

Under the Adorned Dome

Arts and Archaeology of the Islamic World

Edited by

Margaret Graves (*Indiana University*)

Marcus Milwright (*University of Victoria*)

Mariam Rosser-Owen (*Victoria and Albert Museum*)

VOLUME 19

The titles published in this series are listed at brill.com/aa1w

Under the Adorned Dome

Four Essays on the Arts of Iran and India

Ehsan Yarshater Lecture Series

By

Yves Porter

Foreword by

Finbarr Barry Flood



BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

Cover illustration: Lobed *mina'i* bowl with prince and attendants. Kashan, late 12th–early 13th century. Diam. 21.6 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 17.120.41. Mr. and Mrs. Isaac D. Fletcher Collection, Bequest of Isaac D. Fletcher, 1917. OA Public Domain.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Porter, Yves, 1957- author. | Flood, Finbarr Barry, writer of foreword.

Title: Under the adorned dome : four essays on the arts of Iran and India : Ehsan Yarshater Lecture Series / by Yves Porter ; foreword by Finbarr Barry Flood.

Description: Leiden ; Boston : Brill, [2023] | Series: Arts and archaeology of the Islamic world, 2213-3844 ; volume 19 | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2023034587 (print) | LCCN 2023034588 (ebook) | ISBN 9789004549715 (hardback) | ISBN 9789004549722 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Art and society—Iran—History. | Art and society—India—History. | Illumination of books and manuscripts, Iranian. | Ceramic tiles—Iran. | Narrative art, Iranian. | Narrative art, Indic. | Luster-ware—Iran. | Luster-ware—India.

Classification: LCC N72.S6 P677 2023 (print) | LCC N72.S6 (ebook) | DDC 700.1/03—dc23/eng/20230825

LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2023034587>

LC ebook record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2023034588>

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: “Brill”. See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 2213-3844

ISBN 978-90-04-54971-5 (hardback)

ISBN 978-90-04-54972-2 (e-book)

DOI: 10.1163/9789004549722

Copyright 2023 by Koninklijke Brill nv, Leiden, The Netherlands.

Koninklijke Brill nv incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Schöningh, Brill Fink, Brill mentis, Brill Wageningen Academic, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Böhlau and V&R unipress.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher. Requests for re-use and/or translations must be addressed to Koninklijke Brill nv via brill.com or copyright.com.

This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

For Richard, of course



بزرگ طاقش را کالبد فلک بوده
بلند گنبد او را قضا زده پرگار

The sky worked as a mold for its great arch
Destiny used its compass for the height of its dome.
'UNSURI-I BALKHI



Contents

Foreword XI

Finbarr Barry Flood

List of Figures XIII

Introduction 1

- 1 The “Making of” of Persian Illustrated Manuscripts 11
 - 1 Prolegomena: Persian Illustrated Manuscripts in Context 14
 - 1.1 *Early Illustrated Manuscripts and Timespan* 14
 - 1.2 *Decisions and Steps to Creation* 18
 - 2 Formats, Ratios, and Space for Illustrations 18
 - 2.1 *Format (qaṭ‘) and Ratios of the Folios* 18
 - 2.2 *Number and Place of Illustrations* 23
 - 3 Layout, *maṣṭar*, and Page Composition 26
 - 3.1 *Page Layout* 26
 - 3.2 *Maṣṭar/Ruling* 26
 - 3.3 *Tarkib-o maṣṭar (Layout and Ruling)* 38
 - 4 Invention of Images, Coloring, Framing, and Insetting 42
 - 4.1 *Drawing and Creating the Composition* 42
 - 4.2 *On the Repetition of Compositions* 43
 - 4.3 *Phases of Painting according to the ‘arza-dāsht* 45
 - 4.4 *In-setting (vaṣṣāli) and Frame-drawing (jadvalkashi)* 49
 - 5 Conclusion 49
- 2 Epic Iconography or Folktale Illustrations?
Narrative Devices on Kashan Ceramics (Late 12th–Early 13th Century) 52
 - 1 Introduction 52
 - 2 Deconstructing the Elements of Narration (Narrative Contents) 66
 - 2.1 *Stories Related to the Shāh-nāma* 66
 - 2.2 *Stories Other Than the Shāh-nāma* 84
 - 3 Opportunities and Formal Constraints 88
 - 3.1 *Narrative Structures* 88
 - 3.2 *Formal Opportunity* 92
 - 4 De-personification and Archetypes/Stereotypes 96
 - 4.1 *The Horse-rider: A Folktale Hero?* 96
 - 4.2 *Ghulām/Sultan Stereotypes* 100
 - 5 Conclusion 103

3	Use and Reuse of Persian Luster Tiles (13th–14th Centuries)	106
1	Artists, Workshops, and Means of Production	111
1.1	<i>Workshop Location</i>	115
1.2	<i>Costs and Patrons</i>	115
2	Shrines, Tombs, and Mosques	120
2.1	<i>The Shrine of Imam Reza, Mashhad</i>	121
2.2	<i>The mihrab from Maidan-i Sang Mosque, Kashan, 1226</i>	122
2.3	<i>The Imamzadah Yahya at Varamin, (1262–1305)</i>	123
2.4	<i>Imamzadah Ja'far, Damghan, circa 665–6/1266–7</i>	127
2.5	<i>A Quranic Frieze Signed by Yusuf ibn 'Ali ibn Muhammad ibn Abu Tahir (DDF 48.347)</i>	127
3	Luster Tiles in Ilkhanid Palace Decoration	129
3.1	<i>A Survey of the Ilkhanid Palaces</i>	130
3.2	<i>Tiles with Verses from the Shāh-nāma</i>	133
3.3	<i>Tiles with Trilobed Arch: Takht-i Suleiman's Frieze</i>	135
3.4	<i>The Other Tiles with Trilobed Arches</i>	137
4	Conclusion	139
4	Glazed Tiles from Indian Sultanates: Delhi, Gaur, and Mandu	144
1	Preliminary Remarks	145
1.1	<i>Pre-Islamic Glazing in India</i>	145
1.2	<i>"Persian" Tiles: kumhar vs. kāshigar?</i>	146
1.3	<i>Workshops and Technology</i>	150
2	Tiles from the Delhi Sultanate, 13th–16th Centuries	152
2.1	<i>Early Sultanate (13th–14th Centuries)</i>	153
2.2	<i>Lodi Period</i>	158
2.3	<i>First Mughal Period and Suri Intermezzo (1526–1560)</i>	169
3	Gaur and the Bengal Sultanate	180
3.1	<i>Tiles from Existing Monuments in Gaur</i>	183
3.2	<i>Ruined or Vanished Monuments and Scattered Tiles</i>	190
4	Tiles from Mandu (Sultanate of Malwa, 1401–1531)	198
4.1	<i>Masjid of Malik Mughith, 1432</i>	200
4.2	<i>Jāmi' Masjid of Mandu, Achieved 858/1454</i>	201
4.3	<i>Ashrafi Mahal</i>	201
4.4	<i>Kushk-i Zarrin or "Jahaz Mahal," 1441 and Later</i>	202
4.5	<i>Hammam</i>	205
4.6	<i>Jal-Mahal</i>	205
4.7	<i>Undated and "Late" Monuments</i>	207
5	Conclusion	214
	Post-scriptum	217

Annex 1: <i>Shāh-nāma</i> Illustrated Manuscripts in the UK (after Brend and Melville, <i>Epic of the Persian</i>, pp. 248–251)	219
Annex 2: Anthology of Poems on Luster, <i>mina'i</i> & Underglaze Painted Vessels	225
Annex 3: Tentative List of Tiles with Quotations from the <i>Shāh-nāma</i> in a Trilobed Arch	234
Annex 4: Luster Stars & Crosses at Doris Duke Foundation, Shangri La	243
Annex 5: Catalogue of Persian Luster Tiles in Eghvard Church, Armenia	250
Annex 6: Glazed Ceramics in India's Archaeological Surveys (<i>Quoted from Indian Archaeology. A Review, from 1955 to 2001, ASI</i>)	251
Bibliography	262
Index of Persian and Hindustani Words and Locutions	276
Index of Names	277

Foreword

It is a great pleasure to preface this volume of Yves Porter's Yarshater Lectures, which reflect decades of pioneering scholarship on the arts of Iran and South Asia. Porter is one of few scholars to move easily between these worlds. It may be surprising, therefore, to see that he explicitly rejects the rubric of the "Persianate" under which the arts of both regions are often grouped, but this eschewal reflects an admirable skepticism about monolithic categories that permeates all four essays in this volume. Indeed, one of the most original contributions of the four essays is their insistence on the need to pay attention to regional conditions and traditions.

The essays offer a range of original observations concerning the arts of the book, ceramics and architectural ornament across a geography stretching from Fars to Bengal. They are peppered with reflections on historiographic anomalies, methodological peculiarities, and the gaps in the material archives that shape our capacity to reconstruct historical, social, and technical processes. The appendices, which range from a record of Persian poetry on ceramics to a comprehensive catalog of glazed ceramics documented in India's Archaeological Surveys, are a contribution in their own right.

The commitment to empirical research as the foundation of technical and theoretical insights is a cornerstone of Porter's methodology. This ranges easily between micro- and macro-aspects of art making, whether considering the economics of artistic production, manuscript production as a total process, the socio-cultural connotations of Kashan luster tiles, or the aesthetic valences of glazed tiles in the sultanate architecture of the subcontinent.

Along the way, we are treated to novel observations regarding a wide range of canonical and non-canonical topics. In Chapter 1, these include the *kitābkhāna* as network vs. place, the role of geometry in creating harmonious manuscript

layouts, the ways in which artisans may have deployed embodied knowledge of mathematical principles without knowledge of their theoretical underpinnings. Chapter 2 extends the discussion beyond manuscript production, considering figurative and textual narrative allusions on Kashan wares. The discussion inverts the privilege often afforded canonical texts, speculating on the ways in which non-canonical or non-textual variants of known tales drawn from the *Shāh-nāma* and other epics may have coincided in the creation of visual palimpsests, products of multiple narrative strata coinciding in the space of a single image. Additional asides on intermedial connections between narrative luster tiles from Kashan, wall-painting and textiles offer suggestive directions for future research.

Chapter 3 presents us with a highly original analysis of the reuse of luster tiles following the Mongol conquest of Iran. Beyond the obvious interest for a moment in which questions of reuse and spoliation loom large in art historical studies of many sorts, the chapter tackles the likely relationship between the use of figurative luster tiles in palatial architecture and their reuse in mosques and shrines. Against a contemporary tendency to emphasize the transregional circulation of commodities, a particular insight of the chapter is its suggestion that the rather limited circulation of Kashan luster tiles (despite a few outliers found in East Africa and elsewhere) may reflect the fact that their value was constituted not in general economic terms (as luxury goods) but by the specificity of their sociocultural connotations in Ilkhanid Iran.

The final chapter considers questions of rarity and value from another angle, moving us from Ilkhanid Iran to the sultanates of north India. Analyzing the remarkably scattered evidence for the production and use of glazed tilework in the sultanates of three distinct regions – Delhi, Malwa, and Bengal – the chapter offers the first

comprehensive survey of an ornamental medium often seen as a hallmark of Islamic architecture in general but used selectively in the subcontinent and with considerable regional variations.

In keeping with the iconoclastic tone of all the essays, which tilt at established orthodoxies even as they propose new ways of looking, this final essay is replete with challenges to scholarly shibboleths. Seen through Porter's eyes, the architecture of the Lodi period (1451–1526), so under-researched that it rarely merits more than a passing mention in surveys of Sultanate architecture, emerges, for example, as the apogee of architectural tilework in India.

Similarly, a priori assumptions that glazed tile technology was an import to north India from Iran fall by the wayside. Paying close attention to questions of fabric and technique, Porter demonstrates the lack of material evidence for the eastward diffusion of Iranian tile technology. Challenging diffusionist stories of transmission, with their implied hierarchies and unidirectional flows, the

chapter marshals the evidence for local production of glazed ceramics. Raising the possibility of a palimpsest technology forged from the meeting of local and trans local ceramic traditions, Porter signals the likely existence of inter-regional aesthetic and technological connections; between the tilework of Mandu in central India and Bidar, capital of the Bahmanid sultans of the Deccan region of the south, for example. Similarly, rather than linking the (rather sparing and selective) use of glazed tilework in the sultanate monuments of Bengal to Iran and Central Asia, we are invited to look east to Burma as a potential source of inspiration.

Such a sensitive reading of the material evidence is, perhaps, to be expected from a scholar whose knowledge of ceramics is more than theoretical, informed as it is by practical experience of the highs and lows of the ceramicist's craft.

The cumulative force of these engaging and provocative essays is to compel a rethink of much of what we imagined we knew. Which is surely the aim of the very best of scholarship in any field.

Finbarr Barry Flood

Figures

- 0.1 Darius' trilingual inscription at Bisutun, circa 515 BC 5
- 0.2 Luster bowl with flag-bearer, Iraq, 10th century. Musée du Louvre, MAO 23 6
- 0.3 Detail of Nishapur buff ware bowl, 10th century (?). Ex-Plotnick collection 7
- 0.4 Main entrance pavilion at the Mausoleum of Akbar, Sikandra. The calligraphy on white marble framing the red sandstone composition under the iwan is signed by 'Abd al-Haqq Shirazi and dated 1022/1613 8
- 0.5 Taj Mahal, Agra. The calligraphy on black over white marble is signed by 'Abd al-Haqq Shirazi Amanat Khan and dated 1048/1638–39 9
- 1.1 *Varqa and Gulshāh*, folio 33b (Istanbul, TSMK H. 841). There are 19 lines per page, and seven text-lines are figured here (top). The diagonal of the square (in red) evidences a ratio of 1/1.28, which contrasts with later, more vertical formats 15
- 1.2 Terracotta tile with scene from *Panchatantra*, circa 781–821. Paharpur Vihara (Bangladesh) 16
- 1.3 *The Feast of Sada*, Folio 22v from the *Shāh-nāma* (Book of Kings) of Shah Tahmasp, Tabriz, ca. 1525. Dim. page: 47 × 31.8 cm 22
- 1.4 *Khusrau discovers Shirin bathing*. Folio from a *Khusrau u Shirin* by Nizami (d. 1209), Tabriz? c.1400 25
- 1.5 Ibn Bakhtishu', 'Ubayd Allah ibn Jibra'il, *Manāfi'-i ḥayavān.*, fol. 55r: The Simorgh. Maraghah, Iran, 1297–1298 or 1299–1300 27
- 1.6 *The combat of Suhrāb and Gurdāfarid*, in the Diez Album (Diez A fol. 73.S.70, no. 1 and back page). The *jadval* (or text-box frame) is outlined in red 28
- 1.7 Rashid al-Din Fazl-Allah, *Jāmi' al-tawārikh*, Frontispiece with *shamsa*, fol. 19 r 31
- 1.8 Geometrical composition of the preceding folio, based on its back (fol. 19 v), showing proportions, ruling and possible module, here represented by a small circle 32
- 1.9 Rashid al-Din Fazl-Allah, *Jāmi' al-tawārikh*, A scene from the life of Buddha, fol. 34r. The illustration is placed in a ten-line high box 33
- 1.10 *The Funeral of Isfandiyār*, Folio from the Great Mongol *Shāh-nāma* (Book of Kings), Tabriz, c.1330. Dim. page: 58 × 40 cm 35
- 1.11 Bi-folio from a *Khusrau u Shirin* by Nizami (d. 1209), Tabriz? c.1400; left: illustration: *Farhad before Shirin*; facing page: text copied by Ali ibn Hasan al-Sultani 37
- 1.12 *A father advises his son about love*, from Ibrahim Sultan's *Haft Awrang*. Iran, 1556–1565. Dim. 34.2 × 23.2 cm 40
- 1.13 Folio from a *Haft Awrang* (Seven thrones) by Jami (d. 1492) 41
- 1.14.a–c Geometric grid based on the diagonals of the frontispiece from Shah Tahmasp's *Shāh-nāma* (fol. 3v), applied to two other illustrated folios (20v and 403v) 42
- 1.15 Amir Khalil, *Marooned at sea*, a folio from Prince Baysunghur's *Rose Garden* (*Gulistān*) by Sa'di. Herat, 1427. Dim. 24.9 × 15.2 cm 46
- 2.1 Large *mina'i* plate with *Battle Scene*, Kashan, late 12th century. Diam. 47.8 cm 55
- 2.2 *A Ruffian Spares the Life of a Poor Man* (detail), Folio 4v from a copy of 'Attar's *Manṭiq al-ṭair* (Language of the Birds), Isfahan, c.1600 57

- 2.3.a–b a.: Dish with Unidentified Coat of Arms, Manises, c.1470–90, diam. 45.1 cm, The Cloisters Collection, 1956, no. 56.171.107. OA Public Domain. b.: Detail showing hanging holes made before firing 58
- 2.4 *Mina'i* bowl with prince on elephant back. Kashan, late 12th–early 13th century. Diam. 18.9 cm 59
- 2.5.a–b Fragment of a luster bowl with the mention of ... *mu'ayyad al-wuzarā Muḥammad ibn Abdallah*. 17.14 × 17.14 cm. LACMA, M.2002.1.87. The Madina Collection of Islamic Art, gift of Camilla Chandler Frost. a.: exterior. b.: interior 60
- 2.6 Scalloped luster plate with sleeping groom, signed and dated (twice) Shamsuddin al-Hasani Abu Zayd, 607/1210. Diam. 35.2 cm 61
- 2.7 Base of *mina'i* bowl, Kashan, late 12th–early 13th century 61
- 2.8 Fragment of *mina'i* house model. Kashan, late 12th–early 13th century. L. 11 cm 62
- 2.9 Silver gilded plate with Dionysus' Triumph. Badakhshan, 2nd–3rd century AD, diam. 22.5 cm 64
- 2.10 Silver gilded plate with a scene inspired by Dionysus' Triumph. Iran, 5th–7th century. Diam. 22.1 cm 64
- 2.11 Detail of Silver plate from Anikovskoe, with giant bird holding a naked woman. Diam. 22.2 cm 65
- 2.12 *Zahhak the Dragon King*, terracotta, Khotan or Eastern Sogdiana, 7th–8th c. (?), H. 61.5 cm 65
- 2.13 Fragment of *mina'i* bowl with horseman. Kashan, late 12th–early 13th century 67
- 2.14 Exterior of fragmentary *mina'i* bowl 67
- 2.15 Calcedony engraved seal with hero hitting a demon. Iran, 4th century CE. Diam. 2.5 cm 68
- 2.16 *Faridun and Zahhak*. Detail of brass with silver inlay bowl, with scenes based on the *Shāh-nāma*, made by Turanshah for Muhammad al-Jurjani. Iran, dated 752/1351–52. Diam. 22.7 cm 69
- 2.17 Luster bowl with *Faridun and Zahhak*, inscribed with verses from *Shāh-nāma*: *Faridun farrukh firishta nabud ...* (Glorious Faridun was not an angel). Kashan, late 12th century. Diam. 28.3 cm 69
- 2.18 Fragment of luster bowl with *Faridun and Zahhak*. Kashan, late 12th–early 13th century 71
- 2.19 *Mina'i* bowl with *Faridun and Zahhak*. Kashan, late 12th–early 13th century. Diam. 21 cm 71
- 2.20 *Mina'i* bowl with Faridun on a donkey, probably by Abu Zayd. Kashan, dated 583/1187. Diam. 21.6 cm 72
- 2.21 *Mina'i* bowl with *Faridun and his three sons*, partially dated ...83 and attributed to Abu Zayd. Diam. 21.27 cm 73
- 2.22 *Mina'i* bowl with *Faridun and his three sons* (?), dated 582/1186, by Abu Zayd. Diam. 21, 6 cm 73
- 2.23 *Mina'i* bowl with *Faridun and his three sons* (?), attributed to Abu Zayd and dated 583/1187. Diam. 21 cm 73
- 2.24 Fragmentary *mina'i* bowl with scenes from the history of *Faridun and his three sons* 75
- 2.25 Embossed and gilded silver plate with *Bahram Gur and the Harpist girl*. Iran, 5th century. Diam. 20.1 cm 76

- 2.26 *Mina'i* bowl with *Bahram Gur and The Harpist girl*, Kashan, late 12th–early 13th century.
Diam. 22.1 cm 76
- 2.27 *Mina'i* bowl with *Bahram Gur and The Harpist girl*, Kashan, late 12th–early 13th century.
Diam. 21.6 cm 77
- 2.28 *Mina'i* bowl with *Bahram Gur and The Harpist girl*; the name of Bahram Gur is inscribed over the camel's neck. Kashan, late 12th–early 13th century. Diam. 21.3 cm 77
- 2.29 *Mina'i* beaker with scenes from the *Story of Bizhan and Manizha*. Kashan, late 12th–early 13th century. H. 12 cm 78
- 2.30 *Mina'i* bowl with prince on an elephant. Kashan, late 12th–early 13th century.
Diam. 22.23 cm 79
- 2.31 Turquoise *mina'i* bowl with *Lute Player*. Kashan, late 12th–early 13th century.
Diam. 19.7 cm 80
- 2.32 Large, fluted luster dish depicting a Wedding Procession. Kashan, early 13th century.
Diam. 41 cm 81
- 2.33 Luster bowl with narrative scene, found at Ghazni 82
- 2.34 *Mina'i* star with hero attacking a dragon. Kashan, late 12th–early 13th century.
H. 18.3 cm 83
- 2.35 Back of large *mina'i* plate with *Battle Scene*. Kashan, late 12th century. Diam. 47.8 cm 83
- 2.36 Rock-relief with the Investiture of Ardashir, Naqsh-e Rostam, 3rd century 85
- 2.37 Octagonal molded bowl with investiture scene. Iran, 12th century. H. 13.02 cm 85
- 2.38 Scene of investiture on the inlaid brass bowl made by Turanshah, dated 752/1351–52 85
- 2.39 Luster plate with Leyla and Majnun at school. Kashan, end of 12th century. Diam.
47.5 cm 86
- 2.40 *Mina'i* bowl with Majnun in the desert. Kashan, late 12th–early 13th century.
Diam. 20.8 cm 86
- 2.41 *Mina'i* bowl with scene inspired by an episode from *Kalila and Dimna*. Kashan,
late 12th–early 13th century. Diam. 20.3 cm 87
- 2.42 Fresco from Pendzhikent with a scene inspired by an episode of the *Mahabharata* 87
- 2.43 Roman fresco artists at work, after a 2nd century marble relief in the Museum of Sens
(France) 89
- 2.44 Bishapur (Fars). Rock-relief with Shapur's triumph over three Roman emperors:
Gordian III (244), Philip the Arab (249) and Valerian (260) 90
- 2.45 Bowl, brass with silver inlay, with scenes based on the *Shāh-nāma*, Iran, dated
752/1351–52 91
- 2.46 Luster bottle, Kashan, dated 1179, with rows of hounds, epigraphy and figures. H. 15 cm 92
- 2.47 *Mina'i* bowl with two riders. Kashan, late 12th–early 13th century. Diam. 19.3 cm 94
- 2.48 *Mina'i* bowl with two riders. Kashan, late 12th–early 13th century. Diam. 17.6 cm 94
- 2.49 Silk textile fragment with Shooting Amazons. Egypt? 7th–9th centuries (?).
Dim. 20.8 × 20.9 cm 94
- 2.50 Silk textile fragment with hunters. Egypt? 8th century. Dim. 21 × 28 cm 95
- 2.51 Sasanian silver plate with youths and winged horses. Iran, ca. 5th–6th century AD.
Diam. 21 cm 95
- 2.52 Buff ware plate with horse rider, Nishapur, 10th century (?). Diam. 38 cm 98
- 2.53 Buff ware plate with horse rider, Nishapur, 10th century (?). Diam. 22.2 cm 98
- 2.54 Glass disk with horse rider. Iran, 12th century. Diam. 9.1 cm 99

- 2.55 Luster dish with polo player, Kashan, dated 1208. Diam. 35.2 cm 100
- 2.56 Bowl with a horse rider painted both in *mina'i* and luster. Kashan, late 12th–early 13th century. Diam. 22.4 cm 101
- 2.57 Dated luster star-tile with prince and attending *ghulāms*, Kashan, 608/1211–12. Diam. 32.1 cm 101
- 2.58 Luster bowl with prince and attending *ghulāms*. Kashan, late 12th–early 13th century. Diam. 37.8 cm 102
- 2.59 Lobed *mina'i* bowl with prince and attendants. Kashan, late 12th–early 13th century. Diam. 21.6 cm 102
- 3.1 Plain monochrome turquoise cross-shaped tile 106
- 3.2 The shrine of 'Abd al-Samad at Natanz, early 14th century 107
- 3.3 Panel showing a patchwork of reused tiles. Mosque of Rustam Pasha, Istanbul 107
- 3.4 Qajar underglaze painted tile, Sheetalnathji Temple, Calcutta, circa 1867 108
- 3.5 The inner courtyard at Doris Duke Foundation for Islamic Art, Shangri La Museum, Honolulu, Hawai'i 109
- 3.6 Luster mihrab signed by Hasan ibn 'Arabshah and dated 1226, in Kashan's Maidan-i Sang Mosque, before its removal 109
- 3.7 The dome of Eghvard Church (Armenia), early 14th century, with its row of luster tiles 110
- 3.8 Detail from the scalloped luster plate with sleeping groom, signed and dated Shamsuddin al-Hasani Abu Zayd, 607/1210; note the fragment inserted (framed in black), repeating date and signature 112
- 3.9 Composite star-tile panel; the upper left fragment of luster star has the date 738/1337–38 (written in words), followed by the mention *bi-maqām Kāshān* (at Kashan) 113
- 3.10 Stucco mihrab in the winter prayer room of Isfahan's Masjid-i Jāmi', dated 1310 117
- 3.11 Calligraphic frieze in stucco, signed by Hasan ibn 'Ali ibn Ahmad Babuyeh and dated 1307–8. Natanz, shrine of 'Abd al-Samad 118
- 3.12 Tomb cover of Khadija Khatun, dated 713/1313. Dim. 194.3 × 82.6 cm 118
- 3.13.a–b Luster half-star with the name of Yusuf written on its back. Ex-author's collection 120
- 3.14 Mihrab of Imamzadah Yahya (Varamin), signed by 'Ali ibn Muhammad ibn Abi Tahir and dated 1264. Dim. 384.5 × 228.6 cm 124
- 3.15 Back of luster cross-shaped tile with drawing 126
- 3.16 Quranic frieze (Quran 2: 255), signed by Yusuf ibn 'Ali ibn Muhammad ibn Abi Tahir, dated 1310. Each tile: 39.7 × 41.3 cm 128
- 3.17 Upper frieze from luster tile with lotus flowers. Former Alexis Renard collection, Paris 129
- 3.18 The Lar Valley, Iran 132
- 3.19 Luster tile with verse from *Shāh-nāma* (*Shavad āsmān hamchu pusht-i palang*/The sky will become like the back of the panther; see Annex 3, Cat. 1.39) 134
- 3.20 Luster tile with verse from *Shāh-nāma* (*Shavad āsmān hamchu pusht-i palang*/The sky will become like the back of the panther; see Annex 3, Cat. 1.40) 134
- 3.21 Luster tile with verse from *Shāh-nāma* (*Khīrad-i tīre-u mard-i rawshan ravān*/The dark spirit and the man of enlightened soul; see Annex 3, Cat. 1.4) 135

- 3.22 Luster tile with verse from *Shāh-nāma* (*Zi har dānishi chun sukhan bishnuy*/When you will listen to the words of each wisdom; see Annex 3, Cat. 1.6) 135
- 3.23 Fragment of tile from frieze III (Annex 3, Cat. 3.4.). Dim. 19.6 × 30.3 cm 138
- 3.24 Tile from Frieze IV. *Du nargis-i duzham/du rukhsār-i tābān bi kirdā[r]*/Two cruel narcissus/Two faces as bright as [...]. (Annex 3, Cat. 4.2.). 29.8 × 30.5 cm 138
- 3.25 Tile with figures and a quote from a qasida by Anvari (Annex 3, Cat. 8.3).
Dim. 28.9 × 41.5 cm 139
- 3.26 Fragment of tile found at Zulfabad, repositioned in a complete tile (Annex 3, Cat. 1.63) 140
- 3.27 Detail of a luster tile mosaic, with a fragment (bottom, center) dated 837/1433–34 in numerals 141
- 4.1 Composite fountain with figure of Krishna made of green-glazed clay. Vellore, late 19th century 148
- 4.2 Underglaze painted vase. Jaipur, second half of 19th century 148
- 4.3 Aina-Mahal, with so-called “Delftian” tiled floor. Bhuj (Gujerat), circa 1750 148
- 4.4 Potter working with clay on a foot-wheel at Rashid Ahmed workshop, Khurja (Uttar Pradesh) 149
- 4.5 Rashid Ahmed’s pottery factory, founded in 1949, Khurja (Uttar Pradesh) 149
- 4.6 Samuel Bourne (England, 1834–1912), *The Kutab Minar and adjacent buildings*. Albumen print, late 1860s 153
- 4.7 The Shahi ‘Idgah at Rapri (Uttar Pradesh), dated 1312 155
- 4.8 The Shahi ‘Idgah at Rapri. Turquoise glazed tiles and traces of stucco 156
- 4.9 The Shahi ‘Idgah at Rapri. Detail of turquoise glazed tiles 156
- 4.10 Begumpuri Masjid, Delhi, c.1343. Detail of the exterior façade of the southern *riwāq* showing molded turquoise glazed lotus tiles in the spandrels 157
- 4.11 Begumpuri Masjid, Delhi, c.1343. Tympanum on the exterior façade of the southern *riwāq* with turquoise-glazed molded tile 157
- 4.12 Man Mandir palace, Gwalior Fort, late 15th–early 16th century, with its tiled decoration 158
- 4.13 Bagh-i ‘Alam ka Gumbad, Delhi, built in 1501. Detail of upper section of the southern façade with turquoise glazed tiles framed by red sandstone 159
- 4.14 Nili Masjid, Delhi, built in 1505–6. Upper section of the façade with continuous band of turquoise glazed tiles 160
- 4.15 Moth ki Masjid, Delhi, built circa 1505. Northeastern *chhatri* with remains of turquoise-glazed tiles 160
- 4.16 Rajon-ki-bain, Mehrauli Archaeological Park (Delhi). Detail of funerary *chhatri* dated 1506, with turquoise-glazed tiles inserted in stucco crenelated *kangura* 161
- 4.17 Jahaz Mahal, next to Hauz-i Shamsi, Mehrauli, early 16th century 161
- 4.18 Chhote Khan-ka-Gumbad, early 16th century (?), Delhi, South-Extension 162
- 4.19 Shishe-Gumbad, late 15th century, Lodi Garden, Delhi 163
- 4.20 Shishe-Gumbad, detail of upper section of southern façade 164
- 4.21 Shishe-Gumbad, detail of underglaze painted tile with Persian inscriptions 165
- 4.22 Shishe-Gumbad, detail of underglaze painted tile with Persian inscriptions and blue and white chinoiserie motifs 165

- 4.23 Mausoleum of Sikandar Lodi, c.1517. Lodi Garden, Delhi. Southern entrance with terrace and *chhatris* 165
- 4.24 Detail of southwest *chhatri* at the entrance of Sikandar Lodi's Mausoleum 166
- 4.25 Interior of Sikandar Lodi's Mausoleum. Upper section of the walls 167
- 4.26 Interior of Sikandar Lodi's Mausoleum. Detail of extrados with tiles forming a *lam-alif* floral motif in green and cobalt 167
- 4.27 Interior of Sikandar Lodi's Mausoleum. The tympanum inside the recessed arch is bordered by a frieze of blue and white painted tiles 168
- 4.28 Interior of Sikandar Lodi's Mausoleum. A band of turquoise and yellow painted tiles frames the rectangular recess 168
- 4.29 Tomb of Jamali-Kamali, Mehrauli, circa 1546 170
- 4.30 Tomb of Jamali-Kamali. Detail of upper section of the façade. Under the red sandstone *chajja*, frieze of square blue and white underglaze painted tiles 170
- 4.31 Tomb of Jamali-Kamali. Detail of the square blue and white underglaze painted tiles under the *chajja* 170
- 4.32 Interior of the Tomb of Jamali-Kamali. Squinch with stucco and tile decoration 171
- 4.33 Mausoleum of 'Issa Khan, 1547–8, Delhi. Detail of arched gallery with tiled spandrels 172
- 4.34 Mausoleum of 'Issa Khan. Detail of tiled *chhatri* on the roof 172
- 4.35 Bara Darwaza, Purana Qila, 1560s (?), Delhi. Detail of the upper section, with polychrome tile mosaic 174
- 4.36 Purana Qila's Mosque, mid. 16th century. Inner drum of the central dome with polychrome tiled arches 174
- 4.37 Lal Darwaza, mid. 16th century (?), Delhi 176
- 4.38 Lal Darwaza, detail of intersecting arches and polychrome tile mosaic 176
- 4.39 Polychrome mosaic tile decoration on the Chini ka Rauza, 1635, Agra 177
- 4.40 Dargah of Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki, Mehrauli. Polychrome "black-line" (so-called *cuerva seca*) tiles with floral motifs, probably second part of 17th century 178
- 4.41 Turquoise glazed pipes inserted in the walls of the Jahangiri Mahal in Agra Fort, early 17th century 178
- 4.42 Celadon dish with an inscription (on the back) in the name of prince Shuja' son of Shah Jahan, dated 1646 179
- 4.43 Fragment of underglaze painted plate, found at Purana Qila, first half of 16th century (?) 179
- 4.44 Brick factory, Sylhet district, Bangladesh 181
- 4.45 Terracotta plaque, 9th century. Paharpur Vihara, Bangladesh 181
- 4.46 Foundational inscription of the Adina Masjid of Pandua, dated 1374–75 (West-Bengal). Above and to the left of the stone slab is a border of glazed bricks in yellow and turquoise 182
- 4.47 Gaur (West-Bengal). Chika or Chamkan Building, circa 1450 184
- 4.48 Chika or Chamkan Building, detail of the medium cornice 184
- 4.49 Chika or Chamkan Building, panel in form of a niche with lamp motif 185
- 4.50 Gaur (West-Bengal). Chamkati Masjid, 883/1478. Panel on exterior qibla wall 186
- 4.51 Gaur (West-Bengal). Lottan (or Lattan) Masjid, circa 1493–1519 (?) 187
- 4.52 Lottan (or Lattan) Masjid, mihrab-like arched panel 187
- 4.53 Lottan (or Lattan) Masjid, detail of overglaze painted tile 188

- 4.54 Glazed tile with raised floral arabesque in blue on a white enameled background.
Dim. 17.8 × 12.6 cm 188
- 4.55 Lottan (or Lattan) Masjid, interior with upper cornice displaying arched compartments
with painted tiles 189
- 4.56 Lottan (or Lattan) Masjid, squinch with blue and white and polychrome-painted tiles 189
- 4.57 Gaur (West-Bengal). Gumti Gate, circa 1512 190
- 4.58 Gumti Gate, base of southwestern corner turret 191
- 4.59 Gumti Gate, base of fluted turret with painted tiles 192
- 4.60 Gumti Gate, upper section of fluted turret 193
- 4.61 Gumti Gate, mihrab-like panel with painted tiles 193
- 4.62 Gaur (West-Bengal). Qadam Rasul, glazed brick reused in the enclosure wall 194
- 4.63 Square tile painted in white over a deep blue glaze. 19.36 cm by side 194
- 4.64 Bagerhat (Khulna district, Bangladesh). Excavations of a residential area associated with
Ulug Khan Jahan 195
- 4.65 Bagerhat. Excavations of a residential area. Glazed fish-scale tiles 195
- 4.66 Bagerhat. Tomb of Khan-Jahan. Floor with hexagonal glazed tiles 196
- 4.67 A sample of glazed tiles collected by a *chaiwallah* at Gaur 196
- 4.68 Over glaze painted tile from Gaur. Dim. 7 × 13.5 cm 197
- 4.69 Dado of glazed tiles inside the Tomb of Bibi Pari, Dhaka (Bangladesh), after 1678 198
- 4.70 European industrial tiles in the Sitara Masjid, Dhaka (Bangladesh), early
20th century 198
- 4.71 Mandu, Masjid of Malik Mughith, 1432. Entrance pavilion 200
- 4.72 Mandu, Jāmi' Masjid, circa 1454, main mihrab 201
- 4.73 Mandu, Ashrafi Mahal. Interior of the funerary room with remains of inlaid marble
facing 202
- 4.74 Mandu, Jahaz Mahal, second half of 15th century. The central tower, overlooking the
Munj Talao 203
- 4.75 The central tower of the Jahaz Mahal and detail of the upper section 204
- 4.76 Base of the dome of Jahaz Mahal's central tower 204
- 4.77 Room inside Jahaz Mahal's central tower; at the base of the dome is a band of yellow,
green, and turquoise cut-out tiles 204
- 4.78a–b Mandu, Hammam of the Dawlat-khana. Detail of a spandrel with polychrome
tiles 205
- 4.79 Mandu, Jal Mahal. Panels under the *chajja* decorated with square Kufic inscriptions.
The panel on the right shows the words *al-sultān al-ʿaẓam* (“the mighty sultan”) 206
- 4.80 Jal Mahal. Panels under the *chajja* with square Kufic inscriptions 206
- 4.81 Jal Mahal. Fallen fragment of panel with square Kufic inscriptions 207
- 4.82 Gallery on the upper floor of Jal Mahal. The pilaster shows the remains of a tiled
dado 207
- 4.83 Mandu, tomb known as Da'i ki Chhoti Bahein ka Mahal, late 15th century (?) 208
- 4.84 Detail of a tile from the drum of the dome of the Da'i ki Chhoti Bahein ka Mahal 208
- 4.85 Mandu, Tomb of Darya Khan, western façade, with remains of a tiled panel 209
- 4.86 Tomb of Darya Khan, southern façade, with remains of a tiled epigraphic frieze 209
- 4.87 Mandu, Chishti Khan-ka-Mahal, 2nd half of the 16th century (?). Interior decoration of the
easternmost room 210

- 4.88 Polychrome painted tile from the frieze at the base of Chishti Khan-ka-Mahal's easternmost room 210
- 4.89 Ashtur, next to Bidar (Karnataka), Tomb of Alauddin Ahmad Shah, circa 1458. Detail of tiled decoration 211
- 4.90 Nalcha (Dhar district), Malcolm ki Kothi, view from North 211
- 4.91 Malcolm ki Kothi, now-collapsed eastern pavilion 211
- 4.92 Malcolm ki Kothi, now-collapsed eastern pavilion, upper section of the wall, under the *chajja* 212
- 4.93 Malcolm ki Kothi, drum and dome of the now-collapsed eastern pavilion 212
- 4.94 Malcolm ki Kothi. Reconstructed sequence of tiled elements of the now collapsed eastern pavilion 213
- 4.95 Malcolm ki Kothi. Band of polychrome painted tiles on the drum of the now collapsed eastern pavilion 213
- 4.96 Underglaze painted tile coming from the Church of Santa Monica, Goa, early 17th century 215

Photo Credits: all photos and drawings by the author except:

- 0.0, 1.3, 1.10, 2.2, 2.3, 2.7, 2.20, 2.22, 2.25, 2.26, 2.27, 2.28, 2.31, 2.32, 2.41, 2.47, 2.48, 2.49, 2.50, 2.51, 2.57, 2.58, 2.59: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Public Domain).
- 1.2, 3.4, 3.5, 4.7, 4.9, 4.10, 4.11, 4.13, 4.14, 4.15, 4.16, 4.18, 4.20, 4.21, 4.22, 4.29, 4.30, 4.44, 4.45, 4.48, 4.50, 4.53, 4.56, 4.59, 4.60, 4.61, 4.65, 4.66, 4.70, 4.89: ©Richard Castinel.
- 1.4, 1.11, a–b, 1.12, 1.13, 2.1, 2.4, 2.6, 2.10, 2.29, 2.34, 2.35, 3.8: ©Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington.
- 1.5: ©The Morgan Library & Museum, New York.
- 1.7–1.9, 2.14, 2.24, 2.54: ©Khalili Collection, London.
- 1.15: ©Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.
- 2.5 a–b, 2.21, 4.6: Los Angeles County Museum of Art (Public Domain).
- 2.9, 2.15, 2.23, 2.37, 2.46, 3.19, 4.68: ©British Museum.
- 2.16, 2.38, 2.45, 2.55, 3.23, 3.24, 4.54, 4.63: ©Victoria & Albert Museum, London.
- 2.19: Detroit Institute of Fine Arts Museum (Public Domain).
- 2.30: Minneapolis Institute of Art (Public Domain).
- 2.39: ©The David Collection, Copenhagen.
- 2.40, 3.1, 3.9, 3.12, 3.14, 3.16, 3.21, 3.22: ©Doris Duke Foundation for Islamic Art, Shangri La Museum, Honolulu.
- 2.53: ©Aga Khan Museum, Toronto.
- 2.56: ©Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon.
- 3.7, 3.20: ©Patrick Donabédian.
- 3.17: ©Alexis Renard.
- 3.25: Chicago Art Institute (Public Domain).