AYYUBID METALWORK WITH CHRISTIAN IMAGES

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AYYUBID METALWORK WITH CHRISTIAN IMAGES

BY

EVA BAER

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To the memory of my husband Gabriel Baer
who, until his last days,
shared my problems and encouraged my work.

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Jerusalem, March 1987 Eva Baer

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CHAPTER ONE

ISLAMIC LANDS IN THE LATE AYYUBID PERIOD

The political events of the years preceding the period in which the brasses to be discussed in this study were manufactured can hardly be considered favorable to the promotion of the arts. The Ayyubid dynasty, which ruled Egypt and Muslim Syria-Palestine and temporarily controlled large parts of Upper Mesopotamia and the Yemen at the end of the twelfth and the first half of the thirteenth century, fell into a period of family feuding after the death of Salah al-Din in 1193 that caused recurrent discord among his successors. In addition to these inner dissensions, which even strong rulers like Salah al-Din's brother al-Adil Abu Bakr (d. 1218) or the latter's successor al-Malik al-Kamil (d. 1238) could not suppress, the Ayyubid regime was threatened by outside enemies. There were conflicts with neighboring dynasties—the Artuqids of Diyarbakr, Hisn Kayfa, and Mardin; the Seljuqs of Asia Minor; and the Khwarizmshahs—and finally there were wars with the Christian intruders from the West. With the reign of al-Kamil's eldest son, al-Salih, whose name is inscribed on two of the metal objects that we shall discuss, the Ayyubid dynasty came practically to an end. In 1249 al-Salih's son Turanshah, who had succeeded his father for a few months, was assassinated, and al-Salih's former concubine Shagar al-Durr was proclaimed sultan. Seven years later she was followed by the Bahri Mamluks, the Mamluk state that was to last for two and a half centuries.[1]

Just as the Ayyubid dynasty declined, so too did the Crusader kingdom verge on disintegration. In the summer of 1244 the Khwarizmians, exploiting Ayyubid dissension and Frankish weakness, recaptured and sacked Jerusalem, which thus returned to Muslim control. In the same year the united Frankish and Ayyubid forces were besieged at Gaza by Egyptian and Khwarizmian troops. The eastern areas of Frankish-held Galilee were recaptured by the Egyptian sultan al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub, and in 1247 the city of Ascalon was sacked. Even the efforts of the French King Louis IX to rescue the Crusader kingdom were of no avail. Damietta surrendered to him without difficulty, but the king was waylaid on his way to Cairo, had to surrender his arms, and was shipped to Acre, the new Crusader capital. In the following years (1250-54) he concentrated on reestablishing what was left of the Latin Kingdom, and actually contrived—by arranging truces with the Ayyubid legitimists of Aleppo and with the new Mamluk dynasty of Egypt—to remain the effective ruler of Latin Syria. In April 1254, however, he had to return to Europe, and in the following decades the Mamluk sultans of Egypt and Syria eradicated the last traces of the Crusader kingdom. With the capitulation of Acre in 1291 it came to an end.[2]

In spite of these political frictions and recurrent battles—the Ayyubid princes were often fighting simultaneously on different fronts—local industries and handicrafts, and with them trade and commerce, flourished. "One of the astonishing things that is talked of," noted Ibn Jubayr in 1184, "is that though the fires of discord burn between the two parties, Muslim and Christian, two armies of them may meet and dispose themselves in battle array, and yet Muslim and Christian travellers will come and go between them without interference." Even during Salah al-Din's siege of Kerak, one of the Christian strongholds, "the caravans passed successively from Egypt to Damascus, going through the lands of the Franks without impediment from them. In the same way the Muslims continuously journeyed from Damascus to Acre [through Frankish territory], and likewise not one of the Christian merchants was stopped or hindered [in Muslim territory].... The soldiers engage themselves in the war,

[1] For a good study of the Ayyubid princedoms, see R. Stephen Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols* (Albany, N.Y., 1977).

[2] H. E. Meyer, *The Crusades*, trans. J. Gillingham (Oxford, 1972); A. Waas, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, 2 vols. (Freiburg, 1956); Y. Prawer, *The World of the Crusaders* (New York, 1972); B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States* (London, 1980).

while the people are at peace and the world goes to him who conquers ... and in the dispute existing between the Muslim Emirs and their Kings it is the same, the subjects and the merchants interfering not. Security never leaves them in any circumstance, neither in peace nor in war...."[3]

Although written more than half a century earlier, the situation described by Ibn Jubayr had not changed very much when the artifacts we are going to study were produced. Muslim mechants came from all over the Islamic lands and traveled freely between Baghdad, Aleppo, Damascus, Alexandria, and the Black Sea. Europeans, seeking spices and other goods from the Orient, went as far as India, China, and the islands of Indonesia. Merchants from Mosul called Mossolini, Mosolins, or Mosserins—presumably members of a Nestorian fraternity—regularly visited Acre to deliver their goods and were accorded privileges there.[4] Traders in spices, pearls, precious textiles, and other luxury merchandise, they may also have served as commercial intermediaries between Mosul, Damascus, and other centers of Islamic metalwork in the West,[5] and have brought Syro-Mesopotamian inlaid bronzes to Acre for export. Although that remains a hypothesis, what is more certain is that Muslim merchants from Damascus and Mosul maintained branches of their businesses in the coastal cities and that after 1251 they officially supplied the Crusaders with Damascus-made weaponry.[6]

One of the most striking aspects of Middle Eastern society in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was that its heterogeneous population lived together in relative peace. Generally speaking, Ibn Jubayr's impression that on the route from Tiberias to Acre the town dwellers were Syrian Franks and the peasantry indigenous Syrian Christians and Muslims, the former living in the coastal cities, the latter in villages and on the land, can probably be applied to the whole of the Syro-Palestine region.[7] Though under Frankish rule, the coastal towns had a mixed population, which in the case of Antioch, for example, included—in addition to Western and indigenous Christians and Muslims—Greeks, Armenians, and Jews.[8] Commercial centers in the Muslim hinterland, Damascus for example, no doubt had similarly composite populations.

Two groups among the people who lived under Ayyubid rule or were closely linked to it are of special interest to our study of Ayyubid metalwork with Christian imagery. The first were Syrian, indigenous Christians who had been living in northern Syria, Palestine, and Mesopotamia for hundreds of years. Most of them were Jacobites,[9] members of a native Arabic-speaking

[3] Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥla Ibn Jubayr* (Beirut, 1964), pp. 287-88; *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, trans. R. J. C. Broadhurst (London, 1952), pp. 300-1. The everyday cooperation between Muslims and Christians is also attested by Usama ibn Munqidh, who in one of his stories tells how a Christian called Yunan conducted Muslims through the brigand-infested mountains. Cf. Usama ibn Munqidh, *An Arab Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades. Memoirs of Usāma ibn Munqidh (Kitāb al-iʿtibar)*, trans. Philip K. Hitti, p. 79. For common hunting expeditions, see ibid., p. 252; Arab text, p. 224. Ibn Jubayr recounts how a Frankish woman suddenly grabbed him in the marketplace and began to mutter words in a language which he did not understand. A large crowd of Franks gathered around them, and Ibn Jubayr was sure they would kill him, but a knight appeared and shouted at her, "'This is a bourgeois [*burjāsi*; i.e., a merchant] who neither fights nor attends a fight...' Thus he took me by the hand and went away..." (85 ff; Arabic text, pp. 140-41).

[4] J. Richards, "La confrérie des Mosserins d'Acre at les marchands de Mossoul aux XIIIe siècle," *L'Orient Syrien* 11 (1966): 451-60. For pontifical bulls from the years 1244 to the end of the century (and even later) according privileges to the Christian communities in the East and referring to these "Mosolini" under various names, see ibid. p. 458.

[5] E. Rey, *Les colonies franques de Syrie* (Paris, 1883), p. 204. These merchants were also mentioned by Marco Polo as "Mosulin, who export vast quantities of spices and other precious wares" (*The Travels of Marco Polo*, trans. R. E. Lathan [Penguin Classics, 1958], p. 20). See also Cl. Cahen, article "Luʾluʾ" in *EI²*.

[6] Waas, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, 2:227; Rey, *Colonies franques*, p. 29, referring to Imad al-Din, who in 1251 gave official permission for the trade.

[7] Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥla*, pp. 301.18–302.3; *Travels*, p. 316; he also reported that the valley near Banyas was divided between Frankish and Muslim farmers separated by "the Boundary of Dividing." They "apportion the crops equally and their animals are mingled together, and yet no wrong takes place between them because of it" (*Riḥla*, 300.14-17; *Travels*, 315).

[8] W. von Oldenburg, *Reise nach Palästina und Kleinasien* (Hamburg, 1859), Latin-German ed., J. C. M. Laurent, vol. 1, chap. 14, p. 50; for Tripoli, see ibid., chap. 7, 47; for Damietta, see John of Joinville, *The Life of Saint Louis*, trans. R. Hague, from the text ed. by N. de Wailly (New York, 1955), p. 245. For aspects of the civil administration, see Jonathan Riley-Smith, "Some Lesser Officials in Latin Syria," *English Historical Review*, vol. 87, no. 342 (Jan. 1972), pp. 1-26.

[9] For a brief survey, see G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlich-arabischen Literature*, vol. 1 (Vatican City, 1944), pp. 70-71. After Saladin had taken Jerusalem from the Crusaders in 1187, the Syrians were allowed to remain there under Muslim rule. In the thirteenth century, Barhebraeus reports that seventy Jacobite monks lived there. See Waas, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, 2:205; G. Every, "Syrian Christians in Palestine in the Early Middle Ages," *Eastern Churches Quarterly* 6 (July-September 1946): 365. The Nestorians, still an important community in Mesopotamia and the eastern provinces of the caliphate, were only a small congregation in Syria, and their catholicos, who resided in Baghdad, generally had a representative in Jerusalem (Prawer, *Latin Kingdom*, p. 229).

community scattered about from the Taurus to Jerusalem and from the Mediterranean to Mesopotamia.[10] They were ruled by the patriarch of Antioch or, in the eastern part of the patriarchate, by his lieutenant, the maphrian.[11] They lived in villages of Christian or mixed Christian and Muslim population, in monasteries, and in small towns, where they appear to have been on friendly terms with their Muslim neighbors.[12] The patriarch and the maphrian also maintained formal relations with the Islamic authorities. They paid official visits to the sultan and governors, exchanging gifts of church vestments, reliquaries, and money, as was the custom. Occasionally these official encounters blossomed into friendships, and led to temporary collaborations between the Muslim authorities and the church.[13]

From the point of view of cultural influence, however, the Latin Christian community appears to have left more of an imprint than the various indigenous Christian populations did. Living mainly in the coastal cities, the Frankish immigrants came from various countries and social backgrounds. Some had been wealthy landowners, scions of a noble house. Many were of peasant stock, villeins and serfs.[14] Whatever their origin, however, most arrived in the Levant with little in the way of wealth. Before embarking, they "sacrificed, even though reluctantly, all they formerly possessed,"[15] reports Foucher de Chartres in the early twelfth century. John of Ibelin, to cite one of many examples, disposed of a great part of his estate before his departure and arrived in Cyprus nearly penniless.[16]

Once in the Near East, however, many of the Western knights appear to have amassed considerable wealth. This rapid acquisition of a fortune, already attested by Foucher twenty-five years after the Latin conquest of Jerusalem,[17] went mainly to the nobility who controlled commercial relations with the West. Enormous quantities of spices, dyestuffs, perfumes, and various types of incense, sumptuous textiles, and precious stones were transported from India and other Eastern countries to Baghdad, Aleppo, and Damascus, where European merchants would buy them, bring their purchases to Tyre, Acre, and other Mediterranean ports, and ship them to the West.[18] Whatever their social origins, these newly rich merchant families quickly adopted the local way of life and themselves indulged in luxuries, often far beyond the means or station they would have had, had they remained in Europe. They ate rich food prepared by a local cook in the local fashion, and some even refrained from eating pork.[19] They frequented public baths; they had Muslim servants to wait on them, Muslim nurses to rear their children, and Muslim grooms to tend their horses. They brought snow from the Lebanon (or Hermon) to cool their wine, and entertained their guests with jugglers and dancing girls.[20]

[10] In Damietta, they apparently constitute only a small group (see above, Joinville, n. 8).

[11] See Graf, *Geschichte*, pp. 70-71; Prawer, *Latin Kingdom*, pp. 227-28; B. Spuler, *Die morgenländischen Kirchen* (Bologna, 1964), pp. 40-43. The Jacobite Church thrived in the twelfth century, but suffered from internecine rivalries in the thirteenth.

[12] Documents dating from the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century refer to prayers, religious festivities, and public celebrations held jointly by Christians and Muslims; see Waas, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, 2:243-44; Oldenburg, *Reise nach Palästina und Kleinasien*, vol. 1, chap. 10, p. 48; Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥla*, 305.15-306.10; *Travels*, 320-21. For a Palm Sunday procession in which Christians, Mongols, and Tatars participated, see J. M. Fiey, *Chrétiens syriaques sous les Mongols* (Louvain, 1975), p. 36 and n. 20, where he quotes Barhebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 451.

[13] Peter Kawerau, *Die Jacobitische Kirche im Zeitalter der syrischen Renaissance. Idee und Wirklichkeit* (Berlin, 1960), pp. 91-93.

[14] Prawer, *World of the Crusaders*, pp. 92-93, demonstrates that in Crusader society the peasants became craftsmen and merchants; the town dwellers and the burgesses became petty officials active in city and rural administration.

[15] Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095-1127*, trans. R. Ryan, ed. and introd. Harold S. Fink, 1969, bk. 3, para. 37.6 (p. 272).

[16] Joinville, *Life of St. Louis*, p. 52, § 112, § 136. For details on the Crusader's financial and social circumstances, see Waas, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, 1:324-32.

[17] Fulcher of Chartres, *Expedition to Jerusalem*, bk. 3, par. 37.6: "Those who were poor in the occident God makes rich in his land. Those who had little money there, had countless bezants here, and those who did not have a villa possess here by the gift of God a city."

[18] The East-West trade is mentioned in all the basic studies of the Crusader states. See, for instance, Rey, *Les colonies franques*, chapter 9 on commerce, particularly pp. 198-99; see also Prawer, *World of the Crusaders*, pp. 143-46, with details on the various trade routes, some ending in Damietta.

[19] For Franks who refrained from eating pork, Usāma ibn Munqidh, *Kitāb al-iʿtibar*, pp. 140-41, mentioned also in Waas, *Kreuzzüge*, 2:212. See Hitti, *An Arab-Syrian Gentlemen*, p. 169: "The knight presented an excellent table with food extraordinarily clean and delicious. Seeing me abstaining from food, he said: "Eat, be of good cheer. I never eat Frankish dishes, but I have Egyptian women cooks and never eat except their cooking. Besides, pork never enters my home..."

[20] Rey, *Colonies franques*, pp. 10-14; Waas, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, 2:210-17; Steven Runciman, *The Families of Outremer* (Cambridge, Eng., 1960), pp. 23-25. Western writers made some unfavorable comments on these orientalizing tendencies, see Hamilton, *Latin Church*, p. 367, quoting James of Vitry.

Assimilation was aided by their marriages with local women, which in some, although presumably rare, cases even led to conversion to Islam.[21] The couples lived in houses formerly occupied by Muslims, and the most wealthy among them in castles or fortresses, which they furnished and decorated in the local fashion.[22] The interior of one of the state rooms of John of Ibelin's castle at Beirut, as described by Wilbrand of Oldenburg, had panels and mosaics of Byzantine style, and in the central court a fountain in the shape of a dragon swallowing animals.[23] The appointments of these noble houses must no doubt have been as sumptuous. The precious enamel-painted glass beakers[24] and the many glazed pottery fragments with Christian symbols or figurative scenes that have been excavated at Crusader sites,[25] the precious metal objects, the jewelry caskets, trays, ewers, and basins,[26] the silk fabrics and carpets that once decorated their halls attest to the splendor of their lives. In spite of Foucher's often quoted statement, "We who are Occidentals have now become Orientals," however, the families of Outremer never entirely assimilated. With a few exceptions,[27] their knowledge of Arabic and of the Muslim faith remained superficial. They lost the cultural roots of the West, but acquired only the tastes and habits of the local nouveaux riches.[28]

The luxury goods consumed by these wealthy Latin families were obviously related to the flourishing Muslim arts and crafts. Enamel-painted glass of high quality was produced in Raqqa, Aleppo, Damascus, and other places. From all over Syria came textiles and silk fabrics, underglaze-painted ceramics and tiles. Silver-inlaid brasses with delicate ornamentation were produced in Egyptian, Syrian, and Upper Mesopotamian workshops. Much of the prosperity of these industries has usually been attributed to the opulent and refined taste of the Turkish and Kurdish princes who governed these provinces, and whose names often figure on the brass vessels they commissioned. Among these are the names of princelings like Bahram-Shah, the great-nephew of Salah al-Din[29] or Shihab al-Din al-ᶜAzizi;[30] the Atabeks of the Jazira like Muᶜizz al-Din ibn Sinjar Shah[31] and Badr al-Din Luʾluʾ;[32] sultans like al-ᶜAdil II and al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub. In some cases these names figure on more than one object.[33] Graffiti inscriptions engraved at a later date tell us that

[21] Joinville, *Life of St. Louis*, pp. 123-24, 395-96, mentioning a converted Crusader who had come to Egypt with John of Brienne, had married an Egyptian woman, and, when questioned by John Sarasin, justified himself by claiming that the marriage and conversion had brought him comfort and wealth. For further examples, see Waas, *Kreuzzüge*, 2:240-42.

[22] On Oriental furnishing, much can be learned from S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society* (Berkeley, 1967), vol. 4, *Daily Life*, pp. 105-38. See also the inventory of the Count of Nevers, written in Acre in 1266, which comprises a long list of his personal belongings, many of which had been acquired in the Levant. Published by M. Chazaud, "Inventaire et comptes de la succession d'Etudes, Comte de Nevers (Acre 1266)," *Memoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, vol. 32, 4 ser., vol. 2 (Paris, 1871), pp. 164-206, esp. pp. 166-68; 190-96; 197-206.

[23] On wall and ceiling the natural veins of the cut-marble panels presented illusory patterns of sea waves, undulating sands, and curtains; the mosaics in the fountain formed floral designs. For the translation of the full text, see Oldenburg, *Reise nach Palästina und Kleinasien*, bk. 1, chap. 5, pp. 45-46.

[24] A glass with a Latin inscription is in the British Museum. Reproduced in Prawer, *Latin Kingdom*, p. 394 and plate after p. 436. For similar examples, but with Arabic inscriptions and Christian figures, see Esin Atil, *Renaissance of Islam: Art of the Mamluks* (Washington, D.C., 1981), pp. 126-27, nos. 44 and 45. For perfume bottle decorated with a cross, see ibid., p. 141, no. 61.

[25] For ceramics excavated in Syria, Port St. Symeon (al-Mina), see A. Lane, "Medieval Finds at al-Mīnā," *Archaeologia* 87 (1938): 10-78.

[26] Large numbers of silver and gold vessels are mentioned in the inventory of the Count of Nevers (see above, n. 22); See also Rey, *Colonies franques*, p. 230. where the author states that in 1860 he saw in a private collection in Beirut a golden brooch decorated with two fantastic animals in cloisonné work; it bore the inscription "made by Saᶜad the goldsmith, for the Christian Sir Kiliam (= Guillaume).

[27] For example, Reinaud of Sidon used to employ a Muslim scholar to read and explain Islamic literature and historic texts to him (Waas, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, 2:210-11), and members of religious orders like Yves le Breton served as interpreters to a delegation to the Ismaᶜili Shaykh of the Mountain, see Joinville, *Life of St. Louis*, 458.

[28] Runciman, *Families of Outremer*, pp. 23-25.

[29] Between 1182 and 1228 Bahram Shah was the keeper of Baalbek and faithful vassal of the Ayyubid rulers of Damascus. See Cl. Cahen, "Bahrām Shāh," *EI*², p. 940. For his basin, in the Islamic Museum of Cairo, see D. S. Rice, "Inlaid Brasses from the Workshop of Ahmad al-Dhakī al-Mawṣilī," *Ars Orientalis* 3 (1957): 311, 319.

[30] Generally identified with Tughrul, who from 1216 to the accession of al-Malik al-Aziz in 1232 was the virtual ruler of Aleppo; D.S. Rice, "Studies in Islamic Metalwork, 2," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 15,1 (1953): 66-69; Esin Atıl, *Art of the Arab World*, no. 26; Freer Gallery of Art no. 55.22, ewer dated 629 (1232).

[31] F. Sarre, *Erzeugnisse Islamischer Kunst*, pt. 1, *Metall* (Berlin, 1906), pp. 12-13, pl.6.

[32] For Badr al-Din Luʾluʾ and the works ordered for him, see D.S. Rice, "The Brasses of Badr al-Din Luʾluʾ," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 13 (1950): 627-34. For his period of reign, see Cl. Cahen, "Luʾluʾ," *EI*².

[33] A casket, an incense burner, and a basin are known to carry the name of al-ᶜAdil II, who between 1238 and 1240 was sultan of Egypt and Damascus. For the casket, see Rice, "Inlaid Brasses," p. 319; for the incense burner, see G. Fehérvári, *Islamic Metalwork in the Keir Collection* (London, 1976), no. 129; for the basin, see Rice, "Inlaid Brasses," pp. 301-9. For the objects made for al-Salih, see Atıl, *Art of the Arab World*, no. 27, pp. 65-68.

these brasses remained in the princely households for various lengths of time, and passed from one regal vestiary or buttery to another.[34]

The inscribed pieces certainly represent only a small fraction of the contemporary metal-industry production. There can be no doubt, however, that they reflect the taste and predilections of the Islamic upper class and show shapes, techniques, and decorations that were decisive in forming, not only the taste of the other strata of Muslim society, but of the Christian population as well.

[34] The Cairo basin of al-Salih passed at a certain date into the vestiary of an amir called Sayf al-Din; the Michigan basin of the same sultan carries a graffito of the vestiary of al-Malik al-Mansur, an Ayyubid, Rasulid, or possibly Mamluk prince. A candlestick and a ewer carry graffiti that refer to a lady in the harem of al-Muzaffar at Hama, and one of al-ʿAdil II Abu Bakr's objects was in 1775 in the hands of a Yemenite prince.

CHAPTER TWO

THE ARTIFACTS

Christian symbols and images can be found in Islamic art at an early stage in its development. Crosses with splayed bifurcated arms terminating in circular blobs figure on late-ninth- and tenth-century ceramic vessels and bronzes unearthed in Nishapur and its vicinity.[1] Among the wine jars found by Herzfeld in the royal harem of al-Muᶜtasim's palace, the Jausaq al-Khaqani in Samarra (836-39), four bore the painted image of a bearded man clad in a long hooded monastic vestment and holding a crutch-staff in front of his body.[2] Another human figure in an apparently Christian hooded garment with a curious chain hanging from his inclined head figures on a Mesopotamian luster-painted jar, attributable to the tenth century.[3] Christian imagery also turns up on eleventh- and twelfth-century Fatimid pottery. In addition to a series of small fragments are two more major examples. One is a complete luster plate on the base of which stands an ecclesiastical figure in hooded apparel with wide sleeves. Swinging a censer in his right hand, he clutches an open book and is flanked by a cypress tree whose cross-shaped form further emphasizes the non-Muslim character of the image.[4] The other is a luster-painted pottery fragment that depicts the cross-nimbed head and bust of Christ, raising his right hand in blessing.[5] The large open eyes, the pointed, bearded chin, and the long braided hair framing the face provide him with a spiritual quality associated with early Christian imagery and alien to contemporary Islamic concepts.

The number of early Islamic representations of Christian symbols and images is obviously much larger than this brief list suggests, but they are still not numerous. Isolated examples are scattered over a period of three or four centuries and an area extending from Khorasan in the east to Egypt in the west. The signs and images used are also limited in number, and all of them remained outside contemporary Islamic artistic conventions.

In the course of the thirteenth century, however, Christian imagery becomes a quite conspicuous element in the Islamic decorative repertoire. Linked to a series of eighteen known bronzes and brasses of relatively close historio-geographic and artistic affinities, Christian themes and motifs were adopted and absorbed by Islamic artisans on a large scale, and became fully integrated into their artistic tradition. These brasses depict Gospel scenes, images of the Virgin and Child, and friezes of Christian saints and ecclesiastics, hitherto unprecedented in any media of Islamic art, side by side with traditional Islamic themes. The existence of such representations, like the prominence of this imagery on several of these thirteenth-century metal objects, has certainly not passed unnoticed by art historians and Islamicists.[6] Yet with the exception of the Freer Canteen, unquestionably the most precious of these objects (pls. 73-74), they have not been exhaustively studied. We know next to nothing about their artistic models—whether they were Byzantine or Syrian, monumental or portable. Although we can attach names to some of the artists who executed these works, their religious identity is generally obscure. In particular, none of the most intriguing questions, such as the artistic motivation or the raison d'être of these objects in a Muslim society at

[1] Charles K. Wilkinson, *Nishapur: Pottery of the Early Islamic Period* (New York, 1973), p. 15, n. 48; p. 16, n. 49; idem, "Christian Remains from Nishapur," *Forschungen zur Kunst Asiens* (Istanbul, 1969), pp. 79-87, esp. 82, fig. 4, for bowl with Syriac inscription. A bronze incense burner with a Nestorian cross in its decoration is in the possession of the L. A. Mayer Memorial, Jerusalem, no. M 124-70.

[2] Ernst Herzfeld, *Die Malereien von Samarra* (Berlin, 1927), pp. 83-95. Reinterpreted by D. S. Rice, "Deacon and Drink: Some Paintings from Samarra Reexamined," *Arabica* 5 (1958): 15-33.

[3] Esin Atıl, *Art of the Arab World* (Washington, D.C., 1975), pp. 34-35, fig. 12.

[4] Arthur Lane, *Early Islamic Pottery* (London, 1947), pl. 26A.

[5] Aly Bey Bahgat and F. Massoul, *Céramique musulmane de l'Égypte* (Cairo, 1930), pp. 64-65, pl. 32.2.

[6] The earliest known reference to one of these objects is in M. Lanci, *Trattato delle simboliche rappresentanze arabiche* (Paris, 1845), vol. 2, pp. 141-42; vol. 3, pl. 45.

a specific time, has yet been properly considered.[7]

Because even the most famous of these artifacts are only superficially known and many have never been published, it seems advisable to begin with a detailed, systematic description of all of them and point out those stylistic and iconographic particulars that may eventually lead to their better understanding.

Of the eighteen metal objects with Christian figures in their decoration that have been recorded, four (in Berlin, Cleveland, London, and Edinburgh respectively) are incense burners.[8] Three are trays or plates, two of which have found their way into public collections (the Louvre[9] and the Hermitage[10]); the whereabouts of the third (in private hands at the beginning of the century) is now unknown. Fortunately, a brief description of its decoration is preserved in a short catalogue devoted to the Piet-Lataudrie Collection published by G. Migeon in 1909.[11] It contains a relatively clear photograph, with the help of which the shape and decoration of the tray can be fairly well reconstituted. Three other objects are small cylindrical caskets or pyxides; one is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York,[12] one in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London,[13] and one in the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo.[14] Three are ewers: one in Paris,[15] one in London,[16] and the third in the Museum for Islamic Art in Berlin.[17] Two are candlesticks: one, in Paris, is complete;[18] the other, in Montreal, is a socket for a small candlestick.[19] Of the remaining objects, one is the so-called d'Arenberg basin in the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington;[20] one is a goblet-like vessel, now in Istanbul;[21] and one is a large canteen or pilgrim bottle, also in the Freer Gallery of Art.[22]

The Incense Burners

With the exception of the example in the British Museum, which is 23.3 cm high (pl. 1), the incense burners are relatively small objects. The bodies of the Berlin and the Cleveland vessels measure little more than 5 cm in height;[23] the Edinburgh piece, which has broken feet, is 16.5 cm high. All of them consist of a cylindrical body with a hinged domed cover and rest on three faceted, highly stylized horseshoe-like feet with a ridge across the top. They belong to a type of incense burner inherited from the Byzantines, which had become the predominant type in both Syria and Egypt between the early-thirteenth and the mid-fourteenth century. In all our examples the bodies are solid. The hinged covers, preserved only in the London and Edinburgh vessels, are pierced for the emission of the smoke.[24] These lids are nearly hemispherical and are surmounted by a pear-shaped finial topped with a roundish knob. Under this knob, and between the domed cover and the finial, are disk-like tiers. The knob of the Edinburgh example has a strongly swelling body which approaches a shape favored in early Mamluk Egyptian artifacts. The knob of the London incense burner is squatter and shows flutings reminiscent of the melon-shaped Persian type of dome.[25] Its shape reflects a Syro-Mesopotamian tradition that can also be detected in the surface decoration of this vessel.

7 Ranee Katzenstein and Glenn D. Lowry, "Christian Themes in Thirteenth-Century Islamic Metalwork," *Muqarnas* 1 (New Haven, 1983): 53-68, is a first attempt at dealing with some of them.

8 Berlin, Museum für Islamische Kunst, no. I 3572; Cleveland Museum of Art, no. 37.26; British Museum, no. 78.12-30. 679 (Henderson Bequest); Royal Scottish Museum, no. 1956.518.

9 Musée du Louvre, MAO 360.

10 Hermitage, no. NCA 14 238.

11 G. Migeon, "Collection de M. Piet-Lataudrie," *Les Arts* 92 (1909): 24 and 26, fig. 2, top right.

12 Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 1971.39 A and B.

13 Victoria and Albert Museum, no. 320-1866.

14 Museum of Islamic Art, no. 225.

15 Musée des Arts Décoratifs, no. 4413.

16 Keir Collection; it is better known as the Homberg ewer, named after a former owner.

17 Museum für Islamische Kunst, no. I 6581.

18 Musée des Arts Décoratifs, no. A 4414.

19 Montreal, Museum of Fine Arts, no. 49.50 D.M.2.

20 Freer Gallery of Art, no. 55.10.

21 Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi, no. 102.

22 Freer Gallery of Art, no. 41.10.

23 The Berlin incense burner was published by M. Aga-Oglu, "About a Type of Incense Burner," *Art Bulletin* 27 (1945): 33-35, and fig. 9. I am grateful to Dr. Johanna Zick for providing me with a rubbing that enabled me to study the decoration. For the Cleveland specimen, see Howard C. Hollis, "An Arabic Censer," *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 25 (July 1938): 137-38, photograph opposite p. 135. The article otherwise yields little information. The incense burner in the British Museum has often been reproduced—for instance, in Arthur Upham Pope and P. Ackerman, eds., *A Survey of Persian Art* (London-Tokyo, 1964), pl. 1338D; Douglas Barrett, *Islamic Metalwork in the British Museum* (London, 1949), figs. 21 a & b; Aga-Oglu, "About a Type of Incense Burner," pp. 33-34—but it has never been studied in detail.

24 For a full discussion of Islamic incense burners, see Eva Baer, *Metalwork in Medieval Islamic Art* (Albany, 1983), pp. 43-66.

25 For this differentiation, see Eva Baer, "An Islamic Inkwell in the Metropolitan Museum of Art," in *Islamic Art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, pp. 199-213.

The four objects carry engraved decoration and were originally inlaid with silver, but the inlay is preserved to any appreciable extent only on the British Museum censer. On the Berlin vessel, the traces of this working have almost completely disappeared, as has the inlay on the other two objects, which appear to have suffered from heavy and long wear. To remedy the wear and tear, some recent owner of the Cleveland censer appears to have had the inlay renewed, which of course severely impedes its study.

Arcades with human figures are the most conspicuous element in the decoration of these vessels. With the exception of the British Museum censer, which shows tangent and foiled compartments on body and cover, the arcades consist of semicircular, trefoil, or horseshoe-shaped arches and columns, which in the Edinburgh and Berlin examples have either bulbous or vase-shaped capitals and bases respectively. In this purely architectural framework of long-standing Byzantine tradition are figures carrying crosses, beakers, staves, or books. The number and sequence of these figures differ from one object to the next. They are distributed among twelve, nine, or seven arches. On the Berlin censer is an additional quatrefoil for the allocation of the clasp or handle.

The saints or ecclesiastical figures on the Berlin censer are arranged as follows: the arcade to the left of the empty space contains first a frontally depicted figure (pl. 2) raising both arms in the open gesture of a Christian orans. His head is slightly inclined and haloed. His long garment opens at the front and is held by a belt, and his shoulders are draped in a long shawl which crosses over the breast. A piece of cloth terminating in a triangular shape obviously representing the end of the shawl appears under his right arm; his left hand holds a censer suspended on long chains.

The next figure in a clockwise direction is partly obliterated; all that remains is the lower part of his body in a long, frontally parted gown, from under which his feet protrude. A waving cloth end hangs down on either side of the body. Next is a figure clutching a book or codex to his breast (pl. 3). His right hand is clearly visible at the top right corner of the codex; the left supports the book's weight. His attire—the gown and flying bands—resembles that of the other figures. A similar costume is worn by the personage to his left, whose raised hands, palms facing forward, bring to mind conventional Christian gestures of prayer or surprise. A figure presenting what appears to be a book to the individual on his left (pl. 4) occupies the adjacent arch. His clothes are again like those of the other figures, except that instead of a shawl he seems to be wearing a long chasuble. Whether his hands are covered, as one would expect in a Christological context depicting the presentation of a codex, cannot be determined.

The immobile recipient of the codex faces the spectator. He is dressed like the others, and his hands, folded before him, are covered by the long sleeves of his gown or possibly by a maniple-like shawl. From the other side (pl. 4), he is approached by a figure raising his left hand in a gesture indicating speech. He too wears a long chasuble which reaches to his knees.

The last two arches (pls. 5-6) are occupied by an orans whose gestures and apparel are identical with those of the first image, and by a cupbearer who offers a large beaker to his worshiping neighbor. His shoulders are draped in a chasuble similar to that worn by the fifth and seventh figures.

All the figures have haloes. Because the surface of the object is badly worn, however, it is difficult to determine whether their heads are bare or covered. Though a covered head is presumably the more likely, only the fifth figure clearly wears a headcloth with its ends hanging down at the back. All the faces are obliterated, and there is no way of distinguishing male from female, bearded from beardless.

The incense burner in the Royal Scottish Museum (pl. 7) has also suffered from continuous use and the passage of time. Most of its silver inlay has fallen out, and both the figure below the modern clasp and the section which originally held the clasp show traces of reworking. In spite of these drawbacks, the basic features of the decoration remain clear. First, of the twelve trefoil arches of the arcade occupying the central register of the body, only six display a human image; the alternating ones contain an arabesque design. All the figures are shown in profile. They appear to be walking and to follow their leader, a bearded man who leans heavily on a cane (pl. 8). As far as can be determined from the simple and somewhat crude design, the artist made little attempt to differentiate between the figures. All of them wear long belted gowns and cover their heads with a cloth whose ends almost touch the ground. The leader bends forward as if he were an old man, and is further distinguished by a mantle and undergarment. A similar mark of individuality is assigned to the personage following him, who appears

to wear a chasuble. The last image in the line wears either trousers or possibly a mantle opening below the waist. All are haloed.

Apart from the frieze with figures, the decoration displays no other elements having Christian connotations. Corresponding to the arcade on the body, the central register of the cover shows a frieze of scrolls in openwork intersected by three disks, each of which contains a basket pattern. Guilloche bands of identical width frame the top and bottom register, and good wishes in cursive characters encircle the apex of the dome.

The prominent arcade with Christian imagery in the decoration of the Berlin example also characterizes the third incense burner, in the Cleveland Museum of Art (pl. 9), where this motif again spreads over the entire body of the vessel. Beginning with the arch to the left of the polylobed medallion marking the original place of the clasp or handle, another circle of figures occupies the arcades. First is a bearded sage in a strictly frontal position who supports a cross with his right hand. The object in his left hand is obscured, and his face has been retouched by fresh inlay, obviously applied quite recently. He is flanked by an abraded figure en face who holds a long cross-staff in his right hand. The figure in the third arch seems to be a woman, whose body is again shown frontally (pl. 10) with a slightly inclined head. Raising both arms in the orans gesture, she has a cross-staff on her right which she is somehow supporting. Because of the recent silver inlay, the details of her robe are somewhat indistinct, but the long pieces of cloth which hang under her elbows almost certainly belong to the original garb. She is followed by a bearded sage. Facing left (pl. 11), he balances a flat, book-like object on his right arm and presents it to the figure in the adjacent arch, who stands in strictly frontal pose, crossing his arms before his chest (pl. 12). On the other side this latter image is followed by two men. The first (pl. 13) holds a cross-staff, the second a cross-staff and beaker (pl. 14). In both cases, the heads are turned toward the frontally shown figure in the fifth arch, which represents a kind of center or focus. In the case of the personage who holds a cross-staff in one hand and a beaker in the other, the emphasis however is again on frontality. As in the earlier examples, all the figures are haloed.

The fourth and last incense burner in this series (pl. 1) is of artistically superior quality and has attracted the attention of art historians for some time. The eight and twelve arches on its cover and body respectively each contain a Christian image. All the figures except one appear to be moving counterclockwise. Their feet point in the same direction, and their right-hand gestures are very much alike. None can be clearly identified as the leader, yet their distribution among the arches appears to follow a preconceived plan.

Beginning to the left of the blank medallion is a figure with his right hand on his breast. The space beside the left elbow is damaged. The hand seems to be hidden under the sleeve (or maniple?), and no trace of any object or attribute can be discerned. The personages in the next two arches carry relatively clearly discernible attributes in their left hands. The first (pl. 15) has a long, cone-shaped beaker; his neighbor supports a crosier or staff with a pear-shaped knob at the upper end, which he holds aslant across his body (pl. 16). The adjacent figure (pl. 17) grasps in his right hand the same type of vessel as the second figure. The left side of the arch is damaged; a possible reconstruction of the composition suggests that originally his left hand held the same type of object as figures six and ten (pl. 19). As the posture of the body and the position of the feet indicate, the man in the fifth arch stands frontally (pl. 18). His arms are folded before him, the hands covered by a cloth (or maniple?), and his face is bearded. To his left a cone floats in midair.

The four people in the next arches again carry their attributes in their left hands. The one in the sixth arch holds a trefoil mounted on a short handle, presumably meant as a flabellum (pl. 19). The figure in the seventh arch (pl. 20) carries something very like a cross slantwise before his body; his right hand, instead of gesticulating, casually touches the staff. He is followed by a man swinging a censer (a flat-footed bowl suspended from three chains forming a loop above the grasping hand).

The next compartments contain some paired imagery. The person with a cone in his left hand in the ninth arch corresponds to figure two, figure ten corresponds to figure four, and figure eleven to figure three. Three figures—five, six and seven—are thus single; the others are arranged in what appear to be identical pairs.

With the exception of figure five (pl. 18), males and females wear the same costume: a long-sleeved gown ending slightly above the ankles; a shawl draped from the belt over the right shoulder and back over the left shoulder and breast forming a loop in mid-air close to

the right shoulder and terminating in a half palmette; borders of maniple-like band on the sleeves; and boots. The bearded dignitary has an epitrachelion or omophorion hanging from his shoulders. He too is the only character whose hands are clearly covered with a maniple. All the figures are haloed, and except for number seven, who has a turban-like headdress, they are bareheaded or wear unidentifiable headgear.

The figures on the domed cover basically conform with those on the body of the incense burner and again follow a preconceived scheme. The first and fifth, carrying a staff and censer (pls. 1 and 18) respectively, are single. The other six are paired: numbers two and eight carry a cone-shaped beaker and flabellum; three and seven have a beaker and a staff held slantwise in front of the body; and four and six grasp an object, a beaker, in their left hand.

The inner base of the incense burner is decorated with a roundel of horizontally and vertically running interlaced bands forming a pattern of octagonal stars whose center is marked by an inlaid disk. This central medallion (pl. 21) is surrounded by two concentric bands. The inner one is plain; the outer is filled with radiating petals that provide the star design with a *shamsa*-like border. A guilloche pattern frames this central unit. The rest of the decoration of the incense burner consists of axially composed arabesques and bands of scrolls and guilloche.

Both the Edinburgh and London incense burners have benedictory inscriptions addressed to an anonymous owner around the apex of their domed lids. The inscription on the Edinburgh incense burner reads: *al-izz al-dāʾim wa'l ʿamr al-sālim wa'l-iqbāl al-zāʾ id al-jadd li-ṣāḥibihi* ("Enduring power and full life, continuous well-being, happiness to its owner"). There were presumably similar inscriptions on the two other incense burners whose covers are lost.

The Trays

No uncertainty lingers over the name or title of the owner of the trays. The example in Paris carries the titles and names of the Ayyubid sultan al-Malik al-Salih Najm al-Din Abu'l Fath Ayyub on its upper surface.[26] There is no date, but since al-Malik al-Salih died on November 21, 1249, and since he had been ruler of the Ayyubid empire and had held supreme authority over Egypt and the Fertile Crescent since June 1240, the period between these two dates seems plausible, though by no means the only possibility. As he was ruler of Diyarbakr between 1232 and 1239, these years should also be considered. The tray in Leningrad[27] carries on its shallow cavetto a long, neatly written benediction. It does not specify the recipient of these wishes, but judging by the phrases selected in the invocation one would assume that he must have ranked high in the Ayyubid administration. The inscription reads: "Eternal glory and increasing prosperity and enduring state, and sublime safety, increasing fortune and happy lifetime, and lasting command, and smooth fortune and perfect honor, and complete happiness; abundant wealth, sufficient competence and ample happiness and increasing fortune and abundant welfare. Enduring glory and praise and appreciation and generosity and reward and triumph; protection of the heaven, glory and everlasting prosperity and endurance for you, for you the master, the elevated one and the magnificent, and renewed fortune, eternal nobility."[28]

[26] *Arts de l'Islam des origines à 1700*, no. 153, pp. 104-5 (with some errors in the reading). First correctly deciphered by Gaston Wiet, "Inscriptions mobilières de l'Egypte musulmane," *Journal Asiatique* 246 (1948): 239-41.

[27] Exhibited in Munich in 1910. For a good general view, see F. Sarre and F. R. Martin, *Die Ausstelling von Meisterwerke Muhammadenischer Kunst in München 1910* (Munich, 1912), vol. 2, pl. 153. A. Yakubovkii, "Kashgarskoye blyodo XII-XIIIvv.," *Pamyatniki Epokhi Rustaveli* (Leningrad, 1938), pp. 209-16, also mentions it, but provides no new information.

[28]
1. al-ʿizz al-dāʾim wa'l
2. iqbāl al-zāʾid wa'l
3. dawla al-bāqiya wa'l
4. salāma al-ʿāliya
5. al-jadd al-sāʾid wa'l
6. dahar al-masāʿid wa'l
7. amr al-nāfidh wa'l
8. saʿd al-qāṣid wa'l ka
9. rāma al-kāmila wa'l
10. saʿāda al-nāmir [?]
11. ...[?] al-ṣāfiya wa'l
12. kifāya al-kāmiya wa'
13. niʿma al-sābigha wa'l
14. jadd al-sāʿid ilā [?] wa'l
15. ḥayr al-wāfid [?]
16. al-ʿizz wa'l baqā wa'l
17. shakr
18. wa'l shiā
19. wa'l jud
20. wa'l ʿatāʾ
21. wa'l naṣr waʾ
22. [?] al-samāʾ
23. ʿalā al-ʿizz wa'l-iqbāl dāʾiman
24. wa'l baqā laka āyyuhā al-mawlā al-rafīʿ al-shān
25. wa'l majd wa'l saʿd al-mujaddad ḥālid al-alāʾ

I am grateful to Dr. A. Ivanov for copying the inscription.

Although the third tray has been lost, two facts can be established from the surviving photograph. One is that, like al-Malik al-Salih's tray, it carries two long inscriptions that start on the object's vertical axis and run in two concentric bands: one on the everted rim, and one around the periphery of the base.[29] The other is that the outer inscription is written in naskh characters, and the inner in typical Ayyubid Kufic. I have not been able to decipher either of them, but can at least make out that the inscription on the everted rim consists of royal titles and ends with the name of a dignitary, and that the one on the inside contains blessings.. These were divided into six sections by roundels encircling a rosette-like device.

In size and form the three trays are nearly identical and represent a type, particularly common in thirteenth-century Syria and Egypt, characterized by shallow inner walls, everted rims, and diameters of between 43 cm and 50 cm.[30] Made of brass and inlaid with silver, their flat inner surfaces are divided by concentric rings of varying width that contain medallions, friezes, naskh and Kufic inscription bands, and other decorative motifs. On the Louvre and Leningrad trays (pls. 24, 23) the center is occupied by a floral ornament, a six- and twelve-petaled rosette respectively, from which emanates symmetrically arranged arabesques. In the Leningrad tray these consist of particularly delicate scrolls, split palmettes and blossoms. On al-Malik al-Salih's tray the design is somewhat overloaded and heavy. On the Piet Lataudrie tray (pl. 22) the central roundel is occupied by a twelve-petaled medallion representing an enthroned prince flanked by a pair of attendants and guarded by two facing lions. The prince sits cross-legged, holding the traditional beaker in his left hand and wearing a tall, fur-trimmed hat with a metal plaque in the center—a type of headgear common among the military hierarchy in places under Seljuq-Zangid domination. It seems to have gone out of fashion after the Mongol invasion. The page on the prince's right holds up a trefoil-like object that recalls the trefoil cross or flabellum seen on the incense burner; his companion opposite holds what appears to be a sword slantwise over his shoulder.

Single and paired human figures occupy the next, the widest, register on both trays. On al-Malik al-Salih's tray, each of the twelve polylobed medallions formed by rows of pearls and interlaced with smaller roundels contains figures. The first and the seventh medallion, that is to say the roundels on the vertical axis of the circle, show a galloping rider with a polo stick who is rendered en face. The medallions on the horizontal axis, numbers four and ten, each display a rider in profile, galloping clockwise. Continuing from the vertical axis counterclockwise, the next two medallions each contain combatant pairs. In medallions two and eight, each man carries a bow; in medallions three and nine, two sword fencers raise their shields. In the second and fourth quarters of the circle the images seem to represent pairs of Christians, perhaps ecclesiastics. In five and eleven, the figure on the left holds a staff or crosier and his companion on the right swings a censer. Between them a stemmed bowl is floating in midair. Both figures are bearded. Of the next ecclesiastic pair (medallions six and twelve) only the person on the right appears to be bearded. To judge by number twelve, the better preserved of the two, both men hold a staff in front of them, one with a knob the other with a cross-finial. The figure with the staff also holds an open book; a crescent-shaped stemmed bowl again hovers in midair between them.

The tray is badly worn. The inlay has completely disappeared, and the surface is scratched. As a result the costume of the figures has become obscured, and particular features are no longer discernible. However, one can see (pl. 24) that the distribution of the figures on the Louvre tray adheres to a clearly preconceived scheme by which the vertical and horizontal axes of the circle are marked by mounted riders, the first shown frontally, the second galloping clockwise. In the four

[29] The photograph does not show whether there was a third inscription in the cavetto of the inside wall; if there was, it would obviously increase the resemblance between the Paris and the Lataudrie trays.

[30] Measurements of the Paris tray: maximum diameter 47.2 cm; Leningrad tray: diameter 43 cm. The size of the Lataudrie tray is not known. Another tray of the same type was made for al-Malik al-Muzaffar Yusuf ibn ʿUmar, the Rasulid sultan of Yemen; it is now in the Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo, no. 15153 (ex Harari Collection, no. 12), recently exhibited in Washington, D.C., and New York. See Esin Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam. Art of the Mamluks* (Washington, D.C., 1981), pp. 62-63, for further references to trays of this type. A tray made for Badr al-Din Luʾluʾ has a rim with notched edges; see D. S. Rice, "The Brasses of Badr al-Din Luʾluʾ," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 13 (1950): 632 ff. and pl. 13. It give his regal titles and was therefore made between 1233 and 1259.

quarters the opposite pairs have the same theme: a group of men in combat alternates with a group of Christian figures.

The central register of the Leningrad tray displays twelve pairs of haloed images (pls. 23; 25-36) in tangent foiled and pointed arches. All of them are male, barefoot, and wearing non-Islamic garments; many carry liturgical objects. In all but two arches a bird hovers above the heads of the human figures. In contrast to the Paris tray the pairs are aligned in a continuous frieze running in the direction of the inscription. The frieze is headed by a pair walking to the left; their position corresponds to the beginning of the epigraphic band. In the leading group (pl. 25) both men are bearded, wear similar garments, and raise their right arms across their breast. The head of the figure on the right is covered, his counterpart is bareheaded; his beard is short and not pointed, and the long thumb of his raised right hand is curiously folded over the other fingers. Two gesticulating figures form the second pair. The man on the left has a long pointed beard and seems to be talking. His interlocutor, whose beard is short, appears to listen. Their heads are covered, but they do not wear the same garment. This differentiation by attire recurs in the majority of these paired figures and poses iconographic and stylistic problems which will occupy us at a later stage of this study.

In contrast to the people in the first two arches, most of the others carry objects of liturgical connotation. The most obvious of these are censers (figures five, seven, twelve, fourteen, twenty, and twenty-two) in the form of deep, apparently stemmed bowls with flaring walls, suspended on two strings, and in one case (figure twelve) a vessel with low, straight walls and three feet that hangs from three chains. Seven figures hold a staff. In only one case (figure twenty-four), however, does this terminate in a cross-shaped device. Most of the staves either lack any finial (figures twenty-two, twenty-three) or have a single knob above a cross bar (figures fourteen, sixteen). In two instances this cross bar is also lacking (figures ten, fifteen). Five of the figures carry objects inscribed with two or three lines of pseudo-script. Some of these objects may be interpreted as tablets or books (figures eight, thirteen, twenty-one). The object in the hands of figure nineteen suggests a covered box or pyxis rather than a tablet. The bearded man in the sixth arch (figure eleven) seems to hold a diptych. In the others the letters are Kufic-like; here the diptych carries four pseudo-Greek letters, two on each leaf. One of the men with censers (figure seven) holds up a disk with a long handle, perhaps a liturgical fan, and the person to the left in arch five (figure nine) offers his partner a stemmed bowl or cup.

The combination of figures, like the sequence in which they follow the first pair, seems arbitrary, and no preconceived order or geometric repetition can be discerned. Nor does the design of their clothes allow for a precise description or an analysis of any specific type of attire. Long parallel lines of varying width, short strokes, hooked, S-shaped, and broken incisions into the inlaid silver are applied to give the illusion of a rich drapery, of long pieces of cloth, of blowing shawls, or, in one or two cases, of a pallium or omophorion. The headgear too is ambiguous. It consists of flat, round, or variously pointed caps or keffiyeh-like kerchiefs worn in various ways. Not all the figures seem to be wearing headdresses, but whether they are bareheaded or not can only be firmly established in a few instances. In arch nine (pl. 33), for example, both figures have a knot or small disk above the forehead.

On both the Leningrad and the Louvre tray the figurative registers are bordered by narrow bands. On the latter they carry inscriptions in the panels; on the former they have a particularly charming frieze of pursuing animals—hounds, hares, foxes, lions, cheetahs, and elephants—and imaginary creatures—unicorns, a dragon, and other monsters.

The tray formerly in the Piet Lataudrie Collection (pl. 22) again differs in composition in both its major ring and bordering bands. Its central twelve-lobed medallion forms the background for a princely scene. This is surrounded by twelve-lobed, radially placed panels whose pointed central arches are attached to the lobes of the inner medallion by a double loop. A pair of escutcheon-like pendants appears in each of the interspaces. Alternating radially placed panels display a haloed human figure. Beginning from above the head of the enthroned prince, they show: (1) A figure en face holding up a cross or crosier in his right hand; his left rests at his waist. (2) A figure who rests what seems to be a book on his left forearm as if to present it to another person; a bookstand in the form of a *kursi* floats behind him in midair. (3) A figure who turns to figure two in a gesture of intercession; whether he is the intended recipient of the book is unclear. (4) The figure en face at the base of the vertical axis; his hands rest quietly in front of his body and emphasize his central position in line with the enthroned prince. (5) What appears to be a female facing right with both arms

raised. Although her gesture reminds us of a Christian orans, she seems to hold a fan, or some other small and now unidentifiable object, in her right hand. (6) A figure similar to that in (2) also rests what is apparently a book on his right forearm, but here there is no bookstand.

Neither costume nor stylistic details can be determined on the basis of available photographs, but they do show, first, that all the figures are remarkably attenuated and elegant. They wear nearly identical full-length garments with long sleeves and open slits between belt and hem. Second, there is no clear pattern in their sequences or grouping—no repetition or procession following a leader. The emphasis, it would seem, was placed instead on the connection between the pendants and the center to achieve a radial composition. The vertical axis that runs through the enthroned prince is reinforced by the gestures of the figures in the pendants.

On the Lataudrie and the Malik al-Salih trays the decorative motifs of the concentric registers—the inscription band and the tassel-like pendants or *shamsa* designs—are very much alike. On the Leningrad tray, where the additional animal frieze leaves little space for further decoration, only a narrow band of scrolls separates the inner base of the tray and its cavetto. Similar scrolls and a band of beads decorate the everted rim.

The Boxes

The boxes, unlike the three trays, have no common qualities of shape or decoration that would explain their raison d'être. Between 9 and 10.5 cm high, all three have cylindrical bodies and flat covers with perpedicular flanges.[31] In style and quality of craftmanship, however, they differ considerably, and each poses its own problems. On the beveled edges of both the Cairo and the London pyxides (pls. 37-38) are inscriptions; the pyxis in New York has none. The inscription on the Cairo box is intersected by crosses dividing the text into four sections. It is a dedication to a person whose titles and *kunya* are given, but who is otherwise unnamed. The inscriptions reads, "Made for [or "by the order of"] the elevated shaykh, Crown of the Principals (*tāj al-riʾāsa*) Sayyid Abu'l-Fadaʾil." On the London box the inscription is continuous and contains a corrupt rendering of two verses by al-Nabigha al-Dhubyani, a poet who lived about half a century before Muhammad. The lines are taken from a panegyric composed for Nuʾman ibn Mundhir, the king of Hira.[32] The perpendicular flanges have a not altogether intelligible series of blessings.

Sayyid Abu'l Fadaʾil's box displays a number of odd features. First, on the lid and encircling the body are large crosses whose bars blossom out into the pointed lobes of an encircling roundel. Between these crosses stand two haloed images. One, a bearded, bareheaded man en face swings a censer and holds an open book on which a word, probably *qurʾān*, is engraved twice in cursive characters. His halo terminates in hooks that recall the flaming halo of Buddhist inspiration. The second figure is less conspicuous. He is beardless and walks toward the left, holding a rectangular unidentifiable object on a long handle. Both figures wear wide overgowns with tails caught up, tied around the waist, and then allowed to hang down on either side.

The crosses and human figures are set against a background of arabesques and occupy the full height of the pyxis. The surface is not subdivided into registers, nor are the decorative elements disposed in panels, medallions, or arcades. In Islamic metal objects of this period this is not a common compositional idea, and no parallels are known among any of the extant pyxides that display Christian imagery. On the body of the London pyxis (pl. 38) the surface space is divided into three horizontal registers: a central, 2.5-cm-wide band that carries the major decorative theme, and borders about half its width on either side, one filled with arabesques and the other with pursuing animals. The main register depicts a frieze of twenty-four ecclesiastics walking with crosses, staves, and censers, and two smaller figures who divide the frieze into two equal parts. These are both seated on the ground; their knees are drawn up, and each has one hand raised. Unlike the walking ecclesiastics, these figures have no haloes. Each is flanked by two ecclesiastical figures: in front, a man holding a cross above his head, and behind, a bearded dignitary raising his arm in a gesture of blessing; behind him stand a man with a crosier.

[31] For Islamic box and casket types, see Baer, *Metalwork*, pp. 72-83.

[32] Rice, "Badr al-Din Luʾluʾ," pp. 631-32; see also Eva Baer, "The Ruler in Cosmic Setting," *Essays in Islamic Art and Architecture in Honor of Katharina Otto-Dorn*, ed. A. Daneshvari (Malibu, Calif., 1981), pp. 13-21.

The craftsmanship of the pyxis itself is mediocre: the design and the engraved lines in the silver inlay are coarse. The drapery uses standardized curved and hooked lines and lacks refinement; the faces are stereotypical. The lid, however, is quite refined; it is decorated with delicate interlacings and rosettes with astrological connotations, in keeping with the content of the panegyric inscribed along its edge.[33]

The third, and artistically the most refined, of the boxes is the one in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. It has lost most of its inlay. Set against a background of scrolls and arabesques, undulating bands forming trefoiled, pointed arches, and ovoid partitions occupy the whole body register. The points where the arches converge are marked by crescents that hold the sweeping curves together. Seven of the eight arches contain haloed Christian personages drawn in similar sweeping contours. A condensed version of Christ's Entry into Jerusalem is depicted in the eighth arch (pl. 88). In the center below this arch is a large haloed figure—obviously representing Christ—riding an ass. He is accompanied by three pairs of smaller individuals. One hovers in the upper center of the arch and holds a canopy, or ciborium, above Christ's head. Below, two confronted figures, who have apparently taken off their garments or shirts, stand at the foot of the arch. The third couple follows the rider and greets him with flowering branches. A palm tree, with a curving stem and a large pinnated leaf, stands in front of the rider. Only Christ and the upper hovering figures are haloed.

The single Christian personages appear in the following sequence. In the first arch to the right of the Entry into Jerusalem (pl. 107) stands a woman in three-quarter view. She faces left and with her right hand swings a flat, bowl-shaped censer suspended from three chains. She is followed by a hooded male figure (figure two, pl. 40) who also turns to the left; he holds up his long overgown, and his inclined head and right hand express submission and humility. A woman talking in the opposite direction (figure three, pl. 39) occupies the next arch. She has the same graceful features as the first female figure, and also swings a censer, which in this case is semi-globular and stemmed. Next (figure four, pl. 39) is a strictly frontal, bareheaded man whose short hair is held together by a clasp or knot. He has a long forked beard, and his importance is further marked by a liturgical cross, which he holds slanted across his body, and by his attire—a kind of chasuble wrapped around the shoulders, which crosses over the breast and ends under the elbows in two waving pieces of cloth. An additional pair of bands, each forming a curious rectangular curve, appears behind his shoulders. Another bearded man in profile (figure five, pl. 39) faces the saint on his left. He too holds a liturgical cross and swings a bowl-shaped censer. Two odd features in his attire are his hat, which looks like a pot or helmet and does not fit his head, and the upper garment wrapped under his arm and standing up behind his neck as if it were a double axe or yoke.

A gracious lady moving in the same direction (pl. 40) stands in the adjacent arch. Her body is twisted, and between her right forearm and left hand she holds a book or other rectangular object which she presents to the beholder. A kerchief covers her head, similar to the scarf worn by the other women. It may be part of, or separate from, the shawl wrapped round her shoulders. The seventh and last of the arches is occupied by a bare-headed, supplicating youth in profile, who turn toward the scene of Christ Entering Jerusalem (pl. 42).

The composition and the distribution of the figures in the frieze are symmetrical (pl. 43): a circle is divided into two halves in which the figures are oriented toward the center. At opposite ends are the hooded image (figure six) and the woman with the book (figure two), whose twisted body points in both directions. In the center of one half the circle is the Entry into Jerusalem; in the center of the other is the saint with the forked beard (figure four).

Both the base and the cover of the pyxis are also decorated. The base has a six-pointed star formed by hooked lines in its central medallion; heavily budded, intertwining scrolls cover the remaining surface. The cover has another medallion (pl. 44) in the form of a quatrefoil looped to provide an enclosing circle for three figures: one seated, the second a child on its right thigh, and the third—a man next to the child[34]—who is proportionally smaller and turns toward the other two in a gesture of adoration or supplication. The child is not haloed; the Madonna—if that is who the seated figure is—wears a turban-like cloth wrapped around her head; her halo has scalloped edges, and she sits on the ground with her legs hanging down as if she were sitting on a throne. Heavy scratches and deeply incised contours have been applied to both the child and seated

[33] Baer, "Ruler in Cosmic Setting," p. 17.

[34] Laura T. Schneider, "The Freer Canteen," *Ars Orientalis* 9 (1973): 150 and fig. 26.

figure. Clearly visible on the inside of the lid, these incisions evidently do not result from scraping of the silver inlay, but represent an attempt to rework the design.

The Ewers

The three ewers with Christian scenes belong to a relatively large group of Syro-Mesopotamian and Egyptian metalwork objects made between 1220 and 1322, of which many are signed by artists using the *nisba* al-Mawsili. One of the three, the so-called Homberg ewer,[35] which was recently acquired by the Keir Collection, is signed by Ahmad al-Dhaki al-Mawsili. The year 640 (1242) is inscribed on it; the ewer in Berlin, together with its matching basin, is signed by ᶜAli ibn ᶜAbdallah al-ᶜAlawi and is attributable to the second half of the thirteenth century.[36] The same date is ascribed to the ewer in Paris, which, however, is unsigned.

The ewers in this group are between 34 and 46 cm high. They have wide, downward sloping shoulders, a scalloped collar, a cylindrical neck tapering toward the base, and a splayed foot with a concave profile. Spouts and handles are straight and tubular. The body of the Homberg ewer is decagonal, a feature it shares with two other signed specimens in this series: a ewer by Shujaᶜ ibn Manᶜa, made in Mosul in 1232, and a ewer by Husayn ibn Muhammad, made in Damascus in 1258.[37] The Homberg ewer also seems to be chronologically the earliest in the group, since ᶜAli ibn ᶜAbdallah presumably worked a few decades later.

In view of all these data, it is particularly regrettable that only the Berlin ewer is well preserved and has kept most of its silver and some of its gold inlay, and that both the Homberg and the Paris ewers have been so thoroughly restored, with new silver inlay inserted into the existing undercut cavities and chased in a totally un-Islamic way. The result is not only artistically repellent, but often prevents us from making out the original contours and identifying the gestures, vestments, and attributes of the Christian images. This poor state of preservation permits only tentative interpretations.

On all three ewers the decoration is set into bands of varying width. On the Homberg ewer (pls. 45-48) oblong horizontal panels on shoulder and body show court and hunting scenes respectively. Two friezes consisting of vertical panels—one around the neck, the other around the body—show a Christian image in each of their ten facets. In accordance with the contemporary Islamic tradition, the figurative designs are meant to be read in the direction of the inscription bands, starting at the side of the handle, running clockwise to the spout, and returning to the handle. The latter is conceived as a meeting point, indicated either by the composition or by a small motif. The frieze on the shoulder depicts two groups of princely attendants carrying hunting birds, beakers, lances, or swords and presenting them to an enthroned person, whom they approach from either side. The throne, although the focus of the composition (pl. 49), does not occupy the center, but instead has slipped sideways on one of the flanks, and is awkwardly situated to the right of the handle.[38]

The Christian images on the neck are completely obliterated, and neither gestures nor attributes can be discerned. Somewhat more information can be gained from the lower register (pls. 45-48), where the figures are displayed in an arcade constructed of beaded horseshoe arches and columns in the form of lancet-shaped leaves. Beginning at the arch in line with the base of the handle and moving clockwise are the following figures: (1) a man turning to the left and carrying two pigeons or turtledoves in his covered hands; (2) a figure en face who seems to be clutching a closed book to his chest and carrying an unidentifiable object in his outstretched left hand; (3) a gesticulating person who advances to the left and with his right hand raises the hem of his garment (pl. 46); (4) a bearded man walking in the opposite direction, wearing a wide chasuble over his shoulders and holding a scroll-like object in his right hand; (5) an orans (pl. 47) (the strange band across his—or her—body belongs to the modern inlay); (6) a man raising his hands in supplication; (7) a figure in a similar posture who seems to hold a scarf in his right hand; (8) a male who raises his right hand in oath-taking benediction and holds what appears to be an open codex in his left (pl. 48); (9) an obliterated figure in walking posture; and (10) a hooded man en face (pl. 45) holding a staff vertically in front of his body.

The figures are obviously placed at random, in a casual arrangement that appears to lack any inner

[35] D. S. Rice, "Inlaid Brasses from the Workshop of Ahmad al-Dhaki al-Mawsili," *Ars Orientalis* 3 (1957): 311-16.

[36] Ibid., p. 326, no. 27; p. 325, no. 28; see *Museum für Islamische Kunst*, Catalogue, Berlin, 1971, no. 378, p. 100, and fig. 54, with bibliography.

[37] Rice, "Inlaid Brasses," p. 326, n. 9, and nos. 8 and 16.

[38] Ibid., p. 315.

cohesion, symmetrical concept, or other notion of order. The relations between these registers are two: one is that two of the frontally displayed images, the orans in the fifth and the hooded man in the tenth arch, stand at the opposite ends of an imaginary axis that does not correspond to the obvious one between spout and handle, but is displaced by one facet. The other is that, as a result of this shift, two figures, one at either end of a facet, are aligned: the princely central image in the upper frieze and the hooded dignitary below. This correspondence is surely not incidental.

The decoration of ᶜAli ibn ᶜAbdallah's ewer, its composition, the subdivision of its surface, and the character of the ornamentation are all very different from those on the Homberg ewer (pl. 50). Instead of oblong panels, its three major registers are made up of horizontally connected small and large roundels containing motifs belonging exclusively to the Islamic repertoire. The astrological signs for the six planets, the zodiacal sign of Virgo,[39] and an enthroned figure are in the lower level. Princely themes—two mounted hunters and two enthroned princes flanked by attendants and guarded by lions—fill the upper zone. Similar throne scenes—one without lions—recur on either side of the funnel-shaped neck. On the body of the ewer the pursuing animals and narrow bands of triangles common in thirteenth-century Syrian metalwork separate the major registers; Syrian-style scrolls with ducks and imaginary creatures attached fill the interstices. Around the base of the neck an arcade of trefoil pointed arches containing Christian images alternates with a scroll-and-duck design. They constitute the only Christian motif on the ewer.[40] Altogether there are only five Christian figures: a gesticulating woman who raises her arms in a gesture of greeting; two men with long pointed beards (pl. 51) who face the beholder and fold their arms in front of them with hands hidden in wide sleeves; a figure who leans on a staff to the right of his body; and an orans.

In spite of the inconspicuous role these people play in the overall decoration, they are nevertheless not haphazardly distributed. It would in fact seem that the artist again envisaged a vertical connecting line between the Christian images and those on the upper part of the neck, an imaginary axis that focuses on the bearded, frontally shown dignitaries. On the one flank the figure is exactly aligned with the enthroned prince, but for obvious geometric reasons this axis could not be strictly observed on the opposite side. The parallel figure has thus slipped aside so that the empty medallion coincides with the prince above.

The very abraded decoration on the Paris ewer (pl. 52) offers limited stylistic and iconographic information, but two relatively large Christian scenes in the upper register of the body of the ewer and single images, fitted into each of the ten lobes of the scalloped collar, can be discerned. On either side of the shoulder is a saint flanked by three holy personages. Vaguely discernible contours suggest that one—or even both—of these saints may have originally held a child. In the middle of each of these flanking groups stands a figure (an Evangelist?) with a closed book or codex, escorted by two beings whose attributes can no longer be ascertained. Some of them pay homage to the central saint; one gestures like an orans, and another is an angel.

On the collar the figures are less abraded and at least their gestures can still be made out. Aligned with the axis of the handle and moving clockwise, the frieze begins with an orans with open arms; next is a female in profile raising her right arm, her eyes directed toward heaven. Third is a figure who balances a book-like object on his left forearm, perhaps in order to present it to another person. Fourth is a pacing soldier looking backward, with a lance in his left hand; a piece of cloth from his garment curls round the pole of the lance. Fifth is a figure en face, whose hands and arms are not visible, clad in a long chasuble. Sixth is a figure who again appears to advance toward the previous image to present what appears to be a book. Next is a man apparently carrying a crosier slantwise over his shoulder; next, a figure who appears to be extending his right arm to the crosier presented to him by the next figure; and finally two gesticulating figures with no particular attributes or characteristics. Apart from the orans, who marks the beginning and end of the frieze, the figures appear in no particular order. Specific gestures or groups can be distinguished, however, and seem to be explicable by the iconographic models from which they derive.

The rest of the decoration of the Paris ewer can be divided into two categories: epigraphic bands, such as conventional blessings or pseudo-inscriptions on the

[39] Interpreted by Kühnel as "thronende Figur, die zwei Wedel(?) gefasst hat," see E. Kühnel, Zwei Mosulbronzen und ihr Meister," *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 60,1 (1939): 3.

[40] In Kühnel's article cited above, these figures are cursorily mentioned as "stehende Einzelfiguren." I am indebted to Johanna Zick for drawing my attention to this frieze and sending me detailed photographs.

neck, the spout, and the lower zone of the body; and large polylobed and small quatrefoil medallions, which appear in the same register and allude to courtly entertainment. In the larger medallions are depicted Bahram Gur and Azada on camelback, a theme that enjoyed considerable popularity on thirteenth-century ceramics and metal work;[41] a galloping rider slaying a dragon who attacks him from the rear; a group of acrobats or entertainers performing on the back of an elephant; and a mounted falconer. In the small medallions are pictograms of complementary function, such as kneeling courtiers, musicians, and pages who offer drinks or fruit to an imaginary dignitary. All these scenes appear to form an independent circle, and have no overall relationship to the Christian subjects in the ewer's upper register.

The Candlesticks

The candlestick in the Musée des Arts Decoratifs (pls. 53-56) in Paris is so far the only known object of its kind that is complete. It is signed by an artist, Daʾud ibn Salama, who used the *nisba* al-Mawsili, and is dated 646 (1248). Unfortunately the silver inlay has again been redone, and the figures effaced, so neither garments nor gestures and attributes can be ascertained. In spite of this, however, the object provides some valuable information.

The decoration falls into three categories. The first consists of friezes or arcades, each arch of which contains a single Christian personage; these run around the socket and the body respectively. The second is represented by medallions of varying shapes and sizes in the central register of the body. Four of these are situated at the cardinal points and depict Christian themes; the rest are either pictograms of princely connotation or contain geometric patterns. The third category is a frieze of courtiers circling the center of the neck. In addition to epigraphic bands—benedictions around the circumference of the shoulder for the owner of the candlestick and the artist's signature at the base of the neck—the twelve signs of the zodiac also appear on the shoulder level.

All the scenes in the four largest medallions appear to relate to the New Testament. However, they are so idiosyncratic that precise identification is often impossible. Reading clockwise they are: The Washing of the Child (pl. 83); a scene that may or may not be the Baptism of Christ (pl. 97); possibly the Miracle of Cana (pl. 95); and fourth and last, the Presentation of Christ in the Temple (pl. 56).

The arcades that border this register are drawn with sweeping lines that meet and overlap to form oval and triangular, spandrel-like interspaces filled with a continuous swastika pattern. Single Christian figures—twenty-eight of them at the top and thirty-four at the bottom—stand in the arches. They either gesticulate or carry codices, goblets, or liturgical fans. The gestures of nearly half these figures are those of prayer, and derive from ancient and early Christian orans figures praying with raised and extended arms and hands, or—as in many early medieval works of art—with hands held close to and in front of the breast. In this latter attitude, which occurs twice in the upper and five times in the lower arcade, the hands are not raised as high as in the typical orans gesture and the palms are nearly joined. Apart from figures who point upward, or appear to gesticulate in conversation, there is a slightly bent figure in profile, with a cane (pl. 56); another figure, also in profile, with a long staff; and, in the center of the lower arcade, an individual with two liturgical fans, one in each hand. A similar typological division appears on the socket, where about one-third of the eleven figures are orans, two hold a codex, and five gesticulate but have no recognizable attributes.

In all three friezes the figures are arranged in seemingly random fashion. The only possible exception is the man with the two liturgical fans in the center of the lower arcade. Whether this position is intentional and has some particular function or meaning remains to be seen.

The neck of the candlestick in Montreal (pls. 57-61) is relatively well preserved. Measuring 9.2 cm in height, the socket and neck are cast in one piece and have retained much of the original silver inlay.[42] On the socket and between border of beads are three inscription panels of blessings which express "enduring glory and triumph to the owner of the object," written in fine naskh characters. Roundels with interlocked swastikas occupy the interspaces. Christian personages in trefoil arches appear on the neck. The straight columns, like the vase-shaped capitals of the arcade, resemble those on the Berlin and Edinburgh incense burners; the trefoiled top and bottom lines of the arches underline its

[41] Baer, *Metalwork*, pp. 274-79; Richard Ettinghausen, "Bahram Gur's Hunting Feasts or the Problem of Identification," *Iran* 17 (1979): 25-31.

[42] Diameter at top 4.1 cm; at bottom 4.8.cm; height of frieze 4 cm.

decorative character, and turn the arches into elongated foiled compartments. Although this feature does not recur on any of the extant objects with Christian imagery, it does appear on another object signed by a Mawsili artist—a vase, made in 1259 for a certain Qusta ibn Tudhra[43] by ᶜAli ibn Hamud al-Mawsili. Because this vase (pl. 62) resembles the neck and socket of the Montreal candlestick in other stylistic respects as well, its approximate date can be determined.

Five figures occupy the arched compartments of the Montreal fragment. The first, placed under "*al-ᶜizz*", the first word of the blessings, is a man in profile, facing left. In his left hand he swings a bowl-shaped censer; his right is raised to hold what seems to be a staff or crosier (pl. 57). A small flower behind the man's back may indicate the *cisura* of the frieze. The second panel (pl. 58) shows an obviously reworked figure en face, in an orans gesture. The contours of a cross appear next to the right hand. The third panel (pl. 59) is again occupied by a bearded person. He swings a censer in the direction of the figure in the adjacent arch (pl. 60), who extends both arms toward him in a gesture of supplication or adoration and appears to hold a crosier before his face. Next to the cross hangs a lamp, suspended from the architrave. The fifth and last figure (pl. 61) is so damaged that neither gestures nor posture are clearly discernible, but he seems originally to have faced the beholder, and possible held a cross slantwise over his shoulder. The pot-like vessel to his left is presumably a censer.

All five figures are haloed. They appear to be wearing long, frontally parted overgowns under which the feet are visible, and their shoulders are wrapped in a shawl or cloth whose loose ends hang down at either side of the body. There is no differentiation in terms of garment, and the order or sequence of the figures is obscure. The blessings on the socket and the Christian images are both aligned along the same imaginary vertical axis, but the choice of the single figures seems haphazard. There may, of course, have been another coordination between the neck decoration and the figures on the body of the candlestick, but in view of the fragmentary condition of the object this cannot be ascertained.

The remaining three objects—the d'Arenberg basin, the Istanbul goblet, and the Freer canteen—represent no novelty in Islamic art, and except for the canteen are fashioned in traditional shapes. The d'Arenberg basin (pl. 63) belongs to a series of similar large, graceful basins fashionable among thirteenth-century Ayyubid dignitaries. It is wider than it is deep and has a flat bottom and flanks that curve in slightly and then flare out abruptly again to form a narrow rim.[44] Both the inner and outer flanks of the basin are adorned with decorative bands that divide the surfaces into three major horizontal zones of varying width. The upper registers contain the dedicatory inscriptions, written in Kufic and naskh. The central zones are devoted to the game of polo, epitomized by groups of mounted, enthusiastic polo players galloping wildly in different directions, on the exterior and Christian figures in the interior. The latter stand in an arcade of thirty-nine pointed trefoil arches supported by columns with bell-shaped capitals and flat angular bases. The two lower registers are adorned with delicately drawn split palmettes that form a continuous arabesque frieze. Two narrow bands of pursuing animals and imaginary winged creatures complete the composition. On the outer flanks the animal frieze separates the polo players from the arabesques; inside it adorns the rim.

The artist who made the d'Arenberg basin had a penchant for odd numbers. The inner arcade contains thirty-nine arches; four of the horizontal zones—the two epigraphic bands, the polo players, and the outer animal frieze—are intersected by five medallions, which contain either axially conceived *waq-waq* ornaments, or single musicians, or scenes from the New Testament. What the scenes—which intersect the Kufic dedicatory inscription on the outer wall—depict is not always clear. They show (1) a woman—almost certainly the Virgin—sitting on a bench furnished with a cushion; her inclined head is turned toward an angel—probably Gabriel—who stands behind her with extended arms (pl. 64); (2) a woman—this time obviously Mary—sitting cross-legged on a cushion holding a cross-nimbed child high on her right thigh, and flanked by two angels, both gesturing in adoration (pl. 65); (3) a bearded figure leaning on a staff in his

[43] Florence, Museo Nationale, no. 360. For this detail, see Rice, "Inlaid Brasses," pl. 16h and p. 326, no. 17.

[44] Height 23.3 cm; diameter at rim 50 cm; diameter at base 38 cm. For the different types of Mamluk and Ayyubid basins, see Baer, *Metalwork*, pp. 120-21. Two other basins made for al-Malik al-Salih Ayyub are known, one in the Cairo Museum of Islamic Art, no. 15043, the other in the Kelsey Museum of Ancient and Mediaeval Archaeology at the University of Michigan. The latter was published by Oleg Grabar, "Two Pieces of Islamic Metalwork," *Ars Orientalis* 4 (1961): 360-66, with further reference to basins made for the same sultan. The basin of ᶜAli ibn ᶜAbdallah al-ᶜAlawi, which matches the ewer with Christian figures described before, has straight, less elegantly shaped flanks that testify to a later date.

left hand and extending the right toward an apparently naked figure seated in a rectangular brick manger. Behind the central image stands another gesticulating figure in three-quarter view (pl. 66); (4) a bearded figure riding sidesaddle on an ass (pl. 67) is being greeted by another figure, probably a woman, who leans forward and raises her hand, and followed by a gesticulating male (perhaps an Entry into Jerusalem); (5) a man in three-quarter view who offers an undistinguishable object—perhaps a goblet—to a person who bows as if to accept the drink. To the right stands another figure looking back (pl. 68).

In contrast to the other figure-in-arcade decorations, on the d'Arenberg basin the people in the arches carry neither crosses, censers, nor staves, and only their full-length vestments, their bare heads, and their shawls, draped in a kind of sling to hold one arm, mark them as Christians. Throughout the length of the frieze the figures are arranged in pairs with one odd man out at the end, giving the beholder the impression of an infinite line.

The imagery on the Istanbul cup or goblet (pl. 69) cannot easily be fitted into an established category of Syrian or Ayyubid portable objects. An eight-faceted vessel with straight vertical flanks on a low, splayed foot, its present form may be the result of later alterations.[45] Its shape conforms with a type of Perso-Mesopotamian ewer, represented for instance by a thirteenth-century specimen in the Boston Museum of Art.[46] Christian images appear in the odd-numbered facets of the goblet, and princely scenes in the even-numbered ones in polylobed medallions. The four princely scenes are (1) a human figure seated humbly at the feet of an enthroned prince and presenting him with a casket or book; he is bearded and wears the high, fur-trimmed hat popular with the Seljuq-Zanjid military hierarchy in Syria, northern Mesopotamia, and Anatolia in the first half of the thirteenth century. Behind him a watching page raises a ceremonial sword. (2) A scene in which a domed litter is raised aloft by two deer-like animals. The curtains of the litter are drawn aside and inside is a seated figure; it is guarded by two pages, one on either side of the litter. (3) Three archers at a pool aim their arrows at geese flying above their heads. (4) A dignitary and his oarsman are in a rowboat. The passenger is shown en face and sits cross-legged on a throne; his arms are folded, his hands hidden in his sleeves. His dignity is expressed by this rigid posture. Both men are sheltered by a canopy.

The Christian figures are confined to the upper halves of the remaining facets. Like the people in the Lataudrie tray, they stand in isolated, arch-shaped panels. Two saints—one bearded and one beardless (facets one and three)—turn toward the princely scene (pls. 69-70). The first carries a casket or book that appears to hover above his hands; the other gathers up his mantle. Above the outstretched arm are barely visible contours that suggest he too may have carried an object. Between the facet with the litter and the one with bird hunters stands a bearded orans (pl. 71). Instead of raising his arms in the traditional gesture with the palms facing forward, he turns his hands palms inward. The fourth image is almost certainly a woman—perhaps a deaconess (pl. 72)—who swings a censer. Her full-length tunic and wide chasuble gathered up in front are identical to the vestments of the male saints, but the contours of her body and profile are softer than theirs, and the cloth wrapped round her head seems to be a feminine headdress.

The orans wears an overgown that resembles a chlamys; it hangs down his back and fastens on his breast. He is bareheaded, and his short hair curls up on either side of the face. Because the heads of the other male saints are covered, the temptation is to regard him as a central figure standing in some intrinsic, or at least compositional, relation either to the princely scenes or to the other Christian imagery. This, however, does not seem to be the case. The focus of the decoration is on the enthroned dignitary, whose elevated status is enhanced by the two flanking saints (facets one and three) honoring him with some kind of donation. The orans, who stands between the apotheosis and the archers, is isolated, and apparently haphazardly placed among the other scenes.

The last object (pls. 73-74) is a large pilgrim bottle with a concave, bulging front and a flat obverse. It excells in refinement of workmanship and richness of visual imagery.[47] On it, Christian themes predominate.

[45] Eva Baer, "A Brass Vessel from the Tomb of Sayyid Battal Ghazi," *Artibus Asiae* 39, 3-4 (1977): 299-335, esp. 300-1, provides a detailed study of its shape and decoration; A. Ivanov and others have questioned my reconstruction of its shape.

[46] Ibid., fig. 2.

[47] The canteen was studied by Laura T. Schneider, who also had the brass analyzed and radiographs taken in order to reveal the construction of the object. See "Freer Canteen," Appendix 1, Technical Notes by W. T. Chase. The earliest mention of the canteen dates back to the middle of the nineteenth century (see Lanci, n. 7 above). A good description and good photographs are in Esin Atıl, *Art of the Arab World* (Washington, D.C., 1975), pp. 69-73, and pls. on pp. 69, 70, 72, 73.

The obverse shows the enthroned Madonna and Child, surrounded by three panels with scenes from the life of Christ: the Nativity, the Presentation in the Temple, and the Entry into Jerusalem. These representations are not condensed versions like the Entry into Jerusalem on the Metropolitan Museum pyxis. They are strikely un-Islamic and strongly suggest Byzantine inspiration or models.[48] In the Nativity, the artist concentrated several events related to the birth of Christ—the Journey of the Magi, the Shepherds and Their Flock, the Washing of the Child, the Contemplating Joseph and the Angels—in one panel. The composition is symmetrical; the central axis is formed by the manger and the Washing of Christ. Their centrality is underlined by the pointed, multilobed arch marking the cave. Behind the manger—a rectangular open box that displays the swaddled child—appear the heads of two cows and an ass. They are turned toward Mary, who sits next to the manger and extends her right arm over Christ's head. An angel advances from the opposite side and points to the manger. Facing this upper center are two additional angels on one side, and three mounted Magi advancing from the other. Each rider wears a different type of headgear, and the last in the line gestures as if he had just released an arrow.

In the lower center a fully dressed, cross-nimbed infant Christ sits in a stemmed basin to receive his first bath. He bends his right knee, holds a cross in his left hand, and turns toward Mea who sits on a bench to help in the washing, while Salome pours out water from a big jar. Behind her, on a low stool, sits Joseph with two shepherds behind him. A third shepherd tending three sheep or goats stands in the opposite corner. The background is neutral, and only an undulating line under the crib and two nearly symmetrically placed flowers hint at a rural environment.

In the next scene the Temple, whose three outer domes are shown together with its tripartite inner space, is clearly the site of the Presentation. In the nave and under the central cupola the Christ child sits on the altar and extends his hands and feet toward Simeon. The sage's hands seem to support the child's feet; the mother gestures to the child with her right hand. St. Anne and Joseph each stand in one of the aisles, which appear as separate domed pavilions. To the right Anne, behind Mary, holds a draped cloth representing the traditional scroll; Joseph carries what appears to be a cage, instead of the pair of turtledoves or young pigeons, which, according to St. Luke, he offered to the Lord. Four symmetrically placed angels hover between the domes, and a few flowers and birds serve as space fillers.

Although the Entry into Jerusalem demands a horizontal composition so that the figures can advance in procession across it, the composition adopted by the artist reflects a preference for order and symmetry. Accordingly Christ, riding sidesaddle on an ass toward a domed structure representing Jerusalem, occupies the center. To the right and left he is flanked by a large tree. In its branches and facing Christ is a gesticulating child; two other children—one in front and one behind the ass—spread garments between the animal's feet. The remaining elements of the Entry into Jerusalem appear on either side of this central group. To the right the mounted Christ is faced by two female figures standing in front of the domed aedicule or city gate, the first carrying a child over her shoulder. They raise their right hand in a gesture of greeting which is repeated by two angels who hover above their heads. To the left and behind the children spreading the garments, a third person holds up a blouse decorated with crosses; above him another individual, also in a posture of greeting, advances toward the center.

In accordance with Islamic decorative conventions, the Christian scenes are intersected by roundels containing birds and imaginary creatures attached to irregularly winding scrolls. The two inscription bands, one around the periphery and one between the central medallion and the main register, contain traditional formulas of blessings. They begin at the Entry into Jerusalem, not, as one would expect, with the Nativity scene.

On the reverse (pl. 74) the decoration of the canteen is contained in two concentric bands. In the central band, nine mounted horsemen are galloping counterclockwise; in the other an arcade formed by twenty-five pointed, lobed arches and narrow columns with oval bases and capitals has a single figure of obviously Christian origin standing in each arch. The arrangement, not to mention the meaning and models, of these figures is odd. They do not form groups, nor are they arranged in any clearly discernible order. One could begin with the warrior saint just under the neck

[48] They have been studied by Dimand and Schneider among others; M. S. Dimand, "A Silver Inlaid Bronze Canteen with Christian Subjects in the Eumorphopoulos Collection," *Ars Islamica* 1 (1934); Schneider, "Freer Canteen."

of the bottle and continue counterclockwise, following the logical sequence of the scenes on the canteen's face, but one could with equal justification start with the praying figure shown frontally at the left end of the imaginary horizontal axis (figure number seven), whose position coincides with the beginning of the inner inscription, more or less above the head of the Madonna.

The first alternative, however, has the practical advantage of beginning the rider frieze in the inner circle. It starts with a frontally shown warrior or soldier (figure one), who points the sword in his left hand down toward the ground and raises his right hand. He wears a tight-fitting garment that is fastened around his breast with a draped cloth; the lower part of his attire resembles a wide, curiously stylized shirt. He seems to wear gaiters. Next to him stands a bearded, bareheaded dignitary (figure two) who advances to the left. He is clad in a long, richly pleated mantle or chasuble, holds what is probably a book in both hands, and faces the beholder to whom he seems to be presenting it. He is followed by a male (figure three) whose left arm rests in the folds of his mantle. The figures numbered four and five are female. Number four turns her face back and holds a domed receptacle, presumably an incense burner, with a handle attached to it; five raises both her hands in a gesture of prayer or adoration. Six and seven lack any particular attributes. Seven, the en face praying figure that is the other possible starting point of the frieze, wears a pointed cap or hood. Next to him a man (figure eight), clad in a cape over a long-sleeved tunic-like garment reaching to his knees, holds a cone-shaped vessel in his extended hands. Nine is again richly clad in a long, wide overgown, but no particular attribute is visible.

In the following eight arches (figures ten through seventeen) the order of the images appears to be less random. In the core of this section, saints (one of them, number fifteen, a female swinging an incense burner) alternate with people carrying an open scroll (figure twelve) and a stemmed cup (figures fourteen and sixteen). The figure with the open scroll and the one next to him (figure thirteen) are differentiated from the rest by their short robes. The woman who swings the censer (fifteen) is distinguished by a wide collar or possibly a cape, fastened at the neck with a clasp or brooch. The figures at either end of this centrally placed core carry no attributes.

In the following arches the figures are again chosen at random. One (number eighteen) carries a closed book or casket, holding it by the corner. To judge by their attire and weapons, the next two figures (numbers nineteen and twenty) may represent warriors or soldiers, although features such as the Mongolian hat of the swordbearer and the scarf of the man with the lance appear somewhat at odds with such an identification.

None of the remaining figures is marked by a particular object or attribute. One of them (number twenty-four) is an angel who appears to be advancing toward a female figure to his left whom some have identified as representing Mary.[49]

In the inner circle nine riders gallop counterclockwise. They are headed by an archer, who is shown directly under the spout of the vessel. To indicate the *cisura* in the composition, the artist placed a single plant in front of the first horse. The riders are armed and depicted in the act of fighting. Two carry bows; the rest throw lances with gonfalons and streamers. With the exception of the mount belonging to a lancer (number 4) wearing a curious hat or helmet, the lancers' horses all wear heavy, richly decorated caparisons. The archers' horses are equipped only with light saddlecloths.

In addition to the two Kufic inscriptions on the face of the canteen are two other decorative motifs: entertainers, musicians or drinkers, seated in interlaced roundels on the shoulder of the canteen; and an inscription band on the flank of the shoulder. The letters of this inscription have been transformed into humorously drawn human beings, animals, and imaginary beasts fighting, dancing, and performing all kinds of comic acts. Springing from the roots of the letters, they have invaded the script to such an extent that the letters at the base of the band are hardly recognizable.[50] In contrast to the rest of the decoration, these two motifs were part and parcel of the thirteenth-century repertoire of Islamic metalworkers. The almost complete obscuring of the letters by fanciful human and animal forms suggests that the canteen was not made before the third decade of the thirteenth century, when this type of script was adopted by Mesopotamian and Syrian metalworkers.[51]

[49] Schneider, "Freer Canteen," p. 143. Atıl suggested the Visitation instead of the Annunication, *Art of the Arab World*, p. 71.

[50] Esin Atıl tells me that the inscription will soon be published.

[51] Baer, *Metalwork*, pp. 204-7.

Dates and Origin of the Objects

Generally speaking the bronzes appear to be products of Syrian workshops active in the second half of the thirteenth century, and two of them even confirm that date—the Homberg ewer is dated 640 (1242) and the Paris candlestick 646 (1248), and two others are dedicated to the Ayyubid sultan al-Malik al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub, and therefore cannot be later than 1249, the year he died. Their shapes also correspond with what is known from extant contemporary examples. The four incense burners, for instance, resemble contemporary Syrian specimens of which two are actually dated—one to 1243-44,[52] the other to between 1238 and 1240, the short reign of the Ayyubid al-Malik al-ᶜAdil Abu Bakr II, for whom it was made.[53]

The shape of the Paris and Berlin ewers matches that of vessels produced from at least the 1230's to the beginning of the fourteenth century. The broad, round shoulders, the scalloped collar, and the neck with swelling ring and socket-like upper section that appear on the Paris ewer (pl. 52) are already featured on a ewer of ᶜUmar ibn Hajji Jaldak dated 623 (1226),[54] and remain characteristic elements of Mamluk thirteenth- and fourteenth-century objects as well.[55] The more elegant, tapering neck with the concave, double-tiered rim of the Berlin ewer (pl. 50)—an object which, because of its gold inlay and type of decoration should be assigned to a late-thirteenth-century date—already appears on much earlier examples, like the Cleveland[56] and Freer Gallery[57] ewers from 1223 and 1232 respectively. Like the ewers, the candlesticks, pyxides, and trays also hardly deviate from what is known of contemporary works of art.[58] One of the three large-size trays belonged to Najm al-Din Ayyub and therefore almost certainly dates from the 1240's. The fashion for these large shallow trays with everted rims was not restricted to the thirteenth century, so their shape alone does not provide precise chronological or geographical data.[59]

The Syrian origin of our objects in the middle to late thirteenth century is equally borne out by their ornamentation. It is always arranged in parallel registers containing single or horizontally linked medallions or arches into which the respective motifs and themes are fitted.[60] Most of these motifs are well known from contemporary Ayyubid and early Mamluk metalwork.[61] They comprise T or key patterns, swastikas, Greek meanders, or basket weaving to cover small areas;[62] heavily budded scrolls spreading out

[52] Barrett, *Islamic Metalwork in the British Museum*, fig. 15c; see also Aga-Oglu, "About a Type of Islamic Incense Burner," p. 32 and fig. 6.

[53] G. Fehérvári, "Ein ayyubisches Räuchergefäss mit dem Namen des Sultan al-Malik al-Adil II," *Kunst des Orients* 5 (1968): 37-54; cf. idem, *Islamic Metalwork*, no. 129 and color plate H with further bibliography.

[54] New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 91.1.586; see Rice, "Inlaid Brasses," pl. 14a and Appendix 5.

[55] For a good Mamluk example, see Atıl, *Art of the Mamluks*, no. 19, a ewer for an unknown amir in the Cairo Museum of Islamic Art, no. 15089; the ring is an Ottoman restoration. See also the ewer by ᶜAli ibn Husayn ibn Muhammad al-Mawsili, made for the Rasulid al-Muzaffar Yusuf, dated 674 (1275); G. Migeon, *Manuel d'art musulman* (Paris, 1927), vol. 2, p. 85, fig. 261.

[56] For Cleveland ewer, see Rice, "Inlaid Brasses," pl. 1.

[57] Freer Gallery of Art, 55.22; made by Qasim ibn ᶜAli, the *ghulam* of Ibrahim ibn Mawaliyya al-Mawsili, ruler of Diyarbakr in 629 (August-September 1232). For a good reproduction, see Atıl, *Art of the Arab World*, no. 26.

[58] Dated Syrian, Mesopotamian, Egyptian, and Iranian candlesticks from between ca. 1200 and ca. 1300 have the same standard shape. A fourteenth-century Iranian example in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, no. 55.106, is dated 708 (1308). A Mesopotamian example, also in the Boston Museum, no. 57.148, dates from 1225; see D. S. Rice, "The Oldest Mosul Candlestick," *Burlington Magazine* 91 (December, 1949): 334-340, and idem, "Inlaid brasses," pl. 14b.

[59] Four trays bear the name of the Rasulid Yusuf ibn ᶜUmar, who ruled between 1250 and 1295. Three of these trays are in the Cairo Museum of Islamic Art, nos. 4022, 15153, and 3155 (Atıl, *Art of the Mamluks*, p. 62). In contrast to the thirteenth-century pieces, early-fourteenth-century trays have no shallow walls, and the everted rim rises directly form the flat base. An example is the tray in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 91.1.602, made for the Rasulid al-Malik al-Muʾayyad Daʾud (1297-1321); see Rice, "Inlaid Brasses," Appendix, no. 26.

[60] Only three objects do not have this motif: the London and Cairo pyxes and the Paris tray of al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub.

[61] See, for instance, Aga-Oglu, "About a Type of Islamic Incense Burner," pp. 28-45; Rice, "Inlaid Brasses," esp. pp. 322-25; Baer, *Metalwork*, 296-97.

[62] Dated thirteenth-century examples range between 1232 (Blacas ewer) and 1282 (candlestick in the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo, no. 15 127, made by ᶜAli ibn Husayn ibn Muhammad al-Mawsili; see Grace D. Guest and Richard Ettinghausen, "The Iconography of a Kashan Lustre Plate," *Ars Orientalis* 4 (1961), pl. 8, figs. 26-27. For swastika and basketweaving in small roundels, see also the Blacas ewer and the box made for al-Malik al-ᶜAziz, the Ayyubid sultan of Aleppo, between 1216 and 1236. For the box, see U. Scerrato, *Arte Islamica a Napoli* (Naples, 1967), no. 7. A candlestick by ᶜAli ibn ᶜUmar ibn Ibrahim al-Sankari, dated 717 (1317) in the Benaki Museum, Athens, no. E 421, is an early-fourteenth-century example; see Rice, "Inlaid Brasses," Appendix, no. 25.

irregularly or heraldically along a vertical axis;[63] borders in the form of bands of pearls; Greek meander and lanceolated leaves;[64] densely spaced spirals, hooked scrolls,[65] and neutral backgrounds enriched by superimposed flowering stalks.[66] Animated scrolls, equally popular on this type of metalwork, occur on only three of these examples. On the Freer basin the scrolls are arranged heraldically, on either side of a central, vegetal axis carrying two or three human or animal masks (pls. 64-68). On the Berlin ewer (pl. 50) the bird and animal heads revolve, as it were, around a central rosette; on the canteen, the scrolls and animal protomes are casually distributed and follow no clearly conceived pattern (pl. 73).[67]

Except for the Berlin and the Cleveland incense burners and the New York pyxis, all the objects carry inscriptions. The London pyxis has a pseudo-inscription; the rest carry inscriptions written in plain Ayyubid Kufic and naskh characters. In addition to these inscription bands, the artists of the Freer canteen and Istanbul goblet had recourse to the animated script. This type of zoomorphic and anthropomorphic inscription again has close parallels on circa mid-thirteenth-century Ayyubid metalpieces.[68]

In spite of the numerous elements the objects share and which associate them with other objects of their time, they do not form a homogeneous group. They differ in workmanship and artistic quality. Some, like the Freer canteen or the New York pyxis, have graceful, exquisitely drawn figures in rich garments; others, such as the images on the Cairo and the Victoria and Albert Museum pyxis are clumsy. On the bodies of the Paris and Berlin ewers (pls. 52, 50) the figures are short; they have roundish faces and are drawn with angular contours. In contrast, those on the Paris candlestick and the Cleveland incense burner are slim, have elongated bodies, and oblong faces. The themes and motifs are variously arranged, and range from repetitive figures set in arcades or arched medallions to complex compositions based on sophisticated iconographic concepts. This stylistic and iconographic diversity is intimately linked with the purposes and clientele for which they were intended.

[63] Among the earliest dated examples on which heavily budded scrolls are used for surface decoration is a ewer by Ahmad ibn ʿUmar dated 620 (1223) in the Cleveland Museum of Art, no. 56.11. An early-fourteenth-century example is the candlestick in Athens (above, n. 62).

[64] The band of pearls first appears on a ewer in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 91.1.586, dated 623 (1226). A candlestick by Muhammad ibn Hasan, dated 668 (1269-70) in the Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo, no. 1657, is a relatively late example. The lanceolated leaf border recurs on many thirteenth- and fourteenth-century objects.

[65] The densely spaced spirals, together with other background patterns such as hooked or blossoming scrolls, were extremely popular at that time, and occur on most of the objects mentioned.

[66] This background treatment is documented before the Blacas ewer on a candlestick by Abu Bakr ibn al-Hajji Jaldak from 1225, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 57.148. It occurs on five of the objects: the Freer basin, the Paris candlestick and ewer, the Homberg ewer, and the Metropolitan Museum pyxis. Three of these works date from the 1240's.

[67] The earliest known dated example of a heraldically arranged *waq waq* design appears on a ewer by ʿUmar ibn Jaldak. An early fourteenth-century parallel is on a Rasulid tray by Husayn ibn Ahmad ibn Husayn al-Mawsili, now in the Metropolitan Museum, no. 91.1.602 (see above, n. 59). A parallel to the design on the Berlin ewer occurs on the Cairo candlestick from 1269-70 (see above, n. 62). For the casual distribution of animal protomes, see for instance the interior of a basin made for the Ayyubid al-Malik al-Salih (Grabar, "Two Pieces of Islamic Metalwork," p. 363 and fig. 3).

[68] The closest parallel to the canteen occurs on the Blacas ewer; see D. A. Rice, *The Wade Cup in the Cleveland Museum of Art* (Paris, 1955), p. 31 and fig. 29a-j. Parallels to the Istanbul goblet appear on the Fano cup, ibid., fig. 28, and the basin of Daʾud ibn Salama from 1251 in Paris, ibid., fig. 30.

CHAPTER THREE

THE CHRISTIAN IMAGERY: ITS MODELS AND MEANING

The Christian imagery on the Ayyubid brass objects falls into two categories: scenes that relate to the Life of Christ and friezes of ecclesiastical figures reminiscent of sages.

New Testament Scenes

The brass vessels provide us with eight scenes, or groups of figures, that relate to the life of Christ: the Annunciation, Nativity, Presentation in the Temple, possibly a Baptism scene, the Entry into Jerusalem, possibly a Resurrection of Lazarus, possibly a Marriage of Cana, and a Virgin and Child. Three of these themes—the Annunciation, the Presentation in the Temple, and the Entry into Jerusalem—occur two or three times, and the Virgin and Child comes in four variations. The other scenes turn up only once.

From a Christological point of view, most of the scenes are incorrectly presented or otherwise misunderstood. Seen through Muslim eyes, however, whether the artist's or the viewer's, they take on their own raison d'être.

The Annunciation

In one of the five medallions on the outer surface of the Freer basin is a picture of a seated woman with an angel approaching her from the rear. The woman—almost certainly the Virgin—wears a full-length gown. Her right arm rests in the folds of her mantle, and in her right hand she holds a spindle in the form of a haft topped with a triangular finial. A piece of cloth floats above her knee, and her inclined head appears to be veiled. Behind the Virgin, the Archangel Gabriel is drawn as a full-sized winged figure gesturing with outstretched hands.

On the whole the scene on the Freer basin conforms with earlier, as well as more or less contemporary, artistic representations of the Annunciation, as seen, for example, in a Coptic Gospel illuminated in Cairo in 1249-50 (pl. 75);[1] a mid-thirteenth-century Syriac manuscript in Deir Zaʾfaran (pl. 76),[2] and an earlier Gospel dated 1179-80.[3] At the same time the pictogram on the Freer basin has a number of iconographically odd features. For one thing the depiction, which is based on the apocryphal Gospel of James (11:1) common in Eastern Christianity, shows the spinning Mary in her second encounter with the Archangel, which occurred, according to this Gospel, in her house, and not in the fields. In the pictogram, on the other hand, the figures are set against a neutral background, in which two flower stalks, one on either side of the bench, seem to suggest a rural setting. Another oddity is Mary's veiling which, although its end floats, as it were, in midair, resembles a coiffure more than it does a headcloth. The Virgin sits on a bench-like piece of furniture, whose curiously shaped feet and low back belong neither to bench nor throne. Finally, against all iconographic convention, the Archangel does not carry a stave or crosier, but approaches Mary empty-handed.

The other version of the Annunciation is contained in the arcade on the back of the Freer canteen; it consists of two figures—an angel and a saintly woman—standing in two adjacent arches (pl. 74, figures twenty three and twenty four). They are depicted in three-quarter view, turning toward each other. The angel, who is again empty-handed, extends his right arm toward the woman, who inclines her head. Her right hand is folded over her breast, and her left is raised as if she were holding an object such as a spindle, but it is empty.

[1] Paris, Institut Catholique, ms. copte-arabe 1, fol. 106r. The strip contains from left to right: the Annunciation of Zachariah; the Annunciation to Mary, and the Visitation. J. Leroy, *Les manuscrits coptes et coptes-arabes illustrées* (Paris, 1974), p. 157, publishes the entire manuscript; p. 167 and pl. 86

[2] Painted about 1250; see J. Leroy, *Les manuscrits syriaques à peintures*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1964), vol. 1, p. 371; vol. 2, pl. 127,1.

[3] Idem, *Manuscrits coptes*, p. 113, pp. 133-34 and pl. 61,2.

Representations in which the Virgin, either empty-handed or occupied with her spindle, stands in front of her throne recur in Syriac manuscripts (a connection with the Annunciation in the Syriac manuscript 559 [pl. 77] in the Vatican has already been noted[4]) and Cappadocian wall paintings. In the absence of other essential iconographic elements, such as a throne, bench, or flying bird, and the complete containment of the scene in the arcade separating the two protagonists, the interpretation of these figures as Archangel and Virgin and the whole as the Annunciation must remain conjectural.

The Nativity

The Birth of Christ, as it appears in one of the medallions on the face of the Freer canteen (pl. 78), includes all the main elements related to that event: Mary and the animals at the crib, the Washing of the Child, the Shepherds and the Three Wise Men, a contemplative Joseph, angels hovering over the scene, and a cave—an element that iconographically relates the design to an Eastern tradition which, like the Annunciation, ultimately stems from the Apocrypha.[5] In her monograph on the Freer canteen, L.T. Schneider has demonstrated that the scene follows Syrian models such as the Vatican Syriac manuscript 559 (dated 1219-20). In particular she draws attention to the crescent-shaped basin in which Christ is bathed; the pouring of water from a vase without actually showing the water flowing, and the group of two shepherds at the lower right corner of the composition, one clasping the other about the neck and pointing upwards—features shared with the Syriac iconographic tradition as it is reflected in manuscript illuminations.[6]

When wall paintings and mosaics in other parts of the Byzantine world are included, however, the picture that emerges becomes less clearcut than Schneider implies. First of all, the cave setting is not exclusive to Syria, but is a common feature in eleventh-to thirteenth-century Byzantine paintings and mosaics from Salonika[7] and Palermo[8] (pl. 79) to Cilicia[9] and Armenia.[10] In addition, both Mary and the Three Wise Men on the canteen differ iconographically from the same characters in the Syriac manuscripts. In the two Syriac Gospels (Vat. Apost. Syr. 559, fol. 16r and BM Add. 7170, fol. 21r) Mary reclines in front of the manger (pl. 80). She lies stretched out, resting her head on her left arm, touching her elbow with her right hand, and turning her head toward the approaching Wise Men. There is no spatial or inner relation between mother and child. On the canteen, on the other hand (pl. 78), Mary appears to the left of the manger. She is seated rather than reclining, facing the child and stretching her right arm over his head, an odd gesture that suggests a model close to the mosaic Nativities in the Martorana or the Cappella Palatina in Palermo (pl. 79),[11] where a half-seated Mary turns back to the Child which she protectively touches with both hands. The Freer artist drew Mary bareheaded, however, instead of using the common, veiled type.

Instead of the Adoration of the Magi, which appears in the two Syriac Nativity illuminations, the canteen artist depicts their journey. Seen approaching on horseback in the top left corner, they each wear a distinctive headgear that indicates their age. The leader, who is the oldest, wears a high, pointed Phrygian cap with a flying band, which rather resembles the Islamic *sharbūsh* of the time.[12] The second rider wears a small triangular cap; the third and

[4] Laura T. Schneider, "The Freer Canteen," *Ars Orientalis* 9 (1973): 143 and fig. 13.

[5] E. Hennecke, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung* (Tübingen, 1959), vol. 1, p. 287, James 18:1. The connection between the cave and the Apocrypha was also noted by Schneider, "Freer Canteen," p. 140.

[6] Schneider, "Freer Canteen," pp. 140-41.

[7] For Salonika, Church of the Holy Apostles, see for instance, Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne, "Iconography of the Cycle of Infancy," *The Kariye Djami*, vol. 4 (New York, 1975), pp. 216-18 and fig. 41.

[8] For Palermo, see Otto Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration* (London, 1948), p. 656.

[9] For Cilicia, see, for example, the wall paintings in the Church of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste at Sovis, dated 1216-17; G. de Jerphanion, *Églises rupestres de Cappadoce* (Paris, 1925), vol. 2, pt. 1, pp. 161, 164, and album, p. 162, 2. Better reproduced in M. Restle, *Byzantine Wall Paintings in Asia Minor* (Recklinghausen, 1967), vol. 3, no. 45, pls. 417, 418. Cf. Cilician Gospel, Istanbul TKS 122, copied in 1273 at Skevra for the superior of the monastery of Ter Simeon, fol. 11v, published by Sirarpie Der Nersessian, "Un évangélie cilicien du 13e siècle," *Revue des Études Armeniennes*, N.S., vol. 4 (1967): 103-19 and pl. 18, fig. 19.

[10] For Armenian manuscripts see, for example, the Queen Keran Gospel in the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem, no. 2563, fol. 21, copied in 1272; Der Nersessian, "Miniatures ciliciennes," p. 9 and fig. 18; idem, *Art Arménien*, pp. 144-50 and figs. 104-7.

[11] See note 8.

[12] For *sharbūsh*, see R. P. A. Dozy, *Dictionnaire detaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes* (Amsterdam, 1845), pp. 220-24.

youngest is bareheaded. This traditional Byzantine feature—the Phrygian cap goes back to the fourth century[13]—suggests that the artist must have seen Byzantine versions of the theme. The youngest of the Three Wise Men gestures as if he had just released an arrow; in the artist's model he was probably pointing to the Star of Bethlehem, a motif not shown on the canteen.

One odd feature of this scene, already observed by Schneider,[14] is that there are three animals behind the manger instead of the usual two, the ox and the ass. Schneider's suggestion is that the additional animal came from thirteenth-century manuscripts, such as the Sacramentary in the Vatican[15] where a sheep appears behind the ox and the ass. The third animal behind the manger also occurs in at least one other example: the early-fifteenth-century Tetra Gospel kept in the St. James Cathedral of the Armenian Patriarchate in Jerusalem (pl. 81),[16] where a cow with long curving horns appears between the ox and the ass. The source for this iconography—if it is an iconographic element at all, and not merely a decorative feature—is unknown.

Another peculiar detail in the Nativity scene on the canteen is that the fully dressed new-born infant receiving his first bath sits in the basin with one knee drawn up as if he were about to step out (pl. 78). Neither the Syriac manuscripts not any of the known Christian representations account for this odd posture. The artist presumably excerpted the image with the drawn-up knee from another context, most probably from his own repertoire of motifs, such as the crouching groom (pl. 82) who is depicted on a number of contemporary Islamic brasses.[17]

Finally, one wonders why the artist failed to depict the radiance which in both Syriac manuscripts, as in all other Christian representations of this scene, emanates from the star of Bethlehem and illuminates the manger and child.[18] Was this merely lack of space, or did the artist have religious scruples?

The Washing of the Child, extracted from the Nativity and taken out of any narrative context, recurs on the Paris candlestick (pl. 83) contained in one of the major medallions. Two veiled women—the midwives Mea and Salome of the Christian tradition—stand on either side of a stemmed basin, slightly inclining toward the Child. The latter sits erect, facing the beholder, and raising his left hand; his right arm rests in his lap. Winding scrolls and heraldically placed, superimposed flowers form the background. Apart from the modern silver inlay applied to all the medallions on this candlestick, two aspects of this design appear contradictory to, or inconsistent with, medieval Christian conventions. One is the separation of the scene from the Nativity, for which only very few Christian parallels can be cited. The other is that in the medieval Christian models known to us, only Salome, the midwife who pours the water, is standing.[19] Mea is normally seated, holding the infant on her lap or supporting him in the water. This differentiation is even retained in a Syriac manuscript of rather provincial character, in which a seated Mea seems to be floating in midair, with no stool, bench, or rock to support her (pl. 84).[20]

The Presentation in the Temple

Luke's account of the Presentation in the Temple (Luke 2:22-39) occurs on two metal objects. The first and more concise version on the Paris candlestick encloses the four protagonists in a multilobed medallion, drawn against a neutral background of

[13] Among the early examples, is a fourth-century sarcophagus in the Lateran Museum in Rome and a fifth-century Syrian ivory carving in the Victoria and Albert Museum. The latter is reproduced in O. Kastner, *Die Krippe* (Österreichischer Landesverlag, 1964), figs. 2 and 12. For a sixth-century ivory binding, see the Etchmiadzin Gospel in Erevan, Mathenadaran 2374, reproduced in Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *Armenian Art* (London, 1978), p. 77, pl. 50.

[14] Schneider, "Freer Canteen," p. 140.

[15] Vatican City, S. Pietro F. 13; published in E. G. Garrison, *Studies in the History of Medieval Italian Painting*, vol. 2, no. 3 (Spring 1956), fig. 154.

[16] After H. Kehrer, *Die heiligen drei Könige in Literatur und Kunst* (Leipzig, 1909), vol. 2, p. 96, fig. 90. This miniature is mentioned in Kastner, *Die Krippe*, p. 114 and n. 666. Kastner provides a number of conjectural interpretations for the horned animal in the Armenian manuscript, none of which is convincing.

[17] See, for instance, the ewer in the Walters Art Gallery, no. 54.456, made by Yunus ibn Yusuf al-Mawsili, dated 644 (1246-47). See Grace D. Guest and Richard Ettinghausen, "The Iconography of a Kashan Lustre Plate," *Ars Orientalis* 4 (1961), fig. 12.

[18] Matthew 2:9-10; see also James 21:1,3.

[19] This applies to mosaics like those in Salonika, the Church of the Holy Apostles, and the Cappella Palatina; to murals in Cappadocia like those in the Church of the Forty Martyrs; to book illustrations; and to portable objects. For the last, see the tenth-to-eleventh-century diptych in the Hermitage reproduced in A. Banck, *Byzantine Art in the Collections of the U.S.S.R.* (Leningrad-Moscow, 1966), pp. 355-56 and pl. 141 (ex Basilewsky collection). For other iconographic parallels, see G. and M. Sotiriou, *Icons du Mont Sinai*, 2 vols. (Athens, 1956-58), vol. 1, pp. 39-40, and many more.

[20] Berlin, Preussische Staatsbibliothek, ms. syr. Sachau 220, fol. 6v; Leroy, *Manuscrits syriaques*, vol. 1, pp. 341-42, and vol. 2, pl. 115,2.

scrolls (pl. 56). In the center stands Mary with the Child and Simeon; the latter leans forward to receive the infant with his covered hands. To the right behind him the prophetess Anna is obscured by modern inlay; she is bearded (an odd, but not unknown, iconography[21]) and holds a cone-shaped beaker in her left hand. At the opposite end stands Joseph, who in accordance with the Gospel tradition carries a pair of turtledoves or pigeons, to sacrifice them to the Lord. Both Joseph's and Simeon's hands are covered with a cloth, as they would be in Byzantine court ceremonial. The emphasis on the meeting between the Holy Family and Simeon suggests that its ultimate model also depicted the Meeting with Simeon or the Hypopante of the Eastern Church, as shown, for example, in a chapel at Gulu Dere in Cappadocia.[22] This version, which was occasionally also used in Syriac manuscripts (pl. 86)[23] and Byzantine enamels,[24] was obviously better suited to the decoration of an object than another—and in medieval times more common—rendering of the theme, which shows the presentation at the altar inside the temple.

This latter, which is used on the canteen where the exterior and the interior of the temple structure are depicted simultaneously (pl. 85), poses several iconographic problems. The Child is shown neither in his mother's arms nor carried by Simeon, but seated, as it were, on the altar with his back toward his mother. This posture is so unusual in Christian iconography of the Presentation that Dimand interpreted the whole scene as the Circumcision. The other iconographic elements, however, make this unlikely.[25]

Joseph carries a rectangular box or casket instead of the turtledoves prescribed in the Scriptures. It may be that the artist translated the cloth covering Joseph's hands in his original model into something more familiar to him, namely a figure presenting a book, as it repeatedly appears in the arcades with Christian imagery on the canteen and many other objects. The artist's mistaking the cloth for a book may also explain why he did away with the turtledoves—they would have made no sense to him either.

This is not the only reinterpreted item in this scene. The open scroll—the symbol of the prophetess Anna—has been turned into a hanging cloth. Another iconographic element rare in scenes of the Presentation are the hovering angels.[26] Even the tripartite architectural structure, for which prototypes exist,[27] has its oddities: an upside-down cross in the central cupola and a design of four fishes and a bird on the cross beam above the altar have no plausible explanations.[28] The Presentation scenes on the candlestick and the canteen therefore do not only derive from different iconographic traditions; they depict the event in different forms. One represents the principal personages; the other gives a more detailed version of the story. But even in the seemingly complete rendering of the scene on the canteen, the artist missed a number of important points and translated some into a language more familiar to him.

[21] Examples of a bearded Anna occur in fourteenth-century Italian paintings. See Dorothy C. Shorr, "The Iconographic Development of the Presentation in the Temple," *Art Bulletin* 28 (March 1946): 26 and n. 61. The origin of this iconography is still obscure.

[22] Gulu Dere, chapel 1; Jerphanion, *Églises rupestres* 1, pt. 2, pp. 590 ff.; Restle, *Byzantine Wall Paintings*, vol. 3, fig. 330; vol. 1, pl. 27, p. 138.

[23] Syriac Gospel, datable to 1220-30; collection of F.E. Sprigath, Berlin; it is fragmentary, and only two of its miniatures are preserved. See Leroy, *Manuscrits syriaques*, vol. 1, pp. 413-14; vol. 2, pl. 148,1. This illustration shows Christ already in the arms of Simeon. The picture is set in a polylobed frame against a neutral background.

[24] On two enamel plaques of similar size—one in the Kunstgewerbemuseum, Berlin, and the other in the Metropolitan Museum, only Mary and Simeon are shown. In the Berlin plaque, the child is in the hands of Mary; in the other, the stage is shown. See K. Wessel, *Byzantine Enamels from the Fifth to the Thirteenth Century* (Shannon, 1969), no. 54, pp. 172-73, and figs. 54a and b. See also James J. Rorimer, "A Twelfth-Century Byzantine Enamel," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 33 (November 1938): 245-46, fig. 2.

[25] These problems have been noted by Schneider, "Freer Canteen," esp. pp. 141-42.

[26] In discussing the angels in the fifth-century mosaics at S. Maria Maggiore in Rome, D. S. Shorr proposes that the angels who appear there, as well as in all the other scenes on the arch, may have a Syriac origin since an Arabic Gospel deriving from this source refers to the angels surrounding Christ "like a guard of honour as He was carried in his mother's arms" (*Évangiles Apocryphes*, ed. P. Peters (Paris, 1914), vol. 2, p. 7; Shorr, "Presentation in the Temple," p. 20 and n. 23.

[27] André Grabar, "L'image d'une église chrétienne parmi les peintures musulmanes de la Chapelle Palatine à Palermo," *Aus der Welt der Islamischen Kunst* (Berlin, 1959), pp. 227-28 and fig. 1. See also Schneider, "Freer Canteen," p. 142.

[28] Schneider, "Freer Canteen," p. 142, proposes that the fish may refer to the "feeding of the Multitude or the Last Supper in which fish are used as food."

The Entry into Jerusalem

Christ's Entry into Jerusalem figures in different versions on three of the pieces. The first, on the canteen (pl. 87), depicts the event in a narrative fashion that recalls book illustrations. The second, on the pyxis in New York (pl. 88), takes the figures out of their narrative context and rearranges them to fit into the available space. The number of images is accordingly reduced, and the architectural elements, like the other environmental features suggested by the story, are either omitted or curtailed. The third version, on the Freer basin (pl. 67), transforms the scene into a pictogram of three images.

In all three versions, Christ occupies the center of the composition, as he does in most Eastern representations. On two of them, Christ rides sidesaddle.[29] On the pyxis, he sits astride an apparently galloping mount, which conforms to both Islamic and Western conventions. Another feature already observed concerns the figures in Christ's train. On the pyxis he is followed by two tiny figures, each carrying a leafy branch, who seem to represent the children casting branches before the Saviour, though their garments are not childlike, but similar to those worn by adult saints, and their proper place is in front of, and not behind, the mount. On the canteen, behind the group of Christ and the children casting their branches appears a third child who holds a tunic-like vest decorated with two crosses. Another figure, apparently one of Christ's disciples, appears in the upper left corner. The cross on his garment may derive from a liturgical scarf—the omophorion—a common garment of saints and bishops worn during the celebration of the mass (pl. 89).[30]

Another iconographically interesting feature that characterizes the scenes on the canteen and the pyxis is the lack of spatial interrelationship between the main protagonists. The artist was apparently first and foremost concerned with a balanced composition. In the case of the pyxis the full content of the event may even have eluded him.

Much closer to a Christian model is the abbreviated version of the Entry into Jerusalem on the Freer basin (pl. 67). It not only maintains a spatial relationship between Christ and his followers; but in depicting the disciple with short hair and beard the artist adopted the traditional characteristics of St. Thomas, who often appears behind the Saviour in this scene.[31]

The two figures on the pyxis hovering above Christ (pl. 88) belong to the type of flying genii who in contemporary Islamic miniatures and metalwork hold a canopy or baldachin over the head of a prince, like Luʾluʾ in the frontispiece of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (pl. 90) and the enthroned personage on a thirteenth-century Syro-Mesopotamian basin (pl. 91), to indicate royal status and superior rank.[32]

Islamic sources were presumably also responsible for the symmetrical arrangement and stylistic rendering of the two trees (pl. 87) in the scene on the Freer canteen. With their gnarled stems, thin undulating branches and pairs of regularly spaced leaves these trees form a stock-in-trade motif of early Mesopotamian book illustration. Time and again they frame a scene depicting doctors in the act of preparing a medicine in Dioscorides's *De Materia Medica* (pl. 92);[33] they recur in the so-called Schefer Hariri painted in 1234, in Mosul,[34] and in outdoor scenes on contemporary metal objects. In a genre scene on an early-thirteenth-century Mawsili candlestick dated 622 (1225) (pl. 93)[35] even the figure in the tree is depicted with the same pose and gesture as the children cutting the branches in the Entry into Jerusalem on the Freer canteen (pl. 87).

[29] See, for instance, Mary in the Journey to Jerusalem on the early-ninth-century reliquary in the Vatican, Museo Sacro no. 1216, made for Pope Paschal I between 817 and 824, which, from an iconographical point of view was related to eastern Byzantine enamels; Wessel, *Byzantine Enamels*, no. 7, pp. 46-50 and figure 7; an excellent color reproduction is in M. M. Gauthier, *Émaux du Moyen-Âge occidental* (Freiburg, 1972), no. 13, pp. 44-47. Riding sidesaddle was commonly depicted in Syriac and Armenian manuscripts and in Cappadocian wall paintings, and the practice is common in that area to this day. For the canteen, see Schneider, "Freer Canteen," p. 142.

[30] Ordination scene from Syriac ms. in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, syr. 112, fol. 69r; see also Schneider, "Freer Canteen," p. 142.

[31] Jephanion, *Églises rupestres*, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 84-85.

[32] Richard Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting* (Geneva, 1962), plate on p. 65. Cf. Eva Baer, "The Ruler in Cosmic Setting: A Note on Medieval Islamic Iconography," *Essays in Islamic Art and Architecture in Honor of Katharina Otto-Dorn*, ed. A. Daneshvari (Malibu, 1981), figs. 5-7, basin of ʿAli Ibn Hamud al-Mawsili, Tehran, Iran Bastan; penbox in Athens, Benaki Museum; Guest and Ettinghausen, "Kashan Lustre Plate," fig. 21, stand formerly in the collection of Arthur Sambon; Bishr Farès, *Vision chrétienne et signes musulmans. Autour d'un manuscrit arabe illustré au XIIIe siècle* (Cairo, 1961), pl. 8, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, vol. 4, frontispiece, Cairo, BN adab 579; ibid., pl. 10, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, vol. 17, frontispiece, Istanbul, Millet Kütüp Hanesi Library, Feyzullah Efendi, 1566; ibid., pl. 11, vol. 19, frontispiece, Istanbul, ibid., 1565.

[33] For example, Hugo Buchthal, "Early Islamic Miniatures from Baghdad," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 5 (1942), figs. 1, 17, 19.

[34] Ibid., fig. 38, "Indian Island," Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. arabe 5847, fol. 121r.

[35] D. S. Rice, "Inlaid Brasses from the Workshop of Ahmad al-Dhaki al-Mawsili," *Ars Orientalis* 3 (1957): 318, fig. 40g.

The Resurrection of Lazarus

Another short-hand version of a Gospel illustration is a scene on the Freer basin that has been identified as the Resurrection of Lazarus (pl. 66). Like the Annunciation and the Gospel scenes on the outside of this basin, the scene is set in a polylobed medallion and consists of three images: a figure who appears to be naked and sits in a kind of brick trough; a full-length erect figure in three-quarter view who extends his right arm toward the seated man and holds a stave in his left hand; and—behind him—a submissively gesturing attendant. The background of tiny concentric scrolls and single flowering stalks is more or less identical with that used in the other medallions.

There are two well-known iconographic traditions for this scene. That generally followed in the East depicts the moment after the opening of the tomb. It is rendered as an aedicule in which Lazarus, wrapped like a mummy in silk or bandages, appears before Christ. The other tradition, followed in countries north of the Alps and also determining images of the Gothic period, depicts an already resuscitated Lazarus, who, with his winding sheet removed, raises himself in the coffin and looks up at Christ to answer his call.[36] This latter version is closer to the depiction on the basin, but only rarely documented in the East. The only Eastern example known that depicts a resuscitated Lazarus in his grave appears in a twelfth-century Tetra Gospel (dated Damietta, 1179-80) in Paris (pl. 94).[37] The Coptic artist, however, gives his own interpretation. Lazarus is standing, not sitting, in his grave; behind Christ are groups of mourners as well as the prostrate sister, and next to the grave are two men, who are removing the stone cover of the rocky grave or sarcophagus. In the absence of any other Eastern document that shows the resuscitated, naked Lazarus in his grave, it is possible that the artist of the Freer basin was inspired by a Western, not an Eastern, model and then translated it into his own visual language without necessarily understanding its context. Whether this model was a manuscript, a book cover, a reliquary, or some other portable art object cannot be determined.

The Marriage at Cana

In one of the medallions of the Paris candlestick are depicted six haloed figures kneeling around a semicircular table (pl. 95). With the exception of the person on the extreme left, they are all turning toward the center which is occupied by two figures, one of whom holds a goblet while the other gestures toward him. The men flanking the central couple appear to be in a state of adoration; the person on their extreme left faces sharply in the opposite direction. Two wingless genii hover over the group. Their hands are covered with a cloth, and they balance a kind of round disk in midair. On the table, whose shape is indicated by a single arched line, stands a stemmed bowl. It contains a large fish and has a flower on either side. The whole scene is set against closely winding scrolls that also cover the table.

The presence of the fish led to the interpretation that this medallion depicts the Last Supper.[38] The prominently placed dish and the figure shown in profile at the end of the table support this assumption. The figure's pose may have derived from a common iconographic model of Judas who sits at the end of the table and turns his back on the other disciples. In all these representations, however, Judas still turns his face toward Christ, and thus remains part of the composition. On the candlestick, in contrast, the figure swerves completely away, and looks as if it is carrying on a conversation with somebody entirely outside the picture.

A more likely model for the scene on the candlestick may have been a representation of the Marriage at Cana, an event said to have been celebrated at a village of this name in Galilee where Jesus performed his first miracle by changing water into wine.[39] Such an interpretation would at least account for the principal figures at the center of the table. In the model used by the artist they may have represented the bride and groom, as they are shown, for example, in the Syrian

[36] See G. Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art* (New York, 1971), vol. 1, p. 184; Schiller refers to the columns of Bernward at the Hildesheim Cathedral (1015-22) as an early Western example of the type that evolved north of the Alps from the eleventh century onward. See also an eleventh-century ivory bookcover in the cathedral treasury of Liège that shows Lazarus seated inside a sarcophagus beside a tree; A. Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen* (Berlin, 1918), pl. 17, fig. 56.

[37] Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. copte 13, fol. 254v; Maria Cramer, *Coptische Buchmalerei* (Recklinghausen, 1964), fig. 136; Leroy, *Manuscrits coptes*, pl. 72, bottom. According to Leroy, Lazarus's body is covered with a tunic made transparent to show the meager skeleton underneath. The miniature is also in Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, vol. 1, n. 38 and fig. 567.

[38] For the iconography of the Last Supper, see Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, 2:31.

[39] John 2:1-11; Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, 1:164.

Gospels in the Vatican (pl. 96).[40] In that illustration the banquet and the miracle are shown separately, one on top of the other. Since the images on the candlestick are completely obliterated by the modern inlay, however, neither the central couple nor any of the other figures can be identified. Moreover, even elements like the flowers on either side of the fish, which almost certainly go back to the original thirteenth-century idea, reflect contemporary Islamic conventions, and replace the chalices that would traditionally have flanked the fish in a Christian picture of this kind. The same applies to the genii, who occur neither in the Last Supper nor in the Marriage at Cana, but belong to the contemporary Islamic repertoire. The scene on the candlestick therefore appears to be a conflation resulting from an obvious lack of understanding of the Christological background. Moreover, the banquet scene, like representations of princely figures and royal lovers under a canopy, was a stock-in-trade motif in Islamic art and particularly popular in thirteenth-century ceramic paintings and metalwork.[41] In this work the artist apparently translated the Christian theme into the more familiar princely figures and ended up somewhere in the middle, with a representation that fits neither a Christian nor an Islamic tradition.

The Baptism

Iconographic incongruities like those in the banquet scene on the Paris candlestick are also found in the other medallions on the same object. In the center of one of them what appears to be a child is seen standing on a horizontal bar that floats, as it were, over a single fish (pl. 97). The child is shown in three-quarter view, turning toward a bearded man who approaches him from the right. The elderly man leans forward, holds a staff in his right hand, and extends his left toward the child's cheek. Opposite him stand two veiled women. The one next to the child gestures with her left hand; the arms and hands of the second woman are covered by her mantle. A flower stalk on either side of the scene is again used to overcome the artist's *horror vacui*.

Two features in this strange picture—the fish, often used as a symbol for water and the river Jordan,[42] and the bearded man next to Christ, who could be John the Baptist—have led to the interpretation that this is a Baptism of Christ. The scene is so far removed from Christological models, however, that any connection with them can be described only as superficial or incidental. John the Baptist—if this is he—extends his left instead of his right hand. His gesture resembles one associated, not with blessing, but with scenes of Healing the Blind.[43] The angels and the figure of at least one saint required for a Baptism scene are also missing.[44] Nor is there a sign of the Holy Spirit descending upon the Christ Child. The platform on which he stands has no precedent in any known Baptism scene. Unless the person responsible for the modern inlay has entirely remodeled this scene—which seems unlikely—one can only conclude that Daʿud ibn Salama had little, if any, idea of the subject he was supposed to be illustrating.

Madonna and Child

In addition to scenes from the cycle of the Life of Christ, four of the metal objects—the d'Arenberg basin (pl. 65), the Metropolitan box (pl. 44), the Freer canteen (pl. 73), and the Paris ewer (pl. 98)—display a picture of the Virgin and Child. In the first three, Mother and Child are seated; only on the ewer, where Mary forms the center of a frieze, is she standing. On the basin she sits cross-legged on a low, cushioned stool,[45] supporting the cross-haloed, fully dressed child on her right thigh. She embraces him with both arms,

[40] Ms. syr. 559, fol. 57v; Leroy, *Manuscrits syriaques*, 1:286, no. 19; vol. 2, fig. 82,2. For color reproduction, see Jerphanion, *Miniatures du manuscrit syriaque*, pp. 83-84 and pl. B. For the symbolism of banqueting in Christian art, see Jules Leroy, "Nourriture et breuvage dans l'art chrétien d'Orient," *AARP* 5 (June 1974): 5-12.

[41] Eva Baer, *Metalwork in Medieval Islamic Art* (Albany, 1983), pp. 219-29.

[42] The river Jordan, symbolized by water and fish, is also common in Coptic manuscripts, such as Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, copte 13, illustrated in Damietta in 1178-80 and the Coptic-Arabic Gospel in the Institut Catholique in Paris, ms. copte 1, fol. 66r, painted in Cairo and dated 1249-50. Cf. Leroy, *Manuscrits coptes*, p. 118 and fig. 46,1, and ibid., p. 166, and color plate F. The fish symbol for water is not exclusively Eastern.

[43] For similar misunderstandings of gesture, see Robert Nelson, "An Icon at Mount Sinai and Christian Painting in Muslim Egypt," *Art Bulletin* 65,2 (June 1983): 208-9 and figs. 5 and 13.

[44] See, for instance, sixth- and seventh-century ampullae with the Baptism of Christ, in Kurt Weitzmann, ed., *The Age of Spirituality* (Princeton, 1979), pp. 587-88, nos. 526-27; for a ninth-century example, see enamel reliquary in the Vatican (reference above, n. 29).

[45] The backless, bench-like throne is a ubiquitous element in medieval Christian art; see Nelson, "An Icon at Mt. Sinai," p. 203. In this specific case, the Madonna could also have been copied from a model that showed her on a high-legged throne.

and her inclined head conforms with eleventh-to-twelfth-century representations of the seated, enthroned Hodegetria,[46] as she is depicted, for example, in a circa mid-eleventh-century Greek Gospel[47] or in eleventh-to-twelfth-century ivory panels.[48] In these ivories and miniatures the Madonna sits on a high-backed throne, holds the child on her right knee, and, as in other Byzantine religious and secular throne scenes, rests her feet on an arched footstool. This last detail is retained in the Islamic version, but since the cross-legged position renders such a piece of furniture inappropriate, it has become a tiny rectangular box with an arched front in the lower section of the medallion and is used as a space filler.

The Madonna on the cover of the Metropolitan box (pl. 44) also partly corresponds to an enthroned Hodegetria.[49] As in the Syriac Gospels in London and the Vatican she has brought the child (pl. 99) closer to her face, so that he seems to stand rather than sit on her right thigh. He is drawn in profile, turns his head toward his mother, and appears to touch her chin. This loving gesture may in fact have derived from icons of the Eleousa, in which the child stood on his mother's knees and reached up to touch her cheek.[50]

Comparison with Christian models again turns up a number of oddities. First, the Virgin is given a distinctly Islamic flavor; the Madonna's veil has been transformed into a turban-like headgear, and under her gown she wears the wide trousers that were fashionable among male Muslim dignitaries.[51] Second, in the present reworked state of the scene, the child is not nimbed; only the Madonna has a halo. Third, the scalloped border of her nimbus is extremely uncommon in Islamic art, but often used in Limoges and other enamels, and in similarly transportable works of art (pl. 100).[52] A Western model is perhaps also behind the iconographically more advanced type of the child, which is closer to a thirteenth-century Western model of the Eleousa than it is to Eastern prototypes.[53]

Finally, the pose of the Madonna, particularly the knees thrust out to the side and dangling bare feet,[54] suggest that she was copied from a model in which either the Saviour or some other saintly personage was seated on a throne. The legs of this throne may have their remote echo in the two cubes visible under the Virgin's feet.

The angels who flank the Virgin on the d'Arenberg basin (pl. 65) correspond to the Byzantine tradition in which the angels either stand next to the throne or hover above it (pl. 101).[55] The artist of the New York pyxis used a different model. He may have added the odd single supplicant figure behind the Christ child as a space filler. The likely ultimate source for it are the donor portraits, which in the art of Constantinople, as well as in the tenth- and eleventh-century Western enamels (pl. 102)[56] are often depicted as a small figure who kneels in adoration to the left of the throne.

The iconographic sources behind the Madonna and Child medallion of the Freer canteen are also numerous. The erect, frontal pose of the Virgin and her high-back cushioned throne certainly derive from East Christian models, as does the motionless child who

[46] "She who points the way"; V. Lasareff, "Studies in the Iconography of the Virgin," *Art Bulletin* 20 (1938): 46 ff.

[47] Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, theol. gr. 154, fol. 17v; Lasareff, "Iconography of the Virgin," fig. 38.

[48] Berlin, formerly Kaiser Friedrich Museum; Cathedral of Chambéry (detail); O. Wulff, *Altchristliche und mittelalterliche byzantinische und Italienische Bildwerke* (Berlin, 1909), part 1, *Altchristliche Bildwerke*, vol. 2, p. 611, fig. 527; Lasareff, "Iconography of the Virgin," figs. 42-43.

[49] Ibid., fig. 38.

[50] For the Eleousa type, see I. Grabar, "Sur les origines et l'évolution du type iconographique de la Vierge Éleousa," *Mélanges Charles Diehl* (Paris, 1930), pp. 36-42.

[51] These trousers are worn by both men and women in many thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Mesopotamian and Syrian manuscripts, e.g., the *Maqāmāt* of al-Hariri, painted in Baghdad in 1237, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. arabe 5847 (Schefer *Maqāmāt*), shows Abu Zayd in them in the third *maqāma* when he is leaving the library at Basra and in the eighth *maqāma* when he appears before the qadi at Maʾarrat al-Nuʾman. At the Banquet of Physicians, *daʾwat al-aṭibāʾ*, of Ibn Butlan, painted probably in Syria in 1272, Milan, Bibliotheca Ambrosiana A 125 inf., fol. 24v, they are shown on a standing man and woman (reproduced in D. Haldane, *Mamluk Painting* [Warminster, 1978], p. 77, no. 38). For women wearing these trousers, see also the Schefer *Maqāmāt*, fol. 122v, the hour of birth, reproduced in Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, p. 121. See also L.A. Mayer, *Mamluk Costume* (Geneva, 1952), p. 70 and n. 5. Cf. Oleg Grabar, *The Illustrations of the Maqamat* (Chicago-London, 1984), p. 892 (7G4).

[52] See, for instance, M. M. Gauthier, *Émaux du Moyen-Âge occidental* (Freibourg, 1972), nos. 45, 46, 48, 49.

[53] Cf. Lasareff, "Iconography of the Virgin," pp. 38 ff., and I. Grabar, "La vierge Éleousa," pp. 36-42.

[54] This was a favorite pose in thirteenth-century Coptic and Coptic-Arabic Gospel books. See, for example, the Evangelists Luke and Mark in the Coptic-Arabic manuscript in Paris, Institut Catholique, copte-arabe 1, fols. 105v and 65v; see Leroy, *Manuscrits coptes*, pp. 157-77 and pl. 83.

[55] Gold medallion, Constantinople, 584; see Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality*, no. 287, pp. 312-13; cf. no. 474, pp. 528-29; no. 477, pp. 532-33; John Beckwith, *Coptic Sculpture* (London, 1963), no. 113, pp. 25-26.

[56] Gauthier, *Émaux*, pp. 51 and 320, fig. 19 (the second cross of Mathilda, Essen Cathedral Treasury).

appears to stand rather than to sit on his mother's lap. This tradition is further emphasized by the heraldically posed saintly attendants who with submissive gestures stand in adoration at either side of the throne. The angels—or genii—who float above the enthroned Madonna, however, hark back neither to Byzantine nor to any Western Christian source. They are part and parcel of the Islamic iconography of the secular ruler, of the glorification of the enthroned prince, a theme particularly popular with contemporary Syrian and Mesopotamian metalworkers (pl. 104).[57] The turban-like gear that covers the head of the Madonna instead of the traditional veil adds further to the Islamic atmosphere that overshadows all the Christian elements in this scene.

Another oddity is the pair of angels at the bottom of the scene who fly up diagonally in opposite directions. They belong neither to the traditional iconography of Madonna and Child nor to any canon of the Adoration of the Virgin. In all probability the angels' ascending motion is taken from an Apotheosis. Angels of this sort are frequently depicted either carrying the mandorla or lifting an enthroned dignitary to the heavenly spheres, and constitute an iconographic element which at the time of the canteen was adopted by both Christian and Islamic artists.[58]

The standing Madonna and Child on the shoulder of the Paris ewer is too effaced to be identified with certainty. In one (pl. 98), or perhaps both, of these friezes a frontally shown image in the center of each face of the ewer appears originally to have held a child in its arms, but it has become completely obscured by the modern inlay. By the same token the Madonna—if that is who she is—looks rather male, and is crowned, again uncommon in a Christological context.[59]

This is not the only oddity in these friezes. Symmetrically conceived, with three images on either side of the Madonna, the selection of the individual figures remains arbitrary and does not seem to conform with a canon of Adoration or with any other theme in which Madonna and Child feature as principals. In one of the friezes (pl. 98), the Madonna is flanked by an orans. On the opposite side (pl. 103), she is faced by an angel and a supplicant figure. Judging by his bent knees and twisted body the angel ultimately derives from an Ascension scene in which he functioned as one of the carriers of a mandorla; he is obviously misplaced here, and adds to the lack of coherence between the figures in the frieze.[60] A possible model for this decoration may have been a monumental painting in a church or chapel, or an Adoration on a portable object of art. The alterations of the Islamic artist, particularly his arbitrary selection of individual images, have so transformed the final product that its links to a possible model can no longer be securely established.

Sacred and Ecclesiastical Images

More numerous than New Testament scenes are friezes of figures borrowed from, or reminiscent of, Christian saintly imagery. In two examples, the Victoria and Albert pyxis (pl. 105) and the Edinburgh incense burner (pl. 7), the figures are arranged with some inner coherence. In most cases, however, the single or paired images have no obvious interrelation. It is therefore not surprising that they have been noted only haphazardly, and that even a highly observant scholar such as Aga-Oglu disposed of them perfunctorily. Mentioning "aureoled Christian personages [saints] in various postures, holding beakers, staves and so forth ... standing under the arches, some holding ecclesiastical objects, others praying or engaged in conversation,"[61] Aga-Oglu did not raise the question of the origin of this imagery, nor was he interested in its iconographic meanings or connotations. Similarly, Schneider dismissed the saints on the Freer canteen as ornaments, arguing that "the most logical reason for the dominance of this motif is the ease with which it could be adapted to the circular shapes of most Islamic brasses."[62]

[57] Baer, "The Ruler in Cosmic Setting," fig. 7.

[58] Idem, "A Brass Vessel from the Tomb of Sayyid Baṭṭal Ghāzī. Notes on the Interpretation of Thirteenth-Century Islamic Imagery," *Artibus Asiae* 39,3-4 (1977), esp. pp. 302-25; cf. frontispiece of *Kitāb al-Diryāq* (Book of Antidotes), dated 595 (1199), painted in northern Iraq(?), Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale ms. arabe 2964, reproduced in color in Bishr Farès, *Le Livre de la Thériaque* (Cairo, 1961), frontispiece.

[59] M. Lawrence, "Maria Regina," *Art Bulletin* 7 (1925-26): 150-61.

[60] The pose of the angel harks back to at least sixth-century prototypes; one of the earliest examples occurs on an ivory comb from Antinoe (Deir Abu Hennis) in the Coptic Museum in Cairo, no. 3655. Cf. *Koptische Kunst: Christentum am Nil.* 3. Mai-15 August 1963. Villa Hügel, Essen, no. 138, p. 259 and plate. For a monumental representation, see L. and M. Thierry, *Nouvelles églises de Cappadocie* (Paris, 1963), p. 126 and pl. 61; cf. ibid., pp. 89-114 and pl. 56, for Yilanli Kilise, Irhala. Reproduced also in Restle, *Byzantine Wall Paintings*, 3, no. 57, fig. 499. An early Muslim example is in the frontispiece of the *Kitāb al-Diryāq* (above, n. 57).

[61] M. Aga-Oglu, "About a Type of Islamic Incense Burner," *Art Bulletin* 27 (1945): 34.

[62] Schneider, "Freer Canteen," p. 150.

A glance at the objects certainly confirms that in most of the examples these saints in fact fully adapt to the surface to which they are applied. But so do many other Islamic decorations, and the artists obviously had a wide range of choices. There must have been other reasons for the recurrent use of these figures and for their persistent appearance, side by side with New Testament scenes.

Before we begin our discussion of these images, one basic problem should be pointed out. This concerns the signs that distinguish them. It hardly needs to be repeated that haloes—in Christian art an inseparable feature of holy images—were widely and indiscriminately used by Islamic artists—for example, to emphasize a man's or a bird's head. Clothing is similarly unreliable as evidence that subject matter is Christian. For one thing, a systematic study of thirteenth-century Muslim costume is still lacking, and there is no way of knowing whether garments worn by these sacred personages reflected a contemporary fashion adopted by both Christians and Muslims or the artistic model from which they derived. It can be demonstrated, however, that the figures generally show several simultaneous symptoms—Christians symbols, liturgical objects, and gestures of particular Christian connotation—and wear certain types of garments that do not correspond to any known Islamic prototype. Tracing their artistic models will not alone suffice to explain these images. Because they have been placed in decorative schemes that are basically Islamic, they must also be examined from an Islamic point of view so that the state of mind of the Muslim beholder and his interpretation of this Christian imagery can be determined.

The first and by far the largest category of Christian images on the metal vessels consists of male and female figures whose iconographic attributes—a censer, crosier, or liturgical fan—indicate that they are members of the clergy. The ceremonial procession on the small pyxis in the Victoria and Albert Museum (pl. 105), with its twenty-four ecclesiastics holding staves, crosses, and incense burners, and two seated men receiving the blessings of a bearded dignitary, is an example. The frieze was presumably meant to represent an ordination,[63] a liturgical theme frequently illustrated in contemporary Latin, Syriac, and Armenian manuscripts (pl. 89).[64] The contrast between the Christian and Islamic versions of the religious procession and the liturgical act is striking. Not only is there a difference in emphasis—the Syrian focusing on the holy act, the Muslim on the procession—but the Muslim artist does not differentiate between the principal personages and the rest of the clergy. The bearded dignitary, who in the miniatures is clearly clad in a bishop's vestments, does not show any attribute of rank in the Islamic representation. Similarly, on the pyxis the novice, instead of kneeling or inclining to receive the blessing, crouches on the ground. His knees are pulled up, and he faces the beholder (pl. 105) or looks up (pl. 38) in the same way as the squatting grooms portrayed by contemporary Islamic metalworkers such as Yunus ibn Yusuf al-Mawsili (pl. 82)[65] and Ibrahim ibn Mawaliya al-Mawsili (pl. 106).[66] In trying to convey the idea of a Christian liturgical act, the anonymous artist of the pyxis used his own artistic language: he arranged the clergy in a frieze of almost identical images; he provided the figures with liturgical attributes; and he transformed the novices into two crouching figures from his own repertoire, setting them symmetrically into the procession.

In the majority of our examples, single—or occasionally paired—figures are depicted under arcades. Many of these people appear to represent deacons or deaconesses carrying a censer—a flat tray, deep bowl, or stemmed cup suspended on chains—in common use all over the Byzantine world (pls. 107-8).[67] Whether the Muslim artist regarded these censers as symbolizing the deacon's office remains a matter of speculation. In any case, as if to emphasize the Christian character of these personages, he often put into their other hand a cross, crosier, or staff with a cross-like finial (pl. 31). In two cases, both on the Leningrad tray, clergymen hold a long cross staff obliquely before their bodies. To judge by their dignified, frontal posture and pointed, mitre-like cap, they represent clerical dignitaries, possibly bishops, who display the insignia of their office. The

[63] D. S. Rice, "The Brasses of Badr al-Din Luʾluʾ," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 13 (1950): 631.

[64] Leroy, *Manuscrits syriaques*, vol. 1, pp. 322-23; vol. 2, pl. 113, referring to Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. syr. 112, dated 1238-39, which has four ordination scenes: fol. 28r is the ordination of a subdeacon; fol. 32v is the ordination of a deacon; fol. 61v the ordination of a priest, and fol. 69r, the ordination of a bishop.

[65] Reproduced in Guest and Ettinghausen, "Kashan Lustre Plate," fig. 12, ewer, Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, no. 54.456.

[66] Ibid., fig. 8.

[67] J. Braun, *Das christliche Altargerät in seinem Sein und in seiner Entwicklung* (Hildesheim, 1932; rpt. 1973), pp. 610-11; 627.

impressionistic treatment of their garments, however, poses problems of typological identification.

Another liturgical implement occasionally shown in these images is a rhipidion or flabellum, a fan originally used during the holy office to keep insects away from the bread and wine.[68] On these objects this implement is represented in two ways. In the first, the fan is disk-shaped and resembles the kind of rhipidia depicted, for example, in Syriac Gospel books (pl. 89)[69] and liturgical scrolls.[70] This type of fan is represented in one of the arches of the Leningrad tray (pl. 28), and is carried by several of the Christian figures who occupy the upper and lower arcades on the body of the Paris candlestick (pls. 53-56). In the lower frieze the cleric in arch 17 faces the spectator and holds a fan in each hand (pl. 55). On the other objects the fan has a foliated, somewhat blossoming trefoil shape that appears to be cast together with the handle. This variation is represented on only two objects, the incense burner in London—once on the body and twice on the dome (pl. 19)—and the Piet-Lataudrie plate. In the latter it is being used in the picture to keep flies away from the centrally enthroned prince and has no liturgical connotation (pl. 22).

Some of the figures carry a chalice or stemmed bowl in the form of the traditional eucharistic wine cup (pl. 29);[71] others hold a conical beaker. On the British Museum incense burner the latter appears thirteen times, without any additional attribute or liturgical implement, or together with a staff, a fan or with a censer. In one instance it hovers in midair, without any obvious relation to the figure (pl. 18). The most obvious prototypes or parallels are contemporary drinking vessels, as they are represented over and over on Islamic artifacts and in paintings (pl. 109),[72] and are exemplified by extant Syrian thirteenth-to-early-fourteenth-century enamel-painted glasses (pl. 110).[73] A standard feature of princely banqueting and feasting scenes on ceramic and brass vessels, in the quasi-liturgical setting of our imagery, these beakers appear to have become assimilated to, and charged with, an ecclesiastical meaning.[74] All these implements evidently constituted an important element in the Islamic metalworker's portrayal of the Christian community.

Other means of conveying this idea are the poses and gestures, costumes, and sometimes coiffure or headgear that were regarded by Muslims as being essentially Christian. The most Christian of all these poses are gestures that suggest Christian prayer. One variety goes back to the ancient and early Christian orans figure who with raised extended arms opens itself up, as it were, to God (pl. 6); the other derives from early medieval images where the hands are held close to and in front of the breast (pl. 111), with the palms turned toward the beholder. In a version of this second gesture that also occasionally occurs on the metal objects, the palms are pressed together and the hands appear in profile.

The long tradition of this orans imagery, known from Roman catacombs and sarcophagi down to eighth-century Coptic tombstones (pl. 112)[75] and Byzantine wall paintings, tenth- and eleventh-century wooden doors and ivories (to cite only a few examples)

[68] Ibid., pp. 643-45. The use of rhipidia in processions is documented from the sixth century.

[69] Ms. syr. 112, fol. 69r, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, dated 1238-39; cf. ibid., fol. 32v; Leroy, *Manuscrits syriaques*, 1:332.

[70] See, for instance, the twelfth-century liturgical scroll in the National Library in Athens, 2759, frontispiece, and the thirteenth-century liturgical roll in the Monastery of St. John the Theologian at Patmos, no. 707 (roll 11). Both rolls are reproduced in *Byzantine Art*, exhibition catalogue, Athens, 1964, nos. 358 and 359, pp. 341-42. For extant silver flabella, see flabella from Riha and Stuma attributed to Constantinople, ca. 565-78, representing the earliest existing pair. Reproduced in Erika C. Dodd, *Byzantine Silver Treasures* (Bern, 1973), pp. 35-38, figs. 29-32. Two Egyptian eleventh- or twelfth-century silver flabella are in the Brooklyn Museum, nos. 46.1261 and 46.1262; see exhibition catalogue, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, 1947, no. 416. For a discussion of a much later pair in the Brooklyn Museum, see L. Bréhier, "Objects liturgiques de metal decouverts en Syrie," *Revue Archéologique*, ser. 6, vol. 24 (1945): 93-106, esp. 96 ff.

[71] The Freer canteen and the Leningrad tray, which in other respects are relatively closer to Christian models than most of the other brasses under discussion.

[72] One example is on fol. 1r of the *Kitāb al-Diryāq*, Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, A.F. 10.

[73] Carl J. Lamm, *Mittelalterliche Gläser und Steinschnittarbeiten aus dem Nahen Osten* (Berlin, 1929-30), vol. 2, pls. 97, 115, 127, 141.

[74] In the illustration to the marriage at Cana and the Multiplication of the Loaves in the Syriac manuscripts in London and the Vatican, the feasters drink from the same type of beaker (Leroy, *Manuscrits syriaques*, pl. 82.1,2. For eating and drinking in the Eastern Christian tradition, see Leroy, "Nourriture et breuvages."

[75] Beckwith, *Coptic Sculpture*, fig. 117; cf. figs. 114, 116, 118, 123, 127. For Roman catacombs and sarcophagi, see the article by Ernst Kitzinger in Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality*, pp. 142-44, figs. 1-4.

obviously provided a wide range of models for the Muslim artist.[76] The models seem, however, to derive principally from Coptic and Syriac art. An orans saint in a sixth- or seventh-century wall painting which is now in the Coptic Museum in Cairo,[77] from the Monastery of St. Jeremias at Saqqara (pl. 113), corresponds fairly well to the orans figures on the Berlin incense burner and the Paris candlestick (pls. 6, 55) which also repeat the basic formula of the costume. The orans saint on the Istanbul goblet (pl. 71) repeats with only slight variations a portrait of St. Barsauma (pl. 114), the head of the Monastery of Melitene (Malatya), in a eleventh-century Syriac Gospel, now in the Patriarchal Library at Homs.[78]

The other gesture, in which the hands are held close to and in front of the breast and lower in the typical orans attitude, again represents a formula used by artists all over the Byzantine world. The medieval Islamic versions of this theme, however, have a provincial flavor. The female praying saint on the incense burner, for instance (pl. 3), could have been borrowed from an Arabic-Coptic ascension scene (pl. 115);[79] the orans-like figures on the Paris candlestick are also possibly Coptic. The well-drawn saint on the Freer canteen, on the other hand (pl. 116), may have its source in a Syriac (pl. 117),[80] or perhaps even a Constantinopolitan, model.

These figures were not always skillfully drawn, nor was the artist necessarily familiar with Christian gesture formulas. In the case of the orans saint on the Istanbul goblet (pl. 71) and the praying figure on the Leningrad tray (pl. 27), he drew the hands in reverse, with the back instead of the palm toward the beholder. Another odd example of a Muslim attempt to reproduce a gesture current with Christian saints, prophets, and evangelists is seen in a figure on the Leningrad tray (pl. 25), whose elongated right thumb crosses over two raised fingers. The exaggerated movement of the thumb is not necessarily solely the result of a lack of artistic skill; it is a gesture the artist must have seen in Christian works of art, to express blessing or speech, and is trying to imitate (pl. 118).[81] Similarly based upon an ultimately classical prototype retained in early Christian and Byzantine art are figures whose right hand, often cupped, is raised to the chin, while the left arm lies across the waist. In our series this gesture is represented only on the Freer canteen (pl. 119), where it has counterparts in Byzantine miniatures and portable works of art. Time and again Christian artists depicted Mary in the Presentation in the Temple in this contemplative, thoughtful mood (pl. 120).[82] St. John and other saints standing next to the Crucifixion[83] are frequently portrayed in this attitude.

The motif of an arm enveloped in the folds of a mantle with one hand emerging—a Roman convention familiar in Christian and Byzantine art[84]—was also adopted by the metalworkers to mark Christian saints and ecclesiastics. It is depicted in one of the arches of the Freer canteen, where most of the figures are clad in ample, Byzantine-like robes (pl. 74). Similarly, on Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub's basin, it was adopted for the figures in the arcades—arches 16, 26, and 27 illustrate the most common types (pl. 63)—and saints in the New Testament pictograms on the exterior. While the orans figures and gesture formulas were reserved for imagery that was meant to portray

[76] John Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (London, 1963), figs. 134, 137. See also eleventh-to-twelfth-century marble panels from the Church of the Theotokos Peribleptos in Psamatia, ca. 1078-81, in Berlin, Staatliche Museen, or the Virgin Orans from the Church of St. George of the Manganes in the Archaeological Museum at Istanbul, reproduced in idem, *Art of Constantinople* (London, 1961), figs. 153, 155, to cite only a few examples.

[77] Reproduced in *Arte Copta* (Forma e colore i grandi cicli dell'arte, no. 67) (Sadae, n.d.), fig. 29; see also Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, pl. 56.

[78] Painted in Malatya, January 21, 1054, fol. 350v; Leroy, *Manuscrits syriaques*, vol. 1, pp. 226 and 228; vol. 2, pl. 52,2.

[79] Leroy, *Manuscrits coptes*, pp. 174-76 and pl. 95. Manuscript in Coptic Museum, Cairo, Bibl. 94, copte-arabe, fol. 156v.

[80] Manuscript in the Vatican, Bibl. apost. syr. 559, fol. 174v, figure second to the right of the Virgin; Leroy, *Manuscrits syriaques*, vol. 1, p. 295; vol. 2, pl. 95,2.

[81] Details from ivory panels with Evangelists, probably Egypt, sixth century, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, nos. M 10-1904 and M 11-1904; reproduced in the *Age of Spirituality*, no. 486, pp. 540-41. In the Orthodox blessing, the thumb and two fingers are erect; the fourth and fifth are crossed. See exhibition catalogue, *Byzantine Art*, fig. 160. A monumental example is Moses in the Transfiguration mosaic at the St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai; George Forsyth and Kurt Weitzmann, *The Monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai and the Church and Fortress of Justinian* (Ann Arbor, 1965), vol. 1, pp. 11-13, pls. 107, 143.

[82] Reproduced in Leroy, *Manuscrits syriaques*, pl. 81,4; see also Mary in ms. add. 7170, fol. 572, in ibid., pl. 81,2.

[83] St. John in the Crucifixion, Armenian, late-tenth-century fragmentary Gospel book in the Makhitarist Congregation in Vienna, no. 697, fol. 8r. Cf. H. and H. Buschhausen, *The Illuminated Armenian Manuscript of the Makhitarist Congregation in Vienna* (Vienna, 1977), fig. 15.

[84] The examples are numerous and well known. For Roman art, see Helga von Heintze, *Roman Art* (London, 1972), figs. 124, 130, 147. For this classicizing pose in Byzantine art, see Kurt Weitzmann, *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination*, ed. Herbert L. Kessler (Chicago, 1971), p. 208 and fig. 190, and Buchthal, "Early Islamic Miniatures from Baghdad," fig. 11.

members of the Christian community, however, the arm wrapped in the folds of the mantle was an element which had been completely assimilated into Islamic art by the mid-thirteenth century and had lost any Christian connotation. In the Syrian *Maqāmāt* of 1222,[85] for example, the artist drew a group of pilgrims to Mecca and a group of Muslims listening to Abu Zayd (fol. 81v) with one arm in the fold of their garments.

In a number of instances the figure's attribute or gesture clearly indicates that it was taken from a Christian representation and arbitrarily transplanted. One particularly striking example, appearing in an arcade, is a gesticulating figure in profile who faces upward and raises his right hand in a gesture of adoration (pl. 52b).[86] This gesture becomes comprehensible only if it is thought of as derived from a scene in which a holy image or sign appears in the upper register, descending from heaven or hovering above the head of a spectator. The figure could have originated in any number of motifs—a shepherd from a Nativity,[87] an Ascension scene,[88] or a saint at the foot of the Cross, for example.[89]

Another example, also in an arcade, is a figure carrying a pair of pigeons or doves, which is depicted in one of the arches of the Homberg ewer (pl. 121). The birds and the outstretched arms and covered hands of the figure indicate that he is meant to represent Joseph, who in the Temple of Jerusalem offers the birds as sacrifice to the Lord (pl. 122).[90] None of the saintly figures in the adjacent arches alludes to that event, however.

Comparing costumes and garments is hampered by the condition of the bronzes that are partly or entirely stripped of their original silver inlay. Representations of drapery, for example, that would reveal how the fabric was disposed around the body were engraved on the original silver leaf, and modern inlay, found in differing degrees on most of the objects, obliterates all trace of these important indications and gives a false impression of the garment and its drapery. Even objects like the Freer canteen and the d'Arenberg basin, which are relatively well preserved, lack the details necessary securely to identify a garment as Christian. There do still remain, however, either in outline or in the original engraving, a number of features that may help to clarify two problems. One is the type of apparel worn by these figures and their relation to Christian costumes of the time; the other is the relation of these garments to contemporary Muslim clothing, especially of functionaries such as judges, imams, and other members of the educated class as they were portrayed in art.

A relatively common type of garment found on the metal objects is a chasuble or cape, apparently derived from a ecclesiastical mantle. As far as can be determined from our material, this mantle is rendered in three different ways. In the first, shown on the Istanbul goblet (pl. 71), it is fastened in front of the chest with a clasp or button, covers the shoulders, and hangs full length down the back. It is worn over a long tunic girdled below the waist and recalls the priestly mantle of the Eastern clergy, which is worn, for example, by Barsauma (pl. 114), the head of the monastery at Malatya, in the eleventh-century Syriac Gospel manuscript in the patriarchal library at Homs.[91]

In the second rendering, shown on the same Istanbul goblet, the chasuble is draped over the shoulders and arms and, instead of hanging down the back, is gathered up in front (pls. 70 and 72). In the Presentation in the Temple on the Freer canteen (pl. 85), Joseph and Simeon wear this type of chasuble, as do a number of saints in the arcades on the body of the Paris candlestick. This, however, is a heavily reworked object where only traces of the original outlines are preserved.

The third and closely related chasuble is also sleeveless, but narrower and much shorter than the other two. It too is draped over the shoulders and leaves the arms uncovered, but since it is shorter it does not have to be gathered up in front. A vestment of this type is found, for example, on one of the crosier bearers on the Leningrad tray (pl. 36); it covers the chest and

[85] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. arabe 6094, fol. 103v; Hugo Buchthal, "Hellenistic Miniatures in Early Islamic Manuscripts," *Ars Islamica* 7 (1940), fig. 3.

[86] Fig. 2 on the collar of the ewer in Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs, 4413.

[87] Gospel Book, Vatican Urbin Gr. 2, fol. 20v, reproduced in J. Ebersolt, *La Miniature byzantine* (Paris and Brussels, 1926), pl. 31,2.

[88] Byzantine tenth-century ivory diptych in the Cathedral Treasury of Chambéry (Savoie), published in *Les Trésors des Églises de France*, exhibition, Paris, Feb. 6–May 23, 1965, no. 699, pp. 380-81 and pls. 23-24. This gesture occurs on the ampules from Monza attributed to the sixth century.

[89] See centurion at the foot of the cross, eleventh-century mosaic in the Church of the Nea Moni, Chios, reproduced in André Grabar, *Byzantine Painting* (Geneva, 1953), p. 111.

[90] Ms. Vatican, Bibl. Apost. syr. 559, after Leroy, *Manuscrits syriaques*, vol. 2, pl. 81,4.

[91] Leroy, *Manuscrits syriaques*, vol. 1, p. 226; vol. 2, pl. 52,2.

shoulders of the figures holding a small cross on the incense burner in the Cleveland Museum of Art and occurs in a more elaborate form on a saint on the New York pyxis (pl. 39) who holds a slanting cross in front of him. None of these chasuble types is provided with a hood like that worn by Barsauma in the Syriac Gospel manuscript, for example. The figures are bare-headed, or have a turban-like cloth wrapped around their heads, or in one case wear a kind of pointed, roundish cap (pl. 36). This is surely not accidental, and stems from a more general concept of the Christian imagery on our vessels.

Another type of garment is a wide piece of cloth that, as in early Christian representations exemplified by a sixth-century wall painting in St. Jeremias at Saqqara (pl. 113),[92] was wrapped across the chest and shoulders. In contrast to the Christian examples, however, it terminates in bands trailing under each elbow or forms a loop with flying ends next to the figure's shoulders. More a shawl than a robe, it is worn by several ecclesiastical figures on the Berlin incense burner (figures two to six) as well as by the mounted Christ in the Entry into Jerusalem (pl. 88). In this latter case the shawl appears to have been drawn in a quasi-classical fashion over the right shoulder and under the left arm.

In a few instances the shawl is wrapped from the left breast and shoulder over the head and back to the right shoulder and breast (pls. 39, 41), forming a kind of hooded gown that is similar to the Greek maphorion—a garment in Christian manuscripts and artifacts worn by female saints and servants.[93]

More puzzling are two pieces of clothing seen on the British Museum incense burner (pls. 15-19). The first seems to derive from the omophorion (the Greek version of the pallium), a wide band worn over the breast and shoulders and decorated with crosses, which distinguished bishops from other church officials. If this vestment did serve as a model—and there is no way to verify the hypothesis—it was certainly transformed by the elimination of the crosses and by the way it is draped into an ornamental piece of cloth that fitted in with the rest of the garment.

The other odd garment is the tunic whose sleeves flare out abruptly from the wrist and whose deep cuffs bring to mind, and may in fact be derived from, another liturgical vestment, the epimanikon, or liturgical cuffs,[94] worn by both bishops and priests beginning in the twelth century. That this accessory was known to the Islamic metalworkers of the time is borne out by its use on clerical figures on other objects as well (pls. 39, 111).

More often than not when Christian garments are used they are altered to make an ornamental design. The long ends of an overdress form loops or trailing bands attached to another part of the garment; in some instances they project at a right angle behind the shoulders, forming wings that have no function other than to fill the empty space of the trefoil arch into which the figure is set (pl. 39).[95] This is typically Islamic. Examples can be found in contemporary and early Mamluk painting, but a similar mannerism is also common in early Christian art. One of the most striking examples is on an early-seventh-century gold cup, said to originate in Cyprus, that displays personifications of ecclesiastical provinces wearing similarly awkward billowing pieces of drapery.[96]

Two elements in the garments of the Christian images seem to reflect Muslim fashion. One is the turban or kerchief wrapped around the head and trailing down the back. The other is the *tirāz* decorating their sleeves. The best examples of the headgear occur on the Istanbul goblet (pl. 72) and the British Museum incense burner (pl. 20). They reflect the kind of small *imāma* worn by ordinary people and low officials, frequently depicted in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century miniatures.[97] In other cases, as for instance on the Leningrad tray, the clerics appear to wear a kind of *kūfiyya* with a flat top (pl. 28), which on the Edinburgh incense burner has exceptionally long trailing ends.

[92] See above, n. 75.

[93] See J. Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung; nach Ursprung, Entwicklung und Symbolik* (Freiburg, 1907), pp. 664-65.

[94] Ibid., pp. 98-99; cf. Charles Walter, *Art and Ritual of the Byzantine Church* (London, 1982), p. 20. Cuffs may also be discerned on two figures on the Berlin ewer and possibly on the images on the Piet Lataudrie tray.

[95] For instance in the *Maqāmāt*, Vienna Nationalbibliothek, AF 9, fol. 36r, reproduced in K. Holter, *Die Galen-Handschrift und die Makamen des Hariri der Wiener Nationalbibliothek* (Vienna, 1937), pl. 4,5; Grabar, *Illustrations of the Maqamat*, p. 42 (2E4).

[96] Weitzmann, *Age of Sprítituality*, p. 178, no. 156.

[97] Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, p. 79 (*Maqāmāt*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, arabe 6094, fol. 147r, first and third figure listening to Abu Zayd); p. 84 (*Kitāb al-Diryāq*, Paris, Bibliothèque National, ms. arabe 2964, old page 22); p. 93 (*Kitāb fī Maʿrifat al-Hiyal al-Handasiyya*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 57.51.23); p. 107 (*Maqāmāt*, Leningrad, Oriental Institute, Academy of Sciences, ms. S 23, p. 250, figure behind the qadi) and many more.

In addition to these traditional Muslim headdresses we find a mixture of hat types which, although basically not Islamic in character, belong to the contemporary fashion introduced by the Mongols into the Islamic world. The largest variety is on the Freer canteen, where several of the saintly persons wear either hats with an upturned brim (pl. 123) or other kinds of caps known from contemporary works of art.[98] The most common is a pointed hat (pls. 31, 32). It is most prominent on the Leningrad tray, but can also be found on the Homberg ewer and incense burner in London, and it is reminiscent of, and in some case probably representing, a monk's hood. In most instances, however, it has the simple conical shape of a type of hat worn by hunters and other figures of the princely entourages depicted on the so-called Mawsili brasses, like the ewer of Ahmad al-Dhaki al-Mawsili,[99] or the basin with the titles of the Ayyubid Sultan al-ᶜAdil II by Ahmad ibn ᶜUmar, in Paris.[100]

To anybody familiar with Islamic art the *tirāz* around the upper part of the sleeves constitutes a feature that hardly arouses attention. Applied to any kind of upper garment, it was worn by members of the ruling class and their entourage, by educated Muslims, and by ecclesiastical functionaries. It was also found on the sleeves of farmers and traveling merchants.[101] Nor in the thirteenth century was the popularity of these bands restricted to the Islamic world. They ornament the sleeves of the three Wise Men in the Nativity scene, of the central couple in the Marriage at Cana, and of Constantine and Helena, all in the Syriac lectionary in the Vatican (pl. 124).[102] But the illustrator of the lectionary did not provide any for the robe of a Christian saint. On the canteen, the Victoria and Albert pyxis, and the British Museum incense burner, on the other hand, the artists made no distinction between saintly and secular figures, and attached the *tirāz* to the sleeves of the ecclesiastics in an ordination procession (pl. 38), of deacons and deaconesses (pl. 20), and of any figure with saintly connotations. This indiscriminate use of the *tirāz* is another indication of the kind of artist responsible for the metal objects.

Apart from the liturgical implements, the gestures, and the odd garments artists used to depict Christians, certain saintly personages were provided with a more specific kind of imagery. To this relatively small group belong representations of apostles and evangelists, warrior saints, monks, and high church officials such as bishops. Four of these figures appear to derive from representations of the apostles or evangelists. One is a venerable bearded man in a chasuble presenting a codex, an image that occurs with slight variations on the canteen and the Istanbul goblet (pls. 125, 69). The distinctive head, thin elongated face, and pointed beard of the saint on the Freer canteen led Schneider to assume that the figure could be St. Matthew. On a Byzantine enamel of the eighth century, this evangelist is depicted with similar characteristics,[103] and in fact is usually conceived as a bearded old man with a long bony face and white hair.

Another, on the New York pyxis, is a saint with a forked beard (pl. 39). He too wears a chasuble and holds a slanting cross-staff in front of his body. His hair, beard, and the triumphal cross suggest that he was modeled after the representation of St. Andrew, whose effigy often displays these same characteristics.[104] Finally, on the Piet-Lataudrie tray the figure with a codex and a *kursi*-like bookrest on his left (pl. 22) also appears to belong to the evangelist category. In this latter case, however, the poor reproduction of the object does not allow further analysis.

[98] Cf. D. Brian, "A Reconstruction of the Miniature Cycle of the Demotte Shahnamah," *Ars Orientalis* 6, pt. 2 (1939).

[99] Dated 620 (1223), Baer, *Metalwork*, fig. 182, after Rice; also fig. 121 top and p. 94 (Ankara casket).

[100] Louvre no. 5991; Rice, "Inlaid Brasses," pp. 301-11, esp. p. 307, no. 4a and pp. 308-9, n. 80, pl. 9c.

[101] "Tiraz," *EI*¹. For examples, see Ernst Kühnel, *Catalogue of Dated Tiraz Fabrics* (Washington, D.C., 1952). Representations abound; see, for example, Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, pp. 45, 65, 68, 79, 84, 87, 91, 106-7, 116, 119, etc.

[102] Reproduced in Leroy, *Manuscrits syriaques*, vol. 2, pl. 99,2; cf. Jerphanion, *Miniatures du manuscrit syriaque*, pl. 2, no. 50; for Cana, see Leroy, ibid., pl. 82,2, and Jerphanion, ibid., pl. B. (in color).

[103] Schneider, "Freer Canteen," p. 143 n. 24; cf. the reliquary of the True Cross, Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 17.190.715, Syria-Palestine, early eight century; Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality*, no. 574; cover reproduced on p. 634 (bust to the left, second from bottom). For the portraits of the standing Evangelists in the Presentation and their hypothetical models, see Albert M. Friend, Jr., "The Portraits of the Evangelists in Greek and Latin Manuscripts," *Art Studies* 5 (Cambridge, Mass., 1927): 115-47, esp. pp. 124 and 132-33. For examples of Matthew presenting his Gospel, see pl. 1, figs. 9 and 13 (Mount Athos, Dionysiu, ms. 8; Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, ms. theol. gr. 240); see also Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration*, p. 28.

[104] H. Aurenhammer, "Andreas," in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* (Vienna, 1959-67), vol. 1, pp. 132-38, esp. 134. Klaus Wessel, "Andreas," *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst*, ed. Klaus Wessel with the assistance of Marcel Restle, 3 vols. (Stuttgart, 1963-78), vol. 1, pp. 154-55; pp. 227 ff. Cf. St. Andrew with forked beard and cross staff in the mosaics of the Cathedral in Cefalu (Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration*, p. 12 and pl. 49 [dated 1148]).

Warrior saints and saints modeled after them are obviously recognizable by their garments and attributes. There is no way of tracing them to any specific warrior saint, such as St. George, St. Demetrius, or St. Procopius, to name only the most popular. Their garments correspond only superficially to those worn by eleventh-to-thirteenth-century warrior saints in Christian art, who are generally dressed like Roman soldiers or generals, bare-headed and wearing a coat of mail, a short chiton, heavy chlamys, and high boots or gaiters (pls. 126-27).[105] The costumes of the Islamic warrior saints combine elements derived from the Christian tradition with contemporary Muslim fashion. The short chiton, for instance, turns into wide trousers reaching to the knees (pl. 74, figure one), or a narrow skirt (pl. 74, figures nineteen and twenty). It is worn by all the Islamic warrior saints, but only one of them appears to be bareheaded (pl. 74, figure one). The rest wear either a Mongol-type hat, a crown, or some kind of cap. The warrior saint on the Paris ewer wears boots; those on the canteen appear to wear gaiters. The same gaiters are worn by warrior saints and members of the clergy. In three cases, the latter also wear the short chiton otherwise reserved for warrior saints (pl. 74, figures eight, twelve, and thirteen). The appearance of the chlamys, too, is not unequivocal. In one case it looks like trailing bands (pl. 74, figure nineteen); the other saints do not wear it at all. Less ambiguous than the clothes are the weapons that serve as attributes. They are limited to swords and lances and correspond to the weapons held by the Christian models. Shields, commonly attributed to Christian warrior saints, do not appear.

The traditional image of the monk, as it was portrayed in the Syriac lectionary of the Vatican (fol. 45v; pl. 128), served as the prototype for religious dignitaries. Twelve out of the fifteen representatives are bearded; most of them wear a pointed cap or hood; and all but one are shown en face. They appear either in a gesture of prayer or, as in contemporary miniatures, with their arms in front of their bodies and their hands hidden in their sleeves (pl. 18). In some instances both hands rest on a bishop's crook, following a type already depicted on one of the ninth-century wine jars discovered in the Jausaq al-Khaqani at Samarra.[106]

To convey the idea of a Christian imagery, the artists selected a rather limited number of features such as sacred vessels and garments, gestures of prayer, and conspicuous types of holy individuals, and fitted them into an appropriate decorative scheme that satisfied their own taste. Friezes and arcades were obviously a decorative convention shared by both Christian and Islamic art. In both they are used in monumental painting and mosaics, textiles, ivories, and metal objects. The friezes and arcades on our metal objects diverge from the Christian monuments, however, in their Islamicization of gestures or poses, observed for example in the crouching novice in the ordination scene (pl. 105), and, by far more important, in the sequence of the images and the order in which they are portrayed or related to each other. In any Christian work of art, cosmopolitan or provincial, Byzantine, Syriac, or Coptic, the choice of the figures in a frieze or arcade is based upon one or another religious-artistic tradition. The series depicts apostles or evangelists; certain apostles are occasionally replaced by local saints; Christ is shown with his followers, and so on. In many cases the saints are anonymous; yet a coherent religious concept is always retained.

This does not hold good for any of the friezes on the metal objects. Compared to friezes on Christian art, the selection of the saints appears arbitrary. It does not follow any particular Christian model, nor does it comply with Christian iconographic conventions, and yet a close analysis of these figures will show that the choice was less haphazard than might at first be assumed. One criterion used was the formal relationship between the figures on the frieze. They are arranged, not according to any particular meaning or religious content, but according to their pose and gesture. Friezes consist of two or more figures who either face each other, gesticulate, or otherwise pose in some way that implies a relationship among them. The inner frieze of the d'Arenberg basin (pl. 63), for example, consists of pairs identifiable respectively by how their feet are positioned and by the motion of their

[105] Frequently reproduced; see, for example, E. Diez and Otto Demus, *Byzantine Mosaics in Greece* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), pl. 7. Warrior saints are also repeatedly depicted in manuscripts and on portable objects such as ivories, coins, seals, etc. For manuscripts, see Leroy, *Manuscrits syriaques*, vol. 2, pl. 117,4; vol. 1, pp. 374-48 and p. 344; for ivories, see A. Goldschmidt and Kurt Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Elfenbeinskulpturen*, vol. 2 (1934), pls. 13, 15, 54; André Grabar, "Quelques reliquaires de St. Demetrius et le martyrium de saint à Saloniqué," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 5 (1950), fig. 20. For seals, V. Laurent, *Les sceaux byzantins du Medallier Vatican* (Vatican City, 1962), nos. 182, 188, 189.

[106] Ernst Herzfeld, *Die Malereien von Samarra* (Berlin, 1927), pl. 61; cf. D. S. Rice, "Deacon and Drink: Some Paintings from Samarra Reexamined," *Arabica* 5 (1958), pl. 1.

arms. This predilection for pairs turns up again on the Leningrad tray (pl. 23), where the main register is formed by continuous bands of arch-shaped panels, each of which has two images.

Poses and gestures also serve to divide a frieze into sections. The lower frieze of thirty-four figures on the Paris candlestick, for instance, is divided into two equal parts by an ecclesiastical figure en face who raises a flabellum in each hand (pl. 55). Of the eight arches around the body of the Cleveland incense burner, the first and fifth display a figure frontally (pls. 9, 12); the remaining images turn to the right or left. By the same token the so-called Saint Andrew and the Entry into Jerusalem of the New York pyxis (pl. 43) appear at opposite ends of the same imaginary axis, each forming a center toward which the rest of the images are oriented. This preference for geometrically balanced compositions also transformed the ordination scene on the London pyxis into a frieze, in which the liturgical action, depicted twice, divides the procession into two equal parts.

The second criterion for the selection of the images was iconographic. It is also based on compositional principles. Instead of creating formal relationships between the different Christian images, it creates a formal coordination between the effigies of an Islamic prince and of a Christian dignitary. This correlation may be realized simply by placing an enthroned ruler between two or more Christian figures who approach him from either side—that is to say, by using a common Islamic formula to exalt, or elevate, a secular dignitary (pl. 69).[107] In other cases, the artists created an imaginary vertical axis along which the two images were aligned. This scheme was adopted for the Homberg ewer on which a monk or bishop in front view and an enthroned prince are depicted in the same facet, the one at the base of the ewer above the foot, the other on the shoulder (pls. 45, 49). The same idea must have guided ᶜAli ibn ᶜAbdallah al-ᶜAlawi, who on the flank of his ewer distributed the motifs in such a way that the effigies of an enthroned prince and a bearded clergyman appeared one above the other (pls. 50, 51). To emphasize this correlation he again drew the Christian image en face.

The most conspicuous formal translation of this idea occurs on the Piet-Lataudrie tray. Here the relation between prince and Christian image is expressed through a composition that is at the same time axial and radial. On the one hand, the Christians form a circle around an enthroned prince who sits in the center of the tray and are linked to him by radiating medallions. On the other hand there is an axial coordination between the prince and the only frontally depicted Christian figure in the circle, who stands at the foot of this vertical axis (pl. 22).

[107] *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, vol. 17, fol. 1r, after Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, p. 65. For early-thirteenth-century ceramic examples, see Pope and Ackerman, *Survey of Persian Art*, pl. 707c, 709; for metalwork, see Baer, *Metalwork*, p. 221 and n. 253.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE BRASSES IN THEIR CULTURAL CONTEXT

The picture that emerges from our examination of the artistic and iconographic aspects of the brasses is one of a complex and not very coherent group of odd artifacts. It comprises artistic masterpieces and works of mediocre workmanship. There are single pieces that are dated and signed by a known artist, and anonymous, mass-produced pieces apparently coming from different centers or workshops about which we know next to nothing. The objects were evidently originally intended to serve people of various ranks and status and were designed to be used for various purposes. All these factors must have determined the kind of craftmanship that went into their manufacture and the selection of their decorative elements. An inquiry into these formative factors seems essential for the understanding of these brasses, not only as works of art, but as regards their significance as cultural documents of the time and the society in which they were created. The information we possess in this respect is still fragmentary, and as yet does not provide comprehensive answers to all the problems which these artifacts pose. We hope, however, that the inner evidence of the pieces, if considered in conjunction with written information gathered from Muslim and European sources, may lead to a better conception of the raison d'être of the whole group.

Three of the eighteen pieces were commissioned by or, more likely, presented to a member of the Muslim ruling class. On two of them—the Freer basin and the Louvre tray—the inscriptions give the name and honorific titles of the Ayyubid sultan al-Salih Najm al-Din. On the third—the Lataudrie plate—the inscriptions are for the most part undecipherable. Some formulas, however, are visible in photographs, and their wording indicates a high-ranking Ayyubid official. The decorations on all three have obvious symbolic meaning.

On the exterior of the Freer basin the polo players, the kneeling musicians, and the medallions with the scenes from the life of Christ are vertically aligned (pls. 66-69), and are meant to be seen as related.[1] Complementary to them are the figures in the arcades in the lower section of the inner walls. If looked at from above, they are obliquely in line with the polo players and will be seen and associated with them. The tray in the Louvre (pl. 24) has similar decorative elements arranged in a circular band of medallions. The polo players and mounted riders mark the vertical and horizontal axis on this circle; its four quarters display groups of Christian figures alternating with pairs of men in combat. The Lataudrie tray (pl. 22) expresses the same idea in a slightly different fashion. The Christian figures are arranged radially, from the center to the periphery, rather than concentrically. The decoration includes no princely pastimes; instead of musicians, polo players, fencers, or riders there is only the one single dominating figure, the enthroned dignitary. Like Christ Pantocrator he occupies the center and provides the focus for the whole composition. The Christian images in the arched panels radially attached to the center are reminiscent of the way the twelve Apostles surround Christ in Byzantine and Western medieval mosaics and manuscripts.[2]

The artistic formulas employed by the artists are, however, distinctly Islamic. In form and concept they resemble Ayyubid decorations in which an Islamic prince 'in apotheosis' is encircled by—or in some other way related to—the twelve signs of the zodiac

[1] This was noted by Ranee Katzenstein and Glenn D. Lowry, "Christian Themes in Thirteenth-Century Islamic Metalwork," *Muqarnas* 1 (1983): 62-66, but they considered the frieze with saints to be iconographically insignificant.

[2] Compare the dome mosaics of the baptisterium of the Orthodox or the baptisterium of the Arians at Ravenna, both of which have around their circumference the Baptism and the Twelve Apostles; for the latter, see illustration for the Adoration of the Lamb in the Commentary of Beatus on the Apocalypse from Silos, from the late eleventh century (London, British Museum, ms. add. 11695, fol. 86), in which the elders encircle the lamb. Reproduced in Meyer Schapiro, "From Mozarabic to Romanesque in Silos," *Romanesque Art* (New York, 1977), fig. 37.

and represents or replaces the symbol of the sun. The closest parallel to this composition occurs on a basin in Tehran from about 1275 (pl. 91)[3] that shows in the center of its base an enthroned prince surrounded by the twelve signs of the zodiac. Another closely related example is a Syro-Mesopotamian-style pen box with three nearly identical astrological circles on its cover;[4] in the center of each is a princely figure, his head framed by a radiating crown, seated cross-legged on a throne. He is surrounded by two circles. The inner one consists of the six planets; the outer is formed by the twelve signs of the zodiac. On other contemporary artifacts, the same motifs are dispersed and appear incorporated into the decorative scheme on various parts of the object. Like the princely and Christian figures on the Freer basin and the Paris tray, they stand in parallel registers and are set in variously linked panels. Their distribution is never fortuitous, however; it is always visually coordinated.

The close formal relationship between these two groups of Ayyubid metalwork—one with Christian images, the other with astrological signs—suggests that in terms of content they may also convey similar iconographic messages. Like the astrological signs, the Christian imagery was associated with princes or—representing the prince—royal pastimes. On the Tehran basin, the penbox, and other examples of the astrological group, the prince is assigned astral qualities. He is compared to the sun and is venerated by his servants, the stars, just as contemporary *qaṣīdas* in honor of a governor or a prince would laud him. He is, to quote only two of many possible verses, "like an ascending star, like the moon when it rises";[5] "his tents float above the spheres of heaven, and the stars support its poles."[6]

In addition to the prince's astral qualities, contemporary panegyrics mention his power as a sovereign, as defender of Islam who is feared and honored by all his subjects, Christians and Muslims alike. It is these aspects of the princely image that appear in the Christian imagery of the Freer basin and the two trays. Aligned with the figure of a ruler or the pastimes that represent him, it expresses, it would seem, recognition of his royal sovereignty. These pictures symbolize political power, carrying a message comparable to that of motifs like the lion and the bull or the eagle or hawk and its prey.[7] Translated into a formal visual language, they function on two parallel levels. On the first they constitute an equivalent to contemporary poetry written in praise of the prince.[8] On the other, they complement—or substitute for—a series of royal epithets. They correspond to titles like *al-malik rikāb al-umam* (the king who rules over the nations); *sulṭān al-ʿarab wa'l ʿajam* (the sultan of the Arab and non-Arab people); and *quṭb al-salāṭīn* (polestar of sultans). In addition they are analogous to appellations designating al-Salih as suppressor or slayer of the infidels—*qāmiʾ al-kufra* or *qāṭil al-kufarā*. Epithets of this nature figure on al-Malik al-Salih's tray in the Louvre, in the building inscription of the citadel at Bosra which was built in his name,[9] and on other contemporary works of art.[10]

Precious vessels inlaid with Christian figures and bearing any of these epithets would certainly have made an appropriate present for an Ayyubid sultan like al-Malik al-Salih. In the course of the final nine years of al-Salih's reign, two events occurred which could have provided an occasion for such a gift. The first was his release from captivity in al-Karak in 1240, when he was proclaimed supreme authority over Egypt and the Fertile Crescent. Another and equally suitable date

[3] Eva Baer, "The Ruler in Cosmic Setting: A Note on Medieval Islamic Iconography," *Essays in Islamic Art and Architecture in Honor of Katharina Otto-Dorn*, ed. A. Daneshvari (Malibu, 1981), fig. 5.

[4] Bologna, Museo Civico 2129, reproduced in ibid., fig. 1.

[5] Ibn Sana al-Mulk, *Fuṣūṣ*, in J. Rikabi, *La poésie profane sous les Ayyubides et ses principaux representants* (Paris, 1949), appendix 170, trans. p. 218. For further examples, see ibid., panegyric written by Ibn al-Nabih (died 1222) addressed to al-Ashraf Musa, appendix 16, trans. p. 89; cf. appendix 29, trans p. 99; see also *qaṣīda* addressed to Sultan al-Salih, appendix 31, trans. p. 112.

[6] Diwan of Ibn Matruh, ibid., appendix 127, trans. p. 207.

[7] See Richard Ettinghausen, "The Conquering Lion: The Life Cycle of a Symbol." *Oriens* 17 (1964): 161-71, particularly pp. 164-68; for the hawk and its prey as an emblem that enhances and substitutes a eulogistic inscription, see Eva Baer, "An Islamic Inkwell in the Metropolitan Museum of Art," *Islamic Art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, ed. Richard Ettinghausen (New York, 1972), pp. 206-8.

[8] For examples of this laudative genre, see Ribaki, *Poésie profane*, pp. 200-15.

[9] For the inscription on the Paris tray, see exhibition catalogue, *Arts de l'Islam des origines à 1700 dans les collections publiques françaises*, Paris, 1971, no. 153, p. 104. For the building inscription of the Bosra citadel, built in 1249, the last years of al-Salih's reign, see *Répertoire Chronologique d'Épigraphie Arabe* (*RCEA*) 11, no. 4308.

[10] See, for instance, the basin made by Ahmad ibn ʿUmar for al-Malik al-ʿAdil Abu Bakr, 1238-40, Paris, Louvre no. 5991, *RCEA* 11, no. 4146. See also *Arts of Islam*, no. 198, p. 181. These traditional phrases were retained during the Ilkhanid period and occur, for example, on the Nisan Tası, Eva Baer, "The Nisan Tası: A Study in Persian-Mongol Metal Ware," *Kunst des Orients* 9, 1-2 (1975): 3, 5, 7.

could have been 1243, when he reached a political settlement that recognized both the status quo and himself as *ṣāḥib al-khuṭba wa'l sikka* (sultan over all the empire), including Damascus, Hama, and Aleppo.[11] These dates are of course conjectural, but they do both suggest ideal opportunities for offering the prince vessels that proclaimed his new regal status.

Al-Salih's basin and tray are the only brasses with Christian images so far known to have been created for a specific Ayyubid sultan. There is, however, good reason to assume that anonymous, uninscribed artifacts of this kind would have been designed for, and acquired by, members of the Muslim ruling class, who may have been aware of the iconographic message implied by the decoration. To this princely category belong the ewer of Ahmad al-Dhaki (pl. 45), the ewer of ʿAli ibn ʿAbdallah al-ʿAlawi (pl. 50), and the goblet in Istanbul (pl. 69) described earlier. On Ahmad al-Dhaki's ewer, an enthroned ruler and a hooded Christian are placed at opposite ends of the same facet, so that both dignitaries are vertically aligned. A similar composition recurs on ʿAli ibn ʿAbdallah's ewer, where a bearded Christian dignitary en face is again vertically related to an enthroned ruler. On the facets of the Istanbul goblet again images of royal pastimes alternate with Christian figures. On the central facet an enthroned prince is being offered a present by a humble kneeling figure, as two saints, one on each side, face the prince and honor him with a gift.

The decorations on these metal objects clearly display a number of symbols that would make these pieces not just acceptable, but even welcome, to local governors and other high officials. They would probably have had at least a passing acquaintance with Christianity: they might have seen liturgical objects and visited churches or monasteries. But they certainly would not have been concerned with correct Christian iconography. For them Christians were infidels, non-Muslims, who had become subject to Muslim sovereignty. These brasses were status symbols, and they and objects like them would have been acquired by well-to-do Muslims.

Not all the brasses in the group are of that quality, however. Objects like the Berlin and Cleveland incense burners (pls. 2-6 and 9) are not masterpieces of design and craftmanship; they were mass-produced as ordinary household utensils. The unassuming decoration of the figures whose attributes and gestures are derived from representations of Christian churchmen combined with their simple shapes and schemes suggests an everyday utensil in the house of any indigenous Christian family.

The Freer canteen (pl. 73), the Metropolitan pyxis (pl. 39), the Leningrad tray (pl. 23), and others, pose yet another question. These are again not ordinary mass-produced household utensils. They belong to the same class of Islamic luxury objects as the ewer of Ahmad al-Dhaki, the Istanbul goblet, and al-Salih's basin and tray. But they do not share the power imagery of those three objects, and one wonders why a Muslim dignitary would have wanted to own them. They are almost exclusively decorated with motifs and figures that had little, if any, meaning for a Muslim. Is it not possible that they reflect the taste of the Christian nobility who had settled in the Holy Land? The upper strata of the Latin population were engaged in a flourishing commerce. Families like the Ibelins of Beirut and the Monforts of Tyre, prosperous owners of iron mines and sugar factories respectively, lived in comfort. Having become rich in a relatively short time, they were fond of parading their newly acquired wealth. They furnished their houses with prestigious exotic goods and objets d'art.[12] To decorate their houses they used local craftsmen, who were more skilled and more readily available for work than Latin artisans would have been. For their wardrobes they acquired silk and other precious fabrics produced in Damascus, Baghdad, and the Far East, and in their kitchens and households they used the same vessels and utensils as the Muslim upper class.

In 1883, E. G. Rey suggested that Islamic luxury goods such as tapestries, silk fabrics, glass, jewelry, and inlaid brasses were used by the Latins, and his work remains one of the most comprehensive and important sources on the subject.[13] He seems also to have been the first to mention the Paris candlestick of Daʿud ibn Salama al-Mawsili (pl. 53),[14] and to suggest that this and other metal pieces decorated with Christian religious subjects were made for and used by Crusader clients. More recently, Y. Prawer also refers to the

[11] R. Stephen Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols* (Albany, 1977), pp. 262-65; 272-74.

[12] Wilbrand von Oldenburg, *Reise nach Palästina und Kleinasian* (Hamburg, 1859), pp. 45-46.

[13] E. Rey, *Les Colonies franques de Syrie* (Paris, 1883), pp. 214-28. Rey mentions (p. 230), inter alia, that in Beirut in 1860 he saw a gold brooch decorated with two confronted animals worked in cloisonné in the collection of a certain M. Péretié. It was inscribed, "Made by Saʿad the goldsmith for the Christian Sir Kiliam [Guillaume]."

[14] He misread the name of the artist as Daʾud ibn Soleiman, ibid., p. 228.

Crusaders as consumers of "crockery"[15] designed and engraved in Syria and Mesopotamia and decorated with silver inlaid arabesques and Arabic inscriptions. There is even some evidence that Arabic inscriptions—which the Latins probably could not read—added to the exotic value of the objects and made them more attractive.

One important source of information on Oriental goods possessed by Crusader knights and on the appeal they had to the Western taste are the inventories they made of belongings brought back from the East. In none of these lists—there are not very many—are the items described, so it is impossible to know from them what an object actually looked like. However, the name and the few attributes that are given say something about the taste of the owner and often provide a hint as to where an object was acquired. Among the textiles mentioned in the inventory of Eudes, Count of Nevers, written at Acre in 1266, are "*draps de Tartais*,"[16] that is to say, Oriental silk fabrics; "*camelots*," "*chamelots*," or "*chamelin*," and "*tireteinne cameline*," woolen fabrics made of camel hair, garments of the same material; and plain "*boqueranz*," "*boquerant*," or "*bougran*," a fabric named after Bukhara.[17] To judge by the precious household utensils and liturgical instruments included in the same list—silver plates and spoons, gilt cups and saucers, silver goblets and basins, and ivory coffers or caskets[18]—their owner must have been an extremely wealthy man. Whether his possessions comprised Oriental, Near Eastern, or European objets d'art is unknown, but from their descriptions as being made of gold or silver and embellished with pearls and other precious stones, most of them were probably Byzantine.

An inventory of the belongings of a Bavarian knight from the year 1376[19] indicates quite clearly that he had a taste for Oriental works of art. Though the objects are again not described in detail, the list includes items which in all likelihood were made or acquired in the East, such as "*Schmuckgegenstände, wertvolle Holz—und Metallgefässe, elfenbeinerne Schach—und andere Brettspiele*," as well as glass that was probably manufactured at Acre.[20] The manufactories that would have produced objects of this sort are still a matter of scholarly controversy, but even if all the known fragments and enamel-painted beakers had been produced in Latin, and not in Muslim, workshops, which certainly was not the case, the techniques and styles were Islamic, in conformance with the taste of the upper stratum of Latin society in the Levant.

The appeal which Oriental goods had to the Westerners was used by the Muslims for political leverage. Syrian and Egyptian princes bestowed on the European knights sophisticated contraptions, artifacts of superior workmanship, and exotic gifts to win their favor. Some medieval texts mention presents of milk, flowers of different kinds and colors,[21] and exotic animals like camels, elephants, and white bears, given by a sultan or vizier to a Crusader knight, or vice versa.[22] They also mention precious stones, garments,[23] luxury fabrics, and vestments,[24] rock crystal cut in the shape of an elephant and a giraffe, and into games of backgammon and chess, scented with ambergris fastened to the crystal by fine golden

[15] Yehoshua Prawer, *The World of the Crusaders* (New York, 1972), p. 86.

[16] "Tartar cloth": tissues and embroideries characteristic of Byzantium and the Near East; see Leonardo Olschki, *Guillaume Boucher: A French Artist at the Court of the Khans* (Baltimore, 1946), p. 19.

[17] M. Chazaud, "Inventaire et comptes de la succession d'Eudes, Comte de Never (Acre, 1266)," *Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, vol. 32, ser. 4, vol. 2 (Paris, 1871), pp. 167, 194.

[18] Ibid., pp. 190, 193.

[19] Max Piendl, "Hab und Gut eines Bayrischen Ritters im 14. Jahrhundert," *Festschrift für Max Spindler zum 75. Geburtstag* (Munich, 1969), pp. 193 ff.

[20] W. Pfeiffer, "Acrische Gläser," *Journal of Glass Studies* 12 (1970): 67, n. 2. One of the glasses mentioned in the Bavarian inventory recalls the so-called Luck of Edenhall, an enamel-painted beaker probably from Aleppo, ca. 1250, and its thirteenth-century leather case of French workmanship whose first Christian owner is believed to have been a French Crusader. Beaker and leather case later belonged to the families who lived in Edenhall in Cumberland and became a kind of talisman. For this beaker, see Niels von Holst, *Creators, Collectors, and Connoisseurs* (London, 1967), p. 52 and fig. 63. Cf. the so-called Beaker of Charlemagne, another Syrian glass that was fitted with a metal foot and served as a chalice in the Chartres Cathedral, ibid., p. 51. I am grateful to my colleague N. Dolev for this reference.

[21] John of Joinville, *The Life of St. Louis*, trans. R. Hague (New York, 1955), p. 123, σ394.

[22] E. H. Kantorowicz, *Kaiser Friedrich der Zweite* (Berlin, 1928), p. 169; the reception and the presents that al-Kamil gave to Frederick II at Nablus in 1228 are described in the Ergänzungsband (Munich, 1931), p. 66.

[23] Al-Muʿazzam presented it to the wife of Louis IX on the occasion of the birth of their son at Damietta. See A. Luders, "Die Kreuzzüge im Urteil syrischer und armenischer Qellen," microfilm (Hamburg: Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek), p. 130, quoting Barhebraeus.

[24] Salah al-Din to Henry of Champagne. The sultan sent him an Oriental vestment and turban, which Henry promised to wear even though he was unfamiliar with clothes of that sort. See Rey, *Colonies franques*, p. 12; cited also in A. Waas, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, 2 vols. (Freiburg, 1956), 2:212 and n. 93.

filigree.[25] Among the objects presented by al-Kamil to Frederick II was an Indian lute and a tree with leaves of silver and small mechanical birds that sang with the vibration of the leaves.[26] In 1232 Sultan al-Ashraf sent an embassy to Friuli, which brought to the emperor a kind of planetarium in which astral bodies, worked in gold and jewels, moved in their orbits by a hidden mechanism.[27] These mechanical devices, like the other precious works of art that were exchanged between the emperors, have disappeared, and there is no way of knowing what they looked like. It is reasonable to assume, however, that many of them were produced in the Muslim world and that they therefore would have shared the forms and designs of other luxury goods of the time.

Like the royal presents, so the souvenirs and reliquaries that a Crusader knight acquired in the course of his stay would have reflected local styles and workmanship. The written records contain no information about their appearance, and descriptions of them may never have existed. One inlaid brass vessel has in its shape as well as its decoration all the qualities one would expect from a souvenir—or a reliquary—of the Holy Land, however, and that one is the Freer Gallery canteen (pl. 73). The pilgrim-bottle shape of the canteen has no exclusively Christian, or Crusader, implication; it represents a relatively common type of Islamic vessel produced in pottery or glass between the twelfth and the fourteenth century in Syrian and Mesopotamian workshops. At the excavations of Hama, archaeologists found representatives of three basic types, one of them particularly close in form to the Freer canteen.[28] Many of the glass bottles traditionally attributed to Raqqa and Aleppo were also fashioned in the same shapes. The form had been extremely common since early Christian times,[29] and it continued to serve pilgrims as relic cases throughout the entire Crusader period.[30] These flasks were meant to be portable, and most were quite small. But some—a specimen in the British Museum and a Mamluk example in Toledo, for instance—are rather large.[31] A most striking large one is a glass bottle in the Cathedral of St. Stephan in Vienna, which is 34 cm high and allegedly had been brought back filled with earth from Bethlehem that had been saturated with the blood of innocent children.[32] It seems reasonable to assume, therefore, that a Christian knight would have associated the shape of the canteen with the pilgrim bottle he was familiar with, and not with an Islamic flask he may never have seen.

The next question then would be whether the decoration of the canteen with Virgin and Child, the Nativity, the Presentation, and the Entry into Jerusalem on the front (pl. 73) fits into any known pictorial tradition associated with these reliquaries. The answer is unfortunately no: no exact parallels using the same themes

[25] "Among the jewels which he [the Old Man of the Mountain Shaykh al-Jabl, leader of the Assassins] sent the king were an elephant finely made of crystal and an animal, also of crystal, called a giraffe; crystal apples too of different sorts, and games of backgammon and chess. All these were scented with ambergris, the ambergris being fastened to the crystal by fine golden filigree. As soon as the envoys opened the boxes which held them, the scent was so sweet that the whole room seemed full of fragrance.... The king sent the envoys back to the Old Man, and in return a great abundance of jewels, draperies of scarlet, golden cups and silver bridles. With them he sent Brother Yves le Breton, who knew Saracen. Brother Yves found that the Old Man of the Mountain did not believe in Mahomet, but in the law of ʿAli, Mahomet's uncle..." (Joinville, *Life of St. Louis*, § 457 and 458; also in John of Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis, par Joinville*, in *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France* 20 (Paris 1840): 260 (rpt. London, 1968).

[26] Kantorowicz, *Friedrich der Zweite*, Ergänzungsband, p. 69 refers to Amari, *Altre Narrazione del Vespro Siciliano* (Milan, 1887), p. 27, a work unavailable to me; see also E. Winkelmann, *Geschichte Kaiser Friedrich des Zweiten und seiner Reiche*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1863-65), vol. 2, p. 399.

[27] The King allegedly kept this and other presents given to him at Venosa, a small town near Barletta in southern Italy (Winkelmann, *Geschichte Kaiser Friedrich des Zweiten*, p. 399); according to Ahmad Aziz, *A History of Islamic Society* (Edingburgh, 1975), p. 86, the treaty was reached at Pordenone.

[28] P. J. Riis and Vagu Poulsen, *Les verreries et poteries mediévales: Hama* (Fouilles et recherches de la Fondation Carsberg 28, 4/2 [1931]), (Copenhagen, 1957), pp. 250 ff., esp. 258 and figs. 879-939.

[29] K. Wessel, "Ampullen," in *Reallexikon zur Byzantinischen Kunst*, vol. 1, cols. 137-38; H. Leclercq "Ampoules" in *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, 15 vols. (Paris, 1924-53), vol. 1, pt. 2, pp. 1722-47, esp. 1735-37; O. M. Dalton, *Catalogue of Early Christian Antiquities and Objects from the Christian East* (London, 1901), nos. 860-915.

[30] In addition to objects mentioned in the references given in n. 29, see also B. Bagatti, "Eulogie Palestinensi," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 15, 1-2 (1949), no. 19, p. 137; no. 4, p. 152, and no. 74, p. 156.

[31] C. J. Lamm, *Mittelalterliche Gläser und Steinschnittarbeiten aus dem Nahen Osten*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1929-30), vol. 1, pp. 246, 277; vol. 2, pl. 98 (Raqqa group); for Aleppo, cf. ibid., vol. 1, p. 327; vol. 2, pl. 126,16. For a larger bottle, see ibid., vol. 1, pp. 327-28; vol. 2, p. 126,18, British Museum. This last example is particularly rich in its decoration. Reproduced also in Gaston Migeon, *Manuel d'art musulman*, vol. 2, fig. 300; and G. Schmoranz, *Altorientalische Glasgefässe* (Vienna, 1898), pls. 20, 20a, 21.

[32] Lamm, *Mittelalterliche Gläser*, vol. 1, pp. 368-69, no. 3; vol. 2, pl. 158, 3. The bottle is attributed by Lamm to Damascus and dated to ca. 1280; also reproduced in Ernst Kühnel, *Meisterwerke*, vol. 2, pl. 170; and Schmoranz, *Glasgefässe*, pl. 4.

are known. Genuine pilgrim bottles throughout the centuries included the Nativity, Baptism, Crucifixion, Ascension, and the Women at the Tomb, and they use pictograms, and not the miniature-like designs found on the canteen. Did the artist of the Freer bottle, influenced as he was by the models at hand, select his subjects at random? Or would it not be more plausible to imagine that he was asked to make a souvenir of the Holy Land, and to decorate it with motifs reminiscent of the *loca sancta*, Jerusalem and Bethlehem, which the pilgrim would have visited? The Entry and the Presentation would certainly evoke Jerusalem, just as the Nativity would evoke Bethlehem.[33]

The back of the canteen (pl. 74) also differs in its decoration from traditional pilgrim bottles. It shows an arcade with Christian figures and a frieze of galloping riders pursuing each other, motifs that might have been selected at random. On the other hand, both themes were again addressed to a Christian rather than to a Muslim. By their garments, gestures, and attributes, the images in the arcade are reminiscent of warrior saints, monks, members of the clergy, and possibly the Archangel Gabriel's Annunciation to Mary (pl. 74, figures twenty-three and twenty-four). The horsemen, in contrast, are part and parcel of an Islamic tradition that conveys the idea of princely activities, such as the hunt, warfare, and royal games. The weapons, caparisons, and armor in this frieze are not of the standard Islamic type found in paintings and art objects of the time, however. The first and third rider are armed with crossbow and arrow; the others carry lances with gonfalons and streamers (pl. 74). The horses numbered 2 and 6 are covered with huge, slit saddlecloths that hang down on either side; number 9 has basketweave trappings that give the impression of woven leather strips, and its head is encased in armor.

These unconventional details are not unique to Islamic warriors. Some similarly armed and armored warriors figure on an unpublished Ayyubid candlestick,[34] and a long slit saddlecloth is illustrated in the *Varqa and Gulshah* manuscript,[35] but they are also reminiscent of Crusader outfits. Gonfalons with two streamers and the huge saddlecloth are featured on Crusader seals and in illustrated manuscripts[36] and were in fact distinguishing marks of the Frankish knights. M. Dimand, the first among Western scholars to interpret the Freer canteen, was convinced that it depicted European Christians and probably Crusaders. "The crossbow," he argued, "was a European weapon often used by the Crusaders in their wars against the Muhammedans. The horses wear rich hangings which are part of European horse trappings during the Middle Ages. The Muhammedans are represented by a single figure wearing a turban and at which a Crusader is aiming with a crossbow."[37] Dimand misinterpreted the headgear, which derives from a Mongol hat rather than a Muslim turban,[38] but his notion that these warriors were meant to represent Crusaders was probably correct and would fully agree with the character of the rest of the decoration.

Like the designers of the other metal objects, the artist of the canteen did not change his artistic vocabulary whenever he wanted to show a Christian figure. He drew the figures he was familiar with, altered their garments or gestures, and added attributes which resembled the figures he wanted to depict. The pennants—or lances—with streamers, like the huge slit cloths, sufficed, it would seem, to conjure up a group of Crusader knights. The theme suited both the canteen's iconographic program and its purpose: to serve as a reliquary or souvenir for a wealthy Crusader, perhaps to display in his household in the Levant or to

[33] Loca sancta pictures go back to the early Christian era; they have been discussed chiefly in connection with the ampullae of Monza and relic boxes. See, for instance, Kurt Weitzmann, "Loca Sancta and the Arts of Palestine," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 27 (1974): 33-55; J. Engemann, "Palästinensische Pilgerampullen im F. J. Dölger Institut in Bonn," *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 16 (1973): 5-27.

[34] The candlestick was exhibited in London in 1976 in the Museum of Mankind, but permission to photograph was not granted. See also Eva Baer, *Metalwork in Medieval Islamic Art* (Albany, 1983), pp. 167-68 and n. 308.

[35] Reproduced in *Arts Asiatiques* 22 (1970), figs. 16-27, where the heads of the horses are encased in armor. There are also differences in the saddlecloth, which in the manuscript illustration has slits at the front and back.

[36] For seals, see G. Schlumberger, F. Chalandon, and A. Blanchet, *Sigillographie de l'Orient latin* (Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 37) (Paris, 1943), no. 103, p. 44, pl. 17,8; no. 137, p. 59, and pl. 15,1 (bull); no. 4, p. 44, and pl. 17,7. For manuscripts, see Hugo Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford, 1957), pls. 104a-107a, 116a, from *Histoire universelle*, Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 562, illustrated at Acre in the third quarter of the thirteenth century. The same standards of trappings appears on the two other manuscripts of the *Histoire universelle* studied by Buchthal; see also his remarks on pp. 74-75 and 101.

[37] M. S. Dimand, "A Silver-Inlaid Bronze Canteen with Christian Subjects in the Eumorphopoulos Collection," *Ars Islamica* 1 (1934): 17.

[38] For types of Crusader helmets, see Yehoshua Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, pp. 335-36; idem, *World of the Crusaders*, pp. 127-28.

be shipped home as a memento of his sojourn in the Holy Land. By the same token the incense burners, pyxides, and trays on which friezes of paired saints are the principal ornamentation would have attracted Crusader rather than Muslim consumers. Their iconographic attributes—the censers, crosiers, liturgical fans, and codexes—the gesture and the garments would all have been familiar. Scenes like the Entry into Jerusalem (pl. 88) and the Enthroned Virgin with Child (pl. 44) on the New York pyxis would have attracted his attention, even divorced from its conventional iconographic tradition.

Aside from its Christian connotations, these themes would have had other qualities to ensnare the Latin consumer, qualities that were not inherent in the objects themselves but in the Latin mind. There was the curiosity about and admiration for the foreign, the non-Christian, the exotic, including unreadable Arabic inscriptions, unfamiliar figural representations, and even vessels of unusual shape and possibly unknown function. The fascination with Arabic script and—particularly in the thirteenth century—its use in architecture and book illustration, without concern for its content, is well known.[39] In a small triptychon Masaccio copied on the halo of the Madonna at its center the Islamic creed, the *shahāda*, "There is no God but He; Muhammad is His Messenger," written backwards.[40] A twelfth-century Spanish crucifix, carved in wood and painted, shows a fully dressed Christ garbed in a precious Persian silk gown decorated with Arabic letters on its wide border along the hem.[41]

Analogues to this European fascination with Arabic script can be found among the Nestorians of Mongolia and the Tartars of the Lower Volga. When Friar William of Rubruck showed the Tartar ruler Sartach the illustrated and illuminated manuscripts he carried with him—a Latin Bible, a missal, and an Arabic book—the Tartars, along with their Nestorian and Muslim court officials, looked at them with keen interest and excitement, though they probably could not read a single line. Their excitement was so great that the friar became anxious that he would lose his precious and cherished volumes, and in fact the Arabic manuscript, the French Bible, and the Psalter of the Queen "on account of the gilded pictures in it" were never returned.[42] This time it was not so much the foreign script, but the colorful, presumably gilded decoration and unfamiliar images that attracted them.[43]

Instructive is an account by Reginald, a monk of Durham, of the contents of the coffin of St. Cuthbert at the Durham Cathedral.[44] In his description of the precious textiles, the monk "admires the ornament, the animal images, the color, and the workmanship, even the texture of the materials for their own sake, without enquiring into their possible symbolism; they are splendid artistically, and therefore worth his extended notice."[45] In his description of the wooden coffin he fails to mention any religious figures, even though they are still visible in the wood today, nor does he record the incised Latin names. Again his monk's enthusiasm is devoted entirely to the aesthetic effect the objects have on him, and exemplifies an attitude comparable to that the Latin knights would have had when they purchased their Oriental goods. They admired the Islamic brasses for their splendid surface decoration. The Christian motifs on them were almost incidental. As part of their own cultural heritage they attracted

[39] See for example, K. Erdmann, *Arabische Schriftzeichen als Ornamente in der abendländischen Kunst des Mittelalters* (Wiesbaden, 1953), and Richard Ettinghausen, "Kufesque in Byzantine Greece, the Latin West and the Muslim World," in *Colloquium in Memory of George C. Miles* (New York, 1976).

[40] Dated April 23, 1422; the *shahāda*, or part of it, turns up on a considerable number of European works of art. Its meaning was often unknown to the artist, though there is some evidence that this was not true in Masaccio's case (R. Sellheim, "Die Madonna mit der Schahada," *Festschrift W. Caskel* [Leiden, 1968], p. 308-15).

[41] Barcelona, Museum of Catalanian Art no. 15937 (known as Majestát Battló, after its former owner). See Joan Ainaud de Lasarte, *Art Romanic* (Barcelona, 1973), p. 92.

[42] Olschki, *Guillaume Boucher*, pp. 26-27; Meyer Schapiro, "On the Aesthetic Attitude in Romanesque Art," *Romanesque Art*, n. 43.

[43] The Christian admiration for Islamic workmanship was such that they even took complete artifacts of Islamic origin and incorporated them in liturgical objects—for example, an Islamic saddle, presented to the monks of Ste. Foy at Conques, was later incorporated into a silver cross for the church (Schapiro, "Aesthetic Attitude," p. 27 and n. 31).

[44] Written in 1175, and based on the testimony of an eye witness to the reinterment of Cuthbert in the new cathedral in 1104. Cited by Schapiro as showing what the medieval attitude toward artifacts belonging to another age or culture was ("Aesthetic Attitude," pp. 11-12, n. 50; p. 18; Schapiro cites in n. 17, *Reginaldi monachi Dunelmensis libellus de admirandis beati Cuthcerti virtutibus*, ed. James Raine [Surtees Society Publications 1] [London, 1835], chap. 42, pp. 87 ff., and Charles Eyre, *History of Saint Cuthbert* (3d ed., London, 1887), pp. 173 ff.

[45] The ornaments of the textiles in which the body of the saint was wrapped are described as consisting of rows of pairs of birds and beasts at either side of a tree, a pattern which actually conjures up Islamic textile design. The rider silk of St. Cuthbert at Durham also betrays Persian Islamic influence; see G. Brett, *The Relics of St. Cuthbert*, ed. C. F. Battiscombe (Oxford, 1956), pp. 471-83. The rider silk was probably one of those items that were added to the tomb in 1104, when the body of St. Cuthbert was reclothed. It is therefore more than likely that the monk of his source saw the cloth.

their attention, but not as conveyers of a religious message. The inscriptions—whether simple blessings or eulogies of the kind incised on the rim of the Leningrad tray—only added to their value. The inscriptions were probably not even deciphered, nor was their content of any consequence.

Seen in this perspective the brasses appear less peculiar than they do at first sight. Products of Syrian or Mesopotamian workshops from about the middle to the second half of the thirteenth century, they do not differ in form, technique, or style from other Islamic metal pieces of the same time and present no artistic novelty, aside from their incorporation of Christian motifs into the decorative scheme. The use of these themes in the Islamic repertoire was a short-lived fashion which—to judge by the documents—did not last for more than a few decades. But their significance lies less in the length of time they were produced than in the fact that the contemporary Muslims, as well as the indigenous Christians and the Latin knights, appear to have accepted these motifs, each for his own reason.

For the Muslim upper class, the Christian figures were secular symbols of Christian subordinates that conveyed a political message similar to that contained in the epithets and benedictory formulas of the kind engraved on the same brasses and reminiscent of contemporary panegyrics written in honor of a Muslim prince. They reminded him of his authority, of his regal power. For the Latin Christians, too, they did not necessarily invoke a reaction of the faithful. The Crusader nobility had developed a nouveau riche taste for their exotic aspect, for their delicate engravings and silver inlay, their ornamentation, their Arabic inscriptions. Objects like the Freer canteen taken home as souvenirs or reliquaries would certainly have carried associations with the Holy Land, but their religious significance more or less stopped there.

Having established three distinct communities for objects with Christian imagery—the Latins, the indigenous Christians, and, in the case of the luxury objects at least, important Muslims—one might well ask how the artisans who made them dealt with the demands of such a mixed clientele. Can we assume that reliquaries—to give one example—were produced in the same workshop as Christian household utensils? Did a Crusader knight order his brass vessels in workshops that specialized in Christian souvenirs, and did the Muslim dignitary turn to artisans who were experts in a specific type of luxury ware? In other words, is there any evidence that particular workshops and centers worked solely for one or another of these various clienteles.

The economic and social structure of Syria and the rest of the Middle East in the thirteenth century has not been studied adequately to answer the question, but a few tentative conclusions can be drawn. We do know that a great number of manual occupations existed in Fatimid and Ottoman Egypt, and that they were highly specialized.[46] The division of labor prevailed in both large-scale and minor industries.[47] This specialization pertained to techniques as well as to materials and types of objects. In the category of metalworkers, for example, the documents mention artisans and craftsmen who only did casting or hammering, others exclusively trained to prepare a particular alloy, and still others who were expert in making specific utensils—spoons, ladles, mortars, writing cases, and so forth.[48] There were various categories of ceramicists and potters; carpenters who specialized in wooden locks, chests, doors, grilles, or railings, and a different set of shoemakers for different types of shoes.[49] An extreme example of specialization was the dyeing industry, in which, because of the great skill required for preparing the various colors, each dyer specialized in a single color.[50]

[46] See D. S. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, vol. 1, *Economic Foundations* (Berkeley, 1967), pp. 108-9, on the economic foundations of Egypt from the tenth to the twelfth century; and an inquiry into the social and economic status of the artists and artisans in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Cairo in André Raymond, *Artisans et commerçants au Caire au XVIIIe siècle* (Damascus, 1973-74), vol. 1, pp. 215-17; 233-34. The documents of the Cairo Geniza, like the *makhkama* studied by these authorities, have particular bearing on the division of labor at the time.

[47] A similar picture appears from Damascus; J. L. Qasim and K. al-Azem, *Dictionnaire des métiers Damascains* (in Arabic, *Qāmūs al-ṣanāʿāt al-Shāmiyya*), 2 vols. (Paris, 1960). For metalwork, see index "orfèvre," "orfèvre specialisé en or," etc. Goitein noted a preponderance of particular religious and ethnic communities in certain occupations. He emphasizes, however, that this kind of specialization was by no means rigid.

[48] Goitein, *Mediterranean Society*, p. 108-9; Raymond, *Artisans et commerçants*, 1:215-16; 233-34.

[49] Goitein, *Mediterranean Society*, pp. 111-13.

[50] Ibid., pp. 106-7; Raymond, *Artisans et commerçants*, vol. 1, pp. 215-16. The extreme degree of specialization among the dyers is reflected in the story of Abu Seer and Abu Qeer, attributed to the seventeenth century, in which the latter comes to a city where he discovers that all the dyers specialize in the same color blue (*The Thousand and One Nights*, trans. E. W. Lane (London, 1841), vol. 3, pp. 589-90; 615-16, nn. 2 and 8). See also Raymond, *Artisans et commerçants*, pp. 216-17.

This information obviously does not suffice to explain production, not to mention distribution, among the various consumers of any product including the Christian-image brasses. But the division of labor common to all the countries in the region does suggest that there were specialists who were responsible for each of the examples in the set. It would also be logical to assume that the division of labor applied to the techniques involved in the production, and—needless to say—affected their quality. The casting, the engraving, and the inlay would each have been assigned to separate craftsmen. Artifacts of mediocre quality would presumably have come from workshops different from those that turned out well-crafted one-of-a-kind objects.

From the high degree of specialization it can also be inferred that the decorative motifs—the scrolls, animals, human figures, and inscription bands—were also executed by different artisans. There is no concrete evidence for such extreme specialization, but when one considers the case of the highly skilled dyers, each an expert in a single color, such a hypothesis is not unwarranted.

Many questions concerning the production and distribution remain to be answered, as do those regarding how these brasses were commissioned. Al-Salih's basin and tray are the only pieces with Christian imagery and motifs which were evidently executed by order. For the time being we therefore have to assume that metal objects of this type were produced for the market and reflected the taste of the groups of consumers outlined above. These vessels are numerically a small group, but their contribution to our understanding of the time is considerable. They reveal a good deal about the taste of the Ayyubid aristocracy and their political ambitions, and they elucidate the character of the complex Muslim and Christian society that generated them.

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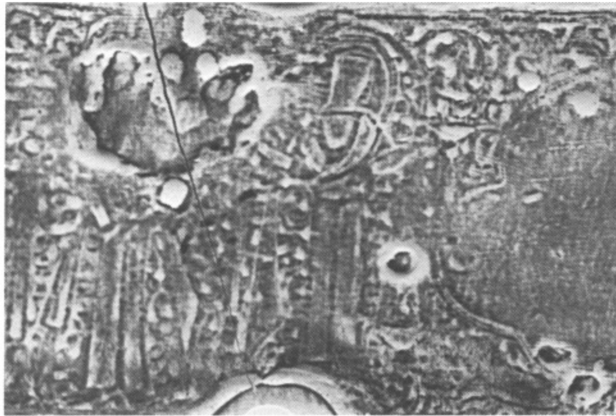
1. Incense burner with Christian images. London, British Museum 78.12-30.679. Courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum.



2-6. Christian figures on incense burner. Berlin, Museum für Islamische Kunst I-3572. Courtesy Museum für Islamische Kunst, Berlin.

7. Incense burner with Christian figures. Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Museum 1956.518. Courtesy Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh.

8. Leading man with walking stick. Detail of incense burner shown on pl. 7.

9. Incense burner with Christian figures in an arcade. Cleveland Museum of Art 37.26. Courtesy Cleveland Museum of Art.

10. Figure 3 of the incense burner shown on pl. 9.

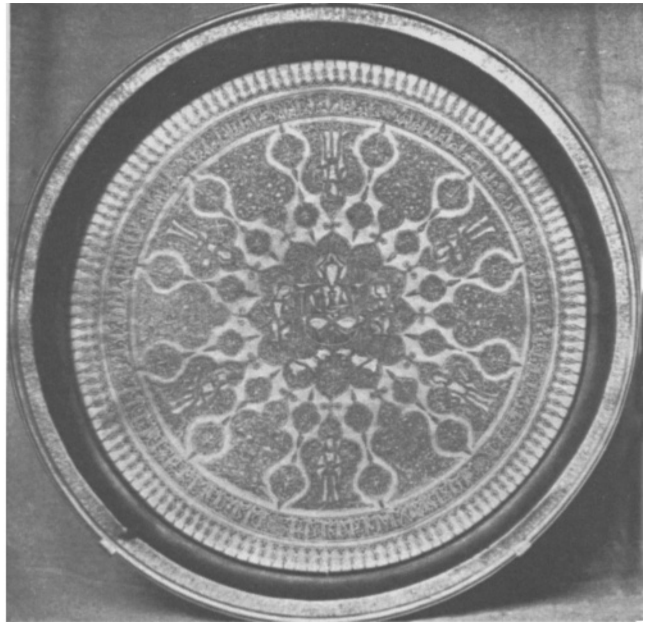
11-12. Figures 4-5 of the incense burner shown on pl. 9.

13-14. Figures 6-7 of the incense burner shown on pl. 9.

15-19. Figures 2-6 on the London incense burner shown on pl. 1.

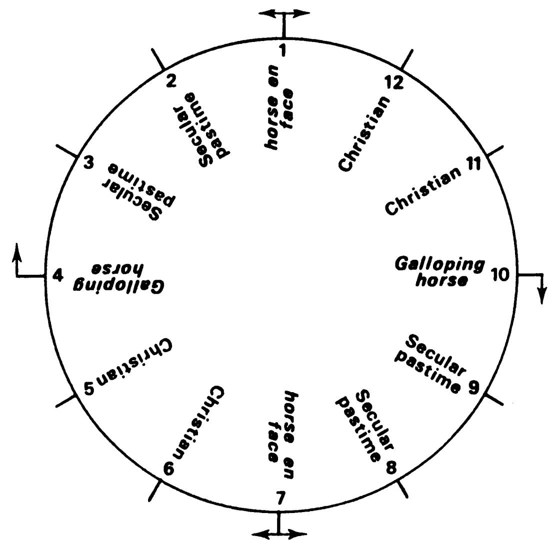
20. Another view of incense burner shown on pl. 1, showing figures 7-10.

21. Ornament on base of incense burner shown on pl. 1.



22. Tray showing enthroned prince surrounded by Christian figures. Formerly Piet Lataudrie Collection.

23. Tray showing pairs of Christian figures in arched panels. Leningrad, Hermitage NCA-14-238. Courtesy the Hermitage Museum. Leningrad.



24. Schematic drawing of the composition of the tray of al-Malik al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub, Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs 360.

25-26. Twelve arched panels with paired figures on the Leningrad tray shown on pl. 23. *(Continued on pls. 27-36)*

27-28. Twelve arched panels with paired figures on the Leningrad tray shown on pl. 23. *(Continued)*

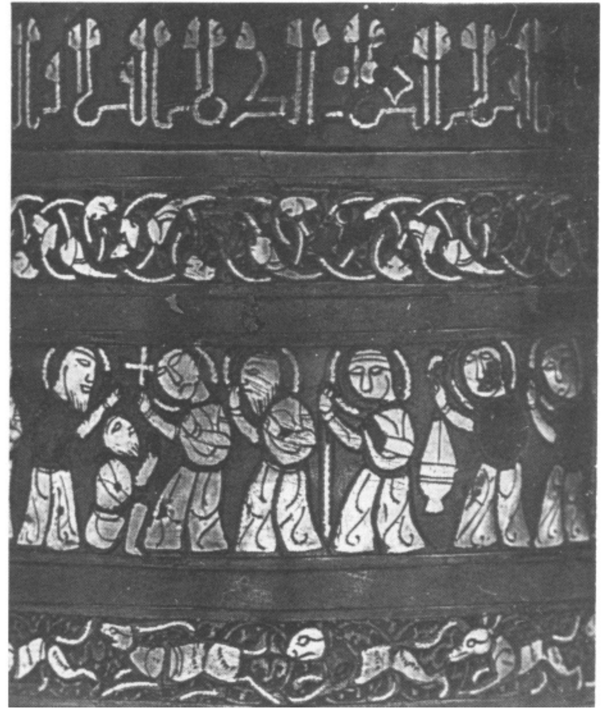
29-30. Twelve arched panels with paired figures on the Leningrad tray shown on pl. 23. *(Continued)*

31-32. Twelve arched panels with paired figures on the Leningrad tray shown on pl. 23. *(Continued)*

33-34. Twelve arched panels with paired figures on the Leningrad tray shown on pl. 23. *(Continued)*

35-36. Twelve arched panels with paired figures on the Leningrad tray shown on pl. 23. *(Continued)*

37. Pyxis decorated with Christian figures and crosses. Cairo, Museum of Islamic Art 15130. Courtesy Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo.

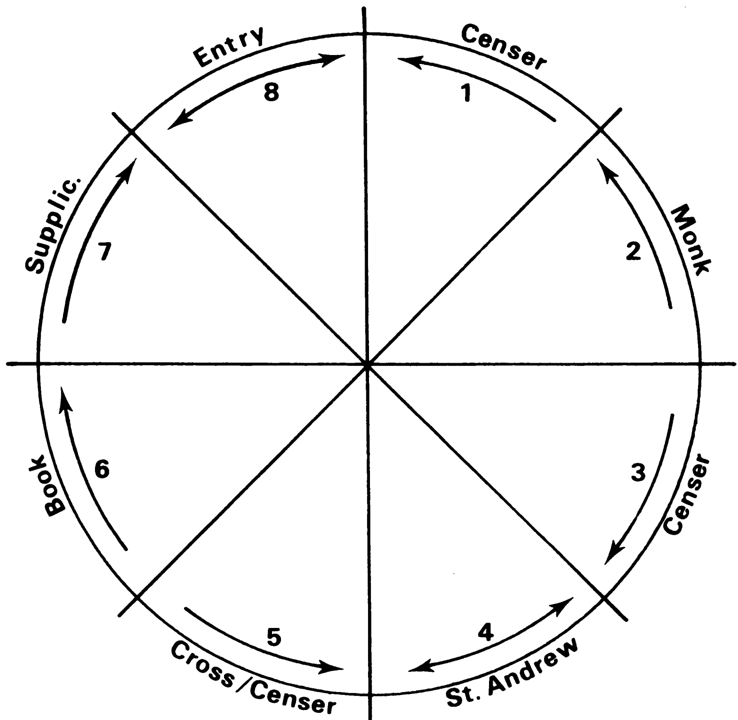


38. Ordination scene. Detail of pyxis. London, Victoria and Albert Museum 320-1866. Courtesy Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

39. Pyxis with saint, deacons, and other Christian figures. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1971.39 A, B. Courtesy the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

40-41. Arched panels from the New York pyxis showing figures 2 and 6.

42. Entry into Jerusalem. New York pyxis.



43. Schematic drawing of the composition on the New York pyxis.

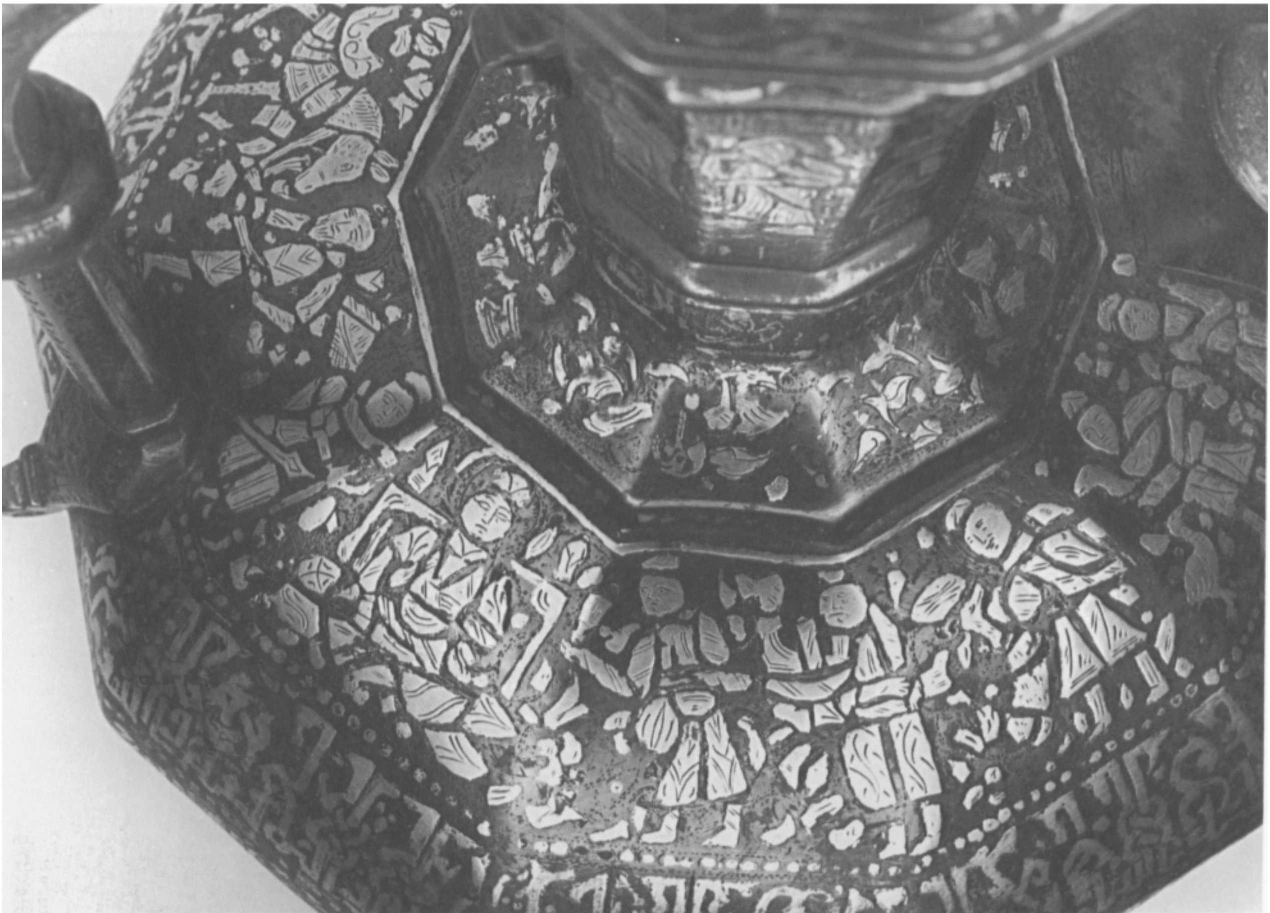
44. Mother and Child. Medallion on the cover of the New York pyxis.

45. Homberg ewer, Keir Collection. View from back.

46. View from right side of the Homberg ewer.

47. View from the front.

48. View from the left side of the Homberg ewer.



49. Shoulder of the Homberg ewer showing frieze with enthroned prince.

50. Ewer with Christian images on the neck. Berlin, Museum für Islamische Kunst I-6581. Courtesy Museum für Islamische Kunst, Berlin.

51. Neck of the Berlin ewer showing the Christian images. Detail of pl. 50.

52a. Ewer showing frieze of Christian figures on the shoulder and collar. Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs 4413. Courtesy Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris.

52b. One of the figures on its collar.

53-54. Candlestick showing scenes from the Life of Christ and Christian figures in arched panels. Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs 4414. Courtesy Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris. *(Continued on pls. 55-56)*

55-56. Candlestick showing scenes from the Life of Christ and Christian figures in arched panels. *(Continued)*

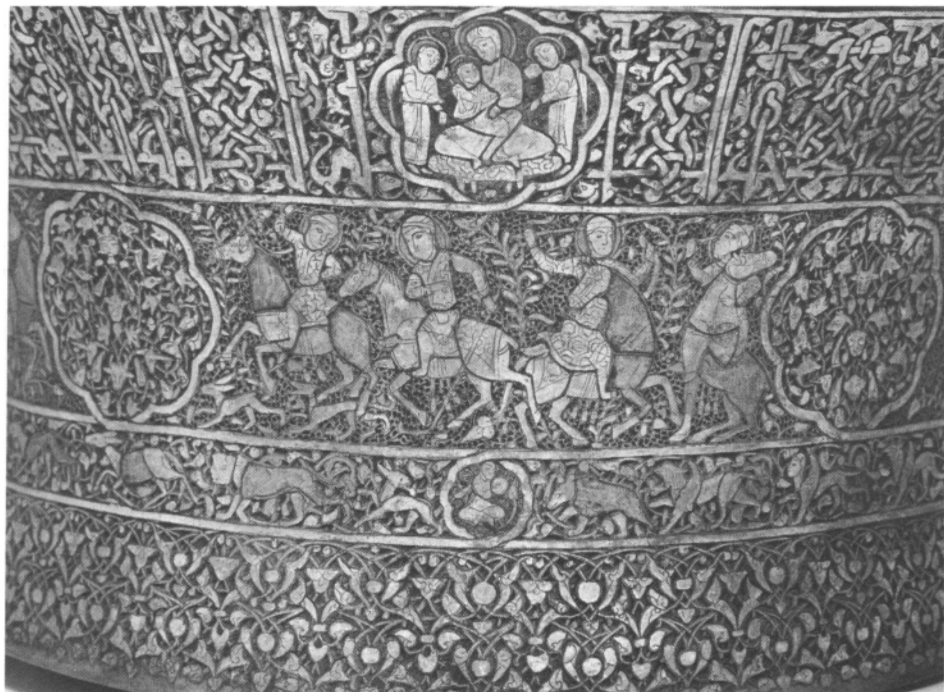
57-58. Neck of candlestick showing figures 1-5 of its Christian images. Montreal, Museum of Fine Arts 49.50 DM2. Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Montreal.
(Continued on pls. 59-61)

59-60. Neck of candlestick showing figures 1-5 of its Christian images. *(Continued)*

61. Neck of candlestick showing figures 1-5 of its Christian images. *(Continued)*

62. Arched panel from vase by ʿAli ibn Hamud al-Mawsili. Florence, Museo Nazionale 360.

63. Basin made for al-Malik al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub, the so-called d'Arenberg basin. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art 55.10. Courtesy Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.



64-65. Exterior of d'Arenberg basin. *(Continued on pls. 66-68)*

66-67. Exterior of d'Arenberg basin. *(Continued)*

68. Exterior of d'Arenberg basin. *(Continued)*

69-72. Goblet with a Christian image in every second facet. Istanbul, Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi 102.

73. Canteen. Obverse showing scenes from the Life of Christ.

74. Reverse showing Christian figures in arches. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art 41.10. Courtesy Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

75. Annunciation. From a Coptic-Arabic Gospel. Paris, Institut Catholique ms. copte-arabe 1, fol. 106r.

76. From a Syriac Gospel in Deir Za'faran.

77. From a Syriac lectionary, Vatican ms. syr. 559, fol. 13r.

78. Nativity. Panel from obverse of Freer canteen shown in pl. 73.

79. Mosaic from the Cappella Palatina, Palermo.

80. From a Syriac lectionary. Vatican ms. syr. 559, fol. 16r.

81. Nativity. From the Armenian Tetra Gospel, Jerusalem, Cathedral of St. James.

82. Horse with crouching groom. Medallion on the body of a ewer. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 54.456.

83. The Washing of the Child. Medallion on the body of the candlestick shown on pls. 53-56.

84. The Washing of the Child. From a Syriac manuscript. Berlin, Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Sachau 220, fol. 6v.

85. Presentation in the Temple. Panel from the obverse of the Freer canteen shown on pl. 73. Courtesy Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

86. Presentation in the Temple. From a Syriac Gospel. Berlin, Collection F. E. Sprigath.

87. Entry into Jerusalem. Panel from the obverse of the Freer canteen shown on pl. 73. Courtesy Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

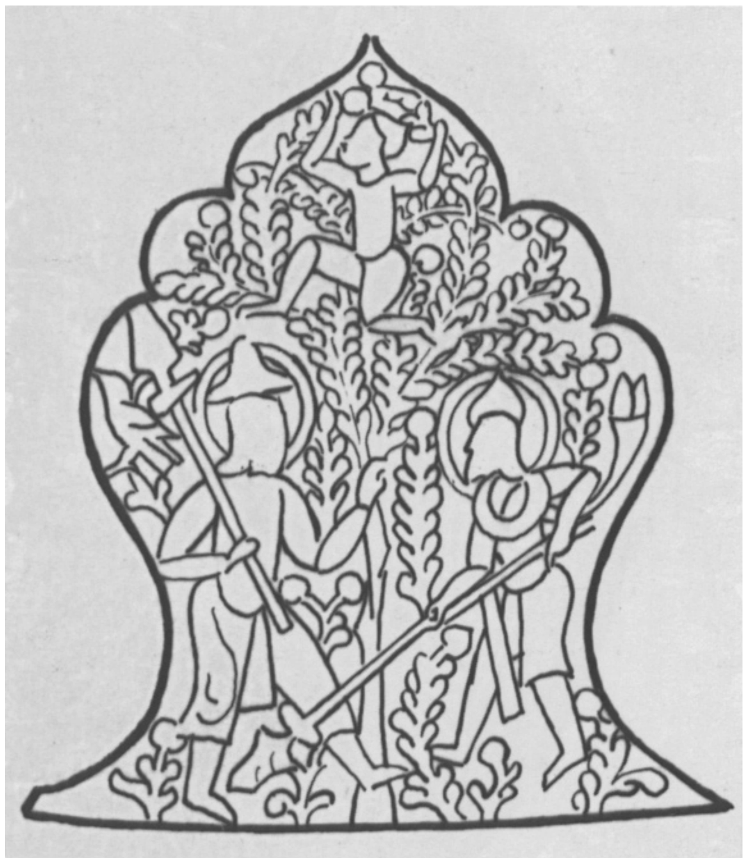
88. Entry into Jerusalem. Panel from the New York pyxis shown on pl. 42.

89. Ordination scene. From a Syriac manuscript. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale ms. syr. 112, fol. 69r.

90. Enthroned ruler with attendants and flying genii. Frontispiece from the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*. Istanbul, Millet Kütüphanesi, Feyzullah Efendi 1566, fol. 1r.

91. Basin with enthroned prince, flying genii, and zodiac on the inside bottom. Tehran, Archaeological Museum.

92. Preparation of medicine. From Dioscorides, *De materia medica*. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery W675.



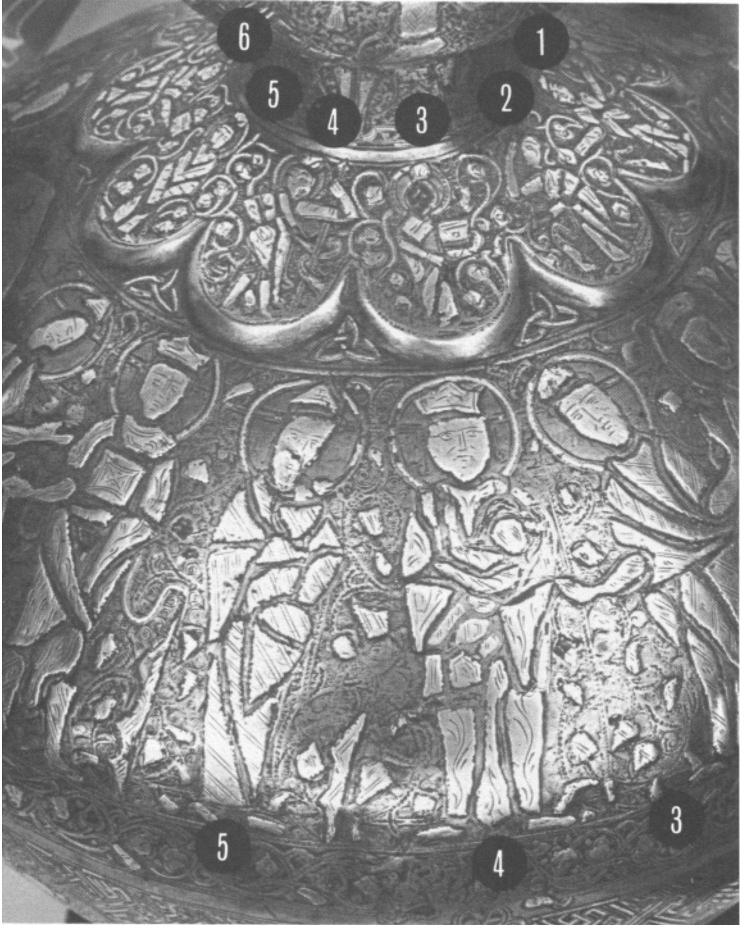
93. Man sitting in the branches of a tree. Medallion on the body of a candlestick. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 57.148. (Drawing D. S. Rice.)

94. The Raising of Lazarus. From a Coptic Tetra Gospel. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale ms. copte 13, fol. 254v.

95. Marriage at Cana (?). Medallion on the body of the candlestick shown on pl. 55.

96. Marriage at Cana. From a Syriac lectionary. Vatican, ms. syr. 559, fol. 57v.

97. Baptism. From the Paris candlestick shown on pl. 54.



98. Christian saints. Frieze from the shoulder of the Paris ewer shown on pl. 52.

99. Virgin and Child. From a Syriac lectionary. Vatican, ms. syr. 559, fol. 17r.

100. Saint with scalloped halo. Enamel plaque. Florence, National Museum (Bargello), Carrand 632.

101. Virgin and Child Enthroned. Gold medallion. Washington D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection 55.10.

102. Virgin and Child with Donor. Enamel plaque. Essen, Cathedral Treasury.

103. Christian saints. Frieze from the shoulder of the Paris ewer shown on pls. 98 and 52.

104. Enthroned prince with attendants and flying genii. Penbox. Athens, Benaki Museum 13174. Courtesy Benaki Museum, Athens.

105. Ordination scene. London pyxis shown on pl. 38.

106. Crouching groom. Detail from frieze on the shoulder of a ewer. Paris, Louvre 3435.

107-108. Deaconess with a censer. Figures 1 and 3 on the New York pyxis shown on pl. 39.

109. Seated dignitary holding a beaker in his left hand. Detail from *Kitāb al-Diryāq*. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek A.F. 10, fol. 1r.

110. Glass beaker. Athens, Benaki Museum. Photograph courtesy L. A. Mayer Memorial, Jerusalem.

111. Praying Christian dignitary. Figure 7 on the reverse of the Freer canteen, pl. 74.

112. Orans. Coptic stela. Cairo, Coptic Museum 8685.

113. Praying saint. Coptic wall painting from Saqqara. Cairo, Coptic Museum.

114. St. Barsauma praying. From a Syriac Gospel, Patriarchal Library, Homs.

115. Ascension. From a Coptic-Arabic manuscript. Cairo, Coptic Museum, Bibl. 94 copte-arabe, fol. 156v.

116. Praying Christian figure. Figure 5 on the reverse of the Freer canteen shown on pl. 74.

117. Praying saints. From a Syriac lectionary, Vatican ms. syr. 559, fol. 174r.

118. Two Evangelists. Ivory panel from Egypt(?). Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum M 11-1904.

119. Figure 10 on the reverse of the Freer canteen, pl. 74.

120. Pensive Mary. Detail from the Presentation in the Temple. From a Syriac lectionary. Vatican ms. syr. 559, fol. 48v.

121. Joseph offering two turtledoves. Figure 1 on the Homberg ewer, pl. 45.

122. Detail from the Presentation in the Temple. From a Syriac lectionary. Vatican ms. syr. 559, fol. 48v.

123. Christian dignitary. Figure 25 on the reverse of the Freer canteen, pl. 74.

124. Constantine and Helena. From a Syriac lectionary. Vatican ms. syr. 559, fol. 223v.

125. Christian saint. Figure 2 on the reverse of the Freer canteen, pl. 74.

126. St. Demetrius. Mosaic from Salonika.

127. Warrior saint. Figure 4 on the collar of the Paris ewer shown on pl. 52a.

128. Four hooded monks. Syriac lectionary. Vatican ms. syr. 559, fol. 45v.