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The Mamluk Kaaba Curtain in the Bursa Grand Mosque

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There is a Kaaba door curtain on the right side of the Minbar in the Bursa Grand Mosque. (Figure 1) It is said that this curtain was brought from Mecca, and donated to the Bursa Grand Mosque during the reign of Sultan Yavuz Selim I (r.1512-1520) in 1517, after his conquest of Egypt and Hicaz. The Bursa Grand Mosque was built by the order of Sultan Bayezid I (r. 1389-1402) between 1396 and 1400.

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1 Turkish Cultural Foundation, Istanbul Office
2 Zafer İhtiyar, Bir Hüsn-i Hat Sergisi Bursa Ulu Cami (Istanbul, 2005), 70-71.
3 The exact date and architect are unknown; see: Bursa’nın Kalbi Ulucami, ed. Mustafa Kara and Bilal Kemikli (Bursa, 2009), 27-31.
The origin of the Kaaba covering goes back to pre-Islamic times. For a long time, rulers were concerned with dressing the Kaaba with the most precious cloths, colored green, red, white, blue, yellow, and black, as well as with the manufacture and embellishment of these textiles. It is known that Umayyad Caliphs changed Kaaba coverings made of a special kind of silk brocade twice a year. The Abbasid caliphs made a tradition of this practice, and this had been continued by Muslim countries for centuries. The first Mamluk Sultan to clothe the Kaaba was Sultan Baybars I (r. 1260-1277). The Kaaba covering, including a door curtain decorated with Qur’anic verses embroidered with gold and silver threads on black silk, was prepared in the Saladin Citadel every year in Cairo by Hajj-Emir. It was brought with Mahmal (Mahmal-i Sherif) to Mecca by a pilgrimage caravan. The preparation of the following year’s cloth was begun immediately after the one for the current year was delivered. The new Kaaba covering was put on public display in two Suur processes, which were held in the months of Rajab and Shawwal. In Mecca, old coverings were cut into pieces by the Shibiyoun family, and were sold to pilgrims as holy relics. In the Ottoman times, embroidered cut pieces such as parts of bands and door curtains were brought back to the capital, and sent to the mint house by the court to melt down the metallic threads during wars. However, in the year of al-Hajj-al-Akbar, the complete door curtain and tassels entwined with metallic threads were brought from Mecca to Istanbul by the Mecca Emirs, without cutting them into pieces. The oldest mention of the use of gold and silver threads in a Kaaba covering was in the Nasir Khusraw descriptions in 1050 (442 H): “The Kaaba covering (Kiswa) is white, and on the four sides of this covering, colored Mihrabs were woven with golden threads.” Yemen and Egypt were rivals in offering the covering, until the Mecca Sherif promised Mamluk Sultan Kalawun in 1282 that only the Egyptian coverings would be hung on the Kaaba.

A Kaaba door curtain was first mentioned by the explorer At-Tajibi, when he performed a pilgrimage in 1296 (696H). He described the opening of the door of the Kaaba and its curtain. A decorated curtain was first put on the door of the Holy Kaaba in 1407/1408 (810H). In a historical document, it is written that Mamluk Sultan Barquq (r. 1382-89, 1390-99) ordered a door curtain out of black silk, embroidered

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5 Mojan 2010, 251.
7 Yusuf Çağlar, “Mahmil-i Şerifi’nin Sürü-i Hümayun’la İstanbul’dan Haremeyn’e Hac Yolculuğu”, in *Dersaadet’ten Haremeyn’e Sürü-i Hümayun* (İstanbul, 2009), 73.
8 Tezcan 1987, 21; Hülya Tezcan, “Şimkeşler, Sırmakeşler, Sarayi için Yapılan Gümüşlüler, Altını Dokumalar, İşlemeler”, in *Antik & Dekor*, sayı 64 (Mayıs, 2001), 76.
10 Uzunçarşılı 1984, ibid; Yusuf Çağlar 2009, 73.
11 Mojan 2010, 249, footnote 44.
13 Mojan 2010, 251.
with gilded silver threads\textsuperscript{15}. It was the tradition to embroider the name of the Sultan on the bands and
door curtains with gilded silver broad, flat strip threads\textsuperscript{16}. A special raised method was employed to
embroider on a stuffing material.

We can see 18 Ottoman Kaaba door curtains in the Tokapı Palace Museum\textsuperscript{17}. Eleven of them are
complete, and the rest are fragments\textsuperscript{18}. The earliest curtain, created under Sultan Süleyman\textsuperscript{19} and which
has been kept in the Topkapı Palace Museum, is dated in 1543\textsuperscript{20}. When we compare the curtain in the
Bursa Grand Mosque with the Ottoman Kaaba door curtains in the Topkapı Palace collection, we notice
that it is very different in both its design and composition.

Figure 2. Cartouche and roundel motifs on the border of the Kaaba door curtain, Bursa Grand Mosque.

\textsuperscript{15} Mojan 2010, 187, footnote 71.
\textsuperscript{16} Murat Kargılı, “Hilafetin Mühim Bir Semböülü Olarak Misir Mahmili”, in Dersaadet’ten Haremeyn’e Surre-i Hümayun
(Istanbul, 2009), 120.
\textsuperscript{17} See: Hülya Tezcan, “Vakıf Eserlerde Karşılaşılan Kutsal Örtüler”, in IX. Vakıf Haftası Kitabı Türk Vakıf Medeniyetinde
Hz. Mevlânâ ve Mevlevihanelerin Yeri ve Vakıf Eserlerde Yer Alan Türk İslâm Sanatları Seminerleri (2-4 Aralık 1991
(Istanbul: IRCICA, 1996); Mojan 2010, 191-239.
\textsuperscript{18} Tezcan 1992, ibid.
\textsuperscript{20} Tezcan 1992, 332.
The size of the door curtain in the Bursa Grand Mosque is quite large, approximately 6.50 meters long, and three and half meters (3.45 m) wide. It is lined with blue satin (atlas) silk fabric. We learned from Semih Irtėş, who is a restoration expert, that the door curtain was taken down from the wall to conserve when the restoration project was carried out in the Bursa Grand Mosque in 2009. However, it was heavily worn out, and they decided to only remove the dust and hang it back on the wall. Even though it is quite worn, one can still see beautiful embroidery work in Mamluk style on the border and decorative fragments. There are two types of motifs in the border: one is geometric plant motifs, which can frequently be seen in Mamluk and Golden Horde arts; and the other is the repetition of cartouche and roundel motifs, which contain “Pseudo-Kufic” calligraphic forms. (Figure 2) This combination can also be seen frequently in Mamluk art. The center of the curtain is lined with plain red satin silk, without any decoration.

![Figure 3. Dawadar blazon on the Kaaba door curtain, Bursa Grand Mosque.](image)

In the center of the roundel motif on the border, one can see the *dawadar* blazon. (Figure 3) In Mamluk art, we often see rounded or oval shaped emblems, so-called *rank* or *runuk*, blazons or coats of arms, which are decorated with different kinds of heraldic symbols. They were used by Mamluk amirs to identify their possessions and statues within the court organization and the structure of the Mamluk government. The word *rank* was in common use in the Fatimid period (909–1171), and this practice may have been inherited from earlier Islamic rulers, though there are no depictions of emblems

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themselves except in historic or geographic documents. The post of *dawadar* (originally in Turkish: *devât-dâr*), which can be seen in the door curtain in the Bursa Grand Mosque, was one of the seven most important offices in the structure of Mamluk government. Under the Abbasid Dynasty (750-1258), the emblem of office of the *wazir* (*dawadar*) was an inkwell. The *dawadars* were the bearers and keepers of the royal inkwell, and served as secretaries of the Sultan. The appointment to this position began in the reign of Sultan Baybars (r. 1250-1277). During his period, this position gained in importance, and its holder exercised a certain supervisory function over the *barid* and chancery. In the late Mamluk period, enormous power was concentrated in the hands of the *dawadar*. For example, in addition to the position of *dawadar*, Amir Yashbak also held the position of *amir silah, wazir, ustadar, kashif al-kushshaf, mudabbir al-mamlaka, and ra’s al-maysara*. Before becoming sultan, Qansuh al Ghuri (r. 1501-1516) was in the post of *dawadar, vizier, and Üstadüd-darlık* under Sultan Tumanbay I (r. 1501). It is not known whether all of these positions had their own symbols and colors, but this information explains why different kinds of emblems are placed in one blazon. The position of *dawadar* became one of the highest amirs of the Mamluk Sultanate with the title of *Dawadar Kabir*. Some *dawadars* actually became Sultans, like Tumanbay II (r. 1516-1517).

![Figure 4. Five fragments on the Kaaba door curtain, Bursa Grand Mosque.](image)

On the Kaaba door curtain in the Bursa Grand Mosque, five fragments, including a piece of inscription, hang down from the upper border. (Figure 4) On the edge of the three fragments, there are decorative

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23 ibid.
24 *İslam Ansiklopedisi* III, 557; *Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi*, IX, 221-222; Fatih Yahya Ayaz, *Türk Memluk Döneminde Saray Ağalığı Üstadârlık* (1250-1382), (İstanbul 2008), 216.
tassels made of leather. Decorative “Pseudo-Kufic” calligraphy is embroidered in gilded silver broad flat strip threads by the traditional raised method, on both sides of the inscription fragment. Besides the inscription fragments, the four fragments are bordered with green colored velvet. The fragment that is on the right side of the inscription has a different decoration, and there one can see the blazon of dawadar. The inscription fragment is located in the center, between two decorative fragments, and is decorated with a net and tassels below. This fragment is different from the four other decorative fragments, and has no green velvet borders. The inscription says, “The preparation of this noble mahmil was commissioned by the Fighter for the Jihad, the Fighter at the frontier, the Defender of the borderland, Sultan of Islam and the Muslims, Reviver of justice in the two worlds, Servant of the two Noble Sanctuaries, the Alexander of his time, Sultan Selim I, on the date of the 15th of the blessed month Shawwal in 922H (November 11, Monday, 1516) in Damascus.”

Figure 5, left; Figure 6, right. The lower edge of the Kaaba door curtain, Bursa Grand Mosque.

The Arabic Inscription:

الله
[mirrored] الله اللى

امر بعمل هذه المحمل الشريف مولانا الملك المعظم المظفر الملك
العادل المجاهد المرابط المثاغرستان [sic!] الإسلام و المسلمين محبى
العدل في العالمين خادم الحرميين الشريفين اسكندر الزمان سلطان

28 I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to Prof. Dr. Stefan Heidemann for reading and translating the complete Arabic Mamluk inscription on the door curtain in the Bursa Grand Mosque.
Arabic Translation:
0 – Allāh Allāh Allāh
1- amara bi-'amal hādhihi al-maḥmal al-sharīf mawlānā al-malik al-mu‘azzam al-muẓaffar al-malik
2- al-‘ādil al-mujāhid al-murābiṭ al-muthāghir su[l]tan al-Islām wa-muslimīn muḥyī
3- al-‘adl fī l-‘ālamayn khādīm al-ḥaramayn al-sharīfayn Iskandar al-zamān sultan
4- Salīm shāh ibn al-sulṭān Bāyazīd Khān ibn al-sulṭān Muḥammad Khān ibn al-sultan Murād Khān
5- ibn al-sulṭān Muḥammad Khān ibn al-sulṭān Bāyazīd Khān ibn al-sultan Murād Khān ibn al-sultan
6- Urkhān ibn al-sulṭān ‘Uthmān khallada Allāh mulkahū wa-sulṭānahū wa-naṣr and the victory of his armies [1 word]
7- Muḥammad wa-‘alīhi bi-ta’rīkh khamis ‘ashar shahr Shawwāl al-mubārak min shuhūr sanāt
8- al-ithnān [sic!] wa-‘ishrīna wa-tis‘im’īa bi-Dimashq al-mahrūsa wa-ṣallā ‘alā Muḥammad wa-salm

English Translation:
0 – God, God, God
1 – Ordered has the production of this noble Maḥmal the magnificent victorious king
the just king
2 – the fighter for the Jihad, the fighter at the frontier, the defender of borderland, sultan
of Islam and the Muslims, reviver
3 – justice in the two worlds, servant of the two noble sanctuaries, the Alexander of the
time, sultan
4 - Salīm Shāh, son of Sultan Bāyazīd Khan, son of sultan Muḥammad Khān, son of
sultan Murād Khān,
5 - son of sultan Muḥammad Khān, son of sultan Bāyazīd Khān, son of sultan Murād
Khān son of sultan
6 – Urkhān son of sultan ‘Uthmān, God may perpetuate his kingship, sultanate and
victory of his armies, our lord of
7 – Muḥammad and his family on the date of the 15th of the month blessed Shawwāl in
the months of the year
8 – two and twenty and nine-hundred in Damascus, the well protected, And may [God]
praise Muḥammad and peace.

There are no other Qur’anic verses besides the inscription on the door curtain in the Bursa Grand
Mosque. Under the inscription fragment, there is a roundel motif, which contains geometric designs and
a dawadar blazon in the center. The continuation of the border outlines a slit down the center that serves
as the entrance. (Figure 5) The lower edge of the curtain is covered with red and green fabrics that
alternate respectively eight times, at approximately 30-35 cm intervals. (Figure 6) This pattern can be
seen in a Mamluk carpet, which is kept in the collection of The Textile Museum, Washington, D.C.,
(R16.1.2)29. Similar to the door curtain, blue and yellow colored warps alternate in a comparable manner
approximately 10 cm wide on either end of the carpet. This is counted as one of the interesting features
of Mamluk textiles. We can see a similar feature on Ottoman tents30. The lower edge of a tent is covered
with fabrics, colored of rust-red (çengârı kırmızı) and beige, or rust-red and green, that alternate
respectively. It is possible to surmise that this tradition was adopted by the Ottomans, and had been used
as a design pattern during the Ottoman period.

Gold and silver work was originally developed in China, and has been used for more than 2000 years.
To make a flat strip, metal was pounded into a sheet of thin foil, and then cut into thin strips for weaving.
When we see the curtain, we understand that double silver flat strip threads are used to embroider it.
There are several different kinds of embroidery stitches, such as the dival technique. We can see that the
lower part of the curtain is backed with some kind of coarse woven fabric, rather like burlap, but tighter
in structure. The constituent threads in the fabric seem to be almost as thick as string. On the bottom
edge, we find the stuffing material threads, which are most probably made of some kind of fiber like
hemp.

During the Tang Dynasty (618-907) in China, both flat strip and wrapped thread were used for metallic
embroidery31. Metal flat threads were usually backed with a substrate or animal membrane such as skin
or leather, or paper, before cutting. To make a wrapped thread, flat strips were wrapped around a silk or
cotton thread. We can see an early example of the flat strip on paper in the Liao embroidery, dated in the

29 Sumiyo Okumura, The Influence of Turkic Culture on Mamluk Carpets (Istanbul: IRCICA, 2007), 204-207.
30 I greatly appreciate Prof. Dr. Nurhan Atasoy for giving this information to me. See: Nurhan Atasoy, Otağ-i Hümayun
Osmanlı Çadırları (Istanbul: Aygaz, 2000), 186 (Cat. 35), 245 (Cat. 101), 265 (Cat. 128), 276 (Cat. 140).
31 Feng Zhao, Treasures in Silk (Hangzhou, 1999), 330.
11th century, at the Abegg Stiftung Museum (inv.no. 4418)\(^{32}\). These embroidery materials and techniques were used and developed in the Jin (1115-1234) and Yuan (1279-1368) periods, and brought to the Middle East over time by the Mongols.

We can also see many early examples in Europe of wrapped metallic threads, which were frequently used not only in church vestments and hangings, but also in the clothing and furnishings of the royalty and nobility. This technique was brought to Sicily during the early Islamic period. In the 12th century, besides craftsmen in royal workshops, there were professional embroiderers, who worked for the aristocracy in Palermo. In the course of the 13th century, these embroidery businesses spread over the whole of Europe, and the first embroiders’ guild was finally founded in 1295 in Paris, with the aim of establishing rules regarding the scope of their work and the quality of their products\(^{33}\). However, we notice that European textiles are generally embroidered with gilded “couching” stitch, which is different from the technique which was employed to embroider Kaaba door curtains and belts. This technique can be thought to have been influenced by the East.

How did this Mamluk curtain come to have the inscription that belongs to Ottoman Sultan Selim I? In order to understand this inscription, we must consider the historical background of those times. After the Battle of Marj Dabiq (Mercidabık) near Aleppo (August 24, 1516), the Ottomans gained control of Aleppo. A few days later, Sultan Selim I was welcomed by the inhabitants as a deliverer from the excesses of the Mamluks, when he entered the city of Aleppo in triumph. The Sultan marched from Aleppo and reached Damascus on September 27\(^{34}\). When he entered Damascus, Haydar Çelebi writes that Ulema and all of the people welcomed him\(^{35}\). The following day, September 28 (1 Ramazan 922H), a sermon was read on behalf of the Sultan at the Umayyad Mosque\(^{36}\). Sultan Selim remained in Damascus for 3 months. According to the inscription of the door curtain, it is possible to believe that Sultan Selim I might have ordered the curtain during his stay in Damascus. However, historical sources, such as Selimşahname\(^{37}\) and Ruzname, do not mention that Sultan Selim I ordered the Kaaba covering (Kiswah), including the door curtain. To conquer Egypt, Sultan Selim I and his army left Damascus in December, and defeated the Mamluk army, commanded by Sultan Tumanbay II, in the battle of


\(^{34}\) Haydar Çelebi, *Haydar Çelebi Ruznamesi*, ed. Yavuz Senemoğlu, Tercümên 1001 Temel Eser 73, 190.

\(^{35}\) ibid.

\(^{36}\) ibid.

Raidaniya, and Egypt came under Ottoman rule at the end of January in 1517.

During the Mamluk period, Mamluk Sultans continued to dress the Kaaba with a covering (Kiswah) until the end of their rule. Mamluk Sultan Qansuh al Ghuri also dressed the Kaaba with a covering during his reign. In 1516, Cairo was still in the hands of the Mamluks. We know from the historical sources that no one performed the pilgrimage in 1516 (922H), since the Mamluks were getting ready to battle the Ottomans\(^{38}\). In order to prepare an army, with which he proposed marching to the disturbed confines of Asia Minor, Mamluk Sultan Qansuh al Ghuri departed Cairo on May 18, 1516 (16 Rebiü'l-âhir, 922H), leaving Tumanbay, who held the position of deputy of Sultan (nâibü'l-gaybe) in Cairo and of dawadar, and who became the Sultan as Tumanbay II in 1516, at the helm of the government in Cairo\(^{39}\). Historical sources say “Tumanbay sent a Kaaba covering to the Kaaba, along with some money for the workers in both mosques. The Kaaba covering and money were sent secretly by sea with At-Tawashi Marhat.”\(^{40}\) The blazon of dawadar, which can be seen on the door curtain of the Bursa Grand Mosque, matches the blazon of Tumanbay II, who held that position. It is most likely that this curtain was prepared by Tumanbay II in Cairo. The differences between the inscription and the four other decorative fragments on the door curtain indicate that the inscription could have been added later. When Ebu Numey, who was the son of Mecca Sherif Berekat II, visited Ravza in Cairo on July 6, 1517 (16 Cemaziyelahir, 923H), he showed fidelity to Sultan Selim I on behalf of his father, and submitted the Key of the Kaaba, along with gifts and some sacred trusts, to Sultan Selim I\(^{41}\). As stated at the beginning of this paper, the complete door curtain and tassels were brought from Mecca to Istanbul by the Mecca Emirs in the year of al-Hajj-al-Akbar. According to a historical source, the Day of Arafat (the day before a religious holiday) in the month of pilgrimage (Dhu al-Hijjah) fell on a Friday\(^{42}\) in January, 1517. This made the year al-Hajj-al-Akbar. It is possible to believe that those sacred trusts, including the complete Kaaba door curtain, were brought to Istanbul because of the year of al-Hajj-al-Akbar, and that the curtain was donated to the Bursa Grand Mosque by Sultan Selim I.

After the conquest of Cairo, Sultan Selim I commissioned higher orders and tasks, such as the positions of şeyhü-l beledlik, emirü-l haclık and kaşîflik, not to the Ottomans but to the Circassian Mamluk

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\(^{40}\) Ibn Iyas, Badai al-zuhur fi waqai al-duhur, 115; Mojan 2010, 187.

\(^{41}\) Uzunçarşılı 1984, 69; Feridun M. Emecan, Yavuz Sultan Selim (Istanbul, 2011), 304; Abdülhamid 1980, 140.

\(^{42}\) Haydar Çelebi 197.
The Ottomans kept the same tradition of the Mahmal, and the creation of a Kaaba covering in Cairo, to be used in accordance with their own prestige. Sultan Selim I continued to cover the Kaaba with a new covering every year until he died.

In conclusion, the Kaaba door curtain in the Bursa Grand Mosque is the oldest existing Kaaba door curtain in the world. Most probably it was made by Tumanbay II in 1516, and brought to Istanbul after the Conquest of Cairo by Sultan Selim I in 1517. With the conquest of Egypt, Syria, and Hicaz, the Ottoman Sultans adopted the policy of maintaining prestige, in sending Mahmals and Kaaba coverings to Mecca. Sultan Selim I exhibited his prestige and sovereignty towards the entire Muslim world, and demonstrated that he was the protector of Holy places, donating this curtain to the Bursa Grand Mosque, which was one of the five most important mosques (Câmi-i Kebîr) in the Islamic world.

Selected Bibliography


Haydar Çelebi. Haydar Çelebi Ruznamesi. Edited by Yavuz Senemoğlu. without date.


44 I am grateful to Prof. Dr. Nurhan Atasoy, Prof. Dr. Altan Çetin, Associate Prof. Dr. Hülya Tezcan, Associate Prof. Dr. Nobutaka Nakamachi, and Mr. Semih İrteş for their help with my research.


Corrigenda for “The Mamluk Kaaba Curtain in the Bursa Grand Mosque”
(One footnote added; one footnote and bibliography updated.

P. 8, line 10,
After the English translation, in the paragraph, which starts “There are no other....”,
NOT “çengâri”, BUT “jengâri”
Please add the footnote 31 on it.

Line 10, “..... The lower edge of a tent is covered with fabrics, colored of rust-red (jengâri kirmızı) and beige, or rust-red and green, that alternate respectively. It is possible to surmise that this tradition was adopted by the Ottomans, and had been used as a design pattern during the Ottoman period.”


p. 4, footnote 22 and p. 12, bibliography:
Replace

Correction for footnote 22:

Correction for Bibliography:

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