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LE CORAN DE GWALIOR

POLYSÉMIE D'UN MANUSCRIT À PEINTURES

sous la direction de
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ECLECTICISM AND REGIONALISM:

The Gwalior Qur'an and the Ghurid Legacy to Post-Mongol Art

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Abstract

With its exuberant illuminations, the Gwalior Qurʾan, the first dated north Indian Qurʾan, is paradigmatic of the 'global' nature of the art of the Eastern Islamic world following the collapse of the *Pax Mongolica* around the middle of the 14th century. The phenomenon is especially well documented in architecture; in the north Indian milieu in which the Gwalior Qurʾan was produced, the decoration of the monuments erected by the Tughluq sultans of Delhi during the course of the 14th century offers numerous points of comparison for the manuscript's decorative eclecticism. Such tangible reminders of horizontal cultural flows between India, Iran and regions to the West should not, however, obscure the existence of more enduring and geographically circumscribed modes of artistic production; to paraphrase the anthropologist James Clifford, we need to consider *both* routes and roots. This paper locates the Gwalior Qurʾan at the intersection of contemporary 'horizontal' transregional circulations and the 'vertical' axes of earlier, rooted and regionally specific traditions of manuscript production. Based on certain structural idiosyncrasies of the Gwalior manuscript, it raises the possibility of continuities with Qurʾan manuscripts (*maṣāḥif*) produced two centuries earlier in the Ghurid sultanate of Afghanistan and north India (ca. 1150-1210). It speculates that the artistic patronage of the Kartid rulers of Herat (ca. 1245-1389) may provide a 'missing link' between the Gwalior Qurʾan and earlier Ghurid *maṣāḥif*.

Résumé

**Éclectisme et régionalisme :
du coran de Gwalior et de l'héritage ghuride à l'art post-mongol**

Avec ses enluminures exubérantes, le manuscrit de Gwalior, premier coran daté en provenance de l'Inde du nord, est représentatif du caractère « global » des arts islamiques en contexte oriental suite à l'effondrement de la *Pax Mongolica* au milieu du XIVe siècle. Ce phénomène est particulièrement bien documenté dans l'architecture. Dans le nord de l'Inde où le coran de Gwalior a vu le jour, la décoration des monuments érigés par les sultans tughluqs de Delhi au cours du XIVe siècle offre de nombreux points de comparaison avec les décors éclectiques du manuscrit. Toutefois ces rappels tangibles des flux culturels horizontaux qui existaient entre l'Inde, l'Iran et des régions situées plus à l'ouest ne devraient pas faire oublier l'existence d'autres modes de production artistique, plus durables et plus restreints géographiquement. Comme l'a écrit l'anthropologue James Clifford, les routes, mais aussi les racines, doivent être prises en compte. Cet article inscrit le coran de Gwalior

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au croisement des circulations « horizontales », contemporaines et transrégionales, et des axes « verticaux » de traditions artistiques plus anciennes, spécifiques à différentes régions. En s'appuyant sur certaines particularités structurelles du manuscrit de Gwalior, l'auteur propose d'y voir une possible continuité entre cette œuvre et des manuscrits coraniques (*maṣāḥif*) produits deux siècles plus tôt dans le sultanat ghuride, en Afghanistan et en Inde du Nord (ca. 1150-1210). Il soulève la possibilité que le mécénat des chefs karts de Hérat (ca. 1245-1389) puisse fournir le « chaînon manquant » entre le coran de Gwalior et ces *maṣāḥif* ghurides plus anciens.

With its eclectic and exuberant illuminations, the Gwalior Qurʾan is in many respects paradigmatic of the 'global' nature of the art of the Eastern Islamic world in the 14th century. This quality is most obviously manifest in its juxtaposition of forms and motifs deeply rooted in regional (primarily Indic) traditions with those of non-indigenous origin that circulated widely across the Islamic world in the wake of the world empire of the Mongols, which had fostered the development of the late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century world system so well documented by Janet Abu-Lughod.[1] In attempting to sketch a broad cultural context for understanding the remarkable variety of the illuminations in the Gwalior Qurʾan, it is also important to acknowledge the paradoxical fact that, however successful the *Pax Mongolica* may have been in reconfiguring established artistic and cultural geographies, the collapse of the Mongol system, and the decline of the Ilkhans of Iran around the 1330s in particular, may have provided a far greater stimulus than Ilkhanid patronage to the 'global' dissemination of certain artistic forms, practices and techniques over an arc ranging from Egypt in the West to India in the East. This is manifest on the one hand in the rise of regional courts and patterns of artistic patronage in the power vacuum that resulted from the collapse of the Ilkhanid state, whether the Injuids (1305-1357) or Muzaffarids of Shiraz (1335-1393), the Jalayirids of Iraq (1335-1442) or, ultimately, the Ottomans of Anatolia (1299 onwards). On the other, we have the reception of Ilkhanid forms even in areas that had never been under the political control of the Ilkhans.

In the West, perhaps the most spectacular example of this phenomenon is the massive funerary complex built by the Mamluk sultan Ḥasan in Cairo and completed in 1363. The entrance to the complex was originally planned with twin minarets probably modelled on Ilkhanid prototypes, as were those in the mosque of Amīr Qawṣūn (now destroyed) built in Cairo three decades earlier by an architect from Tabriz, probably in imitation of the mosque of Tāj al-Dīn ʿAlī Shāh (ca. 1310) that stood in the Iranian city. During the same period, a tile workshop from Tabriz was operating in Cairo, introducing Persianate modes of decoration to the monuments of the Mamluk elite, while Indian textiles may have provided sources of inspiration for the decoration of at least one contemporary Cairene mosque.[2]

Signifiers of both time and space were deployed in the forms and ornament of Sultan Ḥasan's complex, in which the massive scale of the *qibla iwān* is said to have competed with the fabled *iwān* of the Sasanians at Ctesiphon in Iraq, one of a number of fourteenth-century mosques from Egypt to India that competed with the same ancient model: others include the mosque of Tāj al-Dīn ʿAlī Shāh in Tabriz and the Adina Mosque at Pandua in Bengal, built just a decade or so after Sultan Ḥasan's mosque was completed.[3] Eclecticism added to the 'global' filiations of sultan Ḥasan's complex, with an entrance porch in which Crusader spolia depicting the sacred sites of Jerusalem were combined with newly made carvings of Chinese inspiration, which recur in the funerary chamber of the complex (figure 1).[4] Both instances of chinoiserie were undoubtedly mediated by contact with Ilkhanid art, by virtue of which a wave of Sinicizing ornament broke over the architectural and minor arts of Mamluk Egypt, including manuscript illumination, from the 1350s onwards.[5] Considering the eclecticism manifest in the decoration of Sultan Ḥasan's funerary complex as emblematic of a global moment in the history of fourteenth-century Islamic art, we might also remember that the economic resources to build the monument came at least in part from the estates of those who died intestate as a result of the Black Death, a disease whose pathways of circulation were in many cases the same as those along which fourteenth-century artisans and artistic forms traveled.

1. Abu-Lughod (1991).

2. Meinecke (1976-1977), 85-144, esp. 89-97. For alternative views see Kahil (2008), 63-68. On the similarities between the ornament of the Altinbugha al-Maridani mosque (1340) and Gujarati textiles see Crowe (1989), 459-464.
3. O'Kane (1996), 499-522. For Pandua see Eaton (1996), 42-46.
4. Kahil (2008), 79-84; Jacoby (1982), 121-138.
5. Rogers (1972), 385-403. For the wider contemporary phenomenon, see Kadoi (2009).

Figure 1 – Funerary Complex of Sultan Ḥasan Cairo, detail of chinoiserie carving with lotus ornament, funerary chamber, 1363. [© Photograph: F. B. Flood]

Sultan Ḥasan's complex offers a particularly dramatic example of an artistic eclecticism that exploited 'global' cultural flows, but a similar trend is manifest during the same period as far East as north India, which, like Egypt, had never been incorporated into the Mongol empire. This lack of incorporation was in itself conducive to the circulation of artistic forms, as refugees from the Mongol conquests brought their skills to Delhi in the course of the 13th century, leaving a palpable mark on the development of contemporary architectural decoration.[6] It is, in fact, architecture that offers the most useful indicator of the transregional circulations and connections of the 13th and 14th centuries that are so palpable in the illuminations of the Gwalior Qurʾan.

The architecture of the Tughluq dynasty that ruled north India from 1321 to the period of Tīmūr's invasion in 1399 (the year in which the Gwalior Qurʾan is dated) is particularly marked by the introduction to North India of forms and techniques from the wider Islamic world to the West. These include the precocious glazed tile ornaments in the tomb of Rukn-i ʿAlām of Multan (ca. 1320), itself a monument possibly inspired by the tomb of the Ilkhanid sultan Öljeitü built at Sultaniyya in western Iran less than a decade earlier.[7] To this might be added the first appearance of the four-*iwān* plan and carved stucco ornament at Tughluqabad, the new Tughluqid capital near Delhi built by the Rumi (Anatolian) architect and vizier Aḥmad b. Ayāz,[8] the tentative appearance of blue-glazed tiles in the rebuilt Friday Mosque of Badaʾun (roughly 150 miles from Gwalior) in 1326,[9] and the engaged paired minarets, blue-glazed elements and carved stucco ornament in the Friday Mosque of Jahanpanah, the new capital built by Muḥammad b. Tughluq around 1343 (figures 2-3).[10] This receptivity to Persianate forms and motifs continued even in later Tughluq architecture, for the spectacular stucco ornament in the tomb of Firūz Shāh Tughluq (d. 1388) at Haus Khas in Delhi (figure 4) shows affinities with the illuminations of Ilkhanid manuscripts produced a few decades earlier, which have themselves been cited as comparanda for the illuminations in the Gwalior Qurʾan.[11] In view of this filiation between north Indian architectural ornament and the illumination of highly portable manuscripts from both India and Iran, it is worth noting reports that the madrasa adjoining Firūz Shāh's tomb was provided with carpets from Shiraz, Yemen and Damascus.[12]

6. Flood (2009a), 236.
7. Hillenbrand (1992), 148-174.
8. Shokoohy, Shokoohy (2007), 24, 113-122, pl. 7.29.
9. Flood (2005), 178-180.
10. Welch, Crane (1983), 130-133.
11. See, for example, the illuminations in a copy of the *Majmūʿa al-rashīdiyya* produced in Tabriz between 1307 and 1310 (BnF Arabe 2324): Chaigne (2012), 255-265, figs. 5b-5c. For a discussion of these illuminations in relation to those in the Gwalior Qurʾan see Brac de la Perrière (2009), 346-347.
12. Welch (1996), 182.

Figure 2 – Friday Mosque of Jahanpanah, Delhi, general view of entrance to the prayer hall, ca. 1343. [© Photograph: F. B. Flood]

Figure 3 – Friday Mosque of Jahanpanah, Delhi, remains of blue-glazed lotus flower in spandrels of exterior arches, ca. 1343. [© Photograph: F. B. Flood]

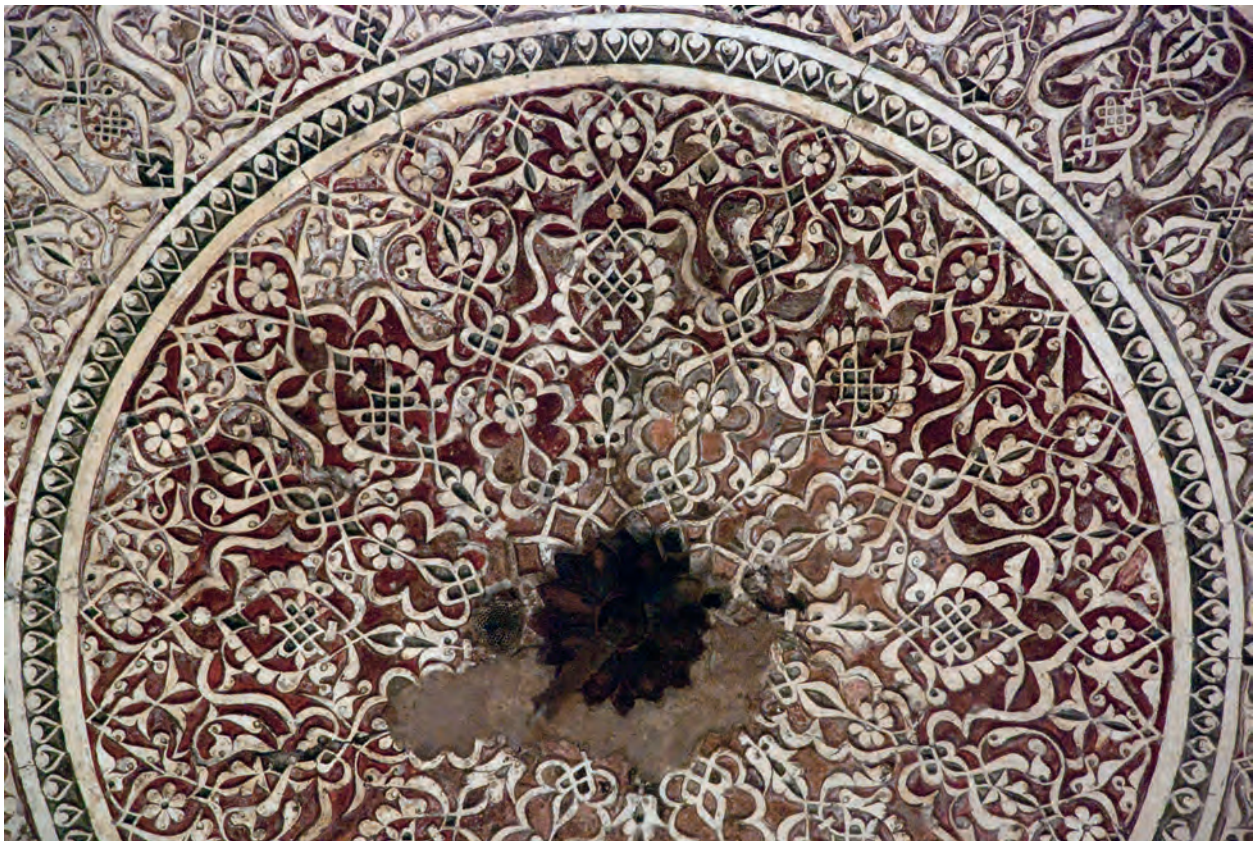

Figure 4 – Tomb of Firūz Shāh Tughluq, Haus Khas, Delhi, detail of painted stucco dome revetments, ca. 1388. [© Photograph: F. B. Flood]

In short, the architectural projects of north Indian sultans not only attest to the enduring mobility of artistic forms and techniques from the Persianate world to the West during the 13th and 14th centuries, but also indicate contemporary receptivity to western modes of ornament, perhaps even a vogue for eclectic combination and experimentation that has an obvious relevance to the kaleidscope of forms and motifs seen in the Qurʾan produced at Gwalior at the end of the same century. Gwalior may not seem to be the most obvious place for the production of such an eclectic manuscript, but it is worth noting that the city was not completely absent from the geographic imaginary of regions to the west: an ancient palace in the fortress of Gwalior is, for example, among the legendary monuments mentioned in a thirteenth- century Yemeni geography.[13]

The practicalities or pragmatics of artistic mobility between the central Islamic lands and India was undoubtedly tied to the role of mediators, both dynastic and individual, who sometimes facilitated the transmission of artifacts and artistic forms across remarkably long distances.[14] Among them one might mention the Rasulids sultans of Yemen (r. 1229-1454), who reportedly sponsored the construction at least one Friday Mosque in China in which the *khuṭba* was read in the Rasulid sultan's name, and also exchanged embassies with the Yüan and Ming dynasties, contacts perhaps attested by reported finds of 're-gifted' Mamluk enameled glass as far East as China.[15] The chinoiserie of fourteenth-century Ilkhanid and Mamluk art even finds a counterpart in what might be termed the occidentalism of Islamic architecture of this period in China. In the Sheng-Yu Si Mosque (Mosque of the Holy Friend) at Quanzhou on the Southern coast of China, forms from the central Islamic lands were mediated by the patronage of a Muslim from Shiraz, who renovated the mosque in 1310. It was presumably then that what is clearly a stone approximation or translation of a *muqarnas* semi-dome was set in place over the main entrance to the mosque (figure 5).[16]

13. Smith (2008), 193.
14. Wagoner (1999), 241-64; Flood (2012), 131-142.
15. See, for example, the enamelled glass vase now in the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington, DC: http://www.asia.si.edu/collections/singleObject.cfm?ObjectNumber=F1934.19, accessed September 25, 2013. On the Rasulids and China see Vallet (2007), 158.
16. Luo (1994), 209-212, 216.

Figure 5 – Sheng-Yu Si Mosque (Mosque of the Holy Friend), Quanzhou, detail of entrance showing stone *muqarnas* semi-dome, 1310. [© Photograph: R. Lee]

Shiraz was of course a fulchrum for the circulation of things and persons along the maritime routes, a key nexus between the Gulf, India and the port cities of Southern China that lay beyond. This relationship is manifest in the close relationship between Shirazi manuscripts and some of the illuminations in the Gwalior Qur'an.[17] The possibility of an earlier relationship between Shirazi and Indian illustrated manuscript traditions is raised by the striking use of a red ground in Injuid manuscripts, a feature documented in earlier Jain manuscripts produced on the West coast of India, including Gujarat, a region long important to long-distance trade. Although it has sometimes been assumed that the use of a similar red ground in the sultanate painting of India derives from Shirazi prototypes, the adoption of this feature in both sultanate painting and fourteenth-century manuscripts produced in Fars is more likely to reflect the common impact of north-Indian, especially Jain, artistic traditions that can be documented a century or two earlier.[18] Hinting at dimensions of culture contact whose significance awaits further investigation, this common feature may serve as a reminder that artistic contacts between Iran and India during the 14th century were characterized by a multi-directionality or mutuality conducive to innovation in both regions.

17. See, for example, a Shirazi Qur'an from the 1340s in the Nasser D. Khalili collection (Qur182, fols. 26v-27r), in which text blocks are framed by a wreath of foliage in a manner analogous to that of many folios in the Gwalior Qur'an: Wright (2013), fig. 19.

18. Robinson (1991), 63. For the Jain material see Guy (1995), 30-41; id. (1994), 89-102.

Perhaps more importantly for understanding the eclecticism of the Gwalior Qurʾan, the circulation of manuscripts between Shiraz and India during the 14th century is attested by a report in the *Kitāb al-wāfī bi al-wafayāt* of ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī (d. 1363), copied from the *Masālik al-abṣār* of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī (d. 1349). The report, attributed to the Tughluqid courtier and later ascetic shaykh Mubārak al-Anbayatī (or al-Anbatī), refers to a number of manuscripts, including a copy of Ibn Sīnā's *Kitāb al-shifāʾ* calligraphed by the celebrated thirteenth-century Iraqi calligrapher Yāqūt al-Mustaʿṣīmī, that was brought by the son of the *qāḍī* of Shiraz as a gift to sultan Muḥammad b. Tughluq of Delhi, at some point before 1340.[19]

If the breakdown of the Mongol empire and the fragmentation of the world system in the first half of the 14th century not only enabled but enhanced artistic flows across long distances, my second point relates to the question of origins and sources. Put simply, it is that global systems are never *sui generis*, they never simply spring into being spontaneously. The horizontal flow of images, forms and motifs across a large area of the Islamic world during and after the period of the *Pax Mongolica* should not obscure the fact that those artistic traditions in which new transcultural or transregional elements are clearly manifest were also inevitably informed by a second, vertical axis of cultural practice, the axis of established historical and/or regional tradition. While the incorporation of the Eastern Islamic lands into the Mongol empire undoubtedly encouraged the circulation of artistic forms over long distances, it is also important to recognize that the roots of some at least of this mobility had been laid in the second half of the 12th century and the beginning of the 13th, when a combination of political fragmentation, the revival of the authority of the Abbasid caliphate, and the restoration of Sunni hegemony, often as a result of military expansionism, proved particularly auspicious for the circulation of artistic forms and practices over an area extending from the Eastern Mediterranean to northern India. Whether looking at the *bīmāristān* of Nūr al-Dīn in Damascus (1154) with its imported *muqarnas* dome and early Syrian manifestation of the four-*iwān* plan associated with the Persianate East, or the coins minted around 1200 by the Ghurid sultans of remote mountain Afghanistan based on Syrian or even North African models,[20] one gets the impression that artisans, forms, and techniques were increasingly mobile in the century before the Mongol conquest.

19. Al-Ṣafadī [1974], vol. 3, 173; Zaki (1981), 115.
20. Tabbaa (2001), 119-124; Flood (2009a), 103-104.

The Ghurids may be especially germane to this broader context for understanding the ornamentation and structure of the Gwalior Qurʾan. The ephemeral nature of the Ghurid sultanate (ca. 1150-1210), and the paucity of manuscripts and other portable objects that can be securely attributed to Ghurid patronage make it difficult to evaluate its artistic legacy, but certain formal features introduced in the Qutb Mosque of Delhi (1192), the first Friday mosque built after the Ghurids conquered north India, were perpetuated in Delhi well into the 14th century, and possibly even carried to Samarqand as a result of Tīmūr's invasion of India.[21] It is, therefore, possible that the openness to experimentation and innovation that characterizes much sultanate art may follow a precedent established in Ghurid art. Although it is easier to demonstrate this for architecture than the portable arts, one remnant of this pre-Mongol world that has not, as far as I am aware, been brought into discussions of the Gwalior Qur'ān is a four-volume leather-bound Qurʾan completed for the Ghurid sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām on 8 Rabīʿ II 584/6 June 1189 (figure 6).[22] Unfortunately, the colophon does not seem to provide a place of production, Firuzkuh (the probable site of the Jam minaret) or Nishapur are possible but Herat is likely; in the second half of a major metalwork school was centered in the city, whose Friday Mosque was rebuilt in 1200, during a period when stylistic and epigraphic evidence attests the participation of its denizens in Ghurid architectural projects as far away as the Indus Valley and north India. Ghazna and Bust are less likely, since these fell within the territories governed by Ghiyāth al-Dīn's brother, Muʿizz al-Dīn.

The Qurʾan is a superlative example of the arts of binding, calligraphy and illumination, comprised of good quality large burnished sheets of paper, lavishly gilded and illuminated, with between six and seven lines of script on each folio; each volume consisted of between roughly 170 and 195 folios. The illumination is most elaborate in the final volume of the manuscript, and reaches a crescendo towards its end, where the short penultimate chapters possess the largest and most elaborate chapter headings, a foretaste of the dazzling, heavily gilded double finispiece of the final

21. The domes associated with the lateral entrances of the Qutb Mosque (1192) recur in the city's Jahanpanah Mosque (mid. 14th century) and in the Bibi Khanum Mosque in Samarqand (1398-1405), where it has been suggested that their presence was inspired by Tīmūr's familiarity with the Tughluqid mosque in Delhi: Golombek, Wilber (1988), vol. 1, 259.
22. Anon. [1949], part 2, nos. 30-33, 16-17; Bahrami (1949), 23, no. 52; Ettinghausen (1954), 470; London (1976), 320, no. 509; Afrawand (1996), 4-14; Soucek (2000), 494, fig. 18; Flood (2009b), 91-118.

volume. With its astonishingly high production values the Qurʾan of 1189 is perhaps the most spectacular Qurʾan manuscript to have survived from pre-Mongol Iran. It is also one of the largest: with a folio size of ca. 39 × 29 cm the Ghurid Qurʾan is approximately 30% larger than the Gwalior Qurʾan (29 × 22 cm), anticipating the scale of Qurʾans of the Ilkhanid and post-Ilkhanid period.

The Ghurid Qurʾan manuscript is unusual in a number of respects. It possesses a lengthy colophon telling us that it took the scribe Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Nīshāpūrī al-Laythī (whose *nisba* suggests he may have hailed from Nishapur) five years to complete. It also provides the most extensive and most bombastic rendition of the titles of the Ghurid sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām to have survived. The calligraphy combines a variety of angular and cursive scripts (including *naskh, thuluth*, and New Style), a combination that also characterizes the monumental epigraphy in Ghurid monuments.[23] The presence of an interlinear Persian gloss on the Arabic text is not unique (although this must be among the earliest dated occurrences), but the inclusion of a popular Qurʾan commentary (*tafsīr*) by Abū Bakr al-Sūrābādī (d. ca. 495/1101) (although not identified as such) at the end of each chapter is unusual in a Qurʾan of this period.[24] The importance of the manuscript can hardly be overstated. As a unique royal manuscript it fills a major lacuna in the history of the material Qurʾan between the introduction of paper and cursive scripts in the 10th and 11th centuries and the celebrated Mamluk and Ilkhanid Qurʾans of the fourteenth.

More importantly, some of the features of the Gwalior Qurʾan are anticipated in the Ghurid Qurʾan, although it shows none of the chinoiserie that is such a marked feature of the Gwalior Qurʾan, which was integrated into the repertoires of artists and artisans working in the Islamic world only after the Mongol invasions of the 13th century. Among the most obvious parallels between the Ghurid and Gwalior Qurʾans are a penchant for eclecticism in the illuminations, manifest in the variety of scripts used in sura headings, ranging in the Ghurid Qurʾan from kufic (in both foliated and non-foliated varieties), to New Style and *naskhī*, while the sacred text itself is written in *tawqīʿ*. In the Gwalior Qurʾan, we find a similar taste for variety in the use of foliated kufic and *muḥaqqaq* for *juzʾ* markers and *thuluth* for sura headings, with *bihārī* used for the sacred text.[25] Like the Gwalior Qurʾan, the Ghurid Qurʾan is provided with an interlinear Persian gloss, one of the first dated Qurʾans to include such a feature. In addition, the text of the opening folios of the first volume of the Ghurid Qurʾan is surrounded by a cloud of vegetation that swirls around the interstices of the text, anticipating the dense elaboration of a similar feature in the Gwalior Qurʾan (figures 6-7).

None of these features is of course unique. What does suggest a more specific relationship to the Gwalior Qurʾan is the unusual division of the Ghurid Qurʾan. Qurʾans of this period tend to be single volume or divided into thirty, seven (or more rarely, six or two) volumes, while the Ghurid manuscript is divided into four, each volume bearing some or all of its original tooled leather binding.[26] Such a division is rare, although four-volume divisions of *tafāsīr* are known, and might conceivably have informed the division of the Qurʾanic text. Whatever the reason that this division of the revelation was favored, the four-fold division of the Ghurid Qurʾan may well have been employed in other Qurʾans produced in Afghanistan and north-western regions of South Asia in the 12th and 13th centuries.

The persistence of this unusual division may help explain a peculiarity of the Gwalior Qurʾan that recurs in other sultanate period Indian Qurʾans (all undated). This is a distinction conferred on suras 1 (*al-Fātiḥa*), 7 (*al-Aʿrāf*), 19 (*Maryam*), and 38 (*Ṣād*) by the provision of heavily illuminated double-page frames that do not announce the opening of any other suras. The presence of elaborate double-page illuminations around these four suras (and no others) articulates, in effect, a four-fold division of the Qurʾanic text. Occurring within the single volume Gwalior Qurʾan, this division recapitulates the four-volume division of the Ghurid Qurʾan of 584/1189, each volume of which begins with one of the four suras highlighted in the Gwalior Qurʾan.

The Gwalior Qurʾan is not unique in this respect, but can be located within a broader tradition attested to by other undated north Indian Qur'ans of the sultanate period in which the same four-fold division is articulated by the framing and illumination of the openings of the same suras. These include a single volume Qurʾan now in the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore (W563) and a double-volume Qurʾan in the

23. Hillenbrand (2000), 143.
24. The popularity of al-Sūrābādī's *Tafsīr* in twelfth-century Khurasan is evident from the fact that two earlier copies, dated 523/1129 and 535/1140-1141 survive: Lazard (1963), 91-94. For the intellectual and religious context see Flood (2009b); Zadeh (2012), 547-554.
25. Brac de la Perrière, Chaigne, Cruvelier (2010), 116-117.
26. Volume 1 (Iran Bastan Museum 3500) runs from sura 1 (*al-Fātiḥa*) to 6 (*al-Anʿām*); volume 2 (Iran Bastan Museum 3499) from sura 7 (*al-Aʿrāf*) to 18 (*al-Kahf*); volume 3 (Iran Bastan Museum 3496) from sura 19 (*Maryam*) to 37 (*al-Sāffāt*); volume 4 (Iran Bastan Museum 3507): from sura 38 (*Ṣād*) to 114 (*al-Nās*).

Figure 6 – Ghurid Qur'an of 1189, vol. 1, recto of double opening containing Sura 1, *al-Fātiḥa* (Iran Bastan Museum 3500, p. 5). [© Iran Bastan Museum, Photograph: F. B. Flood]

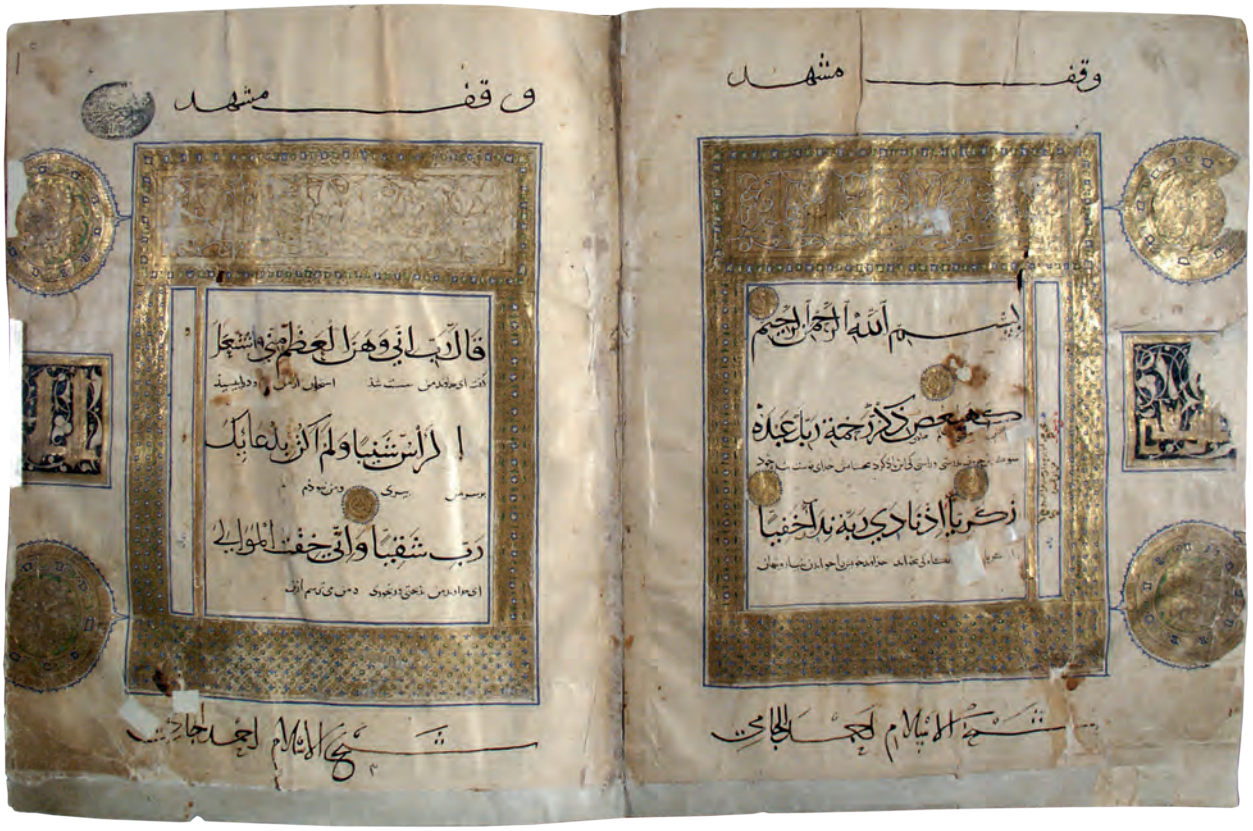

Figure 7 – Ghurid Qur'an of 1189, vol. 3, double opening framing Sura 19, *Maryam* (Iran Bastan Museum 3496, folios unknown). [© Iran Bastan Museum]

Figure 8 – Ghurid Qur'an of 1189, vol. 1, recto of double opening containing Sura 2, *al-Baqara* (Iran Bastan Museum 3500, p. 7) (detail). [© Iran Bastan Museum, Photograph: F. B. Flood]

Figure 9 – Ghurid Qur'an of 1189, volume 4, double finispiece (Iran Bastan Museum 3507, fols. 195r-196v). [© Iran Bastan Museum, Photograph: F. B. Flood]

Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art (QUR237) in which a special distinction conferred on the beginning of suras 1, 7, 19 and 38 by the provision of elaborately illuminated double frontispieces. Neither bears a date, but both are tentatively ascribed to the late 14th or 15th centuries. A single volume sultanate Qurʾan in the al-Sabah Collection in Kuwait (LNS 278 MS) that distinguishes the same four suras in similar fashion is also undated, but certain stylistic features suggest a date in the 14th century, if not the 13th.[27]

The elaborate ornamentation used to distinguish the openings of suras 1, 7, 19, and 38 in these sultanate-period Qurʾans, of which the Gwalior Qurʾan is the only dated example, suggests the persistence of a vestigial four-fold division even within single- or two-volume sultanate Qurʾans. This is likely to perpetuate the division favored in the four-volume structure of the Ghurid royal Qurʾan, and other twelfth-century Afghan Qurʾans that have not survived.

In addition, in both the Ghurid and Gwalior Qurʾans (and also in MS W563), the double frame that opens suras 1, 7, 19 and 38 (figures 6 and 8), is more heavily illuminated and more richly gilded than those that open all other suras (compare, for example, figures 6 and 8 with figure 7).[28] In the first volume of the Ghurid Qurʾan, the double page richly illuminated *jadwal* containing *sūrat al-Fātiḥa* is, like their equivalents in the Gwalior Qurʾan, preceded by a pair of heavily gilded geometric carpet pages, which are repeated in the finispiece of the fourth and final volume (figure 9).

In the case of the Gwalior Qurʾan, it has been suggested that this use of a decorative double geometric frontispiece followed by double frontispieces framing the opening texts of each *juzʾ* was inspired by contemporary Mamluk Qurʾans.[29] This is entirely possible: both direct and indirect contacts between fourteenth-century India and Egypt are well-documented. Indeed, in its form and details, the double frontispiece that opens the Gwalior Qurʾan (fols. 1v-2r) is much closer to the frontispieces found in Ilkhanid and Mamluk Qurʾans than those found in pre-Mongol Qurʾans from Iran and Afghanistan. Nevertheless, it is entirely possible that the basic structure of the Gwalior Qurʾan – in particular, the quadrapartite division implied by the choice to distinguish suras 1 (fols. 2v-3r), 7 (fols. 143v-144r), 19 (fols. 274v-275r) and 38 (fols. 406v-407r) by the elaborate framing of their opening verses – perpetuates a tradition favored, for as yet unknown reasons, in the Qurʾans produced for the Ghurids and their successors. If this is the case, we are dealing with a more complex scenario than the simple reception of Ilkhanid or Mamluk modes of manuscript illumination, a scenario in which the basic structure of the Gwalior Qurʾan perpetuates an earlier, perhaps even archaic, *regional* tradition, while the specific forms of its ornament are shaped by the *transregional* flow of artistic forms and practices across a wide swath of the Islamic world from Egypt to India, during and after the period of Mongol hegemony in the 13th and 14th centuries. In other words, while the illuminations and ornament of the Gwalior Qurʾan are clearly informed by relatively contemporary traditions that flowed horizontally across the Islamic work in the 14th century, the division of the text itself may be an archaism that perpetuates a less immediately visible inheritance from earlier regional traditions, documented in the Ghurid Qurʾan produced 200 years earlier. Such a perpetuation of earlier traditions would be very much in keeping with the archaisms in fourteenth-century sultanate painting that have been noted elsewhere by Éloïse Brac de la Perrière.[30]

The Ghurid Qurʾan never traveled to India, since it was endowed to the shrine of Shaykh Aḥmad b. Abū al-Ḥasan (d. 1141) at Turbat-i Shaykh Jam, now an Iranian border town to the West of Herat, in 1256 and remained there until it was taken to Tehran in the early 20th century.[31] Nevertheless, it seems highly unlikely that this was the only such Qurʾan ever made in Ghurid Afghanistan, especially when one considers that it was completed in 1189, a decade or two even before large amounts of Indian gold and booty started flowing into the Ghurid sultanate to fund major artistic projects, such as the rebuilding of the Friday Mosque of Herat in 1200. One possibility, therefore, is that other such four-volume Qurʾans existed and circulated eastward to India before or after the collapse of the Ghurid sultanate and the emergence of Delhi as the capital of an independent sultanate around 1210.

There is, however, an alternative possibility that should be considered, one that relates to the revival of the legacy of the Ghurid sultanate in the 14th century under the Kart or Kartid dynasty of Herat, which ruled between roughly 1278 and 1383. The rise of the Kartids, who claimed descent from the Shansabanid clan of Ghur, ruled as Ilkhanid vassals, and were

27. I am very grateful to Nahla Nasser of the Nasser D. Khalili Collection for drawing my attention to QUR237 and providing images of the manuscript, and to Sue Kaoukji of the al-Sabah Collection for permitting me to study LNS 278 MS during a visit to Kuwait in May 2015.
28. Brac de la Perrière, Chaigne and Cruvelier (2010), 117.
29. Brac de la Perrière (2015). I am grateful to Éloïse Brac de la Perrière for supplying me with a copy of her paper.
30. Brac de la Perrière (2008).
31. Golombek (1971), 27-44; Zadeh (2012), 550-554.

eventually defeated by Tīmūr, underlines the point made earlier about the possibilities for realizing regional political ambitions after the collapse of Ilkhanid power in the 1330s. Although often overlooked, the Kartids were contemporaries of the Jalayirids, Muzaffarids, and Injuids, whose rule bookended the interregnum from the collapse of the Ilkhanids to the rise of the Timurids, at whose hands the Kartid dynasty met its end, the last of its scions put to death.

The Kartids of Herat laid aggressive claim to the legacy of the Ghurids, claims apparent not only in the name of Ghiyāth al-Dīn who ruled over Herat between 1307 and 1328, the Kartid namesake of the great Ghurid sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām (r. 1163-1203); contemporary writers often conflated and confused the two. The restoration of the Herat Mosque by the Kartid ruler in 1320 reenacted one of the central acts of the Ghurid sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn's patronage, the rebuilding of the Friday Mosque of Herat around 1200. It was next to the Ghurid sultan in his tomb in the same mosque that the Kartid malik Ghiyāth al-Dīn was eventually laid to rest.[32]

More relevant to the broader context for the Gwalior Qurʾan is evidence for the continued role of Herat as a center for book production under the rule of the Kartids in the 14th century. A leather-bound Persian translation of the second *rubʿa* of al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn* written by the scribe Nāṣir al-Ḥarāwī in Herat in 1325 is now preserved in the Semyenov Collection of the Academy of Sciences in Dushanbe. The colophon invokes praise on Ghiyāth al-Dīn, the Kartid ruler, and tells us that the manuscript was completed on the Southern platform of Herat's Friday Mosque (*dar masjid-i ādīna dar ṣuffa-yi janūbī*), indicating that the Herat mosque functioned as a center for the production of religious texts.[33] That mosques were a locus for manuscript production in both Afghanistan and India is confirmed by a fourteenth-century North Indian Ḥanafī *ḥisba* manual, which specifically censures the activities of calligraphers and copyists (*warrāq*) in mosques.[34]

The Herat manuscript of the *Iyḥāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn* is executed in black ink with headings in red, and shows no sign of illuminations, but its scale is unusual: the paper is large in size, 30.5 × 25.5 cm, just slightly smaller than the folios of the Ghurid Qurʾan of 1189, which measure 39 × 29 cm. On the basis of the survival of this manuscript, Lola Dodkhudoeva has plausibly suggested that the Kartid rulers may have fostered the production of certain kinds of texts designed to enhance their appropriation of the Ghurid legacy. Textual evidence indicates the production of illustrated manuscripts under the Kartids,[35] and it seems probable that Qurʾans were also among the manuscripts that they commissioned, like the Ghurids before them. Given the instrumentalization of the Ghurid legacy by the Kartids, any such Qurʾans would, like so much of Kartid art and architecture, invariably have followed Ghurid precedents. Such a revival of Ghurid forms and practices offers a possible, if hypothetical, link between the manuscript traditions of the Ghurids, and the four-fold division of the Gwalior Qurʾan. This hypothesis is perhaps strengthened by the fact that Kartid artistic patronage not only reenacted that of the Ghurids, but mediated between the artistic legacy of the Ghurids and the innovations of the Timurids. The great brass basin that the Kartid Malik Pīr ʿAlī commissioned for the Friday Mosque of Herat in 1374 provided, for example, the inspiration for that ordered by Tīmūr for the shrine of Aḥmad Yasawī in Turkistan city in 1399.[36] In addition, Dodkhudoeva raises the intriguing possibility of continuities between the patronage of the Kart rulers and the artistic patronage of the Timurids, including Shāh Rukh in Herat (r. 1405- 1447), a likelihood signaled earlier by Terry Allen and Lawrence Potter.[37]

The suggestion that the structure of the Gwalior Qurʾan may perpetuate a tradition pioneered in earlier South Asian Qurʾan manuscripts in no way contradicts the evidence for a simultaneous relation to Ilkhanid, Injuid, Mamluk and Muzaffarid book production. What it does, however, remind us of is the need to be aware not only of spatial but also temporal dimensions of artistic patronage; to be aware not only of the horizontal flow of artistic forms across remarkable distances, but also the need to consider the more vertical inheritance of regional traditions transmitted across time. In the case of the Gwalior Qurʾan, one might signal the need to be aware of both the potential legacy of earlier regional (Eastern Iranian, Afghan, and north Indian) traditions of manuscript production and the new artistic possibilities opened by the upheavals that led to the disappearance not only of the Ghurids, but also of a whole world order during the course of the 13th century.

The enhanced cultural flows that followed provided the necessary conditions for the marked eclecticism of the illuminations in the Gwalior Qurʾan. These raise interesting questions about the extent to which this heterogeneity would have appeared *as such* to the late fourteenth-century users and viewers of the manuscript, and whether its geographic or spatial

32. Glatzer (1980); Potter (1998), 55.
33. Dodkhudoeva (2009), 165-193.
34. Ibn ʿAwaḍ Sanāmī [1986], 163; Dien (1997), 46, 70.
35. Potter (1998), 158.
36. Lentz, Lowry (1989), 29, fig. 4; Potter (1998), 159-160.
37. Allen (1983), 46-49; Potter (1998), 153, 155-159.

implications would have been apparent. Questions of cognition and perception relating to the circulation of ornament are perhaps better answered for the early modern period, highlighted, for example, by the use of the term *khaṭā'ī* to denote chinoiserie in Safavid Iran, one of seven ornamental modes, which also included geographic categories such as *farangī* or Frankish (i.e. European) ornament.[38] This suggests at least a conventional memory of a relationship between ornamental form and geographic origins, but it is far from clear any late fourteenth-century viewers would have read the illuminations of the Gwalior Qurʾan in this way, even if its eclecticism was visible as such.[39] Nevertheless, the suggestion that the manuscript was produced in a Sufi milieu may be relevant,[40] for in considering the visibility and potential meaning of the 'global' resonances of its illuminations, one might suggest that these were imbued with ideological or polemical resonances related to such an environment. Writing of the tensions between the authority exercised by sultans and Sufis in fourteenth-century India, Richard Eaton has, for example, underlined a spatial dimension to the dialectic between royal sovereignty (*ḥukūmat*) and spiritual sovereignty (*wilāyat*) manifest in an opposition between region and transregion:

> "Whereas *ḥukūmat*, royal authority, was always limited in reach, and never coincided with the entire Muslim world – far less with the entire planet – the spiritual sovereignty of Sufis, *wilāyat*, was theoretically unlimited in territorial extent, and hence far greater than the worldly sovereignty of sultans".[41]

Such a reading of *wilāyat* would fit well with the transregional resonances of the Gwalior Qurʾan and its dazzling array of painted ornaments.

By way of conclusion, I have to admit that on first viewing, the vibrant visuality of the Gwalior Qurʾan, its dizzying combinations and variegated palette, invariably brought to mind the painted walls of a building far distant from Gwalior, and separated from our Qurʾan manuscript by almost century. In their eclecticism, luminosity, vivacity, and variety, the sheer brilliance and exuberance of the illuminations of the Gwalior Qurʾan immediately reminded me of the molded plaster ornament and paintings (*kalem işi*) executed in the interior of the mausoleum of Şehzade Mustafa and Cem Sultan in the Muradiye, the Ottoman royal cemetery at Bursa, far to the West, in the 1470s (figure 10). Like the illuminations of the Gwalior Qurʾan, these also offer a kaleidoscopic repertoire of new and established techniques and forms drawn from over a wide geographic area. The Bursa paintings include calligraphic medallions, faux marble, flowers and vegetation, vases with floral sprays, mosque lamps, arabesques and knotted or interlace borders; many show the continuing impact of earlier Timurid manuscript illuminations.[42] Like the illuminations of the Gwalior Qurʾan, the Ottoman paintings constitute an "encyclopaedia of the kinds of patterns and motifs" in contemporary use; as Richard Turnbull has noted, they appear "as manuscript pages writ large".[43]

The juxtaposition of the Gwalior Qurʾan illuminations with Anatolian tomb paintings executed seven decades later is admittedly superficial and shamelessly anachronistic, but Georges Didi-Huberman has argued persuasively that all artworks are necessarily anachronistic to the extent that they manifest diverse temporalities, brought into constellation in a single object.[44] This is no less true of the Gwalior Qurʾan, which I have argued represents a point of intersection between older, regionally inflected traditions of manuscript production and the dynamic transregional cultural flows that characterized much fourteenth-century art. Moreover, even anachronisms can be useful heuristic devices, helping to provoke or stimulate our thoughts on particular artworks. What we might take away from the juxtaposition of illuminated Qurʾan and painted tomb, however anachronistic or seemingly arbitrary the comparison, is a way of thinking about the Gwalior manuscript. Not as an object or thing, so much as a space, the kind of space that Michel Foucault termed a *heterotopia*, a space in which geographically and temporally diverse artifacts, forms, and even languages co-exist, intermingle and inform their mutual reception.[45] For Foucault, the museum was, of course, the heterotopia *par excellence*, a point of reference that may not be entirely irrelevant to the Gwalior Qurʾan, with its compendia of ornaments resembling a pattern-book of contemporary illumination. Thinking about the Gwalior Qurʾan as a space rather than a thing is perhaps more productive than invoking standard metaphors of hybridity or

38. O'Kane (1992), 77-78; Porter (2000), 113-114; Necipoğlu (1995), 112-114; id. (2007), 12-13.
39. For general considerations of the relationship between identity or region and style in the perception of premodern Islamic ornament see Korn (2003), 237-260; Flood (2009a), 200-205. Writing in a different context, Carolyn Dean and Dana Leibsohn have offered an insightful and provocative analysis of the relative visibility of hybridity in material culture to the modern viewer: Dean, Leibsohn (2003), 5-35.
40. Brac de la Perrière (2015).
41. Eaton (2000), 170.
42. Turnbull (2004), 119-145. The paintings are restorations or reproductions, believed to be faithful to the originals: 139.
43. *Ibid*., 139, 250.
44. Didi-Huberman (2003), 31-44.
45. Foucault (1986), 22-27.

Figure 10 – Tomb of Cem sultan, Muradiye, Bursa, detail of upper walls with painted ornament, 1470s. [© Photograph: F. B. Flood]

syncretism, which imply an uneasy and often a rather unstable juxtaposition of things that in some fundamental sense do not really belong together.[46] Unlike the architectural spaces which Foucault imagined in developing his idea of the heterotopia, the Gwalior Qurʾan is of course highly mobile. In this sense also, it is also an appropriate place or space from which to acknowledge the extraordinary mobility that informed Islamic art and architecture during the 14th century, and the resulting eclecticism that lends so much fourteenth-century art and architecture of the Islamic world from Egypt to India its unusual vibrancy. However, if the importance of routes to the vibrancy of the Gwalior Qurʾan is abundantly clear, it would be a mistake to emphasize these at the expense of roots;[47] indeed, the roots of these phenomena of mobility may already have been laid in Eastern Islamic art of the 12th and 13th centuries, before the emergence of the Mongol world system. In this sense, the Gwalior Qurʾan should be located at the intersection between the synchronicity of horizontal cultural flows – of routes and their effects – and the diachronicity of vertical inheritances from earlier, rooted traditions.

It is also the case that both the Gwalior Qurʾan and the painted tomb at Bursa stand at the end of a series, on the cusp of an emerging world in which the hegemony of new world empires would ensure the dissemination of more canonical, more standardized and in many ways more homogeneous or uniform artistic forms and practices. What the Gwalior Qurʾan offers, perhaps, is a reminder that in many cases the great achievement of the new world empires of the Timurids and their Mughal, Ottoman, and Safavid successors lay in codifying and synthesizing artistic elements and forms that had existed earlier,[48] and that had often been used in exuberant combinations where the cultural or geographic conditions were amenable to a multiplicity of receptions or, to use the rubric of this volume, to a reception characterized by polysemy.

46. See Shaw, Stewart (1994), 1-26 and Stewart, Ernst (2002), 586-588.
47. Clifford (1997).
48. Of course, this did not preclude mobility, even of the most literal and surprising kinds. In addition to Tīmūr's oft-cited removal of Indian stone-carvers and Iranian tile-workers to Samarqand, one might mention a 4-ft high tile panel in the Friday Mosque of Zabid, on the West coast of Yemen, which is strikingly similar to tile panels in the tomb of Shad-i Mulk Agha in Samarqand (1383) or in Yazd and appears to have been imported from Central Asia or Iran around the middle of the 15th century: Porter (1995), 66, fig. 60.

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