel lines for the fur. In contrast to the calligraphic strokes that seem to allow for accident, these lines seem well-planned and economically executed, reminding one of draftsmanship. By being at once similar and dissimilar to its environment, the she-camel's appearance is at once believable and miraculous.

The land rendition on the side of the figures is simpler than that of the she-camel. Around the figures, the short small plants and straight tree trunks on smooth hills look controlled, kept in check, and even pruned as in a garden. This simplicity contrasts with the complexity of the land space around the she-camel, an intricately rendered space that seems to have physical potential for the occurrence of a wonder. The different land renditions distance the she-camel's space from that of the figures on the right.

The artists further isolate the space around Salih by leaving it unpainted and, thus, visually stripping it of contextual reference. Between Salih and the other figures is a vertical line formed by the golden gourd, the tuft of grass above it, the fingertip of the figure pointing at Salih, and the trees at the top. This line divides the pictorial space, separating Salih from the other figures. The darkest hill in the picture slopes sharply down from this vertical line toward Salih as if to provide a physical barrier between him and the other figures. Although damaged now, in the original condition, the trees on this hill would have extended this barrier even toward the sky. On the other side between Salih and the she-camel, plants grow as tall as the she-camel. The stalks of these plants

are more or less parallel to the dark sloping hill in the land rendition on the right, and, together, they visually frame and centralize Salih.

Although the land renditions here visually frame Salih, the central figure, they are by no means ornamental. Framed by the land renditions, Salih's spiritual standing is made to appear higher than that of the other figures; but, at the same time, the frames allow visual comparison and permeation between the different states of the figures and the she-camel. The framing land renditions, then, do not distract the viewer's attention away from the signified; neither do they mediate between the viewer and the signified. Instead, they seem to mediate between the different pictorial spaces within the picture plane, playing a crucial role in the complex process of signification.

I posit here that the current usage of the art historical term "frame" to describe a function of an ornament, as laid out by Gombrich and Grabar, for example, may not be as applicable to the *Jami al-Tawarikh* paintings as to some European paintings. The book is the primary medium in which the viewer encounters the paintings from the Islamic world. How do we define what "frame" is in the context of book? What surrounds the paintings in the book form is text, which is fraught with meaning. Acknowledging this, one might argue that the book covers function as frames. Even then, the *shamseh* on the cover, which is understood to be an ornament in current scholarship, may in fact visually mark the temporal beginning and ending of a literary/visual experience of encountering a book. In so doing, it places the reader/viewer in a certain space and time to participate in a cultural discourse. Many illustrated books from the Islamic world were luxury products, usually read in the context of a royal court. The *shamseh*, then, may have signified an important initiation to the king's circle and may have participated in the performance of

the kingship. In the paintings from the Islamic world, framing may not have equated to an ornamental function and may need further analyses for its signification.

Country/City – “City of Iram”

In the first image in the Edinburgh portion of the *Jami al-Tawarikh*, which covers the history of the Ancients, we see the city of Iram (**Figures 27, 28**). The picture has a tripartite composition, with the architecture in the center flanked by the outdoor scene with two equestrian figures on the right and the garden scene on the left. Here, the techniques used for the architecture, figures, and land renditions differ from one another. The architecture is executed in repetitive fine straight lines, while the figures are modeled and shaded. The land renditions, on the other hand, are characterized by the calligraphic strokes varying in thickness and thin wash.

The linear execution of architecture brings out its rigidity and immobility, while the modeling and shading intensifies a sense of animation in the figures. The calligraphic strokes and thin wash visually emphasize the diversity and randomness in nature. In real life, architecture is inorganic, while human beings are animated. The plants, water, and rocks can be said to be the most organic of all because they grow in the most diverse colors and shapes. By using different techniques, then, the artists exaggerate the varying degrees of organicity already implied in the painted subjects themselves.

In this picture, the artists create an illusion of a three-dimensional space mainly through the architecture. Along the central line in the architecture, the balcony and roof are off-set, with the left half stepped down from the right half. This breakage suggests a

change in view, which is only possible when one looks around an object in a three-dimensional space. The balcony and door steps are also rendered from a three-quarter view, which results in an illusion of volume.

The land renditions, on the other hand, do not enhance much of the illusion of a three-dimensional space that the architecture creates. For example, on the right of the architecture, the rock formations do not overlap one another, and the grass grows more or less in a line. On the left, the flowers are disproportionably large and scattered about in mid-air. The cascading and broiling of water suggest its weight, but because it comes immediately after a rock and a tree trunk growing naturally in parallel to the water flow, the space around the water seems somewhat flattened. The thin blue wash at the top of the painting alludes to the atmospheric surroundings, but the unpainted negative space both on the right and left of the architecture brings the viewer's eye back to the two-dimensional surface of the paper. In comparison to the carefully distorted architecture, the land renditions here only give a nod to the efforts to create an illusion of a three-dimensional space.

Through the visual dichotomies set between the architecture and land, between the inorganic and organic, and between the three-dimensional and two-dimensional, the artists bring the viewer's attention to how the two pictorial spaces on the right and left of the architecture visually relate. The depiction of soil and grass is similar in the two pictorial spaces, both in color scheme and techniques -- brown smudged paint on the soil and green calligraphic strokes for the grass.

The two pictorial spaces, however, evoke two vastly different overall impressions. The space on the right is dominated by the two equestrian figures, whose bodies are

vertically parallel to each other. The artists also align the body of the figure on the far right with the hind legs of the horse in front, further extending this figure's vertical form. The other equestrian figure's leg also seems to extend the left front leg of his horse. The land renditions in this space also invoke verticality. The only tree on the ground is aligned with the horse's head above it and the willow-like leaves hanging vertically down from the top. This line of the tree, horse's head, and leaves is parallel to the two figure/horse leg combinations.

No visual element here is given enough prominence to distract the viewer's attention away from these vertical arrangements. The only tree on the ground is short, straight, flowerless, and not branching far in the air, which minimizes its presence. Instead of growing on the soil, it seems to sprout from the bottom frame of the picture, further disengaging from the surrounding space. The willow-like leaves are both above the horse's head and between the two figures, implying that the two clusters are horizontally connected outside the picture plane. By not including this connection in the painting, the artists direct the viewer's eye entirely to the plumb leaves.

Both figures and horses face left, signifying their movement from right to left. How can we characterize this movement? The space on the whole is divided into four columns by the three vertical lines – one through the tree, front horse's head, and willow-like leaves, the second through the front figure and his horse's left front leg, and the third through the figure on the far right and the hind legs of the front horse. The widths of these columns are more or less the same, except for the one on the far right. These evenly-spaced parallel vertical lines evoke a sense of horizontal movement, a procession, and make the passage of time visually legible. The leading figure on the right has a whip

in his hand but is not using it. While he also holds the rein in hand, he is only loosely grasping it. These particular choices suggest that he has not come to a halt but is moving slowly, nevertheless. Accordingly, his horse raises only one of his legs, the right front one, as in a casual stride.

In contrast, in the space on the left, the soil on the ground is packed with trees and plants sprouting from it and a waterfall rushing down to it. The air, far above, is filled with multidirectional branches, whose trunks fall outside the picture frame. On these trees, plants, and branches, purple and red flowers bloom, yellow fruits ripen, and healthy leaves of varying shapes stretch out seemingly to catch the sun. The suggested sound of water, perfume of flowers, and juice of fruits further enrich the visual experience by appealing to aural, olfactory, and gastronomic senses. It almost seems as if anyone inside this garden space could easily lose touch with the outer world, overwhelmed with variety, plenty, and beauty. Accordingly, the time seems to wander about aimlessly here, following the flow of the cascade, branching and blooming with the plants, and ripening through the season with the fruits. If a strictly observed verticality and linear procession characterize the space on the right, the space on the left is variegated, bountiful, and fluid.

The additive composition leaves the differences between the two spaces on the right and left of the architecture unresolved. By drawing a vertical line through the architecture, the artists almost seem to warn us about this anxiety across the two spaces, from rural to urban, from outdoors to indoors, from public to private, from wild to domestic, from journey to home, from nomadic to sedentary, and from forward to inward space. This line functions like a fault-line in plate tectonics; around the line, the architectural components of the building, such as the balcony and the roof, are off-set,

which further enhances the abruptness. As a result, the difference between the two spaces can be unsettling and discomfoting.

Nevertheless, the two spaces are not impermeable. In fact, the artists seem to equip the viewer with visual “passageways” between these two spaces. The movement from right to left is further enhanced by the open door and the windows in the architecture, which suggest that the equestrian figures will ultimately enter the building and rest in the garden. In so doing, they also invite the viewer into the edifice and the garden. Conversely, the figure at the door steps from left to right, guiding the viewers' eye from left to right. This bidirectional movement is also evoked in the tree at the center of the picture; while its trunk is firmly rooted on the left, its branches spring from the building on the other side, and its leaves drape over the equestrian figures on the right. This tree, along with the figures and architectural elements, moves the viewer's eye from right to left and from left to right. These passageways mediate between spaces and make the movements through pictorial spaces visually possible.

Thus related, the two spaces on the right and left of the building seem to communicate to the viewer as visual dialectic. The difference between them is not synthesized in the painting; rather, it only comes to a synthesis in the viewer's experience of encountering the painting. If the land renditions here pose the problem of visual dialectic, the building facilitates the process of resolution in the viewer's eye.

Known/Unknown – “Alexander in the Fog”

The image of Alexander and his soldiers marching appears on the recto of Folio 19 of the Edinburgh copy (**Figures 29, 30**). The accompanying text speaks of Alexander’s grand expedition to the Northern regions, infamous for their harsh climate. In the picture, all the men and their horses are decked out. The figures are equipped with the accoutrements of combat: helmets, armors, and swords. Alexander holds a mace, and a shield is seen propped up on the right-most figure. These objects are not only diversified in form but also depicted in great detail. Each helmet is topped with a horn; Alexander’s helmet is further spiked with many horns on its sides. Every metal layer of the chain mails is separately patterned with lines, squares, or vegetal motifs. One shield in the picture is painted in blue and embellished with a yellowish-brown tiger and vegetal patterns. The horses are also harnessed with bridles and saddles, with dots of white paint probably representing metal adornments. Overall, the figures and horses look equipped for some kind of military action.

The figures’ armors and the horses’ bodies are the only places where there is fine cross-hatching and much line work as in pen drawing. These techniques further elaborate the figures and horses by giving more visual information and by adding rough texture to their surfaces. Through these details, the artists bring the viewer’s eye to the luxurious combat garments and the well-groomed horses. They also suggest the state in which the figures and horses stand, namely, their preparedness and readiness.

In contrast to the human and animal protagonists, the immediate space around the figures and the cloud-like forms on the left appear with little detail. In fact, the space

around the figures is completely bare. Seemingly appropriating from the Chinese landscape paintings, the artists darken this space with large washes and drier streaks of diluted brown. Because the shading here more or less follows the contours of the figures, horses, and cloud-like forms, it does not create much of a sense of depth in space. Instead, the shading simply makes it seem as if light does not enter there. Because this space is dark and flat, it seems to serve as a stage on which the figures are put under the spotlight displaying their lavish garbs in detail. The space seems to exist on its own, separated from the rest of the world.

Unlike the subdued evocation of a “stage” in the space, the cloud-like forms, which seem to represent fog near ground, are colorful in blue, grey, white, silver, and gold. Dark blue and grey, gradated by a varying degree of dilution, shade the scroll-shaped fog. The opaque white highlights the convex parts of the scroll-shaped fog, while the silver and gold outline each scroll. As David Talbot Rice and Basil Gray point out, the silver may have been much brighter and shinier in the original state of the painting than its current oxidized condition.¹⁷⁷ The shimmering of the metallic paint would have been further intensified against a background of dark and wet blue and grey, making the fog look as if it were electrically charged, almost capable of bringing about a tempest. The majestic twirling of the cloud-like forms of the fog further stand aloof from the rest of the picture. By outlining the two clusters of fog with thick opaque black, the artists demarcate and isolate them, further enhancing their awe-inspiring appearance.

In addition to its scroll-like shape that swells and curls, this energetic appearance of the fog makes it seem rapidly moving and changing. Because the tails of the fog clusters end on the left and right of Alexander, the fog seems to have originated near

¹⁷⁷ Rice Gray, *Illustrations*.

Alexander and spread into the space around him, only to reappear in a different manner a moment later. The decked-out figures in the ethereal space are set in opposition to the whirl of the fog in front of them.

The exaggerated contrast between the heavy armors, the empty space, and the awesome fog renders the movement of the figures from right to left encumbered and even hazardous. In fact, the figures' garments under their armor and the pieces of cloth on the figure on the far right are fluttering away from the fog, suggesting that a strong wind is blowing in their direction. The figure on the far right is hunched over, tightly grabbing onto the reins. Together, the three figures on the right seem to be looking at the figure on the far left, Alexander, as if they do not dare to walk into the foggy region on their own without his guidance. By stepping out of the bottom picture frame, the horses seem to have lost their grip on the ground. The two horses on the far right look at each other as if they are in dismay about the perilous march ahead. As a result, the three figures on the right and their horses look hesitant and disoriented.

On the other hand, the figure of Alexander and his horse do not seem deterred by the difficulty of this movement. He sits up straight and looks directly into the fog. Likewise, the profile view of his horse's head and its raised leg indicate that it, too, enters the fog with an unyielding stride. The cluster of fog on the left is concavely shaped so that it contours the head and leg of the horse, further intensifying its movement into the fog. The other cluster of fog is behind Alexander, suggesting that he is already well inside of the foggy region, guiding the other three figures and the viewer, as well, to this unknown world.

Center/Periphery – “Muhammad, Abu Bakr and the Herd of Goats”

The image of Muhammad and Abu Bakr next to a woman milking a goat on the recto of Folio 57 of the Edinburgh copy is the only painting in the quire, Quire 8. It is also the last image before several imageless quires on Muhammad's later life, including the Medina period, and the caliphates (**Figures 31, 32**).¹⁷⁸

While the Prophet Muhammad plays a central role in all the other pictures in the *Jami al-Tawarikh*, in this last painting that illustrates his life, he is visually set aside. He is seated on the far right and faces the figure of Abu Bakr. He is as large as Abu Bakr, and his face and cloak are similarly modeled and shaded as those of Abu Bakr. Both figures are executed mostly in wet washes, with the shading gradated by the degree of dilution of paint in water. By being closely associated with each other, the two figures of the Prophet Muhammad and Abu Bakr seem to form a pack, which is pictorially balanced by the female milking figure with goats on the left.

The wet paint on the figures of Muhammad and Abu Bakr contrasts with the fine lines used for the four goats on the left. The lines of brown and grey topped by thin lines of white make the goat fur look soft to the touch. The large size of the goats and the tactility of their bodies make them prominent visual elements in the picture. The goats form a pack along with the hunched female figure, who in her seated position is as tall as the goats. This pack takes over a large section of the picture plane, as large as that of the Prophet Muhammad and Abu Bakr on the right. The care and energy put into rendering the pack on the left also equals or even more than that put into painting the two figures on

¹⁷⁸ The first part of the Edinburgh portion is heavily illustrated in contrast to the following section on the *hijra* and caliphates, which is imageless.

the right. As a result, the painting demands the viewer's divided attention: one for the left and the other for the right.

One grey goat raises its head to look back. Its eyes set on a long vertical nose further exaggerate the action of looking, making it seem as if it looks back with a purpose. The only other figure who also looks toward the center of the picture plane is the Prophet Muhammad on far right. Together, the goat and the prophet bring the viewer's eye to the center of the picture plane.

Yet, the center of the picture is occupied by a tree that looks neither monumental nor healthy and has spiky-leafed fruitless branches that point to many directions. Although it is at the center of the picture, the tree does not seem to demand the viewer's attention. On the contrary, it seems to divert the viewer's attention away from itself along the multiple directions of its sinewy branches. One of the branches reaches up to the high peak of the mountain range. A few on the left of the tree extend to the female figure and the goats. The rest of the branches on the right of the tree almost touch the back of the figure of Abu Bakr.

The water that seems to spring from or ends at the right side of the tree trunk also diverts the viewer's attention by circuitously turning its course and skimming over the herd of goats to reach the hills on the upper left. Furthermore, the figures on the left and right of the tree have their backs to it, directing the viewer's attention laterally away from the central motif. The goats too are facing left, further enhancing this diversion of the eye toward the sides of the picture plane.

The periphery of this picture is clearly delineated and made prominent by many low hills at the top and rock formations on the bottom and the two sides, all executed in

similar color scheme and calligraphic strokes varying in thickness. Here, the colorful and prominent periphery and the diminutive central tree upset the expected hierarchy between center and periphery in a picture. Likewise, the off-setting of the figure of the Prophet Muhammad and the visual importance given to the other figures and the goats bring to question his assumed centrality in the painting.

Spaces of Text and Image on a Page – “Mountains of India”

On the recto of Khalili folio 261, the space of the picture is clearly demarcated with three frames ruled in gold, black, and red (**Figures 33, 34**). The paper within these frames is fully painted, further separating the pictorial space from the rest of the paper. As discussed in Chapter 1, most paintings in the *Jami al-Tawarikh* are as wide as the text boxes above and below them. In comparison, the top and bottom sides of the picture here are shorter in width than that of the text box; and because it is placed in the lower middle part of the page, the text envelops and borders it on all four sides.¹⁷⁹ If the picture were as wide as the text box, it would interrupt the flow of the text only from top to bottom; but here the picture stops the reader also from right to left. This puts the viewing and reading experiences more in competition than in most other pages in the *Jami al-Tawarikh*.

Sheila Blair has compared this “squarish space” to the illustrations to Qazwini’s cosmography *‘Aja’ib al-Makhluqat Ghara’ib al-Mawjudat* (“The Wonders of Creation

¹⁷⁹ This is the only page organized this way in the Khalili portion of the *Jami al-Tawarikh*. Although there are six of them in the Edinburgh portion of the *Jami al-Tawarikh*, most pages there are also not in this format.

and the Oddities of Existence”).¹⁸⁰ Yet, this painting interrupts the flow of reading much more than those in *‘Aja’ib* because it is filled with detailed land renditions, leaving not much negative space. The hills and the water are greatly varied in color, different shades and tones of blue, grey, and brown. The image also offers many different textures. On the hills are trees with varied spiky leaves. The artists put short thin lines all around the outlines of the hills, which seem to have grown stubby hair. The top parts of the hills are rendered in clusters of concentric circles. The artists modeled and shaded these circles, giving rough texture to this area. Under the top parts of the hills are washes of blue, grey, and brown, which suggest smooth texture on the hill slopes. Under the hills, the stacked arcs in water suggest its swelling waves, and the clusters of dots here and there denote its foams. In the water are a pair of fish with scales and a pair of ducks with feathers. The diverse textures rendered in the image make the viewing experience almost tactile.

The area of each hill that comes in contact with, and is about to be overlapped by, the hill in front is painted in white. This white contrasts with and, therefore, brings out the color and texture of the top part of the hill in front. Together, the three layers of each hill allow the viewer to distinguish it from others and bring the emphasis to the many different textures rendered on the hills.

Without any protagonists, the painting does not deliver any narrative of a story. In fact, the text around the image describes the land of India as if it were a travelogue or an *‘aja’ib* (wonder). In addition to interrupting the flow of the text twice, downward and leftward, the painting offers a rich visual experience of a rendered land that is unlike the experience of reading the text. As a result, the reader/viewer feels much tension in the transition from reading the text to viewing the image, and vice versa. Here, the land

¹⁸⁰ Blair, *Compendium*, 76.

renditions challenge the reader/viewer to reconsider the relationship between text and image in a book and to explore different ways he/she can encounter an illustrated book.

Cultural Spaces – “Mountains between India and Tibet”

On the recto of Khalili folio 262, we are given a picture of a land rendition at the center spanning the space between two figures (**Figures 35, 36**). Their distinctive facial features suggest different ethnicities. They have also donned culturally distinctive garments, headgear, jewelry, and shoes; the figure on the right is in Tibetan garb, and the one on the left is in Indian garb swung over the left shoulder. Each figure is near one of the two buildings cut off on the two sides of the picture. The physical proximity between each figure and the respective building suggests her close link to the architectural space. Since the buildings are cut off on the sides, giving the illusion that the architectural spaces extend beyond the picture frame, indicating, perhaps, two urban or cultural spaces larger than the solitary edifice. The figure/architecture clusters seem to represent sedentary civilizations, which the artists separate visually.

The two figure/building clusters are separated by a land rendition, which takes over more than half of the painting surface. Here the large tree rooted near the head of the seated figure on the right adds a vertical dimension to the figure, which balances out the standing figure on the left. There are rock formations lined up near where the tree is rooted, as if to extend the presence of the figure on the right horizontally, as well. The land rendition, then, demarcates the oppositeness of the two figure/building clusters and pits one against the other.

At the same time, the land rendition makes the rapport between the two figure/building clusters visually possible. The branches of the trees come in contact with much larger hills, which slopes down toward the seated woman. Beneath the hills, the shorter rock formations of equal width and the bushes on them equidistant to one another slop toward the seated woman, as well. The artists emphasized this sloping by gradually reducing the height of the rock formations and bushes as they become closer to the seated figure. On the left of the hills, the two sets of rock formations are closely related. The one on the left near the standing figure is in grey, and the one that occupies the middle of the picture is in brown. Together, they form one slope descending from above the standing figure on the left to near the feet of the seated figure on the right. The artists emphasized this descending by placing the bushes of equal height and equidistant to one another only at the bottom rock formations. The slope here is parallel to those of the bending back of the figure on the left and the larger hills on the right. From near the feet of the figure on the right to the feet of the figure on the left, another set of rock formations and bushes are lined up. The river flows from the shorter rock formations beneath the hills to the lower right corner again close to the feet of the seated figure, where it changes its course toward the feet of the figure on the left. Together, the rock formations, bushes, and river facilitate the eye's movement from their own forms to one figure/building cluster, to the other figure/building cluster, and then back again to themselves.

It is in the land rendition at the center of the painting where the movement and passage between the two figure/building clusters happen. In the analysis of the "City of Iram" above, I spoke of a visual dialectic between the two spaces with land renditions

and of a resolution made possible by the building at the center. There, I argued that the synthesis of this visual dialectic occurs in the viewer's experience of encountering the painting. Here in the "Mountains between India and Tibet," it seems that the roles of land renditions and architectural elements are reversed; the buildings here pose two different pictorial spaces while the land rendition in the middle offers passageways between them. If the buildings along with the culturally specific garments of the figures connote two different social spaces, the land in the middle may allow the viewer to come to a synthesis between them while the eye moves back and forth from one rendered social space to the other.

**Three-Dimensional/Two-Dimensional, Two-Dimensional/One-Dimensional –
"Musa Slays the Giant 'Uj ibn 'Anaq (Og)"**

On the verso of Folio 9 in the painting of Moses defeating the giant 'Uj, Moses stands with his staff on the right and appears diminutive in comparison to the giant, whose upside-down body dominates the picture plane (**Figures 37, 38**). The giant's body is barely contained within the picture plane: his head abuts the picture frame in the lower left corner; one of his huge bare feet prominently protrudes in the upper right corner, and the other in the lower right almost hits Moses' tiny slippered feet. The giant's arms bend into his right leg toward his chest, as if he too is making an effort to contain himself in this limited space. The surrounding rock formations seem to form a round mass with the giant's body, a shape that is exaggerated because of its silhouetting against the unpainted negative space. The swirling roundness of forms gives the squared picture plane the

appearance of a circular rather than the usual horizontal display in the *Jami al-Tawarikh* paintings.

The rock formations around the giant are outlined in calligraphic strokes and seem almost fantastical in their twists and turns and their openings and closings. As in many other paintings from the *Jami al-Tawarikh*, these techniques and motifs may have reminded the viewer of some Chinese landscape painting motifs. Unlike most other paintings from the *Jami al-Tawarikh*, however, these same techniques and motifs in this particular land rendition do not give much sense of depth. Even the other techniques of representing a three-dimensional space, like modeling, shading, and overlapping, are kept at minimum here. As a result, the rock formations look more or less flat, almost like a plate on which the giant is served. They provide the spatial context for the giant, the largest visual element in the picture; therefore, they become a prominent part of the painting. Because they are flat and prominent, they bring the viewer's attention to the two-dimensionality of the paper.

Although similar techniques are used to render the darker rock formations under Moses' feet, these seem to function entirely differently from those around the giant. Here, the rock formations do not envelope Moses but stand firmly under him. The feeling of stability is further evoked in the horizontal band of rock formation that overlaps and crosses the vertical podium-like one under Moses' feet. The much-damaged tree above Moses' head also seems to have been rendered in the Chinese techniques of calligraphic strokes in the original condition. It reflects the rock formation under Moses' feet and fans like a parasol as if to protect Moses' bare head from the glaring sun in the upper left

corner. Together, the rock formations under Moses and the tree over him create a sense of depth around him and provide a pictorial context for Moses.

The sun in the upper left corner is outlined in two parallel arcs, forming a quadrant with the top and left frames of the picture. The artists filled in the quadrant with a matte gold color with no sign of modeling or shading. From this quartered disk radiate golden rays, which are executed in thin, simple, and repetitive lines. It almost seems as though the rays were necessary for the sun energy to expand, perhaps, referring to the sun's spherical formation ultimately from a point source. If the pictorial space around the giant evokes a sense of two-dimensionality, and that of Moses, three-dimensionality, then the sun may remind the viewer of its one-dimensional source.

The three pictorial spaces are not isolated from one another but thoroughly interconnected. In addition to providing the base for Moses, the rock formations under him also link Moses to the giant. The horizontal band of rock formation overlaps the rock formation on the right of the giant's right arm and under his right foot. This foot more or less parallels Moses' stance and is pointed downward, with its big toe and ball cupping the end of Moses' red staff, which extends up to his ear. The tree above Moses' head also stretches out and grows up toward the giant's upside down left foot, further linking Moses to the giant. On the left, the sun rays reach out to the rock formations around the giant and even toward the giant's body.

This visual interweaving of forms renders the overlapping pictorial spaces at once three-dimensional and two-dimensional, or at once two-dimensional and one-dimensional. On the right, while the rock formation under Moses' feet seems to stand in a three-dimensional space, it also seems to become part of the V pattern formed by the giant's

right foot and Moses' staff. Likewise, the horizontal band overlaps the rock formation under Moses, giving an illusion of depth, but, at the same time, it extends toward the giant, becoming part of the flat dish around him. Because the tree extends left and upward, and the giant's foot is facing right and downward, the two elements together seem to form a flat rectangular pattern. On the left, the sun rays are directly drawn on top of the giant's space and body, as if to slash through them.

Through this interweaving, the artists seem to emphasize the variety of dimensionalities of the spaces, suggesting that evoking a sense of three-dimensional space is not their only or ultimate aim. Instead, they seem to compel the viewer to frame the question of illusion when he/she encounters a painting. They also present art historical references to the viewer; the sun looks much like how the sun was rendered in pre-Ilkhanid paintings while the new techniques and motifs that they appropriated from Chinese landscape paintings function differently here from how they may have functioned in the foreign art tradition. In the experience of encountering this painting, then, viewers may have had to reformulate how they saw different painting traditions.

Before and After – “Moses in the Bullrushes”

On Folio 7 verso from the Edinburgh copy is the image of a box containing the baby Moses floating down the river to be picked up by Pharaoh's wife (**Figures 39, 40**). The picture is dominated by the “gnarling” water in the middle, which rushes down energetically and is foaming on the way. The long sides of the box are oriented in the

same direction as the watercourse, which exaggerates both the speed of the flow and box's rapid downward movement into the lower right cove where female figures await it.

Around the box, the rock formations and plants on the two banks mirror one another, forming a sort of radial symmetry. The four-stalked plant with red flowers and short tiny leaves on the side of the figures seems to be rooted on the purple rock under the large tree. As the viewer's eye moves from this plant toward the box in the water and continues onto the other riverbank on the lower left, it finds a four-stalked plant there, too, which copies the one on the side of the figures. This plant also seems as if rooted on a rock, blue grey in this case. On this side, the plant on the right of the four-stalked plant has flat, pinnately-veined leaves that taper toward the tip, and they resemble the tree leaves on the other side above the box. The leaves of the plant and the tree twist slightly, further enhancing their likeness.

Under the tree leaves on the figures' side, a tuft of grass sits on a leveled rockless bank, emulating the tuft of grass on the other side, also situated on an even rockless ground. The grass blades on the two banks are of about the same height and similarly executed in calligraphic strokes that form arcs toward left and right. There are only two blue rock formations in the picture, and they are located on the two banks facing each other. Both of these rock formations are put next to brown rock formations, composing two clusters that mimic each other across the water.

Furthermore, on the figures' bank, the tree with clothes hanging off its branch and the female figures up and down the stream echo each other. Although the techniques used to render the land renditions differ drastically from those used for the figures, their overall forms are similar. The bending body of the older woman at the bottom of the

stream resembles the bending trunk of the tree up the stream. This tree's branch that holds up the women's clothes, in turn, emulates the stretched-out arm of the central younger woman on the left of the older woman. Her long tresses cascade down from behind her arm just as the fluttering clothes hang off the tree branch up stream. The other younger woman's hair is even longer, gliding the central figure's fingers and reaching the water. This hair's position to the central woman's stretched arm is analogous to that of the bunch of leaves with a red fruit's location at the end of the tree branch. Together, the older woman and younger woman form a shape similar to that of the tree up the stream.

In contrast to these echoing plants, trees, rock formations, and figures, the raging water in the middle is unique in the picture. Because this water is closely associated with the most significant element in the picture, the box, the radial symmetry around the box further brings out the singularity of water.

Running water not only moves in space but also in time, from before to after and from past to future. The water rendered in the picture invites the viewer to see beyond the moment captured in the picture -- the past from which Moses comes and the future to which he heads. Moses' future is explicitly illustrated in the painting. He is about to pass by the tree with clothes hanging off its branch to arrive at his final destination, the female figures at the bottom of the river. By being placed toward the end of the box's journey and by emulating each other's forms, the tree and the female figures share a temporal importance in Moses' life. Although the past of Moses is not explicitly depicted here, it is implied in the box floating in the middle of the river. The water in the painting may represent the time axis in Moses' biography and makes this particular visual account of Moses' beginning possible.

Time Stopped – “'Abd al-Muttalib and al-Harith about to Discover Zamzam”

On recto of Folio 41 in the Edinburgh copy appears a painting of ‘Abd al-Muttalib, the Prophet Muhammad’s grandfather, finding the well of Zamzam (**Figures 41, 42**). The figures are attentively looking and pointing at the bird and insects painted in diluted grey. The black irises in the figures’ eyes are painted in the right most parts of the eyes, clearly marking the direction of their looking. His left arm is half-raised to point at the bird and insects. Since the shorter figure’s hands are either resting on the larger figure’s left arm or supporting it, three hands are put together to end on the larger figure’s index fingertip. This amalgamation exaggerates the finger’s action of pointing at the bird. The larger figure’s right arm holds a pickaxe, whose blade is almost parallel to his shoulders bending forward in the direction of the bird and insects. The pickax’s shaft is perpendicular to its blade and is aligned with the figure’s left arm. This alignment elongates both the arm and the pickax, further bringing the viewer’s attention to the already pronounced pointing finger and the blade that similarly tapers at the end. This arrangement emphasizes the two visual elements that illustrate the state in which this figure is, namely, his recognition of the sign and readiness to action.

In contrast to the detailed faces and hands of the figures, the rest of their bodies are completely obliterated under the patterned cloak. These robes are rendered in rich opaque color with tightly-knit designs, geometric on the larger figure and floral on the other. Folds on the fabric are indicated with black lines, but these folds do not disrupt the continuity of the motifs. In order to keep the integrity of the designs over the entire surfaces of the robes, the artists sacrifice the illusion of the three-dimensionality. What

might have been the important function of the patterns? The plumb patterning in contrasting red and blue on the larger figure's robe turns the viewer's attention away from the anatomical structure of his body and moves it instead to the solidity of his stance.

Their heads are wrapped in turbans of overlapping strands of cloth, indicating their roundness. But because the two pieces of cloth overlap in similar fashion, they seem to become fabric patterns. In addition, the shorter figure's headgear is placed under the larger figure's headgear and next to the larger figure's chin piece. This links together the two headgears and the chin piece, which seem to form one continuing fabric on the two heads. In fact, the two heads seem to spring from one body, rather than two, because much of the shorter figure's cloak is hidden behind the larger figure's robe, and the part that peeps out hangs in parallel to the robe of the larger figure. As a result, the floral cloak of the shorter figure seems to be a piece attached to the larger figure's robe. The two figures seem to form one large mass, conical in shape, which further makes them look stable and unshakable.

Because of this rocklike posture, the figures seem to be wholly and fully engaged in the moment both in their mental and physical states. By rendering the figures look concentrated, they seem to imply the significance of the moment. The area around the larger figure's feet in solid black is more or less left unpainted. Because the feet are not flat on the ground but slanted as if in the middle of walking, they seem to float in mid-air. The shorter figure's feet are simply non-existent. This disengagement of the figures from their environment makes it seem as if even time has stopped for them.

Unlike most other paintings from the manuscripts in the languages that use the Arabic script, the artists of this picture move the viewer's eye from left to right. Because

this movement is visually unexpected, the viewer may have been stunned. The image box here is also inserted in the middle of the text that reads from right to left. As a result, the directions of reading and viewing conflict with each other. The left-to-right composition, then, may have mechanically stopped the viewer to focus him to the still moment of the picture.

The land rendition is in contrast to how the figures are painted. The dots on the land were watery when applied so that, when they dried, most of the pigment settled on their outlines, leaving their interior almost empty. There is not much outlining on the rock formations, which are executed instead in broad strokes of wash more or less in parallel. These strokes give an impression that they may even have been freely executed without a plan. Along with the empty dots, the translucent hills create an overall dreamy or ethereal effect. As in other *Jami al-Tawarikh* paintings, here, too, the artists use Chinese techniques for rendering land, as opposed to those used for the figures that seem to originate from the earlier periods in the Islamic world or from the Byzantine world. More particularly for this painting, however, the artists seem to be pushing the limits of the visual capabilities of the Chinese landscape painting techniques and motifs. In so doing, the artists further distance the land renditions from the figures and set them in opposition to each other.

Even the hills seem to recognize this difference by scooping down where the figures stand and by rising on the two sides away from them. In so doing, they lend a negative space shaped like an upside-down cone around the figures, which intensifies the solidity of the figures in comparison. This way, the relationship between the figures and land rendition is negatively defined – the land rendition is not what the figures are, and

vice versa. Therefore, if the figures represent existence and being, the land rendition seems to represent anti-existence and anti-being. As thesis and antithesis, the figures and land rendition balance the picture, complete the event, and are in a dialectical relationship to be resolved in the reader/viewer.

Both the figures' eyes and the tall figure's finger draw the viewer's attention to the bird and insects on the lower right corner. If one were to draw a straight line along the arm of the pointed finger and extend it toward the bird, it would coincide with the hunched back of the bird. This continuity exaggerates the connection between the figures and the bird although they do not touch one another physically. To demarcate the area of the bird and insects, a wide stroke more or less in the same grey paint moves across the bottom part of the picture. But the area within this wide stroke is left unpainted, segregating the bird and insects from the land rendition. Because the bird and insects are visually disjointed from the land rendition, like the figures, they seem to function as an auxiliary to the figures rather than to the land rendition.

While the bird seems to continue the figures' gaze by standing as the object of the gaze, it also provides a contrast to the figures. The bird and insects are in diluted black and grey whereas the figures are decked out in colorful wardrobe. They are also rendered in larger brushstrokes, with insects' bodies seeming to be executed with one go, which is unlike the detailing on the figures. The bird and insects add another visual layer to the painting and may demonstrate their function as God's sign to the figures.

Conclusion

The painters of the *Jami al-Tawarikh* newly appropriated Chinese techniques of modeling, wash, and calligraphic strokes and motifs of scrolling clouds, rolling hills, and sinuous tree trunks. Through this new way of rendering land, the *Jami al-Tawarikh* artists evoke an illusion of three-dimensional space and passage of time for the first time in the Islamic world. In this chapter, I demonstrated that many *Jami al-Tawarikh* paintings bring the question of constructing pictorial space and time to the center of the visual experience. The land renditions in them compel the viewer to relate the different pictorial spaces and times, which may have resulted in a completely new visual experience of encountering paintings in a manuscript.

How can we address multiple spaces and times in the *Jami al-Tawarikh* paintings? Taking the model of historians of seventeenth-century Dutch art, such as Svetlana Alpers, I search for tools from Ilkhanid writings to articulate the particular visual experience of encountering the *Jami al-Tawarikh*.¹⁸¹ Dutch paintings had also been disparaged for their difference from the Italian Renaissance paintings until their distinctive visuality led to relatively recent art historical projects of rethinking concepts like perspective and illusionism. Through gathering constructs of space and time from Ilkhanid writings, I attempt to find answers to what implications multiple pictorial space-times may have had in the Ilkhanid context. The next two chapters explore what visual operations of land renditions in the *Jami al-Tawarikh* may have signified to the Ilkhanid reader/viewer by linking them to Ilkhanid writings of history and astronomy.

¹⁸¹ Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century*, Chicago, 1984.

CHAPTER 4

Historiography in the *Jami al-Tawarikh* Land Renditions

In Chapter 3, I demonstrate that land renditions in the ten paintings from the *Jami al-Tawarikh* bring the conceptualization of pictorial space and time to the center of the visual experience. In current scholarship, the land renditions in the *Jami al-Tawarikh* have been analyzed mainly in terms of their resemblance to Chinese landscape painting styles and themes. Tracing the art historical origins of the motifs and techniques utilized in rendering land in *Jami al-Tawarikh* paintings has shed light on the commercial movements of the cultural products between West and East Asia under the Mongols, including trade of textiles and ceramics.¹⁸² According to these historical connections, however, the aesthetic motifs and painting techniques in the *Jami al-Tawarikh* land renditions neither follow one specific style nor participate in any known artistic discourse from China.¹⁸³ Although the Chinese and Ilkhanid worlds were in dialogue to great extent, the link has not solved the problem of what these new land renditions may have signified to the Ilkhanid reader/viewer or how those significations may have been visually realized.

On the other hand, the land elements prominent in the *Jami al-Tawarikh* paintings, such as cloud, hill, fog, water, tree, and rock, are also discussed in the accompanying

¹⁸² Allsen, *Culture*. Komaroff and Carboni, *Legacy*.

¹⁸³ I thank Massumeh Farhad for thinking this through together with me.

texts. Although the pictorial land renditions were new in the *Jami al-Tawarikh*, the textual imageries of land had played an important role in the pre-Ilkhanid world histories, such as al-Tabari's *Tarikh al-rusul wa al-muluk* and Ibn al-Athir's *Al-kamil fi al-tarikh*.¹⁸⁴ Rashid al-Din places his history in the world history writing tradition in the Islamic world in the text of the *Jami al-Tawarikh* by explicitly challenging the historiography of Ibn al-Athir. Yet, in the *Jami al-Tawarikh*, the invention of the new painting style overlapped with the project of writing history. What, then, does the link between the pictorial land renditions in the *Jami al-Tawarikh* and the world history writing tradition say about how an illustrated manuscript of history operated in the Ilkhanid context?

In the study below, I examine how the reader/viewer conceptualizes the historical spaces of the Mongols and others as remembered through the *Jami al-Tawarikh*. I then examine how Rashid al-Din constructed the discursive space of historiography through the compilation and distribution of the *Jami al-Tawarikh*. Finally, I cast the land renditions as historiographical topoi and discuss how they may have evolved out of textual world histories from the pre-Ilkhanid Islamic world.¹⁸⁵ A detailed textual analysis of the *Jami al-Tawarikh* is beyond the scope of this project and has thankfully been available, at least in part, by Thackston.¹⁸⁶ The original texts are included in the appendix to this chapter, and the numbers in parentheses match those in Appendix.

¹⁸⁴ The editions that I use here are al-Tabari, *Annales Abu Djafar Mohammed Ibn Djarir At-Tabari*, ed. by M. J. De Goeje, Leiden, s.l., 1879-1881, and Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil fi al-tarikh*, 12v., Beirut, 1965-67.

¹⁸⁵ Here, I do not attempt to do what Albrecht Noth has done with the Arabic historiography in his monumental work, *The Early Arabic Historical Tradition: a Source-Critical Study*, trans. by Michael Bonner, Princeton, 1994. The span and thoroughness in this dissertation does not match that of Noth although the underlying method is similar.

¹⁸⁶ For a detailed study of the Persian text of the *Jami al-Tawarikh*, see Thackston, *Jami'u't-tawarikh*. At the time of writing, the last volume on the history of the world was not published.

Center/Periphery – Islamizing and Interpolating History

As it was commissioned by the Ilkhanids, the *Jami al-Tawarikh* expectedly centers on the Mongol history. Rashid al-Din, however, does not take this emphasis for granted; instead, he legitimizes the importance of the history of the Mongols in Islamic context. First, he claims that the Mongols, Arabs, and Persians were in fact all descendents of Noah, writing:

According to what is unanimously narrated by their own wise men and in accordance with what is mentioned in Islamic histories and recorded in the Torah of the Israelites, where it is said that the prophet Noah divided the earth into three divisions from south to north, the first division he gave to his son Ham, who became the father of the blacks; the middle part he gave to Shem, who was the father of the Arabs and the Persians; and the third part he gave to Japheth, who was the father of the Turks and was sent to the east. The Mongols and Turks say the same, but the Turks' name for Japheth is Abulja Khan, and they do not know for certain whether Abulja Khan was a son or a grandson of Noah, but they are agreed that he was of his progeny and near to him in time. They are also agreed that all the Mongols, various types of Turks, and nomads are descended from him. (1)¹⁸⁷

By claiming brotherhood among the Arabs, Persians, and Mongols, Rashid ad-Din places the Mongols at the center of the kin network of all the Muslims. More importantly, the topos of a prophet descending from Noah was well-established in genealogical writings in the Arabic language, dating as far back as the *Sira* of Ibn Ishaq (808 – 873).¹⁸⁸ On the first page of his *Sira*, Ibn Ishaq lists the Prophet Muhammad's ancestors, who include Nuh (Noah) and his son Sam (Shem). By following the regional history writing tradition, Rashid ad-Din Islamizes the history of the Mongols and, at the same time, rewrites the genealogical history of Muslims.

¹⁸⁷ Thackston, *Jami 'u't-tawarikh*, 27. Persian text is from Rashid al-Din, *Jami al-Tawarikh*, ed. by Bahman Karimi, 2 vols, Tehran, 1983, 29.

¹⁸⁸ Ibn Ishaq, *The Life of Muhammad*, trans. by A. Guillaume, Oxford, 1955, 3.

The effort to Islamize Mongol history is even more apparent in Rashid ad-Din's insertion of a monotheist as an important Mongol ancestor. Rashid ad-Din explains that Genghis Khan's ancestor Oghuz eliminated all polytheist "infidel" Mongols:

Qara Khan...had a son (Oghuz) who would not take his mother's breast to suckle for three days and nights. Therefore his mother wept and pleaded, and every night she saw the child saying to her in a dream, "Mother, if you become a worshipper and lover of God, I will drink your milk." Because her husband and all of the tribes were *infidels*, the woman feared that if she worshipped God openly they would kill both her and her child. Therefore she believed in God in secret and loved God with all sincerity, and thereafter the infant (Oghuz) took his mother's breast and suckled...When he (Oghuz) reached maturity, his father, Qara Khan ... said, "My son, Oghuz seemed greatly favored by fortune in his infancy, and I became extremely fond of him. Now, however, he has taken up wicked ways and turned his back on our religion. He cannot be left alive."...they (Oghuz and Qara Khan) fought with each other for nearly seventy-five years...Finally Oghuz triumphed, seizing the land from Talas and Sayram to Bukhara, and the realm submitted to him...it is established that the entirety of the Mongols are descended from him. (2)¹⁸⁹

Being the very first narrative of the whole book, the message contained in this passage is clearly crucial, and it is apparently derived from the Koran. The concept, "infidel (كفر)," is Koranic, and the theme of conflict between monotheists and polytheists is also Koranic. For example, in Sura 109, the infidels and Muslims are set in a clear dichotomy:

Disbelievers! I do not worship what you worship nor do you worship what I worship. I shall never worship what you worship. You have your own religion and I have mine. (3)

Moreover, the triumph of monotheists and following lessons for "infidels" are recurrent themes in the Koran. As far as modern scholars can tell from surviving documents, however, the Mongols' lives before their conversion to Islam in the thirteenth century revolved around shamanistic rituals, and their ideology had nothing to do with

¹⁸⁹ Thackston, *Jami 'u't-tawarikh*, 28 – 9. Karimi, *Jami al-Tawarikh*, 30-32 (my italics).

monotheism. The extensive effort to claim the Mongols' descent from a monotheist, then, only makes sense in the religious or cultural discourses of Muslims.

While Rashid al-Din anchors his world history on that of the Mongols, he does not write a monolithic Mongol history; instead, he interpolates it with the histories of non-Mongols. He organizes his history reign by reign from Genghis Khan to all his sons, including the Ilkhans. Within each reign, he divides the history into blocs of years according to important activities and interlaces them with events that occurred in other parts of the world. Rashid ad-Din groups the first thirteen years of Genghis Khan's life as one block and titles it as follows:

The history of Genghis Khan from the time of his birth, from the beginning of Qaqai Yil, the Year of the Pig, which corresponds to the year 549 of the Hegira and began in the month of Dhu'l-Qa'da, until the next Qaqai Yil, also the Year of the Pig, which corresponds to the year 562 of the Hegira and began in the month of Rabi'II. During this period his father, Yesugai Bahadur, was alive. During the last year, the thirteenth, Yesugai Bahadur dies, and the thirteen-year-old Genghis Khan was bereft of him. (4)¹⁹⁰

Rashid ad-Din then narrates the events in Genghis Khan's life at this time.¹⁹¹ He titles the next section as follows:

The history that is known of Genghis Khan's contemporaries, the monarchs and khaqans of Cathay, Chin, the Kerayit, the Naiman, the Mongols, the Uyghur, Turkistan, Kiral-Bashghurd, Qipchaq, Orus, Circassia, As, Transoxiana, and the caliphs and sultans of Iran, Anatolia, Syria, Egypt, etc. who ruled from the beginning of the Qaqai Yil that began in Dhu'l-Qa'da of 549 of the Hegira [January 1155] through the next Qaqai Yil, which began in Rabi'c II 562 of the Hegira [February 1167], a period of thirteen whole years, as well as unusual events that happened during that period. (5)¹⁹²

¹⁹⁰ Thackston, *Jami'u't-tawarikh*, 152. Karimi, *Jami al-Tawarikh*, 231.

¹⁹¹ Although Rashid ad-Din overtly claims that he prefers the integrity of each narrative to the clarity of annals, he still meticulously keeps track of the dates of events according to the *hijri*, Common Era, Chinese, or Mongolian system. Sacrificing the annalistic simplicity, then, did not mean to him devaluing precision in recording time.

¹⁹² Thackston, *Jami'u't-tawarikh*, 153. Karimi, *Jami al-Tawarikh*, 234.

This section would, then, move the reader around the world during the time from Genghis Khan's birth to when he was thirteen.

The subtitles of this section are "A history of the rulers of the Khitai and Qarakhitai during this period," "The history of the rulers of Machin—which the Cathaians call Manzi and the Mongols call Nankiyas—who were contemporary with Genghis Khan during the above-mentioned thirteen years," "The history of the rulers of Turkistan and Transoxiana during this period," "The history of the caliphs, sultans, kings, and atabegs of Iran, Anatolia, Egypt, etc. who were Genghis Khan's contemporaries during this period," "In Khurasan," "In Khwarazm," "In Persia," "In Anatolia," "In Kirman," "In Ghazna," "In Ghor," and "A History of Maliks and Atabegs," which is further divided into "In Sistan," "In Mazanderan," "In Iraq," "In Azerbaijan," "In Syria," "In Diyarbekir," "In the Maghreb," and "Over Fars." This long list ends with "the history of unusual events that occurred during this period in all parts of the world."¹⁹³ Only after this global digression does Rashid al-Din move onto the next ten-year block of Genghis Khan's life.

The number of non-Mongol histories dwindles for the later rulers since, by then, most of the non-Mongol nations were taken over and annexed into the Mongol empire. The last Mongol ruler to have his history interpolated is Qubilai Khan, and only four sections make up the non-Mongol history here: "History of the emperors of Machin," "History of the sultans," "History of the maliks and atabegs," and "Unusual events that occurred during the period."¹⁹⁴ The rate of interpolation also becomes lower with the

¹⁹³ Rashid al-Din treats the collection of unusual events as if it were another historical space. The possible link between his collection of unusual events and the the genre of *'aja'ib* is beyond the scope of this dissertation and needs future research.

¹⁹⁴ Thackston, *Jami'u't-tawarikh*, 459.

later rulers; after Genghis Khan, each ruler's history is interrupted only once. Despite the decrease of interpolation, in the larger scheme of the *Jami al-Tawarikh*, the main history of the Mongols is placed in relation to other historical spaces.

In the preface to the *Jami al-Tawarikh*, Rashid al-Din lays out his compositional approach:

Chapter 2 is on the history of Genghis Khan and His illustrious offspring, some of whom became qa'ans in every age, [others of whom] did not attain a specific rulership, *along with* a summary history of the rulers of the world who were contemporary with them down to the present. (6)¹⁹⁵

This is an important point at which Rashid al-Din sees himself departing from other historians in the Islamic world. In the beginning of the history of Genghis Khan, Rashid al-Din explicitly declares that his format is superior to the annalistic format of Ibn al-Athir in *al-Kamil fi'l-Tarikh*:

Although compilers and writers of ancient histories have produced books of every sort, [since] they have reproduced stories of various times without order, readers have been unable to make full use of them. In the year-by-year history that the late Ibn al-Athir produced, although he put much effort into it, the stories of each ruler are not ordered, and although they follow more or less in sequence, the order is not known. This much is certainly apparent to those who read the book. Therefore, it seemed appropriate to the author of this book *to record in sequence, for every few years of Genghis Khan's history that is written, the histories of other rulers of various parts who were contemporary with him so that the affairs of rulers contemporary with each other might thereby be known in general...*[according to] the above-mentioned principle, from Genghis Khan's birth until the end of his life, and after him until the present time, every few years deemed appropriate the history of Genghis Khan and his sons and things that became customary during their times will be written about, and the history of other rulers at that time, as much as is known and verifiable and fits the context, will be appended thereto, down to this regal era and blessed time so that the reader may learn about the conditions of all. The principle of organization is then as has been stated. (7)¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁵ Thackston, *Jami 'u't-tawarikh*, 10 (my italics). The history of the Mongols is divided into two: Part One on “the complex genealogy and geographical origins and movements of various Mongol kin-related groups” and Part Two on “the genealogy and actions of Genghis Khan.” Part Two Chapter One is on the genealogy of Genghis Khan. This is Rashid al-Din’s explanation of the subject matter of Part Two Chapter Two. Karimi, *Jami al-Tawarikh*, 14.

¹⁹⁶ Thackston, *Jami 'u't-tawarikh*, 151. Karimi, *Jami al-Tawarikh*, 229-230.

Here, Rashid al-Din distinguishes himself from Ibn al-Athir by employing a new method of organizing history. In comparison, he does not claim that the content of his history is superior to that of Ibn al-Athir; in fact, many accounts in his history are so similar to the latter that modern scholars, including Thackston, have considered the literary link between them. It is instead in the form where Rashid al-Din argues his history stands out. The systematic interpolation of the main history with other histories may have been derived from Rashid al-Din's conscious effort to invent a new historiography and to make the reader recognize its novelty.

In writing a world history, relating different historical spaces poses an inevitable compositional problem.¹⁹⁷ On the one end of the spectrum, world history can be written in a homogenized fashion where the narrative moves freely from one cultural space to another without problematizing the differences between them. Most world histories from the Islamic world belong to this group; for example, both al-Tabari and Ibn al-Athir present monolithic world histories in this fashion. Theoretically speaking, on the other end of the spectrum, the different historical spaces can be compositionally separated from one another, thereby, fragmenting the overall history. No world history from the Islamic world is written in this format.

I posit that Rashid al-Din's historiography is somewhere in the middle of these two extremes. By subdividing his history according to cultural spaces, Rashid al-Din recognizes the differences among them. At the same time, by interweaving the main history with other histories, he renders the main history dependent on the others. In so doing, his historiography compels the reader to consider how the different historical

¹⁹⁷ This is my own observation. I do not know any scholar who has dealt with this issue.

spaces relate to one another. Through the process of relating these spaces, the reader comes to a certain synthesis -- that is, the history of the world. Setting different historical spaces in a dialectical relationship was new in Rashid al-Din's historiography. His explicit acknowledgement of its novelty tells us that the reader was to consciously consider this dialectic in his/her remembering of the past.

Does the new painting style share in this function? As analyzed in Chapter 3, the land renditions in the *Jami al-Tawarikh* create multiple pictorial spaces within a painting or from painting to painting. These pictorial spaces seem disjointed, as they are described in current scholarship as "additive;" at the same time, they are visually comparable to one another. This way of painting brings out the differences between pictorial spaces and compels the viewer to contemplate on the relationships between them. In the experience of encountering the paintings in the *Jami al-Tawarikh*, then, the viewer may have come to a visual synthesis through a similar epistemological process as that which he/she engages in reading of the text of the *Jami al-Tawarikh*.

Center/Periphery – Compiling and Distributing History

The sheer number of the historical spaces included in the *Jami al-Tawarikh* has made it a useful source for modern historians of the medieval world, ranging from Europe to Russia. Rashid al-Din self-consciously boasts of this unique breadth in the *Jami al-Tawarikh*. In his preface written during the reign of Ghazan Khan (1295 – 1303), Rashid al-Din praises his and Ghazan Khan's worldliness and ability to compile histories:

In his (Ghazan Khan) highmindedness he focused his blessed attention upon arranging and organizing it (the Mongol history) and issued a royal decree for this

servant of the Ilkhanid state, the compiler of this arrangement, Fazlullah son of Abu'l-Khayr known as Rashid, physician of Hamadan, to take the original histories and genealogies of all the Turks who resemble the Mongols, chapter by chapter, and arrange the tales and stories about them that are preserved in the royal treasuries, some of which were deposited with His Majesty's commanders and courtiers...[, which] I should investigate with the wise and learned of Cathay, India, Uyghur, Qipchaq, and other nations since all classes and groups of people are in attendance at His Majesty's imperial court. (8)¹⁹⁸

In his preface for Oljeitu (1303 -1316), Rashid ad-Din broadens the spatial and temporal scope of his work even more:

Until now no one at any time has made a history that contains the stories and histories of all inhabitants of the climes of the world and the various classes and groups of humans, there is no book in this realm that informs about all countries and regions, and no one has delved into the history of the ancient kings. In these days, when, thank God, all corners of the earth are under our control and that of Genghis Khan's illustrious family, and philosophers, astronomers, scholars, and historians of all religions and nations – Cathay, Machin, India, Kashmir, Tibet, Yughur, and other nations of Turks, Arabs, and Franks – are gathered in droves at our glorious court, each and every one of them possesses copies of the histories, stories, and beliefs of their own people, and they are well informed of some of them. It is our considered opinion that of those detailed histories and stories a compendium that would be perfect should be made in our royal name, and it should be written in two volumes along with an atlas and gazetteer and appended to the history so that the aggregate of that book would be peerless and include all sorts of histories. Inasmuch as the opportunity is at hand, and the composition of such a memorial, the likes of which no kings have ever possessed, is possible, it must be completed without neglect or delay so that it may cause our name and fame to endure. (9)¹⁹⁹

Here, Rashid al-Din emphasizes a universal vision, in which "all inhabitants of the climes of the world," "the various classes and groups of humans," "all countries and regions," and "all religions and nations" are brought together. He also stresses a temporal multiplicity; the histories of the "ancient kings" are also compiled. Above all, Rashid al-Din credits himself for being the first historian to have compiled such a wide variety of

¹⁹⁸ Thackston, *Jami'u't-tawarikh*, 17 - 8. Karimi, *Jami al-Tawarikh*, 18.

¹⁹⁹ Thackston, *Jami'u't-tawarikh*, Introduction. Karimi, *Jami al-Tawarikh*, 6 - 7.

historical spaces, such as "Cathay, Machin, India, Kashmir, Tibet, Yughur, and the nations of Turks, Arabs, and Franks."

These compiling skills not only feature in the panegyrics for Ghazan Khan and Oljeitu but also in the subsections within prefaces, in which Rashid al-Din muses on the definition of history writing.²⁰⁰ In the preface for Ghazan Khan, he argues that composing, as well as reporting, is a crucial aspect of history writing:

It is not concealed from the minds of the intelligent and perspicacious or those possessed of vision and insight that *history* consists of recording and arranging. (10)²⁰¹

Here, he puts "arranging" in parallel with "recording," elevating the form of history to the level of its content. In the preface written for Oljeitu, Rashid al-Din goes even further to isolate compilation as the ultimate task for a historian:

I was desirous of making a most concerted effort in my selection of stories, but it was not possible to make much headway in that regard (verifying stories), for everyone knows that great talent and expertise in all branches of knowledge are necessary for such a labor, and I did not see these things in myself. Given a long period of time in one's youthful years and with total leisure, these things can be accomplished, but I began this labor at the end of my years of maturity. When this poor one was brought to the imperial court as a deputy and ordered to deal with important administrative matters, although I did not have the capacity for such a great labor, and the strength of my intellect and mind was insufficient, to comply with the order it was imperative to occupy myself with it and to exert myself to the utmost. Since my strength of mind was inadequate to that, how could it have been adequate to gather histories, which is one of the greatest of all tasks? (11)²⁰²

In this disclaimer, Rashid al-Din reasons with the reader that "expertise in all branches of knowledge" and strength in "intellect and mind" are necessary to "gather histories," a task that is "the greatest" of all, even greater than being a vizier. For him, compiling histories

²⁰⁰ Rashid al-Din writes about the propaganda of poets and historians: Today his (Mahmud of Ghazna) good name and renown remain solely because of the poetry of Unsuri and Firdawsi and the writings of Utbi. In this world the good relics of Mahmud of Ghazna's career have remained bound by rhyme. Hence it can be known that poets and historians are the best propagandists. Thackston, *Jami'u't-tawarikh*, 7, 17 – 8.

²⁰¹ Thackston, *Jami'u't-tawarikh*, 17. Karimi, *Jami al-Tawarikh*, 16.

²⁰² Thackston, *Jami'u't-tawarikh*, 8. Karimi, *Jami al-Tawarikh*, 9-10.

requires broad and profound scholarship that one can only achieve with a lifetime of devotion.

A comparison between the *Tarikh-i Jahan-Gusha* of 'Ala' al-Din 'Ata Malik Juvaini (623-81/1226-83), another historian from the Ilkhanid period, and the *Jami al-Tawarikh* of Rashid al-Din may shed light on how the latter's project presented a completely new set of aims and premises.²⁰³ Traveling, which presented physical difficulties to overcome, was an important factor for Juvaini's history writing. He describes the maverick character of his work by exclaiming:

And though there were a man free from preoccupations, who could devote his whole life to study and research and his whole attention to the recording of events, yet he could not in a long period of time acquit himself of the account of one single district nor commit the same to writing. How much more is this beyond the powers of the present writer who, despite his inclinations thereto, has not a single moment for study, save when in the course of distant journeyings he snatches an hour or so when the caravan halts and writes down these histories! (12)²⁰⁴

For Juvaini, claiming to have gone through all the troubles of traveling and being able to write histories while en route validate his personal scholarly prowess. Juvaini also writes that he began writing history at the suggestion of his scholarly friends:

When in this manner and wise I had beheld the magnificent and awful presence of him that bruiseth the lips and searcheth the brows of illustrious kings, some of my faithful friend and pure-hearted brethren, the toil of travel to whose august presence was as easy as resting at home, suggested that in order to perpetuate the excellent deeds and to immortalize the glorious actions of the Lord of the Age, the youth of youthful fortune and aged resolve, I should compose a history, and in order to preserve the chronicles and annals of his reign I should compile a record such as would abrogate the verses of the Caesars and erase the traditions of the Chosroes. (13)²⁰⁵

²⁰³ 'Ala' al-Din 'Ata-Malik Juvaini, *The Tarikh-i-Jahan-Gusha*, edited by Muhammad Mirza and Ibn Abdu'l-Wahhab-i-Qazwini, and printed for the trustees of the "E.J.W. Gibb Memorial" volume XVI, Leiden and London, 1912 – 1931.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., 118. 'Ala' al-Din 'Ata-Malik Juvaini, *The History of the World-Conqueror*, trans. by J. A. Boyle, 2 vols., Manchester, 1958, 152.

²⁰⁵ Boyle, *World-Conqueror*, 5. Mirza and Qazwini, *Tarikh*, 2 – 3.

It is important to Juvaini that he writes a record that is better than those preceding him. What is equally important is, however, to take the suggestion of scholar friends, who proved their caliber by being able to travel themselves, and, thereby, clarifying his scholarly associations. Here, Juvaini's aim is not “global”; rather, as he explains, writing history is a personal project that could facilitate his scholarly networking.

Nowhere in the *Jami al-Tawarikh* does Rashid al-Din lament about his personal hardships in traveling; nor does he ever rely on his associations to validate his work. His ambition and goals are much larger, and his personal experience and situation do not figure as much into the *Jami al-Tawarikh* project, which is in fact carried out on an imperial level in the Ilkhanid court. As he repeatedly claims, his ability to oversee this daunting task of compiling histories is what validates his scholarship.

In the passage quoted above, Juvaini writes that his scholar friends had urged him to record the events that he had witnessed. Throughout his history, Juvaini often verifies his account of an event by claiming that he had seen it himself. In describing a stone engraving, Juvaini adds that he has seen it: “There lie stones engraved with inscriptions, which we have seen ourselves.”²⁰⁶ Claiming to have been an eyewitness to an event was one of the tools that the historians of the Islamic worlds used heavily to verify their accounts. Another such tool was to list the transmitters of the historical account in the form of *isnad* (list of transmitters’ names). Most pre-Ilkhanid historians kept track of the *isnad*, which ultimately grants authority to the oral transmission from one scholar to the next. Many of them also used the annalistic format to present a linear narrative, which

²⁰⁶ Boyle, *World-Conqueror*, 54.

emulated progression in real time. Juvaini used all three tools, thus claiming that his history was true or “mimetic” of the truth.²⁰⁷

Veracity is an issue for Rashid al-Din, as well, but his take on it is more complex and inconsistent. On the one hand, Rashid al-Din claims to have made efforts to verify the histories that he has amassed. Rashid al-Din writes that one of the reasons why Ghazan Khan ordered him to write the *Jami al-Tawarikh* was to select and preserve the true Mongol histories:

Until now no one had access to them (the Mongol histories) altogether, and no one has had the felicity to put them together in an arrangement, every historian having related a bit of it without knowing the truth of the situation, having taken it from the mouths of the vulgar however he pleases or felt like, without anyone's having verified the truth. After ascertaining which were true and sifting and poring over them, I should organize and arrange them with polished phrases and then publish these "precious virgin brides of history," which had remained veiled in obscurity until the present. (14)²⁰⁸

Here, Rashid al-Din validates the reliability of his sources by exclaiming that they are “true” accounts.

Yet, fundamentally speaking, Rashid al-Din's interpolative format alone already upsets a strict chronology, which makes it difficult to tell a true or mimetically true account of events as they happened in time. Furthermore, while he claims the truth of the accounts that he has amassed in the *Jami al-Tawarikh*, he does not highlight his having witnessed an event. Unlike Juvaini, he only mentions in passing that he had actually seen an event that he narrates. He also does not list *isnad*, shifting the authority away from the traditional method of oral transmission toward his own judgment in verifying the accounts that he compiled.

²⁰⁷ Boaz Shoshan, *Poetics of Islamic Historiography: Deconstructing Tabari's History*, Leiden and Boston, 2004. In contrast, Julie Meisami argues that medieval historiography was concerned with "presentation of 'usable' past" as its main goal was didactic. Meisami, *Persian Historiography*, 12.

²⁰⁸ Thackston, *Jami 'u't-tawarikh*, 18. Karimi, *Jami al-Tawarikh*, 18.

With this ambivalent attitude toward the issue of veracity, Rashid al-Din contends that it is impossible for a historian to have witnessed every event that he narrates:

It is absolutely true that no historian has ever witnessed with his own eyes the events and things of which he writes and reports. Furthermore, those who deal with events and incidents, which are the stuff of history, have not heard of these things directly but write and speak of them through the tradition of transmitters. (15)²⁰⁹

Because it is impossible to have been an eyewitness, a historian also cannot verify whether transmitted accounts are true:

It is therefore certain that the histories of so many different peoples and long periods of time cannot be verified absolutely, and the traditions that have been and still are handed down are neither equal nor in agreement...it often happens that a transmitter adds to or subtracts from his report according to whim. If he does not tell an absolute lie, he colors his expression in a way that leads to variance...anyone who thinks he can report otherwise (truly) is muddle-headed and wrong-thinking. (16)²¹⁰

If this is so, history cannot be a record of what happened in actuality. Then what can it be? Rashid al-Din answers that the writing of history has a value of its own:

If a historian tries to write only what is verifiable and incontrovertible, then he can introduce absolutely no story whatsoever, for anything he introduces has been narrated by some group or other of great men who witnessed it, heard it related by others, or read it in old books – in any case, as has been mentioned, it will be subject to controversy. If for this reason they give up writing and speaking, thinking, "God forbid, people might object or disapprove," then of course all tales, narratives, and incidents in the world will be abandoned, and the generality of people will be deprived of the benefit they might derive therefrom. Therefore, it is the duty of historians to take the stories and narratives of every nation and group, however those people have recorded and reported them in their own books, and to relate and rewrite them from the well-known and current books of those nations based on accounts of the most reliable people—and "the responsibility be upon the narrator." (17)²¹¹

Here, he does not argue that the truth of history is unimportant; but, at the same time, he qualifies its importance by theorizing that true history is impossible. For Rashid al-Din,

²⁰⁹ Thackston, *Jami 'u't-tawarikh*, 7. Karimi, *Jami al-Tawarikh*, 7.

²¹⁰ Thackston, *Jami 'u't-tawarikh*, 7. Karimi, *Jami al-Tawarikh*, 8.

²¹¹ Thackston, *Jami 'u't-tawarikh*, 7 - 8. Karimi, *Jami al-Tawarikh*, 8 - 9.

each historian has an agency in the writing of his own history, which has a didactic purpose regardless of its veracity. In so doing, Rashid al-Din distances the texts of history from the historians, and indeed he appropriates various textual sources in the *Jami al-Tawarikh* without having participated in the networking of their authors.

While Rashid al-Din centers the *Jami al-Tawarikh* project on compilation, he is also concerned with its wide distribution. He funded the *Jami al-Tawarikh* project through the religious endowment (*waqf*), which he also used to build his city, Rashidiyya. In the *Waqfnama*, Rashid al-Din's record of how he used the *waqf*, he clearly indicates that people outside the Ilkhanid court circle are also intended readers of the *Jami at-Tawarikh*:

Every year the superintendent of the endowments (*waqf*) shall send the copies (of *Jami al-Tawarikh*) that will have been completed to one of the cities of Islam, Arabic [copies] to Arab lands and Persian [copies] to Persian lands, beginning with the largest city and then the next largest as the superintendent sees fit...In that city let them be deposited in a *madrassa* that has a teacher well-known and renowned for his skill in branches of knowledge, to be chosen by the cadis, imams, and *ulema*, in order that students who so desire may read them with that teacher.²¹²

Here, Rashid al-Din claims that he set up a *waqf* so that every year at least two copies of the *Jami al-Tawarikh*, one in Arabic and one in Persian, could be produced and sent out to a big city *madrassa* (school) in the Ilkhanid Empire.

Furthermore, Rashid al-Din writes twice in his preface for Ghazan Khan that his history is in simple and clear writing:

It (*Jami al-Tawarikh*) will be written section by section in clear wording so as to be easily comprehended by different minds.

²¹² Rashid al-Din, *Waqfnama-i Rab'-i Rashidid*, trans. by Thackston in Thackston, *Jami'u't-tawarikh*. Rashid al-Din, *Al-Waqfiyyah Ar-Rashidiyyah, The Act for the Pious Foundation*, facsimile, Tehran, 1972.

[Then I was to compose] books of history, taking the technical jargon and recomposing it in such a way that, from beginning to end, it would be comprehensible and understandable to elite and common alike. (18)²¹³

The *Jami al-Tawarikh* was to be read and understood by "different minds" and by the "elite and common alike." In the *Waqfnama*, Rashid al-Din writes that the copies of his history should be distributed to schools in various parts of the Islamic world. Here, he argues that they also need to be legible and usable by those with less education. Whether the commoners were literate or whether they even had access to his history remains difficult to answer.²¹⁴ Still, it is clear that he imagined the scope of his readership beyond the Ilkhanid coterie. Indeed, the *Jami al-Tawarikh*, both in Arabic and Persian, is one of the most clearly-written histories that survive from the medieval Islamic world.²¹⁵

As imagined by Rashid al-Din, then, the *Jami al-Tawarikh* project at once brings various memories into the Ilkhanid court and disperses them to the broader realm of the Islamic world. Collective memory moved through the *Jami al-Tawarikh* project in two opposite directions: centripetal in compilation and centrifugal in distribution. A monumental project like the *Jami al-Tawarikh* surely creates a discursive space. By explicitly arguing for the importance of movements through this discursive space, Rashid al-Din compels the reader to be aware of how it was created by the centralization and distribution of the *Jami al-Tawarikh*.

The artists of the *Jami al-Tawarikh* may have appropriated motifs and techniques from Chinese landscape paintings for a similar purpose, to challenge the viewer to consider the various art traditions brought together in their new style that was to be

²¹³ Thackston, *Jami 'u't-tawarikh*, 19. Karimi, *Jami al-Tawarikh*, 19.

²¹⁴ As with any medieval society, the level of literacy of the commoners in the Ilkhanid Empire is a difficult question to answer.

²¹⁵ A. J. Arberry, *Classical Persian Literature*, New York, 1958.

disseminated all over the Islamic world along with the text of the *Jami al-Tawarikh*. The *Jami al-Tawarikh* project created a discursive space not only for the new historiography but also for the new painting tradition.

Land Imageries as Historiographical Topoi

Connecting the *Jami al-Tawarikh* land renditions to the whole of the manuscript, I examine here how the land elements prominent in the *Jami al-Tawarikh* paintings function as imageries in the textual accounts in the *Jami al-Tawarikh*. Since Rashid al-Din participates in the history writing tradition of the Islamic world through the *Jami al-Tawarikh*, an analysis of how the operations of these land elements differed in the *Jami al-Tawarikh* from pre-Ilkhanid texts of history may be fruitful. By examining how these land elements function in the collective memory constructed and imagined through the text of the *Jami al-Tawarikh*, I aim to find clues to how the *Jami al-Tawarikh* artists visualized history in their paintings.

In order to compare the use of land imageries in the *Jami al-Tawarikh* to that in pre-Ilkhanid histories, I choose three texts for consideration: the Koran, al-Tabari's *Tarikh al-rusul wa'l muluk*, and Ibn al-Athir's *Al-kamil fi-l-tarikh*. Although the Koran is not a writing of history, it has been among the most important texts to facilitate the construction of Muslim collective memories.²¹⁶ Muslims have not only recited the Koranic passages verbatim but also remembered the Koranic narratives continuously since the advent of Islam. Neither exegesis nor hermeneutics will be attempted, however,

²¹⁶ N. J. Dawood, trans., *The Koran*, London and New York, 1999, 120. Arabic text is taken from Maulana Muhammad Ali, ed., *The Holy Qur'an*, Columbus, 1995, 347.

although an analysis of how Ilkhanid writers may have invoked specific Koranic verses may be useful for future research. Instead, I attempt to make my reading here as simple and literal as possible. Al-Tabari's world history marked a watershed in the tradition of Arabic historiography, not only from our modern point of view but also as reflected on the receptions of the contemporaries and later historians in the Islamic world.²¹⁷ As for Ibn al-Athir's world history, Rashid al-Din openly and singularly challenges it in the text of the *Jami al-Tawarikh* even as he appropriates much of it, as Wheeler Thackston has pointed out.²¹⁸

There is no reason to believe that the painters themselves sought inspiration from the earlier texts like the Koran or other histories. Yet, I take an approach to the *Jami al-Tawarikh* land renditions through the lens of how land imagery is used in art as part of cultural expressions and organizations. As explained in Chapter 1, W. J. T. Mitchell has framed landscape in European and Chinese art as a social and political medium.²¹⁹ Denis E. Cosgrove argues that through landscape "some Europeans have represented to themselves and to others the world about them and their relationships with it, and through which they have commented on social relations."²²⁰ Chinese art historian Martin Powers argues that landscape differs from depictions of cultural products because it is not class-specific and, as a result, offers an infinite potential for variance and for signification of social mobility.²²¹ Similarly, I theorize the function of land renditions in the *Jami al-Tawarikh* in relation to the ways in which the manuscript as a whole constructs collective memory in the reader/viewer, which by definition draws from earlier histories, as well.

²¹⁷ Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*. Radtke, *Weltgeschichte*.

²¹⁸ The philological links between the *Jami al-Tawarikh* and *Al-kamil fi-l-tarikh* are thoroughly examined in Thackston, *Jami'u't-tawarikh*.

²¹⁹ Mitchell, *Landscape and Power*, 5.

²²⁰ Cosgrove, *Symbolic Landscape*.

²²¹ Powers, "Landscape." Powers, *Pattern*. Powers, *Expression*.

Below, I examine the land imageries one by one. The first four studies center on land motifs: cloud, hill, fog, water, tree, and rock. The next study is on architecture because, although it is not land imagery, it concerns similar issues of space and time as the land renditions. The last study explores the significations of time in the collective memories that some of the land elements create. An English translation of the Edinburgh copy of the *Jami al-Tawarikh* has not been published; the transcriptions and translations from the folios are mine. I translate passages from Ibn al-Athir's history because its translation has also not been published. My translations below are, however, so as to capture the general meanings of the original texts and still need philological corrections.

Cloud and Hill – “Moses Hearing God’s Voice”

The Koran is organized in chapters, called Suras. Each Sura is composed of verses, called *ayas*. As the Koran is not a chronological narrative, the event of Moses hearing God's voice features in various Suras. The imagery used leading up to the event is that of fire, as in Sura 20:10, 27:7, and 28:29:

When he saw a fire, he said to his people: “Stay here, for I can see a fire. Perchance I can bring you a lighted torch or find a guide hard by.” When he came near, a voice called out to him: “Moses, I am your Lord...Know that I have chosen you. Therefore listen to what shall be revealed.” (19)

Tell of Moses, who said to his people: “I can descry a fire. I will go and bring you news and a lighted torch to warm yourselves with.” And when he came near, a voice called out to him: “Blessed be He who is in the fire and all around it!” (20)

Moses descried a fire on the mountain-side. He said to his people: “Stay here, for I can see a fire. Perhaps I can bring you news, or a lighted torch to warm yourselves with.” When he came near, a voice called out to him from a bush in a blessed spot on the right side of the valley, saying: “Moses, I am God, Lord of the Universe...” (21)

In all three *ayas* (verses), fire attracts Moses toward God and exits the narrative immediately after. Although in Sura 27:7, God is in the fire and around it, He does not show himself directly to Moses. Instead, God communicates with Moses in a voice and through words.

The Koran narrates that seeing God is, in fact, impossible, as in Sura 7:143:

And when Moses came at the appointed time and His Lord communed with him, he said: ‘Lord, reveal Yourself to me, that I may look upon You.’ He replied: ‘You shall never see Me. But look upon the Mountain; if it remains firm upon its base, then only shall you see Me.’ And when his Lord revealed Himself to the Mountain, He levelled it to dust. Moses fell down senseless, and, when he recovered, said: ‘Glory be to You! I turn to You in penitence, being the first of the believers.’ (22)²²²

Here, the mountain is ontologically ambivalent; while it functions as a visual sign that reinforces God’s verbal order that Moses was not to see God, it only does so when it becomes non-existent and, thus, invisible. Because of its instantaneous annihilation, the mountain in this *aya* does not participate any more in embodying the visual or other relationships between God and Moses.

A thunderbolt is another means of nature, through which God prevents human beings from seeing Him, as described in Sura 2:55:

When you said to Moses: “We will not believe in you until we see God with our own eyes,” the thunderbolt struck you while you were looking on. Then We revived you from your stupor, so that you might give thanks. (23)²²³

The thunderbolt instantaneously impairs those who wish to see God and then immediately exits the narrative, which turns to the paralysis of the thunderstruck viewers and their preternatural revival.

²²² Dawood, *Koran*, 7:143. Ali, *Holy Qur’an*, 7:143.

²²³ Dawood, *Koran*, 2:55. Ali, *Holy Qur’an*, 2:55.

In both *ayas*, whether the human faculty to see is willed against or impaired, the relationship between God and human beings becomes non-visual and in fact becomes verbal in the Koran. In neither *aya* does the human vision of God depend on God's visibility. Instead, it is assumed that vision is an experiential happening in the lives of the viewers, the human beings. The land element in each *aya* plays a single momentary role, which is to miraculously hinder human vision. That the land element is invoked but not described in detail also intensifies the singularity of its function.

While clouds do not figure in the Koranic narrative of this event, they play a significant role in the histories of al-Tabari, Ibn al-Athir, and Rashid al-Din. Al-Tabari gives multiple accounts of Moses' encounter with God, each following its own *isnad*, as he does for most of the narratives in his history. One of the three accounts in al-Tabari's history narrates:

When Moses neared the mountain, the pillar of cloud fell upon it until the mountain was completely obscured. Moses drew near and entered into it, saying to the people, "Draw near!" Now, when He had spoken to Moses, a radiant light had descended on his forehead. Because no human being could look at him, a veil was placed in front of him. The people drew near so that, when they entered the cloud, they fell down, prostrating themselves. They heard Him as He was speaking to Moses, commanding him and forbidding him, what to do and not to do. When God had finished commanding Moses, the cloud was removed from Moses. (24)²²⁴

Similarly, Ibn al-Athir writes:

And when Moses came near the mountain, the clouds fell upon him, covering the whole mountain, and Moses entered into the clouds and told his people: "come near." So they came near until they entered the cloud. They fell down flat, and they listened to Moses as He spoke to Moses, commanding [the good] and forbidding [evil]. When he was done, the clouds were removed from Moses. (25)²²⁵

²²⁴ De Goeje, *At-Tabari*, 220-22. William Brinner, trans., *Tarikh al-rusul wa'l muluk, The History of al-Tabari*, v. 3, *The Children of Israel*, New York, 1991, 72-84.

²²⁵ Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil*, 191 (my translation).

Rashid al-Din's account is as follows:

When [Moses] walked toward the mountain, he took seventy among the Israelites as his companions of the prophecy, until they heard the words of God the exulted. When they purified themselves, put on light robes, and walked in company of him to Mount Sinai, the clouds stayed upon Moses, and the whole of the mountain was covered. He (Moses) asked these seventy elders until they entered into the clouds and worshipped God and heard the words of God the exulted (three lines above the painting in **Figure 21**). (26)²²⁶

In the three accounts, the words verbally mediate between God and human beings. The clouds, on the other hand, operate visually; they specify the space and time of the event by locating the mountain and Moses' body and by abruptly appearing and disappearing at the beginning and end of the encounter. The hearing and seeing, however, happen concurrently in this event; while God speaks, clouds hover, and while the human beings listen, they see the clouds. Through this concurrence, the words and clouds seem to share a function: when the words relate the protagonists verbally, the clouds may be relating them visually, spatially, and temporally.

Both mountain and clouds are closely associated with the movements and gestures of the protagonists. As Moses moves closer to the mountain, the clouds appear and cover him. As he enters the clouds and supposedly climbs the mountain, Moses commands the Israelites to move closer and also to enter the clouds. As the Israelites enter the clouds, they prostrate themselves. When God finishes speaking, the clouds vanish. Here, the mountain stands as a spatial reference point for the protagonists, who move up and down and toward and away from it. Although clouds are naturally ephemeral and changeable, here they stay constant during Moses' encounter with God. It is rather the protagonists who behave differently in their spatial and temporal relation to the clouds. By being closely linked to the protagonists' movements, the mountain and

²²⁶ Edinburgh University Library (MS Arab 20) Folio 8r, 8v (my transcription and translation).

clouds seem to play a role in their actions and even to regulate the site of God's overwhelming power.

In this specific study of Moses' encounter with God, because the narrative has configured one of the most important collective memories for the Jews, it may be relevant to examine the Hebrew Bible. It may equip us better to conjecture the range of the Ilkhanid painters' historiographical resources and the range of the signification of the *Jami al-Tawarikh* land renditions.²²⁷ This is not to force a connection between the *Jami al-Tawarikh* and the Jewish identity of Rashid al-Din before his conversion to Islam at the age of thirty. I also do not claim that the average Ilkhanid reader was well-versed in the Torah or Jewish histories, which was, in fact, probably not the case. The Torah shares many narratives with the Koran, however, and ignoring it may be distorting the historical reality of the Ilkhanid context. Sheila Blair, for instance, argues that the illustrations of the Prophet Muhammad's victories over Jewish tribes, an unusual subject matter in the painting tradition of the Islamic world, had much to do with Rashid al-Din's Jewish origin.²²⁸

In the corresponding account in the Torah, the event unfolds through a combination of land imageries:

Moses brought back the people's words to the Lord. And the Lord said to Moses, "I will come to you in a thick cloud, in order that the people may hear when I speak with you and so trust you ever after...When the ram's horn sounds a long blast, they may go up on the mountain." Moses came down from the mountain to the people ... On the third day, as morning dawned, there was thunder, and lightning, and a dense cloud upon the mountain, and a very loud blast of the horn; and all the people who were in the camp trembled... (Here, the Ten

²²⁷ I thank Prof. Martin Powers for teaching me about the range of signification and the epistemological environment.

²²⁸ There may be a danger of overreading here, however, since her evidence amounts to four paintings although their inclusion in all three surviving copies of the *Jami al-Tawarikh* is notable. She further argues that Rashid al-Din may have been the patron of a fourteenth-century Jewish monument in Hamadan, the Mausoleum of Esther and Mordecai. Blair, *Compendium*, 56.

Commandments were given)... All the people witnessed the thunder and lightning, the blare of the horn and the mountain smoking; and when the people saw it, they fell back and stood at a distance. ... So the people remained at a distance, while Moses approached the thick cloud where God was. The Lord said to Moses: Thus shall you say to the Israelites: *You yourselves saw that I spoke to you* from the very heavens... Now the Presence of the Lord appeared in the sight of the Israelites as a consuming fire on the top of the mountain. Moses went inside the cloud and ascended the mountain; and Moses remained on the mountain forty days and forty nights. (27)²²⁹

This is a much longer and more complex account than that of the Koran or the histories of al-Tabari, Ibn al-Athir, and Rashid al-Din. Here, the visual signs of nature are not limited to mountain and clouds, but also include thunder, lightening, smoke, and fire. There is an aural sign, too, namely, the sound of a ram's horn. The time span of the event is a long period of forty days, and the sequential details of the event are meticulously charted in time. The movements of the protagonists are intricately patterned, to and fro and up and down the mountain, Moses and the Israelites relate to God and to one another in different spatial terms at each stage. The bodily preparations of the protagonists are also much pronounced; the prescriptions as to when to wash, when to abstain from sex, and what to wear are mapped out in time, as well.

Most importantly, seeing and hearing overlap even more here than in the Muslim histories. The clouds appear with the sound of a horn, and God says that "you yourselves saw that I spoke to you," implying that speech can be seen. Seeing and hearing not only happen simultaneously but also merge into one sensual experience. In the narrative structure of the Torah itself, the land imageries that evoke visual sensations ensconce the Ten Commandments, God's words. The reader's verbal re-receiving of the Ten Commandments through the Torah and his visual imagination of it become interlaced

²²⁹ David Lieber, trans., *Etz Hayim Torah and Commentary*, New York, 2000, Exodus 19 – 24 (my italics).

with one another. As a result, the experiences of seeing and hearing meld together not only for the protagonists in the narrative but also for the reader of the Torah.

Among all the land imageries invoked in the Torah, the clouds are singled out in their close affiliation with God. God comes “in a thick cloud,” Moses approaches clouds “where God was,” the clouds “hide” God’s presence, and God calls Moses “from the midst of cloud.” Although essentially the clouds operate visually, because seeing and hearing are so closely linked here, the reader may associate clouds with God’s words as well as God’s presence. God’s speech to Moses is a significant watershed in the history of the Israelites, when the practice of the Israelite religion is established and specified for the first time. And, as facilitated by the Torah, the Jewish memory of this sacred event may be anchored to the image of clouds.

Although cloud imagery does not feature in the Koranic narrative of Moses’ encounter with God, it plays an important role in the pre-Ilkhanid histories of al-Tabari and Ibn al-Athir as well as the *Jami al-Tawarikh*. Accordingly, the clouds in the *Jami al-Tawarikh* paintings may have connected the viewer to a long-established historiographical tradition to visualize this memory. Cognitively, text and painting operate differently. Yet, because text had been in use in manuscripts of history while painting was new, the Ilkhanid reader/viewer of the *Jami al-Tawarikh* may have compared the usage of painting to how the text had been operating as a means of constructing memory. In so doing, the Ilkhanid reader/viewer may have newly formulated the painting as the experience of remembering history and negotiated the range of its signification. This may have included the cloud’s function in the history

constructed by texts like the Torah as a facilitator of the act of seeing, a function which resonates with that of painting.

Cloud and Hill – “Musa Slays the Giant ‘Uj ibn ‘Anaq (Og)”

In the histories of al-Tabari and Ibn al-Athir, Moses’ slaying of the giant, Og, is an anecdote in his later life. Al-Tabari relates the following:

Then they said, “This is the food and drink, but where is the shade?” So God shaded them with clouds ... (al-Suddi relates) When Moses met Og, he leaped ten cubits into the heavens. His staff was ten cubits, and his height was ten cubits. His staff struck Og’s anklebone, killing him...(Abu Kurayb relates –Ibn ‘Atiyah – Qays –Abu Ishaq – Sa’id b. Jubayr – Ibn ‘Abbas) ...It is said that Og lived for three thousand years... (Musa b. Harun al-Hamdani related to us – ‘Amr b. Hammad – Asbat – al-Suddi –Abu Malik and Abu Salih – Ibn ‘Abbas; also Murrah al-Hamdani – ‘Abdallh b. Mas’ud; as well as – some of the companions of the Prophet)...Then God inspired Moses, saying: “I am going to take Aaron to me, so bring him to such and such a mountain.”... When he (Harun) was dead, .. the bed was raised to heaven. **(28)**²³⁰

Ibn al-Athir’s account is similar:

And they said, “where is the shade?” for clouds were shading them. Then Moses met ‘Oj ibn ‘Anaq. He jumped ten cubits. His staff was ten cubit long, and he was ten cubits tall. He wounded Og’s ankle and killed him. And it is said that Og lived for three thousand years. And then God revealed to Moses: “I will take Harun, so bring him to a such and such mountain.” ... He died and was raised on the bed to the heaven. **(29)**²³¹

In both al-Tabari and Ibn al-Athir’s accounts, God’s sending of clouds to shade the Israelites, in addition to the food and drink, is immediately followed by Moses’ slaying of Og, which, in turn, precedes Aaron’s death in “a such and such mountain.” For both historians, Moses’ killing of Og is part of the set sequence of events although there are no

²³⁰ De Goeje, *At-Tabari*, 501 - 2. Brinner, *Children of Israel*, 83-85.

²³¹ Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil*, 197 (my translation).

clear or logical cause and effect relationships among these three events. Here I do not make any conclusion about what this sequencing may signify. Yet, could al-Tabari and Ibn al-Athir have subscribed to a history writing tradition, which had a fixed order of telling these events?

In the *Jami al-Tawarikh*, Rashid al-Din also follows this sequence:

(God gave twelve springs from which to drink) until every one of the twelve Israelite tribes drank from it. No fight happened among them. The shadow took over them, and it was clouds that shaded them from the sun and its heat. And this was among what was given to them in the desert. ... and they told Musa about ‘Oj ibn ‘Anaq after some time, and he called the Israelites. He was busy with fighting him off. Moses was 10 cubits tall, and his staff was 10 cubit long. He jumped in the air 10 cubits, and he reached his (‘Oj) ankle by using the staff. ‘Oj was killed by this beating. God pushed off an evil from the Israelites. When staying in the desert, Moses’ sister, Maryam died in the first of the forty years, and Harun died in the last of the forty years in the mountain called Hur *hahar*. They did not know the location of his burial or his death. The Israelites grieved over him (Harun) greatly because he was loved (four lines above the picture in **Figure 35**). (30)²³²

While keeping the same order as al-Tabari and Ibn al-Athir, Rashid al-Din deviates from their accounts by elaborating on the sun and its heat, from which the clouds protected the Israelites, and by naming the mountain on which Aaron died, Hur *hahar*.

The cloud imagery in the account of Exodus is Koranic, as in Sura 2:57:

We caused the clouds to draw their shadow over you and sent down for you manna and quails, saying: ‘Eat of the good things We have given you.’ Indeed they did not wrong Us, but they wronged themselves. (31)

The Koran is, however, silent about the giant, Og, and Aaron’s death.

Then, where can we trace Rashid al-Din’s Hur *hahar*? The Torah mentions Aaron’s death and specifies two different places for it. In Deuteronomy 10:6, Moserah is

²³² Edinburgh University Library (MS Arab 20) Folio 9v (my transcription and translation).

given as the place of his death while in Deuteronomy 32:50, where Moses' death is related, another location is given:

You (Moses) shall die on the mountain that you are about to ascend, and shall be gathered to your kin, as your brother Aaron died on Mount Hor (Hor *hahar* in Hebrew) and was gathered to his kin. **(32)**

In the Torah, Aaron died either in Moserah or in Hor *hahar*, or even in both places. In Deuteronomy 10:6, Aaron's death succeeds God's reassertion that the Israelites were to abide to the Ten Commandments while, in Deuteronomy 32:50, it is mentioned in passing in the middle of the narrative about Moses' death. In neither case is Aaron's death part of a set sequence of narratives.

Moreover, in the Torah, the reason why God sends clouds is not to relieve the Israelites from the sun. In Numbers 14:14, God sends clouds as a sign of his presence during the Exodus:

They will tell it to the inhabitants of that land. Now they have heard that You, O LORD, are in the midst of this people; that You, O LORD, appear in plain sight when Your cloud rests over them and when You go before them in a pillar of cloud by day and in a pillar of fire by night. **(33)**

There is no account of Og's being slain, either, by Moses or otherwise. As narrated in Deuteronomy 3:3 – 3: 11, Og is one of the rulers whom the Israelites defeat under God's sanction:

So the LORD our God also delivered into our power King Og of Bashan, with all his men, and we dealt them such a blow that no survivor was left. At that time we captured all his towns; there was not a town that we did not take from them...Only King Og of Bashan was left of the remaining Rephaim. His bedstead, an iron bedstead, is now in Rabbah of the Ammonites; it is nine cubits long and four cubits wide, by the standard cubit! (1cubit equals 18 inches, thus 13 ½ by 6 feet) **(34)**

The emphasis here is God's omnipotence and the land and booties that were divided among the Israelites after their triumph over Og.

Generally, Rashid al-Din closely follows the historiographical tradition of al-Tabari and Ibn al-Athir in his choice of events to narrate and the order of his narratives. He updates it, however, by including the sun's heat, which the clouds alleviated for the Israelites, and by newly specifying the name of the mountain where Aaron died. By adding more historical information, Rashid al-Din pushes the boundaries of the Muslim histories from the previous periods. In the process, Rashid al-Din relocates Aaron's death from a nameless "such and such mountain" to "Hur *hahar*," one of the two names given in the Torah. Here, I do not claim that Rashid al-Din drew on Jewish histories to alter the Muslim memories of the event. What can be concluded here is, however, that Rashid al-Din chose to describe the land elements in the story more in detail, thereby reformulating the Muslim collective memory of it through the *Jami al-Tawarikh*.

Fog – "Alexander in the Fog"

The Koran does not mention the life of Alexander. Al-Tabari's account of Alexander's life in general does not have a specific *isnad*, including Alexander's adventure to the northern regions. This account is instead followed by references to other vaguely defined sources, such as "some assert" and "scholars have disagreed." Al-Tabari summarizes Alexander's expeditions to various regions in one passage:

The whole of the earth was his, and he ruled Tibet and China. With four hundred men he entered the dark area near the North Pole, and (he entered) the area of southern sun in search of the Well of Immortality. He marched there for eighteen days, then left and returned to Iraq. Alexander appointed the diadochs (*muluk al-tawa'if*), and he died on the road at Shahrazur—he was thirty-six, some say. He was carried to his mother at Alexandria. (35)²³³

²³³ De Goeje, *At-Tabari*, 501. Moshe Perlmann, trans., *History of Al-Tabari*, v. 4, *The Ancient Kingdoms*, Albany, N.Y., 1987, 94.

In this list, the northern regions are only one of many regions that Alexander attempted to conquer.

In comparison, Ibn al-Athir describes this event in more detail:

When he was done with the matter of the wall, he entered the darkness in the region near the North Pole, where the sun is southern, and for this, there is darkness. And on the ground, there is no sunray on it eternally. And when he entered the darkness, he took with him four hundred of companions, who were following the well of immortality. They walked in it for eighteen days and they came out, without conquering the land. [The prophet] had command of his vanguard, so he conquered that land and swam in it and drank from it, and God is the wisest. (36)²³⁴

Like al-Tabari, Ibn al-Athir's emphasis is on the military expeditions of Alexander.

Unlike al-Tabari, however, Ibn al-Athir casts Alexander's retreat from the dark northern regions as the prerequisite for finding the spring and God's wisdom. This makes it seem as if Alexander ventured into the darkness of the northern regions as the rites of passage to finding God. Both historians take the darkness in the North for granted; it is simply dark there, and there is no explanation as to why and how it is so.

Rashid al-Din's account of Alexander's life is generally much more extensive and descriptive than that of al-Tabari or Ibn al-Athir. His narrative of Alexander's expedition to the northern regions is, especially, filled with imagery:

[Iskandar] walked in the direction of North and reached to the farthest countries of the North. And he entered the darkness, and the condition of this darkness is not as some people imagine, that the rise and setting of the sun do not exist, or that there is always night. Actually, there is always fog, which is similar to the darkness. And this [fog] doesn't go away, not in the summer or in the winter. And perhaps he (Alexander) witnessed the forbidding of the sun at some times when it rises and sets, but there was no sunray for him because of the cover of the fog and the darkness. And there were a lot of disputes and difficulties. And in it, people stayed for (اتحاطون) by the last tribe, and walking there in the season of the winter is on the frozen ground, but in the season of the summer, walking, there

²³⁴ Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil*, 287 (my translation).

was contention for (obliterated letters here) the ground, and in this air, there is always moisture in excess, and there is overwhelming coldness because he is in the farthest of the North, and there is nobody as tall as 6 feet, and their bodies are beautiful (two lines above the picture in **Figure 27**). (37)²³⁵

Rashid al-Din claims here that the darkness in the northern regions is due to the eternal fog, which guards the earth from the sun. He further elaborates on the northern climate by adding more information on the humidity level, “excessive moisture,” and the temperature, “overwhelming coldness.” In addition, Rashid al-Din describes that the people in the northern regions are short and beautiful.

By correcting what “some people imagine” about the darkness of the northern regions, Rashid al-Din updates the histories from the previous periods. More particularly in this case, he claims final authority by imagining what Alexander himself may have observed in the North, the dysfunctional movements of the sun.

In his account, Rashid al-Din first locates a land, describes its space and climate, and then discusses the bodies of the people who live in it. Because of this immediate and smooth transition, it almost seems that Rashid al-Din assumes an intrinsic relationship between the location, land space, and the bodies of the residents. I posit that Rashid al-Din does not premise a hierarchy between human beings and land space or a dichotomy between protagonists and settings that we may assume today. Even the word ‘setting’ does not seem applicable to the land space, as expounded in Rashid al-Din’s history. In fact, he uses such rich imagery about the northern land space that it does not seem subsidiary to the action of the main protagonist, Alexander. On the contrary, it even seems that Alexander’s expedition is a mere pretext under which Rashid al-Din leads the reader to the northern space.

²³⁵ Edinburgh University Library (MS Arab 20) Folio 19r (my transcription and translation).

Rashid al-Din's writing here may have reminded the reader of the travelogues or wonders (*aja'ib*), the prominent literary genre through which intellectuals from the Islamic world mused on similarly configured geographical and ethnographical information. Such writings were part of the court *adab* literature, which constituted an important corpus of education throughout the Islamic world, including Ilkhanid Iran. Furthermore, he answers why it is dark in the North as a way of introducing the imagery of fog, which in the end plays a crucial role in his narrative. Fog not only relates and mediates between the sun and the earth, but it also formulates Alexander's visual experience of the space in the North. In so doing, the imagery of fog facilitates the reader's visualization of the historical space of Alexander's expedition. As a result, this imagery may have formulated a new memory of the event, in which the fog dominates Alexander's environment and controls his actions. The description of land space in Rashid al-Din's historiography may have fueled intellectual dialogues similarly as the travelogues while it enriched the collective memory of Alexander.

Water and Tree – “Moses in the Bullrushes”

In Suras 20:38 and 28:7-13, the Koran speaks of the biographical beginning of Moses' life through God's revelation to Moses' mother that she was to send her son down the river:

We revealed Our will to your mother, saying: “Put your child in the ark and let him be carried away by the river. The river will cast him on to the bank, and he shall be taken up by an enemy of Mine and his.” (38)²³⁶

²³⁶ Dawood, *Koran*, 20:38, 28:7-13. Ali, *Holy Qur'an*, 20:38, 28:7-13.

We revealed Our will to Moses' mother, saying: 'Give him suck, but if you are concerned about his safety, then put him down onto the river. Have no fear, nor be dismayed; for We shall restore him to you and shall invest him with a mission.' Pharaoh's household picked him up, though he was to become their adversary and their scourge. For Pharaoh, Haman, and their warriors were sinners all. His wife said to Pharaoh: 'This child may bring joy to us both. Do not slay him. He may show promise, and we may adopt him as our son.' But they little knew what they were doing. Moses' mother's heart was sorely troubled. She would have revealed who he was, had We not give her strength so that she might become a true believer. She said to his sister: 'Go, and follow him.' She watched him from a distance, unseen by others. Now We had caused him to refuse his nurses' breasts. His sister said to them: 'Shall I direct you to a family who will bring him up for you and take good care of him?' Thus did We restore him to his mother, so that she might rejoice in him and grieve no more, and that she might learn that God's promise was true. Yet most men are not aware of this. (39)

The emphasis here is on the singular importance of faith in God and the irony of Moses' being saved by the very people who have been oppressing the Israelites and who have attempted to murder every new-born Hebrew male.

Although the Koran is silent about the meaning of Moses' name, al-Tabari explains it in one of the two versions of this story. In one of his narratives of the account, al-Tabari finds the origin of Moses' name in the Egyptian language:

She (Mother of Moses) placed him (Moses) in it (an ark), casting him into the river...The wave carried the ark forward, alternately lifting it up and carrying it down, until a wave took the ark to some trees at Pharaoh's residence. The servant girls of Asiyah, the wife of Pharaoh, came out to wash themselves and found the ark. They took it to her, thinking there might be some treasure in it. As Asiyah looked at him, her pity went out to him, and she loved him...He was called Moses (Musa) only because they found him in water and trees, and in Egyptian water is *mu* and tree is *sha*. (40)²³⁷

Likewise, Ibn al-Athir traces Moses' name to the Coptic language:

He made a box for him (Moses) and made the opening of the box. She put him (Moses) into the box and threw it into the river. The waves approached the box, lifting it once and dropping it at another time until they placed it between some trees in Pharaoh's districts. Servant girls of Asiyah, Pharaoh's wife, came out to

²³⁷ De Goeje, *At-Tabari*, 448 - 9. Brinner, *Children of Israel*, 34.

bathe. The servants found the box and brought it to Asiyah. They thought there was money in the box. When they opened the box and Asiyah saw Moses, the compassion and liking for him were on her. Moses is named Moses (Musa) because he was found in water and tree, and water in the Coptic language is *mu* and tree is *sa*. (41)²³⁸

Both al-Tabari and Ibn al-Athir argue that Moses' name, Musa in Arabic, originates in the Egyptian language, in which the first syllable, *mu*, means water and the second syllable, *sa*, means tree.

Rashid al-Din, however, explicitly claims that the name of Moses originates in the Hebrew language:

[Moses's mother] cast it (the box) in the water of Nile. When the box faced the land of Pharaoh, the waves raised it to the garden of Pharaoh's land, and the box was placed between the trees. It happened that a group of women came out of Pharaoh's home to near the water. When they saw this box, they thought that there was money in it so they took it out of the water and took it to Asiyah, the wife of Pharaoh. She opened it in her hands and saw Moses. God gave her a liking and compassion for him in her heart. She said: "My heart pities this child, and I want to get permission from Pharaoh rightfully to take this child to be my son since we don't have a son... Moses is named as such because *moshe* in the Hebrew language means what is in the luxuriant vegetation that is on the face of the water (A line above the picture in **Figure 37**). (42)²³⁹

Here, Rashid al-Din claims that the word *moshe* in Hebrew means "that which is on the surface of the water by way of luxuriant trees."

Since Rashid al-Din invokes the Hebrew language, examining the Torah may be fruitful here. In the corresponding account, the Torah calls Moses, Moshe, like Rashid al-Din:

She got a wicker basket for him and caulked it with bitumen and pitch. She put the child into it and placed it among the reeds by the bank of the Nile...The daughter of Pharaoh came down to bathe in the Nile, while her maidens walked along the Nile...When she opened it, she saw that it was a child, a boy crying.

²³⁸ Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil*, 181- 3 (my translation).

²³⁹ Edinburgh University Library (MS Arab 20) Folio 7v (my transcription and translation).

She took pity on it and said, “This must be a Hebrew child.” ... When the child grew up, she brought him to Pharaoh’s daughter, who made him her son. She named him Moses, explaining “I drew him out of the water.” (43)²⁴⁰

In the Torah, Moshe, Moses’ name in Hebrew, originally meant “to draw out” apparently in Egyptian since it was Pharaoh’s daughter who named him.

Like al-Tabari and Ibn al-Athir but unlike the Torah, Rashid al-Din claims that the meaning of Moses’ name has to do with water and tree. At the same time, unlike al-Tabari and Ibn al-Athir but like the Torah, Rashid al-Din claims that Moses’ name is derived from the word *moshe*. Yet, while the Torah implies that Moses’ name originates in the Egyptian language as claimed in the histories of al-Tabari and Ibn al-Athir, Rashid al-Din alone argues that *moshe* is a Hebrew word. Clearly, al-Tabari and Ibn al-Athir follow one tradition of remembering Moses’ name while the Torah is part of another tradition. Rashid al-Din, on the other hand, follows neither tradition while taking both traditions as resources for his historiography. Rashid al-Din’s assignment of the meaning of water and tree to the word, *moshe*, while claiming that it is Hebrew, seems to indicate that this land imagery as well as the Hebrew origin of Moses’ name was indispensable to his historiography.

While the origin of Moses’ name is not unified in the four texts, they share the same sequence of the changing states of Moses’ identity. Surely, details vary: it is Pharaoh’s wife who picks up Moses in the Islamic tradition, while it is Pharaoh’s daughter in the Jewish tradition; and Moses grows up with his mother in the Islamic tradition, while he grows up with Pharaoh’s daughter in the Jewish tradition. None of these differences, however, affects the following sequence.

²⁴⁰ Lieber, *Torah*, Exodus 2:1—2:7, 2:10 (*mashah* in Hebrew is “to draw out”).

First, boxing prepares Moses for his departure from the community of the Jews and from his life, not only of the past but also of the future of fated death.²⁴¹ By being carried down the river, Moses enters a liminal space and time where water transforms his identity from a definite constant, a Jewish male, to an indefinite variable. At this stage, because Moses is visually inaccessible from the world, his identity is closely associated with the box that wraps him, ranging from treasure to non-entity, if never picked up; even his human status is indeterminable. The water penetrates into the land of Pharaoh, the space of a new beginning in his life. By ending his journey in the trees (or reeds), Moses arrives at the threshold of this new phase. The trees, here, function as physical recipients of Moses and as temporal markers of a new beginning. By being picked up by the Egyptian women, the ultimate recipient in the story, Moses crosses this threshold. By the time he becomes visually accessible by being brought out of the box, Moses has completed the rites of passage and has fully penetrated into his new life.

What roles do the water and tree play here? The land imageries make the sequence of changing states visually traceable and the different states relatable to one another. If Rashid al-Din invokes Hebrew to challenge the existing historiographical tradition, he may employ the imageries of “the surface of the water” and “luxuriant trees” to bring the reader’s attention to the mediations of land in the narrative. The land imageries, then, become part of the new, updated history of Rashid al-Din and, as has been analyzed in Chapter 3, visually prominent renditions in the accompanying painting.

²⁴¹ The significance is not unlike that of the practice of packaging the dead in burial rituals in most parts of the world. Peter Metcalf and Richard Huntington, *Celebrations of Death: the Anthropology of Mortuary Ritual*, Cambridge, 1991. Mike Parker Pearson, *The Archaeology of Death and Burial*, College Station, Texas, 1999. Douglas J. Davies, *Death, Ritual and Belief: the Rhetoric of Funerary Rites*, London, 1997.

Water and tree may have come into the picture in the *Jami al-Tawarikh* as visual agents to participate in the historiographical discourse in the Islamic world.

Shadow and Tree – “Muhammad, Abu Bakr and the Herd of Goats”

The Prophet Muhammad’s *hijra* (“migration”) from Mecca to Medina is a significant marker of time in Muslim memory since it inaugurates both a sense of a Muslim community and of an Islamic calendar. Essentially, the *hijra* is a journey through a liminal space and time, the rites of passage not only for the individual the Prophet Muhammad but also for the Muslims as a collective body. The painting “The Prophet Muhammad and Abu Bakr” seems to draw upon two famous events Muslims remember about the *hijra*: the Prophet Muhammad being shaded from the sun and the milking of goats for the sustenance of the Prophet Muhammad and Abu Bakr who stayed in the caves to avoid their enemy, Quraysh.

The Koran does not speak of the Prophet Muhammad’s *hijra* or either anecdote. On the other hand, the shading of the prophet is part of al-Tabari’s account of the *hijra*:

When we heard that the Messenger of God had left Mecca and we were expecting his arrival, we used to go out after the morning prayer to the far side of our harrah to wait for him, and did not depart until the sun left us no shade to shelter in. When we could no longer find any shade we returned to our houses; this was during a hot period. When the day came on which the Messenger of God arrived, we sat as usual until there was no shade left and then went into our houses. The Messenger of God arrived after we had gone home, and the first person to see him was one of the Jews, who had observed what we were doing and knew that we were expecting the arrival of the Messenger of God. He shouted out at the top of his voice, “Banu Qaylah, here is your good fortune who has come!” We went out to where the Messenger of God was sitting in the shade of a palm tree with Abu Bakr, who was about the same age as he. Most of us had not seen the Messenger of God before then, and we crowded around without knowing him from Abu Bakr.

Then the shade left the Messenger of God and Abu Bakr rose up and shaded him with his cloak, and we knew. (44)²⁴²

Here, the Prophet Muhammad is shaded twice, first by the palm tree and second by Abu Bakr. The first shading does not seem to signify much on its own. In fact, the importance of the first shading lies in its termination, leading to the second shading that reveals the prophet's identity. Furthermore, although we may normally expect that the action of shading would result in hiding, it does the opposite here and divulges what was unknown before. The shading in al-Tabari's account not only indicates the relationship between the Prophet Muhammad and Abu Bakr but also adds texture to the narrative by complicating it.

Ibn al-Athir uses the anecdote of Abu Bakr's shading of the Prophet Muhammad for a different reason:

They saw a long rock. Abu Bakr leveled a place on it so that the Prophet Muhammad (peace upon him) could take his rest on it and seek shade in its shadow. The Prophet Muhammad (peace upon him) slept, as Abu Bakr guarded him, until they journeyed onward after the setting of the sun. (45)²⁴³

This account is simpler than that of al-Tabari, and the shading here symbolizes Abu Bakr's care for the Prophet Muhammad. Yet, in both al-Tabari and Ibn al-Athir's accounts, there is an implied hierarchy between the two protagonists. Through shading, Abu Bakr serves the prophet in al-Tabari's account and takes care of him in Ibn al-Athir's account.

In the *Jami al-Tawarikh*, Rashid al-Din offers yet another version of this story:

²⁴² De Goeje, *At-Tabari*, 1243. William Montgomery Watt and Michael V. McDonald, trans., *History of al-Tabari*, v. 6, *Muhammad at Mecca*, Albany, N. Y., 1988, 151.

²⁴³ Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil*, 104 (my translation).

When the heat became intense, they stopped. Prophet took a nap in the shadow of a tree and Abu Bakr sat, looking on until Prophet woke up. When he woke up, they mounted (the camels) and went (ten lines below the picture in **Figure 29**).
(46)²⁴⁴

Although this sounds similar to the first half of al-Tabari's account, the emphasis differs. While al-Tabari mentions the two protagonists' sitting under a tree in passing, Rashid al-Din implies a length of time for the same action. Furthermore, in Rashid al-Din's account, Abu Bakr never instigates the shadow making. Instead, the tree provides shade, which Abu Bakr also enjoys, sitting next to the prophet. Here, Abu Bakr and the Prophet Muhammad are portrayed as two companions more or less equal in status.

In al-Tabari and Ibn al-Athir's accounts, the cloak or rock functions as an extension of Abu Bakr's body, executing his intention, whether it is to reveal the prophet's identity or to look after him. In contrast, the tree in Rashid al-Din's account is not linked to Abu Bakr; instead, it has an independent standing and is distanced from the protagonists' intentions and actions. Its consistent presence and participation in the narrative also separate it from the rest of the setting. Indeed, the tree alone marks the space and time of the *hijra*, during the time in which Abu Bakr and the Prophet Muhammad sit and rest in its shade.

Al-Tabari points to the food brought by Abu Bakr's daughter as their main means of sustenance:

They hired as a guide for the road 'Abdallah b. Arqad, a man from the Banu al-Din b. Bakr, whose mother was from the Banu Sahm b. 'Amr, a polytheist...Abu Bakr told his son 'Abdallah to listen to what people were saying about them during the day and to bring them the day's news in the evening. He also told his *mawla* (client or patron) 'Amir b. Fuhayrah to pasture his flocks during the day and to bring them to them in the cave in the evening. Abu Bakr's daughter Asma'

²⁴⁴ Edinburgh University Library (MS Arab 20) Folio 57r (my transcription and translation).

brought them enough food for their needs in the evening. The Messenger of God and Abu Bakr spent three days in the cave. (47)²⁴⁵

Ibn al-Athir's account is similar to this:

The two (the Prophet Muhammad and Abu Bakr) came out through a window-like opening in Abu Bakr's house in the rear side of his house. Then they went to a cave in Thur and entered it. Abu Bakr ordered his son Abdallah to listen to what people were saying about them in Mecca during the day and come back to them at night. And he ordered 'Amr son of Fuhayrah, his client, to graze goats during the day and then bring the goats back to them. It was Asma', Abu Bakr's daughter, who came to them with food in the evening, and the Prophet Muhammad and Abu Bakr stayed in the cave for three days. (48)²⁴⁶

In both al-Tabari and Ibn al-Athir's histories, while Abu Bakr's son, Abdallah, reconnoiters the town, Fuhayrah's son, 'Amr, shepherds goats during the day to bring them to the Prophet Muhammad and Abu Bakr at night. The milking of the goats is not actually mentioned in the accounts of al-Tabari and Ibn al-Athir although it is assumed. Instead, both historians give much significance to Asma's food.

In Rashid al-Din's history, the shepherd's sex changes:

Then, Abu Bakr borrowed a man from the Mashrkan, whose name was Ariqat. The son of Ariqat was told to be a guide for them to Madina. The prophet didn't know about the Hijra (peace upon him, there is no Muslim higher than him) or Abu Bakr. They left the house of Abu Bakr to a cave there, and it was called Gharshur. Abu Bakr ordered his son, Abd Allah not to leave the country during the day, to inquire about the conditions of the people, to listen to what they were saying about the truth of the two (what happened to Prophet and Abu Bakr), to come to them (Prophet and Abu Bakr) in the night, and to let them know the condition of Quraish. Abu Bakr also ordered ("also ordered" is written twice, once before the picture and once after) his *mawla* Fuhayrah the shepherd (*ru'ai*) to graze the goats that belong to Abu Bakr during the day, to bring them at the end of the day to the cave at the time of milking. They milked them, and they fed on the milk (three lines above the picture in **Figure 29**). (49)²⁴⁷

²⁴⁵ De Goeje, *At-Tabari*, 1239. Watt and McDonald, *Muhammad at Mecca*, 145 - 8.

²⁴⁶ Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil*, 104 (my translation).

²⁴⁷ Edinburgh University Library (MS Arab 20) Folio 57r (my transcription and translation). For the meaning of *mawla*, see Watt and McDonald, *Muhammad at Mecca*, 124, n. 201.

Rashid al-Din claims that Fuhayrah was at once Abu Bakr's client and a shepherd, and that it was she who brought the goats to the cave to milk them in the evening. What kinds of significance might be traced in the change of the shepherd from a son to his mother and the inclusion of the milking activity?

The accompanying painting has a female figure milking a goat. This is probably why Rice and Gray in their monumental work on the Edinburgh *Jami al-Tawarikh* link it to another story about the Prophet Muhammad and Abu Bakr:

Muhammad, Abu Bakr, and the herd of goats. Pursued by enemies, Muhammad and Abu Bakr meet with a herd of goats. The herdsman tells them that the goats will give no milk; but when Muhammad strokes the udder of one she gives enough milk for all. The two travellers are seated on the ground on the right, while the goats and herdsman occupy the left half, separated from the former by a tree. The Prophet's face has been obliterated and partly redrawn. The skins of the goats are shaded with body white and silver. All round the edge of the picture-space are mountain ranges, in strips coloured conventionally in blue and purplish brown – a wholly Chinese type of landscape. Chinese influence is also seen in the un-outlined foliage of the tree.²⁴⁸

Even to scholars like Rice and Gray, the milking female figure in the painting easily lends itself to be read as a character from another anecdote where a woman is indeed a major protagonist. The textual variation, however, is not as misleading because neither the gender change of the shepherd nor her milking of a goat greatly affects the general content of the story being told. It is only when this variation is visualized in a painting does it gain potential to mislead or differently guide the viewer to remembering another story about the Prophet Muhammad's miracle.

Without attempting to trace Rashid al-Din's intentions in the *Jami al-Tawarikh*, I would argue that the change of the shepherd from a boy to a woman and the imagery of her milking a goat enable the text and painting to activate two different collective

²⁴⁸ Rice and Gray, *Illustrations*, 113.

memories in the reader/viewer. While this marks a certain disjuncture between the historiography of the text and that of the painting, because the reader and viewer are supposedly one person, the text and painting together compel the reader/viewer to relate the two collective memories in his own context. In other words, the historiography of text and that of the painting are in a dialectical relationship, which comes to a synthesis in the Ilkhanid reader/viewer. The text and painting of this event in the *Jami al-Tawarikh* seem to bring the reader/viewer's attention to the gender of the protagonists and their actions and to reformulate the relationship between the two differently gendered memories.²⁴⁹

As noted above, by positioning both the Prophet Muhammad and Abu Bakr under a free-standing tree's shadow, Rashid al-Din changes Abu Bakr's role from the Prophet's caregiver to companion. He does not remove the caregiver character from this narrative completely, however. Instead, he shifts it to the female milking shepherd and goats, without whom the Prophet Muhammad and Abu Bakr cannot survive. Along with the important role that the tree plays in the narrative, these changes may upset the reader/viewer's expectation that the Prophet Muhammad is the central figure around which Abu Bakr, a milking figure, and land elements play subsidiary roles. In the accompanying painting, as well, the Prophet Muhammad is relegated to the side, whereas the tree and the goats take over most of the picture plane. This composition brings the relationship between center and periphery to the center of the visual experience, which may have made it in accord with Rashid al-Din's spatial organization of the *Jami al-Tawarikh* project.

²⁴⁹ Farm labor can be a gender-specific activity in many societies, which also varies in time. More research is necessary to understand gender issues in such activities in the Ilkhanid society or the Ilkhanid memory.

Rock – “Prophet Salih Produces a Camel from a Rock”

In the Koran, the she-camel is God’s sign for Salih’s prophecy, as in Suras 7:73, 11:64, 17:59, and 26:154-5:

A veritable proof has come to you from your Lord. Here is God’s she-camel: a sign for you. (50)

My people, here is God’s she-camel, a sign for you. (51)

To Thamud We gave the she-camel as a visible sign. (52)

“Show us a sign, if what you say be true.” “Here,” he (Salih) said, “is this she-camel.” (53)

How and where the she-camel appeared miraculously is not described in the Koran.

In al-Tabari’s history, the description of the she-camel’s appearance forms the core of one of his accounts:

Thamud said to Salih, “Bring us a sign if you are indeed truthful.” Salih said to them, “Go to an elevation on the land,” and it shook violently as a woman in labor shakes, and it opened up, and from its midst a camel came forth. Salih said, “This is God’s camel, a token unto you. Let her feed in God’s land, and do not hurt her, lest a painful torment seize you. She has the right to drink, and you have the right to drink, each on an appointed day.” But when they wearied of her, they hamstringed her, and Salih said to them, “Enjoy life in your dwelling place for three days. This is a promise that will not be belied.” (54)²⁵⁰

Here, al-Tabari uses both an imagery of a shaking and breaking rock and a simile of a pregnant woman in labor to describe the location and the manner in which the she-camel appears. Ibn al-Athir uses a similar imagery and simile:

²⁵⁰ De Goeje, *At-Tabari*, 245. William M Brinner, *Tarikh al-rusul wa’l muluk, The History of al-Tabari v. 2, Prophets and Patriarchs*, Albany, N. Y., 1987, 41.

His (Salih's) people told him: "Salih, let a she-camel come out of this isolated rock. If this is done, then we will believe you." He agreed with them and went to the rock. He prayed, and God gave power and honor. The rock shook violently as a pregnant woman is in labor. Then, the rock broke up, and from the middle of it came out a she-camel, as they asked. (55)²⁵¹

The imagery and simile anthropomorphize the rock, as if the rock gave birth to the she-camel.

In contrast, Rashid al-Din does not use such imagery or simile:

If from this rock, by way of the miracle, a she-camel comes out, they will celebrate the magnificent rock, upon which is the mountain. When he saw that it wouldn't benefit the tribe a bit with these, he invoked God the exalted, and God responded to the invocation, and a she-camel appeared from this rock (in God's extreme beauty, goodness). And they were faithful and stayed on for days on this. Then soon they returned to the way of straying away from the right path and tyranny. They expelled Salih, the prophet, from among them and wounded the she-camel (the picture), (under the picture, the text is obliterated, but it is about the she-camel drinking) (two lines above the picture in **Figure 23**). (56)²⁵²

Unlike al-Tabari and Ibn al-Athir, Rashid al-Din elaborates more on the description of the rock itself, which he writes is "magnificent" and under the "mountain." Without anthropomorphizing the rock, Rashid al-Din keeps the rock in the material world, bringing out the inherent dichotomy between the she-camel and its petri-origin and making the she-camel's appearance from the rock more unnatural.

While Rashid al-Din keeps the disjuncture between the she-camel and rock in the textual account of this event, they share the same color, tone, and texture in the accompanying painting. The artists may have emphasized the link between the land element and animal so that Rashid al-Din did not have to force it in the textual account. Conversely, because the link is made obvious visually, by not mentioning it in the text,

²⁵¹ Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil*, 89 - 90 (my translation). Dawood, *Koran*, 26:155. Ali, *Holy Qur'an*, 26:155.

²⁵² Edinburgh University Library (MS Arab 20) Folio 1v (my transcription and translation).

Rashid al-Din may challenge the reader to consider their historiographical relationship mainly in pictorial terms. As mentioned on Page 39, historians of post-Ilkhanid Persianate paintings have explored similar links between text and image both on the level of creation and reception. Here, I do not argue that the Ilkhanid culture was similar to that of the later societies in Iran. Yet, in the “Prophet Salih Produces a Camel from a Rock,” text and image seem to have complemented the history put forth through the *Jami al-Tawarikh* so that the reader/viewer remembers the event both textually and visually.

Architecture – “City of Iram”

In the Koran, the city of Iram, where the people of ‘Ad dwelled, exemplifies the settlement of infidels punished by God, as in Sura 26:124-135 and in Sura 89:6-8:

Their (people of ‘Ad) kinsman Hud had said to them: ‘Will you not fear God? I am indeed your true apostle. Fear God, then, and follow me. For this I demand of you no recompense; none can reward me except the Lord of Universe. Will you erect a monument on every hill? Vain is your work. You build strong fortresses, hoping that you may last for ever. When you exercise your power, you act like cruel tyrants. Have fear of God, and follow me. Fear Him who has give you all the things you know. He has given you flocks and children, gardens and fountains. Beware the torment of a fateful day.’ (57)

Have you not heard how your Lord dealt with ‘Ad? The people of the many-columned city of Iram, whose like has never been built in the whole land? (58)²⁵³

The imageries, such as “every monument on every hill,” “strong fortresses,” and “many-columned city,” describe the city of Iram. The Koran implies that the unique, ubiquitous, and well-built architecture misled the denizens of Iram to an overestimation of their

²⁵³ Dawood, *Koran*, 26:124 – 135, 89: 6- 8. Ali, *Holy Qur’an*, 26:124 – 135, 89: 6 - 8. About Ad’s successors, the Koran talks about palaces and houses (قصور و بيوت). Ali, *Holy Qur’an*, 7:10.

strength and to a wrong impression of their indestructibility. The Koranic emphasis is that God is all powerful even over such a city and merciless to whoever finds pleasure in oppression and idolatry.

Al-Tabari's and Ibn al-Athir's accounts share a similar central theme of God's punishment of infidels. The focus of their narratives, however, shifts to the individual, Hud, who brought monotheism to the people of 'Ad and ended their tyranny. Al-Tabari's account has no *isnad* and is mostly composed of the Koranic verses, 26:124-135:

As for 'Ad:

God sent them Hud b. 'Abdallah b. Ribah b. al-Khalud b. 'Ad b. Uz b. Aram b. Shem b. Noah. Some genealogists claim that Hud was Eber b. Shelah b. Arpachshad b. Shem b. Noah. The 'Ad tribe had three idols which they worshipped, one of which they called Sada, another Samud, and the third al-Haba'. Hud called upon them to recognize God's oneness and to worship only Him and none other, and to abandon the unjust treatment of people, but they did not believe him. They said, "Who is stronger than we?" And only a few of them believed in Hud. When they persisted in their rebelliousness Hud exhorted them, saying to them, "Do ye build on every high place a monument for vain delight? And do ye seek out strongholds, that haply ye may last for ever? And if ye seize by force, do ye seize as tyrants? Rather, do your duty to God and obey me. Keep your duty toward Him who has given you what you know, has given you cattle and sons and gardens and watersprings. I fear for you when the retribution of an awful day comes."...As has been mentioned, God held back rain from them for three years, and they began to suffer because of this. (59)²⁵⁴

Al-Tabari elaborates on Hud's genealogy while resorting to the Koranic verses to describe the city of Iram.

Like al-Tabari, Ibn al-Athir's narrative centers on how Hud ended the wrongdoings of the people of 'Ad:

The account of the events that occurred between Noah and Abraham
As for 'Ad, son of 'Audh son of Iram son of Shem son of Noah, 'Ad the first, his people were in what lies between the Shahar and Oman, and they met their demise. They were tyrants for a long time, and there was none like them. God the exalted said: "Remember your work of the successors of Noah's people and your increase in the skillful creation." God sent to them Hud, son of Abdallah son

²⁵⁴ De Goeje, *At-Tabari*, 231 – 2. Brinner, *Prophets*, 29.

of Rubah son of al-khulud son of ‘Ad son of ‘Audh, and some people believe that this is Hud, son of Ghabar son of Shalikh son of Arfakhashadh son of Shem son of Noah. People of Uthman the third used to say that the first of them was injured, the second was skinny, and the third was excitable. He called them to the oneness of God, but his people were still practicing idolatry, none other than him. Oppression left the people. (60)²⁵⁵

Unlike al-Tabari, however, Ibn al-Athir does not rely heavily on the Koranic verses and does not even mention the architecture of the city of Iram

Although God’s triumph over infidels also forms the central theme of Rashid al-Din’s account, his description of the architecture in Iram is much more extensive than that of the Koran or al-Tabari. He writes in length:

(The beginning of the sentence is obliterated) this, which Iram was built. These three Sultans were sent there, who were of his tribe (obliterated) and they established upon him gold and silver and all kinds of good equipments. All of them were from what was in his kingdoms, and they did this. They enjoyed it to the fullest what were their houses... Building of it realized near 300 years... It was remembered in the old saying “Iram had columns, and nothing like it rose in the countries.” People were dazzled by this architecture, and the infidels and the tyranny increased, and his tyranny increased until they didn’t believe in the blessings of God the exulted. (the painting) God the exalted sent Hud al-Bani, peace upon him, who was one of the wisest of the tribe and who descended from that progeny (four lines above the picture in **Figure 25**). (61)²⁵⁶

In addition to the Koranic imagery of “many columns,” he writes in detail about the “gold and silver and all kinds of furnishings” in the city of Iram. Moreover, he explains that it took long “three hundred years” to build the city. In so doing, he gives details on the building and furnishings of the architecture. He also explains how the architecture was received by saying that the denizens of Iram “enjoyed their houses to the fullest,” and that people were “dazzled by its architecture.”

²⁵⁵ Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil*, 85 (my translation).

²⁵⁶ Edinburgh University Library (MS Arab 20) Folio 1r (my transcription and translation). Rice and Gray argue that this painting is of the “earthly paradise built by Shadda ibn ‘Ad in South Arabia.” Rice and Gray, *Illustrations*, 77.

Most peoples described in the *Jami al-Tawarikh* are linked to their land space, including the Mongol tribes and the people in the northern regions as analyzed above in the account of Alexander's expedition. In contrast, the people of 'Ad are anchored to their architectural space; when the architecture flourishes, so does the tyranny, and only when the architecture is demolished, does monotheism triumph. The urban space defines the spatial and temporal identity of the people of 'Ad, and this identity does not alter until an outsider, Hud, enters, penetrates, and navigates the city. Reading this historical account, then, the reader is compelled to visualize the architectural space, which becomes central to the reader's memory of the event.

As analyzed in Chapter 3, the building at the center of the painting "City of Iram" at once differentiates and relates the two pictorial spaces on the left and right of it. The two equestrian figures on the right are about to enter the building, and the garden on the left is about to receive them. A figure steps out of the building in the middle, permitting this entry. At the same time, the vertical line through the building makes the entry visually uncomfortable. The tension between Muslims and infidels in the accompanying text may have resonated with this visual anxiety. As a result, text and painting together may have intensified the dichotomy between Muslims and non-believers in the reader/viewer's memory of the story.

Tense Moment – “Abd al-Muttalib and al-Harith about to Discover Zamzam”

The account of the Prophet Muhammad's grandfather Abd al-Muttalib's finding and digging of the well of Zamzam is not Koranic. While al-Tabari refers to this event in

passing, he does not dedicate a separate section or even a separate passage to it. Instead, he includes it as a biographical attribute of Abd al-Muttalib:

He (Abd al-Muttalib) was who discovered Zamzam, the well of Ishmael, the son of Abraham, and brought out what was buried there, namely, two golden gazelles which Jurhum are said to have buried when they were evicted from Mecca, and Qal'i swords and coats of mail. (62)²⁵⁷

When Quraysh made difficulties for him (Abd al-Muttalib) about the digging of Zamzam,... (63)²⁵⁸

For al-Tabari, Abd al-Muttalib's digging of Zamzam is not an event that fully unfolds through the protagonist's actions. The "difficulties" he mentions are also never explained or mentioned again.

In contrast, Ibn al-Athir narrates the event as a story:

"It is not like what some people think, and it is between al-Farath and al-Dam, where a white crow pecks on a group of ants." When this matter became clear to him, (Abd al-Muttalib), and its existence was demonstrated to him, he knew that it had to be true. The next morning, with his pickax and his only son al-Harith, he discovered between Isaf and Naila in the region that belonged to Quraysh and their companions. And he (Abd al-Muttalib) saw a crow pecking there...Then Abd al-Muttalib mounted a camel. When his camel set out, the source of fresh water burst out under the camel's hoof, and his companions celebrated and drank from it... "If this water you drink from in this waterless desert is Zamzam, then return to your water in the right way." (64)²⁵⁹

At the sight of the sign of crow, Abd al-Muttalib gives a speech about standing strong against the Quraysh rather than digging the well. Only when he finds strength to forgo water in the desert, Zamzam miraculously springs forth on its own. The emphasis here is, then, Abd al-Muttalib's connection to God through the signs of the crow and camel and his courage as a Muslim to take on Quraysh's challenge. Zamzam would, then, symbolize the triumph of Islam.

²⁵⁷ De Goeje, *At-Tabari*, 1088. Watt and McDonald, *Muhammad at Mecca*, 15.

²⁵⁸ De Goeje, *At-Tabari*, 1074. Watt and McDonald, *Muhammad at Mecca*, 2.

²⁵⁹ Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil*, 12 (my translation).

In telling this story, Rashid al-Din shifts the emphasis to the sequential actions of Abd al-Muttalib:

Where a white-footed crow pecks on a group of ants, you will know you have what was wanted (Zamzam) and its existence and description. When the morning came, he took the horse and took his son, Al-Harith with him. They then went to the existing and described place and stopped near it. They saw a crow that was pecking on there. Then, Abd al-Muttalib preceded there. He then dug there with his axe, which was seen by Quraysh, and they laughed at him and marveled at him. He found an overflowing well after a short time. (sixth line on the right of the picture in **Figure 39**). (65)²⁶⁰

Here, Abd al-Muttalib moves to where the sign of crow is promised and stops when he reaches it. This moment when he halts spatially in front of and temporally before seeing the sign of crow evokes a sense of a threshold. Only then does Abd al-Muttalib walk toward the sign of crow and step into a new phase in the story by digging the well. The story, then, unfolds through the protagonist's actions in spatial and temporal relation to the sign of the crow and the Zamzam well.

In this sequence, the point where Abd al-Muttalib stops before Zamzam is the only moment Rashid al-Din describes in isolation. The time period before, when he travels to the region, or the time period after, when he walks toward Zamzam, are not described in moments but rather in larger lapses. Here, I borrow an anthropological term, "tense," as laid out by Alfred Gell and Eviatar Zerubavel.²⁶¹ According to them, the collective memory of an anthropological group is generally composed of important "tense" times and not as important times. For instance, in the Islamic collective memory, the time before the Prophet Muhammad's prophecy is less important than the time after. This variation is also recognizable within a single remembered event. For example,

²⁶⁰ Edinburgh University Library (MS Arab 20) Folio 41r (my transcription and translation).

²⁶¹ Alfred Gell, *The Anthropology of Time*, Oxford and Washington, DC, 1992. Eviatar Zerubavel, *Time Maps: Collective Memory and the Social Shape of the Past*, Chicago, 2003.

Judas' kissing of Jesus can be described as one of the "tense" moments in the Christian collective memory of the Passion of Jesus. In the narrative of Abd al-Muttalib's finding of Zamzam, the moment when he halts before Zamzam can be considered "tense" in the collective memory that Rashid al-Din's history constructs. In the accompanying painting, the artists minimize the land rendition and emphasize the columnar stature of figures, thereby, making it seem as though time has stopped. As a result, they exaggerate the tension of this moment, in keeping with the mood put forth in Rashid al-Din's textual historiography.

Conclusion

The *Jami al-Tawarikh* artists appropriate Chinese landscape techniques and motifs in their renditions of land. They depict clouds, twisting and bending tree trunks, and rolling hills using loose brushwork, transparent wash, undulating lines, calligraphic strokes. In so doing, the *Jami al-Tawarikh* painters newly create an illusion of atmosphere, three-dimensional space, and passage of time. Accordingly, the visual experience of encountering the *Jami al-Tawarikh* land renditions probably had much to do with Chinese landscape techniques and motifs. In this chapter, however, I argue that the cognitive process of making sense of such visual experience could not have been disconnected from other cultural discourses in the Ilkhanid court. Historiography was one such intellectual discourse directly linked to the *Jami al-Tawarikh* paintings since writing and painting were conceived and carried out as parts of a single project of producing the manuscript of history.

On the level of writing the history, the new composition of interpolating the main history with the other histories that Rashid al-Din implements instead of the annalistic format of Ibn al-Athir brings out the differences between historical spaces that are compiled in his world history. At the same time, it compels the reader to consider the relationships between different histories and to keep these relationships in mind when remembering the past. On the level of production, the *Jami al-Tawarikh* project required all kinds of texts to be brought to the center in the Ilkhanid court. Once these histories were compiled in the *Jami al-Tawarikh*, however, they were to be disseminated all over the Ilkhanid domain. The *Jami al-Tawarikh* project, then, facilitated movements of knowledge through texts, that is, both in its collection and distribution. Writing and producing of the *Jami al-Tawarikh*, then, newly facilitated certain negotiations of organizing the historical and epistemological spaces, respectively.

Although the pictorial land renditions were new in the *Jami al-Tawarikh*, the textual land imageries had long been in use in Islamic historiography. In the account of Moses' encounter with God, rich imageries of clouds and mountain allow the reader to visualize the different spiritual states of the protagonists. The trees in the accounts of Moses' being sent down the river and Muhammad's journey in the *hijra* may compel the reader to conceptualize the changing states of these figures, from a Jewish infant to an Egyptian prince and from a Meccan denizen to a fugitive on the way to Medina, respectively. The imagery of the city of Iram lets the reader navigate its architectural space, which define the changes in the identity of the people of 'Ad.

The land imagery in the account of she-camel's appearance from a rock dichotomizes the world of material and that of the living, thereby, miracularizing the

event even further. The fog in Alexander's expedition brings the reader to the extreme regions and dominates the reader's visualization of them. The clouds and mountain in the account of the slaying of the giant Og may guide the reader to an updated memory of the event, to which the death of Aaron was a part. Rashid al-Din newly assigned a name "Hur *hahar*" to the mountain where Aaron died as opposed to previous Muslim historians who called it a nameless "such and such mountain." Temporally, the stopping of Abu Muttalib in front of the well of Zamzam halts the reader, who may then grasp this tense moment in history. These textual land imageries, then, facilitate conceptualizations of spatial and temporal relations in the collective memory that the reader constructs through reading a history.

In the experience of viewing the *Jami al-Tawarikh* pictorial land renditions, the reader/viewer probably had textual references in mind, whether from the Koran and pre-Ilkhanid histories with which he was familiar or from the text of the *Jami al-Tawarikh*, itself. Because the *Jami al-Tawarikh* paintings are equipped with their own pictorial spaces isolated from the texts, the events that the paintings portray stand on an equal footing as those as told by the texts. This would have made reading and viewing two parallel parts of encountering the manuscript of history. As a result, the reader/viewer would have reformulated both his textual and visual memory of the past through reading/viewing the *Jami al-Tawarikh*.

While the reader/viewer already had in mind memories of a particular historical event, he would have been completely new to seeing a painting of this event in a manuscript of history. This new experience may have lead to a reconsideration of the role of painting altogether. The land renditions played a crucial part in creating a

pictorial representation of the event, different from the textual narrative. How land came into the picture in the Islamic world, then, may have had to do with the Ilkhanids' reformulation of the medium of painting to serve an entirely new purpose. In the *Jami al-Tawarikh*, land renditions may have helped the reader/viewer remember the past through a visual means in addition to the previous means of text.

Appendix

1.

بموجبی که از حکمای ایشان نقل می‌کنند بر آن متفق اند بموجبی که در تواریخ اسلامیان مذکور است و در توره بنی ایسرئیل مسطور، که نوح پیغمبر علیه السلام زمین را از جنوب تا شمال سه قسم کرد: اول را به حام از فرزندان خود داد که پدر سودان بود و میانه را بسام که پدر اعراب فرس بود، و سوم را بیافث که پدر اتراک بود، و او را بجانب مشرق فرستاد- مغولان و ترکان نیز همین سخن می‌گویند- لیکن ترکان، یافث را ابوبجه خان (ابولجه) خوانده اند و محقق نمی‌دانند که این ابو بجه خان پسر نوح علیه السلام بوده، یا فرزندزاده او .
الآنکه متفق اند بر آنکه از نسل او بوده و قریب العهد بوی.
تمامت مغولان و اصناف اتراک و صحرائشینان از نسل وی اند
و شرح آن حال برین موجب تقریر می‌کنند، که ابو بجه خان صحرائشین بود.

2.

قراخان قائم مقام پدر شد و از وپسری درو جود آمد سه شبانه روز پستان مادر نمی‌گرفت و شیر نمی‌خورد بدانسبب مادرش میگریست و تضرع میکرد، و هر شب در خواب چنان دیدی که آن بچه باوی گفتی که ای مادر اگر خدا پرست شوی و محب خداگرددی، شیر تو بخورم . آن زن بواسطه آنکه شوهرش و تمامت اقوام ایشان کافر بودند، ترسید که اگر اظهار خدا پرستی کند او را بابچه هلاک گردانند، پنهان بخدای تعالی ایمان آورده و باخلاص تمام محب حق جل و علا شده و آن بچه پستان مادر گرفته و شیر خورده... چون بحد بلوغ رسید پدرش قراخان ... گفت پسرم او غوز در کودکی عظیم مقبل و مستعد مینمود و مرا باحوال او دل بستگی تمام بود و این زمان کار بد پیش گرفته و از دین ما بر گسته، او را زنده نتوان گذاشت... قریب هفتاد و پنج سال با یکدیگر جنک میکردند... عاقبت الامر او غوز غالب آمد، و آن ملک را از تلاس و صیرم تا بخارا بگرفت و آن ملک بروی مسلم شد... مجموع مغولان از نسل ایشان اند . و در آن عهد جمله کافر بودند و بمرور ایام ایشان نیز بااروغ موحد گشتند.

3.

(قل یا ایها الکفرون لا اعبد ما تعبدون ولا انتم عبدون ما اعبد ولا انا عابد ما عبدتم ولا انتم عبدون ما اعبد لکم دینکم ولی دین)

4.

از وقت ولادت او از ابتدای قاقانیل که سال خوک است موافق شهر سنه تسع و اربعین و خمسمائه هجری که در ماه ذی القعدة واقعه شده، تا قاقانیل دیگر که هم سال خوک است، مطابق شهر سنه اثنتین و ستین و خمسمائه که در ماه ربیع الاخر واقعه شده و در این مدت پدر او یسوکای بهادر در حیات بوده و در سال آخر که سیزدهم سالست، یسوکای بهادر وفات یافته و چنگیز خان از و سیزده ساله باز مانده.

5.

تاریخ پادشاهان و خاقانان ختای و چین و کرایت و نایمان و مغول و او یغور و تر کستان و کول و باشغر دوقبچاق و اوروس و چرکس و آس و ماوراء النهر و خلفاء و سلاطین ایران و روم و شام و مصر و غیرهم که از ابتدای قاقانیل مه در ذی القعدة سنه تسع و اربعین و خمسمائه هجری واقع شده است، تا انتهای قاقانیل دیگر که در ربیع الاول سنه اثنتین و ستین و خمسمائه هجری واقع شده، که مدت سیزده سال تمام باشد، معاصر چنگیز خان بوده اند، آنچه معلومست، و نوادر حوادث که در مدت مذکور افتاده.

6.

فصل دوم در بیان داستانهای چنگیز خان و اروغ نامدار او که بعضی قآن هر عهد شده اند و پادشاهی معین نیافته و مجمل حکایات پادشاهان عالم که معاصر ایشان بوده اند تا این زمان.

7.

هر چند مصنفان و مؤلفان تواریخ متقدم، کتب از هر نوع ساخته اند و حکایات از منہ مختلف نامرتب پرداخته اند، اما خوانندگان از آن فایده تمام نیافته. و نیز تاریخ سال بسال که مرحوم ابن الاثیر نهاده، اگر چه سعی بسیار نموده، لکن حکایات هر پادشاهی مضبوط نیست و کیفیت آن کما بیشی بر ولاوترتیب معلوم نمی شود و این معنی نزد مطالعه کنان آنکتاب مقرر است بنابراین مقدمات، مؤلف این تاریخ را چنان موافق افتاد که بهر چند سال معین که تاریخ چنگیز خان نوشته شود، تواریخ دیگر پادشاهان اطراف که معاصر او بوده اند بر دلای آن بتحریر پیوندند، تا احوال پادشاهانی که معاصر همدیگر بوده اند، علی العموم معلوم گردد... این قاعده مذکور از ابتدای ولادت چنگیز خان تا آخر عمر او و بعد از و تا این زمان هر چند سال را که مناسب و موافق نمود، تاریخ چنگیز خان و فرزندان او و احوالی که در جاغ ایشان معلوم و محقق بود و تبعیت لازم آید، ذیل آن ساخته میاید تا این عهد همایون و زمان مبارک، تا خواننده از احوال جمله باخبر باشد. و آن ضابطه برین نمط و ترتیب است که اثبات مییاید.

8.

از غایت علو همت خاطر مبارک کش بدان ملتفت شد که آنرا مرتب و مدون گرداند اشارت اشرف فرمود تا بنده دولت ایلخانی معتصم بعون عنایت ربانی مؤلف این ترکیب فضل الله بن ابی الخیر الملقب برشید طبیب الهمدانی اصلح الله شأنه و وقاه عماشأنه تواریخ اصل و نسب سایر اتراک که بمغول مانده اند فصل فصل روایات حکایات ایشان که در خزاین معموره مضبوطست و بعضی پیش امراء و مقربان حضرت مستودع و تا غایت وقع جمع آن هیچ آفریده را دست نداده و سعادت ترکیب آن بترتیب کس را مساعدت ننموده و هر مورخی شطری از آن بی معرفت حقیقت حال از افواه عوام بر وجهی که خوش آمد طبع او بوده نقل می کرده و یقین و صحت آن هیچ یک را معلوم و محقق نگشته بعد از تصحیح و تنقیح و امعان و اتقان بلفظ مهذب مدون و مرتب گرداند و عرایس نفایس ابکار و اذکر آنک اخبار و اثر که تا غایت وقت در حجب استتار کتمان پنهان مانده برمنصه اظهار جلوه اشتهار دهد و آنچه مجمل باشد و مفصل در آن کتاب ذکر نرفته از دانایان و حکمای ختای و هندو ایغور و قیچاق و دیگر اقوام و اعیان چون همه اصناف طوایف مردم در بندگی حضرت اعلی ملازم اند.

9.

تا غایت وقت در هیچ تاریخیری، تاریخی که مشتمل باشد بر حکایات و احوال عموم اهل اقالیم عالم و طبقات اصناف بنی آدم نساخته اند و درین دیار هیچ کتاب در باب اخبار سایر البلاد و امصار موجود نبوده و از پادشاهان متقدم کسی تفحص و تتبع آن ننموده درین ایام که بحمد الله و منہ اطراف و اکناف ربع مسکون در تحت فرمان ماواروند نامدار چنگیز خان است و حکما و منجمان و ارباب دانش و اصحاب تواریخ اهل ادیان و ملل از اهالی ختای و ماچین و هند و کشمیر و تبت و ایغور و دیگر اقوام اتراک و اعراب و افرنج در بندگی حضرت آسمان شکوه گروه مجتمع اند و هر یک را از تواریخ حکایات و معتقدات طایفه خویش نسخه هست و بر بعضی از آن واقف و مطلع رأی جهان آرای چنین اقتضا میکند که از مفصل آن تواریخ و حکایات مجملی که از روی معنی مکمل باشد بنام همایون ما بر دارند و آنرا باصور الاقالیم و مسالک الممالک در دو مجلد نوشته ذیل این تاریخ مذکور سازند تا مجموع آن کتاب عظیم المثل باشد جامع جمیع انواع تواریخ بحکم آن که فرصت هست و انشای چنین یادگاری که در هر روزگاری پادشاهانرا دست نداده میسر میشود بی اهمال و امهال باتمام باید و رساند تا موجب دوام نام و ناموس گردد.

10.

بر رأی ارباب فطنت و کیاست و اصحاب رؤیت و فراست پوشیده نیست که تاریخ عبارت است از ضبط و ترتیب هر حالی غریب و حادثه عجیب که بنادر اتفاق افتد.

11.

در تنقیح حکایات اجتهادی هر چه تمامتر رود لیکن در آن باب زیادت سعی میسر نشد چه پوشیده نیست که چنین کارها را استعدادی تمام و مهارتی در جمیع علوم باید و این معانی در خود موجود ندید و نیز بزمان در از در سن جوانی و فراغتی هر چه تمامتر توان کرد و اتفاق اشتغال درین کار در آخر سن کهولت افتاد و جهت آن که در بندگان حضرت این ضعیف را در سلک نواب آورده اند و بمعظمت امور مأمور گردانیده با آنکه استعداد آن کار بزرگ نداشت و قوت عقل و فکر بدان وافی نه امتثال فرمان را اشتغال بدان لازم بود و بقدر وسع سعی در آن باب واجب و چون قوت ذهن بدان امر و نی نمی کرد بجمع تواریخ نیز که از معظمت امورست.

12.

و اگر فارغ دلی باشد که روزگار بر تعلیق و تحصیل مصروف کند و همت او بر ضبط احوال مشغول باشد در زمانی طویل از شرح یک ناحیت تفصی نکند و آنرا در عقد کتابت نتواند کشید تا بدان چه رسد که از روی هوس محرر این کلمات را باز آنک طرفه العینی زمان تحصیل میسر نیست چه مگر در اسفار بعید یک ساعتی در فرصت نزول اختلاسی می کند و آن حکایات را سواد می نویسد.

13.

برین سیاق و هیات چون حضرت با شکوه و هیبت او را که مجدر شفاء و معفر جباه شاهان نامدارست مطالعت افتاد جمعی از یاران و فا و اخوان صفا که و عشاء سفر بحضور همایونشان سهولت حضر داشت اشارتی راندند که برای تخلیذ مآثر گزیده و تابید مفاخر پسندیده پادشاه وقت جوان بخت پیر عزیمت خجسته فال پاکیزه خصال تاریخی می باید پرداخت و تقیید اخبار و آثار او را مجموعه ساخت که ناسخ آیات قیصره و ماحی روایات اکاسره شود.

14.

تا غایت وقع جمع آن هیچ آفریده رادست نداده و سعادت ترکیب آن بترتیب کس را مساعدت ننموده و هر مورخی شطری از آن بی معرفت حقیقت حال از افواه عوام بر وجهی که خوش آمد طبع او بوده نقل می کرده و یقین و صحت آن هیچ یک را معلوم و محقق نگشته بعد از تصحیح و تنقیح و امعان و اتقان بلفظ مهذب مدون و مرتب گرداند و عرایس نفایس ابرار و اذکار آنک اخبار و آثار که تا غایت وقت در حجب استتار کتمان پنهان مانده.

15.

چون محقق است که مورخ قضایا و حکایاتی که نویسند و تقریر کنند هر کدام بر رأی العین مشاهده نکرده باشند و از آن جماعت نیز که صاحب قضیه و حال باشند و تاریخ احوال ایشان بود که ذکر رود بمشافه نشنیده الا که بنقل راویان نویه و گویند.

16.

تواریخ چندان اقوام مختلف و از زمان متطاول مطلقا محقق نتواند بود و روایاتی که در آن باب کرده باشند و کنند متساوی و متفق علیه نه... بسیار بود که راوی بر حسب دلخواه خود زیادت و نقصان کرده در تقریر آرد و اگر نیز

دروغ محض نگوید در عبارت مبالغه و تأکیدی پند نماید که متضمن وقوع اختلاف باشد... هر آفریده که خواهد بر خلاف این معانی تقریری کند محال اندیش باطل گوی باشد.

17.

اگر مورخ اندیشه کند که چیزی نویسد که محقق و مالاکلام باشد قطعاً هیچ حکایتی ایراد نتواند کرد چه هر آنچه او ایراد کند روایتی باشد از جمعی بزرگان که آنرا مشاهده کرده باشند یا بنقل از دیگران شنیده یا از کتب متقدمان مطالعه کرده و بهر حال چنان که ذکر رفت محل اختلاف باشد و اگر بدین سبب ترک نویستن و گفتن گیرند و آن اندیشند که مبدا که مردم اعتراض کنند و پسندیده ندارند هر آینه جمله قصص و اخبار و احوال عالم متروک ماند و عموم خلق از فواید آن محروم پس وظیفه مورخ آن باشد که حکایات و اخبار هر قوم و هر طایفه بموجبی که ایشان در کتب خویش آورده باشند و بران روایت تقریر کنند از کتب مشهور متداول آن قوم و از قول مشاهیر و معتبران ایشان نقل میکنند و مینویسند و العهده علی الراوی .

18.

و کتب تواریخ که بدان اصطلاحات اقتباس کند چنانک من اوله الی آخره خواص و عوام را مفهوم و معلوم گردد.

19.

(اذ را ناراً فقال لاهله امکنوا اني انست ناراً لعلی اتيكم منها بقبس او اجد علی النار هدی فلما اتها نودی یموسی اني انار ربك... وانا اخترتك فاستمع لما یوحی)

20.

(اذ قال موسی لاهله اني انست ناراً ساتيكم منها بخبر او اتيكم بشهاب قبس لعلكم تصطلون فلما جاءها نودی ان بورك من في النار ومن حولها)

21.

(انس من جانب الطور ناراً قال لاهله امکنوا اني انست ناراً لعلی اتيكم منها بخبر او جذوة من النار لعلكم تصطلون فلما اتها نودی من ساطئ الواد الایمن في البقعة المباركة من الشجرة ان یموسی اني انا الله رب العلمین)

22.

(ولما جاء موسا لمیقاتنا وکلمه ربه قال رب ارني انظر الیک قال لن ترني ولكن انظر الی الجبل فان استقر مکانه فسوف ترني فلما تجلی ربه للجبل جعله دكاو خر موسی صعقا فلما افاق قال سبحنک تیت الیک و انا اول المومنین)

23.

(و اذ قلت یموسی لن نومن لك حتی نری الله جهرة فاخذ تکم الصعقة وانتم تنظرون. ثم بعثکم من بعد موتکم لعلکم تشکرون)

24.

فلما دنا موسی من الجبل وقع علیه عمود الغمام حتی تغشى الجبل كله ودنا موسی فدخل فيه وقال للقوم ادنوا وكان موسی اذا کلمه وقع علی جبهته نور ساطع لا یستطیع أحد من بنی آدم ان ینظر الیه فضرب دونه بالحجاب ودنا للقوم

وقعوا سجوداً فسمعوه وهو يكلم موسى يأمره وبينهاه افعل ولا تفعل فلما فرغ اليه من أمره حتى اذا دخلوا في الغمام انكشف عن موسى الغمام.

25.

فلما دنا موسى من الجبل وقع عليه الغمام حتى تغشى الجبل كله ودخل فيه موسى وقال للقوم: ادنوا، فدنوا حتى دخلوا في الغمام، فوقعوا سجوداً، فسمعوه وهو يكلم موسى يأمره وبينهاه، فلما فرغ انكشف عن موسى الغمام.

26.

مشى الى الطور اخذ صحبته سبعين حبراً من نبي اسرائيل حتى يسمعوا كلام الله تعالى فلما تطهروا ولبسوا الثياب النظيفه ومشوا في صحبته الى طور سيناء فنزل على موسى الغمام وغطى جميع الجبل وطلب هولاء الروساء السبعين حتى دخلوا في الغمام وسجدوا وسمعوا كلام الرب تعالى.

27.

ويשב مשה את-דברי העם אל-יהוה. ויאמר יהוה אל משה הנה אנכי בא אליך בעב הענן בעבור ישמע העם בדברי עמך וגם-בך יאמינו לעולם ו... ימר יהוה אל-משה לך אל-העם וקדשתם היום ומחר וכבסו שמלתם: והיו נכנים ליום השלישי כי ביום השלישי ירד יהוה לעיני כל-העם על-הר סיני: ... במשך היבל המה יעלו בהר: וירד משה מן-ההר אל-העם... ויהי ביום השלישי בהית הבקר ויהי קלת וברקים וענן כבד על-ההר וקול שפר חזק תאד ויחרד כל-העם אשר במחנה: ... וכל-העם ראים את-הקולות ואת-הלפידים ואת קול השפר ואת-ההר עשן וירא העם וינעו ויעמדו מרחק: ... ויעמד העם מרחק ומשה נגש אל-הערפל אשר-שם האלהים: ויאמר יהוה אל-משה כה תאמר אל-בני ישראל אתם ראיتم כי מן-השמים דברתי עמכם... ויעל משה ואהרן נדב ואביהוא ושבעים מזקני ישראל: ויראו את אלהי ישראל... ואל-אצילי בני ישראל לא שלח ידו ויחזו את-האלהים ויאכלו וישתו: ... ויעל משה אל-ההר ויכס הענן את-ההר: וישכן כבוד-יהוה על-הר סיני ויכסהו הענן ששת ימים ויקרא אל-משה ביום השביעי מתוך הענן: ומראה כבוד יהוה כאש אכלת בראש ההר לעיני בני ישראל: ויבא משה בתוך הענן ויעל אל-ההר ויהי משה בהר ארבעים יום וארבעים לילה:

28.

فقالوا هذا الطعام والشراب فاين الظل فظلل الله عليهم الغمام... والتقى موسى وعاج فنزا موسى في السماء عشرة اذرع وكانت عصاه عشرة اذرع وكان طوله عشرة اذرع واصاب كعب عاج فقتله، حدثنا ابن بشار قال ننا مومل قال ننا سفبان عن ابي اسحاق عن نوف قال كان سرير عوج ثمانمائة ذراع وكان طول موسى عشرة اذرع وعصاه عشرة اذرع ثم وثب في السماء عشرة اذرع فضرب عوجا فاصاب كعبه فسقط ميتا فكان جسرا للناس يمرون عليه، حدثنا ابو كريب قال ننا ابن عطية قال نا قيس عن ابي اسحاق عن سعيد ابن جبير عن ابن عباس قال كانت عصا موسى عشرة اذرع ووثبته عشرة اذرع وطوله عشرة اذرع فاصاب كعب عوج فقتله فكان جسرا لاهل النيل، وقيل ان عوج عاش ثلاثة الاف سنة. ذكر وفاة موسى وهارون ابني عمران عم. حدثنا موسى بن هارون الهمداني قال ننا عمرو بن حماد قال ننا اسباط عن السدي في خبر ذكره عن ابي مالك وعن ابي صالح عن ابن عباس وعن مرة الهمداني عن عبد الله بن مسعود وعن ناس من اصحاب النبي صلعم ثم ان الله تبارك وتعالى اوحى الى موسى اني متوف هارون فات به جبل كذا وكذا... فلما ناما اخذ هارون الموت فلما وحد حسه... ورفع السرير الى السماء .

29.

فقالوا: اين الظل؟ فظلل عليهم الغمام... ثم ان موسى التقى هو وعوج بن عناق، فوثب موسى عشرة اذرع، وكانت عصاه عشرة اذرع، وكان طوله عشرة اذرع، فاصاب كعب عوج فقتله. وقيل: عاش عوج ثلاثة الاف سنة. ثم ان الله اوحى الى موسى: اني متوف هارون فات به جبل كذا وكذا... فتوفي ورفع على السرير الى السماء.

30.

حتى يعلم كل واحد من الاثنى عشر سبطا مشى به فلا يقع بينهم منازعة ومقام الظل كان لهم غمام يظلمهم من الشمس وحرارتها ومن مواهب تعالى عليهم في النبيه... ويقالو ان عوج بن عنق وصل اليه موسى بعد مدة وهو قصد بنى اسرائيل فاشتغل موسى بدفعه وكان طول قامه موسى عشرة اذرع وطول عصاه عشرة وظفر في الهواء عشرة فوصل بالعصا الى كعبه فهلك عوج تبلك الضربة ودفع الله شره عن بنى اسرائيل ولما بقوا في النبيه في اول السنة الاربعين توفيت مريم احت موسى وايضا توفي في اخر السنة هرون في (صورة) جبل يسمى هور هاهار لا يعلم موضع دفنه ويوفاته ضاقت صدور بنى اسرائيل وحزنوا عليه حزنا عظيما (صورة) وتاسفوا اسفا شديدا لانه كان محبوب.

31.

(وظللنا عليكم الغمام وانزلنا عليكم المن والسلوى كلوا من طيبات ما رزقناكم وما ظلمونا ولكن كانوا انفسهم يظلمون)

32.

ومت بهر אשר אתה עלה שמה והאסף אל-עמיד כאשר-מת אהרן אחיך בהר ההר.

33.

ואמרו אל-ישוב הארץ הזאת שמעו כי-אתה יהוה בקרב העם הזה אשר-עין בעין נראה אתה יהוה ועננך עמד עלהם ובעמד ענן אתה הלך לפניهم יומם ובעמוד אש לילה

34.

ويتن יהوه آلهينو بيدنو גם آت-عوغ ملك-هبشن وآت-كل-عمو ونكهو عد-بلتي الشاير-لو شريد: ونلكذ آت-كل-عريو بعنن الهوا لآ الهية كرية אשר لآ-لكهقنو ماتم... كي رك-عوغ ملك هبشن نساير مثير الرفايم الهه عرشو عرش برزل الهه هوا برکت بني عمون تشعه آמות آركه وآربع آמות ركبته آمت-آيش.

35.

ودانت له عامة الارضين وملك التبت والصين ودخل الظلمات مما يلي القطب الشمالي والشمس جنوبية في اربع مائة رجل يطلب عين الخلد فسار فيها ثمانية عشر يوما ثم خرج ورجع الى العراق وملك ملوك الطوائف ومات في طريقه بشهر زور وكان عمره ستا وثلاثين سنة في قول بعضهم وحمل الى امه بالاسكندرية.

36.

فلما فرع من امر السد دخل الظلمات مما يلي القطب الشمالي، والشمس جنوبية، فلماذا كانت ظلمة، وإلا فليس في الأرض موضع إلا تطلع الشمس عليه أبدا. فلما دخل الظلمات اخذ معه اربعمائة من اصحابه يطلب عين الخلد، فسار

فيها ثمانية عشر يوماً، ثم خرج ولم يظفر بها، وكان الخضر على مقدمته، فظفر بها وسبح فيها وشرب منها، والله أعلم.

37.

ومشى الى صوب الشمال ووصل الى اقصى بلاد الشمال ودخل الظلمات وحال هذه الظلمات ليس على ما تصوره بعض الناس بان طلوع الشمس وغروبها لا يكونان هناك وان (صورة) الليل دائم هناك بل يكون هناك دائما ضباب شبيه الظلمة وهذا لا يزول لا في الصيف ولا في الشتاء وربما يشاهد حرم الشمس في بعض الاوقات حين تطلع وتغرب اما انه لا يكون له شعاع بسبب حجاب الضباب والظلمة وهناك دحاك وعياص كثيرة وها ناس ساكنون لا تحلطون بقوم اخرين ويمكن المشىء هناك في فصل الشتاء الجمودة الارض واما في فصل الصيف فالمشىء هناك محاك (لتخس؟) لارض وفي ذلك الهواء دائما نداوة ورطوبة بافراط وهناك برودة غالبية لانه في اقصى الشمال فلاجرم ساكنوه يكونون طوال القامة وجنتهم حسنة.

38.

(اذ اوحينا الى امك ما يوحى ان اقد فيه في التابوت فاقد فيه في اليم فليلقه اليم بالساحل ياخذه عدو لي وعدو له والقيت عليك محبة مني ولتصنع على عيني)

39.

(واوحينا الى ام موسى ان ارضعيه فاذا اخفت عليه فالقيه في اليم ولا تخافي ولا تحزني انا رادوه اليك وجاعلوه من المرسلين. فالتقطه ال فرعون ليكون لهم عدو وحزنا ان فرعون وهامن وجنودهما كانوا خطين. وقالت امرات فرعون قرت عين لي ولك لا تقتلوه عسى ان ينفعنا او نتخذة ولدا وهم لا يشعرون. واصبح فؤاد ام موسى فرغا ان كادت لتبدي به لولا ان ربطنا على قلبها لتكون من المؤمنين. وقالت لاخته قصيه فبصرت به عن جنب وهم لا يشعرون. وحرنا عليه المراضع من قبل فقالت هل ادلكم على اهل بيت يفلونه لكم وهم له نصحون. فرددنه الى امه كي تقر عينها ولا تحزن ولتعلم ان وعد الله حق ولكن اكثرهم لا يعلمون)

40.

فجعل له تابوتا وجعل مفتاح التابوت من داخل وجعلته فيه والقته في اليم،...فاقبل الموج بالتابوت يرفعه مرة ويخفضه اخرى حتى ادخله بين اشجار عند بيت فرعون، فخرج جوارى اسية امراة فرعون يغتسلن فوجدن التابوت فادخلنه الى اسية، وظنوا ان فيه مالا، فلما نظرت اليه اسية وقعت عليه رحمتها واحبته،...وانما سمي موسى لانهم وجدوه في ماء وشجر، والماء بالقطبية مو، والشجر شا.

41.

فجعل له تابوتا وجعل مفتاح التابوت من داخل وجعلته فيه والقته في اليم،...فاقبل الموج بالتابوت يرفعه مرة ويخفضه اخرى حتى ادخله بين اشجار عند دور فرعون، فخرج جوارى اسية امراة فرعون يغتسلن فوجدن التابوت فادخلنه الى اسية، وظنن ان فيه مالا، فلما فتح ونظرت اليه اسية وقعت عليها رحمتة واحبته،...وانما سمي موسى لانه وجد في ماء وشجر، والماء بالقطبية مو، والشجر سا.

42.

القته في ماء النيل ولما حاذى الصندوق دار فرعون قدفته الامواج الى بستان داره ووقف بين الاشجار واتفق ان جماعة من النساء فدخن من (صورة) من دار فرعون الى جانب الماء فراين ذلك الصندوق فظنن ان فيه مالا

فاخرجنه من بين الماء وجين به الى اسية زوجة فرعون وفتحته بين يدها فراوا موسى فالقى الله تعالى مجته والشفقة عليه في قلبها وقالت قد حن قلبي على هذا الطفل واريد ان اخذ من فرعون دستور الانبي هذا الطفل كالولد فانه ليس لنا ولد... وسمي موسى لان موته في لغة العبرانية هو ما يكون على وجه الماء من الدغل.

43.

وتكح-لو تبت غما وتكحمره بكحمر وبزفت وتشم به ات-اليلد وتشم بسوف-عل-سفت اليار: وتكح
اكتو مرقق لذعة مه-يعشة لو: وترد بت-فرعة لرقق-عل-اليار ونعرتيا الكت-عل-يد اليار وترا
ات-كتبة التوق السوف وتسلح ات-امتة وتكح: وتفتح وتراةو ات-اليلد وهنه-نعر بكة وتكحل
عليو وتامر ميلدي العبريم ه: وتامر اکتو-عل-بت-فرعة الالذ وكراتي لآ اشة مينكت من
العبريت وتينك لآ ات-اليلد: وتامر-له بت-فرعة لكي وتلذ العلما وتكرا ات-ام-اليلد: وتامر له
بت-فرعة اليلكي ات-شكرج وتكح الالذ وتنيكو: ويغل اليلد وتباةو لبت-فرعة وياه-له لبن
وتكرا سمو مשה وتامر كي من-هميم مشيتةو

44.

لما سمعنا بمخرج رسول الله صلعم من مكة وتوقفنا قدمه كنا نخرج اذا صلينا الصبح الى ظاهر حرتنا ننتظر رسول
الله صلعم فوالله ما نبرح حتى تغلينا الشمس عاي الظلال فاذا لم نجد ظلا دخلنا بيوتنا وذلك في ايام حارة حتى اذا كان
في اليوم الذي قدم فيه رسول الله صلعم جلسنا كما كنا نجلس حتى اذا لم يبق ظل دخلنا بيوتنا وقدم رسول الله صلعم
حين دخلنا البيوت فكان اول من راه رجل من اليهود وقد راى ما كنا نضع وانا كنا ننتظر قدوم رسول الله صلعم
فصرخ باعلى صوته يا بنى قيلة هذا جدكم قد جاء قال فخرجنا الى رسول الله صلعم وهو في ظل نخلة ومعه ابو بكر
في مثل سنه واكثرنا من لم يكن راى رسول الله صلعم قبل ذلك قال وركبه الناس وما نعرفه من ابى بكر حتى زال
الظل عن رسول الله صلعم فقام ابو بكر فاظله بردائه فعرفناه عند ذلك.

45.

ورأوا صخرة طويلة، فسوّى أبو بكر عندها مكاناً ليقيل فيه رسول الله، صلى الله عليه وسلم، وليستظّل بظّلها، فنام
رسول الله، صلى الله عليه وسلم، وحرسه أبو بكر حتى رحلوا بعدما زالت الشمس.

46.

فلما اشتد الحر عليهم نزلوا فقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم في ظل شجرة وجلس ابو بكر رضى الله عنه يرصده
الى ان استيقظ فلما استيقظ ركبوا وساروا.

47.

وامر ابو بكر ابنه عبد الله بن ابى بكر ان يسمع لهما ما يقول الناس فيهما نهاره ثم ياتيها اذا امسى بما يكون في ذلك
اليوم من الخبر وامر عامر بن فهيرة مولاة ان يرعى غنمه نهاره ثم يريها عليهما اذا امسى بالغار وكانت اسماء
بنت ابى بكر تاتيها من الطعام اذا امست بما يصلحهما فاقام رسول الله صلعم في الغار ثلثا ومعه ابو بكر.

48.

وخرجا من خوخة في بيت ابى بكر في ظهر بيته، ثم عمدا إلى غار بثور فدخلاه، وأمر أبو بكر ابنه عبد الله أن
يستمع لهما بمكة نهاره ثم ياتيها ليلا، وأمر عامر بن فهيرة مولاة أن يرعى نهاره ثم ياتيها بها ليلا، وكانت أسماء
بنت ابى بكر تاتيها بطعامها مساء، فأقاما في الغار ثلاثا.

49.

ثم استاجر ابو بكر رضي الله عنه شخصا من المشركن اسمه اريقط الديلى وقيل ابن ارقدليكون لهم دليلا الى المدينة ولم يعرف هجرة النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من المسلمن غير علي وابي بكر فانطلقوا من بيت ابي بكر الى كهف هناك يسمى غارثور وامن ابو بكر ابنه عبد الله ان لا يفارق البلد بالنهار وتفحص عن احوال الناس ويسمع ما يقولون في حقهما ويجئ في الليل اليهما ويعلمهما بحال قريش وامن ايضا (صورة) وامن ايضا مولاه فهيرة الراعي ان يرعى الاغنام التى لابي بكر بالنهار ويجئ بها اخر النهار الى الغار وقت الحلب وكانوا يحلبونها ويقوتون بالبانها.

50.

(قد جاء تكم بينة من ربكم هذه ناقة الله لكم اية)

51.

(ويقوم هذه ناقة الله لكم اية)

52.

(واتينا ثمود الناقة مبصرة)

53.

(فات باية ان كنت من الصادقين. قال هذه ناقة)

54.

قالت ثمود لصالح ائتنا باية ان كنت من الصادقين قال فقال لهم صالح اخرجوا الى هضبة من الارض فاذا هي تتمخض كما تتمخض الحامل ثم تفرجت فخرجت من وسطها الناقة فقال صالح عم هذه ناقة الله لكم اية فذروها تاكل في ارض الله ولا تمسوها بسؤ فياخذكم عذاب اليم لها شرب ولكم شرب يوم معلوم فلما ملوها عقروها فقال لهم تمتعوا في داركم ثلاثة ايام ذلك وعد غير مكذوب.

55.

وقال له سيّد قومه: يا صالح أخرج لنا من هذه الصخرة منفردة – ناقة جوفاء عشاء، فإن فعلت ذلك صدّقناك. فأخذ عليهم الموائيق بذلك وأتى الصخرة وصلى ودعا ربّه عزّ وجلّ فإذا هي تتمخض كما تتمخض الحامل ثم انفجرت وخرجت من وسطها الناقة كما طلبوا.

56.

اذا اخرجت من هذا الحجر على سبيل المعجزة ناقة واشادوا الى حجر عظيم كان على ذلك الجبل فلما راي انه لا يفيد مع اوليك القوم شيء دعا الى الله تعالى فاجاب دعوته فظهر من ذلك الحجر ناقة في غاية الحسن فامنوا وبقوا اياما على ذلك ثم عادوا عن قليل الى الضلال والطغيان واخرجوا صالحا النبي من بينهم وعقروا الناقة (صورة).

57.

(اذ قال لهم اخوهم هود الائتقون اني لكم رسول امين فاتقوا الله واطيعون وما اسئلكم عليه من اجر ان اجرى الاعلى رب العلمين اتبنون بكل ريع اية تعبشون وتتخذون مصانع لعلكم تخلدون واذا بطشتم بطشتم جبارين فاتقوا الله واطيعون واتقوا الذى امدكم بما تعلمون امدكم بانعام وبنين وجنت و عيون انى اخاف عليكم عذاب يوم عظيم)

58.

(الم تركيف فعل ربك بعاد ارم ذات العماد التي لم يخلق مثلها في البلاد.)

59.

فاما عاد

فان الله عز وجل ارسل اليهم هود بن عبد الله بن رباح بن الخلود بن عاد بن عوض بن ارم بن سام بن نوح ومن اهل النساب من يزعم ان هودا هو عابر بن شالغ بن ارفخشذ بن سام بن نوح، وكانوا اهل اوثان ثلاثة يعبدونها يقال لاحدهما صدا وللآخر صمود وللثالث الهباء فدعاهم الى توحيد الله وافراده بالعبادة دون غيره وترك ظلم الناس فكذبوه وقالوا من اشد منا قوة فلم يؤمن بهود منهم الا قليل فوعظهم هود اذ تمادوا في طغيانهم فقال لهم اتبنون بكل ريع اية تعبثون، وتتخذون مصانع لعلكم تخلدون، واذا بطشتم بكشتم جبارين، فاتقوا الله واطيعون واتقوا الذى امدكم بما تعلمون، امدكم بانعام وبنين، وجنت و عيون، انى اخاف عليكم عذاب يوم عظيم، فكان جوابهم له ان قالوا سوا علينا او عظت ام لم تكن من الواعظين وقالوا له يا هود ما جئتنا ببينة وما نحن بتاركى الهتنا عن قولك وما نحن لك بمؤمنين، ان نقول الا اعتراك بعض الهتنا بسوء، فحبس الله عنهم فيما ذكر القطر سنين ثلثا حتى جهدوا فاوفدوا وفدا ليستسقوا لهم .

60.

ذكر الأحداث التي كانت بين نوح وإبراهيم

فاما عاد فهو عاد بن عوض بن ارم بن سام بن نوح، وهو عاد الأولى، وكانت مساكنهم ما بين الشحر و عمان و حضر موت بالاحقاف، فكانوا جبارين طوال القامة لم يكن مثلهم، يقول الله تعالى: واذ كروا إذ جعلكم خلفاء من بعد قوم نوح وزاد كم في الخلق بسطة، فأرسل الله إليهم هود بن عبد الله بن رباح بن الخلود بن عاد بن عوض، ومن الناس من يزعم انه هود وهو غابر بن شالغ بن ارفخشذ بن سام بن نوح، وكانوا أهل اوثان ثلاثة يقال لاحدها ضرا وللآخر ضمور وللثالث الهباء، فدعاهم إلى توحيد الله وإفراده بالعبادة دون غيره وترك ظلم الناس.

61.

وذلك الذي بنا بلد مرارم وارسل الى هولاء السلاطين الثلاثة الذين كانوا من قبله (...) ما يمكنهم ويقررون عليه من الذهب والفضة وانواع الجواهر الطيب كل واحد مما في مملكته ففعلوا ذلك وانفذوا اليه ما امكنهم... واستغل بعمارتها قرب ثلثمائة سنة... هو مذكور في الكليم القديم ارم ذات العماد التي لم سلق مثلها في البلاد واغترتلك العمارة وزاد في الكفر والطغيان وزاد تجبره حتى كفر با نعم الله سبحانه وتعالى (صورة) وارسل الله تعالى هود النبي عليه السلم وكان من اشراف اوليك القوم ومن سلالة تلك الذرية.

62.

وهو الذى كشف عن زمزم بئر اسماعيل بن ابراهيم واستخرج ما كان فيها مدفونا وذلك غزالان من ذهب كانت جرهم دفنتهما فيما ذكر حين اخرجت من مكة واسياف قلعية.

63.

قد نذر حين لقي من قريش في حفر زمزم...

64.

سبب حفر بئر زمزم

...

ليس كبعض ما قد تعلم، وهي بين الفرث والدم، عند نقرة الغراب الأعصم، عند قرية النمل. فلما بين له شأنها ودل على موضعها وعرف أنه قد صدق، غدا بمعوله ومعه ابنه الحارث ليس له ولد غيره، فحفر بين إساف ونائلة في الموضع الذي تنحر قريش لأصنامها، وقد رأى الغراب ينقر هناك... ثم ركب عبد المطلب، فلما انبعثت به راحلته انفجرت من تحت خفها عين عذبة من ماء، فكبر وكبر أصحابه وشربوا... إن الذي سفاك هذا الماء بهذه الفلاة لهو الذي سفاك زمزم، فارجع إلى سقايتك راشدا.

65.

عند نقرة الغراب الأعصم (صورة) عند قرية النمل فعرف عبد المطلب موضعها ونعتها فلما أصبح (صورة) اخذ الفاس واخذ ابنه الحرث معه فجاء الى ذلك الموضع المنعوت (صورة) فوقف قريبا منه فرأى غرابا ينقر ذلك الموضع فقدم عبد المطلب الى (صورة) ذلك الموضع فضربه بفاسه مشهد من قريش وهم يضحكون عليه ويتعجبون (صورة) منه فوجد بعد برهة قليلة بيورا مطمومة.

CHAPTER 5

Relating Spaces and Times in Astronomy and Governance

As analyzed in Chapter 3, the *Jami al-Tawarikh* land renditions bring the conceptualizations of space and time to the center of the viewer's experience of encountering a painting. The Ilkhanid viewer may have been new to this since none of the surviving pre-Ilkhanid paintings operate in a similar fashion. This makes it difficult to articulate purely in art historical terms how the Ilkhanid reader/viewer may have interpreted the issues of space and time played out in the *Jami al-Tawarikh* land renditions.

On the other hand, the Ilkhanid astronomical methods of conceptualizing physical space and time formed part of the court education and may have helped the Ilkhanid viewer conceptualize pictorial space and time in his visual experience of encountering the *Jami al-Tawarikh*. The Ilkhanids invested as much in astronomy as they did in book-making projects; they built the state-of-the-art observatory at Maragha and promoted scholars like Nasir al-Din al-Tusi (d. 1274), who later became the most prominent astronomer in the Ilkhanid court. Without speaking of the "period eye," it may be fruitful to make cognitive analogies and connections in the Ilkhanid intellectual mind for clues to the pictorial significations of *Jami al-Tawarikh* land renditions. The connection made here between the *Jami al-Tawarikh* land renditions and Ilkhanid

astronomy is on a theoretical plane rather than an exploration of intertextuality. The aim is to find ways to articulate the visual experience of the new painting style in Ilkhanid terms.

Particularly in the *Jami al-Tawarikh*, Rashid al-Din lays out in the introduction that "Tome Three is an exposition of the shapes of the climes and routes through realms."⁽¹⁾²⁶² Although this section on geography was either never written or has not survived, its inclusion in the *Jami al-Tawarikh* project suggests that Rashid al-Din's vision of historiography encompassed geographical knowledge and concepts. In this light, how geography relates to historiography in the Ilkhanid context is an important subject that needs a thorough research.

This dissertation does not include a study of Ilkhanid geographical writings, such as Mustawfi's *Nuzhat al-Qulub* (1340) which was written about thirty-five years after the production of the *Jami al-Tawarikh*.²⁶³ It is also not my claim that astronomy is geography although both depend on calculations of astronomical observations.²⁶⁴ Rather, at this point in my project, I choose to concentrate on scientific writings from before the production of the *Jami al-Tawarikh*. For the same reason, this discussion excludes Ibn al-Shatir's (1304-75) treatise, *Kitab nihayat al-sul fi tashih al-usul* ("The Final Quest Concerning the Rectification of Principles"). While leaving this link between later Ilkhanid geographical writings and the *Jami al-Tawarikh* land renditions as a future project, this dissertation conjectures what kinds of scientific conceptualizations of physical space and time may have formed the viewership of the *Jami al-Tawarikh*.

²⁶² Thackston, *Jami 'u't-tawarikh*, 11. Karimi, *Jami al-Tawarikh*, 16. Like Chapter 4, all original texts are in the appendix to this chapter, and the numbers in parantheses correspond with those in Appendix.

²⁶³ I thank Prof. Charles Melville for pointing this out to me.

²⁶⁴ I thank both Prof. Michael Bonner and Prof. Charles Melville for pointing this out to me.

Who were the viewers of the *Jami al-Tawarikh*? As explained in Chapter 4, Rashid al-Din specified in the *Waqfnama* that at least two copies of the *Jami al-Tawarikh* were to be sent out to *madrasas* (schools) in the Ilkhanid Empire and that it had to be in simple writing so as to be understood by "different minds" and by the "elite and common alike." The extent to which this ambition was realized is unverifiable now; in fact, the dearth of surviving copies of the *Jami al-Tawarikh* seems to indicate otherwise. Realistically speaking, the viewers of the *Jami al-Tawarikh* were probably highly educated Ilkhanid courtiers, who may have imagined their political community on a large scale through the *Jami al-Tawarikh* project.²⁶⁵ For the purpose of understanding the Ilkhanid viewership, studying Nasir al-Din al-Tusi's astronomical writings may shed light on the epistemological environment of the *Jami al-Tawarikh* paintings.²⁶⁶

In addition to astronomy, governance also depends on a system of conceptualizing and ordering the land space, leading to an imagination of political power.²⁶⁷ The Ilkhanids inherited many different structures of governance, from the pre-Ilkhanid Persianate and Islamic worlds and China as well as from their nomadic ancestors. Instead of following one of these pre-existing structures, the Ilkhanids synthesized their own system of governance that had particularly complicated variances in space and time. Sheila Blair has pointed out that battle scenes and conquests are the most frequently

²⁶⁵ As Tomoko Masuya argues, the Ilkhanid courtiers were probably composed of the locals and people from China. Masuya, "Courtly Life."

²⁶⁶ As Martin Powers contends, landscape paintings in Song China may have provided an arena for social mobility. Although I do not attempt to compare the *Jami al-Tawarikh* land renditions to Song landscape paintings, I hypothesize that the Ilkhanid court community allowed a similar function for the *Jami al-Tawarikh* land renditions. Powers, "Landscape."

²⁶⁷ Martin Jones, Rhys Jones, and Mike Woods, *An Introduction to Political Geography: Space, Place, and Politics*, London, 2004. Per Torsvik, *Mobilization, Center-Periphery Structures and Nation-Building*, New York, 1981. John A. Agnew, *Place and Politics: the Geographical Mediation of State and Society*, Boston, 1987. Kevin R. Cox, *Political Geography: Territory, State, and Society*, Oxford, 2002. Jean Hillier and Emma Rooksby, eds., *Habitus: a Sense of Place*, Burlington, VT, 2002.

illustrated subject matter for the Ghaznavids and that this may have had to do with the Ilkhanids' efforts to legitimize their power in the Islamic world.²⁶⁸

Extending this idea further, I link the *Jami al-Tawarikh* land renditions to the complex process of conceptualizing political space and time in the Ilkhanid context. Thomas Allsen has worked through both *Jami al-Tawarikh* and *Yuan Shi* (Yuan dynastic history) in his study of cultural exchange and power negotiations between Ilkhanid Iran and Yuan China.²⁶⁹ Weaving his accomplishments in my discussion below, I ponder how pictorial renditions of land in the *Jami al-Tawarikh* may have had political meanings in terms of space and time across Asia.

Astronomy

The people of the Middle East had made astronomical observations and models before the advent of Islam, and their achievements had a great impact on the later geographical study of the region.²⁷⁰ For example, the table of geographical data, *zij*, which became one of the main forms of geographical discourse in the Islamic world, originated in pre-Islamic times.²⁷¹ Yet, the practice of Islam particularly encouraged a

²⁶⁸ Although the section on Ghaznavid history is highly illustrated and the most illustrated subject matter does concern battles and conquests, as Blair points out, we do not actually know how this may compare to the rest of the manuscript because most of the manuscript has not survived. Blair, *Compendium*, 55.

²⁶⁹ Allsen, *Culture*.

²⁷⁰ Most of the astronomical research from the medieval Islamic world was probably used for an astrological purpose, including Nasir al-Din al-Tusi's work. This was not the sole use of astronomical knowledge, however, and it was also used for purposes of travel, finding directions, etc. My discussion here does not include the usage of astronomy but, rather, what kinds of thinking process astronomy would have prompted in the reader or, conversely, how the patrons may have processed astronomical knowledge.

²⁷¹ King, "Zij" in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Leiden, 1971. E. S. Kennedy, "The Astronomical Tables of Ibn al-Alam" *Journal for the History of Arabic Science*, 1, 1977, 13-23. R. Mercier, "The Parameters of the Zij of Ibn al-Alam" *AIHS*, 39, 1989, 22-50. Rashid and Morelon, *Arabic Science*. Al-Hassan et al., "Astronomical Tables and Theory" in *Science and Technology in Islam*, 209 – 234. M. J. Tichenor, "Late Medieval Two-Argument Tables for Planetary Longitudes," *JNES*, 26, 1967, 126-128. George A. Saliba,

widespread use of astronomical knowledge. Every Muslim faces in the direction of Mecca (*qibla*) for daily prayers. To find the *qibla* from various parts of the Islamic world, Muslims used and further developed pre-Islamic instruments such as astrolabes.²⁷² The pilgrimage to Mecca (*hajj*), obligatory for every Muslim, also involved long journeys overland and overseas. Although not everyone could afford such travels, knowledge of terrains, paths, astronomical movements, and political divisions necessary for making the *hajj* became widely available.

In order to develop astronomical knowledge, people of the Islamic world built observatories. Although it is speculated that the Umayyads (661 – 750) had an observatory near Damascus, the first observatory of the Islamic world was probably built during the reign of the seventh Abbasid ruler, al-Ma'mun (r. 813 – 833).²⁷³ The data obtained in al-Ma'mun's observatory were apparently recorded in the *Mamuni Zij*, which has not survived the time. Although some private observatories were also built in the Abbasid period, such as that of Dinawari (815-895) in the city of Dinawar now located in western Iran, they did not match the imperial observatories in terms of the caliber of equipments and the lifespan of architecture. The modern historian Aydin Sayili calls most of these observatories “observation posts” rather than “full-fledged observatories” because of the limited scope of the projects that these institutes seem to have carried out.

Abbasid imperial patronage for astronomical research is considered to have culminated in the ninth century. This period has been called the “golden age” of

"The Double Argument Lunar Tables of Cyriacus," *Journal for the History of Astronomy*, 7, 1976, 41-46.
Saliba, "The Planetary Tables of Cyriacus," *Journal for the History of Arabic Science*, 2, 1978, 53-65.
Saliba, "Computational Techniques in a Set of Late Medieval Astronomical Tables," *Journal for the History of Arabic Science*, 1, 1977, 24-32.

²⁷² King, *World-Maps*.

²⁷³ Sayili, *Observatory*. For the plan of the Maragha observatory, see D. N. Wilber, *The Architecture of Islamic Iran*, Princeton, 1955, figure 5.

astronomical study in the Islamic world, after which it seems to have lost its momentum, resulting in fewer constructions of observatories and less production of astronomical writings. The Ilkhanids reversed this downward trend; they newly energized the field of astronomy with an unprecedented amount of funding and human resources. As a result, the number of *zijs*, which had decreased slowly after the ninth century, soared in the Ilkhanid period (**Figure 43**). The thirteenth-century observatory in the city of Maragha, near Tabriz in Iran, trumped all Abbasid observatories so much so that Aydin Sayili calls it “one of the most important observatories of Islam, and probably the most important of them all.”²⁷⁴

Unlike earlier observatories, the Maragha one was funded by religious endowment (*waqf*) and composed not only of a library and research institute but also of a school (*madrassa*).²⁷⁵ It outlived its founder, Hulagu and seems to have functioned in good order during the reigns of Abaqa (1265-81), Ahmad Takudar (1281-84), Arghun (1284-91), Gaykhatu (1291-95), Baydu, Ghazan Mahmud (1295-1303), and Oljeitu (1303-1316).²⁷⁶ The instruments in the Maragha observatory were monumental and precise. Mu’ayyad al-Din al-‘Urdu, who worked at the Maragha observatory, describes a mural quadrant with a radius of around 430 cm, an armillary sphere with a radius of about 160 cm, a solstitial armilla with a radius of 125 cm, an equinoctial armilla, and a parallactic ruler that could measure a circle with a radius of 250 cm.²⁷⁷

In his chronograph in Syriac, the bishop Barhebraeus (Gregory Abu al-Faraj, 1226 - 86) describes the academic surroundings of the Maragha observatory:

²⁷⁴ Sayili, *Observatory*, 189.

²⁷⁵ Ibid.

²⁷⁶ Ibid., 211.

²⁷⁷ Muayyad al-Din al-‘Urdu, *Risala fi Kayfiya al-Arsad*, trans. by Hugo J. Seemann, *Die Instrumente der Sternwarte zu Maragha, Sitzungsberichte der Phys. – Med. Sozietät*, Erlangen, 1928, trans. into English by Sayili in *Observatory*, 199.

And in this year (1274) died Khwajah Nasir, the Persian philosopher (Nasir al-Din al-Tusi (1201-1274), the director of the Maragha observatory). He was a man renowned and famous, and was pre-eminent in all the branches of science, and was especially learned in those dealing with mathematics. He constructed instruments for the observations of the stars, and the great brass spheres which were more wonderful than those which Ptolemy set up in Alexandria, and he observed and defined the courses of the stars. And there were gathered together about him in Maragha, a city of Adhorbijan, a numerous company of wise men from various countries. And since the councils of all the mosques and the houses of instruction of Baghdad and Assyria were under his direction he used to allot stipends to the teachers and to the pupils who were with him. About this time, having set out for Baghdad to visit various places, he died in Baghdad. And certain men have reported that he was blind. He wrote many books— explanations on rhetoric and natural and divine learning. He arranged Euclid and Magisti very accurately. And there is also [attributed] to him a lexicographical work in Persian in which he taught the meaning of the words of Plato and Aristotle on practical philosophy. For he held fast to the opinions of the early philosophers, and he combated vigorously in his writings those who contradicted them.²⁷⁸

According to Barhebraeus, Nasir al-Din al-Tusi actively participated in scholarly discourses through writings. His instruments exceeded those of Ptolemy, and Maragha matched the reputation of ancient Alexandria. Al-Tusi cooperated with a “numerous company of wise men from various countries” and oversaw all the schools in “Baghdad and Assyria.”

In the introduction to the *Zij-i Ilkhani* (“Ilkhanid Table”), al-Tusi names some of the scholars working under him:

[Hulagu Khan] sought philosophers having knowledge of observations, such as Mu’aiyid al-Din ‘Urdu who was in Damascus, Fakhr al-Din Khilati of Tiflis, Fakhr al-Din Maraghi of Mausil and Najm al-Din Dabiran of Qazvin. They chose Maragha as the place for the observations to be made, and applied themselves to this task, making instruments and erecting buildings suitable for the purpose. He also ordered them to bring books from Baghdad, Syria, Mausil and Khurasan and

²⁷⁸ Barhebraeus, *The Chronography of Gregory Abu’l Faraj*, trans. by Wallis Budge, v.1, 451-2, p. xxxiii; G. D. Mamedbeili, *Osnovatel’ Maraginskoi observatorii Nasireddin Tusi*, Baku, 1961, 194.

to put them in the place where they would make observations, so that the whole affair went forward in excellent order.²⁷⁹

In addition to the scholars listed here, at least one Chinese geographer seems to have worked under al-Tusi, namely, Fao Mun-Ji (فومنجى) who came to Iran with Hulagu.²⁸⁰

To this, Aydin Sayili adds ‘Ali ibn ‘Umar al-Qazwini, Muhyi al-Din al-Maghribi, Qutb al-Din al-Shirazi, Shams al-Din al-Shirwani, ‘Abd al-Razzaq ibn al-Tuwati, Kamal al-Din al-Ayki, Husam al-Din al-Shami, Athir al-Din al-Abhari, Shams al-Din ibn Muhammad ibn Muayyad al-‘Urdu, and al-Tusi’s two sons, Asil al-Din and Sadr al-Din.²⁸¹ The scholars who worked at the Maragha observatory, then, came from all over the known world, ranging from North Africa to China.

Reflecting this diversity, al-Tusi uses the Mongol, Chinese, Greek, Islamic, and Persian calendars in the introduction to the *Zij-i Ilkhani*:

[Genghis Khan defeated Ilaqa Sengum.] This was in the Tonghuz Yil: in the reckoning of the astronomers of Cathay, the year *gui khai*, which was the last year of the *jung wan*, i.e. the middle cycle, there having elapsed since the beginning of the world 8863 *wan* of years and 9788 years. In the reckoning of the Greeks it is the year 1154 from the reign of Alexander, the son of Philip, the Greek, who came forth from Greece and traversed the whole world from East to West in seven years; and no king withstood him but he vanquished him. In the reckoning of the Arabs [it is] the year 599 from the flight of the Prophet of the Muslims (may God bless him and give him peace!) from Mecca, which was his home, to Medina; thereafter he led out armies from Medina and all Arabia submitted to him; and after his death his religion penetrated to the uttermost parts of India, Turkistan, and the West. And in the reckoning of the Persians [it is] the year 570 from the beginning

²⁷⁹ British Library MS. (Add. 7698), trans by Arberry in *Persian Literature*, 13. Saliba explains how Mu'ayyad al-Din al-‘Urdu (d. 1266) was brought to the Maragha observatory in “Notes and Correspondence, the First Non-Ptolemaic Astronomy at the Maragha School,” *Isis*, 1979, 50 - 76.

²⁸⁰ Constantine d’Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, III, Amsterdam, 1852, 265 and n. 3. Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, III, Cambridge, U.K., 1959, 375 note d. George Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, part II, Huntington, N. Y., 1975, 1013-14. For the translation of Mu’ayid al-Din al-‘Urdu’s description of the instruments at Maragha, see J. Boyle, “The Longer introduction to the *Zij-i Ilkhani* of Nasir ad-Din Tusi” *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 1963, 8:253.

²⁸¹ Sayili, *Observatory*, 205.

of the reign of Yazdijird, the son of Shahriyar, who was the last of the kings of Persia of the descendants of Kisra Anushirvan. (2)²⁸²

As Thomas Allsen points out, at least the intended audience of the *Zij-i Ilkhani* was, then, of various cultural backgrounds, and it is possible that the information gathered here was transmitted by the scientists from all over the world as well as their books.²⁸³ Al Tusi himself came to work at the Maragha observatory under unusual circumstances; he was hand-picked when the Ilkhanid ruler Hulagu sacked Alamut in 1256 and defeated his former patrons, the Isma^cilis.²⁸⁴

Ilkhanid patronage may have focused Nasir al-Din al-Tusi's scholarship on astronomy. In the introduction to the *Zij-i Ilkhani*, al-Tusi claims as much:

At the time that he (Hulagu Khan) seized the dominions of the heretics (Alamut of Ismailis), I Nasir al-Din who am of Tus and had fallen into the power of the heretics—me he brought forth from that place and ordered to observe the stars. He sought philosophers having knowledge of observation...The fame of this great work (erection of the observatory at Maragha and collecting books on astronomy) spread throughout the world.²⁸⁵

Tusi's main motive for making such a claim may have been to appeal to his patrons or to facilitate scholarly networking. Yet this self-acknowledgement at least tells us that the prosperity of astronomical research in the Ilkhanid court could be seen as an important watershed in his biography. It is not attempted here to force links between Nasir al-Din al-Tusi's patterns of scholarship and patronage. It is possible, however, to imagine that the enormous amount of funding and highly skilled human labor that the Ilkhanids provided for him or that he and fellow scholars succeeded in securing for themselves may have prompted the already versatile scholar to specialize in astronomical research.

²⁸² British Museum MS. (Or. 7464). I take the transcription and translation from Boyle, "Introduction," 8:244-254.

²⁸³ Allsen, "Astronomy" in *Culture*, 164.

²⁸⁴ Ragep, *Memoir*, 1 – 13.

²⁸⁵ Arberry, *Persian Literature*, 13.

Regardless of whether this change in affiliation was “betrayal” or “political genius,” what is relevant here is that the focus of his work changed drastically, from philosophy at Alamut to astronomy at Maragha.²⁸⁶ The academic production at Maragha by al-Tusi and his colleagues shifted the scholarly trend in the larger context of the Islamic world, marking a breakthrough in the regional history of scientific research as well as in his biography.

Nasir al-Din al-Tusi’s life, spanning from 1201 to 1274, preceded the *Jami al-Tawarikh* production by half a century. Nevertheless, al-Tusi’s reputation as the most important scientist under Ilkhanid patronage was recognized not only by his contemporaries but also by the later Ilkhanids, such as Rashid al-Din in the *Jami al-Tawarikh*.²⁸⁷ Moreover, the academic environment that he oversaw at the Maragha observatory continued to flourish after his death, producing important astronomical writings, such as Ibn al-Shatir’s (fl. Damascus, 1304 – 1375) treatise, *Kitab nihayat al-sul fi tashih al-usul* ("The Final Quest Concerning the Rectification of Principles"), which historians of science generally agree was the source for the sixteenth-century astronomer Nicolaus Copernicus' *De revolutionibus*.²⁸⁸ The Maragha scholars from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries share similar agenda and approaches, so much so that they are grouped together as the Maragha “school” in current scholarship. The writings attributed to al-Tusi were probably based on the cooperation of many scholars including him, as is characteristic of medieval scholarship. Understanding this, one can argue that al-Tusi's

²⁸⁶ “Betrayal” was a term used by Reuben Levy in *Persian Literature, an Introduction*, London, 1923, 67. “Political genius” was Ragep’s term in *Memoir*, 11.

²⁸⁷ [هولاکوخان] خواجه نصیر الدین طوسی را طلب فرمود و با وی کنکاج کرد خواجه متوهم گشت و پنداشت که بر سبیل امتحان است Karimi, *Jami al-Tawarikh*, 261.

²⁸⁸ Kenney, "Planetary Theory" in *Ibn al-Shatir*. Kennedy, "Survey."

work at least lets us see the collective efforts in astronomical research in the Ilkhanid court.

The two most important writings that Nasir al-Din al-Tusi produced at Maragha are *Zij-i Ilkhani* ("Ilkhanid Table") and the *Tadhkira fi 'ilm al-hay'a* ("A Memoir on the Science of Astronomy"). The *Zij-i Ilkhani* updated older *zijos* in the Islamic world based on the new data obtained at the Maragha observatory.²⁸⁹ Being the first important publication from Maragha, one can see that it was an extract of the intellectual energy and efforts of the newly formulated academy. Al-Tusi's monumental treatise, *Tadhkira*, was the most comprehensive work of the time, explaining general concepts and methods in the field of astronomy.²⁹⁰ It gives an overview of astronomical knowledge; it begins with a definition of astronomy and of geometrical figures, upon which it slowly builds more complex discussions of the configurations of astronomical bodies. Not incidentally, the two genres, *zij* (table) and *tadhkira* (memoir) had been the most important means through which astronomy was discussed in the pre-Ilkhanid Islamic world, as it is explained below.

The copious funding for astronomical study on the imperial level tells us that the problem of space and time concerned the intellectual milieu of the Ilkhanid court. If the *Jami al-Tawarikh* paintings newly facilitated visual conceptualizations of space and time, could this be related to the methods of conceptualizing space and time in the field of astronomy? How Nasir al-Din al-Tusi's work marked a continuation of or a break from the existing tradition in the Islamic world may give us clues to what concepts of space

²⁸⁹ Based on his analysis of the *Talkhis al-Majisti* of Maghribi from Leiden, Saliba suspects that *Zij-i Ilkhani* was not based on the observations made by Maghribi, who worked at the Maragha observatory. Saliba, "Documents and Translations, An Observational Notebook of a Thirteenth-Century Astronomer," *Isis*, 1983, v. 74, 388 – 401.

²⁹⁰ Sadr al-Shari'a, *An Islamic Response to Greek Astronomy, Kitab ta'dil hayat al-aflak*, ed. and trans. by Ahmad S. Dallal, Leiden, New York, Koln, 1995.

and time the Ilkhanid thinker may have explored. Understanding these concepts leads to a possible theorization of how the Ilkhanid viewer may have participated in the discourse of space and time through the *Jami al-Tawarikh* land renditions.

Conceptualization of Space through the Medieval *Zij*

Historians of science now generally agree that the *zij* was the main form in which astronomical research was published in the pre-Ilkhanid Islamic world. The Ilkhanids reinforced the old tradition by refueling the production of *zij*. But why did they follow the local tradition instead of fueling a new form of astronomical and geographical study, such as maps? In fact, Thomas Allsen argues that the cartographic techniques traveled from West to East Asia during the Mongol rule.²⁹¹ Yet, the advancement of technology contradicted with the level of production of maps across Asia. The Yuan Chinese made maps for administrative purposes.²⁹² The Ilkhanids, on the other hand, produced many more *zijs* than maps according to records, and because no Ilkhanid map survives, it is difficult to conclude that the Ilkhanids were zealous map makers. On the contrary, the Ilkhanids made *zijs*. A simple answer may be a political one, that the Ilkhanids were addressing a local audience and regional scholarship. This was not unusual in the Persianate world; both Ghaznavids (962 – 1186) and Saljuqs (1040 – 1157) who ruled Iran before the Ilkhanids assimilated to the local culture instead of continuing the

²⁹¹ Allsen, “Geography and Cartography.”

²⁹² Tan Qixiang ed., *The Historical Atlas of China*, v. 7, The Yuan Dynasty Period, The Ming Dynasty Period. Cao Wanru, Zheng Xihuang, Huang Shengzhang, Niu Zhongxun, Ren Jincheng, Ju Deyuan eds., *An Atlas of Ancient Maps in China from the Warring States Period to the Yuan Dynasty (476 B.C. – A.D. 1368)*, Beijing, 1990.

practices of their ancestors from Central Asia.²⁹³

Here, I explore a cognitive reason for why the way space and time were conceptualized through the form of *zij* was more appropriate for the Ilkhanid astronomical discourse. Scholars like John Pickles have studied the social implications of the modern technologies of gathering, analyzing, and mapping geographic data, especially in the GIS (Geographic Information Systems).²⁹⁴ Pickles argues that the GIS is transforming “our ways of worldmaking and the ways in which geographers and others think about and visualize the places, regions, environments, and peoples of the earth.”²⁹⁵ Similarly, technologies of geography were also linked to how one imagines the physical and social world in pre-modern times. Examining this link through the *zij* may lead to a better understanding of the conceptual tools of visualizing the world accessible to the Ilkhanid viewer.

Historians of cartography have noted the scarcity of maps from the medieval Islamic world.²⁹⁶ Most of the pre-Ilkhanid maps come from the twelfth century or before; one of the first groups of mapmakers is the al-Balkhi “school” of tenth-century scholars Ibn Hawqal, al-Istakhri, and al-Muqaddasi, so named because they cite the contemporary al-Balkhi in their work. Their maps (صورة الارض “picture of the Earth”) were not based on longitudinal or latitudinal accuracy; rather, they allowed the viewer to

²⁹³ Komaroff and Carboni, *Legacy*. Boyle, *Cambridge History of Iran*.

²⁹⁴ John Pickles, ed., *Ground Truth: The Social Implications of Geographic Information Systems*, New York, London, 1995. Nicholas K. Blomley, *Law, Space, and the Geographies of Power*, New York, 1994. Denis Wood, *The Power of Maps*, New York, 1992. Paul Cloke, Chris Philo, and David Sadler, *Approaching Human Geography: An Introduction to Contemporary Theoretical Debates*, New York, 1991.

²⁹⁵ Pickles, *Ground Truth*, vii.

²⁹⁶ Harley and Woodward, *Cartography*. My discussion excludes the issue of “mapping” as a construct that can be applied to many human activities, ranging from theology to colonialization. Here, what I mean by “map” is a two-dimensional representation of geographical information based on absolute coordinates and projections. Cosgrove ed., *Mappings*, London, 1999. Wood, *Power of Maps*. Pickles, *Ground Truth*. Kathleen Kirby, *Indifferent Boundaries: Spatial Concepts of Human Subjectivity*, New York, 1996.

visualize relationships between places. These scholars' interest in distances between caravansaries and their patronage by the Persian merchant classes suggest that they may have accommodated a private interest rather than a pan-Islamic discourse on an imperial level.²⁹⁷

The maps from the *Nuzhat al-Mushtaq fi ikhtiraq al-Afaq* (*Book of Roger*) by the twelfth-century geographer al-Idrisi are much celebrated in current scholarship.²⁹⁸ They were not, however, made for a patron in the Islamic world but for a European patron. This work, therefore, cannot represent the general interest in map making in the Islamic world although these maps deserve a thorough case-study. Moreover, the *Nuzhat* does not consist solely of maps; al-Idrisi also meticulously compiled tables in the form of *zij*. Al-Idrisi presents a total of seventy maps for seven climates, each with ten sub-regions, but he does not put together these sectional maps to make one single continuous map, as has been done with his maps by the modern scholar Miller in *Mappae Arabicae*.²⁹⁹ It seems that the fractional maps were indeed what al-Idrisi intended. This suggests that his maps may have functioned similarly as his tables, with discrete geographical data captured on separate maps. Modern scholars' attention to al-Idrisi's maps may, then, be driven by the interest of our time and may not tell us much about the role of maps in the medieval Islamic world.

The Ilkhanids did not make maps while, at the same time, generously funding the production of tables. What can this preference of the form of *zij* to map tell us about the epistemological environment of the Ilkhanid court? Since how the Ilkhanids conceptualized space through *zij* was not documented or discussed in the

²⁹⁷ Harley and Woodward, *Cartography*.

²⁹⁸ Ibid. Miller, *Mappae arabicae*.

²⁹⁹ Miller, *Mappae arabicae*.

contemporaneous times, I attempt to theorize here how the *zijs* compel us in the twenty-first century to visualize space first and then suggest ideas on how this theorization can be linked to the way Ilkhanids experienced *Jami al-Tawarikh* paintings.

Maps are two-dimensional representations of geographical information, based on absolute coordinates and projections. Visually, one grasps space at once when looking at a map; if one makes a conceptual journey, one can see the beginning and the end and what lies in between in any order one chooses. On the other hand, the tables in medieval *zijs* are records of movements; they allow the reader to follow calculation to calculation, one entry to the other, on a journey that a body has taken. In the tables, then, space is conceptualized through dynamic motions and not through a still representation. It lets the reader relish each movement rather than grasp a trajectory at once on the imaginary plane of a map. In the tables, movements define space, and one conceptualizes space only in relative terms.

I will call this operation of conceptualizing space in medieval geography “placing.” The noun “place” is a term used in the discipline of political geography, meaning “the intersection of a unique mixture of social, economic, and cultural relations, some of which are local in character, some of which have a global reach.”³⁰⁰ Extending this meaning to a verb, “to place,” I designate that, while locating, positioning, or plotting may require an absolute reference point, placing is carried out dynamically and kinetically in additive increments, in itineraries, and in relations, as in the forms of tables and travelogues. The Ilkhanids may have promoted such a process of conceptualizing

³⁰⁰ Martin Jones, Rhys Jones, and Michael Woods, *An Introduction to Political Geography, Space, Place and Politics*, London and New York, 2004, 101. Jean Hillier and Emma Rooksby, *Habitus: a Sense of Place*, Burlington, VT, 2002. Lynn A. Staeheli, “Place” in *A Companion to Political Geography*, eds. by John Agnew, Katharyne Mitchell, and Gerard Total, Oxford, 2003, 158 – 170.

space through the *zijs* by putting it at the center of their astronomical discourses. This analysis is not to ignore the possible astrological purpose of *Zij-i Ilkhani*.³⁰¹ Instead, it is to articulate the kind of visualizing space and time the form of *zij* grants, following the movements of bodies and from one entry to the next.

I suggest that the procedure of placing coincides with the way the viewer encounters the compositions in the *Jami al-Tawarikh* paintings. If the multiple pictorial spaces in the *Jami al-Tawarikh* paintings compel the viewer to take on a conceptual journey from one to the next, the viewer visually place his memories of the event in relation to the painting through relating different pictorial spaces. In this process of engaging with the new visual medium of historical narrative, the viewer may have drawn or formulated a range of meanings that the painting could convey.

The Recanonization of the Discipline of Astronomy through the *Tadhkira*

Unlike the *zij*, the genre of *tadhkira* (“memoir”) is in prose, and the scientific *tadhkiras* explicate observations, concepts, and proofs. Ibn al-Haytham, much celebrated by modern scholars as one of the most important scientists from the medieval Islamic world, was probably the founder of the *tadhkira* as a scientific genre.³⁰² Through the *tadhkiras*, scientists from the medieval Islamic world explicated and challenged the works of Aristotle, Euclid, and Ptolemy mainly to engage in a regional discourse and to actively

³⁰¹ Blair, “Religious Art of the Ilkhanids” in *Legacy*, 108. Allsen “Astronomy.” I thank Prof. Charles Melville for bringing this to my attention.

³⁰² Ibn al-Haytham, *The Optics of Ibn al-Haytham, Books I-III, On Direct Vision*, trans. and ed. by A. I. Sabra, London, 1989. There were also non-scientific *tadhkiras*, including those on theology and philosophy.

participate in scholarly networking.³⁰³ Some focused on one aspect of science: for instance, Ibn al-Haytham wrote *tadhkiras* mostly on optical problems. Others addressed an entire scientific discipline: for example, Nasir al-Din al-Tusi lays out the basics of astronomy in his *Tadhkira fi 'ilm al-hay'a*.

Throughout his *Tadhkira*, Nasir al-Din al-Tusi repeatedly characterizes his work as a "summary" of astronomical knowledge. The word, summary (جمل), is already central in the opening passage of his *Tadhkira*:

Praise be to God Who brings forth good and Who inspires truth. And may His blessings be upon Muhammad, who was sent with the Final Message, upon his family, the most excellent of families, and upon his Companions, the most excellent of Companions. We wish to present a summary of astronomy as a memento for one of our dear friends, and we ask God to grant us success for its completion; for He is the One who grants success and to Him is the Final Return. Let us now set forth what we have in mind in chapters that are contained within four books. (3)³⁰⁴

Here, mixed in with the expressions of gratitude to God and a eulogy to the Prophet Muhammad, one phrase spells out the aim of the *Tadhkira*, namely, "a summary of astronomy." As this phrase is inserted in the opening passage, it defines the purpose of the *Tadhkira* as soon as the reader begins reading.

In his monograph, the modern historian F. J. Ragep underplays this purpose and argues instead that the *Tadhkira* was a revolutionary work that went beyond summarization. He points to the fact that the genre of *tadhkira*, as a memoir rather than an academic treatise, called for such modesty and that the content of al-Tusi's *Tadhkira* offered outstanding corrections to the already-established and well-studied Greek sources. It is true that claiming to advance the field was not part of the medieval rhetoric of

³⁰³ Ibid.

³⁰⁴ Ragep, *Memoir*, 90 - 91.

tadhkira and that so often revolutionary medieval scholars declared that they were merely "copying." Ragep's analysis, then, lets us see beyond the rhetoric and appreciate the value of al-Tusi's work for what it is. By the same token, however, a claim to have compiled the existing knowledge may have been more than merely rhetorical and had an importance that may not be immediately clear to us. Could there have been a "summary" value in the *Tadhkira* that was specific to the contemporaries?

Although more thorough research is necessary, it can be said that astronomers in the Islamic world up until al-Tusi seem to have only cited Greek sources in their *tadhkiras*.³⁰⁵ All that changed after al-Tusi's *Tadhkira*. According to Ragep, surviving self-declared commentaries on the *Tadhkira* alone number fourteen, ranging from Muhammad b. Ali b. al-Husayn al-Munajjim al-Himadhi's *Tibyān maqasid al-Tadhkira* (1285 – 1311) to an anonymous author's work of 1691.³⁰⁶ In addition to these commentators, many astronomers contemporary to him and from the later periods cite and challenge al-Tusi's *Tadhkira* in their work. For example, the fifteenth-century scientist Sadr al-Shari^c depends on al-Tusi's *Tadhkira* as the core source in the *Kitāb Ta'dil Hay'at al-Aflak*.³⁰⁷ This is not to say that the Greek sources disappeared from the later writings or that al-Tusi's *Tadhkira* was the singularly important work, but apparently, the canon in the discipline of astronomy recentered on Nasir al-Din al-Tusi's *Tadhkira* after its production.³⁰⁸

³⁰⁵ The analysis here is based on my own observations.

³⁰⁶ Ragep, *Memoir*, 59 – 64.

³⁰⁷ Dallal, *Islamic Response*.

³⁰⁸ It may help us here to compare Nasir al-Din al-Tusi to Ibn al-Haytham. Although Ibn al-Haytham's historical significance is obvious, his work was neither widely known nor considered to be important to scientists of the Islamic world until much later, possibly in the late fourteenth century or even the early fifteenth. In contrast, Nasir al-Din al-Tusi was given the title, *khwaja* ("the wise"), while still living and had acquired a central role in the scholarly coterie of the Ilkhanid court. Imperial patronage for al-Tusi was also incomparable to the meager living that Ibn al-Haytham seemed to have made, more or less as a recluse.

How contemporary and later scholars received al-Tusi's *Tadhkira* does not reflect al-Tusi's original intention. But did he put forth the astronomical study in the *Tadhkira* in such a way that it lends itself to become a new canon? The fact that al-Tusi does not assume prerequisite knowledge on the part of the reader and that he uses a clear and simple language also tells us that his claim to have summarized the astronomical knowledge may be more than merely rhetorical. By being a "summary," the *Tadhkira* may have newly regionalized astronomical discourse in the context of the Islamic world instead of continuing a "foreign" discourse originating in ancient Greece. I posit that this new formulation of the discipline of astronomy resonated with the centralization and institutionalization of the astronomy academy at the Maragha observatory. Ilkhanid patronage thus refreshed and reestablished the discipline more thoroughly especially since there had been a hiatus of three centuries in the field of astronomical study.

In the *Zij-i-Ilkhani*, Nasir al-Din al-Tusi foresees the future of the discipline of astronomy:

At a certain age, learned and truthful masters will ascertain the location of the stars, and a long time after, e.g., five hundred or one thousand years later, other masters will determine their positions anew, and it will thus become established how much each has moved during the interval separating the two sets of observations.³⁰⁹

Establishing a basis for the continuing field of astronomy in the Islamic world may have been al-Tusi's vision of "summary" in the *Tadhkira*. Such aim was new; previous *tadhkiras* did not specify authors' visions of the discipline as a whole. One can see here a parallel between the *Tadhkira* and the *Jami al-Tawarikh*; just as Rashid al-Din emphasizes that his history is a compilation, Nasir al-Din al-Tusi stresses that his memoir

Without underestimating the accomplishments of Ibn al-Haytham, it is safe to say that their projects differed in aim, production, and use.

³⁰⁹ Sayili, *Observatory*, 28.

is a summary. Without speaking of a zeitgeist, there seems to be at least a shared character in these two of the most important Ilkhanid imperial intellectual projects. Both projects center on the new organization of knowledge that was apparently already known but was newly gathered together in the Ilkhanid court. Indeed, the *Tadhkira* and *Jami al-Tawarikh* served as points of reference for the later astronomers and historians. Without delving into the complexities of reception in the later Islamic world, it may be said here that the summary purpose of the *Tadhkira* may have also been shared by the new painting style invented in the *Jami al-Tawarikh* and other Ilkhanid paintings. The new painting tradition created an arena for visual creativities and art making for the centuries to come.

The Relativity of Space and Time in Terms of the Positions and Movements of Bodies in the *Tadhkira*

How does Nasir al-Din al-Tusi conceptualize space and time in the *al-Tadhkira fi 'ilm al-hay'a*? Throughout the book, al-Tusi explains that perception is our means of theoretically accessing the physical world, regardless of what the essential properties of the bodies may be. He explicitly distances his observation from the observed bodies:

If a celestial motion is irregular from our perspective, we must require that it have a model according to which that motion is uniform; this model should also bring about its irregularity with respect to us. For irregular [motion] does not arise from the celestial bodies. (4)³¹⁰

For him, our observation conforms to a theoretical model and is not inherent in the observed bodies. Conversely, how we conceptualize needs to explain how we see, irrespective of what is in fact essential in the bodies. By centering an astronomical study

³¹⁰ Ragep, *Memoir*, 130.

on one's observation of the bodies rather than the bodies themselves, al-Tusi avoids the complex problem of how to relate a theory to reality.

Al-Tusi's observation is that of movement, which he identifies as the difference between his work and the *Almagest*:

These then are models and rules that should be known. We have only stated them here; their geometric proofs are given in the *Almagest*. Restricting oneself to circles is sufficient in the entirety of this science for whoever studies the proofs. However, one who attempts to understand the principles of the motions must know the configuration of the bodies, which move with these motions. (5)³¹¹

This is within the context in which he names the *Almagest* as the founding text of the discipline of astronomy:

Indeed, ours should not be a complete science if taken in isolation from the *Almagest* for it is a report of what is established therein. (6)³¹²

By pointing out how his work relates to the *Almagest*, Nasir al-Din al-Tusi compels the reader to place him in relation to the canon of this scientific discourse. And where his astronomy differs from the canonical *Almagest* is that it stems from his observations of motions.

To al-Tusi, motion is perceived in relation to the reference point:

It should be noted that when one orb moves another, the moved retains its position with respect to the mover; its relation to it is as a part to the whole. Thus it along with its poles and the rest of its parts moves due to the motion of [the mover] just as an occupant on a ship moves by virtue of the ship's motion. At the same time, the [moved orb] has its own proper motion just as is the case with the occupant of a ship who moves back and forth on the ship – sometimes in the direction of the ship's motion, at other times opposite that motion. (7)³¹³

Here, al-Tusi explains that a person standing still in a moving ship does not consider himself moving, but his motion with the ship will be apparent to a person standing on the

³¹¹ Ibid., 141.

³¹² Ibid., 93.

³¹³ Ibid., 124.

coast. For him, then, motion is a perceived quantity that varies depending on the reference point of the observer.

Al-Tusi goes even further to argue that even time is a relative entity:

If it were possible to travel around the entire Earth and then three individuals were assumed to become separated at some location, one of them traveling toward the west, the second traveling toward the east, and the third staying in place until the two travelers had circled the Earth -- the traveler who went west returning to him from the east and the traveler who went east returning to him from the west -- then the first [traveler] will have one fewer than the total [number] of days that have been generally counted because he has lengthened [the period for each of] the revolutions of the orb due to his travel so that he distributes a revolution among their total [number]. The second will have one more because he has shortened [the period for each of] the revolutions due to his motion so that a revolution accumulates for him from the decreases. This is also something that is asked about and found to be strange. (8)³¹⁴

Here, al-Tusi argues that time is a perceived quantity relative to the movements of the observing and observed bodies; in other words, time can be different for one body to another. Although al-Tusi's astronomical study is obviously not the same as Einstein's, his concepts of space and time are based on similar ideas of relativity as those of the later physicist. In order to perceive time, one needs to understand the movements of bodies and the spatial and mobile relationships between them.

Relative Spaces and Times in the *Jami al-Tawarikh* Land Renditions

By using the techniques of modeling and shading, appropriated from Chinese landscape paintings, the artists of the *Jami al-Tawarikh* convey an illusion of three-dimensional space. Compositionally, many *Jami al-Tawarikh* land renditions contain multiple pictorial spaces, which compel the viewer to visually relate them. For example,

³¹⁴ Ibid., 244.

in the “City of Iram,” the outdoor space on the right is rendered differently from that on the left (**Figures 27, 28**). When the viewer’s eye moves across the painting, he/she visualizes each space in relation to the other.

In these pictorial spaces, the visual elements seem to be moving. If the picture looked flat, such movement might suggest to the viewer a component of height, thus, a three-dimensional space. In the *Jami al-Tawarikh* paintings, however, the pictorial environment looks three-dimensional, so the movement of the visual elements adds a fourth dimension, which human mind may recognize as time.

The visual elements in the *Jami al-Tawarikh* paintings seem to move at varying velocities, implying differently-paced times. For example, in “Moses in the Bullrushes,” time seems to rush down the river, while, in “Abd al-Muttalib and al-Harith about to Discover Zamzam,” time seems to have stopped (**Figures 39 - 42**). In comparison, in “Moses Hearing God’s Voice,” there seem to be three different times linked to the three pictorial spaces: a fast-paced time for the clouds, a slower time for the hills, and the frozen time for the figures (**Figures 23, 24**). As a result, the paintings do not convey one uniform or absolute time; rather, each pictorial space seems to run on its own time. Spaces and times in the *Jami al-Tawarikh* paintings are, then, conjoined concepts, not unlike the post-Einstein “space-times.”

This kind of painting compels the viewer to grasp the pictorial space-times one at a time, in relation to each other, rather than all at once. In this regard, the process of viewing the paintings in the *Jami al-Tawarikh* is similar to how space is conceptualized in the contemporary *zijs* and travelogues, through an itinerary from one entry to another, from one station to the next. In the process of visually relating one pictorial space-time

to another, the viewer is compelled to put one space-time as the reference point for the other. For example, in the experience of looking at the “Moses Hearing God’s Voice,” the space-time of the hills seems to be slower-paced than that of the clouds but faster-paced than that of the figures. While encountering this painting, then, the viewer becomes aware that the observation of a space-time changes according to the reference point.

Such awareness of the movement and reference point echoes that of Nasir al-Din al-Tusi in his conceptualization of time in the *Tadhkira*. Time in al-Tusi’s astronomy is also an observed quantity that depends on the observer’s position and movement. The approach to visualizing time in the *Jami al-Tawarikh* paintings is, then, epistemologically similar to Nasir al-Din al-Tusi’s theorization of time.

Although astronomical study enjoyed a long history in the Islamic world, it was dwindling in the periods before the Ilkhanids took over the region. In this section, I explored from a conceptual point of view that the unforeseen resurgence of astronomical study in the Ilkhanid period may have overlapped with the invention of a new painting tradition. The Ilkhanid astronomy centers on theorization of physical spaces and times in relation to the reference points; similarly, the land renditions in the *Jami al-Tawarikh* visually problematize pictorial spaces and times and how they relate to one another. Both Ilkhanid astronomy and *Jami al-Tawarikh* paintings compel the reader/viewer to conceptualize spaces and times in a complex process of observation. In the viewer’s mind, then, the cognitive processes required for studying astronomy and viewing painting may have converged to put forth seeing as a way of thinking.

Governance

Both China and the pre-Ilkhanid Islamic world had settled governments with their own methods of visualizing political space. Throughout its history, China had a centralized government, separated from the court ruling power. In the Yuan period, both magistrate offices and court were situated in populated cities.³¹⁵ Accordingly, urban activities had formed the core of bureaucracy in centralized government, and monarchy and hegemony in relation to its citizens had been central to court politics. S. N. Eisenstadt argues that there are two types of regimes in terms of the relationship between center and periphery.³¹⁶ According to him, China belonged to a group characterized by “a relatively sharp distinction between center and periphery.”³¹⁷

On the other hand, he argues, the classical Islamic world belonged to the other category, which “displayed few symbolic or organizational differences between the center and periphery.”³¹⁸ The Islamic world is based on territory expansion. Historically speaking, the two-hundred-year period after the Prophet Muhammad’s *hijra* (emigration from Mecca to Medina in 622) saw the Islamic world stretching from the Arabian Peninsula to Southern Europe, Northern Africa, Middle East, Northern India, and Western China. Although the actual territory expansion did not amount to much after that, the idea of frontier may have remained important to the power structuring in the caliphates. As Bonner contends, in Abbasid Iraq, the Abbasid-Byzantine frontier,

³¹⁵ Masuya, “Courtly Life.” Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt, *Chinese Imperial City Planning*, Honolulu, 1990.

³¹⁶ S. N. Eisenstadt, “Cultural Orientations and Center-Periphery in Europe in a Comparative Perspective,” in *Mobilization Center-Periphery Structures and Nation-Building*, ed. by Per Torsvik, Oslo, Norway, 1981, 94 – 107.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 95.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 99.

Thughur, played an important role in the political discourses that took place in the central government in Baghdad.³¹⁹

In addition to these concepts, the Ilkhanids brought with them yet another concept of ordering power in terms of space: in pre-Ilkhanid Mongol nomadic politics, the highest governing power migrated from one pasture to another. As nomads, the Mongols before Genghis Khan synchronized overland movements with the times of the year. It is believed that they had no permanent architecture and moved with tents for better weather and better pasture for their animals.³²⁰ Although Genghis Khan had much more land to rule than his predecessors, he still carried tents (*yurts*) to various places for winter and summer residences without building palaces. In this system, Mongol imperial power moved with the body of Genghis Khan, whose location was always transient and not predictable.

How did the Ilkhanids relate their power to space and time? They could have opted for one of the concepts that were available to them or invented a completely new one that had nothing to do with any of the pre-Ilkhanid concepts. The Ilkhanids, on the other hand, seem to have appropriated not one but multiple pre-Ilkhanid concepts, leading to a complex system of governance. Historians such as Charles Melville and Thomas Allsen have noted that, while using the term “ilkhan,” which meant subordination to the *khan*, that is, the Yuan Chinese emperor, the Ilkhanids also adopted Persian and Islamic titles for the ruler after he converted to Islam. They have also pointed out that, while the

³¹⁹ Michael Bonner, *Aristocratic Violence and Holy War: Studies in the Jihad and the Arab-Byzantine Frontier*, New Haven, 1996. Bonner, ed., *Arab-Byzantine Relations in Early Islamic Times*, Burlington, VT, 2004.

³²⁰ W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, trans. by Minorsky, Taipei, 1988. Wolfgang Weissleder, ed., *The Nomadic Alternative: Modes and Models of Interaction in the African-Asian Deserts and Steppes*, Mouton, 1978. Gary Seaman and Daniel Marks, *Rulers from the Steppe: State Formation on the Eurasian Periphery*, Los Angeles, 1991. David Sneath, *The Headless State: Aristocratic Orders, Kinship Society, and Misrepresentations of Nomadic Inner Asia*, New York, 2007.

Ilkhanids migrated from season to season, their life depended on urban activities that took place in cities such as Tabriz and Sultaniyya. Addressing this complexity, Allsen argued that the Ilkhanids mainly followed the nomadic practice with recognizable deviations.³²¹ Here, this issue is revisited; I examine various Ilkhanid and Yuan sources in order to theorize how Ilkhanid governance operated in terms of space and time. This study takes Thomas Allsen's work as a stepping stone, which has established for us the cultural relationship between Ilkhanid Iran and Yuan China as its own subject of study.

Center/Periphery – Naming in Relation to China

The Mongol rulers in Iran used "Ilkhan" to refer to themselves continuously until their fall in 1370, a name that appears on coins and in histories, including the *Jami al-Tawarikh*.³²² The meaning of the name "Ilkhan" may have been multiple, ranging from "country" to "polity prince."³²³ Yet most scholars agree that *il* of "Ilkhan" was a prefix in the Mongolian language that meant "conquered" as opposed to "rebellious" in nomadic warfare.³²⁴ Genghis Khan, for instance, used the prefix to designate a polity and the land that fell under his rule throughout Eurasia.³²⁵ In the introduction to the *Zij-i Ilkhani*, Nasir al-Din al-Tusi writes:

³²¹ Allsen, *Culture*.

³²² Blair, "The Coins of the Later Ilkhanids: A Typological Analysis," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, v. 26, n. 3 (1983), 295 – 317.

³²³ Allsen, *Culture*, 21 – 2.

³²⁴ *Ibid.*, 21 – 2.

³²⁵ What kinds of importance did naming have? Historically in the Islamic worlds, obtaining titles from the caliphs was a major political advancement. In the *Siyasatnama*, Nizam al-Mulk laments that people compete too zealously for epithets. One can see in the coins and histories that naming was an important task for the Ilkhanids, as well. Rashid al-Din, for instance, meticulously records all the names of tribes and individuals even through many of them were in different languages. He also does a numerical exercise on Oljeitu's official name, Shah Kharbanda: One of the learned men of the age, who is the Sahban of the time in eloquence and the Hassan of the era in his panegyrics of His Majesty, contemplated the meaning of the

[Genghis Khan] subdued all the Khans of Cathay and Turkistan; whoever did not submit he destroyed. (9)³²⁶

Here, to do *il* (ایل کردن) means to subdue or to force one to submit, which is distinguished from to do *nist* (نیست کردن), which means to annihilate. The name, "Ilkhan," then, had a meaning derived from nomadic traditions, that is, to be the polity and land conquered and subordinated by the *khan* that was the Mongol ruler of China at the time of the Ilkhanids.

Why would the Ilkhanid rulers identify themselves as subordinates in their naming? As Thomas T. Allsen contends, early Ilkhanid rulers may have been uneasy about their having taken over Iran, one of the richest regions in the empire, without officially inheriting it from Genghis Khan.³²⁷ He argues that, by calling themselves "Ilkhans," the Ilkhanids sought to appease the khans of China and to avoid military retaliation. In this argument, Allsen explores the disjuncture between the meaning of self-subjugation in the name "ilkhan" and the actual power relationship between the Ilkhanids and the Yuan rulers.

Can one find clues to this in the Chinese sources, as well? The primary source for studying Yuan China is the Yuan dynastic history, the *Yuan Shi*, which was composed in the early Ming period from the official documents and letters from the Yuan period.³²⁸

letters of his blessed name in accordance with the dictum "Titles descend from heaven" and versified as follows: Last night I contemplated the name of Shah Kharbanda for a time, / Thinking perhaps there is a meaning in this name of which the reader is unaware. / While I was thus perplexed, a voice came to me, saying, "O well-wisher of the happy king, / There is a meaning in the letters of this world that is quite appropriate to the king. / Add up one by one the values of the letters of "Shah Kharbanda" / So that you may know that the meaning is "the special shadow of the Creator (*saya-i khass-i afarinanda*)." / There are nine letters in one, and fifteen in the other, and they are equivalent in numerical value (1167, contends Thackston). / You'd say that name is nine marvelous oyster shells stuffed with pearls five and ten, / Or else this royal name is a talisman cast upon the door of God's treasury." / When I realized the mystery of this name, my mind was put at ease. / I comprehended the meaning and said, "Long live Shah Kharbanda! / May the sun of his majesty and rule shine eternally from the celestial sphere." Thackston, *Jami'u't-tawarikh*, 5-6.

³²⁶ British Museum MS. (Or. 7464). Boyle, "Introduction."

³²⁷ Allsen, *Culture*, 22.

³²⁸ Lian Song, *Yuan Shi*, Beijing: Zhong Hua Shu Ju, 1976.

Overall, the content of the *Yuan Shi* is devoted mostly to internal politics. Following the established form of historiography in China, the *Yuan Shi* begins with annals (本纪) and proceeds to the ritualistic, administrative, and bureaucratic specifics, the court treasury, and the biographies of important people.

In the *Yuan Shi*, the Ilkhanids are neither listed in the internal administrative section nor given a title for a subjugated polity with its own government, *guo*(国), a title given to Korea (高麗国), for example. The Ilkhanids, thus, seem to be neither part of Yuan China nor a subordinate state. At the same time, the Ilkhanids are not mentioned in any of the international diplomatic affairs of the rulers. This suggests that the Yuan Chinese did not consider the Ilkhanids as a completely foreign state, either. In the *Yuan Shi*, the Ilkhanids seem to occupy a non-existent political place.

On the other hand, the Ilkhanids' spatial relationship to China is clearly stated in the *Yuan Shi*. For instance, the Ilkhanid space is considered to be “western:”

[Monke] ordered his younger brother Qubilai to take charge of the population of the Chinese territory [held by] the Mongols...[and ordered] his other brother Hulegu to subdue the states of the Western Region and of the Sultan. (10)³²⁹

The "west" (西) was one of the words used to indicate a non-Han ethnicity in general, and not necessarily the Ilkhanids in particular. For example, the Treasury for Foreign Visitors was called the “Western Visitor Storehouse” (西賓库).³³⁰ In the introduction to

³²⁹ Ibid., Chapter 3, 44, 46, trans. by Allsen in *Culture*, 53.

³³⁰ David M Farquhar, *The Government of China under Mongolian Rule: A Reference Guide*, Stuttgart, 1990, 196.

the *Zij-i Ilkhani*, Nasir al-Din al-Tusi uses the directions of East and West to distinguish polities:

[Mangu Khan] sent his brother Hulagu Khan across the Oxus (ab-i Jaibun) and assigned to him all the lands from Hindustan to the setting sun.³³¹

That spot (the land of the Genghis Khan's tribe) is to the east of the land of Turkistan on the right of the sunrise. (11)³³²

He refers to the sunrise and sunset to describe the lands of the Chinese and Ilkhanids, respectively. By the time of al-Tusi, relating the Ilkhanid Empire to China in spatial terms may have already become rhetorical in the Ilkhanid court.

More specifically, the authors of the *Yuan Shi* write that “Imperial Prince Kharbandah [Oljeitu] guarded a far distant corner (12).”³³³ Here, the Ilkhanid space is designated as a “far distant corner.” Did such spatial designation have a political meaning? The *Yuan Shi* itself does not explicitly define the relationship between center and periphery. It does, however, use the left and right (左右) orientations to name some of the coupled administrative branches. For example, the advisors for the emperor are grouped into left and right councils. The imperial army is also divided into two: “the General Commandery of the Right Asud Guard and Imperial Army and the General Commandery of the Left Asud Guard and Imperial Army (13).”³³⁴ These expressions presume the existence of a center, around which the political power of officials is oriented.

³³¹ British Library MS. (Add. 7698) in Arberry, *Persian Literature*.

³³² British Library MS. (Or. 7464) in Boyle, "Introduction."

³³³ Lian Song, *Yuan Shi*, 2041-42, trans. in Allsen, *Culture*, 47.

³³⁴ Lian Song, *Yuan Shi*, Chapter 9, 2733, n. 28, 257 - 8.

Given that the *Yuan Shi* was composed in the Ming period and that Yuan intellectualism centered on literature rather than court documents, it may be fruitful to look into other histories and poems for possible clues to how the Yuan literati may have conceptualized the political relationship between center and periphery. In the *Shi Ji* (史記), one of the ancient histories that formed the core education of Chinese intellectuals for ages, being “remote” implied the political weakness of a state:

Gongzi, in the thirtieth year of the duke of qi, went to the state of Liu. The duke asked Gongzi: “Why is it that, although the polity (*guo*) of the duke Mu Chin was small and its land was remote (*pi*), he became hegemonic?” (14)³³⁵

Here, the remoteness of the political space is in parallel with its diminutiveness; they are obstacles equally difficult to overcome. At least rhetorically speaking, this passage presumes the existence of a state at the center, whose ruler has an easier task of being hegemonic.

Being a maverick traveler or recluse was one of the rhetorical characters of free-spirited literati in Song and Yuan China. A tell-tale sign of a maverick literatus is his residence in the countryside, away from cities. This idea figured in art criticism from the Song period, as in the poem by Zhao Bing-wen on Wu Yuan-zhi’s painting, “Fisherman and Woodcutter in Conversation:”

These two old men have long forgotten the world,
And taken trees and rocks as their followers.
When they happen to meet each other,
Wind and moon must have directed them there.
Decline and rise [of empires] is not my business;
Why should I be engaged in these petty affairs?
I only know that my own feelings
Seem to have been depicted in the painting on paper.
At one time I am the fisherman,

³³⁵ Sima Qian, *Shi Ji* (“Records of the Grant Historian”), trans. by Burton Watson, New York, 1961.

Traveling in spirit on vast rivers and lakes.
 At another, I am the woodcutter,
 In a dream becoming lean in mountain and marsh.
 With my self shaped by what I dwell in,
 Which one is my true self?
 Since I've forgotten whether I am the one or the other,
 How much less can I return to the distractions of court and market?
 The west wind blows down the setting sun,
 And at the ford there is smoke from a single chimney.
 I neither ask nor answer,
 But chant at length: "Let us return." (15)³³⁶

As Susan Bush points out, Zhao Bing-wen uses Daoist metaphors to imply the scholar-official's inward nostalgia for the life of a recluse and the independence that comes with it. In this poem, the farther away one is from cities, the freer one becomes. The government fades away from the cities to end in the countryside. Literatus painter Zhao Meng-fu who served the Yuan rulers wrote:

As for farming, I have not become a recluse like Hong-zhan [Lu Yu].
 In Painting, I simply achieve the foolishness of Hu-tou [Gu Kai-zhi].
 I have known for long that painting is not child's play.
 Cloudy mountains, wherever I see them, are my teachers. (16)³³⁷

Being a recluse, it is implied here, grants ultimate freedom, which can be achieved to a degree by engaging in the arts of landscape painting.

Among many names that China had, "Middle Kingdom" (中国) has enjoyed a long and continuous usage.³³⁸ The term "middle outside" (中外) meaning China and the rest of the world has also been used since the Han dynasty and possibly before.³³⁹ For

³³⁶ Susan Bush, *The Chinese Literati on Painting: Su Shih (1037 – 1101) to Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1555 – 1636)*, Cambridge, 1971, 107.

³³⁷ *Ibid.*, 123.

³³⁸ Luo Zhufeng, *Han Yu Da Ci Dian*, Shanghai, 2001, 606.

³³⁹ *Ibid.*, 586 – 7.

example, already in the fifth-century text, the History of Later Han (後漢書, 南匈奴傳),

“middle outside” meant China and the rest of the world:

In the time of Emperor Xuan, Hu Han came and surrendered to him. Consequently, the people of the frontier (literally, “side”) achieved peace, China and foreign countries (“middle outside”) were united, and once born, people rested for more than sixty years. (17)³⁴⁰

Here, global unification brings peace and rest to the people, and the term “middle outside” is used to imply the whole world. Reflecting on the wide currency of these literary works, it is safe to say that Yuan intellectuals were well versed in the rhetoric of a radially descending political power around the center.

It is not claimed here that the Yuan intellectuals’ conceptualization of the political world was this simple. Yet, since the Han period, Chinese dynastic histories have concentrated noticeably on internal affairs, so much so that David Morgan writes that “although China was part of a world empire under Mongol rule, a reader of the *Yuan-shih* would hardly guess it...[because] like other Chinese sources of the period, it shows almost no interest in any part of the world other than China itself.”³⁴¹ Thomas Allsen argues that the *Yuan shi* concentrates on the local events because it was written by the Ming officials who did not share the Yuan interest in West Asia.³⁴² If so, why did the Ming historians think that non-Chinese accounts were irrelevant? S. N. Eisenstadt argues that in countries like China, “the periphery could have at least symbolic access to the center; and such access was largely contingent on the weakening of the social and cultural closure and self-sufficiency of the periphery and upon its developing active

³⁴⁰ Fan Ye (398 – 445), *Hou Han Shu*, 60 v., Beijing, 1976 (my translation). As with Chapter 4, my translations are so as to discuss the general meanings of the original texts and need philological corrections.

³⁴¹ Morgan, *Mongols*, 14.

³⁴² Allsen, *Culture*, 93.

orientations to the social and cultural order upheld by the center.”³⁴³ Defining the Chinese ethnic character is not the aim here; instead, one can acknowledge that there is at least a sense of disjointedness between the center and periphery in Chinese historiography. If the center is powerful and historical, the periphery may be weak and non-historical.

As David Morgan and Thomas Allsen have pointed out, the term *ilkhan* as adopted from the nomadic politics already had political and spatial meanings in relation to the *khan*, the ruler of China in the Ilkhanid period. The term referred to a group of people subjugated to the *khan*. Adding to this, I would argue that the name "Ilkhan" may have also resonated with the value of centrality in Chinese political discourse. If China was at the center, Ilkhanids were on the periphery, which was inferior to the center in Yuan political structure. By using the name “ilkhan” the early Ilkhanids may have negotiated both with nomadic and the Chinese ways of structuring power in terms of space in order to achieve a successful diplomatic relationship. This may have added to the Ilkhanids’ effort to appease the Yuan rulers who, Allsen points out, may have been displeased with the Ilkhanid power over Iran.

For the later Ilkhanids, beginning with Ghazan Khan (r. 1295 – 1303), however, this explanation is not sufficient. By then it had become clear that neither China nor the *khan* was a military threat; instead, the Mamluks and the Chaghatais were.³⁴⁴ This did not mean that the Ilkhanids developed a closer liaison with China; on the contrary, in

³⁴³ Eisenstadt, “Center-Periphery,” 97.

³⁴⁴ Reuven Amitai-Preiss, “Mongol Imperial Ideology and the Ilkhanid War” in *Empire*, 57 - 72. Charles Melville, “The Year of the Elephant: Mamluk-Mongol Rivalry in the Hejaz in the Reign of Abu Sa’id (1317-1335),” *Studia Iranica* 21/ii (1992), 197-214. Melville, “Sometimes by the Sword, Sometimes by the Dagger’: the Role of the Isma’ilis in Mamluk-Mongol Relations in the 8th/14th century” in F. Daftary, ed., *Medieval Isma’ili History and Thought*, Cambridge, 1996, 247-63. Melville, “The Ilkhan Öljeitü’s conquest of Gilan (1307): Rumour and Reality” in *Empire*, 73-125.

order to fend off their enemies, the Ilkhanids sought help from Europe and not from China.³⁴⁵ After Ghazan Khan's conversion to Islam in 1295, the Ilkhanids gained prime importance as the protectors of the Muslim community, the *umma*, a position independent of Genghis Khan or China.³⁴⁶

Naming may reflect this new role; with Ghazan Khan, the Ilkhanids began using Persian and Islamic titles and epithets, such as *padishah* (king). For example, in the *Jami al-Tawarikh*, Rashid al-Din lists Oljeitu's titles and epithets:

Sultan Muhammad Khudabanda Khan, *sultan-i a'zam* (Most Mighty Sultan), *qa'an-i akram* (Most Noble Qa'an), *Shahanshah-i islam* (Emperor of Islam), *malik-i riqab-i anam* (Master of the Necks of All Peoples), ***ilkhan-i a'dal*** (Most Just Ilkhan), *jahanban-i akmal* (Most Perfect Keeper of the World), *vali-i aqalim-i kamkari* (Governor of the Climes of Success), *jami-i tafasil-i bakhtyari* (Compendium of the Details of Good Fortune), *shahsuwar-i mayadin-i dinparvari* (Royal Cavalier in the Fields of the Nurture of Religion), *shahryar-i mamalik-i dadgustari* (Prince of the Realms of Justice), *mumahhid-i qawa'id-i farmanravai* (Layer of the Foundations of Rule), *mushayyid-i mabani-i kishvargushai* (Builder of the Structure of World Conquest), *markaz-i dayira-i gitisitani* (Center of the Circle of World Domination), *madar-i nuqta-i sahibqirani* (Circumference around the Point of Auspiciousness), *zubda-i faqa'id-i takwin u ibda'* (Cream of the Benefits of Creation), *khulasa-i natayij-i ajnas u anwa'* (Best of the Offspring of All Types and Sorts), *basit-i bisat-i amn u aman* (Spreader of the Carpet of Safety and Security), *muwattid-i asas-i islam u islamian* (Reinforcer of the Foundation of Islam and Muslims), *muzhir-i shi'ar-i shari'at-i nabawi* (He Who Makes Manifest the Slogans of the Prophetic Law), *muhyi-i marasim-i millat-i mustafawi* (Reviver of the Customs of the Mustafavid Nation), *mamba'-i zulal-i lutf-i layazali* (Fountainhead of the Limpid Waters of Eternal Lovingkindness), *matla'-i hilal-i fayz-i zuljalali* (Rising Point of the Crescent Moon of Divine Effulgence), *manzur-i nazar-i tawfiq-i rabbani* (Focus of the Gaze of Lordly Success), *makhsus bi-'inayat u ta'yid-i yazdani* (Singled Out for Divine Favor and Assistance), *padishah-i dinpanah* (Padishah Who gives Asylum to Religion), and *saya-i lutf-i ilah* (Shadow of God's Kindness). (18)³⁴⁷

³⁴⁵ Amitai-Preiss, "Ideology." Peter Jackson, *Mongols and West*.

³⁴⁶ Melville, "History and Myth: the Persianisation of Ghazan Khan" in E. Jeremias, ed., *Irano-Turkic Cultural Contacts in the 11th-17th centuries*, Piliscsaba, 2003, 133-60. Judith Pfeiffer, *Conversion to Islam among the Ilkhans in Muslim Narrative Traditions: The Case of Ahmad Teguder (Iran)*, Ph.D. dissertation, the University of Chicago, 2003. Pfeiffer, *Twelver Shiism in Mongol Iran*, *Pera-Blatter* 11, Istanbul, 1999.

³⁴⁷ Thackston, *Jami 'u't-tawarikh*, 3 (my bold letters). Karimi, *Jami al-Tawarikh*, 2.

Here Oljeitu appropriates twenty-five Persian and Islamic titles for a ruler. What would be the significance of this? The Ilkhanids newly identified their leadership both with religious authority of Islam and with Iranian kingship. For the latter, Masuya makes a similar argument that tiles of the Ilkhanid palace of Takht-i Sulaiman depict scenes from the Iranian *Shahnama* (“Book of Kings”) that legitimized the Ilkhanid rule in Iran.³⁴⁸

George Lane argues that by the mid-thirteenth century the Ilkhanid Empire “represented the rebirth of Iran and the re-establishment of Persian culture in the forefront of Islam.”³⁴⁹ In their naming, at least, the Ilkhanids implied their sovereignty both over the Islamic world and over Iran.

Even then, Rashid al-Din still calls Oljeitu *ilkhan-i a'dal* (Most Just Ilkhan), as well. Clearly, even after adopting Persian and Islamic titles, the later Ilkhanids still kept using the term "Ilkhan." Sheila Blair's study of Ilkhanid coins supports this view.³⁵⁰ If they already assumed centrality by converting to Islam and using such titles as *padishah*, an entirely Persian concept of sovereignty, why did Ghazan and his successors continue calling themselves "Ilkhan," a term implying subordination? Thomas Allsen has suggested that it was to claim the Ilkhans' unchanging loyalty to *yasa*, the codes of Genghis Khan.³⁵¹ He bases his argument on the fact that the Ilkhanid rulers' ability to

³⁴⁸ Masuya, “Courtly Life.”

³⁴⁹ George Lane, *Early Mongol Rule in Thirteenth-Century Iran*, London and New York, 2003, ix.

³⁵⁰ Blair, "Coins."

³⁵¹ This nostalgic view has been dominant in the interpretation of many seemingly contradictory actions of the Ilkhanids after Ghazan's conversion to Islam. Allsen, *Culture*, 22. Amitai-Preiss writes with such assurance, "How can we be sure that Ghazan was still inspired by Mongol ideology, and not by a desire to become the leader of the Islamic world, or other motivations? One indication is that Ghazan apparently remained faithful to other Mongol ideals. The mid-14th century Mamluk writer, Khalil b. Aybe al-Safadi (in *al-Wafi bi'l-wafayat*) provided evidence that Ghazan, in spite of his becoming a Muslim, continued to adhere to the *yasa* and to enforce among the Mongols its provisions among the Mongols...Rashid al-Din also reports that in 1300 Ghazan proudly recited before the notables of Damascus his Mongol genealogy back to Chinggis Khan as the source of his authority. Ghazan, then, in spite of his new conversion to Islam, maintained a belief in such Mongol institutions as the *yasa* and Chinggisid legitimacy,... (and) preserved some faith in the Mongol idea of world conquest...There is no reason to doubt that the Ilkhans continued

recite *yasa* continued to be included in the contemporary rhetorical panegyrics. No matter the motivation, one effect of the Ilkhanids' naming is that they presented themselves with a dual identity of the prime ruler *and* a subordinate. As I argued earlier, the Chinese ideas of centralized political power may have had currency in the Ilkhanid discourse of governance. If so, the Ilkhanids may have adopted names both of the prime ruler and a subordinate in order to claim two different geographical locations at once, the center *and* the periphery.

How might this dual – central and peripheral – identity have figured in late Ilkhanid politics? By the rule of Ghazan Khan, the Ilkhanids had converted to Islam and were actively participating in regional intellectual discourses. They were, therefore, more engaged with the cultural heritage of the Islamic world than China. Within this context, it may be fruitful to look further into local politics for possible clues to the usage of the at once central *and* peripheral identity.

Examining how the people of the pre-Ilkhanid Islamic world related space and power may help us with the problem of the late Ilkhanids' naming. For this purpose, I examine Abbasid politics based on Michael Bonner's scholarship. Like the Ilkhanids, the rulers of the Samanids, Ghaznavids, and Saljuqs were outsiders who incorporated both their own Turkic and indigenous Iranian ways of governing. Here, however, I leave the examination of these government structures as a future project. As Bonner contends, in the Abbasid period (750-1258), the Abbasid-Byzantine frontier, *Thughur*, played an

honestly to believe in this ideal. At the same time, it is certainly possible, and not unlikely, that the Ilkhans consciously exploited this belief to legitimize their actions. The conscious exploitation of this idea, however, does not necessarily mean that it was not deeply held." Amitai-Preiss, "Ghazan, Islam and Mongol Tradition," *Raff*, Remarks, 44-50. Amitai-Preiss, "Ideology," 68. Morgan, "The Great Yasa of Chingiz Khan and Mongol Law in the Ilkhanate," *BSOAS*, 49 (1986), 172.

important political role in the center of the empire.³⁵² He argues that, after caliph Harun al-Rashid (786-809) adopted the role of *ghazi* (غازي religious leader), the warfare against the infidels on the frontiers became one of the most important means through which caliphs constructed their political identity.³⁵³ According to Bonner, the likes of Abu Ishaq al-Fazari, the scholar-ascetic who traveled to the frontier and lived there, used their experience on the frontier to navigate through the power structure at the center of the empire.³⁵⁴ At least rhetorically, then, the center and frontier were in a dialectical relationship in the context of Abbasid politics. Eisenstadt argues that in the Middle Eastern regimes, governance was “of an *expansive* nature – that is, directed at extending control over large territories – rather than *intrinsic* – characterized by intensive exploitation of a fixed resource basis.”³⁵⁵ As a result, he further argues, there arose a strong “conception of the relations between political boundaries and cultural, social, or ethnic ones.”³⁵⁶

A dual identity can render one difficult to classify, which may in turn create a new category. Since no Ilkhanid record of how they formed their identity survives, we can only theorize what the dual identity may have meant to them. By assuming the central place as the Muslim *padishah*, the Ilkhanids may have sought to secure their power in relation to the Muslim Mamluks in Egypt and in relation to the histories of the Muslims and Persians. On the other hand, keeping the peripheral place may have enabled the

³⁵² Boner, *Aristocratic Violence*. Bonner, "The Naming of the Frontier: 'Awasim, Thughur, and the Arab Geographers," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 57 (1994), 17 – 24. Ralph Brauer, "Boundaries and Frontiers in Medieval Muslim Geography" *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, New Ser., v. 85, n. 6 (1995), 1-73.

³⁵³ The term was originally associated with the battles that the Prophet Muhammad fought. Later, it evolved to mean any warrior in the battles for the expansion of Muslim territory.

³⁵⁴ The temporal scope of Bonner's study extends to the Byzantine re-conquest of the frontier region in 354/965, leaving the rest of the Abbasid period and the Ilkhanid period for future research.

³⁵⁵ Eisenstadt, "Center-Periphery," 100.

³⁵⁶ Eisenstadt, "Center-Periphery," 101.

Ilkhanids to participate in or even rejuvenate the discourse of frontier from the pre-Ilkhanid Islamic world. If the name “ilkhan” politically and spatially related the Ilkhanids to the Yuan rulers, the dialectic of center and periphery in the pre-Ilkhanid political discourse may have been further negotiated in the Ilkhanid naming. By claiming to occupy both center and periphery, then, the Ilkhanids may have rendered their power relatable both to China and to the Islamic world. In so doing, the Ilkhanids may have sought to maximize their ability to negotiate with various values and concepts of power and space in their multicultural empire.³⁵⁷

Transience/Permanence – Itinerant and Settled Government

As nomads, the Ilkhanids moved about according to the times of the year, from winter pasture, *qishlaq*, to summer pasture, *yaylaq*.³⁵⁸ In these seasonal migrations, the Ilkhanids carried tents made of luxury textiles and built temporary buildings. Many Ilkhanid historians record such royal movements, including Rashid al-Din in the *Jami al-*

³⁵⁷ This may be one of the reasons why Ilkhanid history, as written and visualized in the *Jami al-Tawarikh*, gained such international and long-lasting currency in later Islamic politics. By linking to the Mongols, via Ilkhanid history, the Timurids, Safavids, Ottomans, and Mughals boasted their grandeur and legitimized their power although they faced vastly different political challenges and local needs. The unclassifiable identity of the Ilkhanids may have made their legacy easily usable and adoptable in any set of politics, enabling them to transcend not only cultural but also temporal boundaries, which they may have not foreseen.

³⁵⁸ Blair, "The Mongol Capital of Sultaniyya, 'the Imperial'," *Iran* 24 (1986), 139-51. Melville, "The Itineraries of Sultan Oljeitu, 1304-16," *Iran* 28 (1990), 55-70. John Masson Smith Jr., "Mongol Nomadism and Middle Eastern Geography: Qishlaqs and Tumens," *Empire*, 39-56. Masuya, "Courtly Life." Like Genghis Khan, the Ilkhanids fought for new land, which had been crucial to the maintenance of nomadic power. One of the greatest of these wars was against the Mamluks, lasting sixty years from 1260 to 1320. Amitai-Preiss, "Ideology." The Ilkhanids, however, came back and again to fight the same people for the same land space as if they waged war ceremonially rather than for actual territorial expansion. In the case of Syria under Mamluk control, the Ilkhanids attacked it six times, in 1260, 1281, 1299, 1300, 1303, and 1312. It may simply have been difficult to take over and keep Syria, but it seems that the Ilkhanid war, unlike that of Genghis Khan, took on a symbolic meaning and a character of performing kingship. The term “power Islamized” is that of Aziz al-Azmeh in *Muslim Kingship Power and the Sacred in Muslim, Christian, and Pagan Politics*, London and New York, 1997.

Tawarikh. The Ilkhanid ruler, Oljeitu, for example, apparently took with him a giant entourage of administrators, military commanders, equestrian soldiers, their families, and livestock in his seasonal migrations (**Figure 44**).³⁵⁹

As scholars have noted, this itinerant lifestyle does not give the whole picture of the Ilkhanid government. Unlike their predecessors, the Ilkhanids were zealous builders of permanent cities, architecture, and infrastructure. During the reign of Abakha (r. 1265 – 82), the Ilkhanids set their capital in the pre-Ilkhanid ancient city of Tabriz, which Marco Polo (1254 – 1324) described as a mercantile haven:

Tauris is a great and noble city, situated in a great province called Yrac, in which are many other towns and villages. But as Tauris is the most noble I will tell you about it. The men of Tauris get their living by trade and handicrafts, for they weave many kinds of beautiful and valuable stuffs of silk and gold. The city has such a good position that merchandize is brought thither from India, Baudas, Cremesor, and many other regions; and that attracts many Latin merchants, especially Genoese, to buy goods and transact other business there; the more as it is also a great market for precious stones. It is a city in fact where merchants make large profits. The people of the place are themselves poor creatures; and are a great medley of different classes. There are Armenians, Mestorians, Jacobites, Georgians, Persians, and finally the natives of the city themselves, who are worshippers of Mohommet. These last are a very evil generation; they are known as Taurizi. The city is all girt round with charming gardens, full of many varieties of large and excellent fruits.³⁶⁰

Here, Marco Polo implies both cultural and religious diversity in the city of Tabriz, which charmed foreign merchants like him with its fruitful gardens.

During the reign of Oljeitu (r. 1304 – 16), the Ilkhanids built from scratch the new capital of Sultaniyya. The Mamluk historian, Musa b. Yahya al-Yusufi writes about the construction and usage of Sultaniyya:

³⁵⁹ Melville, "Itineraries," 64. Continuing to explore the relationship between the Ilkhanid government and the rulers' movements, Smith connects the winter movements to the maintaining of army, in "Mongol Nomadism." His main sources are Rashid al-Din's *Jami al-Tawarikh*, Mahmud Aqsarayi's *Musamarat al-Akbar*, and *Shikari'nin Karaman Ogullari Tarihi*.

³⁶⁰ Marco Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, ed. and trans. by Henry Yule, 1871, v. 1, 70-71.

They began to dig the moat and foundations. Rashid al-Dawla acted as supervisor of construction. The total of those who worked on the foundations was 10,000 men. Ten thousand moved dirt, and 5,000 cut and dressed stone. There were 1500 wagons to move rock and other materials, for which there were 10,000 donkeys. They made 1000 kilns for brick and 1000 kilns for lime. Five thousand camels transported wood, and 1000 persons were assigned to cut wood from the mountains and other places. Three thousand smiths were employed to work sheets of metal, windows, nails, and the like. There were 5,000 carpenters, and 5,000 men laid marble. Supervisors were appointed over them to urge them on in the work. It was not long before the buildings had risen and the workers had arched the vaults, built the houses, palaces, and baths, and had prepared the canals into which they ran large amounts of water...[people moved to Sultaniyya] from every place and took up residence there. They liked it, preferring it to all the rest of the land. Merchants and travelers came there and set up estates around the city, planting orchards and all kinds of trees...Kharbanada (Oljeitu) delighted in the city, and when he settled there the kings of the land sent messengers to him with gifts and curiosities, among which was a person sent by the king of Rum, fifteen cubits tall.³⁶¹

As the enemies of the Ilkhanids, the Mamluks usually disparage the Ilkhanid accomplishments. Even then, al-Yusufi speaks of the enormous amount of raw material and human labor involved in the building of Sultaniyya and the urban activities that took place there afterward. As al-Yusufi implies, the city of Sultaniyya was not isolated; in fact, the Ilkhanid roads and postal system covered all of west Asia and connected to Yuan China.³⁶² As a result, the Ilkhanid cities, such as Tabriz and Sultaniyya, were stopping points for travelers and seasonal residence for itinerant Ilkhanid rulers.

In *Tarikh-i Oljeitu*, the Ilkhanid historian, Abu al-Qasim al-Qashani, describes Sultaniyya as a visually stunning place:

The city (Sultaniyya) is a fortress like Tabriz, amply wide and long... In the center of the city environ is built a grand square castle where the palaces of gardens are ordered to be built. Its red color is that of stone, and the blue color is that of the poniard of the exalted and concave celestial arc. The place is painted in different pictures. The castle with the sky blue gilding is given the equal praise

³⁶¹ Donald Little translates from 'Iqd al-Juman, Istanbul Topkapi MS 2912/4, fols. 306b-307b. Little, "The Founding of Sultaniyya: a Mamluk Version," *Iran*, 16 (1978), 170-5, 171, 173. I couldn't find the same passage, however, in al-Yusufi, *Nuzhat al-nazir fi sirat al-Malik al-Nasir*, Beirut, 1986.

³⁶² Allsen, *Commodity*. Allsen, *Culture*.

as those given to the heaven. The blue is covered with gold with Venus and Jupiter. Differently colored horses are in Susan blackish red... The gates from the surrounding pasture to the city are on some high places from schools, Sufi monasteries, hospitals, banqueting halls, the houses for the memorization of the Koran, and others to recently-built buildings with a number of borders. The *iwans* are plastered and painted, and the silver-plated domes are pleasantly placed. The whole courtyards are built of fitted white marble, and the roofs of the balconies and porches are gilded. The carpets are spread on the ground made of marble. The trees in the gardens range from fir to cypress... In it are more than ten thousand shops filled with sacks of Chinese brocade and shops of greens and herbs... The shops of the city are filled with chests, drinking cups, ewers, and dazzling precious things... (19)³⁶³

Whether there had indeed been ten thousand shops in the city is not crucial to this discussion. Yet, the sheer number of forms and functions of architecture that al-Qashani mentions here tells us that at least he regards the urbaneness of Sultaniyya as an important factor to be included in his historical narrative. Clearly, the Ilkhanids built cities, and their historians boasted of them.

Recognizing the Ilkhanids' seemingly both nomadic and settled government, Charles Melville argues that Oljeitu's rule was based on "a point along the continuum of the interaction between the nomadic and sedentary ethics of government."³⁶⁴ He contends that Oljeitu achieved this by migrating slowly so that the denizens of their cities did not have to become itinerant, too.³⁶⁵ He calls the Ilkhanid capital a "mobile city" or "wandering capital."

Taking Melville's idea further, I would argue that the Ilkhanid rulers rendered their government *at once* itinerant and settled. Accordingly, the Ilkhanids would have had two capitals: one stationed in the city of Tabriz or Sultaniyya and the other

³⁶³ Al-Qashani, *Tarikh-i Oljeitu*, ed. by M. Hambly, Tehran, 1969, 46 (my translation). As with Chapter 4, all my translations are so as to discuss general meanings of the original texts and need philological corrections.

³⁶⁴ Melville, "Itineraries," 64.

³⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

“wandering” with them. This duality would explain how the Ilkhanids could coordinate their seasonal movements with urban activities. The two spatial orientations of the Ilkhanid power would have related to time in *at once* transient and permanent terms. Equipped with two seemingly contradictory spatial and temporal components, the Ilkhanid government could achieve versatility, accommodating different local and time-specific needs.

Center/Periphery and City/Pasture in the *Jami al-Tawarikh* Land Renditions

In the pre-Ilkhanid painting tradition, the visual emphasis was generally on the center or protagonists rather than on the periphery or setting. The picture plane was, then, hierarchical with the center or protagonists demanding more attention than the periphery or setting. As analyzed in Chapter 3, the elaborate land renditions in the *Jami al-Tawarikh* paintings already challenge such hierarchy, shifting visual importance to the periphery or setting. The artists of the *Jami al-Tawarikh* go even further and put more emphasis on the periphery or on the vignette figures than on the center or major protagonists.

In the *Jami al-Tawarikh* paintings, “Muhammad, Abu Bakr and the Herd of Goats” and “Mountains between India and Tibet,” the center of the picture plane is taken over by a land rendition, flanked by the figures on the left and right (**Figures 31 - 36**). In the “Muhammad, Abu Bakr, and the Herd of Goats,” the major protagonists are set aside on the right, with the most important figure of the Prophet Muhammad pushed to the end of the picture. In contrast, the minor figure of the milking woman and her goats take over

a prominent portion of the picture on the left. In the “Mountains between India and Tibet,” the land rendition in the middle is so dominant that it becomes the main subject matter while the figures and architectural features on the two sides seem to supply clues to the signification of this central land rendition.

A similar complication of how the center relates to the periphery also existed in the Ilkhanids’ naming at once as the central authority in the Islamic world and as a subsidiary to the Yuan rulers. Spatial relations had played a role in the power structuring in China and the Islamic world before, but this political discourse only took place through the medium of text, in the written histories and biographies. In the Ilkhanid period, the painting may have also provided a means through which the political problem of center and periphery entered the discourse.

Furthermore, how the represented urban and land spaces relate to one another is more complex in the *Jami al-Tawarikh* than in pre-Ilkhanid paintings. In the *Jami al-Tawarikh* paintings, the renditions of land and cities are not incorporated with one another; rather, they are separated and set opposite one another. For example, in the “Mountains between India and Tibet,” there is a clear visual break between the urban spaces on the two sides and the central land rendition. This is also true in the “City of Iram,” where the land rendition in the garden setting on the left looks nothing like that of the outdoor scene on the right (**Figures 27, 28**).

At the same time, in both “Muhammad, Abu Bakr, and the Herd of Goats” and “Mountains between India and Tibet,” there is an implied movement from one city to another through the land rendition. In the “Muhammad, Abu Bakr, and the Herd of Goats,” the viewer immediately recognizes the hilly land rendition as the liminal space of

the figures, who are on a journey from one contested urban space, Mecca, to another, Medina. In the “Mountains between India and Tibet,” while the viewer’s eye meanders through the central land rendition, it also rests on the urban spaces of India and Tibet on the two sides. In these paintings, the urban space plays an important role in the viewer’s conceptualization of the land space, and vice versa. Painting land and urban spaces as a dialectic was unprecedented in the Islamic world. This visual strategy may have synchronized with the complex ways the Ilkhanids related movement through land to the cities within their governance.

Conclusion

Ilkhanid astronomical studies enjoyed a copious funding and active patronage, leading to centralized institutions, such as the Maragha observatory. The two important publications that came out of these efforts are the *Zij-i Ilkhani* and *Tadhkira* by Nasir al-Din al-Tusi, the director of the Maragha observatory. Through these writings, Nasir al-Din al-Tusi puts forth astronomical methods of conceptualizing space and time in the Ilkhanid context. He emphasizes spatial, temporal, and mobile relationships between physical bodies and the importance of the reference point from which one observes these relationships. In his construct, the self-awareness of the observer applies even to time, which can vary according to the relative positions and movements of the observer and the observed.

The *Jami al-Tawarikh* artists suggest a passage of time by rendering visual elements as if they are moving. The depicted velocities of these movements are not uniform throughout a picture plane; instead, each pictorial space seems to run on its own

time. As a result, the viewer encounters differently-paced times in the multiple pictorial spaces. I posit that this kind of visual experience resonated with the way the viewer would conceptualize space and time by reading astronomical writings. In the *Jami al-Tawarikh*, the cognitive process of viewing a painting and that of astronomically visualizing the physical world may have overlapped, thus elevating painting to the level of a means of thinking.

An exploration of the link between the birth of Persian painting and the contemporaneous intellectual enterprise would not be complete without hypothesizing what the social and political implication of this link may be. Internally, the Ilkhanids implemented the nomadic practice of seasonal migrations while they also built cosmopolitan cities, such as Tabriz and Sultaniyya. Externally, they had a symbolic and commercial tie to China; they not only called themselves *ilkhanian* (ایلخانیان), subjugates to the Chinese rulers (*khans*) but also facilitated trade with China. By converting to Islam, however, they historically related themselves to the ethnic and linguistic groups of the Middle East, who had built the centers for the Muslim political community since the advent of Islam. By adopting the titles used by Persian rulers, the Ilkhanids also appropriated Persian kingship. These couplings of seemingly dissimilar factors -- nomadic and settled, and peripheral to China and central to the Islamic world -- complicate the Ilkhanid concept of governance. This multiplicity, however, may have enabled the Ilkhanids to negotiate with various political relationships in spatial and temporal terms.

Could this provide us with clues to the multi-culturality in the *Jami al-Tawarikh* project? The *Jami al-Tawarikh* is written both in Arabic and Persian, and in the *Jami al-*

Tawarikh, the Ilkhanids identify their Islamic rulership with the Persian kingship, thereby, shifting the Islamic center to the Persianate lands, essentially Iran. While the *Jami al-Tawarikh* artists appropriate Chinese landscape techniques and motifs, their usage has little to do with artistic discourses in China. Their usage, instead, led to the invention of a new painting tradition in the Islamic world, namely, Persian painting. In both cases, the Ilkhanids seem to have addressed the Arabic intellectuals or appropriated Chinese art so that they could reorder the foreign cultures in their local context.³⁶⁶ By organizing them anew, the Ilkhanids may have been able to own and claim them as their intellectual property, which then became available to their political or intellectual projects.

In the *Jami al-Tawarikh*, Rashid al-Din contends that compiling is the most important and difficult task for a historian. Similarly, Nasir al-Din al-Tusi emphasizes the summary value of his monumental work, the *Tadhkira*. The *Jami al-Tawarikh* and the *Tadhkira* indeed became canonical in the fields of world history writing and astronomy. The painting style in the *Jami al-Tawarikh* also opened a new field of artistic production, looking forward to a long tradition of Persian painting for centuries to come. While encountering *Jami al-Tawarikh* land renditions, the Ilkhanid viewer could visually appropriate memory and visually reorder historical, geographical, and political spaces and times. In the process, the medium of painting may have acquired a completely different role from before, that is, an arena of intellectual discourse and negotiation of worldview. I suggest that how land came into the picture in the Islamic world was part of this new intellectual approach to instating power by collecting, owning, and reusing knowledge.

³⁶⁶ Ghaznavids and Saljuqs may have done something similar on a smaller scale.

Appendix

1.

مجلد سوم در بیان صور الاقالیم و مسالک الممالک بقدر امکان تتبع و تحقیق کرده آنچه پیش ازین درین ممالک دانسته بود و شرح آن در دفاتر آورده و مصور گردانیده و آنچه درین عهد همایون حکماء و دانایان هند و چین و ماچین و فرنگ و غیر هم در کتب یافته بعد از تحقیق تقریر کردند درین مجلد سوم اثبات کرده شد.

2.

و آن در طنغوز بیل بود بحساب منجمان قتا سال کوی خای که سال آخر بود از دور جونک ون و آن دور میانه باشد از ابتداء عالم هشت هزار و هشتصد و شست و سه ون سال ونه هزار و هفتصد و هشتاد و هشت سال گذشته باشد و بحساب رومیان سال بر یک هزار و پانصد و چهارده باشد از ملک اسکندر بن فیلقوس رومی که از روم بیرون آمد و همه عالم از مشرق تا مغرب برفت در هفت سال و هیچ پادشاه در پیش نه ایستاد الا که برو غالب گشت و بحساب تازیان سال بر پانصد و نود ونه از هجرت پیغامبر مسلمانان صلعم از مکه که جای او بود بمدینه و بعد از ان از مدینه لشکرها بیرون کرد و همه عرب او را مسلم شد و بعد از او دین او تا اقصی هندوستان و ترکستان و مغرب برسید و بحساب پارسیان سال بر پانصد و هفتاد از اول پادشاهی یزدجرد بن شهریار که آخر ملوک عجم بود از فرزندان کسری انوشیروان و بعد از او از اوروغ ایشان دیگر پادشاه ننشست.

3.

الحمد لله مفیض الخیر و ملهم الصواب، و صلواته علی محمد المبعوث بفصل الخطاب و علی آله خیر آل و أصحابه خیر أصحاب. نرید أن نورد جملا من علم الهيئة تذکرة لبعض الأحياب و نسأل الله أن یوفق لأتمامه، إنه الموفق وإلیه المآب. فلنورد ما قصدناه فی فصول تشتمل علیها أربعة أبواب.

4.

إذا اختلفت حركة فلكية عندنا و جب أن نطلب لها أصلا تتشابه تلك الحركة بحسبه و يقتضي ذلك الأصل أيضا اختلافها بالقياس إلینا، فإنّ المختلفة لا تصدر عن الفلكيات.

5.

فهذه أصول و قوانین لا بدّ من معرفتها و ردها ههنا علی سبیل الحکایة و براهینها مذکورة بالخطوط فی المجسطي. و الاقتصار علی الدوائر کاف للناظر فی البراهین فی جمیع هذا العلم. أما لمن یحاول تصور منادئ الحركات فلا بدّ من معرفة هيئة الأجسام المتحركة بتلك الحركات علی وجه تظهر تلك الحركات فی مناطقها.

6.

وتبين تفاصيلها وتقام البراهين على صحة أكثرها في المجسطي، فهو ليس بعلم تام إذا أفرز عن المجسطي لأنه حكاية ما عما ثبت فيه

7.

واعلم ان تحريك فلك فلكا يكون بملازمة المتحرك لمكانه من المحرك، وكونه منه كالجزم من الكل. فيتحرك مع قطبيه وسائر أجزائه بحركته مثل حركة ساكن السفينة بحركة السفينة. ثم إنه مع ذلك يتحرك بنفسه حركته الخاصة به كساكن السفينة إذا تردّد في السفينة تارة ألى جهة حركتها وتارة ألى خلاف تلك الجهة.

8.

ولو كان السير على جميع الأرض ممكنا، ثم فرض تفرق ثلاثة أشخاص عن موضع، فسار أحدهم نحو المغرب و الثاني نحو المشرق وأقام الثالث حتى دار السائران دورا من الأرض ورجع السائر في المغرب إليه من المشرق والسائر في المشرق من المغرب، نقص من الأيام التي عدّوها جميعا للأول واحد لأّنه زاد بسيره في أدوار الفلك فوزّع دورا على جملتها، وزاد للثاني واحد لأنه نقص بسيره عن الأدوار فاجتمع له من النقضات دور. وهذا أيضا مما يسأل عنه ويستغرب.

9.

خانان خطا وتركستان همه را ايل كرد و هر كس كه ايل نشد اورا نيست كرد.

10.

[蒙哥]命皇弟忽必烈(Qubilai)领治蒙古汉地民户...旭烈(Hulagu)征西域素丹诸国.

11.

آن بقعه از جانب مشرق بلاد تركستان باشد از دست راست آفتاب برآمد.

12.

以哈儿班答(Oljeitu)大王遠镇一隅.

13.

右阿速衛親军都指挥使司

左阿速衛親军都指挥使司

14.

孔子年三十齊景公適魯 景公问孔子曰昔秦公国小地僻其霸何也. 孔子对曰 秦国虽小其志大地虽僻行中正如此虽王可也而况霸乎景公说.

15.

两翁久忘世
木石以為徒
偶然相值遇
风月应指呼
廢興非吾事
胡為此区区
但覺腹中事
似落纸上圖
一以我为渔
神遊渺江湖
一以我为樵
夢为山泽臞
形骸随所寓
何者为真吾
尚忘彼与此
况复朝市娛
西风下落日
渡口炊烟孤
无问亦无答
长吟歸来乎

16.

桑苧未成鸿斩隱
丹青聊作虎頭痴
久知圖画非儿戏
到处雲山是我師

17.

宣帝之世, 會呼韩来降, 故边人獲安, 中外为一, 生人休息六十餘年

18.

او سلطان اعظم قآن اکرم شهنشاه اسلام مالک رقاب انام ایلخان اعدل جهانیان اکمل والی اقالیم کامگاری جامع تفاسیل بختیاری شهسوار میادین دین پروری شهریار ممالک داد گستری ممدقواعد فرمانروائی مشیدمبانی کشور گشائی مرکز دایره گیتی ستانی مدار نقطه صاحبقرانی زبده فواید تکوین و ابداع خلاصه نتایج اجناس و انواع باسط بساط امن و امان موطن اساس اسلام و اسلامیان مظهر شعار شریعت نبوی محیی مراسم ملت مصطفوی منبع زلال لطف لایزال مطلع هلال فیض ذوالجلالی منظور نظر توفیق ربانی مخصوص بعنایت و تأیید بزدانی پادشاه دین پناه سایه لطف اله سلطان محمد خدابنده.

19.

شهری مثل محروسه تبریز بسیط عریض با طول و عرض فسیح [و] وسیع... و در مرکز دور شهر قلعه مربع عالی اساس چون قصور جنان از قیاس انشا فرمود. سورش از سنگ مینا رنگ باقمه قبه کیوان بر افراشته و تجویف و بقعه آن به نقوش مختلف بنگاشته. قلعه ای که با قلعه قلعی رنگ آسمان دم همسری و لاف برابری می زند که گویا فلکیست آنگون مرصع به زهره و مشتری و یابوقلمونی ملمع به اطلس ششتری... و درو ابواب البری مشتمل بر چند مواضع عالی از مدارس و خانقاه و دار الشفا و دار الضیافه و دار الحفاظ و غیرهم تا نوزده موضع عمارت به عدد حروف بناها و ایوانها مجصص منقش و طار مهایی مفضض دلکش وضع کرده، و جمله صحن عمارات از رخام سفید مطبق و سقف طاق و رواق مقرنس و فرش سطح زمین از رخام و مرمر و مشجرات باغها از صنوبر و عرعر... و درو افزون از ده هزار دکان معمور موفور به رزمه های دیبای چین چون کارگاه چمن ریاحین... دکانهای شهر مشحون به حقاق و صنایع و کاسات و اباریق و نفایس جواهر...

CHAPTER 6

Conclusion

The *Jami al-Tawarikh* has been linked to the beginning of the tradition of Persian painting. Unlike previous periods, the *Jami al-Tawarikh* artists used techniques and motifs that had originated in Chinese landscape painting, such as clouds, twisting and bending tree trunks, rolling hills, loose brushwork, transparent wash, undulating lines, calligraphic strokes, objects cut on the edges of the picture plane, and compositions that take into account the whole of the picture space. In so doing, the *Jami al-Tawarikh* painters newly created an illusion of atmosphere, three-dimensional space, and passage of time.

Historians like Thomas Allsen have explained the mechanics of the Silk Road commerce and how Chinese art works became available in the Ilkhanid court. Art historians like Sheila Blair have traced exactly which Chinese art works the Ilkhanid artists may have looked upon as models for inventing the new painting style. This dissertation adds to current scholarship by asking a question of interpretation, what and how the *Jami al-Tawarikh* paintings signified to the Ilkhanid viewer. To this end, the issues of historiography and concepts of space and time in astronomy and governance were examined.

The earliest surviving *Jami al-Tawarikh* copy (now housed in the Edinburgh University Library and the Khalili Collection) amounts to a small section of the history of the world in the second volume. As Blair examines, the Edinburgh portion covers ancient kings of Persia and Arabia, Muhammad and the caliphate, and post-caliphal dynasties of Iran (Ghaznavids, Saljuqs, and Khwarazmshahs). Subsequent to the Edinburgh portion, the Khalili portion is devoted to histories of China, India, and the Jews.³⁶⁷ My entry point to these paintings is through the renditions of land because they are the main factors that make the new painting style so different from those from before. Among the seventy paintings from the Edinburgh and Khalili portions of the *Jami al-Tawarikh*, this dissertation focuses on ten that exhibit a range of different aspects of new land renditions.

The first question this dissertation aimed to answer was why land came into the picture in the Ilkhanid manuscript of history. To this end, I have emphasized that writing and painting the *Jami al-Tawarikh* were two important parts of one single project of producing a new manuscript of history. In Chapter 4, I argue that while pictorial land renditions in the *Jami al-Tawarikh* were new in a manuscript of history, textual imagery of land had played an important role in the world history writing tradition in the Islamic world, including the *Jami al-Tawarikh*. That the *Jami al-Tawarikh* was conceived and produced as an illustrated history suggests that there was a significant connection between the invention of new painting style and how history was written in the manuscript. For the first time in the Islamic world, the paintings in the *Jami al-Tawarikh*

³⁶⁷ For Blair's reconstruction of the two portions, see *Compendium* Appendix 2 Table of Illustrations in the Reconstructed Manuscript.

may have functioned as another medium through which a manuscript of history could operate in the Ilkhanid milieu.

The land renditions in the ten *Jami al-Tawarikh* paintings that I analyze in Chapter 3 bring the problem of pictorial space and time to the center of the visual experience. With no other tool to understand this, I have explored Ilkhanid writings of astronomy for clues. The Ilkhanids were generous patrons of astronomy, building the state-of-art observatory at Maragha and producing many treatises of astronomy. As explained in Chapter 5, the director of the Maragha observatory Nasir al-Din al-Tusi theorized that space and time are perceived quantities that depend on relative positions and motions of the observer and observed. Such concepts may have played a part in the Ilkhanid viewer's experience of encountering *Jami al-Tawarikh* paintings where he/she continuously relates one pictorial space-time to another, visually constructing and crossing boundaries.

In addition, I examine how the Ilkhanids related spatially to Yuan China and to the rest of the Islamic world, simultaneously, and how they related temporally to their territory. While claiming to be subjugated to Yuan China, which may have been understood to be the center, the Ilkhanids also took a place of sovereignty in the political discourse of the Islamic world. Similarly, while migrating season to season as nomads, the Ilkhanids also built cities, such as Sultaniyya. This spatial and temporal duality may be linked to the dialectical pictorial space and time in *Jami al-Tawarikh* paintings, as analyzed in Chapter 3. The land renditions may have provided an arena in which the spatial relationship between Ilkhanid Iran and Yuan China and the rest of the Islamic

world could be negotiated. Likewise, the temporal variance in the Ilkhanid governance may have been played out in the *Jami al-Tawarikh* land renditions.

The *Jami al-Tawarikh* is the earliest surviving manuscript that employs the new painting style in a systematic and uniform manner, and it may have indeed been the manuscript in which Persian painting tradition was invented. Linked thus to history writing, Persian painting tradition may have stemmed from the new role that painting played in the Islamic world as another medium of discursive space.



Figure 1

Artist Unknown

“Battle Between Abu’l-Qasim and the Samanid Muntasir” and “Muntasir Crossing the Jayhun”

Jami al-Tawarikh ("Compendium of Chronicles"), text by Rashid al-Din

Iran, 1306 – 7

f.170r

Edinburgh University Library

Picture Source: Purchased from the Edinburgh University Library



Figure 2

Artist Unknown
 "Hushang"

Jami al-Tawarikh ("Compendium of Chronicles"), text by Rashid al-Din
 Iran, 1306 – 7

f.4r

Edinburgh University Library

Picture Source: Purchased from the Edinburgh University Library



Figure 3

Artist Unknown

“Two Emperors of the Qi and Liang Dynasties”

Jami al-Tawarikh ("Compendium of Chronicles"), text by Rashid al-Din

Iran, 1306 – 7

f. 254r

Khalili Collection

Picture Source: Sheila Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles: Rashid al-Din's Illustrated History of the World*, London, 1995.



Figure 4

Artist Unknown

“Moses in the Bullrushes”

Jami al-Tawarikh ("Compendium of Chronicles"), text by Rashid al-Din

Iran, 1306 – 7

f.7v

Edinburgh University Library

Picture Source: Purchased from the Edinburgh University Library



Figure 6
Artist Unknown
“Moses Hearing God’s Voice”
Jami al-Tawarikh (“Compendium of Chronicles”), text by Rashid al-Din
Iran, 1306 – 7
f. 8r
Edinburgh University Library
Picture Source: Purchased from the Edinburgh University Library



Figure 7

Artist Unknown

“Mustard Plant and Seeds”

De Materia Medica of Dioscorides

Syria, 1229

Ahmed III 2127, folio 83b, Topkapi Library

Picture Source: <http://www.ee.bilkent.edu.tr/~history/early.html>



Figure 8

Artist Unknown
 "Lion and Jackal"
Kalila wa Dimna
 Iraq, 1200-20
 Bibliothèque Nationale
 Picture Source:



Figure 9

Artist Unknown

“The Bird Catcher and the Doves”

Kalila wa dimna

Baghdad, first half of 13th century.

Hazine 363, folio 99b, Topkapi Library

Picture Source: <http://www.ee.bilkent.edu.tr/~history/early.html>



Figure 10

Artist Unknown

“Socrates and His Students”

Mukhtar al-Hikam wa-Mahasin al-Kalim (‘Choice Maxims and Finest Sayings’), text by al-Mubashshir,

Syria, beginning of 13th century

Ahmed III 3206, folio 40a, Topkapi Library

Picture Source: <http://www.ee.bilkent.edu.tr/~history/early.html>



Figure 11

Artist Unknown

Varqa and Gulshah

Shiraz, first half of 13th century

Hazine 841, folio 33b, Topkapi Library

Picture Source: <http://www.ee.bilkent.edu.tr/~history/early.html>

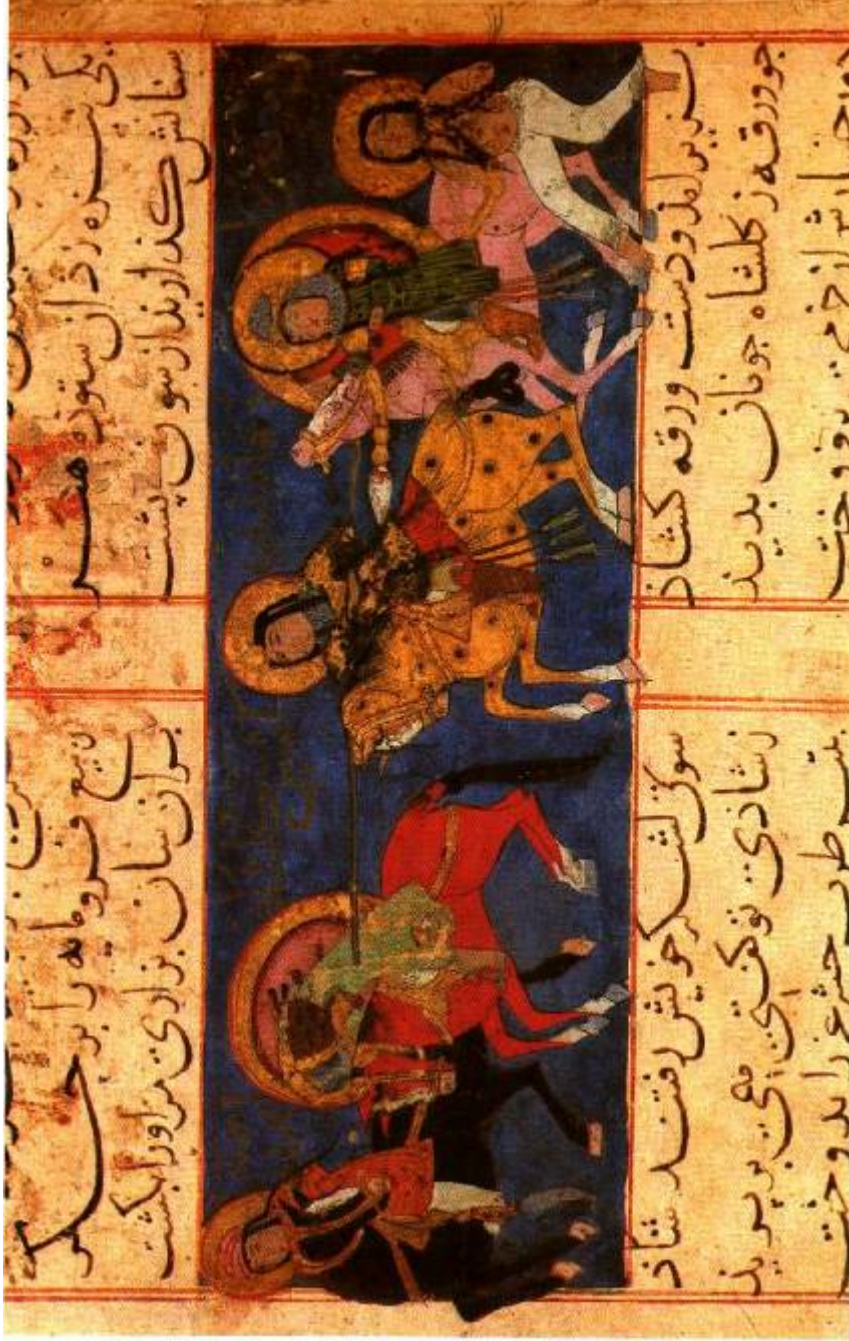


Figure 12

Artist Unknown

Varqa wa Golshah

Shiraz, first half of 13th century

Hazine 841, folio 33b, Topkapi Library

Picture Source: <http://www.ee.bilkent.edu.tr/~history/early.html>

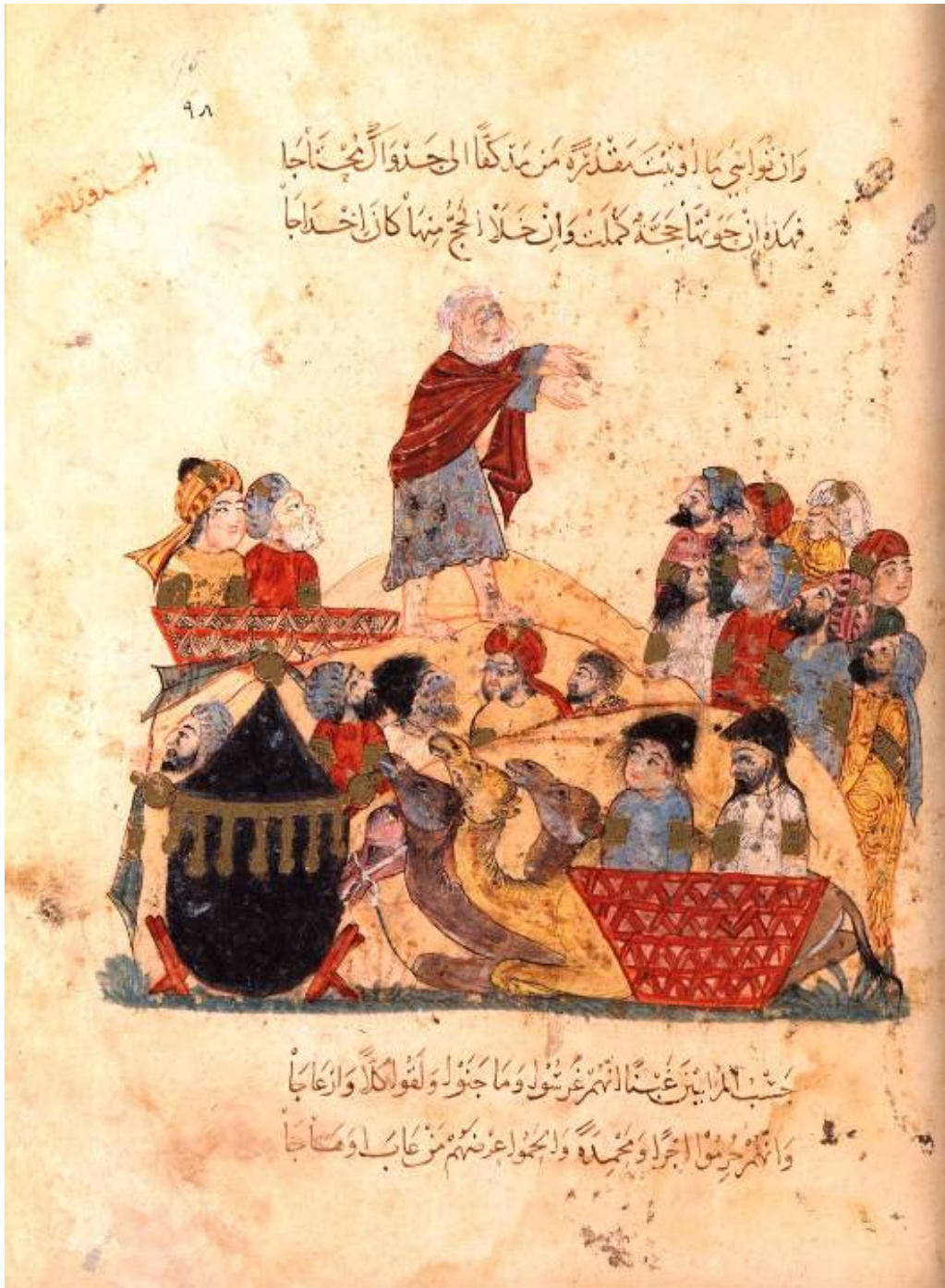


Figure 13

Yahya ibn Mahmud al-Wasiti

“Abu Zayd recites His poetry about the *hajj*”

Maqamat, text by al-Hariri

Baghdad, 13th century

ms. arabe 5847, Bibliothèque Nationale

Picture Source: Oleg Grabar, *Maqamat Al-Hariri Illustrated Arabic Manuscript from the 13th Century*, London, 2003.

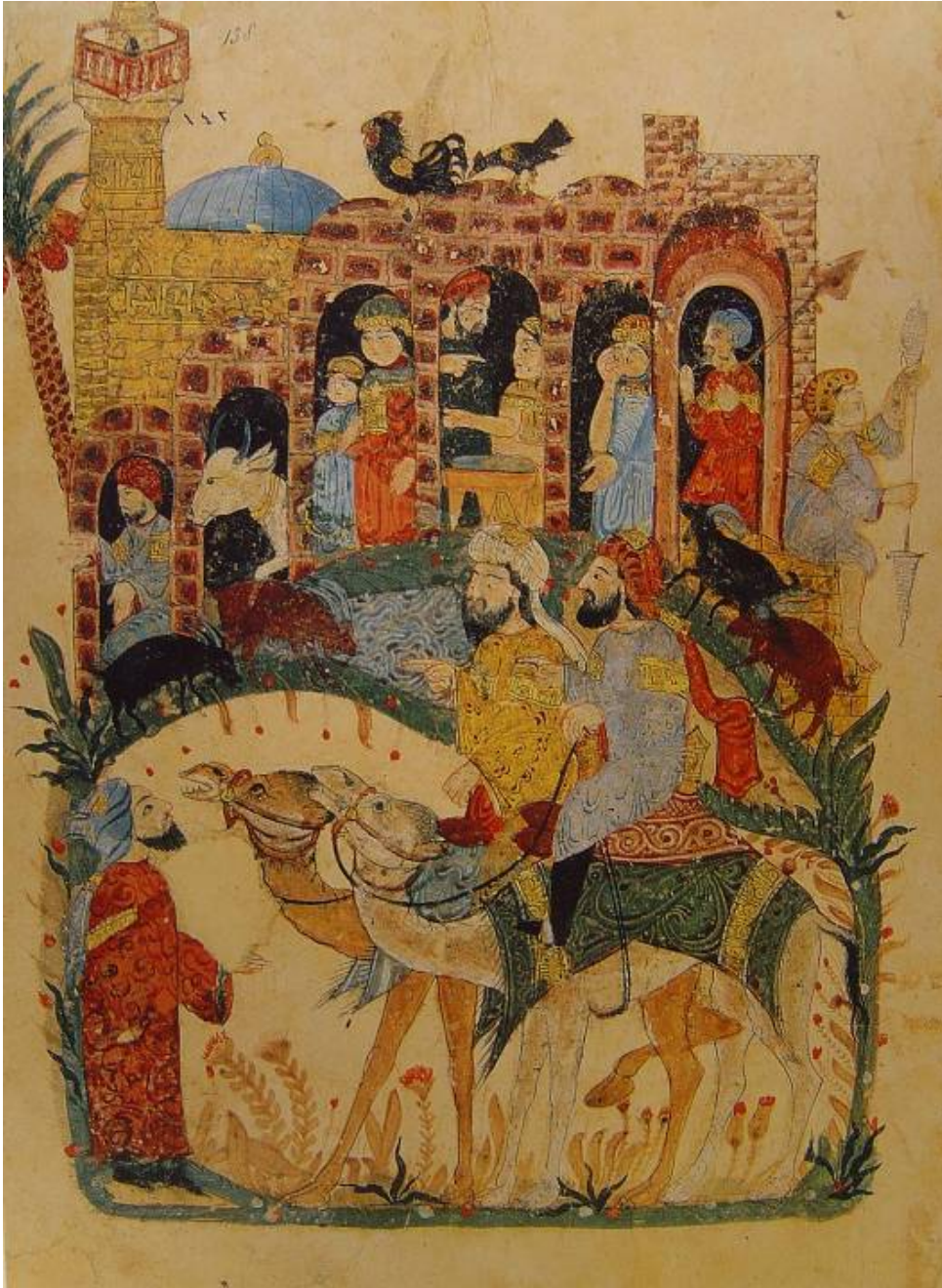


Figure 14

Yahya ibn Mahmud al-Wasiti

“Entrance to the City”

Maqamat, text by al-Hariri

Baghdad, 13th century

ms. arabe 5847, Bibliothèque Nationale

Picture Source: Oleg Grabar, *Maqamat Al-Hariri Illustrated Arabic Manuscript from the 13th Century*, London, 2003.



Figure 15

Artist Unknown

A folio from *Aja'ib al-Makhlūqat* ("The Wonders of Creation"), text by Zakariya ibn Muhammad al-Qazwini

Iran, 14th century

British Library Or. 14140

Picture source: The British Library website <http://www.bl.uk/collections/arabmss.html>



Figure 16

Artist Unknown

“The Investiture of Ali”

Athar-i Baqiya (“Chronology of Ancient Nations”), text by Abu al-Raihan al-Biruni
d. 440 AH, 1048AD

Edinburgh University Library MS Or 161

Picture source: Metropolitan Museum



Figure 17
 Artist Unknown
 "Iskandar at the Talking Tree"
The Great Mongol Shahnameh
 Iran, 1330's
 Freer Gallery of Art
 Picture Source: <http://www.asia.si.edu/collections/zoomObject.cfm?ObjectId=10115>

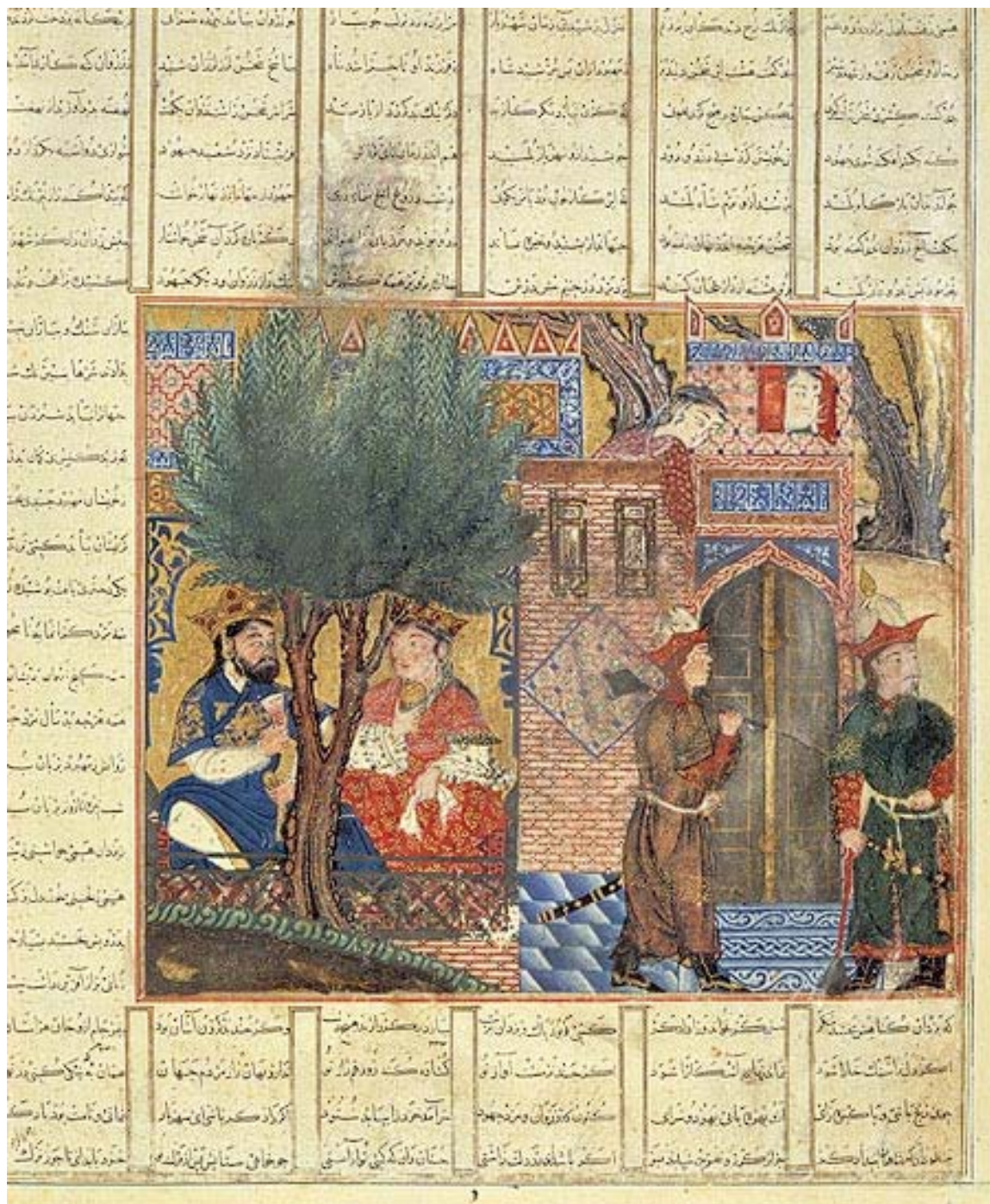


Figure 18
 Artist Unknown
 “Nushirvan Eating the Food Brought by the Sons of Mahbud”
The Great Mongol Shahnama
 Iran, 1330's
 Metropolitan Museum of Art
 Picture Source: http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/khan2/ho_52.20.2.htm



Figure 19

Artist Unknown

“Bahram Gur Hunting the Wile Ass”

The Great Mongol Shahnama

Iran, 1330's

Worcester Art Museum, MA

Picture Source: <http://www.worcesterart.org/Collection/Islamic/1935.24.html>



Figure 20
 Artist Unknown
 “Shah Zav Enthroned”
The Great Mongol Shahnameh
 Iran, 1330’s
 Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian
 Picture Source: <http://www.lacma.org/khan/intro/2.htm>

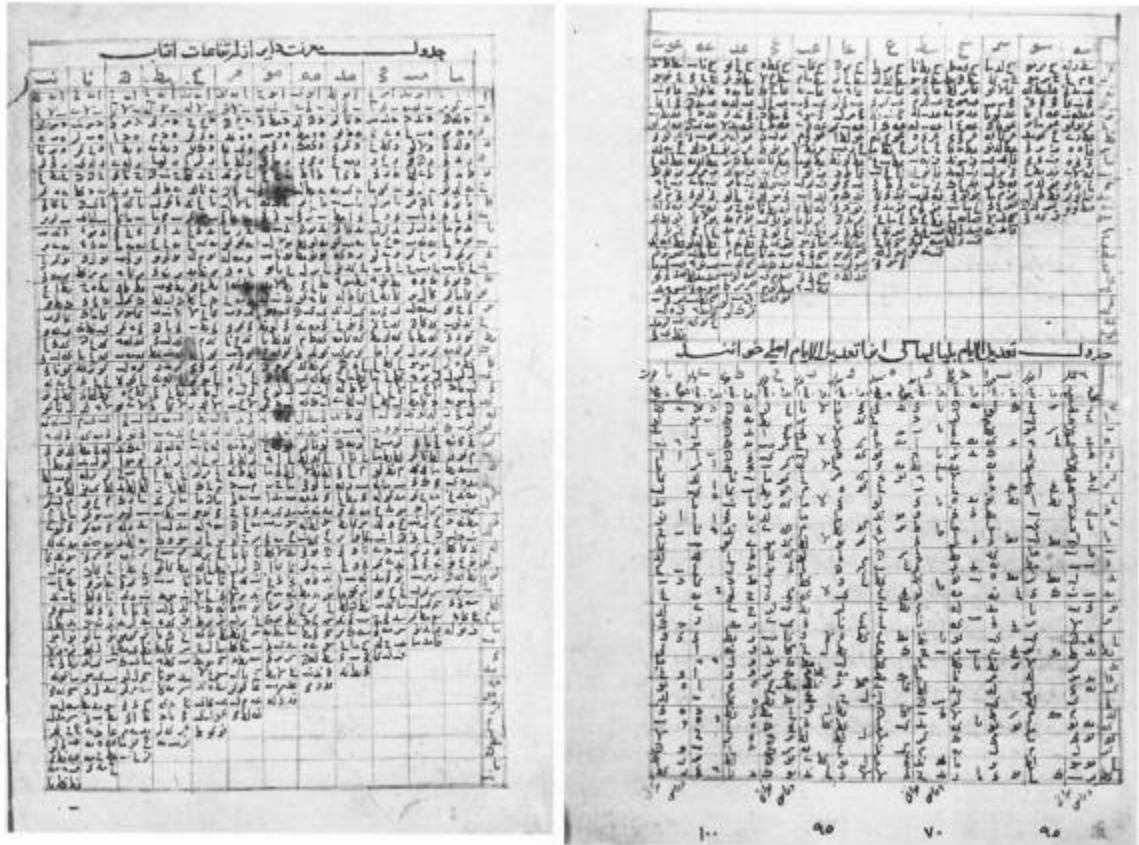


Figure 21

A folio from *Zij-i Ilkhani*, text by Nasir al-Din al-Tusi
Iran, 1272

Picture Source: David King, *In Synchrony with the Heavens: Studies in Astronomical Timekeeping and Instrumentation in Medieval Islamic Civilization*, Leiden, Boston, 2004 , p.63

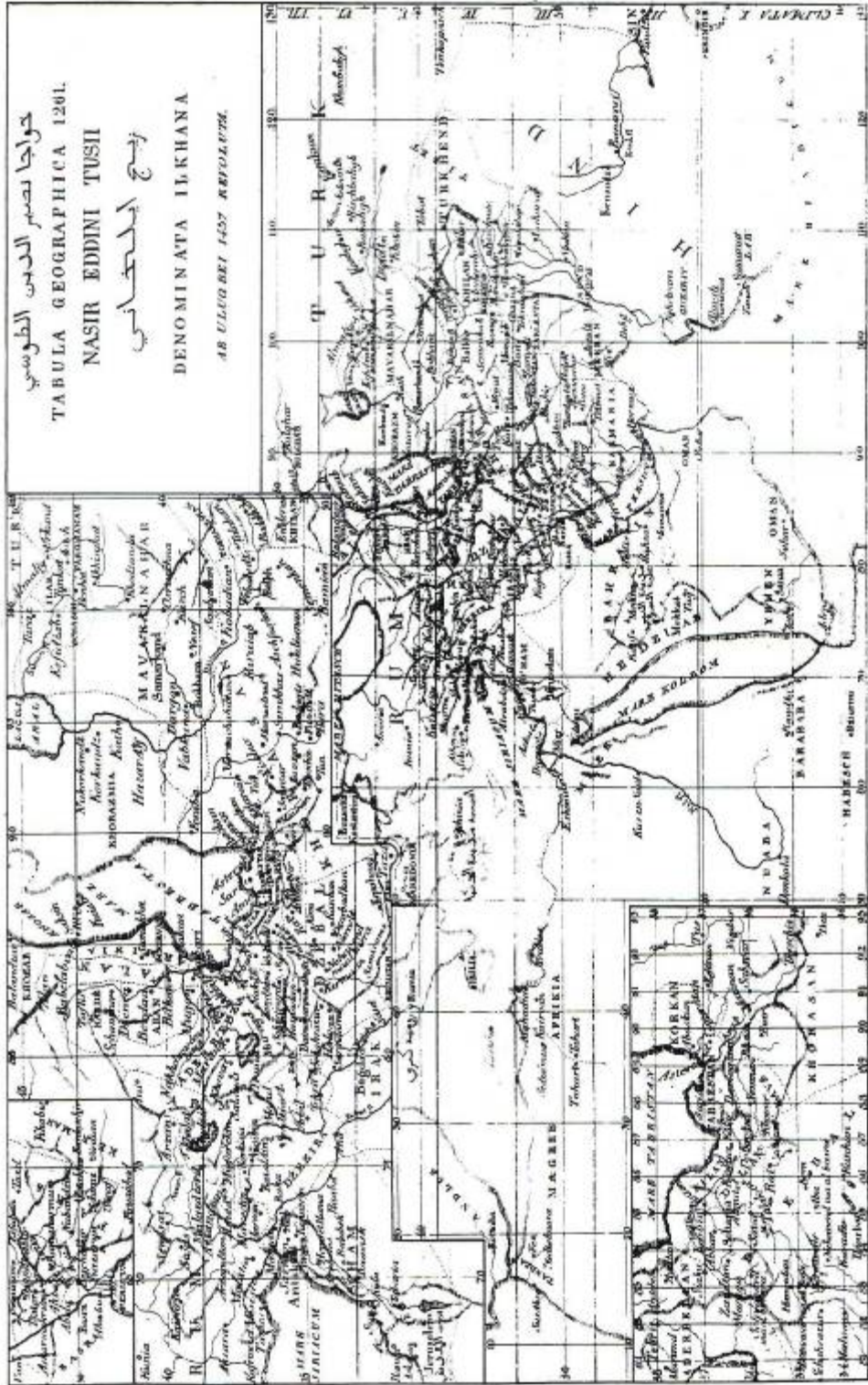


Figure 22
 Map made by Lelewel based on the *Zij-i Ilkhani*
 Picture Source: David King, *World-maps*, Fig. 1.7.4



Figure 23

Artist Unknown

“Moses Hearing God’s Voice”

Jami al-Tawarikh (“Compendium of Chronicles”), text by Rashid al-Din

Iran, 1306 – 7

f. 8r

Edinburgh University Library

Picture Source: Purchased from the Edinburgh University Library



Figure 24
“Moses Hearing God’s Voice”, detail
Picture Source: Purchased from the Edinburgh University Library



Figure 25
 Artist Unknown
 "Prophet Salih Produces a Camel from a Rock"
Jami al-Tawarikh ("Compendium of Chronicles"), text by Rashid al-Din
 Iran, 1306 – 7
 f. 1v
 Edinburgh University Library
 Picture Source: Purchased from the Edinburgh University Library



Figure 26
“Prophet Salih Produces a Camel from a Rock”, detail
Picture Source: Purchased from the Edinburgh University Library



Figure 27

Artist Unknown

“City of Iram”

Jami al-Tawarikh ("Compendium of Chronicles"), text by Rashid al-Din

Iran, 1306 – 7

f. 1r

Edinburgh University Library

Picture Source: Purchased from the Edinburgh University Library



Figure 28
“City of Iram”, detail
Picture Source: Purchased from the Edinburgh University Library



Figure 29

Artist Unknown

“Alexander in the Fog”

Jami al-Tawarikh ("Compendium of Chronicles"), text by Rashid al-Din

Iran, 1306 – 7

f. 19r

Edinburgh University Library

Picture Source: Purchased from the Edinburgh University Library



Figure 30
“Alexander in the Fog”, detail
Picture Source: Purchased from the Edinburgh University Library

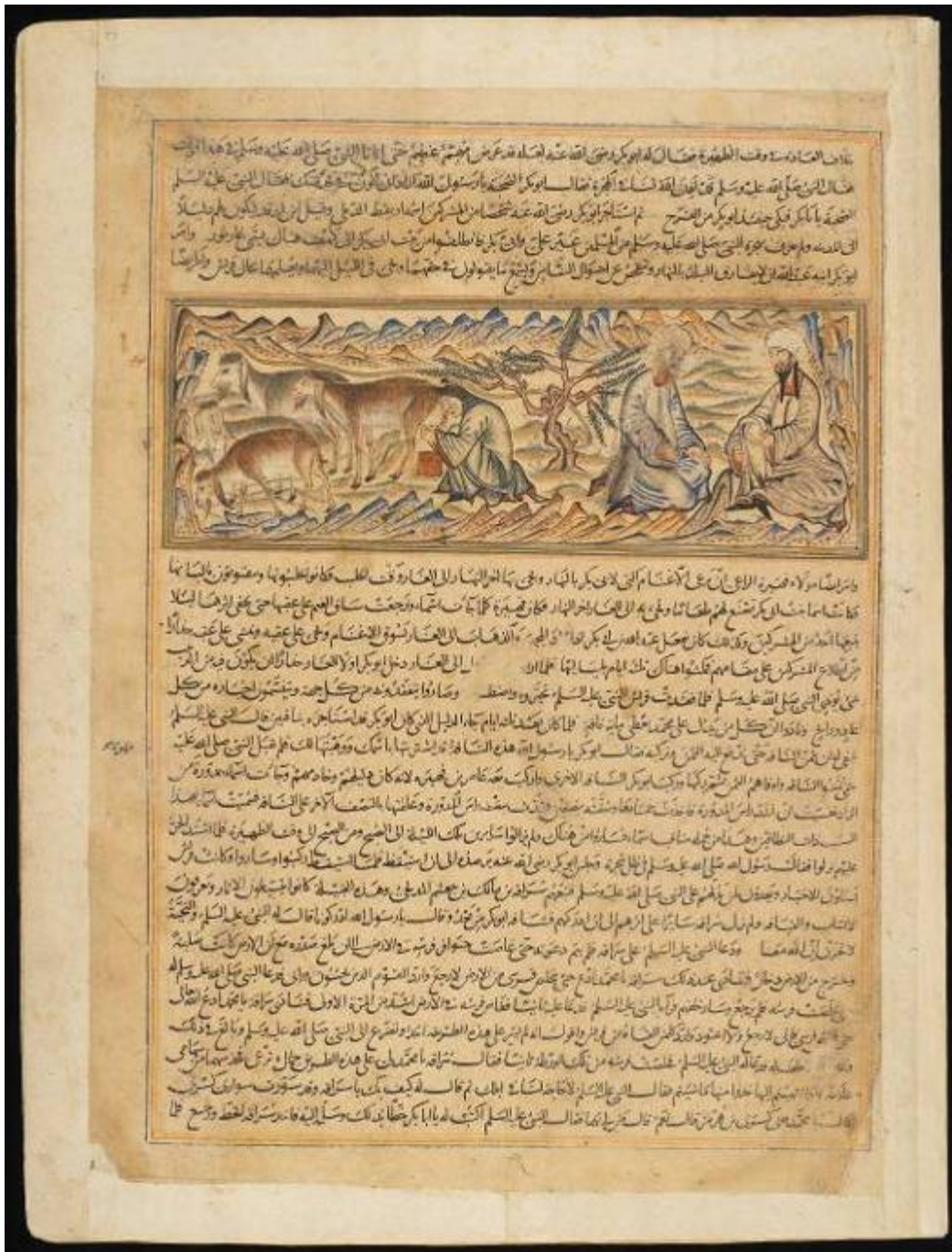


Figure 31

Artist Unknown

“Muhammad, Abu Bakr, and the Herd of Goats”

Jami al-Tawarikh ("Compendium of Chronicles"), text by Rashid al-Din

Iran, 1306 – 7

f. 57r

Edinburgh University Library

Picture Source: Purchased from the Edinburgh University Library



Figure 32
“Muhammad, Abu Bakr, and the Herd of Goats” detail
Picture Source: Purchased from the Edinburgh University Library

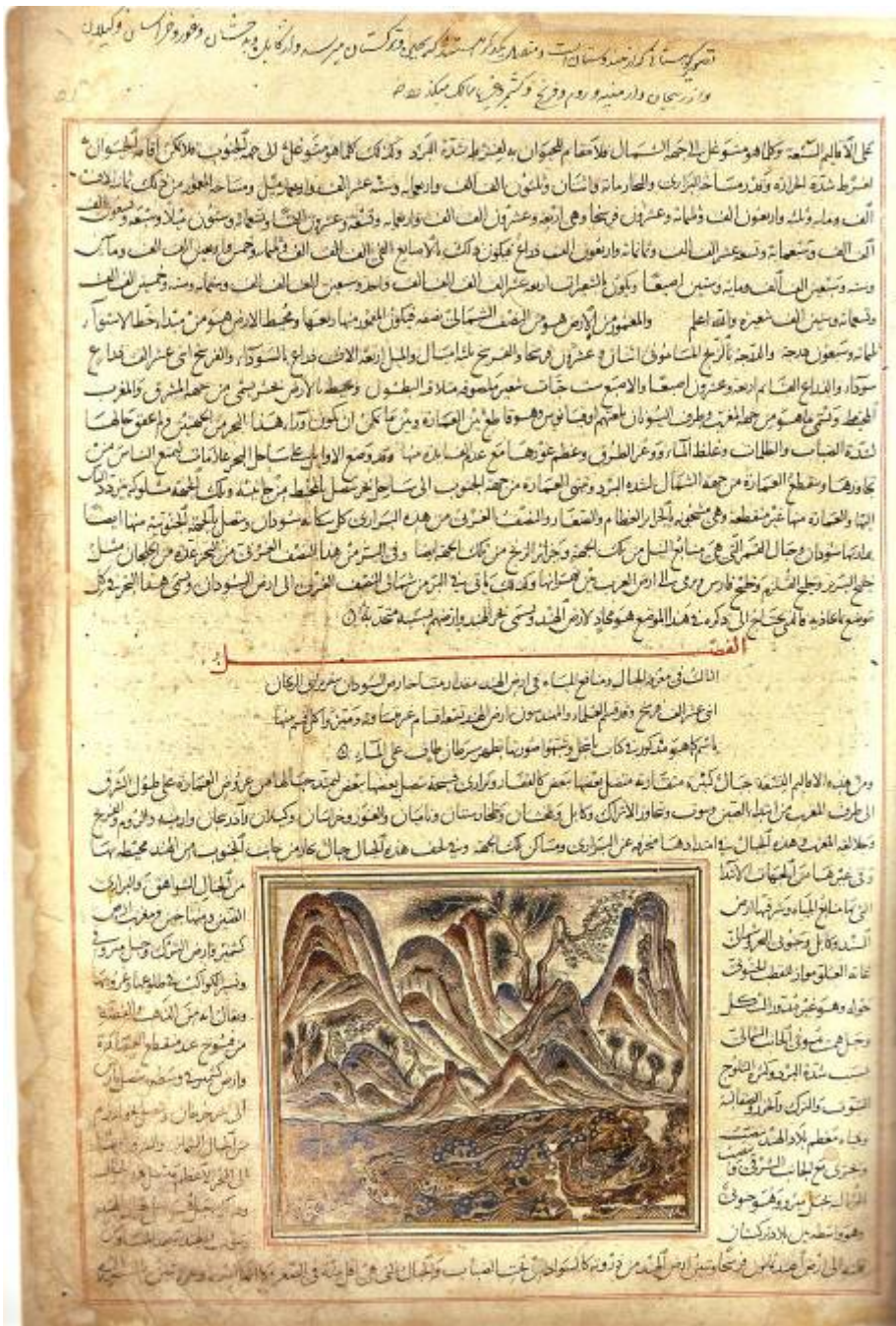


Figure 33
 Artist Unknown
 "Mountains of India"
Jami al-Tawarikh ("Compendium of Chronicles"), text by Rashid al-Din
 Iran, 1306 – 7
 Khalili Collections
 Picture Source: Sheila Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles: Rashid al-Din's Illustrated History of the World*, London, 1995.

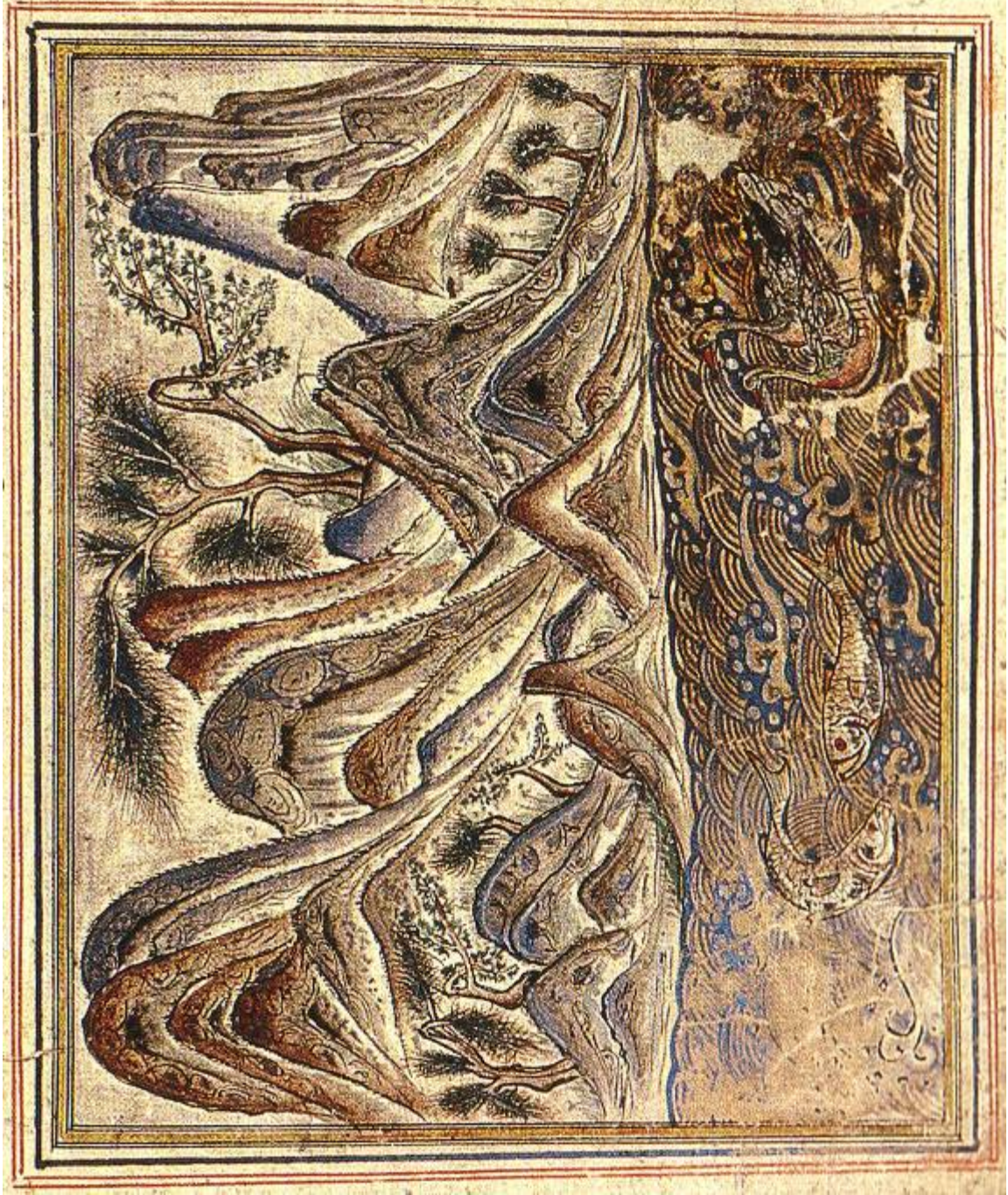


Figure 34
“Mountains of India”
detail
Picture Source: Sheila
Blair, *A Compendium of
Chronicles: Rashid al-
Din’s Illustrated History
of the World*, London,
1995.

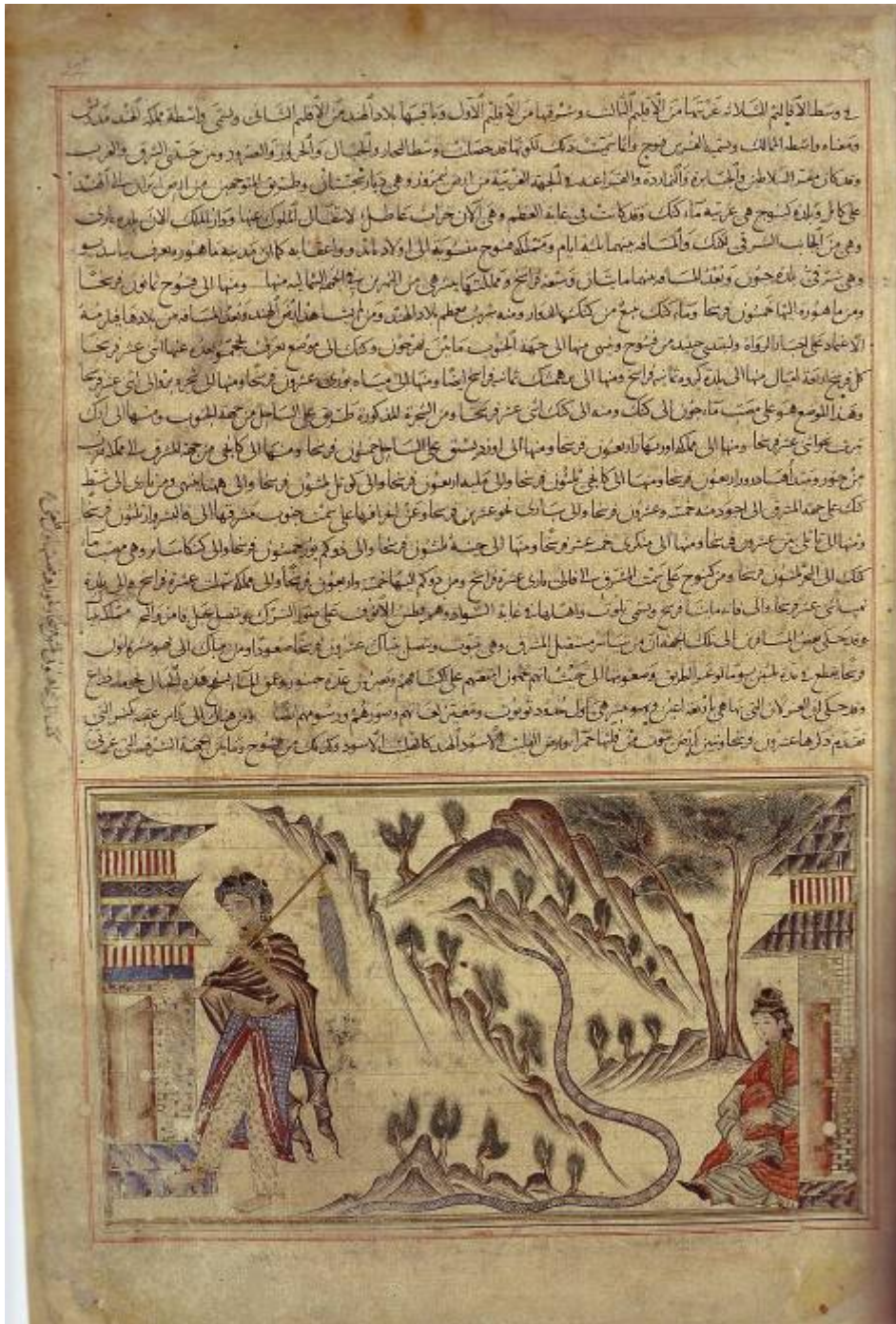


Figure 35

Artist Unknown

“Mountains between India and Tibet”

Jami al-Tawarikh ("Compendium of Chronicles"), text by Rashid al-Din

Iran, 1306 – 7

Khalili Collections

Picture Source: Sheila Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles: Rashid al-Din's Illustrated History of the World*, London, 1995.



Figure 36

“Mountains between India and Tibet” detail

Picture Source: Sheila Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles: Rashid al-Din's Illustrated History of the World*, London, 1995.



Figure 37
 Artist Unknown
 "Musa Slays the Giant 'Uj ibn 'Anaq"
Jami al-Tawarikh ("Compendium of Chronicles"), text by Rashid al-Din
 Iran, 1306 – 7
 f. 9v
 Edinburgh University Library
 Picture Source: Purchased from the Edinburgh University Library



Figure 38

“Musa Slays the Giant ‘Uj ibn ‘Anaq” detail

Picture Source: Purchased from the Edinburgh University Library



Figure 39

Artist Unknown

“Moses in the Bullrushes”

Jami al-Tawarikh ("Compendium of Chronicles"), text by Rashid al-Din

Iran, 1306 – 7

f.7v

Edinburgh University Library

Picture Source: Purchased from the Edinburgh University Library



Figure 40
“Moses in the Bullrushes” detail
Picture Source: Purchased from the Edinburgh University Library

بعد ما نزل بالمدينه يوم سبعا عشر من شهر ربيع الثاني سنة ثمان مائة وثمانين...
 وهذا هو الذي يروي عنهما وكان بينهما اتفاق وكان من عند عمر بن الخطاب...
 الرضاية والراية والرفعة التي هي في طلبها جميع الامور من الزيادة والسكينة...
 عليه السلام وافضل وكان يقال لها اميرتة وعبد المطلب اسمه شيبه...
 ابن عمه عبد المطلب بن الخطاب بن عبد المطلب بن عبد المطلب...
 سنة ثمان مائة وثمانين من الهجرة النبوية...
 من حياها حياها بعد الشرايط التي هي في طلبها...
 سنة ثمان مائة وثمانين من الهجرة النبوية...
 فانه لا يدركه منه على الرحلة وسار كما ملكه بل انزل الله وحمل معه...
 المطلب في هذا الاسم بعد ان مات...
 الا ان حتى في يومئذ كان يعرف له بالجهل والبلية...

حفر زمزم

سنة ثمان مائة وثمانين من الهجرة النبوية...
 الا ان حتى في يومئذ كان يعرف له بالجهل والبلية...



Figure 41
 Artist Unknown
 “Abd al-Muttalib and al-Harith about to Discover Zamzam”
Jami al-Tawarikh ("Compendium of Chronicles"), text by Rashid al-Din
 Iran, 1306 – 7
 f. 41r
 Edinburgh University Library
 Picture Source: Purchased from the Edinburgh University Library



Figure 42

“Abd al-Muttalib and al-Harith about to Discover Zamzam” detail

Picture Source: Purchased from the Edinburgh University Library

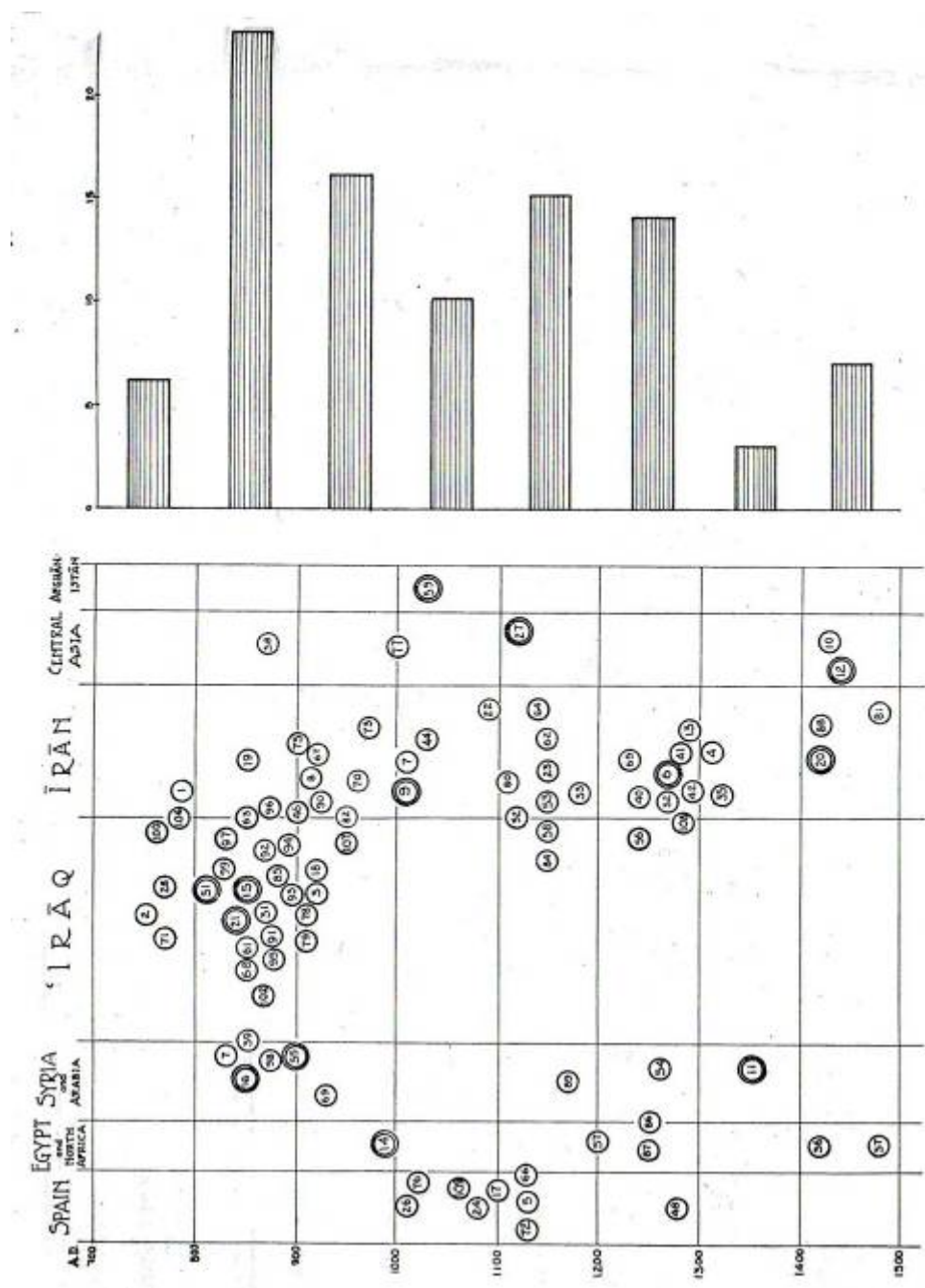


Figure 43
 Table of *zij* Production in the Islamic World
 Picture Source: Kennedy, "A Survey," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 1956, p. 168

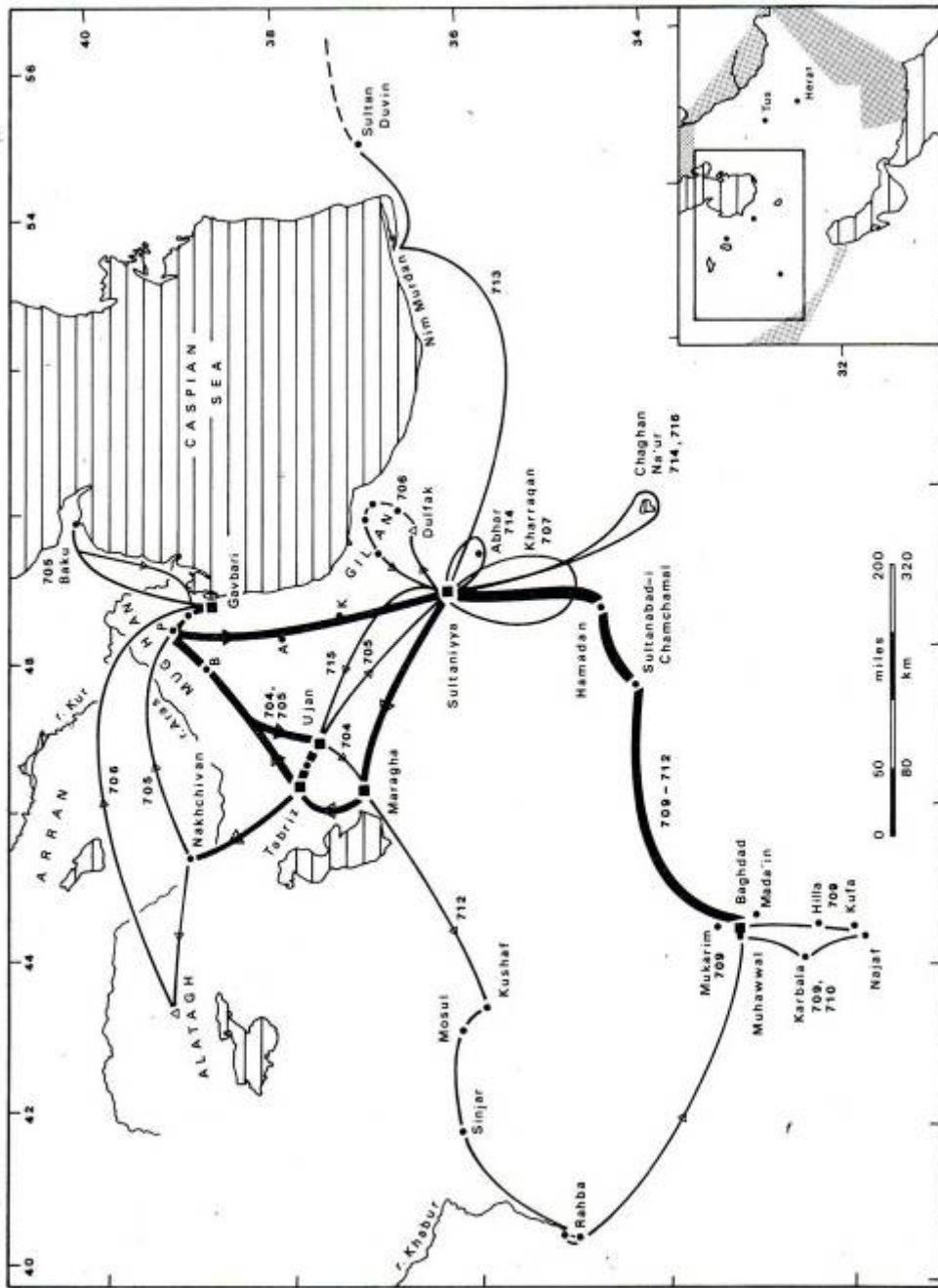


Figure 44
 Oljeitu's itinerary
 Picture Source: Melville. "Itineraries." *Iran* 28. 1990. p.58

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