ROBERTO PARAPETTI* THE LOST MIRJANIYA MADRASA OF BAGHDAD: RECONSTRUCTIONS AND ADDITIONAL NOTES

Abstract

The reconstruction of the Mirjaniya madrasa prayer hall inside the Iraq Museum of Baghdad is one of the most important actions among those that the Italian government has carried out in the last fifteen years for the museographic restoration of the artistic and cultural heritage of Iraq - of the splendid architectures in particular - severely damaged and partly lost in April 2003, thanks to the contribution of scientific competence and knowledge of CRAST and Monunenta Orientalia operating in that country for almost fifty years.

Keywords

madrasa; musalla; waqf; muqarnas; girih

In 2011, Monumenta Orientalia submitted to the competent Iraqi authorities and to the Direction General for Political Affairs (DGAP) of the Italian Ministry for Foreign Affairs (MAE) a new project for the reconstruction, inside the Iraq Museum, of the *musalla* (prayer hall) of the lost madrasa al-Mirjaniya, one of the colleges of greatest interest of medieval Baghdad. The project, which was welcomed, represented an effort to continue the renovation of the National Archaeological Museum of Iraq.¹

The project was inspired by the errors in the reassembly of some fragments of the 14th-century *musalla*'s decorative brickwork apparatus that were removed from the monument prior to its demolition, in 1946, to be displayed in the museum. A new, more accurate arrangement of the fragments in a new structure was envisaged based on the available documentation. Once it was connected directly to the museum's adjacent Islamic Gallery, the secondary north court proved to be the most suitable place to put the reconstructed *musalla* room.

A metal structure, with the size and shape of the interior of the lost original *musalla*, was built. The façade of the new room was intending to give the visitor entering through the new opening in the Islamic hall the impression to be standing inside the courtyard of the old madrasa and about to enter the prayer room. A replica of the colonnaded portico added in the 19th century to the *musalla*'s courtyard side was then constructed to create a transition zone between the current Islamic hall and the new room. The two doors on both sides of the façade, while not functional to the *musalla*, originally gave access to the upper

floor and defined the 21 m width of the courtyard; now they give access to new rooms for displaying further pertinent fragmentary brickworks and inscriptions discovered in the museum storage areas. The interior surfaces are made of mesh panelling finished in plaster. The fragments of brickwork decoration have now been replaced in their correct position. The outside part, facing on the secondary service courtyard, is thus simply made of plain surfaces with no_architectural design (Figs. 81-107).

The Mirjaniya Madrasa 1946-2016

Until 1946, that is until its almost total demolition (only the entrance portal with the minaret was spared), the then Jami' al-Mirjan, the ancient madrasa al-Mirjaniyah,² was known as one of Medieval Baghdad's few monuments of historical and artistic importance which are still substantially intact in the present day.³ (Additional Note 1)

² Its designation as Jami' (mosque) rather than madrasa dates to the 18th century, when, under Ottoman rule on the entire Mesopotamia, the madrasa lost its autonomy and was subsumed into a mosque.

³ The earliest mention of the al-Mirjaniya madrasa in Europe was by Carsten Niebuhr in his volume published in 1774-1778. A summary map and comments on the relevant inscriptions was included (NIEBUHR 1774-1778). The research expedition in which Niebuhr participated, under the auspices of the Danish crown, took place between 1767 and 1771. The volume was later published in French (1780) and English (1792). The discovery of the madrasa was later reported by other illustrious orientalist travellers during the 19th century who associate another important building, known then as Khan Orthman, now Khan Mirjan, (BUCKINGHAM1827, 183; MIGNAN 1829, 98; JONES 1857, 314). The first two decades of the 20th century brought news and more detailed documents of both monuments. Louis Massignon provides the precise location of the many inscriptions and precious

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¹ Since the fateful month of April 2003, the Italian government has been engaged in works for the 'reconstruction' of the Iraq Museum by MiBAC, MAE, and private bodies. The new project discussed here, managed by Monumenta Orientalia (2012-2016), is the latest such effort. Between 2004 and 2012, the Centre of Archaeological Research and Excavations of Turin (CRAST) had already redesigned and rebuilt the following sections of the museum: Large Assyrian Gallery, Medium Assyrian Gallery, Islamic Gallery, and Central Courtyard (see in LIPPOLIS, DE MARTINO, PARAPETTI, CAPRI 2016).

Lively debates in the decades before that had examined the question of whether to save the building or demolish it because of its extremely precarious condition and the high cost of any consolidation work. All attempts to save the building were futile and, in the end, it was demolished. Actually, the demolition was intended to remove the obstacle that the urban madrasa constituted between two sections of the main commercial artery, the present Rashid Street, in the heart of Baghdad's eastern sector. The building stood inconveniently across a bend in the road, effectively bisecting it (Fig. 32). Too late,_in September 1945, K. A. C. Creswell, one of the leading experts on Islamic architecture of the day, was invited by the government to visit the Mirjaniyah and express his opinion. Creswell reported: "The musalla of the Mirjaniya ... is an outstanding monument of Muslim architecture, not only for its splendid ornaments ... but also on account of the fact that it is the only example surviving in Iraq of this early type of triple-arched, laterally developed and domed, hall of praver".⁴ (Additional Note 2).

On March 26, 1946, during the regency of Arshad al-Omari, the Amanat al-Asima (the Municipality of Baghdad) the demolition started. It had been decided on January 20 of that year, in a meeting coordinated by the distinguished British archaeologist Seton Lloyd in the role of British Advisor of Antiquity, and with the technical managers most directly involved, engineers from the Amanat al-Asima and the Awqaf (Ministry of Religious Affairs). The minutes were forwarded to the Director General of Antiquities, Naji al-Asil, so that he might follow up the process.⁵ (Additional Note 3)

While the demolition was under way (Figs. 57-59), the DGA was finally able to appreciate the full architectural importance of the monument. The rich decorative and epigraphic apparatus of the walls was rediscovered in full beneath the 18th-19th century plaster. Next, the architecture of the complex ground floor and first floor was surveyed, as well as the internal fronts and the façade on the courtyard of the madrasa prayer hall, the *musalla* (Figs. 27-56). A brief report by Seton Lloyd himself and the study of the monument by Nasir al-Naqshbandi, inspector archaeologist, were also promptly publishe.⁶ A more exhaustive study on the madrasa and Khan Mirjan was not published until in 1982, by Tariq Jawad al-Janabi.⁷ (Additional Note 4)

The first work on the planned recovery of the monument, which mainly included the reconstruction "as it was and where it was"⁸ just of the *musalla*, which had become Jami' Mirjan, continued until the mid-1950s. The function and the spaces of the madrasacollege disappeared. The area was delimited and redesigned incorporating the surviving portal and only the new mosque. However, the peculiar institutional spaces of the madrasa and the tomb of the founder

were not reconstructed. The tomb was considered devoid of epigraphical or artistic value. Finally, the plan to join lengthwise two sections of Shara' al-Jedid, the New Street (now Rashid Street), already interrupted by the madrasa, was carried out. Many of the already detached original inscriptions and decorative panels were placed inside the new mosque, Jami' Mirjan, similar but not identical to the original musalla design. The tripartite hall with a wider main central dome was built with three identical bays covered by domes of similar size, but on a lower impost. A new entrance to the complex was opened at the street level, on the southwest side, served by a stairway down to the ancient floor about 2 metres below (Figs. 60-73). A further main part of the removed decorative panels was preserved and displayed in the present Iraq Museum (which reopened in 1966), (Figs. 74-80). Until the early 1970s, a few variations on the first project were carried out. In the 1960s, a new building was added behind the new mosque, likely the imam's house, and the extrados of the central dome was redesigned, raised, and reshaped with the forms of the lost domed tomb of Mirian. The last restoration works of the entrance portal decorations were carried out by the DGA in 1972-73.

At present, the urban context, despite the events of the last decades, is only superficially changed. The Jami' Mirjan is still managed exclusively by the 'Awqaf; the DGA no longer protects it; the Shorja market life continues despite the pedestrianization of that stretch of Shara' Rashid, and all goods are carried with carts or on human/animal back as they were a hundred years ago (Fig. 69).

photographs of the *musalla* (MASSIGNON 1912, 1-31, Pl. IV-XI) (Figs. 1-9). Soon after, Ernst Herzfeld published new maps of Baghdad and provided sketches of two of the madrasa façades on the inner courtyard and some photos (HERZFELD, SARRE 1911-20, II, 181-196; III, Taff. IX, X, XII, XLVIII, LI) (Figs. 10-16).

⁴ Creswell's report is contained in: LLOYD 1946, 12. Creswell's mission to Baghdad (at that time he was Professor of Islamic Art and Archaeology at the University of Cairo) was very short. He stayed at the Regent Palace Hotel near the Madrasa with a cost to the Iraqi government of about 150 ID of that time.

⁵ These are among the documents dated between 1936 and 1972 of the File No. 11/40 JAMI' MIRJAN preserved in the archives of the Directorate General of Antiquities (DGA, SBAH today, State Board of Antiquities and Heritage).

⁶ Lloyd 1946, 10-13; Al-Naqshabandi 1946, 33-54.

⁷ AL-JANABI 1982, 111-146, pl. 94-146, figs. 26-35. Printed publication by the Ministry of Culture & Information, Republic of Iraq, of the PhD thesis presented at the University of Edinburgh in 1975.

⁸ The slogan is originated by the extraordinary event of the sudden collapse of the bell tower of S. Marc in Venice in 1902.

The historical madrasa

The date of completion of the madrasa, 758 (1357), during the reign of al-Shaikh Sultan Mu'iz-ad-Din al-Hasan ibn Uwais Jalavri, is mentioned in the fragmentary inscription (no. 6) discovered by chance in 1946 inside the well in front of the iwan on the southeast side of the madrasa courtvard. It must have belonged to the inscription on the back wall of the same iwan, which was missing that fragment (Fig. 13; (Additional Note 7).9 The building date must have been given in the long inscription on the madrasa's main portal façade (inscription n° 1), but only the day of the month, the ninth of Jumada (July-August), is readable, not the year (1354?), apparently eroded. Both inscriptions mention the madrasa's founder, Amin al-Din Mirjan, first governor of Baghdad in 756 (1354) on conferral of Sultan Shaikh Taj-ad-Din al-Hasan Buzurg Jalavri.¹⁰

The building in the Bab al-Agha area covered a quadrangle of about 1600 square metres. The cut-off north corner probably respected a pre-existing path of the al-Ghazal souk, today al-Shorja souk, from there going forward (Figs. 54-55). A photo published by Herzfeld (Fig. 10) before World War I shows the madrasa's main portal still partly hidden by an arch of the market leaning against it (Additional Note 5).

The building was built entirely of brick, most measuring 22 x 22 x 5 cm with a typical gypsum (*juss*) local binder. The site plan of the madrasa is of the "four-iwan" type. The *musalla*, the prayer hall, was on the south-west side; an iwan was located at the centre of the north-east opposite side; the tomb of the founder was at the centre of the south-east side in front of the entrance. The building was articulated on two floors around the courtyard. On the ground floor there must have been the common areas of the madrasa, upstairs, the student quarters, accessible via stairways next to the courtyard's inner corners and along open galleries.

The flat roof was a uniform height. Only the musalla domes, the terminal roofs of the stairways, the minaret, and the main portal (pishtaq) protruded. A particular volumetric emphasis was given to the founder's domed tomb. The dome was a doubleshell dome raised on a high drum.¹¹ The outer shell, a slightly onion-shaped 'false' extrados, hided the vault of the burial chamber: a hemispherical dome with a stucco shell ribbed design intrados on mugarna.¹² The façades overlooking the inner courtyard effectively represented the distribution of space/function in an internal-external correspondence. These were marked by five bays within grids of pilasters and stringcourses on each side. The full-height bay at the centre of each side corresponded, as internally, to the main destinations of the madrasa: the *musalla*, the iwan and the tomb. Exceptionally, the main entrance body was internally on two floors.

Three full-height bays characterized the *musalla* courtyard façade, flanked by the stairways bays, divided into two parts by a stringcourse. Inside, the space of the prayer hall was divided into three parts by large four-centred arches that defined a domed square central area, the *qibla* space, and two rectangular domed aisles. The central dome is a twelve-sided domical vault on pendentives, each of three cylindrical sails, and mediated by a band with inscription. The lateral aisles have smaller domical vaults on a hexagonal high drum, connected to the rectangular base by cylindrical sails.

In the Islamic architectural repertory of Iraq, the building presents aspects of remarkable originality, inspired by the inventions developed in previous centuries primarily in Seljuk Iran, ascribable in the political-cultural movement known as the Abbasid renaissance.¹³ There is proof in the teaching of Sunni theology and jurisprudence through the establishment of the autonomous madrasa with respect to the mosque. Architecturally, the complexity of the dome articulation is noteworthy, as it is the plan with its four prevalent spaces-functions: the 'four iwans', two by two symmetrically opposed on intersecting axes, on the sides of a square courtyard. The main stylistic features are the emphasis of the frontal arch of the iwans (pishtaq), the mugarnas (honeycomb/ stalactite elements) for the formation of domes and cantilever-overhangs,14 the rich decorative wall finishing geometrically designed (hazar baf/girih) and the graphically codified calligraphy (naskh/thuluth)

¹⁴ In our madrasa, muqarnas are rare. They are adopted only to support the minaret balcony, at the great arch corbelled imposts subdividing the *musalla* bays and at the corner imposts of the tomb dome.

⁹ AL-JANABI 1982, 131-139. The inscriptions are numbered 1-14.

¹⁰ At that time, the dynasty of Jalayirids began to rule the region which had been ruled by the Mongol Ilkhanids since 1258 (fall of Baghdad and the end of the Abbasid imperial role on the Islamic world).

¹¹ Monumental tombs as urban landmarks, identifiable from a distance, are known in Baghdad in a few surviving samples with muqarnas conical domes of late Abbasid period (Zummurud Khatun and Shaykh 'Umar Suhrawardi, in PARAPETTI 2008, 77-88). The prototype Imam Dur tomb in Samarra (478/1085) was destroyed by IS in 2015.

¹² The similar domes of al-Nuri mosque of Mosul (demolished in 1942) and of the Christian monastery of Mar Behnam (in PARAPETTI 2008, *cit.* 61-76) near Mosul are of the same period.

¹³ Sometimes also called Sunni revival, it concerns the rapid development of arts, and especially architecture, which is evident in the artistic performance between the 11th and 13th century in Iraq, Iran, and Syria. Its promotion is attributed to Nizam al-Mulk, influential ideologue at the Iran's Seljuk court. The numerous eponymous *madaris* arisen later (Nizamiya madrasa in Baghdad, Nishapur, Isfahan, etc.) are its traces.

with historical content in public buildings. (Additional Note 6).

The architect of the entire complex is not recorded as such; however, he should be identified with the *naqqash*, the author of the calligraphic inscriptions: Ahmad Shah al-Naqqash (calligrapher/decorator) al-Tabrizi, exalted with the epithet Zarin Qalam (golden pencil).¹⁵ According to the Hadith traditional sources, Arabic script overrides all forms of visual art, occupying the physical and iconic space of sculpture and painting.

Hanafi and Shahafi teachings were taught in the Mirjaniya madrasa, specifically two of the four Sunni legal doctrines (*madhhab*), although the Jalairid rulers of the Mirjan period are known to have adhered to the doctrine of Shi'ism, probably to comply with the Baghdad community's practice (inscription n°10), and probably taught until the end of the 19th century.¹⁶

Mirjan's generous bequest (*waqfiya*), meant to ensure the operation of the madrasa, and therefore the teaching of the Sunni doctrine (*fiqh*), was recorded in an inscription inside the prayer hall. It is the largest one recorded on a building and of the highest quality in the Islamic world (inscriptions 10-12). The income from the madrasa real estate and land holdings is of great historical and topographical significance: 13 oil mills, 103 shops, a paper factory, $7\frac{1}{2}$ caravanserais (including the Khan Mirjan), 11 plots of land, 2 villages, and 7 orchards (*bustan*) are listed.

Ottoman-era interventions

In the period of Ottoman control over Mesopotamia, the major works on the madrasa were carried out after 1785 because the building needed repair. Subsequently, the governor of Baghdad province, Suleiman Pasha the Great (1780-1802),¹⁷ renamed the madrasa Jami' Mirjan. This change had significant political implications: it effectively wiped away the academic institution's autonomy and brought it under the allencompassing mosque. The new definition entailed important architectural adjustments especially in the *musalla*.¹⁸ The destiny of the famous *waqfiya*, which specifically condemns whoever goes against it,¹⁹ remains most questioning.

In order both to ensure direct communication with the burial chamber and to include the entire south-west side, large openings were created in the side walls that made it possible to greatly extend the area of the *musalla*. The new spaces were roofed by variously articulated vaults. With these same interventions, the height of the façade central door was probably reduced and side doors were opened. The niche of the *mihrab*, finished with majolica in the middle of the *qibla* wall, may have been created as well. Originally it was probably a simple flat panel. On the outer corresponding wall on the street, the mirhab was marked by an unusual applied element reminiscent of a minaret terminal (Fig. 35b). Another mirhab niche was created on the facade to the left of the central gate for the prayer in the summer months. A raised platform for ritual ablutions was added in the eastern corner of the courtyard near the well in front of the iwan (Fig. 12). Other functional elements were added inside the musalla: a masonry minbar finished with majolica to the right of the mirhab (Fig. 9) and a wooden balcony on the mezzanine of the counter façade (Fig. 43), perhaps meant for more important worshippers at the Friday prayers. Finally, a wooden portico was placed against the façade (Fig. 1-2), and much of the interior surfaces were covered with plaster, with only the panels for inscriptions reserved. According to al-Naqshbandi, in 1871, Midhat Pasha,²⁰ on the occasion of the visit to Baghdad by Nasir Shah Oajar, ordered the *musalla* to be re-plastered with painted floral motifs (Fig. 4).

Contemporary era

In 1928, with the Iraqi Hashemite monarchy (1921-1958), new maintenance and consolidation works for the Mirjanya madrasa were carried out by the Awgaf and in 1936 it was designated as part of the national heritage. Restoration works were carried out to fill in lost parts of the main portal (Fig. 31), and structural consolidation works were also carried out in the musalla, probably necessitated by disruptions caused by Suleiman Pasha's works on the load-bearing walls. Connecting steel ties were placed between the walls along the *musalla*'s south-west side. A tie, perhaps in reinforced concrete, was used to link the three gates of the *musalla* facade, and the outdoor portico was rebuilt in masonry and I-beams (Fig. 39). The masonry minbar was demolished and replaced with a wooden one (Fig. 40).

¹⁵ In the early decades of the 11th century, Ibn Muqla, an influential politician and calligrapher at the Baghdad court, theorized a fundamental transformation of the script, later made canonical by Ibn Bawwab as the *nashkhi/thuluth* style. Its prototype in architecture is most likely the inscription on the mausoleum of Imam Dur.

¹⁶ Cf. Al-Janabi 1982, 116–117.

¹⁷ Sulaiman Pasha favoured significant economic interventions during his rule and gained a great reputation in the West also for granting Great Britain a permanent representation in Baghdad.

¹⁸ The intervention was celebrated on the façade (Fig. 53) with a poem in Turkish in the majolica title block affixed above the central door (perhaps now lost). It states that the intervention was due to the deterioration of the building.

¹⁹ Cf. inscription 6. We infer that the text in the iwan was deliberately altered by the Ottomans.

²⁰ Cf. Al-Naqshabandi 1946, 117, note 37.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

1. The madrasas (madaris)

In the Muslim world, the madrasa is a school for either secular or religious school teaching.

The first madrasa independent from a mosque was founded in the 11th century, at the beginning of the Seljuk supremacy within the Abbasid caliphate, by the influential vizier Nizam al-Mulk, in support of Sunni theology as a counter-action to the growing Shi'ite/Ismaili influence within the caliphate. Numerous *madaris* in the major urban centres of the time are known as Nizamiya after him.

The Nizamiya was the highest academic institution in the Islamic world, not only for dogma, and as such it was also recognized in the Christian world. It is said that the establishment of the coeval Salerno School of Medicine was due to the work of four scholars, significantly including the legendary Arab Abdela.

Thinkers and artists, who are still remembered today, were active in the Nizamiya of Baghdad. The Iranian philosopher al-Ghazali taught and the poet Sa'di al-Shirazi studied there. Unfortunately, no tangible remain of that madrasa is preserved.

However, founded by al-Mustansir bi-'llah, the penultimate of the Abbasid caliphs (1226-1242), the Mustansiriya madrasa is still preserved. Through this madrasa, the Islamic education system was substantially extended by adding to the local sciences the teaching of pre-Islamic sciences, especially the medical ones. Arab coeval sources about the Mustansiriya, a true college, provide detailed information from which we know that it was administered by a director (*nazir*), supported by a supervisor (*mušrif*) and a clerk (*katib*). Furthermore, among its employees there were also architects (*mi'mariyya*), assistants (*farraš*), doormen, attendants to the bath (*hammam*), kitchen workers (*matbaq*), and various servants.

The nature of teaching and the number of teachers were specified in the foundation statute. This stated that there were four sections of 62 students for each of the four Sunni doctrines of jurisprudence (figh) taught there: Maliki, Hanafi, Shafi'i, Hanbali. Each school was assigned a professor (mudarris) and four assistants. In addition, a teacher and an assistant would teach the Quran to additional thirty young students; a teacher would transmit the knowledge of hadith (the traditions of the Prophet) to ten more students, and finally the head of the medical service, the *tabib*, would teach the science of medicine (tibb) to ten students. Thus, the total number of students was 298. In addition, grammar and mathematics were taught to all of them by specific teachers. The library, heart of the madrasa, had a manager, a superintendent, and a librarian assistant. Each law school had its imam,

its reciter of the Quran readings, and a preacher; in the prayer hall, the *musalla*, there was also a *muezzin* for the daily call to the prayer, as indicated by a special clock.

The Mustansiriya constituted an example for many other *madaris* of the Arab world while maintaining its function until 1779 when, under the Ottoman government of Baghdad, the building was converted into a caravanserai, then into a hospital, a police station and finally into a customs office. In 1936, it finally passed under the administration of the DGA. The large building, measuring approximately 100x50 m, is still standing on the east bank of the Tigris south of the al-Shuadah bridge.

2. Creswell report

"The recent discovery, in the hall of prayer of the Mirjaniya Madrasa, of splendid panels of Abbasid carved brickwork of the finest quality has at once raised this building not regarded hitherto as of great importance, to the very front rank as a monument of Muslim architecture. This carved brick technique is completely unknown in Egypt, Syria and Palestine and the amount preserved in Iraq is very limited. Apart from the Abbasid Palace in the Citadel [the monument is presently most likely identified as madrasa al Sharabiya, dated 628/1230, founded by Sharaf al-Din al Sharabi], the Mirjaniya Madrasa has no rival.

The musalla of the Mirjaniya is also of great importance structurally for the following reason. In Egypt madrasas did not have a musalla of special type, they merely used the diwan qibla as a musalla when prayer-time came; at other times classes of instruction were held there, as in the other liwans, which were vaulted halls opening on to the sahn for their full width, as in, the Kamiliya Madrasa, and the Madrasa of Sultan Salih, Muhammad al-Nasir and Barquq, etc. But in Syria madrasas were constructed differently. We are able to speak with certitude on this point, for eight or nine madrasas built before 700 A.H. (AD 1300) have been preserved. They were built sometimes for one rite, sometimes for, two. In the one-rite madrasa there was a tunnel-vaulted liwan for teaching in, in a two-rite madrasa two liwans. On the gibla side was the musalla. This always consisted of a hall with a triple-arched facade on the sahn, the central arch being wider and higher than the lateral ones. Behind this the musalla was developed laterally; it usually had a dome in the centre with tunnel-vaulted extensions to right and left; occasionally there were three domes in a row.

The musalla of the M.irjaniya is the only surviving example in Iraq of this type. It is therefore an outstanding monument of Muslim architecture, not only because of its splendid ornament, more of which is coming to light every day, but also on account of the fact that it is the only example surviving in Iraq of this early type of triple-arched laterally developed and domed hall of prayer".

3. Seton Lloyd report

Copy of the typed minutes in the File N. 11/40 of the DGA archive:

Baghdad, 20. 12.1946

REPORT

Mr Seton Lloyd proposed that the old *musalla* should continue to be used for its original purpose, and only such rooms be rebuilt on the east side of the court as the Awqaf should consider essential accommodation for the madrasa religious incumbents, lavatories etc.

- It was agreed that the D.G. of Antiquities should accept the responsibility for the restoration and architectural renovation of the old *musalla* only this would consist of stripping and restoring the ancient ornament inside the building... An estimate of the cost should be prepared on this basis.

- It was similarly agreed that the Amanat al Asima should render the following assistance in the renovation of the remaining parts of the building...

- They should also prepare designs for the reshaping of the building... and adaptation to the new [street] alignment.

- Estimates of the cost of structural alteration according to these designs should be prepared, and combined with the D.G. of Antiquities estimate for the *musalla*...

Mr S.L. confirmed... that the dome [of the tomb] was in an extremely dangerous condition. The meeting agreed that only heavy buttresses could preserve it from falling, and that only for a short number of years. It was decided that this opinion should be conveyed to the Min of Education for their decision as to whether or not it should be demolished.

4. Khan Mirjan

Less than fifty metres away from the Mirjaniya madrasa there is the Khan Mirjan, a building (inn, *funduq*) also founded by Mirjan, of an equal historical and architectural significance.

As stated in the only inscription on the north-west entrance portal, the building is dated 760/1359, two years after the completion of the madrasa. The inscription, as in the madrasa, mentions the names of the eponymous founder Mirjan and of the calligrapher (and architect) Ahmed Shah al Naqqash al-Tabrizi. It also mentions part of *waqfya*, and the destination of the building, as a function of maintenance and operation of the madrasa but also of the Dar al-Shafa' (a hospital) at Bab al-Ghurba (the area of the nearby left bank of the Tigris) with the revenues derived therefrom. An inscribed marble slab of the Safawid period (Shah Isma'il 921/1516), found there, mentions an edict on finance and taxation (Cfr. AL-JANABI 1982, 140-146).

The building, on the former Khalil Pasha Street, covers a rectangular area of about 1200 square metres. On the ground floor, there is a large double-height hall roofed by a magnificent segmented vault surrounded by rooms for the lodging of foreign traders and storage of goods. A mezzanine gallery along the inner perimeter of the hall gave access to additional rooms on the upper floor, which were reachable via stairways on either side of the entrance space. The covering of the large hall, an evolution of a more ancient Sassanid vaulting solution (Iwan i-Karkha), resumed in the Ilkhanid period, consists of seven large arches of a <u>four-centred profile</u> on which two levels of vaulted structures with open windows were set across.

Since 1936, the building with its warehouse function, which had been preserved over the centuries, ends with passing to the DGA management. Until the opening of the Iraq Museum in 1966, with a new entrance on the side opposite to the old one, the building was intended for exhibition of the Islamic art collections. In the 1980s, it was converted into a restaurant with live traditional music. The building, originally some three metres below the current street level, already subject to infiltrations due to the rising water table, was restored again (Figs. 107-112).

5. Modern Baghdad

Along the same lines as for the urban redevelopment plans of European capitals in the second half of 1800, important urban works were carried out in Baghdad, too (in ELSHESHTAWY 2004). The introduction of major reforms of Ottoman modernization, *Tanzimat*, had already led Midhat Pasha (governor of Baghdad 1869-72) to plan the demolition of the crumbling urban walls of an-Nazir (Caliph 1180-1225).

More important restoration works became necessary after the First World War. These included the regularization of the road network in the eastern sector of the central area (al-Rusafa) between the two gates near the left bank of the Tigris. In 1917, from Bab al-Mu'adham, to the north, up to the markets of Bab al-Agha, around the Jami' al-Mirjan, and in 1919, from there to Bab al-Sharqi to the east, a new modern arterial road, the Shara' al-Jedid (New Street, today Rashid Street) took shape, lined with colonnaded porticos, suitable for pedestrian and motorized vehicular traffic (Figs. 18-29). Then, on the open space in front of the Mirjaniya, 'Exchange Square', the most important banks of modern Iraq (Central Bank and Rafidain Bank) arose. Beyond the gates, demolished not before 1925, the first modern residential districts on the Western model were planned - Waziriyah and Saadoon. The former was on the 'garden city model', characterized by architecturally eclectic types, and the latter on a new housing model of single-family terraced house, still traditional but with exterior views (shanashil). To Arshad Pasha al-Omari, mayor of Baghdad from 1936 to 1944, are probably due the most significant modernizations of that period, later pursued with significant contributions from Western architects in the 1950s (Walter Gropius, Le Corbusier,

Gio Ponti, Frank Llovd Wright) in collaboration with local architects (Mohamed Makiya, Hisham Munir, Rifat Chadirji), which accompanied the introduction of modern Town Planning (Doxiadis 1955 and Polservice 1965).

6. The decorative brickwork, "hazar baf and girih".

Hazar baf (in Persian, a thousand laces) generally defines the finishing technique of the wall surfaces characterized by a strong 'luministic' effect through the protrusion-recess of individual bricks. The elaborations of the first Abbasid era in the Ukhaidir palace and in the Baghdad Gate in Ragga are prototype examples of this kind of brickwork. The evolution of this technique is defined by the term girih (knot, in Persian), the graphic art developed in the Seljuk era of the sophisticated combination of regular polygons to form figures, mostly star-shaped, with 5-12 points. These expand indefinitely on the plane, like wallpaper, as in the Mirjaniva, made from cut out brick inlay with carving insertion of stylized vegetal motifs. The style is attributable to Ibn Bawwab, a Baghdadi author of refined calligraphic texts and binder of Quranic texts. Active around the year 1020s, he was a disciple of Ibn Muqla al Shirazi, codifier of the naskh/thuluth calligraphic style, still in use (Figs. 113-115).

7. The inscriptions

The epigraphic context of Mirjaniya madrasa is indeed unique, not only locally, for the topographical information contained in the detailed drafting of the rich charitable bequest (*waqf*) of Mirjan in favour of continuity in the life of the madrasa.

The whole inscription is in crowded *naskh* of high quality, all executed in brick on a floral background composed of diminutive 4-petalled rosettes linked together to give a net-like impression.

The al-Mirjaniya inscriptions have been partially or fully read by several Iraqi and Western scholars. The first fairly complete account of these inscriptions was published by Massignon in 1912. The last publication was by N. Naqshabandi, shortly before the demolition of the madrasa in 1946. It was translated into English in 1982 by T. J. al-Janabi, whose numbering is used here.

1. THE TEXT ABOVE THE MAIN ENTRANCE

1. In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate (Sura XXXV, v. 28).

2. This blessed madrasa was constructed from the excess of the alms of ... [eroded, probably the name of the sultan' mother?] the happy, may God illuminate her proof

3. during the reign of her son, the greatest Nuyan, the

happy Shaikh Hasan, may God illuminate his proof.

4. It was completed during the reign of his son, the greatest Nuyun, the spreader of justice throughout the world, the Sultan of Sultans, the aid of the world and the faith, the aider of

5. Islam and the Muslims, Shaikh Uwais Nuyun ... [may] God [eternize?] his reign, by their client, the greatest companion, the refuge and the recourse of the nations.

6. The nurturer of kings, the supporter of Sultans, the care of the weak, the singled out by the care of God, Amin al-Din Mirjan.

7. May God endow him abundantly with His ample prosperity. He is the Glorious One, the Generous One. The construction

8. of this place (makan) began on the ninth of Jumada ... [eroded, 756?] may God bless our master and our lord

9. the Prophet of mercy, the intercessor for his nation, and the remover of grief Muhammad, and his family and his good and pure companions

10. and those who follow them properly, to the Day of Judgement. Written by the poor slave who is in need of the mercy of

11. God, may He be exalted, Ahmad Shah al-Nagqash known as Zarin Qalam al-Tabrizi.

2. THE TEXT ON THE INTERIOR FACADE OF ENTRANCE

"Sura XXIV, v. 614".

3. THE TEXT ON THE UPPER PART OF EXTERIOR FACADE OF THE MUSALLA

"Sura XXIV, vs. 36-7". This was constructed by him who needs His forgiveness, the generous King Mirjan ibn Abdallah ibn Abd al-Rahman al-Sultani al-Uljaiti, .

4. THE TEXT ABOVE THE DOORWAY OF THE STAIRCASE (to the facade right) "Sura IX, v. 72".

5. THE TEXT ABOVE THE DOORWAY OF THE STAIRCASE (to the facade left) "Sura VIII, vs. 2-3".

6. A TEXT PROBABLY RELATED TO THE IWAN

This text is the integration made by N. Naqshabandi of the fragmentary text on the rear wall of the iwan with the fragments discovered in 1946 inside the existing well in front of the iwan.

1. In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate The giver of waqf, Mirjan, says: whoever changes the conditions my endowment or whoever disposes of it in a way other than I have laid down, he [will] be cursed in this world and the next (Sura, XVIII, v. 104).

2. (Sura, XVIII, vs. 105-6): I have stipulated that it should not be let to those who are powerful or to soldiers

3. or to those whose evil-doing is feared, and that it be not let for more than one year, and that no further contracts be entered into before the completion of the first contract, and that nothing be set aside from the endowment by order of some mercenaries as has been mentioned, for they are cruel [in the sight] of God.

4. May the blessing and peace of God be upon our Master the illiterate Prophet, Muhammad, and his good and pure family and his companions, and this was written in the ROBERTO PARAPETTI

months of the year 758 by the weakest worshipper of the Exalted God, Ahmad Shah al-Naqqash al-Tabrizi, may God give him prosperity in this world and the next

7. THE TEXT ON THE MIDDLE DOME BAND OF THE MUSALLA

"Sura, III, vs. 190-4".

8. TEXT IN A RECTANGULAR PANEL OVER THE MIHRAB

part of "Sura, IV, v. 103".

9. THE TEXT OVER THE MIHRAB

1. In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. 2. Thanks be to God who gives success to the obedient [ones] in the construction of the houses of worship, and inspires the sincere [ones] to construct the columns of the houses of obedience. And He has enhanced the renown

3. of governors in making them establish the buildings due to their generous deeds and He guided those possessing majesty along the paths of goodness and He grants to good persons nobility: "good deeds annul ill deeds" (Sura, XI, v. 114), and He engulfs with His treasure those men and women who give alms.

4. May His blessing be on the Apostle of mercy, Muhammad al-Mustafa, best of all men, and his companions, the lamps of the darkness, and the full moons of the night. As follows: the one who is in need of forgiveness, the generous King Mirjan ibn 'Abdullah ibn 'Abd al-Rahman, may God replace his evil deeds with good ones, said: I travelled.

5. throughout the earth for a time and I struggled for some years in its length and width, to be the left and to right, embroiled in fearsome places by land and by sea, arriving successively in mortal places of cold and heat, until ever-growing enthusiasm brought me [to do this] and further success advanced me. Consequently I learned that this world is the temporary house, and the next is the permanent house, and I realized that the best way

6. of spending wealth and the best thing to which the ambition of men should be directed is that which is a means toward the doors of His mercy, destiny of any departure, and repository for the Day of accounting and the Questioning. The Prophet (praise and peace be upon him) said: When man dies (all) his works are finished except for three things: continuing almsgiving, and knowledge by which others may benefit, and a good son who will pray for him. And the "continuing almsgiving"

7. is the waqf, so I prepared to work with truthful and pure resolution and with an abundant mind for good. And I began to build this madrasa known as al-Mirjaniya and its attendant buildings which are attached to one another, during the time of the greatest Employer the one who rises to the neighbourhood of God and His Paradises, the one who rests in the highest rooms of His Paradises, Shaikh Hasan Nuyu-n, may God illuminate his proof. It was completed during the days of the reign.

10. THE TEXT ON THE LEFT SIDE OF THE MIHRAB

1. of the light of his pupil and light of his garden, the greatest and the most just Employer, the Raiser of the banners of the Sultanate to the orbits [sky], Placer of the aims of the Kigndom to

2. the north. Puller of the hems of mercy over the Arabs and the Turks, Renewer of the ceremonies of the emblem of

the state of Chingiz Khan, Shaikh Shah Uwais

3. may God eternalize his sovereignty, and it was endowed for the jurists and the students of knowledge and exegesis and tradition and fiqh following the two madhhabs of the greater Imam Muhammad ibn Idris al-Shafi'i al-Muttalibi

4. and the senior Imam Abi Hanifa Nu'man ibn Thabit al-Kufi, may God be pleased with them, there is endowed for its upkeep as has been explained in the endowment signed by the Judges

5. of Islam and beautified by the witnessing of the greatest princes and ministers: In al-Rayhaniyn forty-four shops and twelve oil-presses in the New Market which is adjacent to

11. THE TEXT OPPOSITE TEXT 10

1. the school and [the market of] the goldsmiths and twenty-nine other shops and three and a half khans one of which was built by the endower and sites in al-Badriya and sites in al-Badriya fend in al-Amshatiyn

2. three shops find in al-Mashra'a fourteen shops and a new khan built by the endower, may God accept good deeds from him, and in al-Hulba thirteen shops, an oil-press, a khan

3. in which are 52 ground-floor compartments (and in the western part in the quarter of the Palace a house, a mill and a khan known as al-Jawari and in al-Khulailat Khan al-Zawiya, and a mill which is now a part of the right of

4. the aforementioned khan and in al-Harim a paper shop and/in the canal of 'Isa the area of 'Aqarquf, and half of al-Qa'imiya, and Tell Dihim and orchards in al-Mukharramiya, and orchards in the village of al-Turk, ai-Juba and in the Qarah of al-Jamus

5. and in al-Sarat a farm and in al-Qatun the area of Radaman and in Jalawla' half of Khanabad, and orchards in Ba'quba and Buhriz, Khanaqin, Duri and half of Razin Juwi (golden river)

12. THE TEXT OPPOSITE THE MIHRAB

1. and water mills and Ni'matabad and Dawalatabad

2. and orchards in al-Bandanijin and a new orchard in Buhris constructed by the endower, and a canal in Khurramabad and all its surrounding lands and farms

3. which are called Hazar Nishta and this is between Hamrin mountain and Khanaqin, as a true, legal, eternal, perpetual and sacred waqf by all (means by which) God makes sacred Mecca and the Bait al-Haram and the pillar (of the Ka'ba) and the Maqam (or Abraham) this will continue

4. as it is until God inherits the earth and whatever is upon it for He is the best of the inheritances. It will not be affected by the passing of evil events nor obliterated by the changing of dynasties. It will not be rented by powerful, mighty soldiers, and those whose evildoing is feared, but rather it is to be rented by a Muslim whose position over this waqf is guaranteed by the wall.

5. The wall may cause him to be judged by the judges and qadis of Islam. The Muslim must be able to repay what has come to him from the rent of the waqf. As for the wali who does what has been mentioned, his contract is false and his behaviour is totally prohibited. My will is addressed to the judges of every time, to the Judge of the Judges in Baghdad that he must help the wali

6. in respect to this waqf and in the collecting of the rights are due from the waqf to this madrasa and they should look upon them with mercy and compassion, for indeed the just governor is to his subjects as a merciful father to his son. Whoever institute a good rule will receive its bounty and the bounty of whoever follows it until the Day of Judgement, and whoever institutes an evil rule will receive its recompense

7. and the recompense of whoever follows it until the Day of Judgement, and then should not impede the trustee of this waqf and its financial collection and its supervisor from presenting the account, or from furnishing and maintenance, nor interfere with them in these matters by raising any suspicions nor convene a diwan in this madrasa for settling religious cases according to Islamic and Mongol law; for this site (i.e. the madrasa) is the homeland for men of knowledge and a house for good men. Blessedness and blessedness to whoever

13. THE TEXT ON THE RIGHT SIDE OF THE MIHRAB

1. brings mercy upon himself, woe and woe to whoever is accompanied by curses in his grave, as you treat (people) in your life so will you be dealt with in your judgement after your death.

2. Because recompense is natural, you are judged as you sow, so must you reap, because the world is perfidious and a tempter, for although its duration seems long, it is not long, and although the man of the world acquire (much) he acquires nothing.

3. Whoever changes the conditions of this endowment or disposes of it in a manner contrary to what has been laid down in the waqfiya will be a wrongdoer in the eyes of God, and upon him be the curse of Allah

4-5. and the angels and of men combined (Sura, VII, v.

42 and Sura, II, v. 161), Sura, III, v. 162 and Sura, XVIII, vs. 104

6. The endower has laid down, may God accept from his good deeds and may He not judge him by what his hand grasps of evil actions, that absolutely nothing is rented from the lands of the endowments,

14. THE TEXT OPPOSITE TO THE TEXT 13

1. consisting of the districts and the orchards and the lands at al-Qarar al-Shamsi. And the same is true of the covered buildings of shops, khans and mills will never be given on the basis of a long lease. Whoever does this his action is illegal

2. and his contract is void. The disposing of this [waqf] in such a suspicious [manner] is prohibited and illegal, who ever does this is a sinner and [deserving] blame from The Greater and the created [people] "And changeth (the will) after he hath heard it the sin thereof is only upon those

3. who change it. Lo Allah is Hearer, Knower" (Sura II, v. 181). It was written in the months of the year 758. Thanks be to God alone and prayer and peace be upon the Prophet of mercy

4. the intercessor for His nation and the remover of grief, the illiterate, the 'Arabi, the Hashimi, the Quraishi, the Meccan, the Medinan, the Master of the Messengers, Messenger of the Lord

5. of the worlds, the seal of the Prophets, Muhammad the Prophet, and his family and his good, pure, glorious, selected and good companions and many greetings [to them all].

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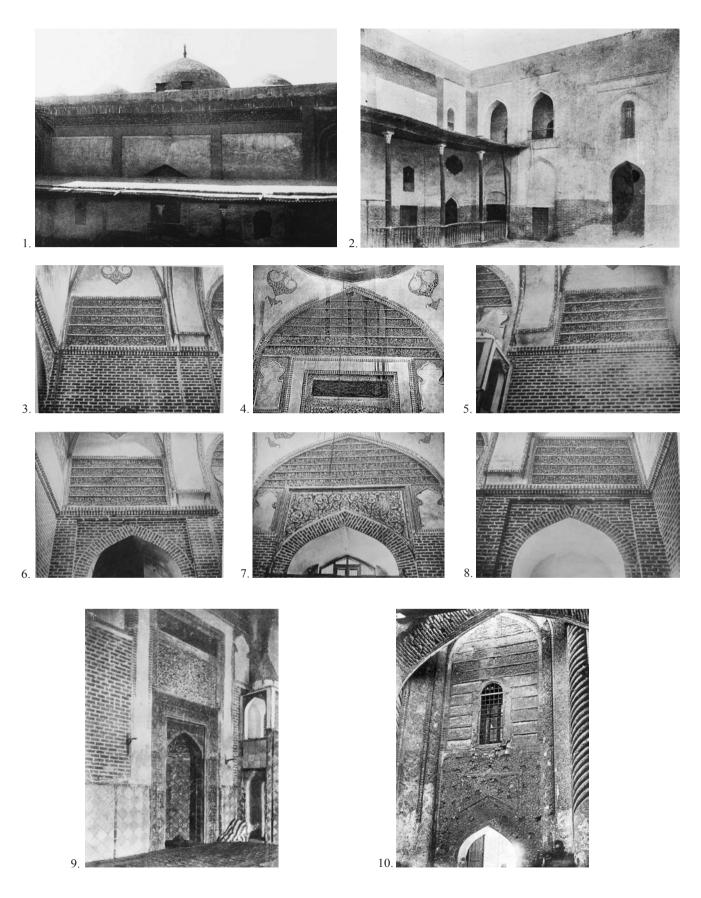
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Figs. 1-2 - Mirjaniya madrasa, the 18th century wooden portico on the façade of the *musalla*, 1900s (photo Massignon). Figs. 3-5 - Mirjaniya madrasa, the interior of the *musalla*, inscription panels on the *qibla* wall, 1900s (photo Massignon). Figs. 6-8 - Mirjaniya madrasa, the interior of the *musalla*, inscription panels on the *counter-façade* wall, 1900s (photo Massignon). Fig. 9 - Mirjaniya madrasa, the interior of the *m* Fig. 10 - Mirjaniya madrasa, the gateway under Fig. 10 - Mirjaniya madrasa, the gateway under

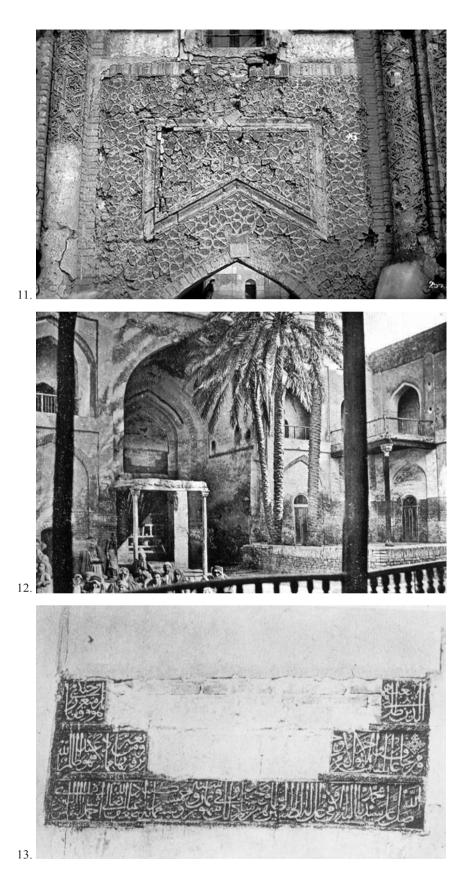


Fig. 11 - Mirjaniya madrasa, detail of the gateway brickwork, 1900s (photo Herzfeld).
Fig. 12 - Mirjaniya madrasa, the inner court, the iwan seen from the *musalla*'s portico, 1900s (photo Herzfeld).
Fig. 13 - Mirjaniya madrasa, the inscribed panel on the iwan rear wall, 1900s (photo Herzfeld).

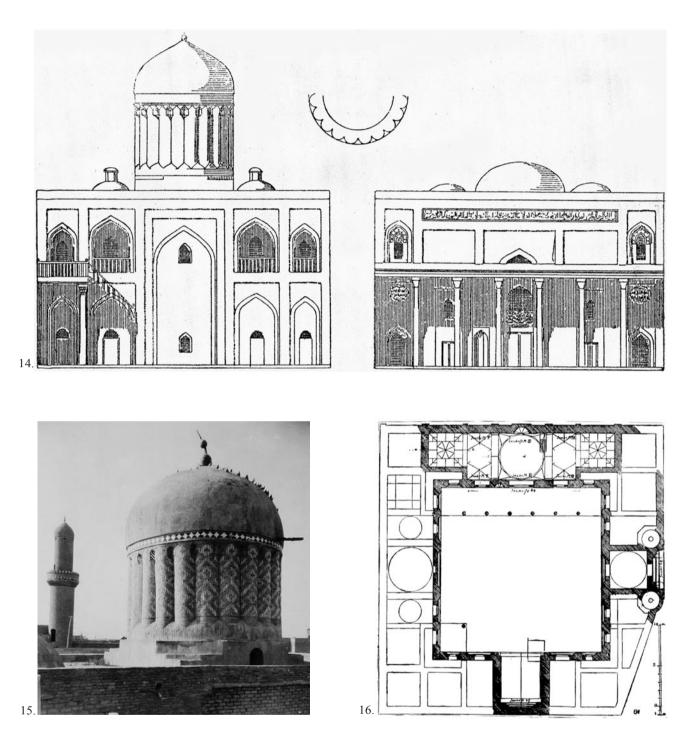


Fig. 14 - Mirjaniya madrasa, the façades of Amin Mirjan tomb (left) and *musalla* (right), 1900s (by Herzfeld). Fig. 15 - Mirjaniya madrasa, the outer dome of Amin Mirjan tomb, 1900s, (photo Herzfeld). Fig. 16 - Mirjaniya madrasa, layout with indication of the inscriptions, 1900s, (by Herzfeld).

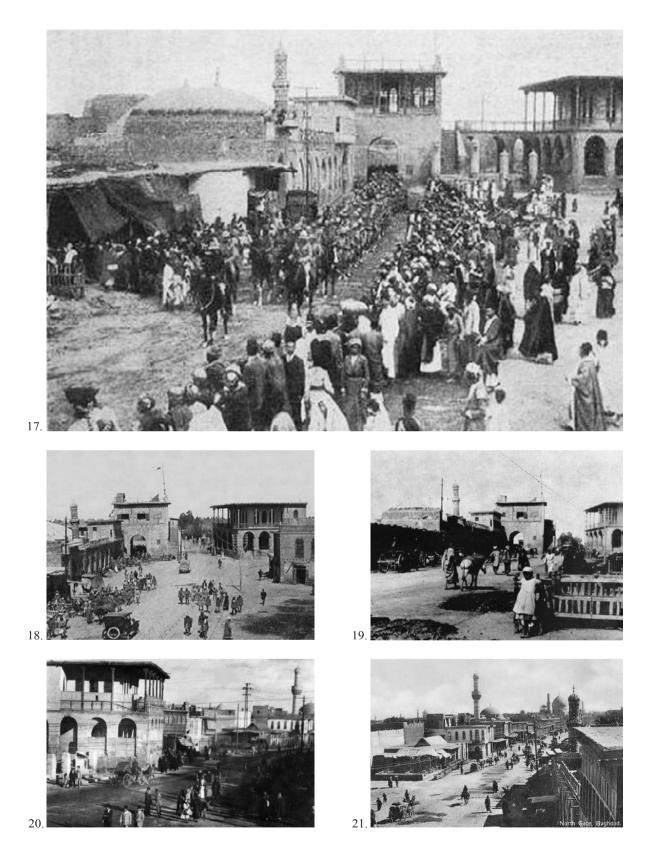
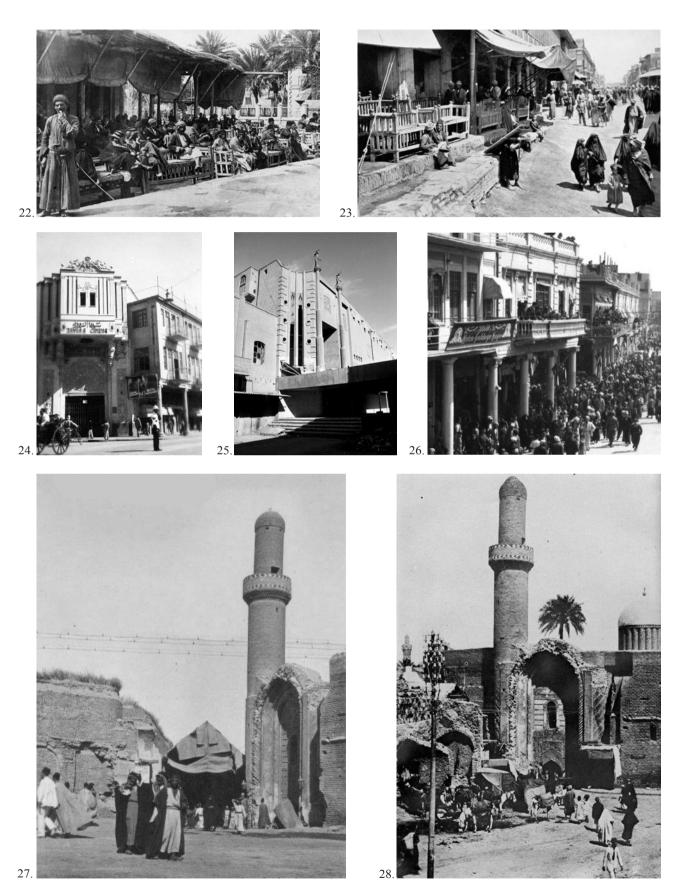


Fig. 17 - Baghdad, Bab al-Mo'adham (the North Gate), 11 March 1917, the British army enters Baghdad, from South. Figs. 18-19 - Baghdad, Bab al-Mo'adham, 1910-20s, from the South. Figs. 20-21 - Baghdad, Bab al-Mo'adham square, 1910-20s, from the North.



Figs. 22-23 - Baghdad, the New Street, coffeehouses, 1910-20s.Figs. 24-26 - Baghdad, the New Street, Movie Theatres, 1930-40s.Figs. 27-28 - Mirjaniya madrasa, the gateway after demolition of part of al-Gazal market arcades, 1920s.

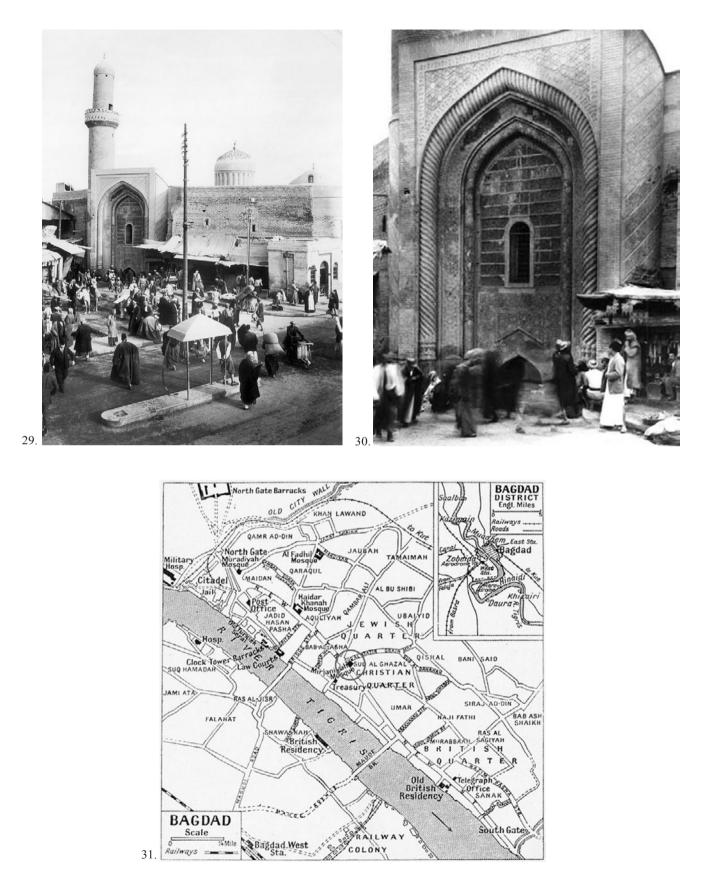


Fig. 29 - Mirjaniya madrasa, bus stand at the frontal square, 1940s. Fig. 30 - Mirjaniya madrasa, gateway after the restoration, 1930s. Fig. 31 - Baghdad, site map from the North to the South Gate, 1930s.

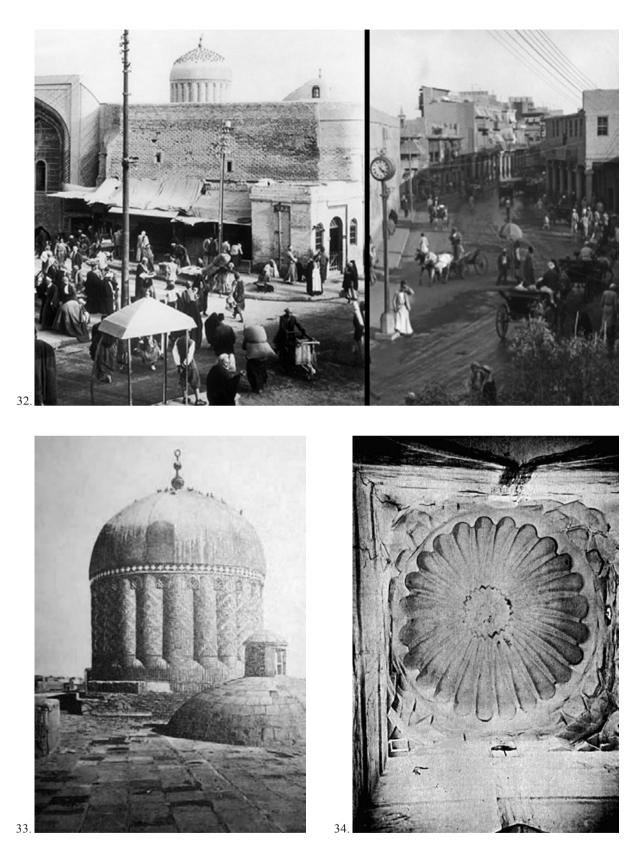


Fig. 32 - Baghdad, Mirjaniya madrasa at the 'Exchange Square' along the bend of the New Street, 1940s. Figs. 33-34 - Mirjaniya madrasa, the outer and inner domes of Amin Mirjan tomb, 1930s.

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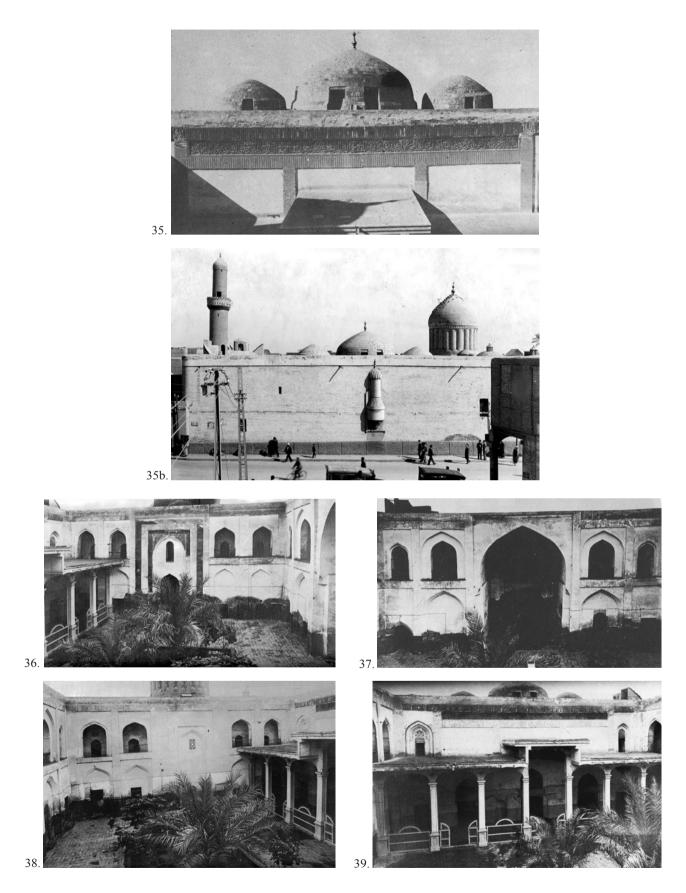


Fig. 35 - Mirjaniya madrasa, the *musalla* domes, from the inner court, 1940s. Fig. 35b - Mirjaniya madrasa, the *musalla* outer façade on the New Street (Rashid Street), 1940s. Figs. 36-39 - Mirjaniya madrasa, the inner court façades: the entrance gate (top left), the iwan (top right), the Mirjan tomb (bottom left), the *musalla* (bottom right), 1940s.

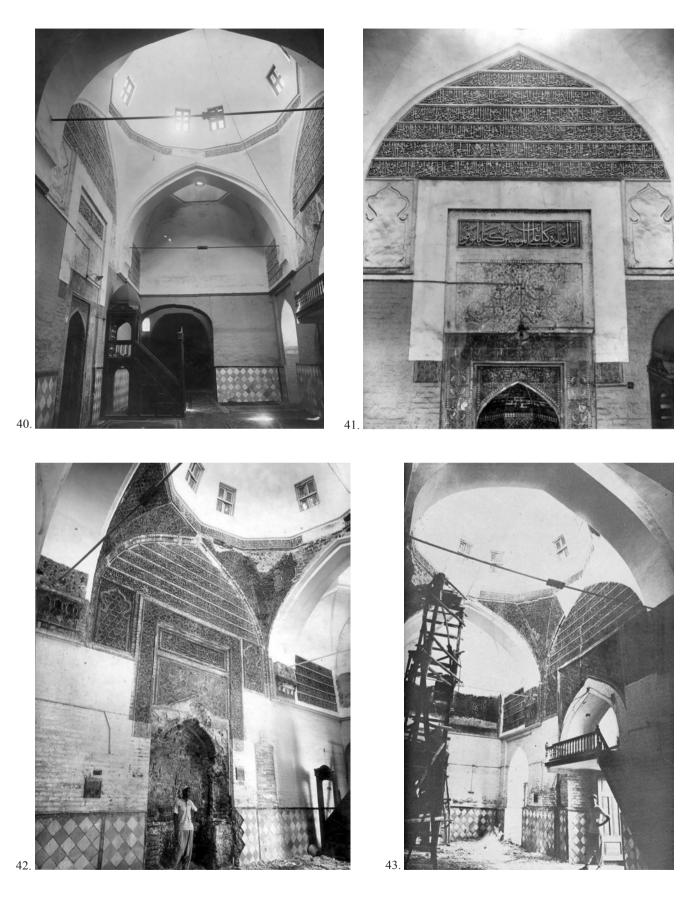
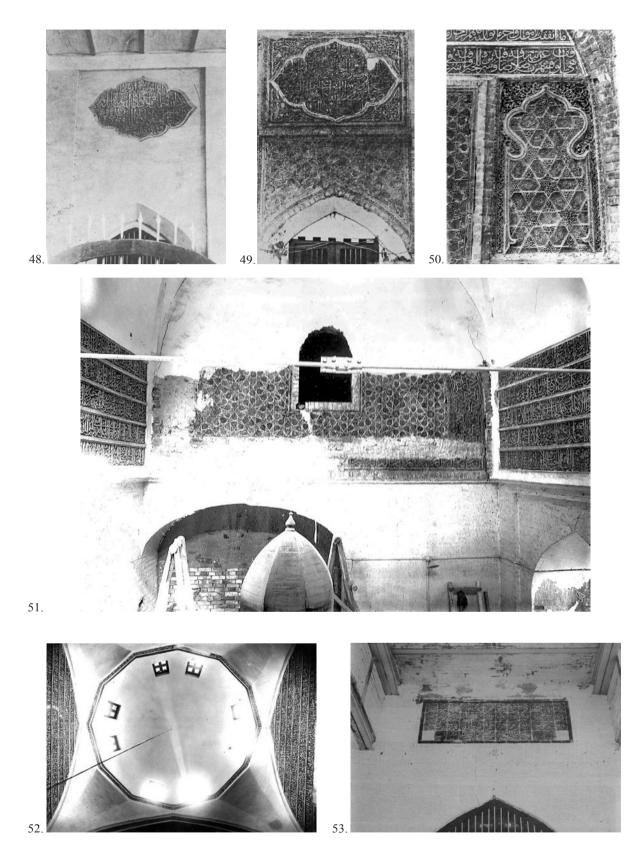


Fig. 40 - Mirjaniya madrasa, the *musalla* inner space, 1930s.
Fig. 41 - Mirjaniya madrasa, detail of the *musalla* inner space, 1930s.
Figs. 42-43 - Mirjaniya madrasa, the *musalla* inner space after the removal of the 19th century plastering, 1940s.

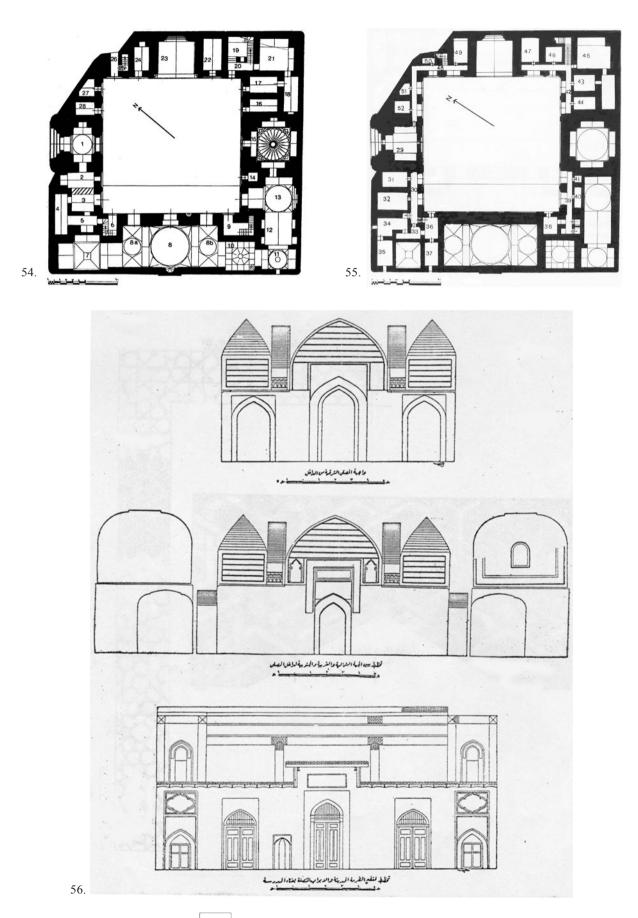


Figs. 44-47 - Mirjaniya madrasa, the *musalla* inner space after the removal of the 19th century plastering, details of pendentives, corbels and inscribed panels, 1940s.



Figs. 48-49 - Mirjaniya madrasa, the *musalla*, inscribed lobated panel on the left side façade before and after the removal of the 19th century plastering, 1940s. Fig. 50 - Mirjaniya madrasa, detail of ______f the lobated flat niches on the *musa* _______*ibla* space walls, 1940s.

- Fig. 51 Mirjaniya madrasa, the *musa* ight side windowed wall with brickwork decoration, 1940s.
- Fig. 52 Mirjaniya madrasa, the *musa* entral dome, 1940s.
- Fig. 53 Mirjaniya madrasa, the 1785 celebrative tile panel on the façade of the musalla, 1940s.



Figs. 54-55 - Mirjaniya madrasa, grou Fig. 56 - Mirjaniya madrasa, the *musc* d first floor plans after the 18th century Ottoman interventions, 1940s. porticoed façade (bottom), 1940s.







Figs. 57-59 - Mirjaniya madrasa, the demolition phases, 1946.

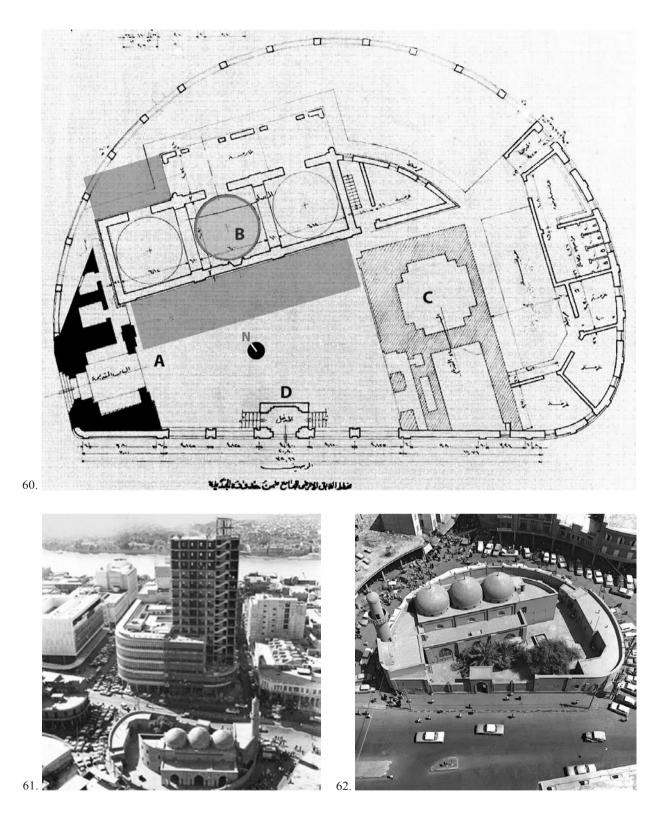
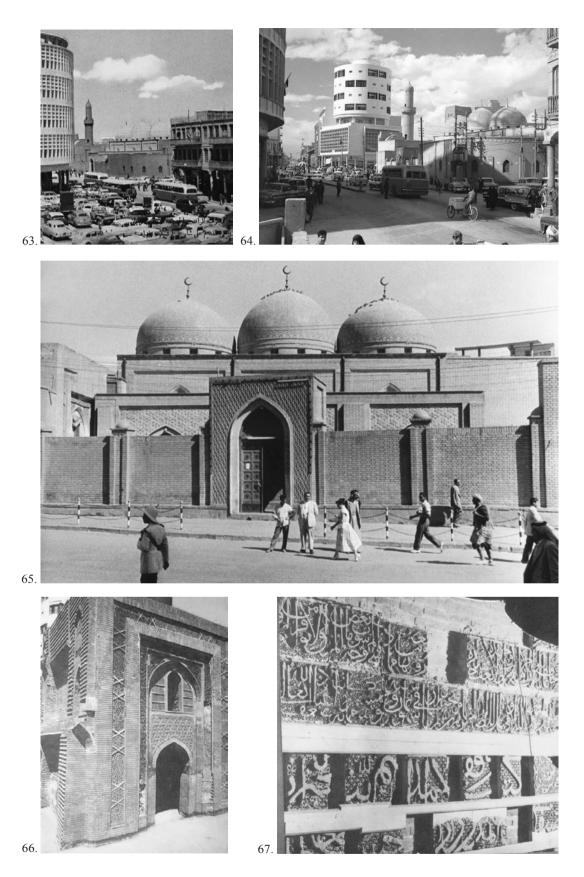


Fig. 60 - Jami' Mirjan, reconstruction plan of the Mirjaniya complex after 1946, A) the preserved gateway and minaret (black), B) the new *musalla* = Jami' Mirjan with additions (grey), C) the never reconstructed location of Amin Mirjan tomb, D) the new entrance gate that was then demolished, 1947-1973.

Fig. 61 - Baghdad, aerial view from the North-West: Western Baghdad and Tigris River (top), Central Bank, Rafidain Bank (under construction), Khan Mirjan (centre), al-Rashid Street and Jami' Mirjan (bottom), 1959. Fig. 62 - Jami' Mirjan, aerial view from the South, 1960s.



Figs. 63-64 - Baghdad, Jami' Mirjan in the traffic of Rashid street, 1960s.
Fig. 65 - Jami' Mirjan, from the South, 1960s.
Fig. 66 - Jami' Mirjan, the preserved gateway of the Mirjaniya madrasa, 1960s.
Fig. 67 - The (so called) Abbasid Palace, display of fragmentary brickwork inscriptions from the demolished Mirjaniya madrasa, 1960s.

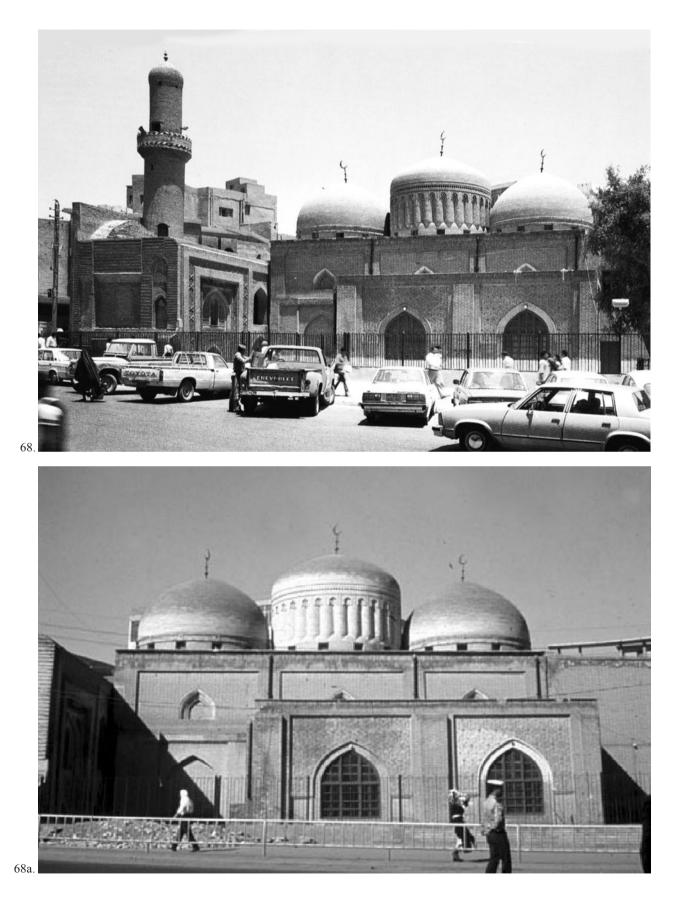


Fig. 68-68a - Jami' Mirjan with a reshaped central dome, from the South, 1970s.



Fig. 69 - Jami' Mirjan within the crowd of al-Shorja market along al-Rashid Street; the Abboud building by Rifat Chadirji is in the photo (left), photo 2017. Figs. 70-73 - Jami' Mirjan, interior views with remounted parts of the *musalla* brickwork decoration of the Mirjaniya madrasa,

photo 2014.

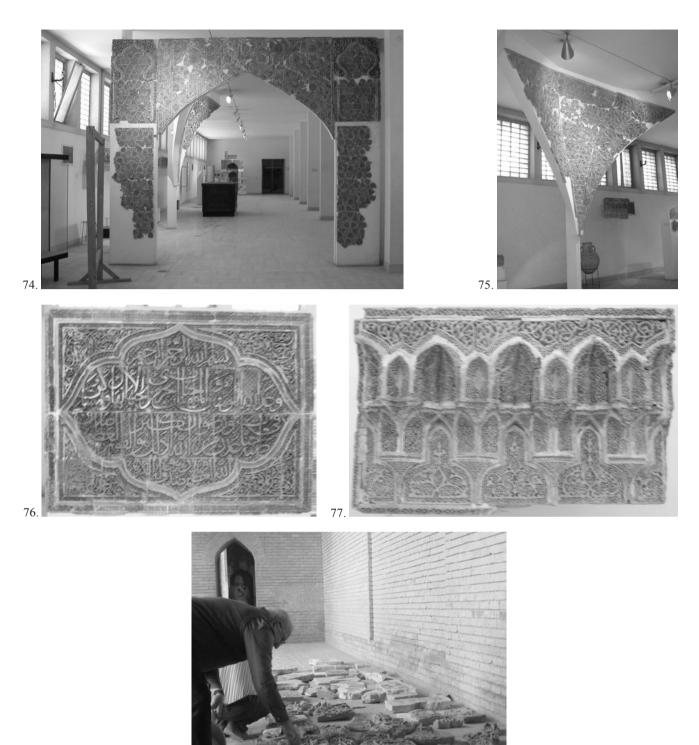
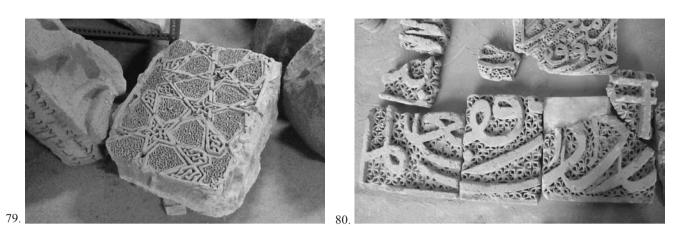
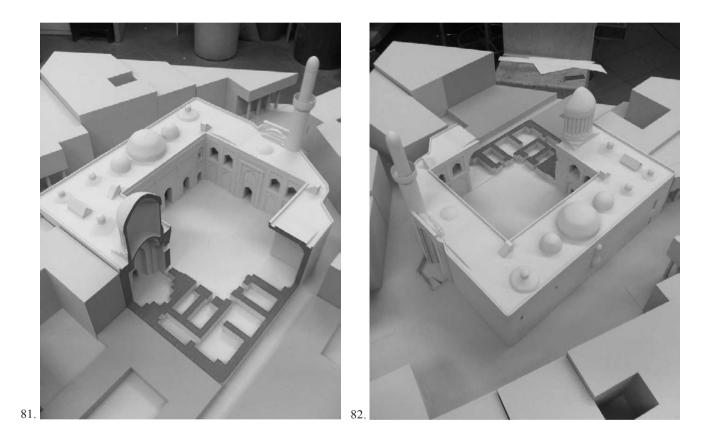


Fig. 74 - Iraq Museum, erroneous reassembly of brickwork panels from the Mirjaniya *musalla* counter-façade, photo 2014. Fig. 75 - Iraq Museum, erroneous reassembled curvature of one pendentive from the Mirjaniya *musalla* central dome, photo 2014. Fig. 75 - Iraq Museum, a lobated inscribed panel from the Mirjaniya *musalla* façade, photo 2014.
Fig. 77 - Iraq Museum, a muqarnas corbels from the Mirjaniya *musalla*, photo 2014.
Fig. 78 - The (so called) Abbasid Palace, brickwork decoration of the Mirjaniya madrasa, 2014.





Figs. 79-80 - The (so called) Abbasid Palace, brickwork decoration of the Mirjaniya madrasa, 2014. Figs. 81-82 - Iraq Museum, model of the Mirjaniya madrasa within the presumed 1940s urban context, exhibited in the new *musalla* room, 2014.

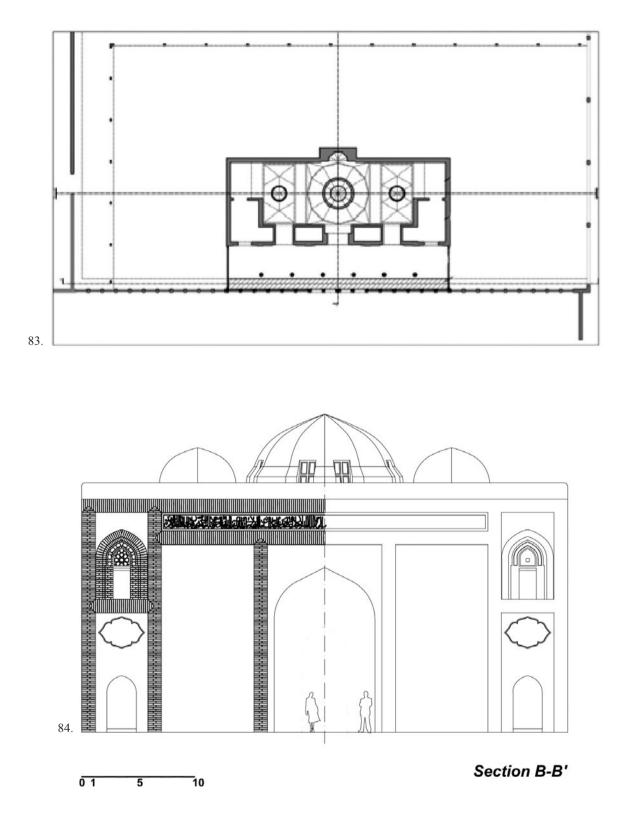


Fig. 83 - New *Musalla* of the Mirjaniya madrasa, graphic rebuilding layout in the Iraq Museum secondary north court, 2014. Fig. 84 - New *Musalla* of the Mirjaniya madrasa, presumed graphic reconstruction of the façade, 2014.

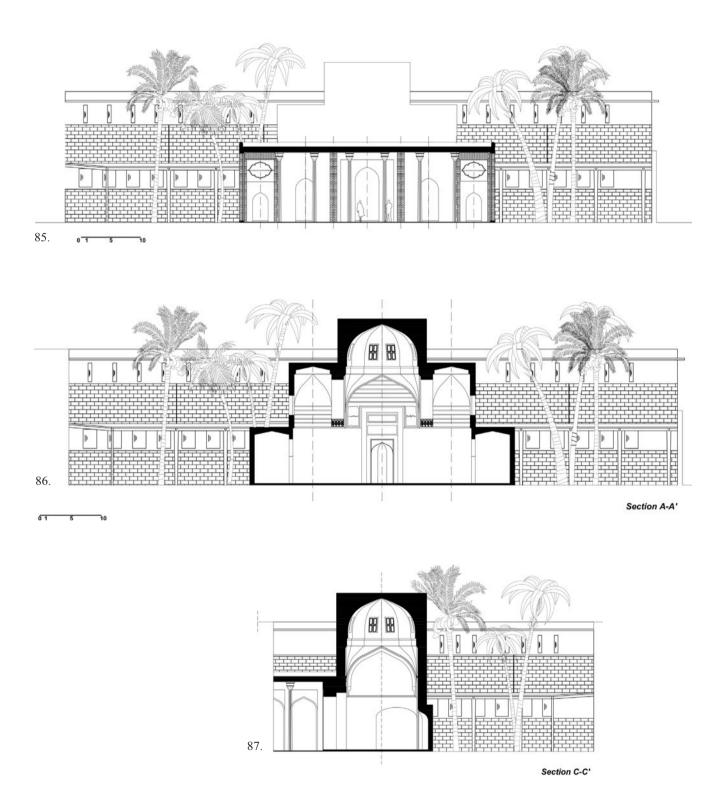
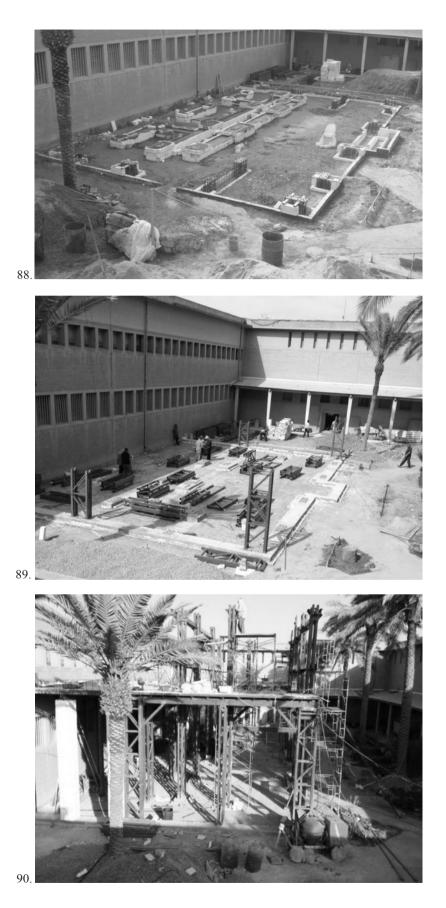


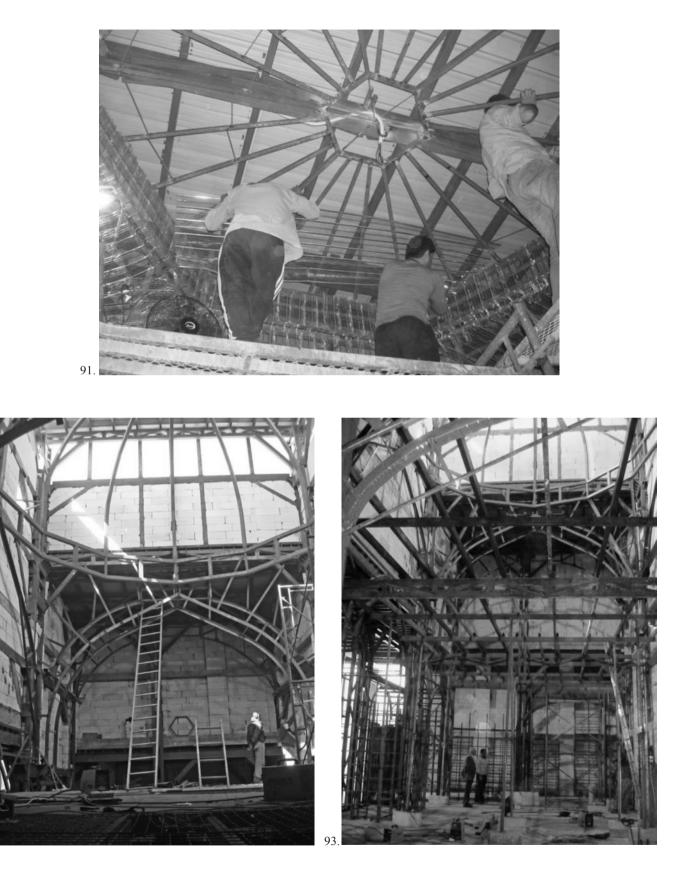
Fig. 85 - New *Musalla* of the Mirjaniya madrasa, actual cross section-elevation of the transition zone between the Islamic Gallery and the reconstructed new *musalla* room, 2014.

Fig. 86 - New Musalla of the Mirjaniya madrasa, actual cross section-elevation of the new musalla room, 2014.

Fig. 87 - New Musalla of the Mirjaniya madrasa, actual transversal cross section-elevation of the new musalla room, 2014.



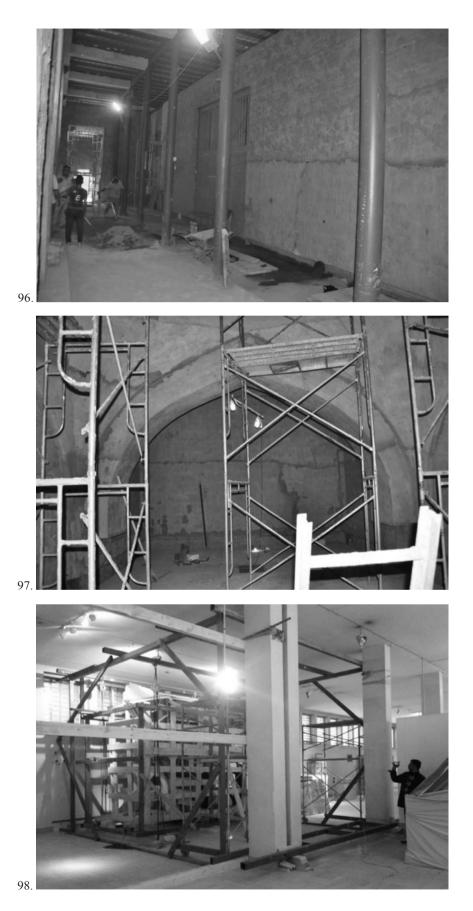
Figs. 88-90 - New *Musalla* of the Mirjaniya madrasa, construction phases of the foundation and the steel vertical structures of the new *musalla* room, 2014-17.



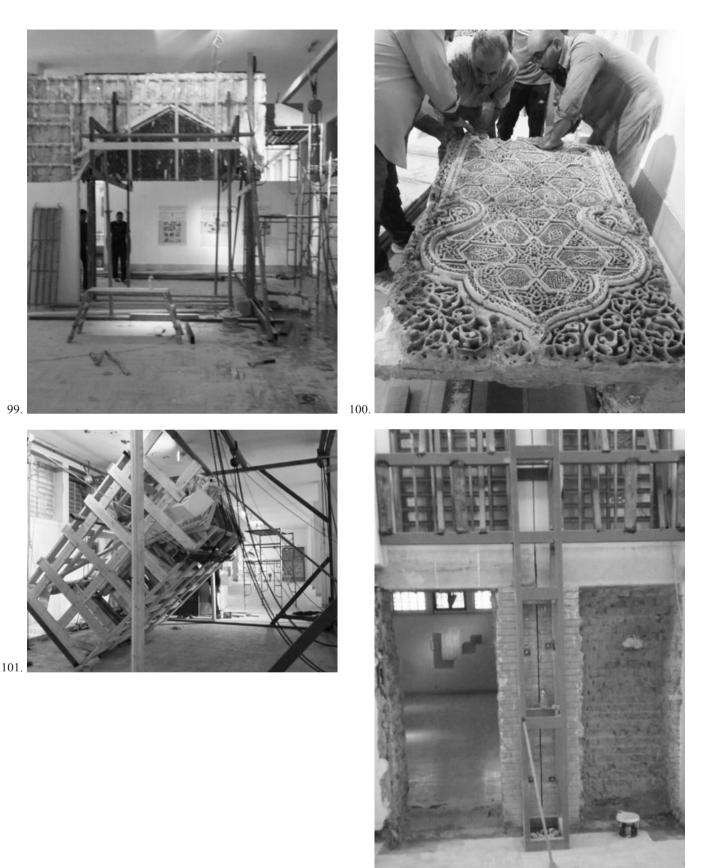
Figs. 91-93 - *Musalla* of the Mirjaniya madrasa, construction phases of the steel vaulted structures of the new *musalla* room, 2014-17.



Figs. 94-95 - New *Musalla* of the Mirjaniya madrasa, construction phases of the outer stone finishing of the new *musalla* room, 2014-17.



Figs. 96-97 - New *Musalla* of the Mirjaniya madrasa, construction phases of the transition colonnaded portico structure and interior gypsum plastered mesh panelling of the new *musalla* room, 2014-17. Fig. 98 - New *Musalla* of the Mirjaniya madrasa, disassembly and transporting of the brickwork decoration from the Islamic Gallery to the new *musalla* room, 2014-17.



Figs. 99-101 - New *Musalla* of the Mirjaniya madrasa, disassembly and transporting of the brickwork decoration from the Islamic Gallery to the new *musalla* room, 2014-17. Figs. 102 - New *Musalla* of the Mirjaniya madrasa, opening of the double gate between the Islamic Gallery and the new *musalla* room, 2014-17.



Figs. 103-105 - New Musalla of the Mirjaniya madrasa, reassembly phases of the brickworks on the new musalla room, 2014-17. Fig. 106 - New Musalla of the Mirjaniya madrasa, the portico of the transition zone, 2014-17.

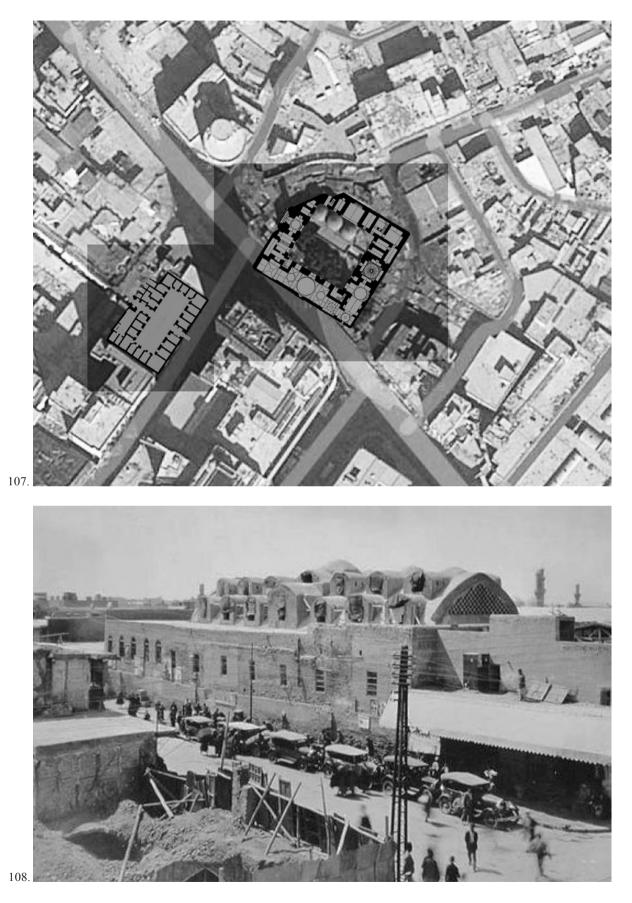


Fig. 107 - Baghdad, Khan Mirjan and the lost Mirjaniya madrasa plans overlapped on present satellite imagery. Fig. 108 - Baghdad, Khan Mirjan, outer view, 1930s.

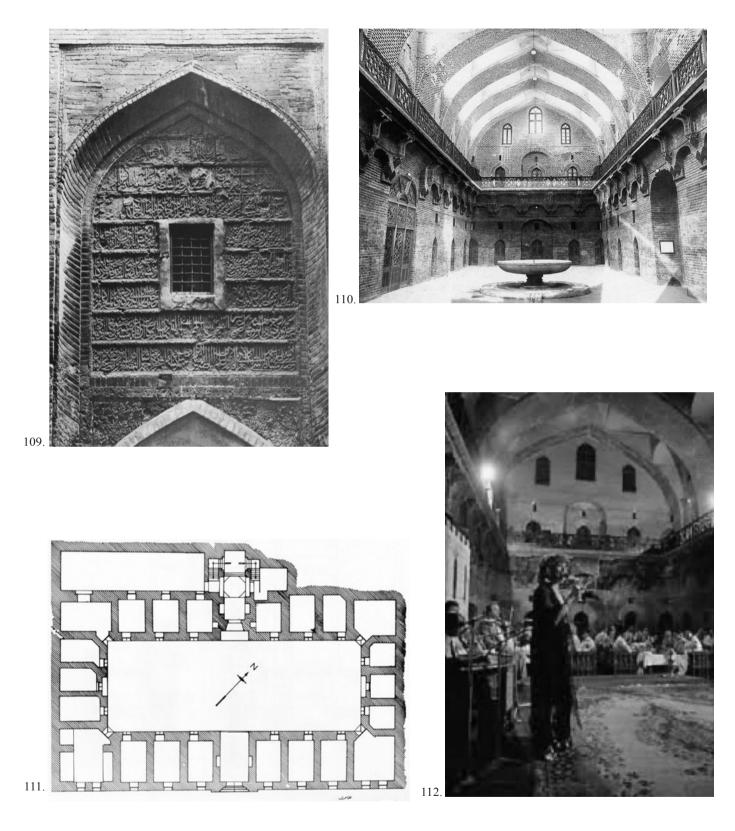


Fig. 109 - Baghdad, Khan Mirjan, the 760 (1359 AD) gateway, after restoration, 1930-40s.
Fig. 110 - Baghdad, Khan Mirjan, restored as an Islamic Museum, 1930-40s.
Fig. 111 - Baghdad, Khan Mirjan, ground floor plan, 1930s.
Fig. 112 - Baghdad, Khan Mirjan, restored as a restaurant, 1980s.

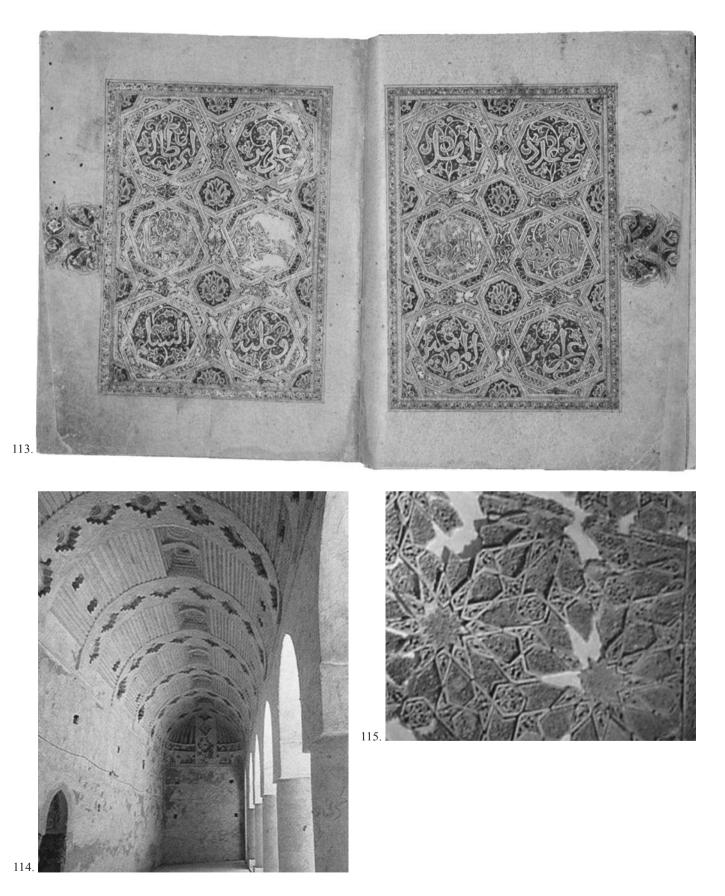


Fig. 113 - Ibn Bawwab, illuminated Quran pages with girih pattern, parchemin, 1022(?), presumably in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin. Fig. 114 - Ukhaidir Palace, the 8th century AD mosque with *azar baf* brickwork pattern finishing. Fig. 115 - *Musalla* of the Mirjaniya madrasa, brickwork *girih* pattern wall finishing.