FROM MECCA TO MASHHAD: THE NARRATIVE OF AN ILLUSTRATED SHIITE PILGRIMAGE SCROLL FROM THE QAJAR PERIOD

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In recent years, the little-studied genre of the Hajj certificate has increasingly gained scholarly attention. In addition to text, the certificates, some of which date from as early as the Seljuk period, often contain illustrations of the major Muslim pilgrimage sites in Mecca and Medina. Similar illustrations appear in a number of later guidebooks, such as the Dalâ’il al-khayrât by Muhammad ibn Sulaymân al-Jazûlî (d. 870/1465) or the Futûh al-haramayn by Muhyi al-Dîn Lârî (d. 933/1526). The published documents primarily present a Sunnite perspective; the present paper adds a Shiite dimension to the phenomenon by documenting and analyzing a nineteenth-century Persian pilgrimage scroll. This unique document focuses on sites of particular relevance for the Shiite creed, ranging from the cemetery Baqî’ and the oasis Fadak, both in Medina and its vicinity, via Najaf and Karbala, to the sanctuary of the eighth Shiite imâm in Mashhad.

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Illustrated Hajj Certificates: A Short Survey

Hajj certificates are stylized legal documents testifying to the fact that an individual has participated in the pilgrimage to Mecca and performed the required rituals. Although there is a terminological differentiation between the minor pilgrimage (Arabic ‘umra), the completion of the pilgrimage rites at any time during the year, and the major pilgrimage (Arabic hajj), which occurs during the month of Dhū 'l-Hijja, the term Hajj certificate is applied to documentation of both. Providing that one can afford it physically as well as financially, it is obligatory for every Muslim to undertake the pilgrimage to Mecca at least once in his or her lifetime. It is common practice for persons unable to complete a pilgrimage themselves to delegate their obligation to another individual, who performs the pilgrimage in their stead (Arabic hajj al-badal). Accordingly, each certificate either testifies to the pilgrimage of the person physically present or to the fact that this person participated in pilgrimage as a proxy.

A wide variety of historical Hajj certificates, dating from as early as the Seljuk period and as recently as the Ayyubid period, are preserved in the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art in Istanbul, Turkey. They were among a collection of documents that the Ottoman rulers transferred from Damascus to Istanbul in 1893.1 Since the 1960s, most of the pilgrimage documents preserved in Istanbul have been studied by the French scholars Dominique Sourdel and Janine Sourdel-Thomine; additional studies have been published by Şule Aksoy and Rachel Milstein as well as David J. Roxburgh.4 The primary importance of the Hajj certificates lies in their documentary value. Moreover, because of their artistic content they also enrich the field of Islamic art. First and foremost, in addition to the text many of the certificates contain illustrations of the sacred Muslim sites in Mecca and Medina, sometimes also

This study was originally conceived during my research stay as scholar-in-residence at Shangri La, the Doris Duke Foundation for Islamic Art in Honolulu, Hawai’i, in September–October 2012. I would like to thank the institution’s staff, especially former curator of Islamic art Keelan Overton, for the hospitality and help that made my residency a memorable experience. I am deeply grateful to the scroll’s owner for permitting me to study and publish this fascinating object. Various colleagues have lent their support and advice. For their suggestions and assistance, I thank particularly Mohsen Ashitiany, Willem Floor, Shahnaz as well as Seifoddin Nadjimabadi, Rasul Ja'fariyan, and Jan Just Witkam; Christiane Gruber has been most generous in commenting on an earlier version of this text and supplying numerous references.


including the *haram* in Jerusalem. These illustrations not only constitute fascinating subjects of research in their own right; as previous studies have argued, they might also reveal earlier stages of buildings and structures that are otherwise only known from textual evidence. Moreover, the visual representations of the sacred Muslim sites supplied in early *Hajj* certificates are examples of the illustrations that later served to guide pilgrims to the sacred sites of Islam. Illustrations extremely close to those first appearing in the *Hajj* certificates are included schematically in such widely used books as the *Dalá’īl al-khayrāt* of Muhammad ibn Sulaymān al-Jazūlī (d. 870/1465), the *Futūḥ al-haramayn* of Muḥyī al-Dīn Lārī (d. 933/1526), and the *Kitāb Mawlid al-nābī* of Ja’far ibn Hasan al-Barzanjī (d. 1179/1766). Later, similar images were included in various manuals for pilgrims or produced separately on single leaves. The public display of illustrated *Hajj* certificates in mosques also might have given rise to depictions of the sacred precincts in Mecca and Medina on tiles, a phenomenon that is particularly known from the Ottoman period. In addition to their visual characteristics, many of the early documents are also pertinent to the study of Islamic art because, rather than being written or illustrated by hand, they were produced in the technique of early woodblock printing. This method was probably derived from

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8 Ibid., 56–7.
9 Ibid., 45, fig. 20.
Buddhist practice and enjoyed considerable popularity in the Arab world between the beginning of the tenth and the middle of the fifteenth centuries C.E. The fact that woodblock printing was often used for the production of amulets links the religiously motivated *Hajj* certificates to other practices in the area of popular belief systems and occult arts.

In addition to the documents preserved in the Istanbul Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art, numerous manuscript copies of *Hajj* certificates from various collections have been published and discussed. Particularly magnificent specimens include the 212-cm-long pilgrimage scroll testifying to the *Hajj* of Maymûna bint ‘Abdallâh al-Zardali in 836/1433, preserved in the British Museum in London; the equally brilliant 665-cm-long scroll acknowledging the *‘umrah* of Sayyid Yûsuf ibn Sayyid Shihâb al-dîn Mâwarâ’ al-nahri, dated 21 Muharram 837/6 September 1433, preserved in the Museum of Islamic Art in Qatar; and the *Hajj* certificate (Turkish *hac vekaletnamesi*) prepared in 951/1544 for Şehzade Mehmed, preserved in the Topkapı Saray Müzesi in Istanbul. In April 2011, Christie’s auctioned a late eighteenth-century pilgrimage scroll sized 918 x 45.5 cm that contains images of Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, Najaf, and other sites, prepared by a certain Sayyid Muhammad Chishti.

MODERN PRINTED *HAJJ* CERTIFICATES

Most studies of *Hajj* certificates and related phenomena are concerned with specimens that either are very old or are particularly attractive in terms of their execution. Fairly recent items, such as the fascinating eighteenth-century metal plaque for printing a pilgrimage certificate preserved in the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore, have received little attention. The late nineteenth-century “Mecca certificate” reproduced in Samuel M. Zwemer’s study *Arabia: The Cradle of Islam*, first published in 1900, has gone largely unnoticed (fig. 1).

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17 *Focus on 50 Unseen Treasures*, 56–61.
Even in comparison to many of the brilliantly executed historical pieces, the specimen published by Zwemer is not devoid of interest. Notably, its depictions of the pilgrimage sites in Mecca and Medina, using traditional iconography, are by no means less detailed than those of its predecessors. The chief importance of the printed certificate, however, lies neither in its historical value nor its artistic merit. This particular item, rather, becomes meaningful because it was produced and distributed through hundreds, probably even thousands, of copies. In this manner, the certificate, a document testifying to the continuation of a traditional practice but created through modern technical means, gained a social dimension. The development of modern, printed Hajj certificates meant that such documents were no longer only available to the “privileged few” who, historically, would have spent considerable funds on the production of magnificently executed items; even in comparison to other early printed documents, such Hajj certificates would reach a much wider audience, as paper was no longer an expensive rarity. For the first time in history, Hajj certificates became commodified accessories for pilgrims. A particularly interesting feature of Zwemer’s Hajj certificate is that many of the names and terms given inside the images are rendered not only in Arabic but also in Latin, as a translation or an approximate transcription. This feature raises the question of the document’s intended audience, which obviously was not expected to read Arabic fluently. Because the translated terms in Latin writing are supplied in English, we might assume that the certificate was directed to a Muslim audience originating from the Indian subcontinent.

Zwemer’s specimen finds a close parallel in a vaguely contemporary Hajj certificate (fig. 2). This item formerly belonged to Erling Eidem (1880–1972), a Swedish archbishop and professor of New Testament exegesis, who had most likely acquired it in the second decade of the century, during his peregrinations in Egypt and

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Persia (London: Elliot Stock, 1900), 396–405, pls. I–IV.

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Palestine. In 1931, Eidem donated the document to Lund University, where it is now displayed in the Faculty of Theology. The visual details of this “very unpretentious popular print” have been discussed meticulously by Jan Hjärpe.23

The four images rendered in both printed items depict essentially the same scene. From right to left, they illustrate (1) the ritual sites a pilgrim is required to visit in the vicinity of Mecca; (2) the haram in Mecca; (3) the Prophet’s mosque in Medina; and (4) the haram in Jerusalem. Both items also share a written passage located at the bottom of the first illustration on the right side. Serving as the actual pilgrimage certificate, this passage offers blank spaces in which to write the pilgrim’s name and ancestry as well as the actual date of completion. At the very end, after the words “testified to the above” (shahida bi-dhâlika), a number of witnesses (four in Zwemer’s item and three in the Lund certificate) would sign their names, acknowledging the proper performance of the required rituals.

In addition to printed Hajj certificates with a standard set of four images there also exist printed certificates for specific sites, such as Medina (and perhaps Jerusalem), as evidenced by a published Medina certificate from the mid-nineteenth century (fig. 3).24 Whereas the Lund example is bordered by small circles inside which the names of Muhammad and Allâh (the latter written in a number of variations) alternate, the ornaments bordering the image of the Medina certificate are the very same as those used in Zwemer’s Mecca certificate, so we may presume that both certificates were probably produced in the same printing establishment. Meanwhile, the graphic layout of the buildings on the Medina certificate is distinctly different from that of the Mecca certificate. As does the Mecca certificate, the Medina certificate also includes a written passage testifying to a specific individual’s visit. The passage includes spaces for the names of that individual and of four witnesses.

23 Jan Hjärpe, “A Hajj Certificate from the Early 20th Century,” in Being Religious and Living through the Eyes: Studies in Religious Iconography and Iconology. A Celebratory Publication in Honour of Professor Jan Bergman, ed. Peter Schalk and Michael Stausberg (Uppsala: Uppsala University Library, 1998), 197–204. I would like to thank Professor Hjärpe for kindly making available to me a color photograph of this item that has previously been reproduced only as a grayscale miniature.

24 Witkam, “Images of Makkah and Medina,” 30, fig. 7 (Leiden University Library, plano 53 F 1, sheet 58). I would like to thank Jan Just Witkam for kindly supplying a color scan of this certificate.
While more recent printed certificates such as those discussed above deserve attention, it is striking to note that most of the pilgrimage documents studied thus far bespeak a Sunnite perspective. Although visual aspects of Shiite Muslim culture have increasingly gained attention in recent Western scholarship, the visual dimension of pilgrimage from a Shiite perspective still calls for adequate consideration. Notably, the Shiite perspective relates both to the pilgrimage to Mecca (hajj, 'umra) and to the popular pilgrimage (Persian ziyârat) to major sites of Shiite remembrance and worship in Iraq and Iran, such as the tombs of the imâms and the innumerable shrines of their descendants (the emâmzâdes). The popular pilgrimages that, historically, had been regarded as “meritorious acts of devotion” had in the Safavid period “acquired growing canonical status. Theoretically they were even placed on the same level as the hajj.” Pilgrimage certificates (without illustrations) attesting to visits to the shrine of imâm Rizâ in Mashhad are known from as early as the sixteenth century,

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and single-leaf prints depicting the tragic events of Karbala are known to have been produced at the beginning of the twentieth century, when they probably were distributed or sold to Shiite pilgrims at the shrines in Najaf or Karbala (fig. 4).  

Fig. 4: Two single-leaf lithographed prints depicting scenes from the Battle of Karbala. Published in Jean Vinchon, “L’imagerie populaire persane,” Revue des arts asiatiques 2, 4 (1925): 10–11.

These images not only constituted items of pious commemoration but also probably would have served to document the owners’ visits to the sites of Shiite pilgrimage in Najaf and/or Karbala.

Meanwhile, as a direct case in point, we know that popular prints of similar Shiite documents also existed. One such document has been published casually—i.e., without any reference to its provenance or present location—by the Iranian scholar Jâber ‘Anâseri (fig. 5). Even at first sight, this document reveals features that are quite similar to those of the corresponding Sunnite items. Although the document’s reproduction is so small that the text passages are hardly legible, it is obviously a Hajj certificate. As in the Sunnite documents, the text leaves blank spaces intended for the

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name of the pilgrim and his or her place of origin. The Shiite Hajj certificate is dated Dhū al-Hijja 9 of the year 1321, corresponding to February 26, 1904. It is thus more or less contemporary with the Sunnite Hajj certificates published by Zwemer and Hjärpe. Instead of the regular set of four sites of pilgrimage in the printed Sunnite documents, however, the Shiite Hajj certificate in its top section illustrates a set of five sites that imply a distinct Shiite perspective, particularly through the last two representations.

![Shiite Hajj certificate (top section). Published in Jâber ‘Anâseri, Dar âmadi bar namâyesh va niyâyesh dar Irân (Tehran: Jehâd-e dāneshgâhi, 1366/1987), 151.](image)

Reading the images from right to left, we find (1) the haram in Mecca as well as (2) a double image depicting a pilgrim and a number of sheep at Mount Arafat, above, and two pilgrims to the side of a set of steps representing the mas'â, or trotting space, between Safâ and Marwa, below. In addition to these two sites of the Sunnite—or, rather, the common Muslim—dimension of the pilgrimage to Mecca, there is an image of (3) the Prophet Muhammad’s mosque at Medina that also belongs to the regular set of images depicted on the Sunnite Hajj certificates. The next illustration (4) depicts the cemetery in Medina known as Baqî’ (here denoted in Persian as bârgâh-e Baqî’), a site that is rarely, if ever, included in the visual program of Sunnite Hajj certificates (although it has been depicted in manuscripts of the Futûh al-haramayn). This cemetery is particularly dear to the Shiite community because it holds not only the graves of Muhammad’s wives and his daughter Fâtima but also those of a number of the early Shiite imâms: the second imâm, al-Hasan (d. 40/661); the fourth imâm, ‘Alî ibn al-Husayn, known as “Zayn al-‘Abîdîn” (d. ca. 95/713); the fifth imâm, Muhammad al-Bâqir (d. ca. 115/733); and the sixth imâm, Ja’far al-Sâdiq (d. 148/765). Today the cemetery’s mausoleums are in ruins due to their destruction by iconoclast Wahhabites in 1925/26. The fifth and final illustration on the document’s far left (5) depicts the oasis Fadak (bâgh-e Fadak), a place that was formerly renowned for its rich date palms. This site is also imbued with a particular significance for the Shiite community. Before the spread of Islam, the oasis had belonged to the Jewish community, who gave it to Muhammad as part of the agreement of peace they had reached. Muhammad devoted the revenue from the date

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30 Milstein, “Futuh-i Haramayn,” 183–4; Porter, Hajji, 81; Witkam, “Images of Makkah and Medina,” 29, fig. 3.
palms to needy travelers and the poor. Following Muhammad’s death there began a dispute between his daughter Fâtima and the first caliph Abû Bakr, regarding the question of who was Fadak’s rightful owner. Whereas Fâtima regarded the oasis as part of her inheritance, Abû Bakr maintained that the revenue should be spent in exactly the same way as the Prophet had arranged. Because Fâtima could not produce witnesses to confirm her claim in a way that would satisfy Abû Bakr, he did not relent. The Shiite community regards Abû Bakr’s rejection of Fâtima’s claim as an act of injustice, one that belongs to a long series of Sunnite atrocities denying the prophet’s family its rightful position and inheritance. Together with the Persian text, part of which describes the pilgrim’s acts during his journey to various sacred sites, the illustration of this Hajj certificate thus presents a decidedly Shiite perspective.

THE SHIITE PILGRIMAGE SCROLL: GENERAL DESCRIPTION

During my residency at Doris Duke’s Shangri La in Honolulu, Hawai‘i, in September–October 2012, an illustrated nineteenth-century Shiite pilgrimage scroll came to my attention (fig. 6). The scroll is currently preserved in a private collection in Kailua, Hawai‘i, where I was able to inspect it personally. It was acquired in the Iranian city of Kerman in 1971. The following details have been supplied by the scroll’s present owner: the size of the scroll is 19.7 x 194.3 cm. The paper is printed in six sections that have been glued together and adhered to a fabric (cotton?) backing. The width of the sections (from right to left) is 32 cm each for the first five sections and 34 cm for the last one. There is a faded red wash on the top and bottom borders as well as portions of the monuments.

![Fig. 6: Shiite pilgrimage scroll. Private collection, Kailua, Hawai‘i. Courtesy of the owner.](image)

The scroll has been printed by way of lithography and is preserved under glass in a custom-made frame. It is in fragile condition, with various small pieces and one large piece of paper (in the fourth section) missing. Several areas bear water stains, particularly a large area in the first section. In a small section at the document’s end (at the far left), most of which is left blank, we find mention of the person who commissioned the print (in contemporary wording hash al-khvâhesh-e ..., “according to the wish of …”). The client’s name is given as Muhammad Ja‘far Kasâ’i, a cloth-merchant (buzzâz) from Karbala. Commissioning (and thus paying for the production of) an item such as the pilgrimage scroll, the two single-leaf images mentioned above, or, for that matter, any item of religious importance, was regarded as deserving of religious reward (thavâb), so the client would have made it a point to have his name mentioned. Judging from the style of its illustrations, the scroll was made around the end of the nineteenth or the beginning of the twentieth century. While lithography was the dominant technique for producing printed items during most of the Qajar period, research has thus far focused on studying lithographed books and journals. More
ephemeral items, such as single-leaf prints of illustrations,\textsuperscript{31} amulets,\textsuperscript{32} charms, or announcements of a personal or public nature have rarely been preserved, and most surviving examples are in extremely fragile condition. In this respect, the present essay is also a contribution to the history of printing in Iran.

The scroll consists essentially of two areas; both the top and the bottom borders contain poetry, and the scroll’s middle area includes twenty-four images that illustrate the various Shiite pilgrimage sites. Besides its dominant visual character, the scroll thus also contributes to the study of pilgrimage practices and their Shiite dimensions.

THE SHIITE PILGRIMAGE SCROLL: THE VERSES

In the poetry area, each verse is written in two lines and bordered by an ornamental frame that separates it from the following verse. Each section contains seven verses, totaling eighty-four altogether. The verses are fairly crude in terms of meter and simple as well as repetitive in wording. Most of them rhyme with \textit{... kardim} (“we did”); most of the final verses on the bottom of sections five and six rhyme on \textit{... āvarde’im} (“we brought”) and \textit{resid} (“it came”). In general the verses, each of which forms an independent unit, illustrate the pilgrims’ itinerary. If one wants to follow this itinerary chronologically, one would first read all of the verses on the top border and then continue with the ones on the bottom border. Already, this sequence makes clear that the verses do not exist in direct relationship to the images in the middle area. In fact, most of the verses describe the pilgrims’ sojourns in Mecca, Medina, Najaf, Kufa and Karbala. Other sites of Shiite pilgrimage, such as those in Kazimayn, Samarra and Mashhad, are only mentioned in passing in the final section on the bottom of the scroll.

Because the verses are pronounced in the first-person plural, they obviously are spoken by an individual who represents a group of people, such as a leader of or guide for the pilgrims. In fact, this is a rare specimen of the poetry known as \textit{châvushi-khvâni}, the verses pronounced by the pilgrimage guide known as \textit{châvush} (or \textit{châvosh}) during the return of the pilgrims to their homes. In addition to guiding the pilgrims and instructing them concerning the proper execution of pilgrimage rituals, the \textit{châvush} was responsible for travel arrangements of all kinds, including means of travel and accommodation. Substantial Western studies of this phenomenon are lacking, but several studies published by Iranian scholars\textsuperscript{33} indicate that the

\textsuperscript{31} See, e.g., item no. 452, “coloured lithograph mounted on card,” depicting “Laylā on a ‘composite’ camel formed of innumerable human and animal figures” in \textit{L’Orient d’un collectionneur: Miniatures persanes, textiles, céramiques, orfèvrerie, rassemblés par Jean Pozzi} (Geneva: Musée d’art et d’histoire, 1992), 183 (description) and 324 (reproduction).


34 See the reproduction of the final page of such a booklet, dated 1340/1961, in ‘Anâseri, Dar âmadi, 140 and ‘Anâseri, Soltân-e Kerbelâ, 92. The verses on that page correspond more or less to the final verses on the pilgrimage scroll (bottom, sections 5–6).

35 I acquired a series of these ta’ziye dramas in the Iranian city of Shiraz in the late 1990s. All of the booklets were published by the Ketâbforush-e-g-e Esâmîye in Tehran. Bearing the date 1333/1954, they are obviously offset copies of earlier specimens. For similar items of “Bazaar” literature, see Ulrich Marzolph, Dâstânhâ-ye shirin: Fünfzig persische Volksbüchlein aus der zweiten Hälfté des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1994).
Setting off for the pilgrimage from an unnamed location, after a lengthy travel the pilgrims reach a sea port (most likely on Iran’s south coast), from where they continue their journey by steam-boat. Following their arrival at the miqât—i.e., the site stipulated for the assumption of the ihrâm, probably the port of Jidda—they assume the ihrâm (i.e., the state of having declared twenty-four specific forbidden acts) and pronounce their intention (niyyat) to execute the pilgrimage. Then they perform a short prayer (of two rak‘a) and the ritual ablution so as to reach the required state of purity.

As they exclaim the ritual greeting labbayka (“Here I am at your service!”), the pilgrims’ eyes fill with tears. When they reach the walls of Mecca, they prostrate themselves repeatedly. They enter the sacred precinct (haram) through the bâb al-salâm (the gate on the precinct’s northeastern side, facing the door of the Ka‘ba) and perform the proscribed circumambulation (the ‘umra) seven times. At the maqâm Ibrâhîm—the site where, according to legend, Abraham stood when building the Ka‘ba—they pray. Then they proceed to perform the ritual trotting (mas‘a) between Safâ and Marwa seven times (i.e., walking to Safâ four times and returning to Marwa three times). After performing the required rituals, they leave the state of ihrâm.
On the seventh day, the pilgrims set off for Mount ‘Arafât. At the hijr Ismâ’îl, the stone wall encompassing the graves of Ismâ’îl and his mother Hagar, they perform the ritual ablution (ghusl) with water from the Zamzam well. Again pronouncing the ritual greeting labbayka, they travel to the valley of Minâ by camel. They spend the night in Minâ, wailing in the mosque of Khayf. The next morning they continue to Mount ‘Arafât, where they perform the prescribed rituals.

After securing a place to stay overnight, at dusk they set off to the mosque in Muzdalifa (al-mash’ar al-harâm). Then they return to Minâ, where they slaughter sheep for the feast of sacrifice (’eyd-e qorbân). They perform the ritual throwing of pebbles at Satan (ramy). After having their heads shaved they return to Mecca, where, again, they enter the sacred precinct from the bâb al-salâm to perform the circumambulation of the Ka’ba.

This section is heavily damaged, and most of the words are illegible. After returning from Safâ and Marwa the pilgrims perform the touf-e nesâ’, a particular circumambulation by which they gain permission to have sexual contact with women.
Mention is again made of Minâ, but the numerous lacunae do not permit a reconstruction of what is supposed to happen there. The final line mentions the pilgrims visiting the cemetery of Baqî’ in the vicinity of Medina, where they kiss the graves of the four Shiite imâms, al-Hasan, ‘Alî Zayn al-‘Âbidîn, Muhammad al-Bâqir, and Ja‘far al-Sâdiq, lamenting their deaths.

From Medina, the pilgrims travel toward Najaf, where they are touched emotionally by the memory of the tragic historical events. Here, for the first time, the speaker exclaims a line that is to follow at intervals for a total of four times: “The place of all friends and persons dear to us is empty!”—meaning that one wishes the beloved ones were present with them. The speaker mentions a session of rûzê-khvâni, which made the pilgrims aware of all of their sins—and therefore ashamed. Full of remorse, the pilgrims pay their respects to ‘Ali (shahenshâh-e mobin), Noah, Adam, and Muhammad (peighambar-e din).

After visiting ‘Ali’s tomb in Najaf, the pilgrims continue toward Kufa, where they visit the site of ‘Ali’s martyrdom in the mosque. Their eyes filled with tears, they set off for Karbala.
In Karbala the pilgrims visit the tombs of Husayn, Husayn’s son Qâsim, Habîb (ibn Muzâhir al-Asadi), Husayn’s half-brother ‘Abbâs, and all the other martyrs. Continuously lamenting, they reach the site where Husayn’s troops had pitched their tents (the kheime-gâh). At Qâsim’s bridal tent they break into weeping, and they cry again when they visit the site of martyrdom of Hurr (ibn Yazîd al-Tamîmî), the Umayyad general who joined Husayn’s side.

From Karbala the pilgrims again turn to Najaf, where they pay homage to ‘Ali, Adam, and Noah, kissing ‘Ali’s tomb. In the mosque of Kufa, they visit the tombs of Muslim (ibn ‘Aqil), Hâni (ibn ‘Urwa, who gave shelter to Muslim in Kufa), and Mukhtâr (ibn Abî ‘Ubaydallâh, who led a rebellion against the Umayyad caliphs in vengeance of Husayn’s death). Having requested permission (rokhsat) from ‘Ali (heidar-e karrâr, “the boisterous lion”) to leave, the pilgrims return to Karbala.
In Karbala the pilgrims again participate in another session of rouze-khvâni. They ask for pardon from God for their parents, and they pray for their sisters and brothers as well as their uncles, cousins and other relatives. They are sure that God has forgiven their sins because ‘Alî is in their hearts.

In the first of the final two sections, both the meter and the rhyme of the verses change. Mention is first made of the spiritual gifts the speaker brings back from his journey. ‘Alî’s tomb smelled like ambergris. From their humble visit to Mecca they returned with pride, and the pilgrims’ eyes remained filled with blood from extensive weeping at the site where Husayn was killed. They visited the tomb of ‘Abbâs, the Ka’ba, the plain where Husayn and his troops had pitched their tents, and the tombs of the seventy-two martyrs of Karbala. These moral presents should help their friends gain peace of mind. From the tomb of the seventh imâm, Mûsâ al-Kâzîm (in Kazimayn; d. 183/799), they brought back some soil (khâk) to be used for the preparation of a special ointment to protect the eyes (tutiyâ).
On their way, in Kazimayn the pilgrims also paid homage to the tomb of the ninth imâm, Muhammad al-Taqî (also called Muhammad al-Jawâd; d. 220/835); in Samarra, they visited the tombs of the tenth imâm, ‘Alî al-Naqî (also called ‘Alî al-Hâdî; d. 254/868), and of the eleventh imâm, Hasan al-‘Askarî (d. 260/873 or 874), who are commonly addressed together as al-‘Askarîyayn (“the two ‘Askarîs”), professing to the pilgrims’ close relationship with the imâms. In Samarra, they also visited the site where the twelfth imâm, Muhammad al-Mahdî, the enâm-e zamân, is said to have gone into occultation, thus earning for themselves a document testifying that all of their sins have been forgiven. Although merchants might gain (financial) profit from the holy cities, the true (moral) profit has thus been brought back by the pilgrims from Karbala. The voyage has been strenuous, and they have been harassed by the Bedouins on their way through the desert. Even so, they brought back from Karbala a praying-stone (mohr)36 and a rosary (tasbih).37

The final lines are, again, badly damaged. It is possible, however, to reconstruct their wording from corresponding lines in the published châvushi-nâme.38 The speaker is happy that his prayers have been fulfilled, as he was able to visit ‘Alî’s tomb in Najaf. All of the requests he might have had have were revealed at ‘Alî’s shrine.39 The speaker finishes by wishing that God might enable all Shiite Muslims to visit Najaf and Karbala as well as the haram of the eighth imâm, ‘Alî ibn Mûsâ al-Rizâ (died 203/818), in Mashhad every year.

THE SHIITE PILGRIMAGE SCROLL: THE IMAGES

In its middle area, flanked by the verse narrative above and below, the pilgrimage scroll presents images of the sites and buildings that bear particular relevance for Shiite Muslim pilgrims. In contrast to the verse narrative—which focuses on Mecca, Medina, Najaf, Kufa and Karbala, mentioning other sites of Shiite pilgrimage such as Kazimayn, Samarra and Mashhad only in the final summary—the visual journey has a different emphasis. In exactly the same way as in the Shiite Hajj certificate discussed above (see fig. 5), the journey—whose images must be read from right to left—begins in Mecca and the ritual sites in its vicinity (fig. 19 nos. 1–2), followed by Medina and the local Shiite pilgrimage sites of Baqi‘ and Fadak (fig. 19 no. 3, fig. 20 nos. 4–5). At this point, the visit to sites related to the


37 Helga Venzlaff, Der islamische Rosenkranz (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1985).

38 See n. 33 above.

39 ‘Alî is here implied in the honorific title shah-e law kushifa (literally: “The King of ‘Even if it were lifted . . . ‘”)). This refers to one of ‘Alî’s utterances; he is quoted to have said (in Arabic): لو كشف الغطاء عن ما ازدادت بفينا د و law kushifa ‘l-ghtâ’u ‘annî mâ ‘zdadu yaqînûn: “Even if the veil was lifted from me, my certainty would not increase.” The utterance is traditionally interpreted to the effect that ‘Alî’s belief was so strong as to equal certainty that could otherwise be reached only by knowing.
*Hajj* in the strictest sense is finished, and the overlap with the Shiite *Hajj* certificate ends. After concluding their visit to pilgrimage sites in Saudi Arabia, Sunnite Muslims likely would have continued their journey by visiting the *haram* in Jerusalem, from where, according to legend, Muhammad set out on his nocturnal journey, the *mi’râj*.40 Shiite travelers, however, would aim to visit sites of particular relevance for the history of Shiism, especially the shrines of the Shiite imâm (’atabât-e ‘âliyât). The scroll’s visual journey thus continues to Kufa (fig. 20 no. 6), Najaf (fig. 20 no. 7), and Karbala (fig. 21 nos. 8–11, fig. 22 no. 12), all three home to the sites that are prominently mentioned in the verses. The images in the second half depict sites that receive little or no attention in the verses, such as Kazimayn (fig. 22 no. 13), Samarra (fig. 22 no. 14, fig. 23 no. 15), Qom (fig. 23 no. 16), Rayy (fig. 23 nos. 17–18), and Nishapur (fig. 23 no. 19). The final site the pilgrims visit is Mashhad (fig. 24 nos. 20–24). While most sites depicted on the scroll are located in Saudi Arabia (fig. 19 nos. 1–3, fig. 20 nos. 4–6) or Iraq (fig. 20 no. 7, fig. 21 nos. 8–11, fig. 22 nos. 12–14, fig. 23 no. 15), Shiite sites of pilgrimage within the borders of Iran (fig. 23 nos. 16–19, fig. 24 nos. 20–24) receive particular attention, despite the fact that some of them are minor sites. The journey both culminates and ends in Mashhad. The starting point of the visual journey is a *Hajj* proper, which is followed by the pilgrims’ return to Iran, on the way visiting Shiite sites of remembrance in Iraq. As the verse narrative mentions, the pilgrims would have started their journey by travelling from Iran to Saudi Arabia by boat, so the obvious choice for the return journey is the land route; during this journey, religious merit would be earned by visiting Shiite sites of pilgrimage in Iraq and Iran. If one considers the distance of more than 3,500 km that pilgrims would travel between Mecca and Mashhad, and if one adds certain periods of sojourn at the sites of pilgrimage, it is not unlikely that (prior to the accessibility of modern means of travel) the journey would have lasted at least several months, probably even up to half a year.

The images in sections 1, 2, 3, and 5 are 14 cm in height; section 4 is only 13.9 cm, and section 6 is slightly larger, at 14.4 cm in height. The scroll averages four images per printed section, but the images are unevenly distributed (sections 1–6 with 3, 4, 3, 4, 5, and 5 images, respectively). This phenomenon results, to a certain extent, from the fact that some images are so wide (fig. 19 no. 1: Mecca, fig. 22 no. 13: Kazimayn) that they occupy space that would otherwise be covered by two images. In the following, the exact width of each image is given together with its description. In terms of the number of images dedicated to a specific location, the visual journey clearly emphasizes the visit to Karbala, with a total of five images (fig. 21 nos. 8–11, fig. 22 no. 12), and the final destination at the sanctuary of imâm Rizâ (including the site east of Nishapur where his footprints are worshipped; fig. 23 no. 18), which is depicted with a total of six images (fig. 23 no. 19, fig. 24 nos. 20–24).

Aside from a few instances (fig. 19 no. 1: Mecca, fig. 20 no. 7: Kufa, fig. 23 no. 18: Bibi Shahrbânu), all of the images are divided into a top and a bottom half. The two halves are separated by an ornamental band bearing the caption that usually appears just below the middle of the image. In most of the following images, in which the ornamental band bearing the caption is placed just below the image’s middle, the top section is slightly larger than the bottom one. In the images depicting a mosque or a similar type of sanctuary (fig. 19 no. 3; fig. 20 nos. 4, 6; fig. 21 nos. 8–11, fig. 22 nos. 12–14, fig. 23 nos. 15–17, fig. 24 nos. 20–21), the top half presents the building from a distance, with a centrally placed dome and, most

40 See *The Prophet’s Ascension: Cross-cultural Encounters with the Islamic Mi’râj Tales*, ed. Christiane Gruber and Frederic Colby (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010).
often, minarets on both sides. The domes of the larger shrines are so-called onion domes, with finials at their crests. They usually rest on a drum, sometimes a slightly elongated one that often includes a number of windows. The domes of the smaller shrines (fig. 21 no. 9: Kheime-gâh, fig. 23 no. 19: Qadamgâh-e emâm Rezâ) are round and do not rest on drums. A golden cover of the domes and sometimes of the minarets is represented by a brick structure, while tile covers are depicted as flowers or geometric ornaments. The bottom half of the mausoleum-type shrine shows a cross-section of the sanctuary, which allows a glimpse into the building. Here, one would regularly see the silver lattice structure enclosing the venerated individual’s tomb, in a room adorned with centrally placed chandeliers, symmetrically arranged lamps, and sometimes additional candlesticks on the floor. Frequently, the sanctuary’s tomb chamber is flanked by small entry chambers on both sides. In terms of architectural details, the buildings are presented in a fairly uniform manner. However, the artist has taken great care to introduce a certain variation in the patterns of the brickwork or ornamental tiles. In a similar manner, the inner chambers of the sanctuaries also display differences in terms of the amount or arrangement of lamps and chandeliers. While the majority of the images depict buildings, two images present bird’s-eye views of larger areas (fig. 19 no. 1: Mecca, fig. 20 no. 7: Kufa). Some images include renderings of landscape or elements of nature such as trees (fig. 19 no. 2: ‘Arafât, fig. 20 no. 5: Fadak, fig. 21 no. 9: Kheime-gâh, fig. 22 no. 12: Teflân-e Moslem, fig. 23 no. 18: Bibi Shahrbânû, fig. 23 no. 19: Qadamgâh-e emâm Rezâ). With the exception of the commemorative building dedicated to Bibi Shahrbânû (fig. 23 no. 18), all of the shrines are adorned on the top with either one or two crescents with five-pointed stars in their centers. Sometimes, the inclusion of two crescents denotes the shrines of more than one individual (fig. 21 no. 8, fig. 22 nos. 13–14), while at other times it probably serves to emphasize the respective individual’s particular significance (fig. 19 no. 3: Muhammad, fig. 21 no. 10: hazrat-e ’Abbâs).
1) The *haram* in Mecca (الحرم) is depicted as a square with the Ka'ba in its center. The square is surrounded by a number of arcades opening to its interior. There are eight arches on the left and right sides and nine on the top and bottom sides. Similar arcades are depicted in the four corners, with the one in the upper left corner bearing the image’s caption. The image depicts the holy precinct in a traditional manner, as viewed from the entrance on its northeastern side, the *bâb al-salâm*, a gate that is also mentioned in the verses as the standard entrance. Except for the Ka'ba, which is displayed in a three-dimensional manner, all of the other structures are presented in flat projection, emulating a bird’s-eye view. Most of the additional structures are oriented toward the Ka'ba in the image’s center. Two pairs of identically ornamented minarets, one pair above and the other below, point from the square’s four corners toward the center. The traditionally depicted details of the Ka'ba are clearly discernible: the building rests on an outwardly protruding platform; the black stone on the building’s eastern corner, here on the left side, is indicated by a curving white line against the building’s black draping, the *kiswa*; the Ka'ba’s door appears to be open, enabling the viewer to look inside the building. On the Ka'ba’s right side is the stone wall known as *hijr Ismā‘îl*, and on the building’s corner, opposite the black stone, is the gutter known as *mîzâb al-rahma*. Four single words, of which the one on the left side is barely legible, are written inside the *haram* and surrounding the Ka'ba on its four sides. They identify some of the smaller structures inside the holy precinct, including the wooden pavilions belonging to the four legal schools of Sunnite Islam, albeit not in the correct allocation. Starting from the top and reading clockwise, the captions identify the Shâfi‘î, Hanbalî, Hanâfî, and Mâlikî pavilions. (The correct order is, starting from the bottom and reading clockwise: Shâfi‘î, Hanbalî, Mâlikî, Hanâfî). Two structures in the foreground appear to be pulpits (*minbars*). Other structures that have been depicted frequently in traditional illustrations, such as the Zamzam well and the *maqâm Ibrâhîm*, are not identified.

2) The second image depicts Minâ and Mount ‘Arafât (منا و جبل عرفات) in the top section and the trotting space between Safâ and Marwa (صافا و مروة) in the bottom section (7 x 14 cm). In the image of Mount ‘Arafât the slopes of the mountainous region are indicated by short, curving hatched lines in the foreground and large tufts of grass in the background. A fence-like structure at the bottom of the image is somewhat enigmatic.

The bottom image establishes the trotting space between Safâ and Marwa with two rows of arcades on the image’s top and bottom. The respective sites themselves are indicated by two sets of steps. The site on the left is made of larger bricks and has four steps. The smaller bricks of the site on the right allow for six steps equaling roughly the same height. In comparison to the second image of the Shiite *Hajj* certificate discussed above (see fig. 5), it should be noted that the present image does not depict any human beings nor, in fact, any living creature.

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

Fig. 20: Shiite pilgrimage scroll (section 2, image nos. 4–7).

4) The image of the cemetery of Baqi‘ in Medina (۶.۳ x ۱۴ cm) shows a single sanctuary, probably a mausoleum for one of the four Shiite imâms buried there. Neither the caption nor any other characteristics in the image, such as the number of lamps, allow a further specification. Displaying a decorated dome, the mausoleum’s tomb chamber follows the standard visual layout in the scroll. In fact, in this particular case the imagery appears to be fairly stereotypical, as the sanctuary displays the typical features of a Shiite (or rather an Iranian-style) shrine. This is particularly evident in the silver lattice structure enclosing the venerated individual’s tomb. As the shrines in the cemetery have been destroyed, we would have to rely on textual or early photographic evidence to determine the degree to which the depiction corresponded to reality.

5) The scroll’s next image depicts the orchard in the oasis Fadak (۶.۷ x ۱۴ cm), which, according to the Shiite perspective, was unlawfully denied to Muhammad’s daughter Fâtima. The image’s caption has been integrated artistically into the decoration of the orchard’s gate. The spectator views the area from outside, looking inside, over, and above the closed entrance gate. The orchard is framed by walls on the left and right sides. At the far end of the central walkway—rendered in one-point perspective—is a pavilion adorned with a small dome. Each of the agricultural areas beside the walkway is indicated by a single palm tree, the fertility of which is indicated by two bundles of dates dangling beneath their leaves. A large leaf-bearing tree, whose top covers the image’s upper center, would offer
some shade to visitors. As in the Shiite Hajj certificate (see fig. 5), Fadak is the last site in the vicinity of the standard Muslim pilgrimage sites in Mecca and Medina. While the illustrative program of the Hajj certificate ends here, the visual journey of the pilgrimage scroll continues toward the sacred sites in Iraq.

6) The first Shiite site in Iraq visited during the visual journey is the mosque of ‘Alî in the city of Najaf (۴، 7.8 x 14 cm). The image’s caption refers to ‘Alî not by name but by his equally unambiguous honorific title amîr (short for Arabic amîr al-mu’minîn, “Commander of the Faithful”). The mosque is presented in the standard fashion, with a dome that is centrally placed between two symmetrically arranged minarets. Both the dome and the minarets are, notably, not covered with ornaments to emulate tile work. At the order of Nâder Shâh Afshâr (1736–47) the previously extant tile work had been removed and replaced by golden plates that are here emulated by the brick-like design. The tomb chamber is also illustrated in the standard fashion, with a centrally placed chandelier and a number of single lamps. Again, two small entrance rooms flank the tomb chamber.

7) The visual journey continues to the mosque of Kufa (۴، 9.4 x 14 cm). For various reasons, this city holds central importance for the Shiite community. First, its inhabitants refused to come to Husayn’s support, as they had previously let him believe they would, thus leaving his small group of warriors at the mercy of Yazîd’s troops. Second, Kufa is also regarded as a place of resistance against Sunnite oppression, as various incidents connected with the events at Karbala occurred here. Muslim ibn ‘Aqîl ibn Abî Tâlib, a cousin of ‘Alî ibn Abî Tâlib’s sons Hasan and Husayn, had served as an army commander under ‘Alî and, later, his son Hasan. When Husayn decided to accept the invitation of the population of Kufa to serve as their imâm, he sent Muslim to Kufa as his emissary, to explore the situation and assure the population’s allegiance. Muslim was, however, sought out by ‘Ubaydallâh ibn Ziyâd, the caliph Yazîd’s governor in Basra, and executed on Dhû ’l-Hijja 9, 680, about a month before the battle of Karbala. Immediately after, Hânî ibn ‘Urwa, a man who had temporarily given him shelter, was also executed. Although Muslim did not die at Karbala, Shiites also regard him as a martyr. His fate is experienced as particularly painful because Muslim’s two adolescent sons, Muhammad and Ibrâhîm, were also killed by the caliph’s men.

The image, which is slightly wider than the two previous ones, illustrates the mosque in Kufa in a mixture of bird’s-eye view and flat projection. The mosque’s courtyard is shown as a regular square with sides of equal length, each of which is occupied by an arcade of six arches. The image’s caption is placed in the middle of the courtyard, which is otherwise filled with a total of six small pavilions and three centrally placed, somewhat enigmatic, elements. A vertical element just north of the square’s center appears to be a column; an octagonal element below the center looks like a water basin; and below the basin is a boat-like structure. According to late nineteenth-century eyewitness accounts, the column (whose height is given at more than five meters) used to serve as the gnomon of a large sundial that would indicate the correct times of prayer. Popular belief held that men whose hands could span the column with their small fingers and thumbs meeting could be sure of their legitimate birth; in order to spare men with smaller hands a possible disgrace, the authorities allegedly thinned the column’s breadth at a specific height. Muslim tradition regards the site of the

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41 I would like to thank Rasul Ja’fariyân for supplying this explanation (by referring to an unspecified oral
mosque as the dwelling place of Noah, who is said to have constructed his Ark here. Some explanations link the octagonal water basin to the “boiling caldron” mentioned in the Koran (sura 11, 40; sura 23, 27), stating that it was water flowing from this pit that caused the Deluge. According to Muslim tradition, the mosque was established by Adam, and so both Adam and Noah are venerated here, as mentioned in the verses (see figs. 12, 15).

The square’s top side opens to a rectangular entrance area about a quarter of the size of the square that is flanked by small open chambers. To the left and right sides of the entrance area we see the mausoleums of Muslim (ﻗﺒہ ﻣﺴﻠﻢ) and Hâni (ﻗﺒر ﻫﺎﻧﯽ), the captions placed on ornamental bands just below the domes. Both buildings are fairly unpretentious. Their small domes, depicted from the outside, do not contain any particular adornment, and the view into the inner chambers shows two relatively small tombs. While the martyrs are thus awarded due recognition, their tombs are clearly second in importance to those of the Shiite imāms and of Husayn’s companions who died in Karbala.

Fig. 21: Shiite pilgrimage scroll (section 3, image nos. 8–11).

8) The central site of Shiite commemoration is the shrine of Husayn in Karbala (شیعه بارگاه سید; 11.2 x 14 cm). Because of the site’s prominence, this image is considerably wider than the following three images in this section. In addition to Husayn’s mausoleum, the image’s caption mentions three other sites of Shiite worship: the tomb of Habīb ibn Muzâhir (ﺐﻴﻗﺒہ حﺒ), Mary’s palm-tree (ﮥﻧﺨﻠﻢﻳﻣه), and the tombs of the martyrs (of Karbala; ﻗﺒہ ﺮﻬﺪﺍء).

The shrine housing Husayn’s tomb is depicted in the standard manner. Its dome is golden, and the two minarets to the dome’s sides are adorned with identical ornaments. In

source of information).

42 See the passages relating to Kufa in Rasul Ja’fariyân, ed., Panjāh safar-nāme-ye hajj (Tehran: ‘Elm, 1389/2010).
addition to the standard layout of the buildings, there is a flag protruding from the dome’s upper right side and a star on the dome’s tip. The tomb's actual shape is somewhat different from the usual rectangular layout in that there is a short extension added on one side. The illustrator aims to emulate this feature by depicting a void space between the shrine’s two sections, thereby indicating that he was well aware of the tomb’s unusual shape. The tomb chamber is also depicted in the standard manner, but the usual chambers on each side of the tomb are here used for different purposes.

On the image’s far right, just beneath the related inscription, a small chamber holds the tomb of Habib ibn Muzâhir, one of Husayn’s companions killed during the battle of Karbala. Rising above the tomb chamber is an additional minaret of slightly smaller size, whose adornment differs from that of the two minarets flanking the central dome.

Between the small tomb chamber of Habib and the large one of Husayn, again placed just beneath the related inscription, a small room is labeled “Mary’s palm-tree.” The image shows two short columns that apparently symbolize two palm trees. According to Muslim tradition, this is the site where Mary gave birth to Jesus: the Koran mentions that after conceiving Jesus, Mary retired to a remote place, where she gave birth under a palm tree (sura 19, 22–3). Having been constructed by order of the Jalâyirid sultan ‘Uways I (1356–74), the site was destroyed by the provincial government in the 1940s. Beneath the minaret on the left side is a separate small chamber that apparently holds a tomb with the remains of some of the other martyrs who died at Husayn’s side.

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

10) Husayn’s half-brother Abû ’l-Fadl ‘Abbâs (7.1 x 14 cm) plays a prominent role in the narratives about the battle of Karbala, as he was mutilated by the enemy when he attempted to fetch water from the river for his thirsty companions. His shrine is again depicted in the conventional manner, with a star on the dome’s crest, as in Husayn’s shrine. The only unusual feature in this image is the fact that its top area is adorned with two crescents and stars instead of the usual single ones. In fact, aside from the Prophet’s mosque in Medina, this is the only instance where the shrine of an individual is adorned in such a manner.

11) The final image in section 3 shows the shrine of Hurr ibn Yazîd ar-Rîyahî (6.1 x 14 cm), an individual who played an important role in the battle of Karbala. Hurr was originally sent by order of the caliph Yazîd ibn Mu‘awiyâ to prevent Husayn and his followers from reaching their destination at Kufa. According to Shiite legend, Hurr soon recognized Husayn’s rightful position, joined his party in their battle against the caliph’s troops, and died as a martyr at Karbala. Hurr’s shrine is somewhat more modest than the previous examples, displaying an onion dome resting on a drum but no minarets. Hurr’s particular allegiance to Husayn is indicated by the fact that the dome of his shrine is also adorned by a flag. Otherwise, the image follows the conventional layout.
12) The commemorative building housing the tombs of Muslim’s adolescent sons (ﻁﻔﻼﻥ ﻣﺴﻠﻢ; 6.7 x 13.9 cm), Muhammad and Ibrâhîm, is located in the vicinity of Kufâ—the only tomb chamber with two tombs in a single room. It has two relatively small domes, each of which is flanked by a single palm tree on the image’s outer side, and no minarets. The tomb chamber is depicted in the standard manner. Although the image relates to the tombs of two individuals, it is adorned only by a single crescent and star.

13) The scroll’s widest image represents the shrine of Kazimayn (“The two Kâzîms”; ﺷﻴﻴﻴﻪ ﻓﺎ الغربية ﻓﺎ ﺔ ﻗﺎﺯٌ; 15.6 x 13.9 cm) . Today, this shrine is situated in a quarter on the northwestern outskirts of Baghdad. It holds the tombs of the seventh imâm, Mûsâ al-Kâzîm, and the ninth imâm, Muhammad al-Taqî. The shrine of Kazimayn is adorned with two centrally placed golden domes as well as two large minarets and two small, minaret-like towers on each side. The shrine’s tomb chamber is larger than those of any of the previous examples and displays only one large tomb, whose top cover is protruding outward. The walls of the small rooms leading to the tomb chamber are lavishly decorated with tile work. The sky above is adorned with two crescents and stars, which flank a centrally placed, radiant sun. This unusual feature probably symbolizes the fact that the two imâms buried here are the father and son, respectively, of the eighth Shiite imâm, Rizâ. This imâm is particularly venerated by the Iranian Shiite community; he is the only imâm whose shrine in the city of Mashhad is located on Iranian territory.

14) The following image (8.7 x 13.9 cm) is heavily damaged, lacking about a third of the original paper. Even so, the shrine’s features are clearly discernible: a golden dome and two minarets covered with tiles. The tomb is somewhat unusual because it displays a centrally placed large structure with a smaller structure visible at its right side. The image’s top area is
adorned with two crescents and stars. Although the image’s caption is not preserved, this building most likely represents the shrine of the two imāms known as al-‘Askariyyayn (“The two ‘Askarīs”), a term that serves as a common designation for the tenth imām, ‘Ali al-Naqī (also called ‘Ali al-Hādī; d. 254/868), and the eleventh imām, Hasan al-‘Askarī (d. 260/873 or 874). These are the only two of the twelve Shiite imāms whose shrines would otherwise not be illustrated on the scroll. The shrine of the “two ‘Askarīs” is known to be located in Samarra, in the vicinity of the shrine that is depicted in the following image. It thus constitutes a logical station between the previous site, in Kazimayn, and the next one, which is also situated in Samarra.

Fig. 23: Shiite pilgrimage scroll (section 5, image nos. 15–19).

15) The image of the next shrine is somewhat unusual, as it does not display an actual tomb. This is the shrine of the cellar water basin (شیبی سرداب حضرت صاحب; 6.2 x 14 cm) in Samarra, which, according to popular Shiite belief, is connected with the occultation (Persian ghaybat) of the twelfth Shiite imām, who is commonly designated as sāheb-e zamān or emām-e zamān. The image displays an ornamented dome without flanking minarets. The room illustrated at the bottom of the image includes, on the right side, a brick staircase that apparently leads to the underground cellar. In the cellar is an object that looks similar to the standard depiction of tombs. The object is open on one side, allowing a view of the round basin inside. According to Shiite tradition, this basin was the place where the tenth and the eleventh imāms performed their ritual ablution. Although scholarly Shiite tradition does not sustain the claim, popular tradition holds that this is the site where the twelfth imām, Muhammad al-Mahdi, went into occultation in the year 329/941 and where he will appear again. This shrine is the last one situated in Iraq. From here, the visual journey continues to Shiite pilgrimage sites in Iran.
16) The first Iranian site that the pilgrim returning from the hajj would visit is the shrine of Hazrat-e ma’sume (literally, “the virginal Excellency”), i.e., the shrine of imâm Rizâ’s sister Fâtima in Qom (6.7 x 14 cm). Hazrat-e ma’sume died in Qom on Rabî al-thânî 201/November 4, 816, unmarried, at the age of twenty-eight. Paying homage to her shrine is particularly dear to Shiite Muslims, for whom it is second in importance only to the sanctuary of imâm Rizâ in Mashhad. According to popular tradition, and based on a statement by her brother, a visit to Hazrat-e ma’sume earns the pilgrim a place in paradise. The shrine is depicted in the standard fashion, with a centrally placed dome flanked by two minarets, all of which are covered in gold.

17) From Qom, the pilgrim would travel to the shrine of ‘Abd al-‘Azîm (5.4 x 14 cm) in Rayy, today a southern suburb of Tehran. ‘Abd al-‘Azîm is a descendant of ‘Alî ibn Abî Tâlib’s eldest son, al-Hasan. According to Shiite tradition, he lived a secluded and pious life in Rayy. The shrine, whose origins date from the ninth century, has been expanded several times. The golden plating of the dome dates from the Qajar period, when the minarets that flank it had not yet been constructed. As an unusual feature, the dome is topped by a large star. This feature is only shared with the shrines of Husayn (fig. 21 no. 8) and Abû ‘l-Fadl ‘Abbâs (fig. 21 no. 10). The shrine’s tomb chamber is the only instance in which there are no small rooms on both sides. Instead, to the back of the tomb is an adorned space, probably a tile panel, from which three lamps are hanging.

18) Next is the shrine of Bibi Shahrbânu, situated on a mountain in the vicinity of Rayy (5.5. x 14 cm). The shrine is here depicted as a modest building surmounted by a small dome; hatched lines interspersed with bushes of grass, bushes, large flowers, and a single large tree on the shrine’s left side indicate the hilly countryside. In the back of the shrine an unidentified building is visible in the distance. According to legend, Bibi Shahrbânû was a daughter of the last Sasanian king, Yazdegerd III (632–51), who was defeated by the Arabs. Captured and taken to Medina, Bibi Shahrbânû was married to Husayn and bore him the son ‘Alî Zayn al-‘Àbidîn, who later became the fourth Shiite imâm. After the battle of Karbala, Bibi Shahrbânû fled to Iran, pursued by her dead husband’s enemies. They were close to her when she reached Rayy, and in desperation she tried to call on God; instead of “Yâllâhu” her weary tongue uttered “Yâ kûh”—“O mountain!” The mountain opened miraculously, and she found shelter in its rocks. The shrine that was built in due course appears to have been a Zoroastrian holy place initially.

19) While there are various sites in Iran purporting to show the footprints of imâm Rizâ, the one depicted here appears to be located in the vicinity of Nishapur, i.e., on the pilgrim’s voyage toward Mashhad (6.2 x 14 cm). The image is divided into three sections. The top section depicts a hilly countryside with hatched lines indicating slopes. There are three leaf-bearing trees, two of which frame the shrine’s adorned dome. Two small buildings are visible in the far distance. The second image covers the upper half of the bottom section. The empty space in the ornamental band above probably should have contained the caption that is now placed below, as it depicts the imprint of a single right foot (instead of the pair of feet shown today) against a rectangular black background. On the right side of the

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lower half of the bottom section we find a brick staircase similar to the one leading to the sard-âb-e hazrat-e sâheb (fig. 23 no. 15). The staircase, today covered by a separate building, leads to an underground water basin framing a spring. This spring, itself constituting a venerated site, is known as cheshme-ye hazrat. According to legend, it sprang forth when imâm Rizâ wanted to perform the ritual ablution, which he could only have done by using sand (tayammum) if he lacked water.

20) Before the pilgrim reaches the shrine of imâm Rizâ in Mashhad, the visual journey takes him to the adjacent mosque, constructed in 821/1418 by Gawharshâd (Gouharshâd; here misspelled as ﮑﺴﺠﺪ گوهرشاد; 6 x 14.4 cm), wife of the Timurid ruler Shâhrûkh. The mosque is particularly renowned for its splendid tile work, here shown in almond shape on the dome and the two flanking minarets. Instead of the tomb chamber most often depicted in the bottom sections of shrines, we see a large portal with an alcove on each side.

21) The shrine of imâm Rizâ in Mashhad (پارگاه حضرت امام رضا; 7.7. x 14.4 cm) is the pilgrim’s final destination. Both the dome and the flanking minarets are covered in gold. The depiction of the tomb chamber follows the standard layout. The remaining three frames depict two sites each, all of them in one way or another related to the life and times of imâm Rizâ. This is the only instance in which details relating to a venerated person are awarded separate attention, a feature that emphasizes the high standing of imâm Rizâ among the Iranian Shiite community.

22) This frame is divided into a top and a bottom half (5.3 x 14.4. cm). In the top half, the first of the images related to imâm Rizâ’s life shows a large chandelier (چهل چراغ) with a total of fifteen protective glass bowls. It is flanked by two large candlesticks placed on the ground. Whereas today there are many similar chandeliers in the Mashhad sanctuary, this particular
example might well be the one donated to the haram by Nāder Shāh Afšār in 1153/1740. The frame’s bottom half shows a large hall with a central doorway that is flanked by two small doors, each of which appears to be partially blocked by rows of bricks. A large round plate (sini) is displayed high on the wall above the portal. According to the Shiite reading, imâm Rizâ was killed by the Abbasid ruler Ma’mûn when the latter offered him poisoned grapes on this plate. As late as the end of the Qajar period, the travelogue of Mollâ Rahmat Allâh Bokhârâ’i mentions the plate as displayed on a wall of the room known as Dâr al-huffâz (Room of the guardians).

23) This frame is again divided into a top and a bottom half (4.8 x 14.4 cm). The top half, the lower part of which appears to be adorned by tile work, is designated as the room where the sanctuary’s kettledrums are kept (نﻘﺎﺭﻩ ﺧﺎﻧﻪ ﺣﻀہﺕ). These drums would be beaten at stated intervals or specific periods, such as the rising or setting of the sun. The interior of the room shows five drums of various sizes and four oblong objects that might well be trumpets. The frame’s bottom half is erroneously labeled “The Excellency’s hospital” (ﮥﺮﻔﺎ ﺧﺎﻧ ﻫﺎث). The image shows a wooden structure with a dome resting on four slim pillars. The single lamp hanging from the dome’s center is placed above a large bowl, most likely a stone basin. As this basin would hold water, the image presumably illustrates the sanctuary’s saqqâ-khâne, the place where water is offered to thirsty pilgrims. It should be noted that the graphic representation of the word saqqâ in Persian is extremely similar to that of the erroneously written shafâ. The saqqâ-khâne is also mentioned in the travelogue written by Mollâ Rahmat Allâh Bokhârâ’i. It still exists today.

24) The scroll’s final frame, depicting details of the shrine of imâm Rizâ, is also divided into a top and a bottom half (6.8 x 14.4 cm). It illustrates two of the sanctuary’s charitable institutions for the needy, namely a kitchen supplying food (ﮥﺁﺮﭙﺰﺧﺎﻧ ﻫﺎث) and a hospital offering free medical treatment (ﮥﻤﺎﺭﺧﺎﻧﻴﺑ ﻫﺎث). The hospital in the bottom section illustrates an open courtyard, with a total of sixteen open chambers on its three sides. A large tree in the courtyard offers cooling shade. The kitchen in the top section depicts a number of pots and other vessels for cooking. Smaller vessels for serving food are placed on a brick wall in the background. To the right side of the pots on the kitchen floor is the written attribution to the person who commissioned and sponsored the production and printing of the pilgrimage scroll, as mentioned above. Whether or not the empty space on the pilgrimage scroll might have been used to fill in other names, such as that of the individual pilgrim, is open to speculation.

THE PILGRIMAGE SCROLL AND ITS SHIITE PERSPECTIVE

Documents such as the lithographed Shiite pilgrimage scroll were probably created and distributed in the hundreds, but no similar item has been published in the literature thus far. The scroll’s present owner mentioned having seen similar items during a visit to a museum in Bukhara in 1971, and comparable pieces might well be preserved in local museums or private collections in Iran.

In historical terms, the Qajar scroll fits neatly between similar Shiite documents that have gained attention only very recently. On the one hand, there is the spectacular “scroll
with Shiite sanctuaries,” which “evidently is the earliest of its kind,”44 acquired in 1765 by the Danish traveller Carsten Niebuhr at the Mashhad Husayn.45 Niebuhr himself regarded this document with contempt and did not even consider it worthy of reproduction as a copper engraving in his travel account.46 On the other hand, various Iranian posters dating from a range of periods in the twentieth century depict more or less the same sites in a modern style, thus documenting the lasting tradition of both Shiite pilgrimage to the ʿatabât-e ʿāliyât and the need to record the pilgrim’s pious journey.47

From a research perspective, the scroll’s primary importance lies in the opportunity it presents to add a Shiite dimension to the study of Hajj certificates, a dimension that has been neglected thus far. This Shiite dimension is, first of all, evident in the physical aspect of the pilgrimage as it is presented in both the verse and the visual narrative. Quite naturally, Shiites would visit sites that are of particular relevance to adherents of the Shiite creed. Visually, this emphasis is already evident for the sites visited in Saudi Arabia, such as the cemetery of Baqî’ and the oasis of Fadak, neither of which plays a major role for Sunnite pilgrims. Shiite preferences then become dominant for the sites visited in Iraq, most of which are linked to the traumatic experience of the battle at Karbala. When the pilgrims finally return to Iran, the Shiite aspect is widened through the inclusion of sites dedicated to venerated relatives of the various imāms; moreover, by travelling via Qom to Mashhad, the intensity of veneration increases until it culminates in the pilgrimage’s final destination: the shrine of imām Rizâ in Mashhad. By representing this site with a greater amount of detail than any other site, the scroll’s images underline the supreme holiness of this shrine, the holiest within Iranian territory. In contrast to the Sunnite Hajj certificates—for which Mecca is the ultimate goal and the Hajj the fulfillment of the supreme religious duty of all Muslims—the Hajj here acquires the character of a mere starting point, almost a prelude to the pilgrim’s subsequent journey.48 This journey is much more than a simple return to the pilgrim’s place of origin, as the scroll’s visual course eventually succeeds in displacing Mecca. The Shiite pilgrim’s true goal is his visit to the holy sites in Iraq and Iran. His final—and, in fact, his ultimate—destination is the sanctuary of imām Rizâ in Mashhad. By relying on the Hajj paradigm, and by combining its traditional visual code with the specifically Iranian element of chāvushi-khāni traditions, the scroll succeeds in Iranianizing the pilgrimage, in embedding the sacred Iranian territory in a Shiite worldview and in sacralizing the holy Shiite sites.

On a second (and somewhat less obvious) level, the Shiite perspective also is evident in the varying degrees of faithfulness and detail with which the artist of the lithographed scroll depicts the pilgrimage sites. The artist’s presentation of the Shiite sites in Iraq and Iran often betrays an intimate knowledge of specific details, almost as if he had been physically present. Direct points of comparison are extremely rare, but I was able to identify at least one lithographed representation of the shrine of imām Husayn in Karbalâ in a vaguely contemporary Persian book (fig. 25).

45 See Allan, The Art and Architecture, 95, fig. 3.11.
48 This statement and the following passages owe much to suggestions voiced by Christiane Gruber.
Fig. 25: Representation of the shrine of imâm Husayn at Karbalâ (initial chapter heading of the 1324/1906 edition of Riyāzī’s Bahr al-favā’ed).

The image’s caption, placed between the minarets and the dome, reads حضرت خامس آل عباد ارواح العالمين له الورد. By alluding to the fifth (khâmîs) member of the Muslim holy family (the āl-e ‘abâ), the caption unambiguously identifies the building as Husayn’s shrine. As in the scroll’s rendering of this shrine, the dome and the two minarets are covered in gold, here again emulated by a brick-like design. The peculiar shape of Husayn’s tomb is clearly discernible, as are the two rooms to its side. On the left side, we are able to identify the “tombs of the martyrs (of Karbalâ),” and on the right side we see a single column representing Mary’s palm tree, the nakhle-ye Maryam.

Representations of the pilgrimage sites in Saudi Arabia, to the contrary, sometimes lack detail, are incorrect, or tend toward stereotypes. This evaluation is true, for example, in terms of the palm tree orchard in Fadak, which is rendered more or less as the stereotypical vision of a Persian garden. The design of the dome of the exemplary shrine in the cemetery of Baqî’ does not differ decisively from those of any of the Shiîte shrines depicted later, and the silver lattice structure enclosing the venerated individual’s tomb is unanimously applied to all tombs, Shiîte or not, thus serving as a Qajar period iconographical shorthand for a venerated tomb. Contrasting with the application of this stereotypical imagery, the sites of the four legal schools of Sunnîte Islam in the haram at Mecca have been incorrectly allocated; moreover, both the Zamzam well and the maqâm Ibrâhîm are absent. Even so, the artist’s presentation of the Ka‘ba is firmly in line with visual tradition as documented by the many available samples from earlier Hajj certificates and illustrations in a variety of books (fig. 26). Notably, it is more detailed and more faithful than most other contemporary lithographed illustrations, several of which have been identified in lithographed books of the period.
Both illustrations are the work of Mirzâ ‘Ali-Qoli Kho‘i, the most proficient artist of lithographed illustration of the Qajar period.49 The image on the left illustrates the moment when Muhammad and his troops victoriously entered the holy precinct in Mecca.50 The image on the right illustrates one of the miracles attributed to ‘Ali ibn al-Husayn, the imâm Sajjâd, as the black stone testifies to his rightful position.51 Despite the fact that in both instances the protruding platform of the Ka‘ba is shown correctly, the black stone is erroneously placed to the right side of the Ka‘ba’s door; consequently, the second image here shows the mîzâb on the left side of the door—correctly located on the Ka‘ba’s corner opposite to the black stone. While it is not clear why the artist did not render the details correctly, it is unlikely that his illustration draws on the visual experience of a personal visit.

It is hoped that further findings will enable scholars to explore the context of the illustrated Shiite pilgrimage scroll in more detail. Until then, the scroll provides a fascinating extension of the “regular” Hajj certificates that are dominated by a Sunnite perspective. Whether this and similar pilgrimage certificates acted as records of pilgrimages by proxy or were acquired and kept by the pilgrims themselves, as personal mementos or tokens52 “replacing the urge to carry home one’s experience of the place,”53 they obviously served an important function. They attest to the transformation of geographical places into visually constructed sacred spaces,54 of terrestrial geography into religious topography, thereby authenticating the related set of religious practices and beliefs.55 These mechanisms are

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governed by a specific interpretation of history that historicizes Shiism while presenting historical events from a decidedly Shiite perspective. In this manner, the lithographed Shiite pilgrimage scroll also testifies to the growing self-awareness of the Shiite community in the Qajar period, an awareness that only in the twentieth century would begin to receive its due scholarly recognition.