

A POPULAR REPRESENTATION OF SOLOMON IN ISLAM

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The aim of the present paper is to examine a coloured, printed picture of Solomon¹ which I had the opportunity to buy several years ago in Morocco, in the city of Marrekesh. Actually the picture, 150x105 mm in size, appears as an independent piece of a whole series of popular representations with varying subjects which make up the contents of a big poster. The different parts such as those showing the Burāq,² Ali and his two sons, Muslim saints, the Prophet's tomb in Medina, the sacrifice of Isaac by Abraham and scenes with popular heroes, usually enjoy a wide circulation in the different parts of the Arab world.

1. The picture in question (Plate 1) bears the inscription *Nabī Allāh Sulaymān wa ġuyūšuhu* ("The Prophet of God, Sulaymān and His armies") and can be divided into two parts. The upper part represents Solomon flanked by men and jinns, while the lower part shows a group of animals. Solomon, who is considered by popular belief above all a prophet, can be seen here attired like a real king seated on a throne and wearing a crown. His head is surrounded by a halo formed in a zigzag line, his right hand holds a drawn sword and his left hand is resting upon an unfolded scroll of paper placed on a small table. A bird, similar to a dove and holding a letter in its bill, is descending from the sky towards the king. The human figures and the jinns are in equal number but, curiously enough, the popular artist has upset the symmetry by placing three human servants and three jinns on the king's right, while we can see only two of each of them on his left. The attendants with drawn swords in their hands are seated, the jinns armed with axes (except for one who also has a sword) are standing behind them. The asymmetry of the arrangement is further emphasized by the fact that the jinn on the right side of the picture is standing on the earth while the king and his company take their seats on something like a carpet floating in heaven. The animals of the world at the bottom are represented by such wild beasts as an elephant, a lion, an ostrich, snakes and a big lizard. Among the domestic animals, a horse, cow, cock, lamb and — strangely, since it cannot be found in the Arab world — Bactrian, two-humped camel show up.

2. Although the poster and the different pictures which are also on sale separately in most of the Arab countries, are newly printed, their origin must be traced back to an earlier period, possibly the last century at the latest. This supposition seems to be corroborated by the outward form of the picture and the technique used by the artist. As is well-known, Islam prohibited the representation of human beings,³ but, in spite of this, Islamic art has been famous for its miniatures which embellished manuscripts. We can also find representations of Solomon among them, so, for example, the *Mağālis al-Uṣṣāq* shows him with a flame-halo in the company of two jinns and two attendants.⁴ Beyond the fact, however, that the king's entourage is divided into human beings and jinns, there are no other resemblances between this kind of portrayal and the popular figure of Solomon in our picture.

The most conspicuous difference between the two types is that the latter disregards the use of shadow and light, together with the desire to mould its figures. The artist actually made use of lines and planes only. The origins of this method must be looked for in the pieces of the so-called *Hinterglasmalerei*, paintings under glass, which were popular in Arab territories especially during the Ottoman period. Several ornamental elements of the picture reveal also the characteristic taste of that period.⁵

3. If we are to look for an explanation for this picture, we must first see whether the Arabic sources of Solomon say anything relevant about the appearance of the king in this special form. As a matter of fact, these sources seemingly consider the description of Solomon's throne as a favourite theme in relating the events of the king's life.⁶ They actually say that Solomon, — who, as is well-known, became Lord of the Demons with the help of his magic ring, — ordered the devils to make a throne for him. They obeyed the order and made a throne from ivory, encrusted with red hyacinth, green emerald and precious stones, and surrounded by four golden palm trees. There were two golden peacocks and two eagles on the trees and two golden lions were standing beside the throne which was shaded by grape-vines and the palm trees. As soon as Solomon ascended a step leading to the throne, it turned around once, the birds stretched their wings and the lions beat the ground with their tails. Finally, a golden dove standing on one of the pillars of the throne brought the Torah and opened it for Solomon, who began to read it and to deliver judgements. The great ones of Israel and the jinns sat on the right and the left of the king. Whenever a witness was called upon to

give evidence, the throne would make one turn, the birds and lions would make the movements described above, and the frightened witness would tell only the truth.

These details, especially the description of the curious mechanism of the throne, can be traced back to a Jewish source, the *Targum šēnī* on the Book of Esther,⁷ but are of no avail in interpreting the scene in our picture.

4. There are, however, other pieces of information in Arabic sources which, to a certain extent at least, seem to explain the general frame of the composition. The relevant text runs like this:⁸

”The devils wove a carpet for Sulaymān (Peace be upon Him!) which measured one parasang by one parasang and was made of silk shot with gold. A golden throne (*minbar*) for him would be placed in the middle of the carpet and he would sit on it and there were three thousand golden and silver chairs around it. The prophets would sit on the golden chairs and the scholars on the silver ones. Around them were the people, and around the people the jinns and the devils. The birds used to shelter them with their wings lest the sun reach them. The east wind used to lift the carpet on a month’s journey from morning until nightfall and on a month’s journey from nightfall until morning.”

Another version refers to a wooden board instead of the carpet:⁹ ”Whenever he wanted to make an attack, he gave his army the order, and a wooden board (*hašab*) was prepared for him. Then people, animals for riding and instruments of war were loaded onto it until he had everything he needed. Then he commanded the windstorm, and it went under that board and transported it. He had a thousand glass houses on the board in which there were three hundred thrones and seven hundred women. He commanded the strong wind and it lifted it, and commanded the east wind and it carried it away.”

On closer inspection, it becomes clear that the picture portrays Solomon not in his well-known function of the wise judge, so familiar from Western representations,¹⁰ but shows Solomon, Lord of the whole world. The king is presiding over human beings, demons and animals. This idea naturally mirrors the different descriptions which relate how Solomon was given power over the earth, winds, demons and animals.¹¹ One would expect that the famous ring which enabled Solomon to exercise his authority over the demons would find a place in the picture, but this is not the case, unless the small, romboid-shaped, bluecoloured formation on the king’s left hand is destined to represent the ring.

On the other hand, greater importance seems to be given to emphasize Solomon's wisdom, symbolized by the unfolded scroll of paper. This might look strange, since the different sources seemingly do not discover a direct connection between Solomon's wisdom and a certain scroll or book containing secret knowledge, revealed to him. At least, none of the Arabic sources knows of such a thing, although they refer to the Torah.¹²

5. In our view, Christian pictorial prototypes might have exercised a decisive influence in guiding the artist's hand,¹³ since the closest parallels to the arrangement of the picture can be found in the well-known representations of Jesus called *Maiestas Domini* or *Rex Gloriae*.¹⁴ These usually show Christ seated on a throne elevated above the earth and surrounded by four beasts (a lion, calf, man, and eagle i. e. the symbols of the Evangelists) or saints. Jesus holds a book in his left hand, wears a halo with his monogram, and his feet sometimes rest on the semicircular line of a rainbow. This representation originates in the heavenly scene in the Revelation of St John, of which Chapters 4–5 depict the enthroned Lord with his entourage of angels. Christian artists were always very keen on portraying Jesus as their "King and Lord" with his army of the saints,¹⁵ so it cannot be a mere chance either that the Muslim artist finds it necessary to emphasize the presence of Solomon's hosts by an inscription, too. The occurrence of this inscription in itself betrays the influence of Christian icons which never miss to produce the written forms of the figures' names in the picture. By this method, the spectator is practically forced to spell or pronounce the name of Jesus or a saint in addition to their visual identification.¹⁶

The sword in Solomon's hand does not contradict the connection with the representations of *Maiestas Domini* since with the progress of time the figure of Christ, the Teacher became transformed to Christ, the Judge with the sword.¹⁷

As far as the extent of the familiarity of Muslim circles with this characteristic scene in the Revelation is concerned we might refer to several pieces of *Miḥrāḡ* literature which seem to be well acquainted with this part of the Revelation. A passage in a work even expressly states that Muhanmūd saw the Lord seated on a throne carried by four angels in the shape of a man, a lion, a bull and an eagle.¹⁸

It is only too natural that Islamic popular belief made Solomon appropriate the place of Jesus in a representation which was in perfect harmony with its own ideas. To begin with, Islam regards Solomon as the precursor of

Muhammad due to certain references in the Koran which state that the king sent a letter to the Queen of Sheba with the formula "In the Name of God, Most Gracious and Most Merciful" and called upon her to come to him and embrace Islam.¹⁹

Jewish tradition might have also played a part in the formations of Solomon's preponderance to the debt of other Biblical personages. Namely, in its anti-Christian polemics, Judaism discovered in Solomon the most appropriate figure to counterbalance Jesus.²⁰ Just as Jesus was the exorcist of demons, so Solomon came to be looked upon as the Lord of Demons. Similarly, Jesus was famous for his miraculous healings, and Solomon was invested by Josephus with the same ability.²¹

So, between the 3rd and 6th centuries, Solomon must have appeared as an able adversary of Jesus, and the influence of this originally Jewish idea might have made itself felt in Islamic sources when they tried to find similarities between the two figures.²² Returning to the explanation of our picture, it seems to be a logical conclusion to say that replacing Jesus in a very characteristic form of appearance could demonstrate the superiority of Solomon over Jesus in a striking way.

The bearded Solomon with the long hair is also in conformity with the similar figure of Christ which became popular at first in the East and then later in the West.²³ The halo in itself is, of course, not an essentially Christian motif, since it occurs quite frequently in various Arab and Persian representations. So, for example, Muhammad used to be distinguished by a round or a flame-halo.²⁴ The zigzag-like form of the nimbus behind Solomon might be a combination of the two different types.

Given the identity of the main motifs in the enthroned figures holding the book or the unfolded scroll respectively, the similarities between the representations of *Maiestas Domini* and our picture of Solomon seem to be more than pure coincidence.

Moreover, in the same way as the portrayals of Jesus in the *Maiestas Domini* form are usually divided into a heavenly and an earthly sphere,²⁵ the picture with Solomon also reveals a clearly-discernible distinction between the earthly world and the scene in the skies. The likeness in the arrangement of the figures is further stressed by the oval-shaped curve in the carpet under Solomon's feet which seemingly can only be accounted for by the influence of the depiction of the rainbow under the throne of Jesus.²⁶

6. The bird with the letter deserves special attention. At first sight, one would naturally think that it was the hoopoe, the faithful messenger of Solomon who carried his letter to Bilqis, the legendary Queen of Sheba. The bird, however, bears greater resemblance to a pigeon, and besides, it is arriving with the letter and not parting with it. On the other hand, Arabic sources explicitly state that Solomon's letter was fastened to the wings of the hoopoe,²⁷ and none of the descriptions claims that Bilqis sent her message to Solomon by the hoopoe.²⁸

Actually, there is a reference to a dove in the stories, according to which a golden dove standing on a pillar of the throne took the Torah and opened it for the king as he ascended his throne to read the Scripture for the people. Although the unfolded scroll on the small table might be interpreted as the Torah, the bird in its present appearance cannot be fitted into this explanation. The clue, I think again, is better sought for in Christian art where the figure of the pigeon as one of the most familiar symbols may stand for the Holy Spirit, the Apostles and the Disciples.²⁹ In a mosaic,³⁰ for example, in the Church of S. Maria Maggiore, the Virgin Mary appears seated and surrounded by saints on either side, while a white pigeon descends from above. An icon³¹ in the Coptic Museum in Cairo shows a raven holding a round piece of bread in its bill and flying to St Paul, the Hermit. Another icon³² in the Church of St Mercurius in Old Cairo presents the dove, again with a round-shaped piece of bread in its bill, symbolizing the Holy Sacrament. The bird here is seen sweeping down from Heaven towards Christ who is being baptized by St John in the presence of the four archangels.

On the basis of all these occurrences we might advance the conclusion that the artist of our picture might have considered the figure of the bird in its present form as a necessary prerequisite in the representation of prophets and saints.

7. As to the outer appearance of the figures in the picture, there is a definite effort on the part of the artist to present them in an archaic form which might look ancient or, at best, even evoke Solomon's age. Old times for the artist and his eventual customers, however, seem to stop at the Mamluk age, i. e., the period between the First Crusade and the Ottoman Conquest. This becomes evident mostly in the costumes and especially the arms worn by the king's attendants. Indeed, these pieces disclose some peculiarities which can be considered as characteristic of the Mamluk age. The tall, conical helmets particularly resemble those used by the military aristocracy during the

Mamluks,³³ and the sleeveless waistcoats may eventually be taken for mail shirts or brigandines without sleeves.³⁴

The typical Mamluk sword was straight, but from the 13th century onwards, sabres, like those in the hands of Solomon's entourage, became popular.³⁵ The handles of the sabres present a pommel and two swordknots, so they correspond, even in this respect, to the form of Mamluk swords.³⁶

The tight, long trousers, together with the somewhat loose upper trousers fastened by wide belts and slit under the knees on both sides, reveal the common characteristics of an Arab or Oriental costume.

The demons in Solomon's service hold axes in their hands. These axes (*ṭabar* in Arabic) were again among the characteristic weapons of the Mamluk army and were carried by the guards of the Mamluk sultans, too.³⁷

As for the outward appearance of the demons, they seem to have goats' heads with horns, but in the case of the figure on the right side, we can observe that it has donkeys' feet and a tail ending in an arrow. This conforms to the general idea about the peculiar traits of demons. Popular imagination claims that Bilqis, Queen of Sheba, had donkeys' feet since her mother was a jinn,³⁸ and as I was told, the arrowlike tail belongs also to the usual form of demons.

Understandably, Solomon, the central figure in the picture, does not reveal the characteristics of the Mamluk sultans. First of all, they never wore a crown, but a black turban, and were dressed in a black robe.³⁹

It is a fact, however, that the relevant sources depict Solomon as having plentiful hair,⁴⁰ and this trait actually appears in our picture as we have already pointed out whilst looking for parallels with the representations of *Maiestas Domini*. To complete the idea of possible Mamluk reminiscences, reference must be made to the fact that Mamluk sultans also share this feature since they wore their hair long.⁴¹ Beside long hair which falls down to his shoulders, the bearded Solomon, similar to his attendants, also has a moustache.

Not too much is visible of the chairs on which Solomon and his entourage are seated, but they do not even look typically Oriental. The king's throne, placed in a frontal position, stands on four legs and seems to be rather low and wide.⁴² Only one arm-rest can be seen on the king's right side. On the other hand, the small table⁴³ with four long legs appears as a typical piece of open-worked Arab furniture, encrusted with mother of pearl, which has been so familiar in the Islamic world.

8. Finally, the question arises whether the possession of such a representation of Solomon served only as a piece of decoration or was supposed to have other additional advantages. The answer must be in the affirmative, since there are several signs which show that it was thought to have some kind of magical power. Solomon's picture was credited with apotropaic value and was used as an amulet among Christians.⁴⁴ Owing to the presence of the swords in the hands of Solomon and his attendants, we may rightly assume that the same apotropaic effect was attributed by Muslims to this picture.⁴⁵ Besides, the figure of Solomon in itself is also worthy of separate examination because it discloses some highly rewarding features in this respect.

First of all, Solomon appears here as a threefold character. The inscription above his head announces that he is a prophet, the crown clearly shows that he is a king, and the scroll in his hand must suggest that he is a sage. Through this threefold nature, Solomon came to take on the same characteristics which were attributed in Islamic tradition to Hermes who was also a prophet, king and sage (*nabī, malik and ḥakīm*).⁴⁶ This motif, which became very popular in Arabic Hermetic literature, can be traced back to antique tradition.⁴⁷

In Islam, Shiites were the first to accept Hermetic teachings,⁴⁸ so it is important perhaps to underline again the fact that our poster was bought in Morocco, once a Shiite stronghold and that the other parts of its representations, like those showing Ali and his sons, also reveal Shiite tendencies.

In Arabic Hermetic literature the repositories of secret revelation appear especially in the guise of an old man, a Ṣayh seated on a throne and holding a tablet in his hands. The chosen one gets initiation into occult sciences from this figure. The scene itself may take place in a temple, an underground cave or in heaven.⁴⁹ By associating Solomon with the scroll in this peculiar way in a heavenly setting he is elevated (or degraded) into the ranks of Hermetic characters.

To indicate the possible connotations that the representation of Solomon with the scroll might have evoked in onlookers, we may allude to some magical practices in which similar figures are central characters. According to the famous work on astrological magic, the Picatrix, a prayer to Mercury should be said while wearing the clothes of a scribe, seated on a chair and holding a piece of paper to write on.⁵⁰ Another similar passage claims that the seated figure with the book can assure the art of writing to its holder.⁵¹

An incantation text attributed to a certain Indian Jewish monk, *Šim^cūn*, and supposed to be useful in achieving various aims like inciting love, gaining victory over enemies, making someone impotent, etc., addresses the servant spirits who are to fulfil the order in this way:⁵² "Answer, o *Qardamūš*, *Baqardamūš*: and you, o *Mā'sūs*, Master of the Bell, by the right of your great and glorious *šayh* who is sitting on the throne, and has the crown on his head and the Gospel in his lap, and by the right of the *šaytāns* of death who set fire (to everything) without fire and heat it without charcoal, do (such and such) . . ." The same description of the enthroned *šayh* can also be found in another incantation which is equally helpful in accomplishing bad and good intentions respectively, according to the kind of incense employed.⁵³

There can be no doubt as to the real origin of this seated *šayh* with the Gospel: he must be Jesus in the usual position of the *Maiestas Domini* representations. With this, the circle closes. The scene proves that Solomon, too, is entitled to gain admittance to the ranks of the bearers of the revelation who, deprived of their original function as imparters of hidden wisdom, have degenerated to the media of magic where they play, however, an important role, mainly because of their outward appearance.

NOTES

1. For Solomon in Islam, see *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, ed. H. A. R. Gibb and J. H. Kramers, Leiden 1961, pp. 549 sqq, s. v. Sulaiman; and J. Knappert, — *Islamic Legends I*. Leiden 1985, pp. 124–167. Cf. also *Encyclopaedia Judaica*² 15, 108. s. v. Solomon.
2. This kind of representations of the *Burāq* is treated by P. Schienerl, "Volkstümliche al-Burāq-Darstellungen aus Ägypten," *Archiv für Völkerkunde* 39 (1985), pp. 181–197.
3. The official view in modern Islam concerning the popular representations is expressed e. g. by Yūsūf al-Qirdāwī, *al-Ḥalāl wa-l-Ḥarām fi-l-Islām*, Cairo 1985, p. 106 which liberally states that there are no authentic texts prohibiting pictures on placards, dresses, carpets and walls. The subject is amply dealt with by G. Canova, "Nota sulle raffigurazioni popolari del pellegrinaggio in Egitto," *Annali della Facoltà di Lingue e Letterature Straniere di Ca' Foscari* 14 (1975), pp. 90 sqq.

4. Th. W. Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, New York 1965, p. 108, pl. XXXIII. The earliest representations of jinns in Islamic art occur in connection with Solomon (*ibid.*, pp. 108 sq).
5. Especially the eighties of the 19th century are meant here. For this, see G. Reitz, "Zu einigen islamischen Hinterglasbildern", *Abhandlungen und Berichte des Statlichen Museums für Völkerkunde Dresden* 22 (1963), p. 93. Several glass paintings with heroic themes are studied by Mohamed Masmoudi, "Une peinture sous verre à thème héroïque", *Cahiers des Arts et Traditions Populaires* 2 (1968), pp. 5–14 and *id.*, "Deux autres peintures sous verre à thème héroïque", *ibid.*, 3 (1969), pp. 85–98.
6. See e. g. al-Ṭa^clabī, *Kitāb al-^cArā'is*, Cairo n. d., pp. 340 sq.
7. D. Sidersky, *Les Origines des Légendes musulmanes*, Paris 1933, pp. 116 sq. For an Indian parallel to Solomon's throne, see G. Salzberger, *Die Salomosage in der semitischen Literatur*, Berlin 1907, pp. 3,5. For a representation of the throne, see E. Kirschbaum, *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* IV, Rom-Freiburg-Basel-Wien 1972, p. 21. For its detailed analysis, see É. Ville-Patlagean, "Une image de Salomon en Basileus Byzantin", *Revue des Études Juives* 121 (1962), pp. 9–33.
8. al-Ṭa^clabī, *op. cit.*, p. 326.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 326 sq.
10. See e. g. *Encyclopaedia Judaica*² 5, p. 1130.
11. al-Ṭa^clabī, *op. cit.*, pp. 325–327. See also Sidersky, *op. cit.*, pp. 115 sq.
12. al-Ṭa^clabī, *op. cit.*, 341, Sidersky, *op. cit.*, p. 117. It is well-known, of course, that the composition of several Biblical books is attributed to Solomon. See e.g. Muḥarram Beg, *Sulaymān al-Ḥakīm*, Cairo n.d. published by the Kanīsat al-^cAḍrā., pp. 28–39, which speaks about the Copts in this respect. Beside this, however, Solomon is credited with the authorship of many treatises on magic (*Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, p. 551.). According to al-Kisā'ī, *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, Leiden 1933, pp. 295 sq, when Ṣaḥr, the arch-demon usurped Solomon's throne, he composed also works on magic and hid them under the throne. Josephus had already stated that Solomon composed incantations (F. C. Conybeare, "The Testament of Solomon", *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 11 (1898), p. 12).
13. For Christian influence in Islamic painting, see e. g. Arnold, *op. cit.*, pp. 58 sq, 84.

14. See e. g. W. Molsdorf, *Christliche Symbolik der mittelalterlichen Kunst*, Leipzig 1926, pp. 104 sqq, Kirschbaum, *op. cit.* III, p. 139, s. v. *Majestas Domini*. Cf. also A. Fodor, "The Metamorphosis of Imhotep", *Akten des VII. Kongresses für Arabistik und Islamwissenschaft: Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse, Dritte Folge* 98(1976), pp. 177 sq which tries to discover the influence of the familiar figure of Imhotep, the ancient Egyptian god of wisdom in the formation on the *Majestas Domini* representations.
15. See e. g. T. Y. Malaty, *The Church House of God*, Sporting-Alexandria 1985, p. 324. Cf. also *ibid.* pp. 334 sqq. In connection with Solomon, Koran 27,17 refers also to his hosts of jinns, men and birds but uses the word *ḡunūd* instead of *ḡuyūš* which does not occur in the Koran. Cf. also H. Speyer, *Die biblischen Erzählungen im Qoran*, Hildesheim 1961, p. 395, n. 2.
16. For the elaboration of this idea in general, see M. Butor, *Les Mots dans la Peinture*, Genève 1969, pp. 51–54. To render the prayer in front of the picture of a saint really effective, it was necessary to call the saint by his real name, so it was important to reserve a place in the picture for this name (*ibid.*, p. 62).
17. Molsdorf, *op. cit.*, pp. 106 sq. Cf. also D. T. Rice, *Art of the Byzantine Era*, London 1963, p. 91.
18. Fodor, *op. cit.*, p. 178.
19. M. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde*, Leiden 1893, pp. 198 sq. The Koran itself speaks about Solomon in a rather short way, see e. g. Sidersky, *op. cit.*, p. 112. A. Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen*, Bonn 1933, p. 189. Christian tradition discovered also Christ's predecessor in Solomon (Kirschbaum, *op. cit.* IV, pp. 16, 21 sq). The Copts (Muḡarram Beg, *op. cit.*, pp. 28–39), Ethiopians (J. Mercier, *Ethiopian Magic Scrolls*, New York 1979, p. 92) and Byzantines (Kirschbaum, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 21 sq) were eager to find connections between the two figures.
20. For this, see H. A. Winkler, *Siegel und Charaktere in der muhammedanischen Zauberei*, Berlin-Leipzig 1930, p. 133.
21. Conybeare, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
22. Salzberger, *op. cit.*, pp. 37 sqq. According to al-Kisā'ī Solomon's birth was similar to Jesus' (*ibid.*, pp. 37 sqq). For Christian influence on shaping the Muslim idea of Solomon, see Speyer, *op. cit.*, p. 383.

23. Rice, *op. cit.*, p. 17.
24. Arnold, *op. cit.*, pp. 96, 98. Cf. also Malaty, *op. cit.*, pp. 328, sq.
25. See e. g. Rice, *op. cit.*, p. 36, Abou El Hamd Mahmoud, "Illustrated Coptic Manuscripts in the Ayyubid Period", *Prism (Quarterly of Egyptian Culture)* 3(1983), p. 15, Pl. 3, A. E. Effenberger, *Frühchristliche Kunst und Kultur*, Leipzig 1986, p. 301.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 314, Molsdorf, *op. cit.*, pp. 104 sq.
27. Speyer, *op. cit.*, p. 393, Sidersky, *op. cit.*, p. 125.
28. See e. g. al-Ta^Clabī, *op. cit.*, p. 354.
29. Malaty, *op. cit.*, pp. 438 sqq, 443 sqq. Cf. also Kirschbaum, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 241, s. v. Taube.
30. Effenberger, *op. cit.*, Abb. 103.
31. *Coptic Egypt*, publ. by Lehnert and Landrock, Cairo 1984, Front Cover.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
33. L. A. Mayer, "Saracenic Arms and Armor", *Ars Islamica* 10(1943), pp. 6 sq and *id.*, *Mamluk Costume*, Genève 1952, pp. 41 sqq, Iḥsān Hindī, *al-Ḥayāt al-^CAskariyya ^Cinda-l-^CArab*, Damascus 1964, p. 64.
34. Mayer, *op. cit.*, p. 40. On an interesting drawing from the Fāṭimid period the warriors are armed with straight swords (B. Gray, "A Fāṭimid Drawing", *The British Museum Quarterly* 12 (1937), Pl. XXXIII.
35. Mayer, *op. cit.*, p. 44, Iḥsān Hindī, *op. cit.*, pp. 80 sq.
36. Mayer, "Saracenic Arms and Armor", p. 8.
37. *Ibid.*, pp. 10 sq and *ib.*, *Mamluk Costume*, p. 47, Iḥsān Hindī, *op. cit.*, pp. 117 sq.
38. See e. g. al-Ta^Clabī, *op. cit.*, Sa^Cd₁al-Ḥādīm, *al-Fann al-Ša^Cbī wa-l-Mu^C-taqadāt al-Siḥriyya*, Cairo n. d., p. 22. Goat's feet are also attributed to the jinns (*ibid.*, pp. 23 sq).
39. Mayer, *op. cit.* p. 29. Arabic tradition considered the crown as a characteristic of the Persian kings (*ibid.*, pp. 16, 31, Arnold, *op. cit.*, p. 63).
40. See e. g. al-Ta^Clabī, *op. cit.*, p. 325.
41. Mayer, *op. cit.*, pp. 17 sq.
42. In the numerous representations of the enthroned Christ or the Virgin Mary the thrones are also in this position, sometimes they have separate legs, sometimes not. Similarly, occasionally they appear with a back, sometimes not. See e. g. Rice, *op. cit.*, Pls. 9, 17, 76, 101, Ch. Schung-Ville, *Byzance: L'Art de Byzance et de l'Islam*, Paris 1979, pp. 75, 145, 164, 177, 191 etc.

43. For the sake of the similarity in the setting, see e. g. Rice, *op. cit.*
44. Kirschbaum, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 15 sq.
45. The sword as a means of protection is frequently met with in Arab magic. For example, there is a written amulet entitled *Ḥiğāb al-Sayf* (The Amulet of the Sword) which is on sale in Morocco.
46. See e. g. Fodor, "The Origins of the Arabic Legends of the Pyramids", *Acta Orient, Hung.* 23 (1970), p. 343 and *id.*, "The Metamorphosis of Imhotep", p. 167.
47. R. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, Leipzig 1904, p. 175.
48. L. Massignon, "Inventaire de la littérature hermétique arabe" A. — J. Festigièrè, *La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste I*, Paris 1950, Appendice III, p. 385, H. Corbin, *Historie de la philosophie islamique*, Paris 1964, p. 179.
49. Fodor, *op. cit.*, pp. 172 sq, 175 with literature cited there. It is worthy to note here that according to Arabic sources Solomon was wearing a white dress (see e. g. al-Ta^clabī, *op. cit.*, p. 325) which was characteristic of Hermetic figures. Suffice it to refer in this connection to the frame-story of the *Book of Krates* (M. Berthelot, *La Chimie au Moyen Âge III*, Paris 1893, 1 sqq) in which the bearer of the revelation, the enthroned *šayḥ* is attired in white. For the enthroned figure as the source of revelation, cf. also G. Widengren, *Religionsphänomenologie*, Berlin 1969, p. 546.
50. "Picatrix" *Das Ziel des Weisen von Pseudo-Mağrībī*, trans. H. Ritter and M. Plessner, London 1962, p. 233. Cf. also Fodor, *op. cit.*, pp. 178 sq.
51. Maḥmūd Naṣṣār, *Ġāyat al-Ḥakīm li-l-Ustād al-Mağrībī*, Cairo n. d., p. 64. This is a popular edition of the *Picatrix* with illustrations by the compiler-editor himself.
52. ^cAbd al-Fattāḥ al-Ṭūhī, *al-Siḥr al-^cAğīb I*, Cairo n. d, pp. 109, 112, Fodor, *op. cit.*, pp. 179 sq.
53. al-Ġazā'irlī al-Mağrībī, *Kitāb al-Sirr al-Rabbānī*, Cairo n. d., pp. 37 sq.



Plate 1