

ten dabei das Protestpotential der islamischen Reformbewegung, die sich zwar ausschließlich religiös artikulierte, aber indirekt die Legitimität der Militärs untergrub. Das Infragestellen staatlicher Autorität war nicht von vornherein Zielsetzung der *Wahâbiya*, sondern die Konsequenz aus dem verstärkten Ausbau einer eigenen Infrastruktur aus Koranschulen, Krankenhäusern und anderen sozialen Einrichtungen. Angesichts der dramatischen Wirtschaftskrise des Landes und endemischer Korruption war der Staat nicht mehr in der Lage, den grundlegenden öffentlichen Aufgaben nachzukommen. Insofern übte die *Wahâbiya* auch auf jene jungen städtischen Milieus Anziehungskraft aus, die eine im Grunde allzu enge Auslegung des Islam ablehnten. Die *Wahâbiya*, so HOCKS plausible These, bereitete den Boden für den Sturz des repressiven Traoré-Regimes im März 1991. Von der Demokratisierung konnte die islamische Reformbewegung jedoch nicht profitieren. Seitdem ihre Rolle als einzige legale Gegenmacht weggefallen war, zeigt sie sich in einem Zustand zunehmender Zersplitterung. Ihre Forderungen haben im laizistischen Staat mit seiner vielstimmigen Presselandschaft an Gewicht verloren.

Insgesamt handelt es sich um ein sehr informiertes Werk, dessen Wert dadurch nicht geschmälert wird, dass der poetische Titel etwas unverbunden zum Text steht. Darüber hinaus hätte ein Seitenblick auf die Subregion verdeutlicht, dass der Weg der malischen Muslime kein isoliertes Phänomen ist, sondern sich in vielen Staaten Westafrikas ähnlich darstellt.

Frankfurt/Main

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Oleg GRABAR: *Mostly Miniatures: An Introduction to Persian Painting*. Translated by Terry GRABAR. Princeton, New Jersey/Oxford 2000: *Princeton University Press*. viii, 168 p., 79 color plates and 10 b/w illustrations.

*Persian Painting from the Mongols to the Qajars: Studies in Honor of Basil W. ROBINSON*. Ed. by Robert HILLENBRAND. London/New York 2000: *I. B. Tauris Publishers*, in association with The Centre of Middle Eastern Studies. University of Cambridge. XX, 331 p., color plates and b/w illustrations. (Pembroke Persian Papers, 3).

In 2000, two books about Persian painting were published in English that together provide a survey of the latest research on this field of Islamic art. Moreover, they are important contributions to research on the production of illustrated and illuminated codices as luxury items in Islamicate Persian culture, and thus indicate the growing importance of Islamic codicology. Both volumes are richly illustrated, and their illustrations constitute an important source for Persian painting because the delicate condition of works on paper causes scholars great practical difficulties in examining originals, be they held in public or private collections. Therefore, the two books are also of interest for historians who work primarily with written sources. Painting can be executed on a variety of surfaces, such as paper, pottery, walls, wood, cloth and metal. These visual documents are an

extremely valuable, and still largely untapped, source for historians of pre-modern Islamic societies, especially since the Islamic manuscript tradition extended into the first half of the twentieth century. In the last two decades the research of specialists in the field of Islamic codicology, such as François Déroche, Adam Gacek and Jan Just Witkam, has shown that the technical, socioeconomic and socio-religious aspects of manuscript production in Islamic societies are indispensable to the source-critical evaluation of written texts.

With *Mostly Miniatures*, the renowned art historian Oleg GRABAR presents a fascinating exercise in thinking about this art form through approaching it three times in three different ways: evolution, content and aesthetics. The book is divided into five chapters, preceded by a short introduction (pp. 2–5); notes (pp. 148–156), bibliography (pp. 157–161), index (pp. 162–167) and photographic credits (p. 168) conclude the volume. GRABAR describes his goal as “a true history of Persian painting over its long span of time, not consisting simply a collection of details presented in chronological order but situating Persian painting within the culture of the Persian speaking world, the social structure of Iran, the art of Muslim peoples, and, finally, the universal history of the arts. This ambitious project, *historical and aesthetic*, cannot be realized today.” (p. 13) He modestly considers his study “a first attempt at reflection, intended to inspire critical discussion” (p. 124).

In the introduction, GRABAR outlines the epistemological problems of analyzing Persian painting by stressing the fragmentary nature of the current state of research in the field. Modern historians have not yet established a convincing explanation for the seemingly abrupt change in taste for the representation of texts in the eastern part of the Islamic world: Why were certain texts suddenly produced as lavishly illustrated and illuminated manuscripts? There is no conclusive connection between Persian miniatures and representational art in Arabic manuscripts before 1200. And efforts to construe an Iranian tradition of illustrated secular books in pre-Islamic Iran and Central Asia, culminating in the great masterpieces of the sixteenth century, were not successful either. Therefore, Persian miniatures are usually treated as the isolated phenomenon of an Iranian art form that thrived in the Persian-speaking Islamic world between the fourteenth and seventeenth century, and in turn influenced both Mughal and Ottoman miniatures. GRABAR, however, distances himself from any nationalist claim to this art form: “I have to admit to having little sympathy with a national, vertical conception of the arts ... The visual arts have the advantage of not requiring ethnic, cultural, or national identification for their enjoyment” (p. 3, compare p. 12).

The first chapter – “A little historiography” (pp. 8–13) – is an essay on the history of western research on Persian miniatures. This reflection on the study of small-scale painting on paper is followed by “Sources and resources” (pp. 16–29), an exploration of the visual and literary evidence that is available to art historians. GRABAR includes three important additional sources in his methodological considerations: the results of archaeological fieldwork that unearthed buildings and objects with images; references to images in Arabic and Persian literature across the board; and the Persian historiography of Persian painting that emerged in sixteenth-century album prefaces. Together the two chapters illuminate the historical

context of previous research, outline strengths and weaknesses of current scholarship and argue for more promising approaches, especially for analyzing the miniatures as an integral part of the manuscripts through which they were preserved.

GRABAR presents the history of this art form as the history of painting in Iran in the third chapter – “Historical and cultural context” (pp. 30–81). He arranges the visual material according to “horizontal or synchronic definitions by dynasty or kinds of authority or government” (p. 80): pre-Islamic cities in Soghdiana, the official Islamization during the ‘Abbāsīd caliphate and the emergence of local military dynasties, the Ilkhānids, the Timurids and the Šāfāvids. He conceives the prehistory of Iranian painting as constituted by murals in pre-Islamic Soghdiana and Islamic Nishapur and Lashkari Bāzār, as well as industrial ceramics with representations of persons and scenes. He identifies precursors of illustrated Persian miniatures in two illustrated manuscripts from Seljuq Iran, the Arabic *Kitāb šuwar al-kawākib al-thābita* and the Persian *Varqa u-Gulshāh*, whose relationship to Arabo-Islamic painting in tenuous, while their illustrations appear Iranian in style. Then GRABAR spans the history of both miniatures in Persian manuscripts and individual works on paper from the reign of the Ilkhānids at the end of the thirteenth century to the end of the Šāfāvid Empire at the beginning of the eighteenth. Given the diversity of the many preserved small-scale gouaches and drawings that originated during these three centuries, he no longer includes painting on surfaces other than paper in his considerations.

GRABAR analyzes the content of this art form in the fourth chapter – “The major themes of Persian painting” (pp. 84–121). He develops seven “themes and modes ... as a springboard for an eventual classification” (p. 85). History, religion, animals and ornament are four thematic categories that describe the images. By contrast, the three modes of epic, lyric romanticism and realism serve as criteria for qualifying the relationship between image and represented reality.

GRABAR “attempt[s] to clarify this characteristic stamp” (p. 124) of the images in the final chapter – “Toward an aesthetic of Persian painting” (pp. 124–146). He identifies constraints and values that informed the socioeconomic and socio-religious context of book painting as well as small-scale individual works, collected in albums. His reflection on the constraints ranges from the painter’s training and acquaintance with visual traditions over the technical aspects of producing books with miniatures to societal attitudes to the representational arts and artistic conventions. His starting point is always the visual material. But he examines the intellectual framework of these images to discuss the values of this art form. GRABAR turns to the rhetoric of describing painters and paintings, the role of painters and paintings in Arabic and Persian poetics, the status of the in/visible in Sufism, and the function of representation at the Iranian courts to reveal how deeply ingrained this art form is in the fabric of Islamicate Persian culture.

The second volume – *Persian painting from the Mongols to the Qajars* – is a *Festschrift* for Basil W. ROBINSON. Robert HILLENBRAND edited the collection of twenty-one articles that are not only testimonies to ROBINSON’s extraordinary role in the research of Persian miniatures, but also reflect deep personal admiration. HILLENBRAND’s “Foreword” (p. IX) and Claude BLAIR’s essay about Ro-

BINSON's tenure at the Victoria & Albert Museum (pp. 1–2) sketch his portrait with great affection. Indexes on proper names (pp. 325–329) and subject matter (pp. 330–331) as well as a list of illustrations, which contains the complete manuscript references though no photographic credits (pp. XI–XX), provide alternate venues of access to the many data assembled in this *Festschrift*. Regarding areas and periods, eighteen contributions focus on Persian painting, almost always understood as small-scale gouache and drawing on paper, from the early fourteenth to the second half of the nineteenth century. Two authors studied sixteenth-century Ottoman and one scholar eighteenth-century Kashmiri manuscripts. The twenty-one contributions form three groups, each of which is characterized through a specific point of view from which their authors approach the visual evidence: certain manuscripts, individual artists, and technical issues that are not directly tied to either a specific codex or a creative subject.

In the first and largest group, the authors develop their questions from the manuscripts' physical evidence. Karin ÅDAHL (pp. 3–18) tries to describe more specifically a Kashmiri school of miniature painting in the late eighteenth century. Exploring calligraphy as well as illumination and ornaments, Filiz ÇAĞMAN (pp. 57–73) inspects a sixteenth-century Koran that is "possibly the most important manuscript produced by the Ottoman court artisans of the arts of the book" (p. 57). Ernst J. GRUBE (pp. 101–117) analyzes the iconography of the *Anthology of prose texts* from the Shiraz atelier of the Timurid prince Ibrāhīm Sulṭān Shāh Rukh (1414–1435), while Eleanor SIMS (pp. 119–127) uses this manuscript to reflect on the role of Ibrāhīm Sulṭān as a patron of manuscript production. The visual program of the early fourteenth-century manuscript, which contains the oldest set of images of the prophet Muḥammad, is examined by Robert HILLENBRAND (pp. 129–146). Assadullah Souren *Melikian-Chirvani* (pp. 151–185) studies the structure of a sixteenth-century Persian anthology of allegorical narratives and its accompanying visual program of twenty-three miniatures. A possible influence of illustrated Hebrew manuscripts from al-Andalus on the sixteenth-century Ottoman *Sulaymān nāme* is suggested by Michael ROGERS (pp. 187–200). Karin RÜHRDANZ (pp. 201–216) compares three illustrated manuscripts of the *Athār al-muẓaffar* from the second half of the sixteenth century. A reconstruction of the 1341 *Shāh nāme* is presented by Marianna Shreve SIMPSON (pp. 217–247). Priscilla P. SOUCEK (pp. 267–281) argues for the importance of the fifteenth-century *Ann Arbor Shāh nāme* because its miniatures defy the simple categorization of the development of Persian painting.

The innovative articles in the first group illustrate GRABAR's reservations about writing the history of Persian painting as a history of its regional schools and court workshops. The dynasties that ruled Iran and Central Asia between the thirteenth and seventeenth century maintained royal courts in their capitals as well as in important provinces. Since the taste in literature was independent of political differences, painters, poets, craftsmen and artists followed the money, and hence moved from court to court, from workshop to workshop. Thus, the workshop in which a manuscript was produced could employ painters trained in different regional styles.

In the second group, an individual painter whom the scholars trace from literary evidence and ascribed artifacts takes center stage. Layla S. DIBA (pp. 83–96) sketches the artistic climate of the Qajar court painter Yahyā Ghaffārī (active between 1860 and 1880). Anatoli IVANOV (pp. 147–149) suggests that entries from an early fourteenth-century Arabic *ṭabaqāt* identify the painter who worked on Rashid al-Din's illustrated *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*. The personal acquaintance between two Ṣafavid artists, the famous silk weaver Ghiyāth al-Dīn and the painter Ṣadiqī Kitābdār (1533–1610), is argued by Robert SKELTON (pp. 249–263) with literary sources, while Gauvin Alexander BAILEY (pp. 264–265) identifies late works by Ṣadiqī as his attempt to introduce the so-called Frankish style into Persian painting. Marie L. SWIETECHOWSKI (pp. 284–299) sketches the life of the sixteenth-century painter Ḥabīb Allāh, and lists all his known signed works, as well as closely related leaves. A previously unknown drawing by Mīrzā ʿAlī, a major sixteenth-century painter, is presented by Stuart Cary WELCH (pp. 319–323).

The excellent articles of the second group highlight the inherent difficulties of visual evidence, and the ensuing importance of such literary sources as court records, inscriptions and *tazākīr* for constructing the biographical context of images. Moreover, Adel T. ADAMOVA observes that gouaches and drawings are the results of different techniques with distinct aims (p. 22). Drawings have a greater immediacy than gouaches because they are directly executed on paper. Consequently, the ascription of gouaches seems more problematic than that of drawings. The articles are both addition and counterpoint to GRABAR's scepticism of whether the traditional western approach of identifying individual hands can overcome "the apparent conservatism of Persian painting" (p. 128, compare p. 62).

The small third group constitutes a focus on technical problems and interpretive issues. ADAMOVA (pp. 19–38) demonstrates the importance of seals and tributary inscriptions for the dating of single leaves, all of which had once belonged to the library of Shāh ʿAbbās I (1587–1629). Questions of page layout that defines borders between text block and margins, and hence endows transgressions unto margins with meaning, are explored by Barbara BREND (pp. 39–55). How, in late Ṣafavid drawings, painters used pens for brush-like effects is demonstrated by Sheila CANBY (pp. 75–82). Larisa DODKHUOEVA (pp. 97–99) analyzes the allegorical meaning of gold in medieval book painting in Central Asia and India. An allegorical interpretation of the many individual leaves with graceful, though unheroic Ṣafavid dandies is offered by Anthony WELCH (pp. 301–317), whose mystical interpretation relies on such diverse literary evidence as the accompanying verses and European travelogues.

The thought-provoking articles of the third group support GRABAR's repeated observation that attention to both the socioeconomic and technical aspects of manuscript production, as well as the socioreligious context of trading and collecting manuscripts and individual leaves, opens new perspectives on Persian miniatures. The page layout of Islamic manuscripts displays a delicate sense of spatial balance that determines the ratio between paper format, sizes of text blocks and margins, and chosen scripts. The author's interest in technical aspects leads to a heightened awareness of these formal aesthetic aspects of a manuscript page or

album leaf, and hence directs attention to the fact that in neither volume have codicological criteria determined the editing of the accompanying illustrations. There do not seem to be any standards for reproducing a leaf as a full page, as a text with its illumination and illustration within the full margins as far as they are still extant, accompanied with a reference to its actual size. The common characteristics of editing the illustrations only as images, and not as intact composite leaves, is noteworthy because in both volumes the authors otherwise discuss various aspects of Islamic manuscript production. Probably, though, this editing policy is, at least in part, caused by the expense and inaccessibility of high-quality photographs, especially regarding material either privately held or copyrighted.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the role of socioeconomic factors in the production of outstanding books has not changed as much as might be suggested by the otherwise stark differences between pre-modern Islamic and post-modern Western societies. This leads to the irony that both volumes discuss various aspects of courtly patronage, but the publication of these large and lavishly illustrated, yet moderately priced, hardcovers was only possible because of generous private donations.

In the case of *Mostly Miniatures*, private money made all the difference. GRABAR wrote this introduction to Persian painting in French. The original *La peinture persane: Une introduction* (Paris 1999) is a slim paperback, only sparsely illustrated with black-and-white reproductions of Persian miniatures. The English edition has transformed a student's *vade mecum* into a splendid coffee-table book. Nevertheless, one wishes a more vigorous proofreading of the text, notes, bibliography and index had occurred. All illustrations are images of artifacts of the first rank, attesting to GRABAR's impeccable sense of quality. The book, however, has a list of photographic credits (p. 168) instead of a list of illustrations, which would have been more useful. Regarding the coexistence of images and text, the rationale for placement and size – especially the enlarged details – seems quite subtle. On the one hand, the paintings' decorative aspects were at least as important as the logical relationship between GRABAR's discussion and the accompanying figures. On the other, whole-page illustrations introducing the five chapters suggest allegorical commentaries on things to come. For example, the historiography of western scholarship of Persian painting is introduced with a miniature from Jāmi's *Haft avrang*, in which the fickle lover has been knocked of a roof top (p. 6 fig. 1).

By contrast, the ROBINSON *Festschrift*, with its twenty-one articles, most of which have several illustrations, clearly presented its editors with a very different set of practical difficulties. The complex text, with its many tables, lists, quotes in Persian and precise manuscript citations, is carefully edited, indicating how important this *Festschrift* was to its publisher and authors. But the page layout seems to have been prepared by a book designer who did not realize that in Islamic manuscripts the sequence of *folio recto* and *folio verso* is reversed because Arabic script runs from right to left! In a few cases, this admittedly petty detail produces an inverted relationship between legend and illustration (e.g. p. 6 pls. 2 and 3) as well as a reversed order of plates (e.g. p. 224 pls. 10 and 11). Given the generous space allotted to images, the disregarded page sequence in Islamic codices explains

some unused opportunities. The most regrettable case concerns the color reproductions of the double frontispiece from the 1341 *Shāh nāme* (pls. 6 and 7) that is printed on opposing pages in the right order (pp. 222 and 221), while the legend appears below the second page (p. 221).

The economic straitjackets of academic publishing are well-known, and these editorial minutiae certainly do not reflect on GRABAR and HILLENBRAND. On the contrary, the reader owes much gratitude to both scholars for going far more than one extra mile in making these beautiful and learned books possible.

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A. J. ABRAHAM: *The Cross And The Crescent: An Ecumenical Perspective*. Lima (Ohio) 2001: Academic Renewal Press. 146 S., 21,5 x 14 cm.

Das Werk versteht sich als kurze Einführung in die Grundlagen des Christentums und des Islams, ihrer Entstehung und Geschichte. Über eine bloße Nebeneinanderstellung hinaus erfolgt eine gegenseitige Zuordnung: ein Blick auf Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschiede mit dem Versuch, die jeweilige Religion mit den Augen der anderen zu betrachten. Der Vf., der in den USA Vergleichende nahöstliche Religionswissenschaft lehrt, nennt dies eine „ökumenische Perspektive“ oder auch „die libanesische Sicht“. Denn der Libanon – dessen maronitischer Kirche er selbst entstammt – verkörpert für ihn ein gelungenes Zusammenleben von Christen und Muslimen. Über diese Hintergründe erfährt man jedoch äußerst wenig, und was der Vf. bietet, erscheint nicht spezifisch libanesisch. Insgesamt weist die Umsetzung des an sich begrüßenswerten Anliegens erhebliche Schwächen auf.

Jeweils zwei Kapitel befassen sich mit dem Christentum, dem Islam und schließlich mit dem Blick auf die jeweils andere Religion. Kap. 1 schildert Person und Lehre Jesu, christliche Grundüberzeugungen und historische Fakten über ihn in knapper Form, lässt allerdings oft Erkenntnisse historisch-kritischer Exegese vermissen. Vf. versucht, nicht-christlichen (gerade auch muslimischen) Lesern das Verstehen zu ermöglichen, unterlässt es aber leider, wesentliche Grundbegriffe (Sohn Gottes, Erbsünde) zu erklären. Kap. 2 zeichnet die frühe Kirchengeschichte nach: die Anfänge in Jerusalem, die Aufnahme griechischen Denkens, frühe Konflikte und strukturelle Festlegungen. Hinweise auf die Entstehung und Aussageabsicht der Evangelien sind für fachfremde Leser sinnvoll; auf zu erwartende muslimische Einwände wird hingegen nicht eingegangen, etwa auf die Frage, warum ein von Menschen verfasstes Wort zugleich „Wort Gottes“ sein kann. Ein im Rahmen des Umfangs guter Überblick beschreibt die frühen Häresien und die kirchlichen Antworten darauf; nicht nur für muslimische Leser wäre allerdings ein Hinweis wünschenswert, was unter „Natur“ und „Person“ zu verstehen ist, denn andernfalls bleiben zentrale christliche Glaubenslehren unverständlich. Das Kap. endet mit einer Kurzvorstellung der maronitischen Kirche des Libanons. Die spätere allgemeine Kirchengeschichte interessiert anscheinend nicht mehr; doch hät-