



BRILL



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FROM MECCA TO MASHHAD: THE NARRATIVE OF AN ILLUSTRATED SHI'I PILGRIMAGE SCROLL FROM THE QAJAR PERIOD

During my residency at the Doris Duke Foundation for Islamic Art in Shangri La, in Honolulu, Hawai'i, in September-October 2012, a previously unknown illustrated nineteenth-century Shi'i pilgrimage scroll came to my attention. The scroll, acquired in the Iranian city of Kerman in 1971, is currently preserved in a private collection in Kailua, Hawai'i, where I was able to inspect it in person. According to its present owner, the scroll is roughly 20 centimeters by 194 centimeters and the paper is printed in six sections and glued to a fabric (perhaps cotton) backing. The first five sections (from right to left) are each 32 centimeters wide, the last one 34 centimeters. There is a faded red wash on the top and bottom borders, as well as on portions of the monuments (fig. 1).

The scroll was printed by way of lithography and is currently preserved under glass in a custom-made frame. It is in fragile condition, with a large piece of paper missing in the fourth section along with various other small pieces. Several areas bear water stains, particularly a considerable part of the first section. In a small section at the end of the document, on the far left, most of which is left blank, we find mention of the person who commissioned the print (in nineteenth-century wording *ḥasb al-khvāhish-i* ..., "According to the order of ..."). The client's name is given as Muhammad Ja'far Kasa'i, a cloth merchant (*bazzāz*) from Karbala. Commissioning, and thus paying for the production of, any item of religious import, was regarded as deserving of religious reward (*ṣavāb*), so clients made it a point to have their names mentioned.

Judging from the style of its illustrations, the scroll was made around the end of the nineteenth century or the beginning of the twentieth. While lithography was

the dominant technique for producing printed items during much of the Qajar period, research has so far focused on lithographed books and journals.¹ Items of a more ephemeral nature, such as single-leaf prints of illustrations,² amulets,³ charms, and announcements of personal or public import, have rarely been preserved and, if so, are often in extremely fragile condition. In this respect, the present essay is a contribution to the history of printing in Iran.

Essentially, the pilgrimage scroll presents a visual journey from Mecca to Mashhad. The visual presentation is accompanied by rhymed passages treating various stations of the journey. As far as these stations and the related rites are concerned, the scroll is closely linked to other documents of a similar nature, such as manuals for pilgrims and historical travelogues. While there is a substantial body of published travelogues, particularly from the Qajar period,⁴ along with related studies,⁵ the present essay does not intend to discuss the scroll consistently in correlation with these sources. Rather, the main intention is to present and discuss the scroll's visual aspects and to contextualize these historically vis-à-vis Muslim, and particularly Shi'i, visual culture⁶ by relating the scroll to both earlier and later similar documents.

ILLUSTRATED HAJJ CERTIFICATES: A SHORT SURVEY

Hajj certificates are stylized legal documents testifying to the fact that a certain individual has participated in the pilgrimage to Mecca and has executed the required rituals. Even though there is a terminological differen-

tiation between the minor pilgrimage (Arabic *ʿumra*), i.e., the execution of the pilgrimage rites at any time of the year, and the major pilgrimage (Arabic *ḥajj*), i.e., the pilgrimage during the month of Dhu 'l-hijja, the designation hajj certificate is indiscriminately applied to both. Providing that one can manage it physically as well as financially, it is obligatory for every Muslim to undertake the pilgrimage to Mecca at least once in his or her lifetime. Meanwhile, people who, for various reasons, are not able to do so, may commonly delegate their obligation to another individual to perform the pilgrimage in their stead (*ḥajj al-badal*). Accordingly, the certificates either testify to the pilgrimage of the person physically present or to the fact that this person participated in the pilgrimage as somebody else's proxy.

A large variety of historical hajj certificates dating from as early as the Seljuk period and ranging up to the Ayyubid period are today preserved in the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art in Istanbul. They are part of a hoard of documents that the Ottoman rulers had transferred to Istanbul from Damascus in 1893.⁷ Since the 1960s most of the pilgrimage documents preserved in Istanbul have been studied by the French scholars Dominique Sourdél and Janine Sourdél-Thomine,⁸ and additional studies have been published by Şule Aksoy and Rachel Milstein,⁹ and David J. Roxburgh.¹⁰ The chief importance of the hajj certificates lies in their documentary value. Meanwhile, because of their artistic content they also pertain to the field of Islamic art. First and foremost, in addition to the text, many of the certificates contain illustrations of the sacred Muslim sites in Mecca and Medina, sometimes also including the *Ḥaram* (sanctuary) in Jerusalem.¹¹ These illustrations not only constitute fascinating subjects of research in their own right but also, as previous studies have argued, might document earlier stages of buildings and structures that are otherwise known only from textual evidence.¹² Moreover, the visual representations of the sacred Muslim sites supplied in the hajj certificates are early specimens of illustrations that later served to guide pilgrims at the sacred sites of Islam. Illustrations extremely close to those first appearing in the hajj certificates are schematically included in such widely used books as the *Dalā'il al-khayrāt* (Guide of the Perplexed) by Muhammad ibn Sulayman al-Jazuli (d. 1465),¹³ the *Futūḥ al-*

Ḥaramayn (Revelations of the Two Sanctuaries) by Muhyi al-Din Lari (d. 1526),¹⁴ and the *Kitāb Mawlid al-Nabī* (Book of the Celebration of the Birth of the Prophet) by Ja'far ibn Hasan al-Barzanji (d. 1766).¹⁵ Similar images were later also included in various manuals for pilgrims,¹⁶ or produced separately on single leaves.¹⁷ The public display of illustrated hajj certificates in mosques might furthermore have given rise to depictions of the sacred precincts in Mecca and Medina on tiles,¹⁸ a phenomenon that is particularly known from the Ottoman period.¹⁹ Besides their visual characteristics, many of the early documents are also pertinent to the study of Islamic art because, rather than being written or illustrated by hand, they were produced in the early technique of woodblock printing.²⁰ This technique was probably derived from Buddhist practice²¹ and enjoyed considerable popularity in the Arab world between the beginning of the tenth and the middle of the fifteenth century. The fact that woodblock printing was often used for the production of amulets²² links the religiously motivated hajj certificates to other practices in the area of popular belief systems and the occult arts.

Besides the documents preserved today in the Istanbul Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art, numerous manuscript copies of hajj certificates from various collections have been published and discussed.²³ Particularly magnificent specimens include the 212-centimeter-long pilgrimage scroll testifying to the hajj of Maymuna bint 'Abdallah al-Zardali in 836 (1433), preserved in the British Museum in London;²⁴ the equally brilliant 665-centimeter-long scroll acknowledging the *ʿumra* of Sayyid Yusuf ibn Sayyid Shihab al-din Mawara' al-Nahri dated 21 Muharram 837 (September 6, 1433), preserved in the Museum of Islamic Art in Qatar;²⁵ and the hajj certificate (Turkish *hac vekâletnamesi*) prepared in 951 (1544) for Şehzade Mehmed, preserved in the Topkapı Palace Museum in Istanbul.²⁶ The Aga Khan Museum in Toronto recently acquired a late eighteenth-century pilgrimage scroll sized 918 by 45.5 centimeters that, in addition to images of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem, contains representations of Najaf and other Shi'ī sites; it was prepared by a certain Sayyid Muhammad Chishti.²⁷ In contrast to the pilgrimage certificates exclusively depicting sites of Sunni—or rather common Muslim—relevance, the items in Qatar and Toronto “go

beyond the canonical pilgrimage to Mecca to include sites of particular Shi'i veneration."²⁸ Since full versions of these hajj certificates are currently not available, the extent to which they are pertinent to the present discussion of Shi'i visual pilgrimage documents remains to be determined by future detailed scrutiny.

MODERN PRINTED HAJJ CERTIFICATES

Most studies of hajj certificates and related phenomena are concerned with specimens that are either very old or particularly attractive in terms of their execution. Fairly recent items, such as the fascinating eighteenth-century metal plaque for printing a pilgrimage certificate preserved in the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore,²⁹ have not received much attention. And a late nineteenth-century printed "Mecca certificate" first published in Samuel M. Zwemer's study *Arabia: The Cradle of Islam* (1900) has gone largely unnoticed (fig. 2).³⁰

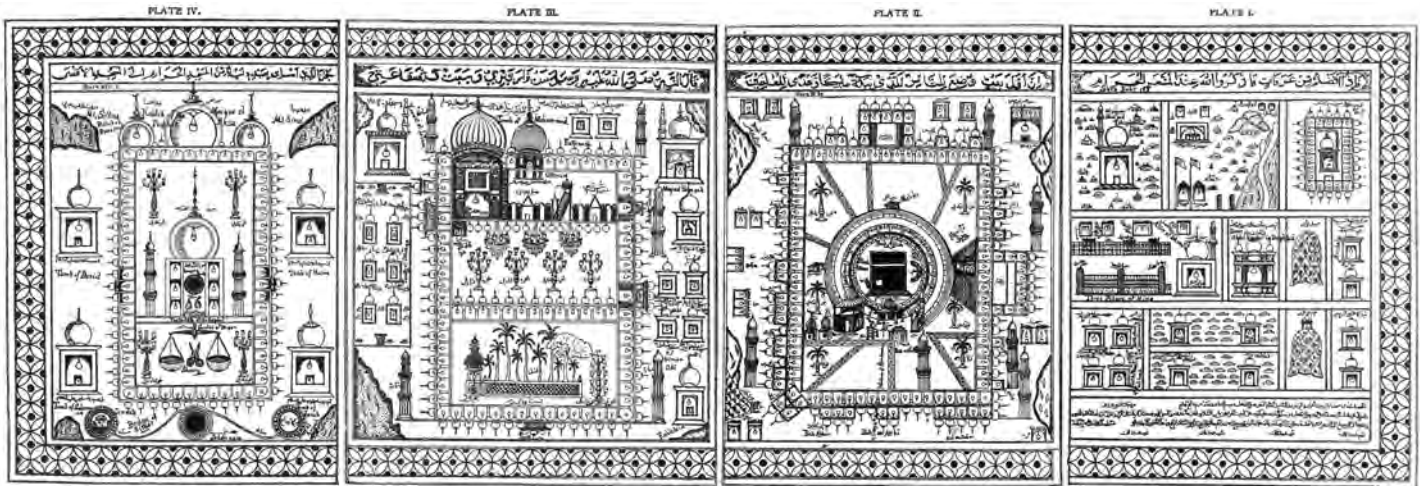
Even in comparison to many of the brilliantly executed historical items, the specimen published by Zwemer is not devoid of a certain charm. Notably, its traditional iconography of the pilgrimage sites in Mecca and Medina is by no means less detailed than that of its historical manuscript predecessors. The chief importance of the printed certificate, however, lies not in its historical value or artistic merit. Rather, this particular item becomes meaningful because it was produced and distributed in the hundreds, maybe even thousands. In this manner, it gains a social dimension as a document testifying to the continuation of a traditional practice with modern technical means. Modern printed hajj certificates were not available only to the "privileged few,"³¹ who would have spent considerable funds on the production of magnificent items produced by talented and diligently working artists. Even in comparison to the early printed documents, modern printed hajj certificates would reach a much wider audience, since paper was no longer an expensive rarity. With the introduction of printing, for the first time in history hajj certificates became commodified accessories for pilgrims. It is particularly interesting that in Zwemer's hajj certificate many of the names and terms given inside the images are rendered not only in Arabic but also in the

Latin alphabet, whether as a translation or as an approximate transcription. This feature raises the question of the document's intended audience—an audience that was obviously not expected to read Arabic fluently. Since the translated terms in Latin writing are supplied in English, we may presume that the certificate was directed at a Muslim audience originating from the Indian subcontinent.

Zwemer's hajj certificate is closely paralleled by another, vaguely contemporary one (fig. 3). This item formerly belonged to the professor of New Testament exegesis and subsequent archbishop of Sweden, Erling Eidem (1880–1972), who had most probably acquired it in the second decade of the century during his peregrinations in Egypt and Palestine. In 1931, Eidem donated the document to the University in Lund, Sweden, where it is now on display in the Faculty of Theology. The visual details of this "very unpretentious popular print" have been minutely discussed by Jan Hjärpe.³²

The four images rendered in both printed items depict essentially the same scenes. From right to left they illustrate: (a) the ritual sites a pilgrim is required to visit in the vicinity of Mecca; (b) the *Haram* in Mecca; (c) the Prophet's mosque in Medina; and (d) the *Haram* in Jerusalem. Both items also share a written passage located at the bottom of the first illustration on the right side. Serving as the actual pilgrimage certificate, this passage offers blank spaces to fill in the pilgrim's name and provenance, and the actual date of the performance. At the very end, after the words "Testified to the above" (*shahida bi-dhālika*), a number of witnesses (four in Zwemer's item and three in the Lund certificate) would sign their names acknowledging the proper execution of the required rituals.

In addition to the printed hajj certificates with a standard set of four images, there were also printed certificates for specific individual sites, such as Medina (and, possibly, Jerusalem), as demonstrated by the published example of a mid-nineteenth-century Medina certificate.³³ Whereas the Lund example is bordered by small circles that alternately frame the names of Muhammad and Allah (the latter written in a number of minor variations), it is interesting to note that the ornaments bordering the image of the Medina certificate are the same ones used in Zwemer's Mecca certificate, so both cer-



THE MECCA CERTIFICATE, which is given to pilgrims to the sacred city, is issued upon its completion to become... is especially interesting because of the circle... At the top left... Plate I... Plate II... Plate III... Plate IV...

Fig. 2. The Mecca certificate. Samuel M. Zwemer, *Arabia: The Cradle of Islam* (London: Darf, 1986), foldout after p. 40.



Fig. 3. Printed hajj certificate. Faculty of Theology, Lund, Sweden. (Photo: courtesy of the Faculty of Theology, Lund, Sweden)

tificates were probably produced in the same printing establishment. Meanwhile, the graphic layout of the buildings on the Medina certificate is noticeably different from that of the Mecca certificate. Both documents include a written passage testifying to a given individual's visit. The passage includes empty spaces for the names of that individual and for a total of four witnesses (fig. 4).

While recent printed certificates such as those discussed above deserve attention, it is striking to note that most of the pilgrimage documents studied so far bespeak a Sunni perspective. Although visual aspects of Shi'i Muslim culture have increasingly gained attention in recent Western scholarship,³⁴ the visual dimension of pilgrimage from a Shi'i perspective still calls for adequate consideration. Notably, the Shi'i perspective relates not only to the pilgrimage to Mecca (*hajj*, *'umra*) but also to the popular pilgrimage (Persian *ziyārat*) to major sites of Shi'i remembrance and worship in Iraq and Iran, such as the tombs of the imams and the innumerable shrines of their descendants (the *Imām-zādas*). These popular pilgrimages, which had always been regarded as "meritorious acts of devotion," had, in the Safavid period, "acquired growing canonical status. Theoretically they were even placed on the same level as the hajj."³⁵ Unillustrated pilgrimage certificates attesting to visits to the shrine of Imam Rida in Mashhad are known from as early as the sixteenth century,³⁶ and single-leaf prints depicting the tragic events of Karbala are known to have been produced at the beginning of the twentieth century, when they were probably distributed or sold to Shi'i pilgrims at the shrines in Najaf or Karbala (fig. 5).³⁷ These images not only constituted items of pious commemoration but would probably also have served to document the owner's actual visit to the sites of Shi'i pilgrimage in Najaf and/or Karbala.

Meanwhile, as a direct case in point, there are also popular prints of Shi'i pilgrimage certificates dating from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Two of these documents have been published casually—i.e., without any references to their provenance or present location.³⁸ While both documents are extremely similar, the older one, probably dating from the end of the nineteenth century, was executed with comparatively greater professional care.³⁹ Already at first sight,



Fig. 4. Medina certificate. Leiden UB, plano 53 F 1, sheet 58. (Photo courtesy of Leiden UB)

these documents demonstrate features that are closely similar to those of the corresponding Sunni items. Whereas the modern publisher of the older item edited the document's text, the reproduction of the second, later document is so small that the text passages are hardly legible. As in the Sunni documents, the centrally placed text of the hajj certificate proper leaves blank spaces intended for the name of the pilgrim and his place of origin. The more recent hajj certificate is dated 9 Dhu 'l-Hijja 1321 (February 26, 1904). It is thus more or less contemporary with the Sunni hajj certificates published by Zwemer and Hjärpe. Instead of the regular set of four sites of pilgrimage seen in the printed Sunni documents, the top sections of both printed Shi'i hajj certificates illustrate a set of five sites that imply a



Fig. 5. Two single-leaf lithographed prints depicting scenes from the battle of Karbala. From Jean Vinchon, "L'imagerie populaire persane," *Revue des Arts Asiatiques* 2, 4 (1925): 10–11.

distinctly Shi'i perspective, particularly with regard to the last two images (fig. 6).

Reading the images from right to left, there are (a) the *Haram* in Mecca and (b) a double image depicting a pilgrim and a number of sheep at Mount Arafat above and two pilgrims to the side of a set of steps below; these steps represent the *mas'ā* between Safa and Marwa, i.e., the distance that pilgrims are requested to trot back and forth as did Abraham's wife Hagar when searching for water for her infant son Isma'il. In addition to these two sites of the Sunni—or rather the common Muslim—dimension of the pilgrimage in Mecca, there is an image of (c) the Prophet Muhammad's mosque at Medina that also belongs to the regular set of images depicted on the Sunni hajj certificates. The next illustration depicts (d) the cemetery in Medina known as Baqi' (here denoted in Persian as *bārgāh-i Baqī'*), a site that is rarely, if ever, included in the visual program of the Sunni hajj certificates (although it has been visualized in manuscripts of the *Futūḥ al-Ḥaramayn*).⁴⁰ This cemetery is particularly dear to the Shi'i community because it holds not only the graves of Muhammad's wives and his daughter Fatima, but also those of a number of the early Shi'i imams: the Second Imam, Hasan (d. 661); the Fourth Imam, 'Ali ibn al-Husayn "Zayn al-'Abidin," also known as the imam Sajjad (d. ca. 713); the Fifth Imam, Muhammad al-Baqir (d. ca. 733); and the Sixth Imam, Ja'far al-Sadiq (d. 765). Today, the mausolea in the cemetery are no

longer extant, having been destroyed by iconoclast Wahhabis, apparently in 1925–26. The fifth and final illustration, in the far left section of the document, depicts (e) the oasis Fadak (*bāgh-i Fadak*), a place in the vicinity of Medina that was formerly renowned for its rich date palms. This site is also imbued with a particular significance for the Shi'i community. Before the spread of Islam, the oasis had belonged to the Jewish community, who gave it to Muhammad as part of the peace agreement they had reached. Muhammad devoted the revenue from the date palms to needy travelers and the poor. Following Muhammad's death a dispute broke out between his daughter, Fatima, and the first caliph, Abu Bakr, as to who was the rightful owner of Fadak. Whereas Fatima regarded the oasis as part of her inheritance, Abu Bakr maintained that the revenue should be spent in exactly the same way as the Prophet had settled it. Since Fatima could not produce witnesses sustaining her claim that would satisfy Abu Bakr, he did not relent. The Shi'i community regards Abu Bakr's rejection of Fatima's claim as an act of injustice that belongs to a long series of Sunni atrocities denying the Prophet's family its rightful position and inheritance. Together with the Persian text, part of which describes the pilgrim's acts during his journey to the various sacred sites, this hajj certificate thus presents a decidedly Shi'i perspective.

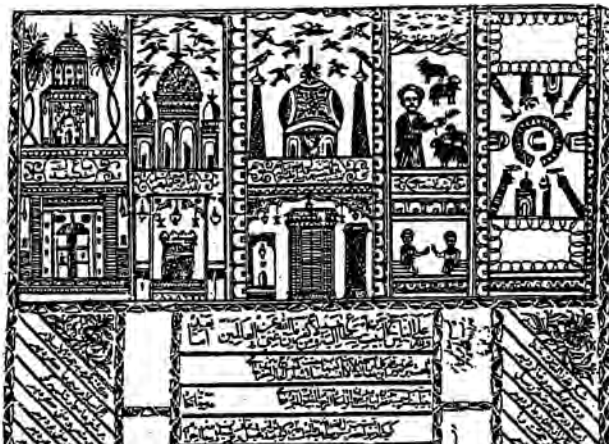


Fig. 6. Shi'i hajj certificate (top section). From Jabir 'Anasiri, *Dar āmadi bar namāyesh va niyyesh dar Irān* (Tehran: Jihad-i daneshgahi, 1366 [1987]), 151.

THE SHI'I PILGRIMAGE SCROLL

The Shi'i pilgrimage scroll that is the main subject of this essay consists essentially of two areas of a different nature. The scroll's middle area has a total of twenty-four images illustrating the various Shi'i pilgrimage sites. Both the top and bottom borders contain poetry. Besides the scroll's dominant visual character, the texts also contribute to the study of pilgrimage practices and their Shi'i dimensions.

The Shi'i Pilgrimage Scroll: The Verses

In the area containing the poetry, each couplet is bordered by an ornamental frame that separates it from the following one. Each section contains seven verses, totaling eighty-four verses altogether. The verses are fairly

crude in terms of meter, and simple as well as repetitive in wording. Most of them rhyme with "... *kardīm*" (we did); and most of the final verses in the bottom of sections five and six rhyme with "... *āvardāīm*" (we brought) and *rasīd* (it came). In general, the verses, each of which forms an independent unit, illustrate the pilgrims' itinerary. If one wants to follow this itinerary chronologically, one would first read all of the verses on the top border and then continue with the ones on the bottom border. This sequence makes it clear that the verses do not stand in direct relation to the images in the middle area. In fact, most of the verses deal with the pilgrims' sojourn in Mecca, Medina, Najaf, Kufa, and Karbala. Other sites of Shi'i pilgrimage such as those in Kazimayn, Samarra, and Mashhad are only mentioned in a retrospective passage in the final section at the bottom of the scroll.

Since the verses are pronounced in the first person plural, they are obviously spoken by an individual representing a group of people, such as the leader or guide of the pilgrims. In fact, this is an example of the poetry known as *chāvūshī-khvānī*—the verses pronounced by the pilgrimage guide known as *chāvūsh* (or *chāvush*) as the pilgrims return to their homes. Besides guiding the pilgrims and instructing them about the proper execution of pilgrimage rituals, the *chāvūsh* was responsible for travel arrangements of all kinds, including means of travel and accommodation. Substantial Western research on this phenomenon is lacking, but a fair number of studies published by Iranian scholars⁴¹ indicate that the *chāvūsh* was a phenomenon of traditional Shi'i culture that probably still exists today in rural areas of Iran. The verses recited by the *chāvūsh* present a rhymed and somewhat stylized narrative of the pilgrims' visit to different locations, including their experiences on the way and the presents they brought back to their home community. It is open to speculation to what extent verses of this kind were recited from booklets known as *chāvūshī-nāma*, a genre obviously denoting simple and

uncritical publications of the "Bazaar" kind.⁴² Similar booklets, containing the text of *ta'zīya* dramas of venerated persons like Husayn, Bibi Shahrbanu, Husayn's half-brother Abu 'l-Fadl 'Abbas, Muslim (ibn 'Aqil), or Husayn's sons Qasim and 'Ali Akbar, are still sold today.⁴³

Besides their crude and somewhat monotonous character, a striking feature of the verses is their emotional charge. Whereas the rites and practices of the pilgrimage in Mecca are mentioned in a matter-of-fact way, from their visit to the cemetery at Baqi' onwards the pilgrims shed tears, weeping and wailing ever so often. Even though the reasons for this attitude are not mentioned explicitly, it obviously results from the deeply experienced emotional understanding of the historical injustice the venerated persons suffered, from the destitution they experienced, and from the relative guilt the pilgrims would share as the descendants of those who had not kept their promise to assist Husayn and his companions. The pilgrim brings back with him many spiritual gifts, but the ultimate expression of compassion is seen in his eyes, still "filled with blood" from weeping at Husayn's tomb. As a counterpart to the pilgrim's remorse as expressed in his tears, the equally emotionally charged term of reliability and faithfulness (*vafā*) also links the pilgrims' visit to the historical situation in that the pilgrims are truly faithful to Husayn, in contrast to those who had historically promised to stand by his side but then deserted him.

These are the verses on the pilgrimage scroll, following their order in the printed sections. Words or parts of words that have been reconstructed are added in brackets. Instead of a literal translation, the content of the verses is summarized in English:

رو بسوی کعبه وفا کردیم	شکر لله زالتف (مات) خدا
جا بر بندر بشوقها کردیم	بعد طی منازل بسیار

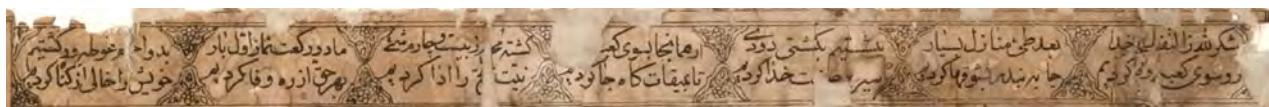


Fig. 7. Shi'i pilgrimage scroll (top, section 1).

نشستیم به کشتی دودی سیر ب(ر) صنعت خدا کردیم
 از هماغجا بسوی کعبه(ه) تا بمیقات گاه جا کردیم
 گشته محرم ز بیست و چارم شیء نیت حج را ادا کردیم
 مادو رکعت نماز اول بار بهر حق از ره وفا کردیم
 بدو احد(بر)ام غوطه ور گشتیم خویش را خالی از نگاه کردیم

Setting off for the pilgrimage from an unnamed location, after a lengthy journey the pilgrims reach a seaport (most probably on Iran's southern coast) from where they continue their journey by steamboat. Following their arrival at the *mīqāt* (the site stipulated for the assumption of the *iḥrām*), most probably the port of Jidda, they enter the state of *iḥrām* (i.e., the state of having declared twenty-four specific acts forbidden), and pronounce their intention (*niyyat*) to complete the pilgrimage. They then perform a short prayer (of two *rak'a*) and the ritual ablution so as to reach the required state of purity (fig. 7).

تلبیه بر زبان آوردیم اشک جاری ز دیده ها کردیم
 ماکه دیوار مکه را دیدیم شکر کردیم و سجده ها کردیم
 بهر طوف حرم ز باب سلام اهل اسلام را دعا کردیم
 متمتع ز عمره گردیدیم هفت شوط عمره را بجا کردیم
 بعد اندر مقام ابراهیم با شرایط نماز ها کردیم
 سعی اندر صفا و مروه دوست هفت بار از ره وفا کردیم
 کرده تقصیر و ما محجل شده ایم جمله اعمال را بجا کردیم

As the pilgrims exclaim the ritual greeting *labbayka* (Here I am at our service!), their eyes fill with tears. When they reach the walls of Mecca, they prostrate themselves repeatedly. They enter the sacred precinct (*ḥaram*) through the *Bāb al-Salām*, the gate on the precinct's northeastern side, facing the door of the Ka'ba, and perform the proscribed circumambulation (*ʿumra*) seven times. After praying at the *maqām Ibrāhīm*, the site where, according to legend, Abraham stood when building the Ka'ba, they then proceed to perform the ritual trotting between Safa and Marwa seven times (i.e., walking to Safa four times and returning to Marwa three times). Having performed the required rituals, they leave the state of *iḥrām* (fig. 8).

روز هفتم روان سوی عرفات باز تجدید کار ها کردیم
 ز آب زمزم بحجر اسماعیل غسل احرام از وفا کردیم
 گشته محرم بحجة الاسلام حج اسلام بپیریا کردیم
 بر شترها سوار تلبیه گو رو بسوی مشعر و منا کردیم
 شام تا صبح در منی بودیم (در) مسجد خیف نالها کردیم
 روز رفتیم بوادی عرفات پای آنکوه قصد ها کردیم
 چون مخالف مخالفت کردند پای آنکوه قصد ها کردیم

On the seventh day, the pilgrims set off for Mount Arafat. At the *ḥijr Ismā'īl*, the stone wall encompassing the graves of Isma'il and his mother, Hagar, they perform the ritual ablution (*ghusl*) with water from the well

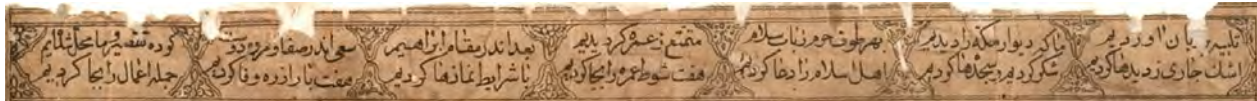


Fig. 8. Shi'i pilgrimage scroll (top, section 2).

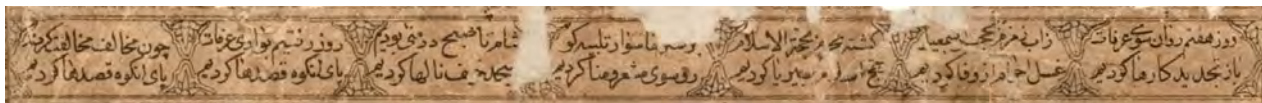


Fig. 9. Shi'i pilgrimage scroll (top, section 3).

of Zamzam. Again pronouncing the ritual greeting *lab-bayka*, they travel to the valley of Mina on camelback. They spend the night there wailing in the mosque of Khayf. The next morning they continue to Mount Arafat, where they perform the prescribed rituals (fig. 9).

واجب از صدق و از صفا کردیم	ظهر تا شام قصد بیتوته
بر احرام ریگها کردیم	اول مغرب رو بمشعر شد
باز ترویبه بین راه کردیم	شد عیان (شفق) ماروان گشتیم
که دران عید عیدها کردیم	در منی روز عید عیدی بود
باز تقصیر را بجا کردیم	رمی کردیم بعد قربانی
رو سوی خانه خدا کردیم	سر تراشیده موم نمودیم دفع
حج اسلام را ادا کردیم	باز داخل شدیم بیاب سلام

After securing a place to stay overnight, at dusk the pilgrims set off on their way to the mosque in Muzdalifa (*al-Mash'ar al-harām*). They then return to Mina, where they slaughter sheep for the Feast of the Sacrifice (*ʿid-i qurbān*) and perform the ritual throwing of pebbles against Satan (*ramy*). After having their heads shaved, they return to Mecca, where they again enter the sacred precinct from the *Bāb al-Salām* to perform the circumambulation of the Ka'ba (fig. 10).

(سپس) عازم نسا کردیم	(بعد) سعی صفی و مروه دگر
رو سوی وادی منا کردیم	بعد طوف نساء و بعد نماز
ماکه بر عهد خود وفا کردیم	در منا کرده
ماکه بر	که ز حجاج

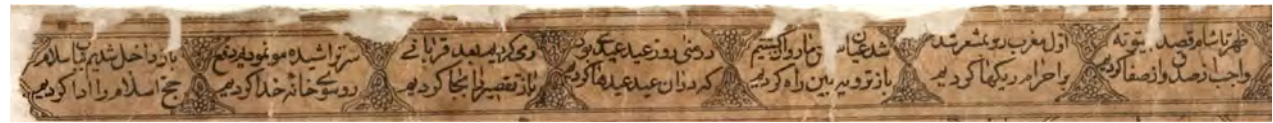


Fig. 10. Shi'i pilgrimage scroll (top, section 4).



Fig. 11. Shi'i pilgrimage scroll (top, section 5).

رو سوی دش..... را کردیم
 و جان د..... (ک) کردیم
 در بقیع قبر چار حجت را بوسه دادیم و گریه کردیم

This section is heavily damaged and most of the words are not legible. After returning from Safa and Marwa, the pilgrims perform the *tavāf-i nisāʾ*, a specifically Shi'i circumambulation by which they gain permission to have sexual contact with women. Mention is again made of Mina, but the numerous lacunae do not permit a reconstruction of what is supposed to happen there. The final line mentions the pilgrims visiting the cemetery of Baqi' in the vicinity of Medina, where they kiss the graves of the four Shi'i imams, Hasan, 'Ali "Zayn al-'Abidin," Muhammad al-Baqir, and Ja'far al-Sadiq, and lament their deaths (fig. 11).

از مدینه بسوی شاه نجف طی منزل بشوقها کردیم
 وارد چو..... نجف کردیم غم و غصه و اندوه تلف
 از خاک نجف دیده ما یافت شرف گفتیم بمانی همه با شوق شعف
 جای همه یاران و عزیزان خالی
 (از لطف خدا بر وضه گشتیم قرین از نجلت معصیت همه سر بزمین
 کردیم سلام) بر شهنشاہ مبین .. آدم و نوح اند و پیغمبر دین
 جای (همه) یاران و عزیزان خالی

From Medina, the pilgrims travel towards Najaf, where they are emotionally touched by the memory of the tragic historical events. Here, for the first time, the speaker exclaims a line that is to follow at intervals for a total of four times: "The place of all friends and persons

dear to us is empty!”—meaning that one wishes they were there, too. The speaker mentions a session of *rawḍa-khvānī*, i.e., a recitation pertaining to the tragic events of Karbala, which makes the pilgrims feel ashamed because it makes them aware of all their sins. Full of remorse, the pilgrims pay their respects to ‘Ali (*Shāhinshāh-i mubīn*), Noah, Adam, and Muhammad (*payghambar-i dīn*) (fig. 12).

دیدیم نشیمن شهنشاہ جهان
هر دانه در چه قطره آب روان
از جا و مقام انبیا پرسیدیم
افتاده به خاک آسمکان بوسیدیم
رقتیم بصفه صفا سیرگان
در دامن دریای نجف بود عیان
جای همه یاران و عزیزان خالی
چون مسجد کوفه سهله را گردیدیم
محراب شهادت علی را دیدیم
جای همه یاران و عزیزان خالی
بعد از آن باد و دیده گریان
طی منزل به کربلا کردیم

After visiting ‘Ali’s tomb in Najaf, the pilgrims continue toward Kufa, where they visit the site of ‘Ali’s martyrdom in the mosque. Their eyes filled with tears, they set off for Karbala (fig. 13).

چون رسیدیم در بر حابر
ملک العرش را شنا کردیم

چشم خود را ز خاک قبر حسین
حضرت قاسم و حبیب شهید
شهدا را تمام با عباس
بعد از آن رو به خیمه گاه حسین
چون بدیدیم حمله قاسم
رو بصحرا بسوی حر رفتیم
همچو خورشید بر ضیا کردیم
ما زیارت جدا جدا کردیم
به زیارتشان وفا کردیم
آه و افغان و ناله کردیم
بنشستیم و ناله کردیم
نالهای چه جانفزاکردیم

In Karbala the pilgrims visit the tombs of Husayn, Husayn’s son Qasim, Habib (ibn Muzahir al-Asadi), and Husayn’s half-brother ‘Abbas, as well as of all the other martyrs. Continuously lamenting, they reach the site where Husayn’s troops had pitched their tents (the *khayma-gāh*). At Qasim’s bridal tent they start weeping, and they cry again when they visit the site of the martyrdom of Hurr (ibn Yazid al-Tamimi), the Umayyad general who joined Husayn’s side (fig. 14).

وانگه ز کربلا بسوی نجف
چون رسیدیم بآن نجسته مکان
حضرت مرتضی و آدم و نوح
قبر مولای خویش بوسیدیم
در زوایای مسجد کوفه
طی منزل بشوقها کردیم
سیر آن گنبد طلا کردیم
هر سه را قبله دعا کردیم
هر زمان عرض مدعا کردیم
سنت و فرض خود را ادا کردیم

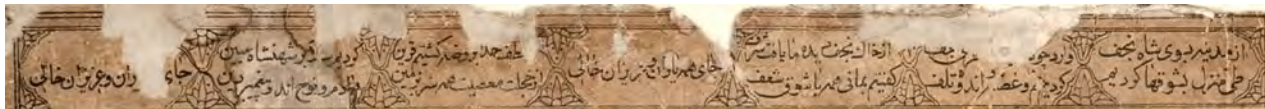


Fig. 12. Shi'i pilgrimage scroll (top, section 6).

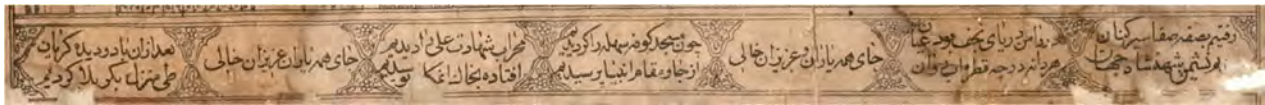


Fig. 13. Shi'i pilgrimage scroll (bottom, section 1).

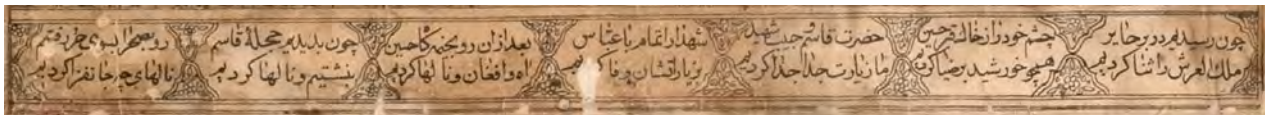


Fig. 14. Shi'i pilgrimage scroll (bottom, section 2).

مسلم و هانی و دیگر مختار
 بعد رخصت ز حیدر کرار
 ماز یارت جدا جدا کردیم
 از نجف رو بکربلا کردیم

well as their uncles, cousins, and other relatives. They are sure that God has forgiven their sins because 'Ali is in their hearts (fig. 16).

From Karbala the pilgrims again turn to Najaf, where they pay homage to 'Ali, Adam, and Noah, kissing 'Ali's tomb. At the mosque of Kufa, they visit the tombs of Muslim (ibn 'Aqil), Hani (ibn 'Urwa, the person who gave shelter to Muslim in Kufa), and Mukhtar (ibn Abi 'Ubaydallah, the person who led a rebellion against the Umayyad caliphs to avenge Husayn's death). Having requested permission (*rukḥṣat*) from 'Ali (*Haydar-i karrār*, "the boisterous lion") to leave, the pilgrims return to Karbala (fig. 15).

ما سلام از روضه شیر خدا آورده ایم
 بسکه رخ مالیده ایم بر مرقد شاه نجف
 سر برهنه پا برهنه مکه را گردیده ایم
 این شرافت از مکان انبیاء آورده ایم
 قتلگاه حضرت شاه شهیدان دیده ایم
 چشم پر خونی از آن جنت سرا آورده ایم
 طوف عباس علی را کرده ایم از جان و دل
 ما طواف کعبه را از خیمه گاه آورده ایم
 قبر هفتاد و دو تن را (م) ماز یارت کرده ایم
 از برای دوستان عقده گشا آورده ایم
 مرقد موسی کاظم در بغل بگرفته ایم
 خاک درگاهش برای توتیا آورده ایم

With the first of the final two sections, both the meter and rhyme of the verses change. Mention is first made of the spiritual presents the speaker brings back from his journey. 'Ali's tomb smelled like ambergris. From their humble visit to Mecca they return with pride, and the pilgrim's eyes are still filled with blood from extensive weeping at the site where Husayn was killed. They visited the tomb of 'Abbas, the Ka'ba, the plain where Husayn and his troops had pitched their tents, and the tombs of the seventy-two martyrs of Karbala. These moral presents should help their friends to gain peace of mind. From the tomb of the Seventh Imam Musa al-Kazim (in Kazimayn [d. 799]), they brought back some soil (*khāk*), to be used for the preparation of a special ointment to protect the eyes (*tūtīyā'*) (fig. 17).

بار دیگر به روضه شهدا
 همه در تحت قبه مولا
 روضه را تعزیت سرا کردیم
 دوست (کردیم)
 اول از بهر والدین عزیز
 بعد از آن بهر خواهر و اخوان
 (طلب ر) حمت از خدا کردیم
 بنماز و دعا وفا کردیم
 یاد هر یک جدا جدا کردیم
 عجم و عمرادگان و خویشا
 محضر از مهر کربلا کردیم
 جرم ما را خدا بما بخشید
 چونکه مهر علیست در (دل ما)
 این سخن را ز جان ادا کردیم

In Karbala the pilgrims again participate in a session of *rawḍa-khvānī*. They ask for pardon from God for their parents, and they pray for their sisters and brothers as

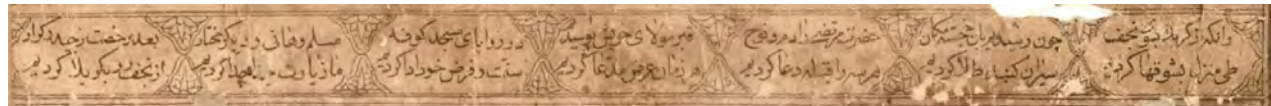


Fig. 15. Shi'i pilgrimage scroll (bottom, section 3).

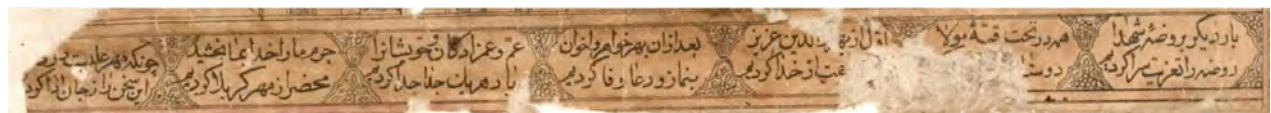


Fig. 16. Shi'i pilgrimage scroll (bottom, section 4).

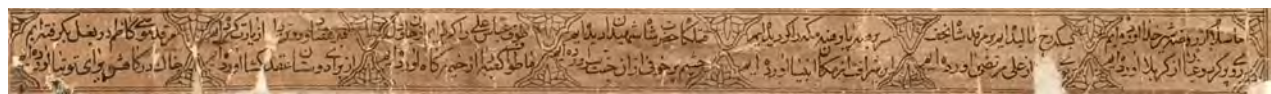


Fig. 17. Shi'i pilgrimage scroll (bottom, section 5).

هم تقی و هم نقی با عسکری طوفیده ایم
 راه و رسم بندگی را ما بجا آورده ایم
 مهدی صاحب زمان را ما زیارت کرده ایم
 نامه آزادی از جرم و گناه آورده ایم
 میرند سوداگران از شهرها بس انتفاع
 انتفاع اینست که ما از کربلا آورده ایم
 در بیابان از عرب جور و جفاها دیده ایم
 مهر و تسبیح از شهید کربلا آورده ایم
 شکر خدا که تیر دعا بر هدف رسید
 (روی سیاه ما بصریح نجف رسید)
 هر مطلبی که در دل تو بود در نجف
 (بر عرض بارگاه شه لو کشف رسید)
 بار الها کن نصیب شد (بعیان هر سالها)
 هر (م) نجف هم کربلا هم (مشهد شاه رضا)

On their way, the pilgrims also paid homage to the tomb of the Ninth Imam, Muhammad al-Taḥiqī (also called Muhammad al-Javad [d. 835]), in Kazimayn as well as to those of the Tenth Imam, ‘Alī al-Naḥiqī (also called ‘Alī al-Hādī [d. 868]), and of the Eleventh Imam, Hasan al-‘Askarī (d. 873 or 874), in Samarra (these two imams are commonly addressed together as al-‘Askariyyayn [the two ‘Askaris]), professing to their close relationship with them. In Samarra, they also visited the site where the Twelfth Imam, Muhammad al-Mahdī, the *Imām-i zamān*, is supposed to have gone into occultation, thus earning for themselves a document testifying that all their sins had been forgiven. Even though merchants might gain (financial) profit from the holy cities, the true (moral) profit was thus brought back by the pilgrims from Karbala. The voyage was strenuous and they were harassed by the Bedouins on their way through the desert. Even so, they brought back from Karbala a praying-stone (*muhr*)⁴⁴ and a rosary (*tasbīḥ*).⁴⁵

The final lines are, again, badly damaged. It is, however, possible to reconstruct their wording from corre-

sponding lines in the published *chāvūshī-nāma*. The speaker is happy that his prayers have been fulfilled since he was able to visit ‘Alī’s tomb in Najaf. All of the requests he might have had have now been revealed at ‘Alī’s shrine.⁴⁶ The speaker finishes by wishing that God may enable all Shi‘i Muslims to visit Najaf and Karbala annually, as well as the *Haram* of the Eighth Imam, ‘Alī ibn Musa al-Rida (d. 818), in Mashhad (fig. 18).

The Shi‘i Pilgrimage Scroll: The Images

The middle area of the pilgrimage scroll, flanked by the verse narrative above and below, presents a visualization of the sites and buildings that bear particular relevance for Shi‘i Muslim pilgrims. In contrast to the verse narrative, which focuses on Mecca, Medina, Najaf, Kufa, and Karbala, mentioning other sites of Shi‘i pilgrimage such as Kazimayn, Samarra, and Mashhad only in the final summary, the visual journey reveals a different emphasis. In exactly the same way as in the Shi‘i hajj certificate discussed above (fig. 6), the journey starts in Mecca and the ritual sites in its vicinity (image nos. 1 and 2 [these numbers refer to the images in the following passages; see figs. 19–24, images read from right to left]), followed by Medina and the local Shi‘i pilgrimage sites of Baqi‘ and Fadak (nos. 3–5). At this point, the visit to sites related to the hajj in the stricter sense is finished, and the overlap with the printed Shi‘i hajj certificate (fig. 6) ends. After concluding their visit to the pilgrimage sites in Saudi Arabia, Sunni Muslims would be likely to continue their journey by visiting the *Haram* in Jerusalem, from where Muhammad, according to legend, set out on his Nocturnal Journey, the *mi‘rāj*.⁴⁷ Shi‘i travelers, however, would aim to visit sites of particular relevance to the history of the Shi‘i creed, especially the shrines of the Shi‘i imams (*‘atabāt-i ‘alīyyāt*). The scroll’s visual journey thus continues to Najaf (no. 6), Kufa (no. 7), and Karbala (nos. 8–12), all three of them belonging to the sites that are prominently mentioned in the verses. After Karbala, the second half of the images then

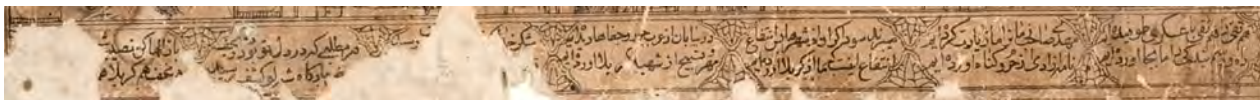


Fig. 18. Shi‘i pilgrimage scroll (bottom, section 6).

features sites that receive little or no attention in the verses, such as Kazimayn (no. 13), Samarra (nos. 14–15), Qum (no. 16), Rayy (nos. 17–18), and Nishapur (no. 19). The final site the pilgrim visits is Mashhad (nos. 20–24). While most sites depicted on the scroll are located in either Arabia (nos. 1–6) or Iraq (nos. 7–15), Shi'i sites of pilgrimage within the borders of Iran (nos. 16–24) receive particular attention, even though some of them are only minor ones. The journey both culminates and ends in Mashhad. Considered together, the starting point of the visual journey is a hajj proper, which is then followed by the pilgrim's return to Iran, on the way visiting Shi'i sites of remembrance in Iraq. As the verse narrative mentions, the pilgrims would have started their journey by travelling from Iran to Saudi Arabia by boat, so the obvious choice for the return journey is the land route, during which religious merit would be earned by visiting Shi'i sites of pilgrimage in Iraq and Iran. If one considers the distance of more than 3,500 kilometers that pilgrims would have had to travel between Mecca and Mashhad, and if one adds certain periods of sojourn at the sites of pilgrimage, it is not unlikely that prior to the accessibility of modern means of travel, the journey would have lasted at least several months, probably even up to half a year.

The images in sections 1, 2, 3, and 5 are 14 centimeters in height; section 4 is only 13.9 centimeters, and section 6 is slightly larger at 14.4 centimeter high. Averaging four images per printed section, the images are unevenly distributed (sections 1–6 with 3, 4, 4, 3, 5, and 5 images, respectively). This phenomenon results to a certain extent from the fact that some images are so wide (e.g., no. 1: Mecca; no. 13: Kazimayn) as to occupy the space that would regularly be covered by two images. In the following, the exact width of each image is given together with its description. In terms of number of images dedicated to a specific location, the visual journey clearly emphasizes both Karbala and Mashhad. The visit to Karbala has a total of five images (nos. 8–12), and the final destination at the sanctuary of Imam Rida (including the site east of Nishapur where his footprints are worshipped [no. 19]) is represented with a total of six images (nos. 19–24).

Except for a few instances (no. 1: Mecca; no. 7: Kufa; no. 18: Bibi Shahrbanu), all of the images are divided into

a top and bottom half. The two halves are separated by an ornamental band bearing the caption, which is usually positioned just below the middle of the image. Because of this arrangement, the top section is slightly larger than the bottom one. In the images depicting a mosque or a similar type of sanctuary (nos. 3, 4, 6, 8–17, 20, and 21), the top half presents the building from a distance with its centrally placed dome and, most often, minarets on both sides. The domes of the larger shrines are so-called onion domes with a finial at their crest. They usually rest on a drum, sometimes a slightly elongated one that would often display a number of windows. The domes of the smaller shrines (no. 9: *Khayma-gāh*; no. 19: *Qadamgāh-i* Imam Rida) are round and do not rest on a drum. A golden cover of the domes and sometimes of the minarets is visualized by a brick structure, while tile covers are depicted as flowers or geometrical ornaments. The bottom half of the mausoleum-type shrine shows a cross-section of the sanctuary, allowing a glimpse into the building's interior. Here, one would regularly see the silver lattice structure enclosing the venerated individual's tomb in a room adorned with centrally placed chandeliers, symmetrically arranged lamps, and sometimes additional candlesticks on the floor. Frequently, the sanctuary's tomb chamber is flanked by small entry chambers on both sides. In terms of architectural detail, the buildings are presented in a fairly uniform manner. However, the artist has taken great care to introduce a certain variation in the patterns of the brickwork or ornamental tiles. In a similar manner, the inner chambers of the sanctuaries also diverge in terms of the number or arrangement of lamps and chandeliers. While the majority of the images depict buildings, two present bird's-eye views of larger areas (no. 1: Mecca; no. 7: Kufa). Some images include renderings of landscape or elements of nature such as trees (no. 2: Arafat; no. 5: Fadak; no. 9: *Khayma-gāh*; no. 12: *Ṭiflān-i* Muslim; no. 18: Bibi Shahrbanu; and 19: *Qadamgāh-i* Imam Rida). With the exception of the commemorative building dedicated to Bibi Shahrbanu (no. 18), all of the images depicting shrines are adorned on top with either one or two crescents with five-pointed stars in their centers. Sometimes, two crescents may denote the shrines of more than one individual (nos. 8, 13, and 14), while at other times they probably serve to

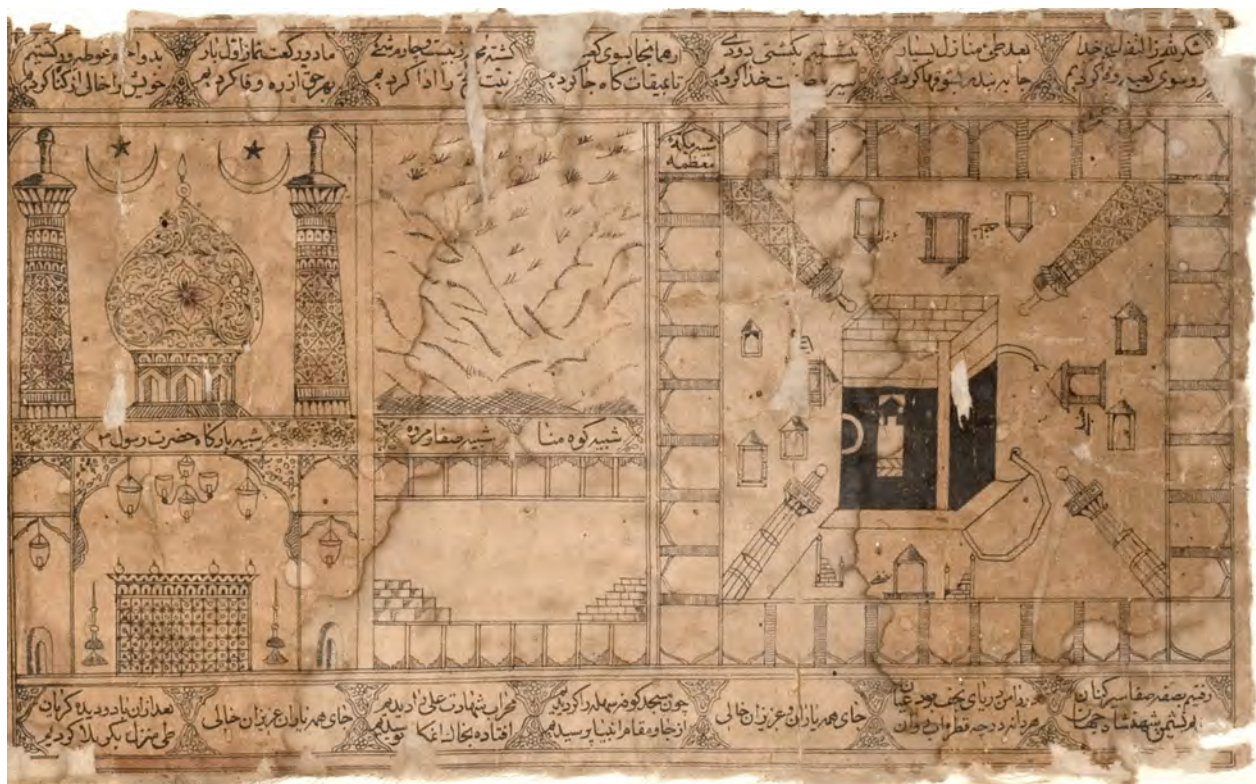


Fig. 19. Shi'i pilgrimage scroll (section 1, image nos. 1–3).

emphasize the respective individual's particular significance (no. 3: Muhammad; no. 10: *ḥadrat-i* 'Abbas).

In addition to the above-mentioned points, several other visual features of the lithographed scroll deserve attention, even though solutions to some of the problems it poses at present remain tentative. For instance, only the sanctuaries in Mecca (no. 1) and Kufa (no. 7) are shown in plan rather than in elevation-cum-cross-section. While this visual statement might indicate that these two sanctuaries were accorded a higher status (which would hold true for Mecca, but not for Kufa), it primarily appears to result from a previous tradition according to which the sanctuary in Mecca would usually be depicted in this manner, probably since the image shows a larger area rather than a single building. If this assessment holds true, then it would also be valid for the depiction of the mosque in Kufa that—similar to Mecca—features a larger area.

1) The *Haram* in Mecca (شبهه مکة معظمه; 14.7 × 14 cm) is depicted as a square with the Ka'ba in the center. The square is surrounded by arcades. There are eight arches on the left and right sides, and nine on the top and bottom sides, respectively. Similar arches are depicted in the four corners, with the space in the upper left corner bearing the image's caption. The image presents the holy precinct in the traditional manner, from the portal on the northeastern side, the *Bāb al-Salām*, a gate that is also mentioned in the verses of the scroll as the standard entrance. Except for the Ka'ba, which is displayed in a three-dimensional perspective, all other structures are presented in flat projection, emulating a bird's-eye view. Most of the additional structures are oriented towards the Ka'ba at the center of the image. Two pairs of identically ornamented minarets, one pair above and the other one below, point from the square's four corners towards the center. The traditionally depicted de-

tails of the Ka'ba are clearly discernible: the building rests on an outwardly protruding platform; the black stone on the building's eastern corner, here on the left side, is indicated by a curving white line against the building's black draping, the *kiswa*; the Ka'ba's door appears to be open, enabling the viewer to look inside the building. To the right of the Ka'ba is the stone wall known as *ḥijr Ismā'īl*, and on the corner of the building opposite the black stone is the gutter known as *mizāb al-rahma*. Four single words, of which the one on the left side is barely legible, are written inside the *Haram* and surrounding the Ka'ba on its four sides. They identify some of the smaller structures inside the holy precinct, including the wooden pavilions belonging to the four legal schools of Sunni Islam, albeit not in the correct position. Starting from the top and reading clockwise, the captions identify the Shafi'i, Hanbali, Hanafi, and Maliki pavilions. (The correct order is, starting from the bottom and reading clockwise: Shafi'i, Hanbali, Maliki,

and Hanafi.) Two structures in the foreground appear to be pulpits (*minbars*). Other structures often depicted in other traditional illustrations, such as the well of Zamzam and the *maqām Ibrāhīm*, are not identified.

2) The second image depicts Mina and Mount Arafat (شبهه کوه منا) in the top section, and the trotting space between Safa and Marwa (شبهه صفا و مروه) in the bottom section (7 × 14 cm). In the image of Mount Arafat, the slopes of the mountainous region are indicated by short and curved hatched lines in the foreground and large tufts of grass in the background. A fence-like structure at the bottom of the image is somewhat enigmatic.

The bottom image establishes the trotting space between Safa and Marwa by two rows of arcades at the top and bottom of the image. The respective sites themselves are indicated by two sets of steps. The site on the left is made of larger bricks and has four steps. The smaller bricks of the site on the right allow for six steps



Fig. 20. Shi'i pilgrimage scroll (section 2, image nos. 4–7).

to equal roughly the same height. In comparison with the second image of the modern printed Shi'i hajj certificate discussed above (fig. 6), the present image does not depict any human beings nor, in fact, any other living creature.

3) The Prophet Muhammad's mosque in Medina (شيبه بارگاه حضرت رسول ﷺ; 7 × 8.9 cm) is portrayed in the standard manner as outlined above. In the top section of the image, the mosque's centrally placed dome is flanked by two minarets, both of them adorned with tile work, as is the dome. Two crescents and stars between the minarets emphasize Muhammad's superior position in Islam. The Prophet's tomb chamber in the bottom section is lit by a central chandelier and two symmetrically placed lamps, as well as by two large candles in candlesticks on the ground. The small entrance rooms on both sides of the tomb chamber are also lit by lamps.

4) The image of the cemetery of Baqi' in Medina (شيبه بارگاه بقیع; 6.3 × 14 cm) shows a single sanctuary. Neither the caption nor any other particular features of the image, such as the number of lamps, allow for further specification. Displaying a decorated dome, the mausoleum's tomb chamber follows the standard visual layout in the scroll. In fact, in this particular case the imagery appears to be fairly stereotypical, since the sanctuary displays the typical features of a Shi'i (or rather an Iranian-style) shrine. This is particularly evident in the silver lattice structure enclosing the venerated individual's tomb. While the shrines in the cemetery are not extant today, both the "personal narrative" of Sir Richard Burton, who clandestinely visited Mecca in 1853,⁴⁸ and the travelogue of the Iranian official Mirza Mohammad Husayn Farahani, who performed the hajj to Mecca in 1885–86, speak of a single building.⁴⁹ According to Burton, the mausoleum was originally built by the 'Abbasid caliphs in 519 (1125); in his day, it was called the "Dome of 'Abbas," because 'Abbas ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib, uncle of the Prophet Muhammad, was also buried there. Farahani speaks of a "large mausoleum built like an octagon."⁵⁰ While Burton mentions that the names of the people buried there "are subjects of great controversy,"⁵¹ he essentially agrees with Farahani on the names of the four Shi'i imams.

5) The scroll's next image depicts the orchard in the oasis Fadak (شيبه باغ فدک; 6.7 × 14 cm) that, according to Shi'i tradition, was unlawfully denied to Muhammad's daughter, Fatima. The caption for the image has been artistically integrated into the decoration of the orchard's gate. The spectator views the area from outside while looking inside over and above the closed entrance gate. The orchard is framed by walls on the left and right sides. At the far end of the perspectively reduced central walkway is a pavilion adorned with a small dome. The agricultural areas on both sides of the walkway are each indicated by a single palm tree, their fertility indicated by two bundles of dates dangling beneath their leaves. A large, leaf-bearing tree whose top covers the central upper part of the image would offer some shade to visitors. As in the modern printed Shi'i hajj certificate (fig. 6), Fadak is the last site in the vicinity of the standard Muslim pilgrimage sites in Mecca and Medina. While the illustrative program of the hajj certificate proper ends here, the visual journey of the pilgrimage scroll continues towards the sacred sites in Iraq.

6) The first Shi'i site in Iraq visited during the visual journey is the mosque of 'Ali in the city of Najaf (شيبه بارگاه حضرت امير ﷺ; 7.8 × 14 cm). The caption for the image refers to 'Ali not by name, but by his equally unambiguous honorific title *amir* (short for Arabic *amir al-mu'minin*, "Commander of the Faithful"). The mosque is presented in the standard fashion, with a dome that is centrally placed between two symmetrically arranged minarets. Notably, neither the dome nor the minarets are covered with ornaments to emulate tile work. At the order of Nadir Shah Afshar (r. 1736–47), the previously existing tile work had been removed and replaced by golden plates that are here indicated by the brick-like design. The tomb chamber is also illustrated in the standard fashion, with a centrally placed chandelier and a number of single lamps. Again, the tomb chamber is flanked by two small entrance rooms.

7) The visual journey continues to the mosque of Kufa (مسجد کوفه; 9.4 × 14 cm). For various reasons, this city is of central importance for the Shi'i community. First, its inhabitants refused to come to Husayn's support, as they had previously let him believe they would, thus

leaving his small group of warriors at the mercy of Caliph Yazid's troops. Second, Kufa is also regarded as a place of resistance against Sunni oppression, since various incidents connected with the events at Karbala are located here. Muslim ibn 'Aqil ibn Abi Talib, a cousin of 'Ali ibn Abi Talib's sons Hasan and Husayn, had served as an army commander under 'Ali and, later, Hasan. When Husayn decided to accept the invitation of the population of Kufa to serve as their imam, he sent Muslim to Kufa as his emissary to explore the situation and assure the population's allegiance. Muslim was, however, sought out by 'Ubaydallah ibn Ziyad, Caliph Yazid's governor in Basra, and executed about a month before the battle of Karbala. Immediately after him, Hani ibn 'Urwa, a man who had given him temporary shelter, was also executed. Even though Muslim did not die at Karbala, the Shi'i community regards him as a martyr. His fate is experienced as particularly painful, since Muslim's two adolescent sons, Muhammad and Ibrahim, were also killed by the caliph's men.

The image, which is slightly wider than the two previous ones, illustrates the mosque in Kufa, in a mixture of a bird's-eye view and flat projection similar to the representation of the *Haram* in Mecca. The mosque's courtyard is shown as a regular square, each side of which is occupied by six arches. The caption for the image is placed in the middle of the courtyard, which is otherwise filled with a total of six small pavilions and three centrally placed somewhat enigmatic elements. A vertical element just north of the square's center appears to be a column; an octagonal element below the center looks like a water basin, below which is a boat-like structure. According to late nineteenth-century eyewitness accounts, the column (whose height is given at more than five meters) used to serve as the gnomon of a large sundial that would indicate the correct times of prayer. Popular belief had it that men who were able to span the column with the pinkies and thumbs of their hands meeting could be sure of their legitimate birth; in order to spare men with smaller hands a possible disgrace, the authorities allegedly thinned the column's breadth at a certain point.⁵² Muslim tradition regards the site of the mosque as the dwelling place of Noah, who is said to have constructed his Ark there. Some explanations link the octagonal water basin to the "boiling caldron" men-

tioned in the Koran (11, 40; 23, 27), stating that it was water flowing from this pit that caused the Deluge.⁵³ According to Muslim tradition, the mosque was established by Adam, and so both Adam and Noah are venerated here, as mentioned in the verses (figs. 12 and 15).

The top side of the square opens to a rectangular entrance area about a quarter the size of the square, which is flanked by small open chambers. To the left and right sides of the entrance area we see the mausolea of Muslim (قبر مسلم) and Hani (قبر هاني), the captions being placed on an ornamental band just below the domes. Both buildings are fairly unpretentious. Their small domes, depicted from the outside, are free of adornment, and the view into the inner chambers shows two relatively small tombs. While the martyrs are thus awarded due recognition, their tombs are clearly second in importance to those of the Shi'i imams and those of Husayn's companions who died in Karbala.

8) The most important site of Shi'i commemoration is the shrine of Husayn in Karbala (شبيه بارگاه سيد الشهداء 4; 11.2 × 14 cm). Given its prominence, this image is considerably wider than the following three images in this section. In addition to Husayn's mausoleum, the caption for the image mentions three other sites of Shi'i worship: the tomb of Habib ibn Muzahir (قبر حبيب), the palm tree of Mary (نخلة مريم), and the tombs of the martyrs (of Karbala: قبر شهداء).

The shrine housing Husayn's tomb is depicted in the standard manner. Its dome is golden, and the two minarets to the sides of the dome are identically adorned. In addition to the standard layout of the buildings, there is a flag protruding from the dome's upper right side and a star on the dome's tip. The actual shape of the tomb is somewhat different from the usual rectangular layout in that there is a short extension added on one side. The illustrator aims to emulate this feature by depicting an empty space between the two sections of the shrine, thereby indicating that he was aware of the tomb's unusual shape. The tomb chamber is also depicted in the standard manner, but the usual chambers to both sides of the tomb are here used for different purposes.

To the far right, directly beneath the related inscription, is a small chamber holding the tomb of Habib ibn Muzahir, one of Husayn's companions killed during the

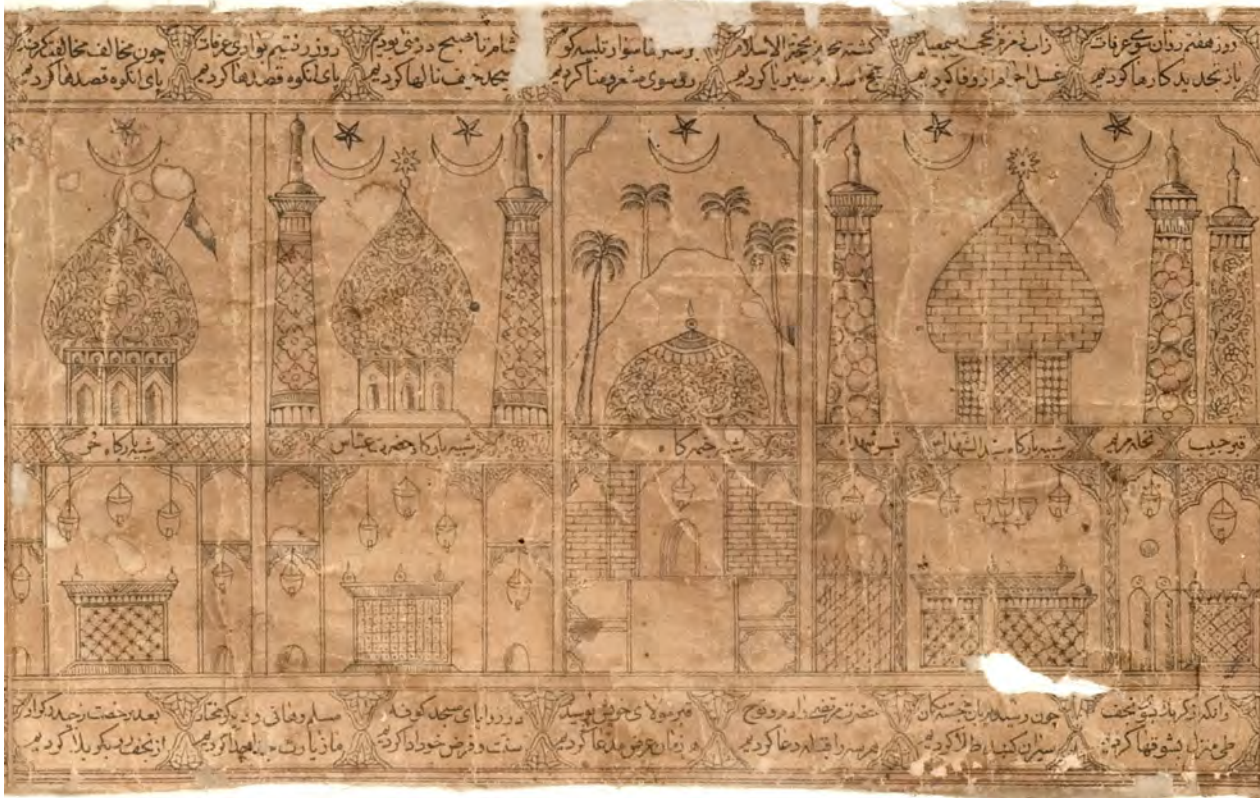


Fig. 21. Shi'i pilgrimage scroll (section 3, image nos. 8–11).

battle of Karbala. Rising above the tomb chamber is an additional minaret of slightly smaller size whose adornment differs from that of the two minarets flanking the central dome.

Between the small tomb chamber of Habib and the large one of Husayn, again placed directly beneath the related inscription, is a small room labeled “the palm tree of Mary.” The image shows two short columns that apparently symbolize two palm trees. According to Muslim tradition, this marks the site where Mary gave birth to Jesus: the Koran mentions that after having conceived Jesus, Mary retired to a remote place where she gave birth under a palm tree (Sura 19, 22–23). Having been constructed by order of the Jalayirid Sultan ‘Uways I (r. 1356–74), the site was destroyed by the Iraqi provincial government in the 1940s.

A separate small chamber beneath the minaret on the left side apparently holds a tomb with the remains of some of the other martyrs who died at Husayn’s side.

9) After their visit to Husayn’s shrine in Karbala, the pilgrims would visit the site where Husayn and his army were said to have pitched their tents (شبهه خیمه گاه; 5.9×14 cm). This space, located in the southwestern vicinity of the shrine, is here designed as a hill or a small mountain together with four palm trees that are symmetrically placed in pairs on opposite sides of the image. The commemorative building in the foreground has a small dome. The courtyard in front of its entrance is flanked by two open chambers on each side.

10) Husayn’s half-brother Abu ‘l-Fadl ‘Abbas (شبهه بارگاه عباس; 7.1×14 cm) plays a prominent role in the narratives about the battle of Karbala, as he was cruelly mutilated by the enemy when he attempted to fetch water from the river for his thirsty companions. His shrine is again depicted in the conventional manner, with a star on the dome’s crest, as in Husayn’s shrine. The top area is adorned with two crescents and stars



Fig. 22. Shi'i pilgrimage scroll (section 4, image nos. 12–14).

instead of the usual single ones. Besides the Prophet's mosque in Medina, this is the only instance where the shrine of a single person is adorned in such a manner.

11) The final image in section 3 features the shrine of Hurr ibn Yazid ar-Riyahi (شهبه بارگاه حر; 6.1 × 14 cm), an individual who played an important role in the battle of Karbala. Hurr was originally sent by order of Caliph Yazid ibn Mu'awiya to prevent Husayn and his followers from reaching their destination at Kufa. According to Shi'i tradition, Hurr soon recognized Husayn's rightful position, joined his party in their battle against the caliph's troops, and died as a martyr at Karbala. Hurr's shrine is somewhat more modest than the previous ones, displaying an onion dome resting on a drum, but no minarets. The flag adorning the dome of the shrine indicates Hurr's particular allegiance to Husayn. Otherwise, the image follows the conventional layout.

12) The commemorative building housing the tombs of Muslim's adolescent sons (طفلان مسلم; 6.7 × 13.9 cm), Muhammad and Ibrahim, is located in the vicinity of Kufa. It has two relatively small domes, each flanked by a palm tree on the outer edges of the image, but no minarets. The tomb chamber, which is depicted in the standard manner, is the only one to hold two tombs in a single room. Despite the fact that the image features the tombs of two individuals, it is only adorned by a single crescent and star.

13) The scroll's widest image represents the shrine of Kazimayn ("The two Kazims"; شهبه بارگاه کاظمین علیهما السلام; 15.6 × 13.9 cm). Today, this shrine, which holds the tombs of the Seventh Imam, Musa al-Kazim, and the Ninth Imam, Muhammad al-Taqi, is situated in a quarter in the northwestern outskirts of Baghdad. Two centrally placed golden domes grace the shrine of Kazimayn,

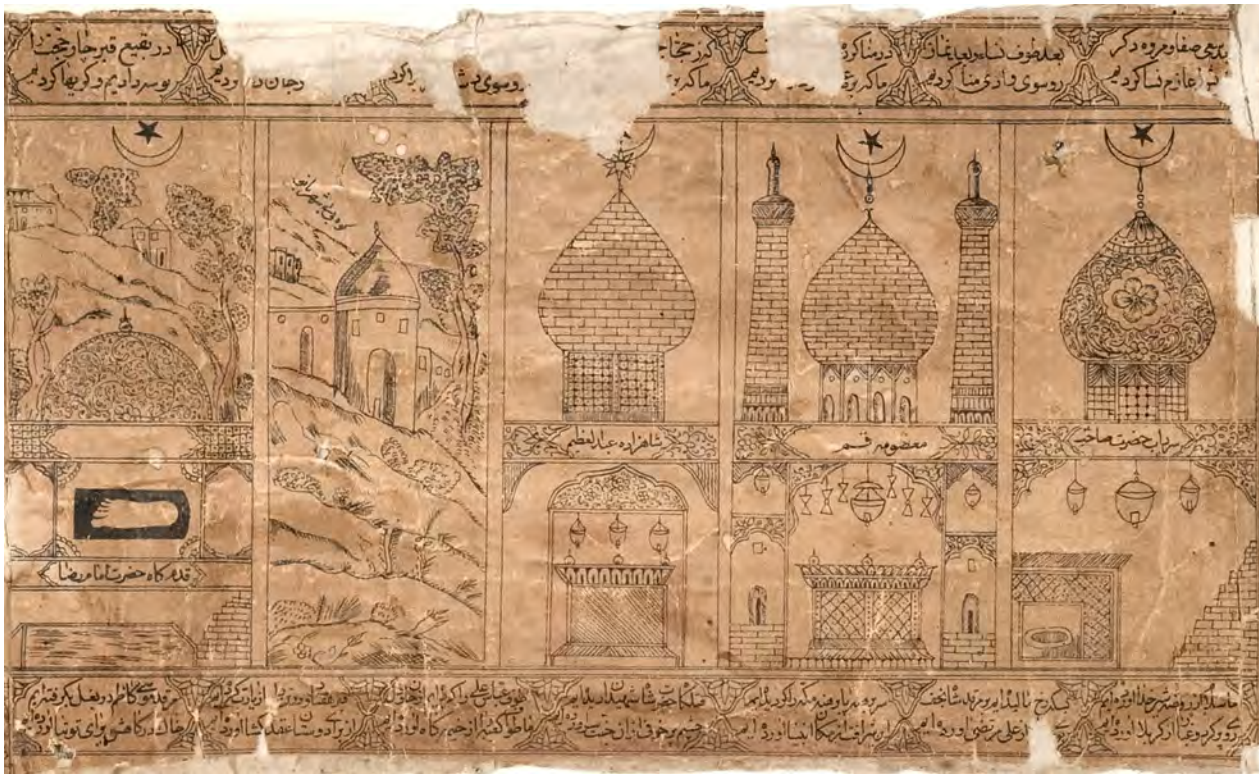


Fig. 23. Shi'i pilgrimage scroll (section 5, image nos. 15–19).

as well as two large minarets and two small minaret-like towers on each side. In the tomb chamber, which is larger than any of the previous ones, there is just one large tomb, whose top cover protrudes outwards. The walls of the small rooms leading to the tomb chamber are lavishly decorated with tile work. The sky above is adorned with two crescents and stars that flank a radiant centrally placed sun. This unusual feature probably symbolizes the fact that the two imams buried here are the father and the son, respectively, of the Eighth Shi'i Imam, Rida, who is particularly venerated by the Iranian Shi'i community. This is the only imam whose shrine is located on Iranian territory, in the city of Mashhad.

14) The following image (8.7 × 13.9 cm) is heavily damaged, lacking about a third of the original paper. Even so, the shrine's regular features are clearly discernible,

showing a golden dome and two minarets covered with tiles. The tomb is somewhat unusual in that it has a large centrally placed structure with a smaller structure visible to the right. The top area of the image is adorned with two crescents and stars. Even though the caption for the image is not preserved, this building certainly represents the shrine of the two imams known as al-'Askariyayn (the two 'Askaris), a term that serves as a common denomination for the Tenth Imam, 'Ali al-Naqi (also called 'Ali al-Hadi; d. 868), and the Eleventh Imam, Hasan al-'Askari (d. 873 or 874). These are the only two out of the twelve Shi'i imams whose shrines would otherwise not be illustrated on the scroll. The shrine of the "two 'Askaris" is known to be located in Samarra, in the vicinity of the shrine depicted in the following image. It thus constitutes a logical station between the previous site in Kazimayn and the next one, which is also situated in Samarra.

15) The image of the next shrine is somewhat unusual, since it is not of an actual tomb. This is the shrine of the cellar water basin (شيبه سرداب حضرت صاحب ۴; 6.2 × 14 cm) in Samarra that in popular Shi'i belief is connected to the occultation (Persian *ghaybat*) of the twelfth Shi'i imam, who is commonly designated as *Ṣāhib-i zamān* or *Imām-i zamān*. In the image one sees an ornamented dome with no minarets; at the bottom is a room with a brick staircase on the right side; it apparently leads to the underground cellar containing an object that resembles a tomb. The object is open on one side, thus allowing a view onto the round basin within. According to Shi'i tradition, this basin was the place where the tenth and eleventh imams would perform their ritual ablution. Even though learned Shi'i tradition does not sustain the claim, popular tradition holds that this is the site where the Twelfth Imam, Muhammad al-Mahdi, went into occultation in the year 941 and where he will appear again when the time comes. This shrine is the last one situated in Iraq. From here on, the visual journey moves to Shi'i pilgrimage sites in Iran.

16) The first Iranian site the pilgrim returning from the *'atabāt* would visit is the shrine of *Ḥadrat-i Ma'sūma* (Her virginal Excellency), i.e., the shrine of Imam Rida's sister, Fatima, in Qum (معصومه قم; 6.7 × 14 cm). *Ḥadrat-i Ma'sūma*, who never married, died in Qum in 816, at the age of 28. Paying homage to her shrine is particularly dear to Iranian Shi'i Muslims, for whom it is the second most important shrine on Iranian soil after the sanctuary of Imam Rida in Mashhad. According to a tradition based on a statement by her brother, a visit to *Ḥadrat-i Ma'sūma* earns pilgrims a place in Paradise. The shrine is depicted in the standard fashion, with a centrally placed dome flanked by two minarets, all of which are covered in gold.

17) From Qum, the pilgrim would travel to the shrine of 'Abd al-'Azim (شاهزاده عبد العظيم; 5.4 × 14 cm) in Rayy, today a southern suburb of Tehran. 'Abd al-'Azim was a descendant of 'Ali ibn Abi Talib's eldest son, Hasan, who, according to Shi'i tradition, lived a secluded and pious life in Rayy. The shrine, whose origins date from the ninth century, has been repeatedly expanded. The golden plating of the dome dates from the Qajar period,

when the minarets flanking it today had not yet been constructed. The dome is distinguished by a large star on top. This feature is only shared with the shrines of Husayn (no. 8) and Abu 'l-Fadl 'Abbas (no. 10). This is the only instance of a shrine with a tomb chamber that has no small rooms on each side. Instead, to the back of the tomb is an adorned space, probably a tile panel, from which three lamps are suspended.

18) Next is the shrine of Bibi Shahrbanu, situated on a mountain in the vicinity of Rayy (کوه بی بی شهربانو; 5.5 × 14 cm). The shrine is here depicted as a modest building surmounted with a small dome; the hilly countryside is indicated by drawn and hatched lines interspersed with tufts of grass, bushes, large flowers, and a single large tree to the right of the shrine, behind which an unidentified building is visible in the distance. According to legend,⁵⁴ Bibi Shahrbanu was a daughter of the last Sasanian king, Yazdigird III (r. 632–51), who was defeated by the Arabs. Captured and taken to Medina, Bibi Shahrbanu was married to Husayn and bore him the son 'Ali Zayn al-'Abidin, who later became the Fourth Shi'i Imam. After the battle of Karbala, Bibi Shahrbanu fled back to Iran, pursued by her dead husband's enemies. They were close to her when she reached Rayy, and in desperation she tried to call on God; but instead of *Yāllāhu* her weary tongue uttered *Yā kūh* "O mountain!" The mountain opened miraculously, and she found shelter in its rocks. The shrine that was built in due course appears to have originally been a Zoroastrian holy place.

19) There are various sites in Iran purporting to show the footprints of Imam Rida; that depicted here is located in the vicinity of Nishapur, an important caravan stop on the pilgrim's journey toward Mashhad (قدمگاه حضرت امام رضا; 6,2 × 14 cm).⁵⁵ The image is divided into three separate sections. The top section depicts a hilly countryside with hatched lines indicating the slopes. There are three leaf-bearing trees, two of which frame the shrine's adorned dome, and two small buildings are visible in the far distance. The second image covers the upper half of the bottom section. The empty space in the ornamental band above should probably have contained the caption that is now placed below, as it depicts

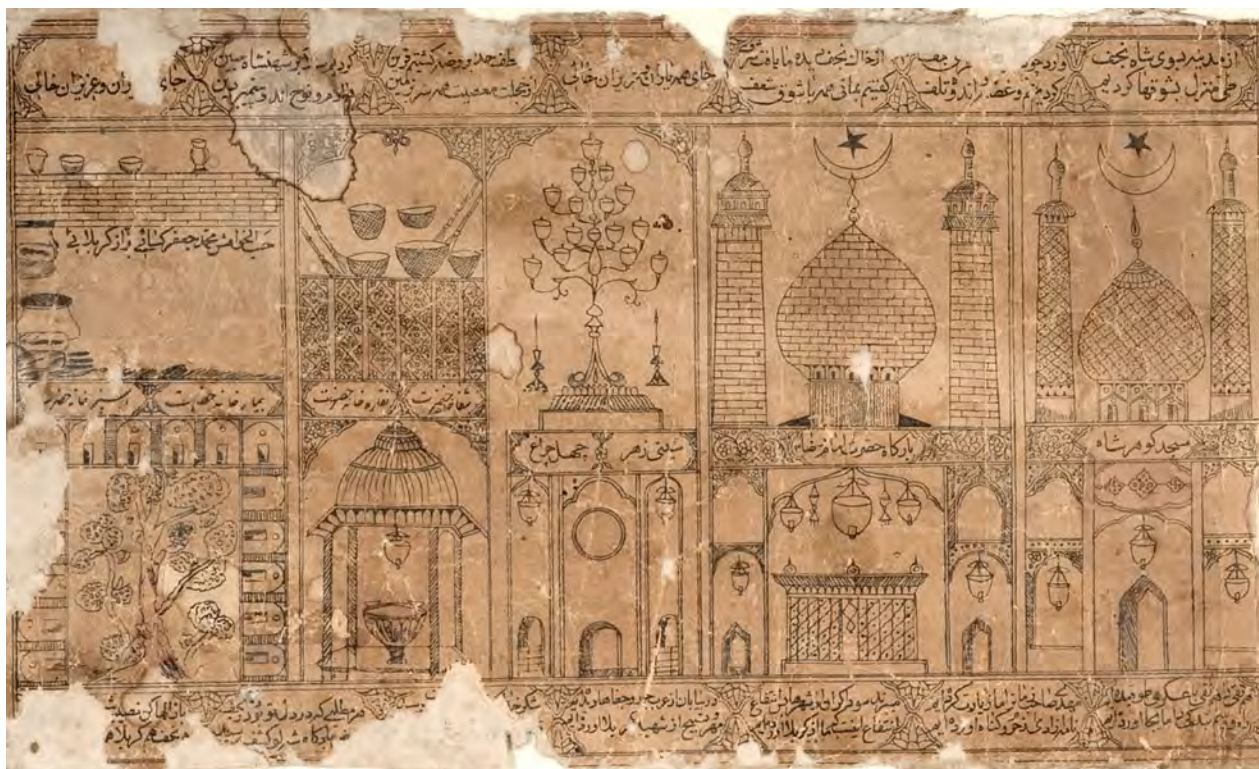


Fig. 24. Shi'i pilgrimage scroll (section 6, image nos. 20–24).

the imprint of a single right foot (instead of the pair of feet shown today) against a rectangular black background. On the right side of the lower half of the bottom section we see a brick staircase similar to the one leading to the *sardāb-i ḥaḍrat-i Šāhib* (no. 15). The staircase, today covered by a separate building, leads to an underground water basin framing a spring, itself a venerated site known as *chashma-i ḥaḍrat*. According to legend, it sprang forth when Imam Rida wanted to perform the ritual ablution; if there had been no water he would have had to use sand (*tayammum*).

20) Before reaching the shrine of Imam Rida in Mashhad, the visual journey takes the pilgrim to the adjacent mosque built between 819 and 821 (1416–18) under the patronage of Gawharshad (here misspelled as مسجد گهرشاه; 6 × 14.4 cm), wife of the Timurid ruler Shah-rukh.⁵⁶ The mosque is particularly renowned for its splendid tile work, here shown in almond shape on the dome and the two flanking minarets. Instead of the

tomb chamber most often depicted in the bottom sections of shrines, we see a large portal with an alcove on each side that probably corresponds to the qibla iwan of the actual mosque.

21) The shrine of Imam Rida in Mashhad (بارگاه حضرت امام رضا ۴; 7.7 × 14.4 cm) is the pilgrim's final destination. Both the dome and the flanking minarets are covered in gold. The depiction of the tomb chamber follows the standard layout. The remaining three frames depict two sites each, all of them in one way or another related to the life and times of Imam Rida. This is the only instance in which a venerated person is accorded special attention, emphasizing the high standing of Imam Rida within the Iranian Shi'i community.

22) This frame is divided into a top and a bottom half (5.3 × 14.4 cm). In the top half, the first of the images related to Imam Rida's life features a large chandelier (چهل چراغ) with a total of fifteen glass bowls. It is flanked

by two large candlesticks placed on the ground. Whereas today there are many similar chandeliers in the Mashhad sanctuary, this particular item might well be the one donated to the *Haram* by Nadir Shah Afshar in 1153 (1740).

In the bottom half of the frame is a large hall with a central doorway that is flanked by two small doors, each of which appears to be partly blocked by rows of bricks. High up on the wall above the portal, a large round plate (*sinī*) is displayed (سینی زهر). According to Shi'i tradition, Imam Rida was killed by the Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mun when the latter offered him poisoned grapes on this plate. In his travelogue, Mulla Rahmatullah Bukhara'i, who visited Mashhad in 1303 (1885), described the plate as being displayed on the wall of the room known as *Dār al-huffāz* (house of the reciters of the Koran).⁵⁷

23) This frame is again divided into a top and a bottom half (4.8 × 14.4 cm). In the top section is a room where the sanctuary's kettledrums are kept (تقاره خانه حضرت). These drums would be beaten at given intervals or specific times such as the rising or setting of the sun. The interior of the room shows five drums of various sizes and four oblong objects that might be trumpets. The lower part of the top half appears to be adorned with tile work.

The bottom half of the frame is erroneously labeled "The Excellency's hospital" (شفا خانه حضرت). The image shows a wooden structure with a dome resting on four slim pillars. The single lamp hanging from the dome's center is placed above a large bowl, most probably a stone basin. As this basin would hold water, the image presumably illustrates the sanctuary's *saqqā-khāna*, the place where water is offered to thirsty pilgrims. The graphic representation of the word *saqqā* in Persian is extremely similar to that of the erroneously written *shafā*. The *saqqā-khāna* is also mentioned in the travelogue written by Mulla Rahmatullah Bukhara'i (where it is spelled *saqqāb-khāna*).⁵⁸

24) The scroll's final frame depicting details of the shrine of Imam Rida is also divided into a top and a bottom half (6.8 × 14.4 cm). Two of the sanctuary's charitable institutions for the needy are illustrated, namely, a kitchen supplying food (آشپزخانه حضرت) and a hospital offering

free medical treatment (بیمارخانه حضرت). The hospital in the bottom section illustrates an open courtyard with a total of sixteen arches on its three sides. A large tree in the courtyard offers cooling shade.⁵⁹

In the kitchen in the top section one sees a number of pots and other vessels for cooking. Smaller vessels for serving food are placed on a brick wall in the background. To the right side of the pots, on the kitchen floor, is the written attribution to the person who commissioned and sponsored the production and printing of the pilgrimage scroll, as mentioned above. Whether or not the empty space on the pilgrimage scroll might have been used to fill in any other names, such as that of the individual pilgrim, is open to speculation.

THE PILGRIMAGE SCROLL'S TRADITIONAL DIMENSION

Documents such as the lithographed Shi'i pilgrimage scroll were probably published and distributed in the hundreds, but no similar item from the Qajar period has so far been published. The scroll's present owner mentioned having seen similar scrolls during a visit to a museum in Bukhara in 1971, and comparable items might well be preserved in local museums or private collections in Iran.

In terms of visual tradition, the Qajar scroll fits in neatly between similar Shi'i documents, both earlier and later. As a historical document, the "scroll with Shi'i sanctuaries"⁶⁰ acquired by the German explorer Carsten Niebuhr (in the service of the Danish king) at the Mashhad Husayn in 1765 deserves particular mention. This scroll, which is today preserved in the National Museum of Denmark, "evidently is the earliest of its kind." Originally prepared as a scroll 22 centimeters high and 192 centimeters wide and thus similar in size to the printed scroll from the Qajar period, the paper item was glued onto cardboard and cut into three pieces of varying width (approximately 57.7 + 56.7 + 77.5 cm). The rudimentary catalogue description of this highly unusual item mentions "innumerable names and inscriptions along the edge, and later commentaries were added on the picture area itself in ink that is now yellowed." The visual journey depicted on the Niebuhr scroll takes the



Fig. 25. The Niebuhr scroll. © The National Museum of Denmark, Ethnographic Collection. (Photo: courtesy of the National Museum of Denmark)

viewer from Mecca to Mashhad along almost the same route depicted on the lithographed item, with the notable exception of placing the Mashhad Husayn directly after the Prophet's tomb in Medina and before the graveyard at Baqi'. The scroll ends in a set of figures relating to either Muhammad or 'Ali. There is the Buraq (the fabulous steed that served Muhammad on his Nocturnal Journey [*mi'raj*]); a camel bearing a *maḥmal* (supposedly the *maḥmal* that would contain the new *kiswa*, the large textile litter covering the Ka'ba that was exchanged for a new one every year); a lion that, as Niebuhr

himself had already mentioned, stands for 'Ali himself; the seal of the Prophet Muhammad; 'Ali's horse Duldul; his famous two-bladed sword Dhu 'l-fiqar; and his slave Ghanbar (i.e., Qanbar) (fig. 25).

Niebuhr himself regarded this document with contempt, as to his eyes the images were "badly executed." Consequently, he presumed that readers would not appreciate a copper engraving of the scroll's images in his travel account.⁶¹ The only items he thought worthy of reproduction were the Prophet's seal and 'Ali's sword.⁶² In the context of the present study, the Niebuhr scroll is

a highly unusual and, in fact, an invaluable mid-eighteenth-century manuscript precursor to the nineteenth-century lithographed item. The journey's stations or sites are more or less the same as in the lithographed scroll. Identified by captions written inside the images, the journey begins in Marwa and Safa, followed by the sanctuary in Mecca. The two shrines depicted after Mecca are those of Muhammad in Medina and of Husayn in Karbala. While the depiction of Husayn's shrine is strangely out of order, its placement next to that of Muhammad stresses the shrine's supreme importance for the Shi'i community. Next come the small shrines on the cemetery of Baqi', followed by the orchard of Fadak and the shrine of 'Ali in Najaf. In the mosque at Kufa, Noah's Ark is clearly identifiable. The last image of the first section shows the sanctuary of the martyrs of Karbala. The sites on the second section of the scroll comprise the shrines of Abu 'l-Fadl 'Abbas, Kazimayn, 'Askariyayn, and the Sahib-i Zaman. Before reaching the final destination in Mashhad, there is an image of Imam Rida's footprints (in Nishapur); the same frame also shows the "scales of justice" (*mizān-i a'lā*), on which every person's good and bad deeds will be weighed on the day of judgment, and a large hand, whose five fingers symbolize the five members (*panj tan*) of the Prophet's family—i.e., Muhammad, his daughter, Fatima, her husband, 'Ali, and their sons, Hasan and Husayn. In a separate frame, there is a set of three cypress trees. Many of the captions have been translated into German, but the ink in which these words were added is so faded that they are hardly legible. The verses framing the images on all four sides correspond closely to those on the lithographed scroll, and most of the shrines are depicted in a similarly stereotypical manner.

The Niebuhr scroll shares an important feature with the lithographed scroll, and only with that nineteenth-century item, in that both are arranged horizontally. As far as we are able to judge from the published evidence, all older scrolls, whether of a predominantly Sunni or Shi'i type,⁶³ are indiscriminately organized vertically, and their images are read from top to bottom. Considering the hypothesis that pilgrimage scrolls were intended for display (either public or private),⁶⁴ the new arrangement might be taken as a further argument for the modification of these objects, since the hanging of the

vertically arranged scrolls would only have been possible in a room with a high ceiling, either a mosque or a large residence. The horizontal arrangement now allows the document to be displayed in the more modest atmosphere of a private home, where it would be relatively easy to find enough space for such an item.⁶⁵

In both Shi'i scrolls, and, in fact, in all of the Shi'i items discussed here, the domed shrines are seen from the exterior above and in cross-section below. In the lower part, the viewer can gaze directly into the interior of the tomb chamber, which contains the grave surrounded by a screen. The elevation-cum-cross-section might serve to highlight the importance of the tomb-centered pilgrimage site for Shi'i mourning rituals. However, this hypothesis needs to be checked against the evidence of the earlier, vertically arranged Shi'i pilgrimage scrolls once complete reproductions of these items are available for research. With the presently available evidence, we might presume that this particular feature of representation was probably a later phenomenon, in a period when Shi'i pilgrimage scrolls developed an iconography and layout of their own.

The Niebuhr scroll is "presumably a typical type of 18th century tourist object, designed to be purchased by pilgrims as proof that they had been to the shrine."⁶⁶ Whether or not it "can probably be viewed as the prototype or forerunner of the prints that have been so popular"⁶⁷ in the twentieth century,⁶⁸ many of the aforementioned criteria also apply to Iranian posters dating from various periods of the twentieth century. These posters depict more or less the same sites in a strikingly modern and colorful style, thus testifying to both the lasting tradition of the Shi'i pilgrimage to the *'atabāt-i 'ālīyyāt*, as well as to the need for documenting the pilgrim's pious journey (fig. 26).

A mid-twentieth-century specimen of this genre, sized 36 by 45 centimeters, is among those analyzed in great detail in Elisabeth Puin's study of Islamic posters.⁶⁹ The visual levels of this item, whose images essentially have to be read from the upper right to the lower left side, appear to betray its origin from the original format of a scroll. Without going into much detail here, suffice it to point out that this poster, while depicting more or less the same sites as the previous specimen, puts additional emphasis on Imam Rida as the one Shi'i

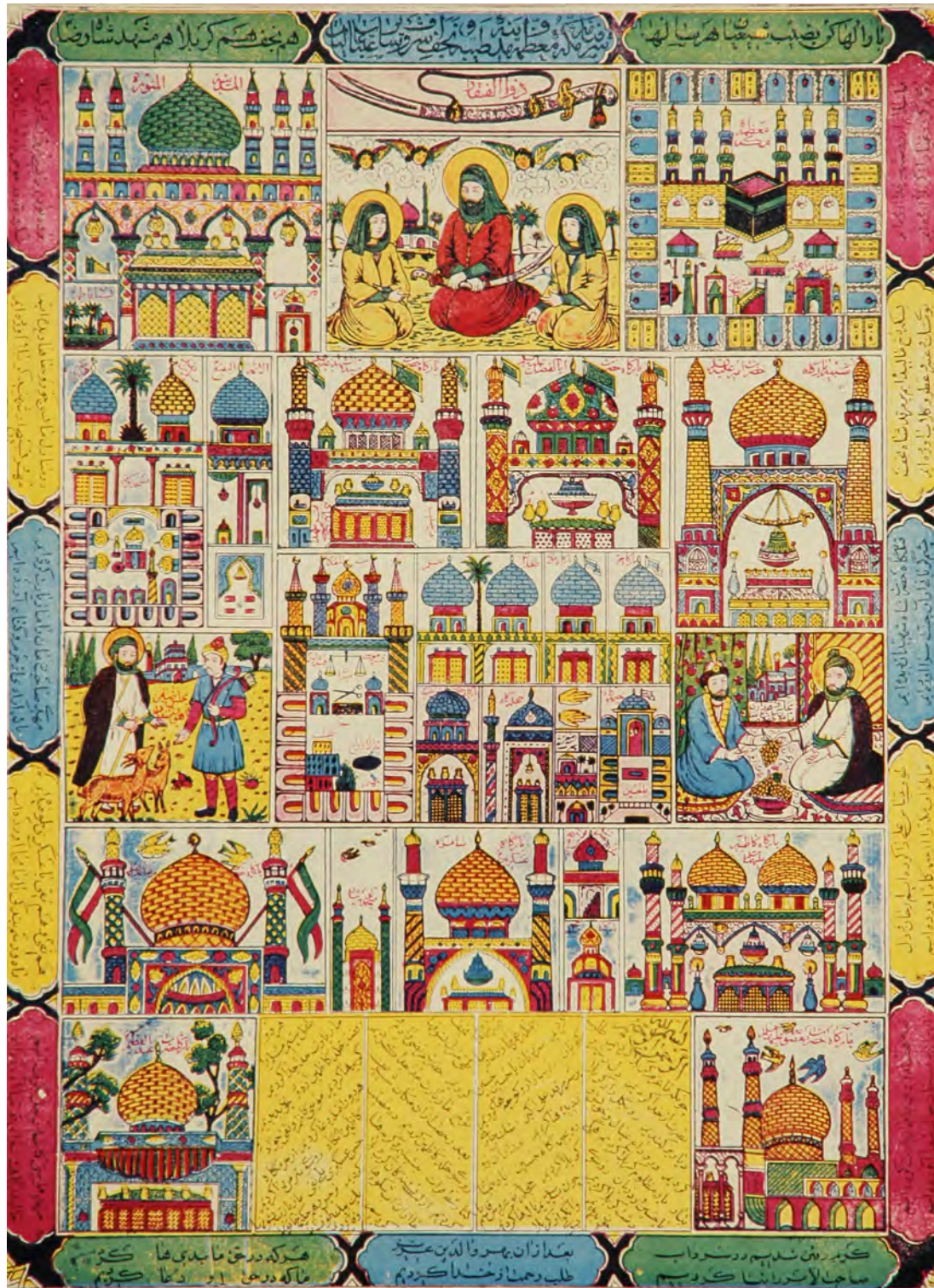


Fig. 26. Twentieth-century Iranian pilgrimage poster. (Photo courtesy of Elisabeth Puin, Saarbrücken)

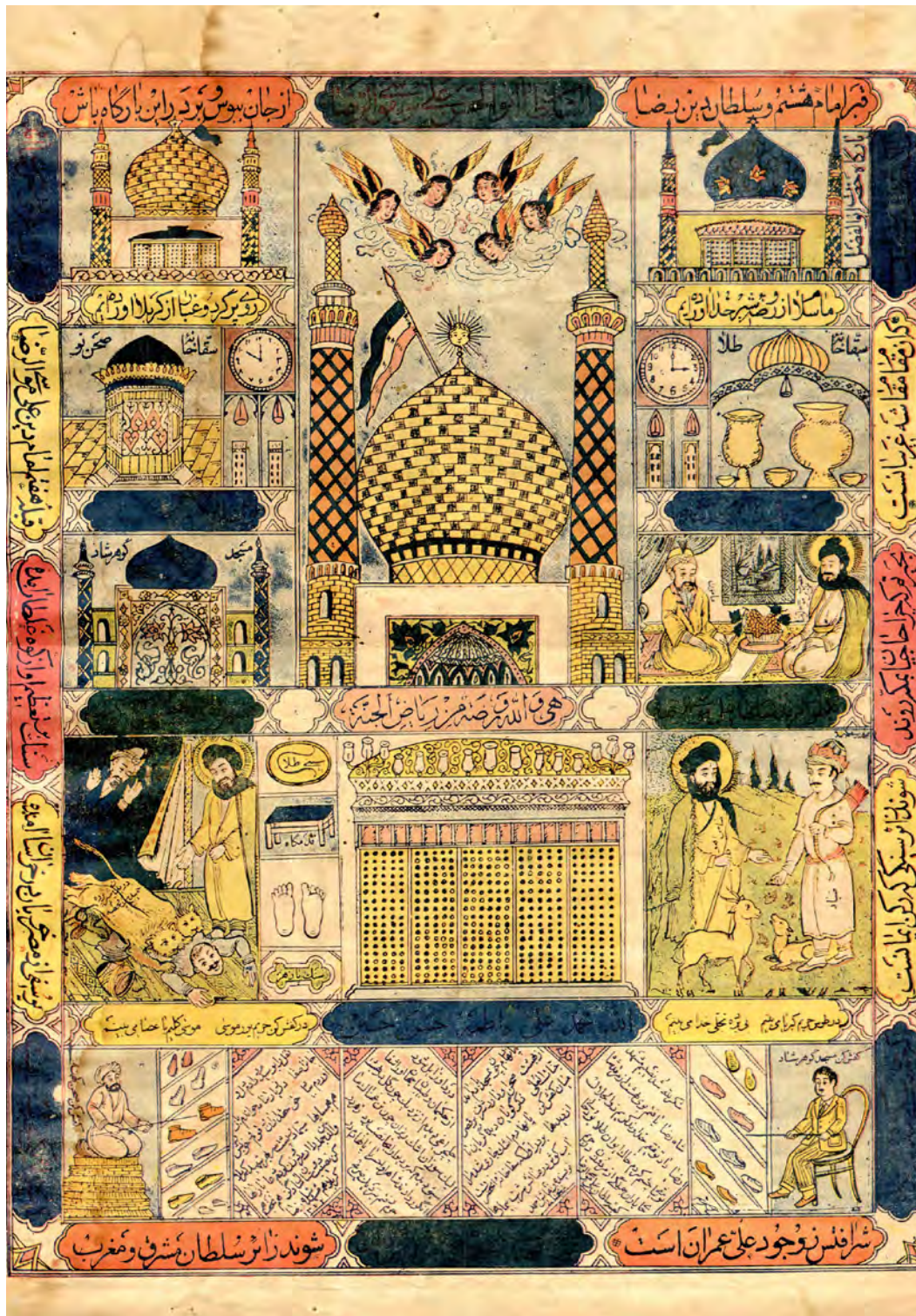


Fig. 27. Mashhad poster. Private collection of Ulrich Marzolph (original size 30 × 39 cm). (Photo: Ulrich Marzolph)

imam buried in Iranian soil. In the middle of the right and left sides, respectively, are two scenes connected to Imam Rida's life (and death). On the right side we see Caliph al-Ma'mun offering poisoned grapes to Imam Rida, and on the left side, the compassionate Imam Rida asks a hunter to spare a gazelle and her young ones—an anecdote that is also narrated for the Prophet Muhammad.⁷⁰ Imam Rida's national importance is furthermore stressed by two Iranian flags flanking the golden dome of his sanctuary.

This poster is significant in several ways. First of all, its iconography is closely related to the historical items, as is its combination of imagery and *chāvūshī-khānī* verses on the borders. Second, the poster comprises not only the “complete” visual itinerary from Mecca to Mashhad, including such typically Shi'i sites as the cemetery at Baqi', but also (just left of the center) an image of the Temple Mount in Jerusalem that is not part of the repertoire in the older Shi'i items. Whether or not this extension relates to an evolution in preferences for the pilgrimage itinerary will have to be discussed against the evidence of historical travelogues. Lastly, the modern poster is related to similar items that, probably from the middle of the twentieth century onwards, would focus solely on details of the Mashhad sanctuary and the history of Imam Rida, such as a poster in the author's private collection (fig. 27).⁷¹

The documents discussed above prove, if anything, that the lithographed pilgrimage scroll from the Qajar period is not unique in its approach to depicting the pilgrim's visual journey from Mecca to Mashhad. Rather, to the contrary, it is part of a specifically Shi'i visual tradition that extends historically at least to the final years of the Safavid period. Already in the seventeenth century, Adam Olearius, who visited Iran in the 1630s, had mentioned pilgrimage certificates that were issued in both Ardabil and Mashhad as documents testifying to the pilgrims' voyage and to the rites they had performed.⁷² It remains to be determined whether these early, specifically Shi'i certificates were illustrated, and if so, when such illustrations first began to be included. At any rate, the modern descendants of the historical Shi'i pilgrimage certificates were produced until the middle of the twentieth century.

THE LITHOGRAPHED PILGRIMAGE SCROLL AND ITS SHI'I PERSPECTIVE

Besides its value as a historical document, the prime importance of the lithographed scroll lies in adding a Shi'i dimension to the study of hajj certificates, a dimension that has so far been neglected. This Shi'i dimension is, first of all, evident in the physical aspect of the pilgrimage as it is presented in both the verse and the visual narrative. Quite naturally, Shi'is would visit sites that are of particular relevance for adherents of the Shi'i creed. Visually, this emphasis is already evident for the sites visited in Arabia, such as the cemetery of Baqi' and the oasis of Fadak, none of which play a major role for Sunni pilgrims. Shi'i preferences then become dominant for the sites visited in Iraq, most of which are linked to the traumatic experience of the battle at Karbala. When finally turning to Iran, the Shi'i perspective is widened through the inclusion of sites dedicated to venerated relatives of various imams. Moreover, by travelling via Qum to Mashhad, the intensity of veneration increases until it culminates in the pilgrim's final destination at the shrine of Imam Rida in Mashhad. By representing this site with a larger amount of detail than any other, the scroll's images underline the supreme holiness of this shrine, the holiest one within Iranian territory. The Shi'i documents share with the Sunni hajj certificates the perspective that the hajj to Mecca is the fulfillment of the supreme religious duty of all Muslims. After Mecca, Sunni illustrated hajj certificates would sometimes move on to Medina and end in Jerusalem, thus documenting a visit to other venerated sites whose religious importance, however, is clearly secondary to Mecca. In the Shi'i pilgrimage certificates, the hajj acquires the character of a mere starting point, almost a pretext to the pilgrim's subsequent journey. This journey is much more than a supplement to the hajj proper (as in the Sunni items), and much more than a return to the pilgrim's place of origin, since the scroll's visual course eventually succeeds in displacing Mecca. The Shi'i pilgrim's additional, and equally important, goal is his visit to the holy sites in Iraq and Iran. The tomb of Husayn in Karbala remains, as it has always been, the most important Shi'i sacred site.⁷³ But the final and, in fact, the ultimate destination of the lithographed pil-

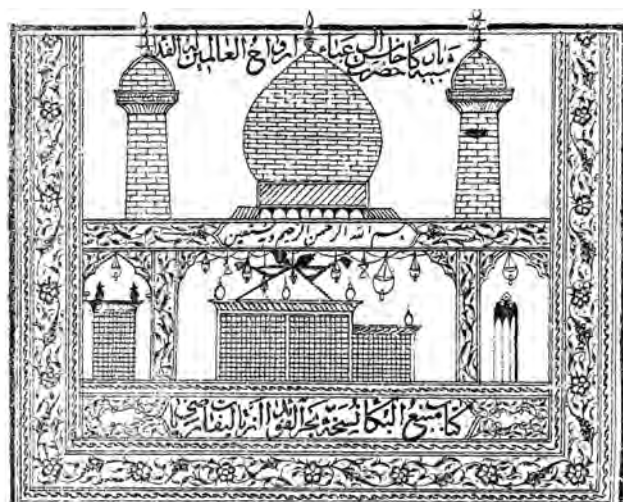


Fig. 28. Representation of the shrine of Imam Husayn at Karbala (initial chapter heading of Riyadi, *Baḥr al-favā'ed* [Mashhad, 1324 (1906)], fol. 1b).

grimage scroll is the sanctuary of Imam Rida in Mashhad. As a centrally placed line of poetry on the modern Mashhad poster (fig. 27) emphatically states, the divine reward (*ṣawāb*) of a single visit (*ṭavāf*) to Imam Rida's tomb is 7,770 times more than that of the hajj. By relying on the hajj paradigm, and by combining its traditional visual code with the specifically Iranian element of *chāvūshī-khānī* traditions, the scroll succeeds in Iranicizing the pilgrimage and in embedding the sacred Iranian territory in a Shi'i world view.

On a second and somewhat less obvious level, the Shi'i perspective also shows in the varying degrees of faithfulness and detail with which the artist visualizes the pilgrimage sites. The artist's presentation of the Shi'i sites in Iraq and Iran often betrays an intimate knowledge of specific details, almost as if he had been physically present. Direct points of comparison are extremely rare, but I was able to identify at least one lithographed representation of the shrine of Imam Husayn in Karbala in a vaguely contemporary Persian book (fig. 28).

The caption for the image, placed between the minarets and the dome, reads: *شیه بارگاه حضرت خامس آل عبا: ارواح العالمین له الفداء*. By alluding to the fifth (*khāmis*) member of the Muslim holy family (the *āl-i 'abā'*), the caption unambiguously identifies the building as Hu-

sayn's shrine. As in the scroll's rendering of this shrine, the dome and the two minarets are covered in gold, here again emulated by a brick-like design. The peculiar shape of Husayn's tomb is clearly discernible, as are the two rooms to its side. On the left side, we are able to identify the "tombs of the martyrs (of Karbala)," and on the right side we see a single column representing the palm tree of Mary, the *nakhla-i Maryam*.

The representation of the pilgrimage sites in Arabia, to the contrary, sometimes lacks detail, is incorrect, or tends toward conventional stereotypes. This evaluation applies, for example, to the palm tree orchard in Fadak, which is rendered more or less as the typical vision of a Persian garden. The design of the dome of the exemplary shrine in the cemetery of Baqi' does not differ decisively from those of any of the Shi'i shrines depicted later. And the silver lattice structure enclosing the venerated individual's tomb (Persian *ḍarīḥ*) is unanimously applied to all tombs, whether Shi'i or not, thus serving as a Qajar-period iconographical shorthand for a venerated tomb. Contrasting with the application of this stereotypical imagery, the sites of the four legal schools of Sunni Islam in the *Ḥaram* at Mecca were incorrectly situated, while both the well of Zamzam and the *maqām Ibrāhīm* are absent altogether. Even so, the artist's presentation of the Ka'ba is firmly in line with visual tradition, as documented by the many available samples from earlier hajj certificates and illustrations in a variety of books. Notably, it is more detailed and more faithful than in most other contemporary lithographed illustrations, several of which have been identified in lithographed books of the period (fig. 29).

Both illustrations reproduced here are the work of Mirza 'Ali-Quli Khu'i, the most prolific artist of lithographic illustration of the Qajar period.⁷⁴ The image on the left illustrates the moment when Muhammad and his troops victoriously enter the holy precinct in Mecca.⁷⁵ The one on the right illustrates one of the miracles attributed to 'Ali ibn al-Husayn "Zayn al-'Abidin," the Imam Sajjad, as the black stone testifies to his rightful position.⁷⁶ Even though in both instances the protruding platform of the Ka'ba is shown correctly, the black stone is erroneously placed to the right side of the Ka'ba's door. Consequently, the second image here shows the *mizāb* on the left side of the door, whereas it

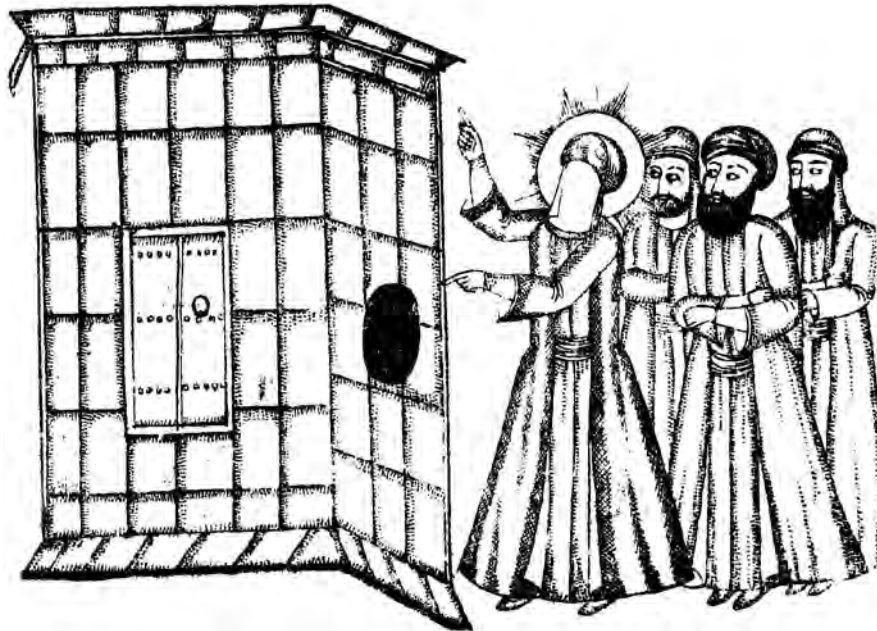
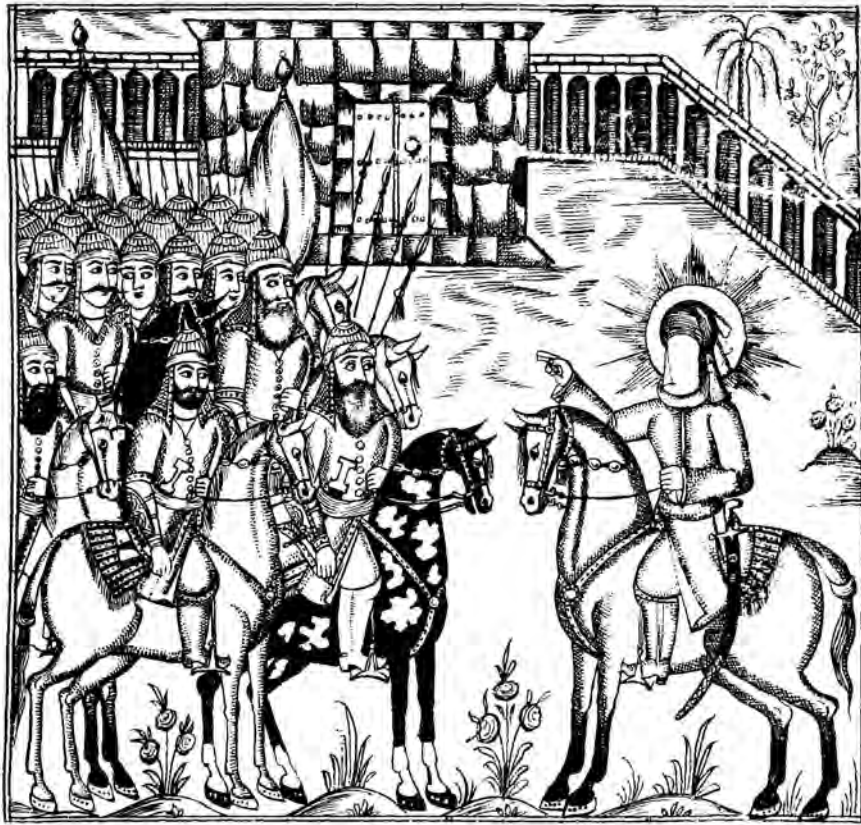


Fig. 29. Illustrations of the Ka'ba in two nineteenth-century Persian books: *Ḥamla-yi Ḥaydariyya* (Tehran, 1269 [1852]), fol. 132b, and *Akhbār-nāma* (Tabriz, 1267 [1850]), fol. 32b.

is correctly located on the corner of the Ka'ba opposite the black stone. While it is not clear why the artist did not render the details correctly, it is unlikely that his illustration draws on the visual experience of a visit in person.

Further findings will hopefully enable us to explore in the future the context of the lithographed Shi'i pilgrimage scroll in more detail. Until then, the Qajar-period scroll provides a fascinating extension to the "regular" hajj certificates that are dominated by a Sunni perspective. Whether this and similar pilgrimage certificates acted as records of pilgrimages by proxy or whether they were acquired and kept by the pilgrims themselves as personal mementos or tokens⁷⁷ "replacing the urge to carry home one's experience of the place,"⁷⁸ they obviously served an important function. From today's analytical perspective, they attest to the transformation of geographical places into visually constructed sacred spaces,⁷⁹ and of terrestrial geography into religious topography, thereby authenticating the related set of religious practices and beliefs.⁸⁰ These mechanisms are ruled by a specific interpretation of history that on the one hand historicizes Shi'ism, while on the other presenting historical events from a decidedly Iranian Shi'i perspective. In this manner, the lithographed Shi'i pilgrimage scroll also testifies to the growing self-awareness of the Iranian Shi'i community in the Qajar period, an awareness that only in the twentieth century would begin to receive its due scholarly recognition.

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ABSTRACT

Hajj certificates are stylized legal documents testifying to the fact that a certain individual has participated in the pilgrimage to Mecca and has executed the required rituals. While most previous studies of hajj certificates and related phenomena are concerned with specimens that are either very old or particularly attractive in terms of their execution, fairly recent items, and particularly

printed ones, have not received much attention. Moreover, hajj certificates have so far mostly been studied as a Sunni or general Muslim phenomenon, and items with a specific Shi'i agenda have largely been neglected. The present essay discusses in detail an illustrated Shi'i pilgrimage scroll from the Qajar period that is currently preserved in a private collection in Hawai'i. Preceded by the Niebuhr scroll, an illustrated manuscript copy dating from the middle of the eighteenth century, and followed by modern printed posters, the lithographed Qajar-period scroll presents a distinct Shi'i perspective in that the pilgrim's ultimate goal is the sanctuary of the Eighth Shi'i Imam, 'Ali ibn Musa al-Rida (d. 818), in Mashhad.

KEYWORDS

Pilgrimage, hajj certificate, lithographic printing, lithographic illustration, Shi'i sanctuaries, Shi'i visual culture, Carsten Niebuhr, Mecca, Mashhad, Karbala

NOTES

Author's note: This study was conceived during my research stay as scholar-in-residence at the Doris Duke Foundation for Islamic Art in Shangri La, in Honolulu, Hawai'i, in September–October, 2012. An earlier, much shorter version of the present essay is available online as "From Mecca to Mashhad: The Narrative of an Illustrated Shiite Pilgrimage Scroll from the Qajar Period," *Shangri La Working Papers in Islamic Art* 5 (July 2013): 1–33, at shangrilahawaii.org (last accessed February 15, 2014). I would like to thank the staff at the institution, in particular Public Program Manager Carol Khewhok and former Curator of Islamic Art Keelan Overton, whose hospitality and helpfulness made my residency a memorable experience. I am deeply grateful to the owner of the scroll for permitting me to study and publish this fascinating object. I owe a particular token of gratitude to my former assistant Roxana Zenhari for her help in reading the poetry and identifying the various sites depicted on the scroll. Several colleagues have lent their support and advice. For their assistance and comments on earlier versions of this essay, I thank Mohsen Ashtiany, Ali Boozari, Willem Floor, Maria Vittoria Fontana, Anne Haslund Hansen, Rasul Ja'fariyān, Majid Gholami Jalise, Shahnaz and Seifoddin Nadjmabadi, Keelan Overton, Elisabeth Puin, Arnoud Vrolijk, and Jan Just Witkam. Christiane Gruber has been most generous in commenting on an earlier version of this text, suggesting interpretations, and supplying numerous references. I am grateful to the editors of *Muqarnas* as

well as to the anonymous reviewer for their valuable comments and suggestions. The remaining shortcomings of this essay are my own.

1. Ulrich Marzolph, *Narrative Illustration in Persian Lithographed Books* (Leiden: Brill, 2001); Ulrich Marzolph, "Zur frühen Druckgeschichte in Iran (1817–ca.1900). 1: Gedruckte Handschrift/Early Printing History in Iran (1817–ca. 1900). 1: Printed Manuscript," in *Sprachen des Nahen Ostens und die Druckrevolution. Eine interkulturelle Begegnung = Middle Eastern Languages and the Print Revolution: A Cross-Cultural Encounter*, ed. Eva Hanebutt-Benz, Dagmar Glass, and Geoffrey Roper (Westhofen: WVA-Verlag Skulima, 2002), 249–68, 271–72, 511–17, 538–39, pls. 112–21; Marjolijn van Zutphen, "Lithographed Editions of Firdawsī's *Shāhnāma*: A Comparative Study," *Oriens* 37, 1 (2009): 65–101; and 'Alī Būzārī and Muḥammad Āzādī, *Ma'khaz-shināsī-i kitābhā-yi chāp-i sangī va surbī* (Tehran: Kitābdār, 1390 [2011]).
2. See, e.g., item no. 452, "coloured lithograph mounted on card," depicting "Layla on a 'composite' camel formed of innumerable human and animal figures," in *L'Orient d'un collectionneur: Miniatures persanes, textiles, céramiques, orfèvrerie*, ed. Jean Pozzi (Geneva: Musée d'art et d'histoire, 1992), 183 (description), and 324 (reproduction).
3. Alexander Fodor, "Types of Shi'ite Amulets from Iraq," in *Shi'a Islam, Sects, and Sufism: Historical Dimensions, Religious Practice, and Methodological Considerations*, ed. Frederic de Jong (Utrecht: M.Th. Houtsma Stichting, 1992), 118–43; Ziva Vesel, "Talismans from the Iranian World: A Millenary Tradition," in *The Art and Material Culture of Iranian Shi'ism: Iconography and Religious Devotion in Shi'i Islam*, ed. Pedram Khosronejad (London: I. B. Tauris, 2012), 254–75.
4. See, most recently, *Panjāh safar-nāma-i hajj-i qājārī*, ed. Rasūl Ja'fariyān, 8 vols. (Tehran: 'Ilm, 1389 [2011]). A Shi'i travelogue available in English translation is *A Shi'ite Pilgrimage to Mecca, 1885–1886: The Safarnāmeḥ of Mirzā Moḥammad Ḥosayn Farāhāni*, ed. Hafez Farmayan and Elton L. Daniel (London: Saqi Books, and Austin: Texas University Press, 1990).
5. For recent studies of the Shi'i pilgrimage see 守川 知子 Tomoko Morikawa, *シーア派聖地参詣の研究 [Shiaha Seichi Sankei-no Kenkyū (Shi'i Pilgrimage to the Sacred 'Atabāt)]* (Kyoto: Kyoto University Press, 2007); Tomoko Morikawa, "Pilgrimages to the Iraqi 'Atabat from Qajar Era Iran," in *Saints and Their Pilgrims in Iran and Neighbouring Countries*, ed. Pedram Khosronejad (Wantage: Kingston, 2012), 41–60; and for a historical perspective, see, e.g., Najam Haider, "Prayer, Mosque, and Pilgrimage: Mapping Shi'i Sectarian Identity in 2nd/8th Century Kūfa," *Islamic Law and Society* 16 (2009): 151–74.
6. In the following, the term *Shi'i* relates exclusively to Iranian Twelver Shi'ism. For recent contributions to the study of Shi'i visual culture, see Maria Vittoria Fontana, "Una rappresentazione 'shi'ita' di Medina," *Annali* (Istituto Orientale di Napoli) 40 (1980): 619–25; Maria Vittoria Fontana, *Iconografia dell'Ahl al-Bayt: Immagini di arte persiana dal XII al XX secolo* (Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1994); Mehr Ali Newid, *Der schiitische Islam in Bildern: Rituale und Heilige* (Munich: Avicenna, 2006); Ingvild Flakerud, *Visualizing Belief and Piety in Iranian Shiism* (London: Continuum, 2010); and Khosronejad, *Art and Material Culture*. Some of the sanctuaries mentioned in the discussion of the scroll's images have been dealt with in detail by James W. Allan, *The Art and Architecture of Twelver Shi'ism: Iraq, Iran and the Indian Subcontinent* (London: Azimuth, 2012).
7. On the collection's provenance, see, most recently, Arianna d'Ottone, "Manuscripts as Mirrors of a Multilingual and Multicultural Society: The Case of the Damascus Find," in *Convivencia in Byzantium? Cultural Exchanges in a Multi-Ethnic and Multi-Lingual Society*, ed. Barbara Crostini and Sergio La Porta (Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 2013), 63–88.
8. Dominique Sourdel and Janine Sourdel-Thomine, "Une collection médiévale de certificats de pèlerinage à la Mecque conservés à Istanbul," in *Études médiévales et patrimoine turc*, ed. Janine Sourdel-Thomine (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1983), 167–273; Dominique Sourdel and Janine Sourdel-Thomine, *Certificats de pèlerinage d'époque ayyoubide: Contribution à l'histoire de l'idéologie de l'Islam au temps des croisades* (Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 2006).
9. Şule Aksoy and Rachel Milstein, "A Collection of Thirteenth-Century Illustrated Hajj Certificates," in *M. Uğur Derman Armağanı: Altmışbeşinci Yaşı Münasebetiyle Sunulmuş Tebliğler = M. Uğur Derman Festschrift: Papers Presented on the Occasion of His Sixty-fifth Birthday*, ed. İrvin Cemil Schick (Istanbul: Sabancı Üniversitesi, 2001), 101–34.
10. David J. Roxburgh, "Pilgrimage City," in *The City in the Islamic World*, gen. ed. Salma K. Jayyusi, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2008), vol. 2, ed. Renata Holod, Attilio Petruccioli, and André Raymond, pp. 753–74.
11. See, e.g., Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Dome of the Rock as Palimpsest: 'Abd al-Malik's Grand Narrative and Sultan Süleyman's Glosses," *Muqarnas* 25 (2008): 17–105, at 75–76; and Esin Atıl, *The Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1987), 65.
12. Hassan el-Basha, "Ottoman Pictures of the Mosque of the Prophet in Madīna as Historical and Documentary Sources," *Islamic Art* 3 (1988–89): 227–44.
13. Jan Just Witkam, "The Battle of the Images: Mekka vs. Medina in the Iconography of the Manuscripts of al-Jazuli's *Dala'il al-Khayrat*," in *Theoretical Approaches to the Transmission and Edition of Oriental Manuscripts: Proceedings of a Symposium Held in Istanbul March 28–30, 2001*, ed. Judith Pfeiffer and Manfred Kropp (Würzburg: Ergon in Kommission, 2007), 67–82, 295–300; Jan Just Witkam, "Images of Makkah and Medina in an Islamic Prayer Book," *Ḥadīth al-dār = Hadeeth ad-Dar* 30 (2009): 27–32; Zeren Tanındı, "İslām Resminde Kutsal Kent ve Yöre Tasvirleri," *Journal of Turkish Studies* 7 (1983): 407–37; Nabil F. Safwat, ed., *Golden Pages: Qur'ans and Other Manuscripts from the Collection of Ghassan I. Shaker* (Oxford: Oxford University

- Press, 2000), 204–20, nos. 51–53; Venetia Porter, ed., *Hajj: Journey to the Heart of Islam* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2012), 52, 54–55; and *Focus on 50 Unseen Treasures from the Museum of Islamic Art in Qatar*, with an introduction by Joachim Gierlichs (Doha: Bloomsbury Qatar Foundation Publishing, 2010), 54–55.
14. Rachel Milstein, “Futuh-i Haramayn: Sixteenth-century Illustrations of the Hajj Route,” in *Mamluks and Ottomans: Studies in Honour of Michael Winter*, ed. David J. Wasserstein and Ami Ayalon (London: Routledge, 2006), 166–94; Porter, *Hajj*, 46–47, 81. See also Rasūl Ja’fariyān, *Negār va negāre* (Tehran: Kawthar, 1392).
 15. Porter, *Hajj*, 56–57.
 16. *Ibid.*, 45, fig. 20.
 17. Verena Daiber and Benoît Junod, eds., *Schätze des Aga Khan Museum: Meisterwerke der islamischen Kunst* (Berlin: Nicolai, 2010), 61; Mikhail B. Piotrovsky and John Vrietze, eds., *Earthy Beauty, Heavenly Art: Art of Islam* (Amsterdam: Lund Humphries, 1999), 80–83, figs. 17 A–C, 18 A–C. A particularly magnificent item, dated 1223 (1808), has recently been acquired by the Museum of Islamic Art in Qatar: see Mounia Chekhab-Abudaya and Cécile Brese, *Hajj—The Journey through Art* (Doha [Qatar]: Museum of Islamic Art, 2013), 132–33. For the production of illustrated *hajj* certificates in the nineteenth century, see the testimony by Sir Richard F. Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to al-Madinah & Meccah*, ed. Isabel Burton, 2 vols. (London: Tylston and Edwards, 1893; repr. New York: Dover, 1964), 1:342.
 18. Aksoy and Milstein, “Collection,” 103n6.
 19. See, e.g., Kurt Erdmann, “Ka’bah Fliesen,” *Ars Orientalis* 3 (1959): 192–97; Piotrovsky and Vrietze, *Earthy Beauty, Heavenly Art: Art of Islam*, 78, fig. 12 (Mecca tile panel, seventeenth century); Porter, *Hajj*, 82–83 (Medina tile, ca. 1640), 116–17, figs. 77–78 (Mecca tiles, seventeenth century), 118–19, fig. 79 (Mecca tile, dated 1074 [1663]); Nazmi Al-Jubeih, “The Hajj: Pilgrimage in Islam,” in *Discover Islamic Art in the Mediterranean*, ed. Eva Schubert (Brussels: Museum with No Frontiers, 2007), 195–202, at 195 (Mecca tile panel, dated 1087 [1676]); Daiber and Junod, *Schätze des Aga Khan Museum*, 65, fig. 31 (Mecca tile, seventeenth century); Charlotte Maury, “Les représentations des deux sanctuaires à l’époque ottomane: Du schéma topographique à la vue perspective,” in *Routes de l’Arabie: Archéologie et histoire du royaume d’Arabie saoudite*, ed. Ali Ibrahim al-Ghabban et al. (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2010), 547–59, at 557, fig. 6 (Mecca tile, seventeenth century).
 20. See, particularly, Aksoy and Milstein, “Collection,” 123–34.
 21. Johan Elverskog, *Buddhism and Islam on the Silk Road* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 290n156.
 22. Thomas W. Arnold and Adolf Grohmann, *The Islamic Book: A Contribution to Its Art and History from the VII–XVIII Century* (Leipzig: Pegasus Press, 1929), 28 and pl. 14, a and b; Elverskog, *Buddhism and Islam*, 106–13, figs. 10, 11, 13, 15, 18; and Karl R. Schaefer, *Enigmatic Charms: Medieval Arabic Block Printed Amulets in American and European Libraries and Museums* (Leiden: Brill, 2006).
 23. David J. Roxburgh, “Visualising the Sites and Monuments of Islamic Pilgrimage,” *Architecture in Islamic Arts: Treasures of the Aga Khan Museum*, ed. Margaret S. Graves and Benoît Junod (Geneva: Aga Khan Trust for Culture, 2011), 33–40; Chekhab-Abudaya and Brese, *Hajj—The Journey through Art*, 134.
 24. Porter, *Hajj*, 136–37; reproduced in *Records of the Hajj: A Documentary History of the Pilgrimage to Mecca*, ed. Alan Rush, 10 vols. (Neuchâtel: Archive Editions, 1993), vol. 10, *Documents and Maps*, no. 2.
 25. *Focus on 50 Unseen Treasures*, 56–61; Chekhab-Abudaya and Brese, *Hajj—The Journey through Art*, 131.
 26. Atıl, *Age of Sultan Süleyman*, 65; and Zeren Tanımdı, “Resimli Bir Hac Vekâletnâmesi,” *Sanat Dünyamız* 28 (1983): 2–5.
 27. Graves and Junod, *Treasures of the Aga Khan Museum*, 62–63.
 28. *Ibid.*, 62.
 29. <http://art.thewalters.org/detail/11417/plaque-for-printing-a-pilgrimage-certificate/> (accessed October 22, 2013).
 30. Samuel M. Zwemer, *Arabia, the Cradle of Islam: Studies in the Geography, People and Politics of the Peninsula with an Account of Islam and Mission-work* (repr. London: Darf, 1986; orig. pub. New York: F. H. Revell, 1900): foldout after 40. The same “Mecca certificate” was published, together with extensive explanations, by Isaac Adams, *Persia by a Persian: Personal Experiences, Manners, Customs, Habits, Religious and Social Life in Persia* (London: Elliot Stock, 1900; 2nd ed. 1906), 396–405, pls. I–IV. The document is also reproduced in Rush, *Records of the Hajj*, vol. 10, no. 3.
 31. I owe this suitable coinage to Kjeld von Folsach, *For the Privileged Few: Islamic Miniature Painting from the David Collection* (Humblebæk, Denmark: Louisiana Museum of Modern Art, 2007).
 32. Jan Hjärpe, “A Hajj Certificate from the Early 20th Century,” in *Being Religious and Living through the Eyes: Studies in Religious Iconography and Iconology, A Celebratory Publication in Honour of Professor Jan Bergman*, ed. Peter Schalk and Michael Stausberg (Uppsala: Uppsala University Library, 1998), 197–204, at 197. I thank Jan Hjärpe for kindly making available to me a color photograph of this item, which in his publication was only reproduced as a gray-scale image. Yet another very similar and obviously contemporary item (dated “before 1892”) was recently published in the catalogue of the Leiden Hajj exhibition: see Luitgard Mols, *Verlangen naar Mekka: De hadj in honderd voorwerpen* (Leiden: Rijksmuseum Volkenkunde, 2013), 210–11, no. 89.
 33. Witkam, “Images of Makkah and Medina,” 30, fig. 7 (Leiden University Library, plano 53 F 1, sheet 58). I thank Jan Just Witkam for kindly supplying a color scan of this certificate. In an email dated November 19, 2013, Arnoud Vrolijk of the Leiden University Library alerted me to another Medina certificate, very similar to the previous one, in the former collection of the Oosters Instituut, founded in 1927

- by Christian Snouck Hurgronje. This item was probably acquired by Snouck Hurgronje himself, during his travels in Arabia in 1884. The architectural drawings are executed with considerably greater care than those in the specimen published by Witkam.
34. See particularly Newid, *Der schiitische Islam*; Flakerud, *Visualizing Belief and Piety*; Khosronejad, *Art and Material Culture*; and Allan, *Art and Architecture*.
 35. Biancamaria Scarcia Amoretti, "Religion in the Timurid and Safavid Periods," in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, 7 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968–91), vol. 6, *The Timurid and Safavid Periods*, ed. Peter Jackson and Laurence Lockhart, 610–55, at 653–54.
 36. Robert Gleave, "The Ritual Life of the Shrines," in *Shah 'Abbas: The Remaking of Iran*, ed. Sheila R. Canby (London: The British Museum Press, 2009), 88–97, at 91, fig. 22.
 37. Jean Vinchon, "L'imagerie populaire persane," *Revue des Arts Asiatiques* 2, 4 (1925): 3–11; Marzolph, *Narrative Illustration in Persian Lithographed Books*, 44–45, and illus. 90.
 38. See Muḥammad Ḥasan Rajā'ī Zafri'ī, "Sanadī marbūṭ bi guvāhī-i ḥajj-i niyyati," *Mirās-i jāvidān* 5, 2 (1376 [1997]): 76–78; Jābir 'Anāširi, *Dar āmadī bar namāyish va niyāyish dar Īrān* (Tehran: Jihād-i dānishgāhī, 1366 [1987]), 151.
 39. Rajā'ī Zafri'ī, "Sanadī."
 40. Milstein, "Futuh-i Haramayn," 183–84; Porter, *Hajj*, 81; and Witkam, "Images of Makkah and Medina," 29, fig. 3.
 41. 'Anāšeri, *Dar āmadī*, 129–70; Jābir 'Anāširi, *Sultān-i Karbalā: Sharḥ-i vāqi'a-i 'Ashūrā* (Tehran: Zarrīn-u-sīmīn, 1382 [2003]), 92–93; Ghulām-Ḥusayn Yūsufi, *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (Costa Mesa: Mazda, 1992), s.v. "Čāvoš"; and Muḥammad Mashhadī Nūsh-Ābādī and Ibrāhim Mūsāpūr, *Dānishnāma-i Jahān-i Islām* (Tehran: Bunyād-i Dā'iratulma'ārif-i Islāmī, 1386 [2007]), s.v. "Chāvūsh-khvānī."
 42. See the reproduction of the final page of such a booklet, dated 1340 (1961), in 'Anāširi, *Dar āmadī*, 140, and 'Anāširi, *Sultān-i Karbalā*, 92. The verses on that page correspond more or less to the final verses on the pilgrimage scroll (bottom, sections 5–6). See also the recent *Chāvūshī-nāma*, ed. Majīd Ghulāmī Jalisa (Qum: 'Aṭf, 1392 [2013]).
 43. I acquired a series of these *ta'ziyya* dramas in the Iranian city of Shiraz in the late 1990s. All the booklets were published by the Kitābfurūshī-i Islāmīyya in Tehran. Bearing the date 1333 (1954), they are obviously offset copies of earlier specimens. For similar items of "Bazaar" literature, see Ulrich Marzolph, *Dāstānhā-ye širin: Fünzig persische Volksbüchlein aus der zweiten Hälfte des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1994).
 44. Helga Venzlaff, "Mohr-e namāz: Das schiitische Gebetssiegel," *Die Welt des Islams* 35, 2 (1995): 250–75; Helga Venzlaff, "Gebetssiegel und Gebetstuch as Qum," *Die Welt des Islams* 39, 2 (1999): 218–30.
 45. Helga Venzlaff, *Der islamische Rosenkranz* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1985).
 46. 'Ali is here implied in the honorific title *shāh-i law kushifa* (literally: "The King of 'Even if it were lifted ..."). This refers to one of the utterances of 'Ali, who is quoted as having said (in Arabic): *لو كشف الغطاء عني ما ازددت يقينا*, (*law kushifa l-ghitā'u 'annī mā 'zdadtu yaqīnan*): "Even if the veil was lifted from me, my certainty would not increase." The utterance is traditionally interpreted as indicating that 'Ali's belief was so strong as to equal the certainty that could otherwise only be reached by knowing.
 47. See *The Prophet's Ascension: Cross-cultural Encounters with the Islamic Mi'rāj Tales*, ed. Christiane Gruber and Frederick Colby (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010).
 48. Burton, *Personal Narrative*, 2:39–40.
 49. Farmayan and Daniel, *A Shi'ite Pilgrimage to Mecca, 1885–1886*, 270.
 50. Ibid.
 51. Burton, *Personal Narrative*, 2:40.
 52. I thank Rasul Ja'fariyan for supplying this explanation (by referring to an unspecified oral source of information).
 53. See the passages relating to the mosque in Kufa in Ja'fariyān, *Panjāh safar-nāma*, particularly 2:148–39, 672–73, 4:635–36, and 6:221–22.
 54. The following passage is adapted with minor variations from Mary Boyce, *Encyclopedia Iranica* (London: Routledge & Paul, 1990), s.v. "Bibi Šahrbānū."
 55. Jalil 'Irfān-manish, *Jughrāfiyā-yi tārikhī-i ḥijrat-i Imām Rizā ('alayhi s-salām) az Madina tā Marv*, 6th ed. (Mashhad: Bunyād-i pazhuhishhā-yi Islāmī, 1387 [2008]), 133–34.
 56. See Allan, *Art and Architecture*, 43.
 57. See Ja'fariyān, *Panjāh safar-nāma*, 4:895–1037, at 919–20.
 58. Ibid., 912.
 59. For facts concerning the old hospital in the shrine, see Willem Floor, "Hospitals in Safavid and Qajar Iran: An Enquiry into Their Number, Growth and Importance," in *Hospitals in Iran and India, 1500–1950s*, ed. Fabrizio Speziale (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 37–116, at 81–83.
 60. This and the following quotations are from *Sultan, Shah, and Great Mughal: The History and Culture of the Islamic World*, ed. Kjeld von Folsach et al. (Copenhagen: National Museum, 1996), 75–76, fig. 38 (description by Inge Demant Mortensen). The Niebuhr scroll is also reproduced in *Etnografiske genstande i det Kongelige danske Kunstkammer 1650–1800 = Ethnographic Objects in the Royal Danish Kunstkammer 1650–1800*, ed. Bente Dam-Mikkelsen and Torben Lundbæk (Copenhagen: National Museum, 1980), 82–83, no. EEa1, and Allan, *Art and Architecture*, 95, pl. 3.11.
 61. Carsten Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und anderen umliegenden Ländern*, 3 vols. (Copenhagen and Hamburg: Nicolaus Möller, 1778), 2:273–74 ("sehr schlecht gezeichnet"; "Meine Leser würden es mir wenig Dank wissen, wenn ich die ganze Zeichnung in Kupfer stechen lassen wollte").
 62. Ibid., 2: pl. XLII, items G and F.
 63. See Porter, *Hajj*, 136–37; *Focus on 50 Unseen Treasures*, 56–61; and Graves and Junod, *Treasures of the Aga Khan Museum*, 62–63.
 64. Aksoy and Milstein, "Collection," 104, 134.
 65. A similarly horizontally arranged scroll was offered for sale at Sotheby's, October 3, 2012 (see www.sothebys.com/en/

- auctions/ecatalogue/2012/arts-of-the-islamic-world-2012/lot.113.lotnum.html; accessed January 3, 2014). The scroll was advertised as late seventeenth/eighteenth-century Ottoman, reflecting both Armenian and Persian influences. It depicts “the fate of souls at the Last Judgement, including archangels, the blessed (on the right) and the damned (on the left) with the angel Israfil in the centre, the sounder of the trumpet.” In terms of layout, the catalogue description explicitly compares the item to the Niebuhr scroll and suggests “that it was intended for a large room, probably as a teaching aid.” I thank Anne Haslund Hansen for pointing this item out to me.
66. Allan, *Art and Architecture*, 96.
 67. Inge Demant Mortensen in von Folsach, *Sultan, Shah, and Great Mughal*, 76.
 68. Von Folsach, *Sultan, Shah, and Great Mughal*, nos. 3, 21, 22, 32, 36. For a large collection of these prints, see Pierre Centlivres and Micheline Centlivres-Demont, *Imageries populaires en Islam* (Geneva: Georg, 1997); Elisabeth Puin, *Islamische Plakate: Kalligraphie und Malerei im Dienste des Glaubens* (Dortmund: Verlag für Orientkunde, 2008), discusses more than 250 posters in great detail.
 69. Puin, *Islamische Plakate*, 2:615–21 and 3:941, fig. M-17.
 70. *Ibid.*, 2:520–22 and 3:900, fig. H-31.
 71. An almost identical specimen is preserved at Harvard University.
 72. *Relation du voyage de Moscovie, Tartarie, et de Perse [...]* Traduite de l'Alleman du Sieur Olearivs (Paris: Francois Clovzier, 1656): 304–5; *Relation dv voyage d'Adam Olearius en Moscovie, Tartarie, et Perse, avgmentée en cette nouvelle edition de plus d'un tiers [...]* (Paris: Jean du Pvis, 1666): 442–43.
 73. Khalid Sindawi, “The Sanctity of Karbala in Shiite Thought,” in Khosronejad, *Saints and Their Pilgrims*, 21–40.
 74. See Ulrich Marzolph, “Mirzā ‘Ali-Qoli Xu’i: Master of Lithograph Illustration,” *Annali (Istituto Orientale di Napoli)* 57, 1–2 (1997): 183–202 and pls. I–XV; Marzolph, *Narrative Illustration in Persian Lithographed Books*, 31–34.
 75. Mawlā Bamūn-‘Alī (Bamān-‘Alī) “Rājī” Kirmānī, *Ḥamla-yi Haydariyya* (Tehran 1269 [1852]), fol. 132b; and Marzolph, *Narrative Illustration in Persian Lithographed Books*, 242.
 76. *Akhbār-nāma* (Tehran 1267 [1850]), fol. 32b; Marzolph, *Narrative Illustration in Persian Lithographed Books*, 231; Ulrich Marzolph, “Der lithographische Druck einer illustrierten persischen Prophetengeschichte,” *Das gedruckte Buch im Vorderen Orient*, ed. Ulrich Marzolph (Dortmund: Verlag für Orientkunde, 2002), 85–117, at 116, illus. 5-72; and *Akhbār-nāma*, ed. Ulrich Marzolph and Pegāh Khadīsh (Tehran: Chashma, 1391 [2011]), 166–67.
 77. Roxburgh, “Visualising the Sites and Monuments,” 38; see also Allan, *Art and Architecture*, 96.
 78. Soheila Shahshahani, ed., *Cities of Pilgrimage* (Berlin: Lit-Verlag, 2009), 16.
 79. Fakhri Haghani, “The City of Ray and the Holy Shrine of Shah/Hazrat Abdol ‘Azim: History of the Sacred and Secular in Iran through the Dialectic of Space,” in Shahshahani, *Cities of Pilgrimage*, 159–76, at 159–61.
 80. Roxburgh, “Visualising the Sites and Monuments,” 38.