The Spoils of War, how the lost carpet of Chosroes transformed the Prophet's Mosque in Medina and the carpet tradition in Turkey

After the Prophet's mosque at Medina was enlarged to receive the millions of visitors making the pilgrimage prescribed by the Prophet, the footprint of the mosque as expanded and modified under Umayyad caliph Al-Walid in 707–11 AD continued to protrude on the southern side (**Fig 1**). Arguably, the narrative and descriptive record of both the mosque and the trophy, show the impact of a sumptuous early war trophy, which, as a direct result, went on to transform much later industry.

When the Arabs conquered the Persians in 637 AD (five years after the Prophet's death), their booty included the "Spring of Chosroes", which survives in popular memory as a massive carpet of gold, silk and jewels depicting a pleasure garden. This popular memory is the catalytic part of its history but the reason it was able to affect anything at all maybe because it did not, in fact, show a garden.

We have two descriptions of the carpet given by the same eye-witness, Sayf, through the 10th century historian, al-Ṭabarī[1], whose *History* went from the Flood to 915 AD. At that date a major fragment may still have survived for reference as we'll see. Al-Ṭabarī's descriptions are haphazardly known through loose and imaginative, and often unattributed translations, that are so steeped in the popular fantasy that it is difficult to discover what he actually described. However, the descriptions can be unpacked.

Both descriptions describe the carpet as a square of 60 cubits a side (one calling this a *jarīb*), and both refer to unspecified "inlays" and the depiction of rivers or waters. Thereafter we have difficulties. The first description describes the borders as filled with spring vegetation of silk with gold stems and blossoms of gold and silver. The second ignores the borders but mentions silk "foliage" – for which the Arabic word implies tree leaves – and fruit of precious stones. It does not say that the carpet depicted a garden but that King Chosroes and his court would sit on

[1] Abū Ja'far Muhammad b. Jarīr al-Tabarī, *Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa 'l-mulūk*, Eng Tr *The History of al-Tabarī* (Bibliotheca Persica), ed Ehsan Yar-Shater (Albany, 1989), vol XIII, translated and annotated by Gautier H A Juynboll, p32-34 (2542-4) [events of the year 16]

it in winter and "feel" as if they were in a garden. The first description is generally ignored here, but it says, rather, that the carpet showed images of roads, rivers and houses, and that its edges looked like cultivated land.

When they found it, the Arabs took it as booty and at some stage dubbed it *Al-Qitf*, which is said to mean "the picked" or "the harvest". Arabic words carry their meanings in their consonantal roots, which in this case are the letters qāf-ṭā'-fā'. This root means "something cut", which explains why *Al-Qitf* can mean "picked" or "harvested" – or, we might infer, loot. Yet it seems, rather (or as well), that the Arabs were making a root pun with this word, because the second description describes its material as *al-qatifah*, which is usually rendered in English as "brocade". That is valid but not the only possible translation, as the shared root gives it the meaning 'villous or nappy', that is, hairy, like velvet or plush, thus by inference a fabric made by cutting loops to produce a pile[2]. It is even possible that this name also describes the carpet's fate.

As to its appearance, we can possibly evoke that very strongly in light of *zardozi* work, a form of three-dimensional embroidery on velvet with threads of gold, silver and richly colored silk, and inset gems. The Persian word, *zardozi*, means "gold embroidery" and tradition takes it back to 1500–1200 BC, possibly originating in the Persian village of Zari (hence its alternative name, "Zari work"). Al-Ṭabarī's descriptions fit surviving examples of Zardozi work well. For example (**Fig 2**)[3], Al-Ṭabarī's first description specifies spring vegetation of silk on stalks of gold with blossoms of gold and silver (**Fig 3**), as well as "roads" and inlays like rivers (**Fig 4**). His second description mentions fruits of precious stones along with the silk foliage (**Fig 5**). Note also the pearls sprinkled all over the background (**Fig 6**).

As the carpet lived on in history, it became ever larger and more elaborate until it was said to be a massive 100 ft × 400 ft. However, Al-Ṭabarī and his immediate successors consistently give a

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[2] Edward William Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, see قطف, vol 8, 1893, "Supplement" (Stanley Lane-Poole, ed), 245 (p2991)

[3] Figs 2–7 are photographs taken by tourists in Agra, India, probably at the Kohinoor Jewellers Museum and probably showing the work of the late Padma Shri Sham Uddin (1917–99), whose family had been embroiderers to the last Mughal emperor. Permission to publish has been requested from the anonymous tourists and from the Kohinoor Museum.

measurement of 60 cubits square, which not only fits the throne room where it was used but has significant bearing on how we understand its iconography (**Fig 8**). The Persian cubit of 20 inches[4] gives a measurement of 100 ft per side: too big to fit the available spaces at Ctesiphon, where both the iwan and the throne room measured 84–85 ft ×140–160 ft.[5] But a related measurement that would result in a carpet of suitable dimensions is the Persian *chebel*. This *chebel* is called the "hundred-foot" but actually measures 80 ft[6], which would not only fit the throne room at Ctesiphon well, but would produce an area of 6,400 sq ft, which is within the known range for a valid *jarīb*[7].

So, we have an 80 ft square velvet carpet embroidered in gold, silver, silk and gems with trees, blossoms and fruit, and water (whether pools or rivers) and we know that the king and his courtiers "felt" as if they were in a garden when they sat on it. This is where the popular memory comes from. But the ignored part of Al-Ṭabarī's first description changes this "garden" understanding, so let us now take a look at that.

A *jarīb* is a "patch of arable land". Ralph Brauer's analysis of the concept of area in Muslim thought suggests that the carpet was indeed seen thus.[8] Examining the thirty earliest Muslim geographers, Brauer notes that land was generally reckoned in relation to its resources for tax purposes. It was defined by the roads connecting its settlements, and valued by its water, kinds of crop, and property rights attached to wells and pastures[9]. Rights to travel through it were granted or withheld according to military strength. Under this system, "landed property was owned exclusively by Allah, or by delegation, by the Prophet and his successors, the khalifs."[10] The

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[4] cf en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persian_units_of_measurement

[5] Compare 80 ft × 160 ft (24 m × 48 m, wikipedia) and 83 ft 8 in × 142 ft 9 in (25.5 × 43.5 m, Encyclopedia Iranica).

[6] cf en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persian_units_of_measurement

[7] Although the standard *jarīb* is known to measure 1,592 sq m (approximately 16,500 sq ft), its dimensions varied locally from as little as 400 sq m to 1,450 sq m, so it is not as definitive as might be supposed and this has important implications discussed below. See *Kitāb al-Hadāyā wa al-Tuḥaf* (Book of Gifts and Rarities), trans. and annotated by Ghāda al-Hijjāwī al-Qaddūmī, Cambridge, MA, 1996 p 341

[8] Ralph W Brauer, "The Concept of Area in Muslim Geographic Thought", *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, vol 85 part 6, 36–40, 40–44

[9] Brauer, *op cit*, note 8, p 43

[10] Brauer, *op cit*, note 8, p 42

situation was further complicated by considerations such as "the mode of acquisition (e.g. by force[11] or by peace treaty), and the role played by the possessor in the warfare leading to the acquisition of a particular stretch of land".[12]

Al-Ṭabarī's description of the carpet parallels this mode of thinking, presenting a valuable stretch of land defined by roads and settlements, and taxable elements (water, fruiting trees, crop fields). Chosroes is said to have had a habit of strolling on its pathways[13], i.e. establishing his rights over it, and it was lost in war.

The carpet seems also to have been treated like taxable land. Thus, Al-Ṭabarī states that it was sent intact to Caliph 'Umar in Medina, who cut it up – perhaps *al-Qitf* refers to this – and distributed it among the Muslims, retaining one fifth as required by the Qur'an (**Fig 9**)[14], and that 'Ali's piece "which was not the best" fetched 20,000 dirhams. The rest was distributed "in small pieces" to the soldiers participating in the siege at Ctesiphon. This too may be seen in legal terms: Brauer mentions the lands given to soldiers as a reward or in lieu of payment, whose produce was in turn taxable.[15]

Nothing appears to have been noted about what 'Umar did with his sizeable fragment of the carpet, which must have measured 16 ft × 80 ft. There is a tradition that he was greatly distressed by its arrival, seeing it as a destructive form of wealth.[16] However, he may have had little choice if the carpet was seen as land that belonged to Allah, the Prophet or his successors. It seems he could not legitimately have sold or destroyed it and it is likely therefore to have remained within or close to the mosque and consequently to have survived for some time. The mosque at Medina

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[11] Q 8:41 (Al-Anfal, The Spoils of War), And know that whateer booty you acquire, one-fifth thereof belongs to God and the Apostle, and the near of kin, and the orphans, and the needy, and the wayfairer. (tr: Asad)

[12] Brauer, *op cit*, note 8, p 42

[13] Repeated by several secondary sources without citation. Al-Ṭabarī does not mention it but Ibn Athir, often used to calibrate Al-Ṭabarī, remains to be verified.

[14] Q 8:41 (see note 11), as also noted by Juynboll, *op. cit.* in note 1, 29 and 32.

[15] Brauer, *op cit*, note 8, p 39

[16] The tradition remains to be identified. Al-Ṭabarī does not mention 'Umar's distress; cf "Hazrat Umar the Great", p3, anonymously uploaded to scribd.com/doc/ 19594197/Hazrat-Umar-The-Second-Caliph-of-Islam

is recorded as uncarpeted throughout the time of the Prophet[17] and the tenures of Abu Bakr, 'Umar, Uthman and 'Ali.[18]

Since the Prophet insisted that prayer be done with the forehead on bare ground[19], 'Umar could not have set the carpet fragment in the mosque proper. But he must have put it somewhere, and there was one location where it could not do the damage he feared while demonstrably remaining in the Prophet's ownership under Allah. That is, he might have stored it in the Prophet's house and burial spot, which, according to tradition[20], was beside the mosque. The histories of the development of the mosque and of the Ushak carpet tradition may suggest that he indeed did this.

The Prophet's house containing his grave (and those of Abu Bakr and 'Umar) remained separate from the mosque until 706–711 AD when it was expanded by the Umayyad Caliph, Al-Walid ibn Abd al-Malik.[21] This expansion should be understood as part of the developing mosque concept, but the local stimulus may have been that the walls of the Prophet's house suddenly collapsed the

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[17] Abu Sa'id al-Khidri reported, "I saw with my own eyes, the Messenger of Allah had on his nose the traces of rain and mud". cf www.al-islam.org/shiism/15.htm

[18] www.al-islam.org/shiism/15.htm, note 183 (al-Muttaqi al-Hindi, Kanz al-Ummal; al-Hiythami, Sunan al-Bayhaqi; Sunan al-Kubra, vol 4, 212, vol 2)

[19] Bukhari, *Book on Making Ablutions with Sand or Earth*, hadith 323, "prayer", narrates that the Prophet said, "I have been given five things which were not granted to anyone before me: …. 2: The spoils of war have been made lawful for me, and these were never made lawful for anyone before me. 3: The earth has been made pure and a place of prostration for me, so whenever the time of prayer comes for any one of you, he should pray wherever he is [upon the ground]. …" This narration is part of many hadiths. For others, see www.al-islam.org/shiism/15.htm, note 173, and for other references to the Prophet praying in contact with the ground and insisting that others do so too, see notes 174–186.

[20] Jeremy Johns, 'The "House of the Prophet" and the concept of the mosque', in *Bayt al-Maqdis. Jerusalem and early Islam* (Oxford Studies in Islamic Art, vol.9, part 2), J. Johns (ed.), Oxford University Press, 1999, 59–112, argues convincingly that all traditions and reconstructions of the Prophet's Mosque at Medina (including the placement of the houses) are based on the concept and design made orthodox by Caliph Umar (634–44 AD), who rebuilt the mosque at an unknown date. Since the carpet was sent to the same Caliph Umar, the two orthodoxies are likely to complement each other.

[21] cf en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Masjid_al-Nabawi; cf also archnet.org/library/sites/one-site.jsp?site_id=10061

previous year, revealing the tombs inside. Two 12th century accounts[22], report that the then-governor, 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, covered the tomb with a "curtain", and sealed the structure behind a permanent pentagonal screen (**Fig 10**) to prevent pilgrims facing Qiblah (south) while visiting the tomb – thus ensuring that it did not become a mosque in its own right. It is tempting to wonder if the undescribed curtain was the 16 × 80 ft fragment of *Al-Qitf*, since it would seem to have encompassed the house perimeter neatly[23]. Moreover, the area within this enclosure came to be known as *Al-Rawḍah*.

Al-Rawḍah can be interpreted through a hadith, which is a scrupulously maintained traditional account of Muhammad's deeds and teaching. According to one of these, he once said, *between my grave [or house] and my pulpit is a rawḍah of the ryad of Paradise* (i.e. between my grave [or house] and my minbar is a garden from the gardens of Paradise).[24] That this was primarily understood to refer to the tomb enclosure is made clear by the geographer, Ibn Al-Jubayr, who visited the mosque in 1184. Describing the pentagonal enclosure, he mentioned that its upper walls were draped in blue-green cloth with white geometric patterns, and that these walls reached the ceiling because the "blessed" *Rawḍah*'s ceiling was connected to the ceiling of the mosque[25]. *Al-Rawḍah* means a strip of unplowed, verdant land covered with grass and flowers, a meadow, sometimes a garden, where water gathers so that herbage becomes abundant[26]. This name for the enclosure lends support to the possibility that the "curtain" covering the exposed tomb was

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[22] Ibn Al-Jubayr, who visited Medina 1183/4, "A Description of the Mosque of the apostle of God and his Sacred Rawdah", translated by R J C Broadhurst, The Travels of Ibn Al-Jubayr, London, Jonathan Cape, 1952, 194; Ibn al-Najjār, who visited Medina 1196, *Al-Durra al-thamīna fī Akhbar al-Madīna* (History of Medina), Cairo 1995, 348-393.

[23] In 1283/4 AD, Ibn Al-Jubayr recorded the measurements of the *ḥujra* (house) was described as measuring 24 × 30 × 39 × 24 spans. Allowing a half cubit per span, i.e. 8", produces a perimeter of 78 ft. Cf. Ibn Al-Jubayr, "A Description of the Mosque of the apostle of God and his Sacred Rawdah", translated by R J C Broadhurst, The Travels of Ibn Al-Jubayr, London, Jonathan Cape, 1952, 305

[24] Lane's Arabic-English Lexicon, vol 3, p1187, col 2, entry for *al-rawḍah*; the hadith was narrated by al-Bukhari, 1196, and Muslim 1391

[25] Ibn Al-Jubayr, *op.cit* in note 23, 305. Some versions of the hadith add, *and my minbar is on my cistern (ḥawḍ).* Muhammad's *ḥawḍ* is said to be located just outside the Gardens of Paradise, i.e. above his tomb. In Bukhari [no ref], the word used is said to be *al-kauthar* (fountain)

[26] Lane, *op cit, loc.cit*, see note 24

indeed *Al-Qitf*. By Ibn Al-Jubayr's time, the pentagonal enclosure was itself behind an impenetrable screen[27]. It is still covered with a blue-green cloth today.

Ibn Al-Jubayr then turned to the "*little Rawḍah*", which is the area now known as "the" *Rawḍah*: it is, as the hadith says, the space between the tomb of the Prophet and his minbar. This too appears to have been affected by *Al-Qitf*.

The development of the Prophet's mosque is utterly confusing until it is understood that no archaeology has been, or could be, undertaken there, so historians are dependent on ancient descriptions. Tradition-based studies of the Prophet's house and mosque (**Fig 11**)[28] present the courtyard as 100 cubits square (170 ft). Inferences vary as to whether the porch had two or three ambulatories (approximately 9 ft wide each), but all agree that the Prophet's house and tomb was at the east end of the second ambulatory. His minbar was half way down the south wall, 85 ft away. The traditionally accepted area between his house and minbar, therefore, was approximately 85 ft × 18 ft. When the new mosque was completed, 711 AD, equipped with arcades, dome, and one of the first ever mihrabs, this area became known as the "little *Rawḍah*". It may be seen that it is indeed a "strip", and that – in concept, at least – it could have accommodated a strip of carpet 80 ft by 16 ft, or perhaps two strips (**Fig 10**).

The first dome over the tomb was unpainted wood and given by the Mamluk Sultan al-Mansur Qalawin in 1280. It was destroyed by lightning in 1481. The new dome, set on a brick base and covered with lead, by Mamluk Sultan Qaitbay[29] was repaired or replaced by Ottoman Sultan Suleyman I, painted white and inscribed with the names of Muhammad, Abu Bakr and 'Umar.

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[27] Nasir-i Khusraw, *Safarnama: Naser-e Khosraw's Book of Travels*, trans. with notes by W M Thackston, Jr., New York, 1986, 59, visited Medina in 439/1048 and wrote, "Around the tomb is a balustrade so that no one can get in"; Ibn Al-Najjār, *op. cit.* in note 22; 399; Ali Ibn Ahmad Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā' al-wafā' fīt ta'rīke dār al-muṣṭafā*, completed 1480 AD., reported by Shaun Marmon, *Eunuchs & Sacred Boundaries in Islamic Society*, Oxford University Press, 1995, 2:576–81.

[28] Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam* (Milan, Ulrico Hoepli, 1905–7), vol 1(1905), 432–60, esp 377–379; Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, vol 1 pt 1 (Oxford University Press, 1969), 8

[29] cf en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Masjid_al-Nabawi; cf en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Green_Dome

The dome itself now took on the name of *Al-Rawḍah*[30]. It still exists under the present, green dome, which is attributed to the reign of Ottoman Sultan Mahmud II, who constructed it in 1817 and painted it green in 1839[31].

So, although *Al-Qitf* probably depicted arable land, its surviving strip seems to have affected the revised design of the mosque under Governor 'Umar. Apparently exploiting a hadith that might originally have been understood in spiritual terms, *Al-Qitf* with its embroidered *Rawḍah* may have been draped over the damaged tomb in 707 AD, conferring a special identity on the tomb and area beside it, and later inspiring a dome that also took the name *Al-Rawḍah*.

Al-Qitf and the later Ushak carpet tradition

Perhaps because of the mosque, *al-Qitf* may also have stimulated the development of Ushak carpets, notably the star carpets (**Fig 12**). The Metropolitan Museum's McMullen star Ushak carpet is now dated to the late 15th century, making it contemporary with the new mosque and putting it near the beginning of the "design revolution" said to have taken place at that time.

As summarized by the Metropolitan Museum's Walter Denny[32], this "design revolution" comprised an unprecedented expansion in size of carpet and motif, an increased knot density that allowed for greater detail and curvilinearity, the use of silk along with silver- and gold-foil-wrapped threads, and new carpet designs carried out in collaboration with court artists. He cites the McMullen carpet as a good early example. If this widely held hypothesis is accepted, Sultan Qaitbay's renovation of the ruined Rawḍah in 1481, and the need to produce new carpets or hangings that referenced *Al-Qitf*, may have provided an important and likely stimulus[33].

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[30] Zafar Bangash, "History of Masjid al-Nabawi and the Green Dome", *Crescent International,* October 2014. http://www.crescent-online.net/2014/10/history-of-masjid-al-nabawi-and-the-green-dome-4657-articles.html

[31] archnet.org/library/ sites/one-site.jsp?site_id=10061, or archnet.org/sites/3789 (anonymous general article)

[32] Walter B. Denny, *How to Read Islamic Carpets*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Yale University Press, New Haven & London, 2015, 58–64

[33] Lost reference that from the later 15th century, Ushak carpets became the predominant kind in the Prophet's Mosque, and in the larger Istanbul mosques. Wiki, on Ushak carpets, refers to an Istanbul study "40 years ago" without citation.

Arguably, the star carpets reflect al-Ṭabarī's description *Al-Qitf* as seen through later redactions when it had become purely a pleasure garden. Abu-l-Fedā in 1329, and his continuator Ibn al-Wardi in 1348[34], mention only a delightful verdant garden with flowers of gold, silver, and gems. Al-Dimashqi his work largely complete by 1300, describes the gems as blue, red, yellow, white, and green, and implies that these represented every detail on the carpet.[35] Khwandamir gives the same report in 1521–24, identifying the jewels as emeralds, rubies, and blue and yellow sapphires[36]. Roads, houses, rivers, fruit and often also the trees, have all disappeared from the description, which now conveys a delightful garden in gold, silver, and named gems.

As seen in the Walker Art Gallery's copy of Holbein's portrait of Henry VIII, early star carpets included the use of gold- and silver-wrapped thread for borders and blossoms, elsewhere (as on the McMullen carpet) evoked in yellowish beige and white. The medallions are typically filled with blue as if they were ornamental pools of water. Often, they have something that looks like the ground-plan of a cross-in-square pavilion at their center (**Fig 13**). Another, even clearer example is dated to 16th century by the Victoria & Albert Museum (**Fig 14**, **Fig 15**). Conceivably, the motif is a reminiscence of Persian paradise gardens, such the 15th century examples at the Topkapi Palace, and those at Bagh-e Fin that were completed in 1590 (**Fig 16**). On both carpets the main field and broad border are each filled with blossoms and foliage.

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[34] Abu-l-Fedā, *Concise History of Humanity, or Chronicles,* 1329 (continued by Ibn Al-Wardi to 1348); *Abulfedae Annales Muslemici, arabice et latine*, Opera et studiis Jo. Jacobi Reiskii, sumtibus atque auspiciis Petri Friderici Suhmii, nunc primum edidit Jacobus Georgius Christianus Adler (in 5 vol, 1789-1794), vol 1, C G Proft (ed), Hasniae 1789, 232-235.

[35] Shams al-Din Abu 'Abdallah Mohammed, aka Al-Dimashqi, *Manuel de la géographie du moyen Age*, traduit par Mehren, Copenhagen 1874, p87 also cited as *Kītab Nukhbat al-Dahr fi 'Aja'ib al-Barr wa'l-Bahr*, ed A F Mehren, St Petersburg, 1866, p87, I.

[36] Ghiyās al-Dīn ibn Humām al-Dīn Khwandamir, *Ḥabīb al-sīar fi akhbar afrad bashar* (The Beloved of Histories regarding the traditions of the most singular of mortals [1521-24]), Tehran, I, p. 483.

By the 19th century, descriptions of *Al-Qitf* included pearls and diamonds.[37] In that light, one last example should perhaps be taken into account. In 1865 AD, the Maharajah of Baroda, India, commissioned a pearl carpet to be donated to Medina for placing over the Prophet's tomb. It never got there because he died, and it was ultimately sold by Sotheby's in 2009[38]. The 5 ft 8 × 8 ft 8 in carpet is covered with an estimated one million seed pearls with another million precious stones. Its design consists of three large medallions in a rectangular field of flowers set within a broad floral border. The medallion centers are filled with table-cut diamonds set in silvered gold, to produce an effect like water in a circular pool. Flowers are spread over the entire central area, picked out in sapphires, rubies and emeralds. Around the edge is a broad border containing larger flowers of pearls, rubies, sapphires, and emeralds set in gold. The reminiscence of this design to the surviving descriptions of *Al-Qitf* is unmistakable and it was intended to be sent, like *Al-Qitf*, to the Prophet[39].

In light of the foregoing, I suggest that *Al-Qitf* was indeed kept by 'Umar, as seems to have been required of him legally as a designated successor to the Prophet. I suggest that he stored it in Muhammad's house, and that when this area was incorporated into the expanded and elaborate new mosque by 711, it inspired the concept and name of the holiest parts of the mosque, where its nature as a piece of verdant land with water garnered the area the name of *al-Rawḍah*. I suggest it survived at least until the fire of 1258 or even until the fire of 1481. At that point, a new carpet would almost certainly have had to be produced and since this coincides with both the patronage and timing of the later 15th century carpet "design revolution", I suggest that the Ushak star carpets, as well as the later Baroda pearl carpet, preserve one of the possible interpretations of *Al-Qitf*.

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[37] Joseph Ritter von Karabacek [Director of the Imperial Library, Vienna], Die Persische Nadelmalerei Sūsandschird, Leipzig, 1881, 189-192 compiles an elaborate description from several uncited sources, successfully implying that he had translated a single one. This was made specific, along with an English translation by A. F. Kendrick and C. E. C. Tattersall, *Handwoven Carpets, Oriental and European*, London 1926, 10.

[38] *The Pearl Carpet of Baroda*, Sotheby's Doha, 19 Mar 2009; www/sothebys.com/en/auctions/2009/the-pearl-carpet-of-baroda-d09005.html

[39] *Op. Cit.* in note 38


Fig 1, Prophet's Mosque, Medina, with footprint of early mosque pro...


Fig 2, Zardozi work attributed to Shams Uddin or his family, Agra.jpg


Fig 3, Zardozi work in border, detail of Fig 2.jpg


Fig 4, Zardozi work in garden area, detail of fig 2.jpg


Fig 5, Zardozi work carpet attributed to Shams Uddin or his family, Agra, det...


Fig 6, Zardozi work carpet attributed to Shams Uddin or his family, Agra, det...


Fig 7, Zardozi work carpet attributed to Shams Uddin or his family, Agra.jpg


Fig 8, Ruin of Palace at Ctesiphon with plan showing carpet dimension...


Fig 9, Diagram of al-Qitf and the Khums tax.png


Fig 10, Plan of Rawdah after 711 AD.png


Fig 11, Tradition-based studies of Prophet's Mosque, Medina.gif


Fig 12, Star Ushak Carpet, Metropolitan Museum.jpg


Fig 13, McCullen star Ushak carpet, Metropolitan Museum, detail o...


Fig 14, Star Ushak carpet, Victoria & Albert Museum.jpg


Fig 15, Star Ushak carpet, Victoria & Albert Museum, detail showing cr...


Fig 16, fin garden pavilion 6223519367_f9410a5bc0_b.jpg

Figures

Fig 1, The Prophet's Mosque, Medina, with footprint of early mosque protruding to the south.

Fig 2, Zardozi embroidery on velvet showing Taj Mahal and gardens within frame. Photographed in the showroom of Sanskriti's Imperial Gems, Agra.

Fig 3, Zardozi embroidery on velvet showing Taj Mahal, detail of frame. Photographed in the showroom of Sanskriti's Imperial Gems, Agra.

Fig 4, Zardozi embroidery on velvet showing Taj Mahal, detail of garden shrubs, paths and waterway. Photographed in the showroom of Sanskriti's Imperial Gems, Agra.

Fig 5, Zardozi work carpet, detail of border. Photographed in the showroom of Sanskriti's Imperial Gems, Agra.

Fig 6, Zardozi work carpet, detail of central medallion. Photographed in the showroom of Sanskriti's Imperial Gems, Agra.

Fig 7, Zardozi work carpet. Attributed to Padma Shri Shams Uddin or his family, Kohinoor Museum, Agra.

Fig 8, Chosroes' ruined palace at Ctesiphon with plan showing carpet dimensions.

Fig 9, Diagram of al-Qitf and a possible *Khums* tax division.

Fig 10, Diagram of the Rawḍah area of the Prophet's Mosque, Medina (not to scale: regularized for clarity).

Fig 11, Tradition-based studies of early stages of Prophet's Mosque, Medina.

Fig 12, Star Ushak carpet, Metropolitan Museum, Gift of Joseph McMullen, 1958, Acc. No. 58.63, 169½" × 91½".

Fig 13, McMullen star Ushak carpet, Metropolitan Museum. Detail showing blue-filled medallion with possible cross-in-square ground-plan at center.

Fig 14, Star Ushak carpet with faded restoration areas, Victoria and Albert Museum Middle East Section, Mus. No. T.274-1910, 161" × 89½".

Fig 15, Restored star Ushak carpet, Victoria & Albert Museum. Detail showing blue-filled medallion with cross-in-square motif at center.

Fig 16, Cross-in-square vaulted water pavilion at Bagh-e Fin, Kashan, Iran.

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