A ḤARĪRĪ MANUSCRIPT AND ITS RELEVANCE TO MAMLŪK PAINTING

by

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SUMMARY

Mamlûk painting, which has not hitherto been thoroughly studied, falls into two groups, that produced in the Baḥrî period (1250-1390) and that of the Burjî Mamlûks (1390-1517).

The Introduction outlines the background of Islamic painting, concentrating on the traditions and influences which moulded Arab painting. Mamlûk society and its rich artistic productions are also described.

The subjects illustrated (Chapter One) in general follow those chosen by the earlier Baghdad school. The Fables of Bidpâi and the Maqâmât of al-Ḥarîrî are the most common, there being four copies of the former and five of the latter work. Other literary works and scientific manuscripts, however, repay careful study. Burjî Mamlûk painting, which is not so rich as the earlier works, is represented predominantly by scientific and technical works.

Chapter Two describes the Automata series of manuscripts. There are seven copies; the manuscripts dated 1315 and 1354 are the most outstanding artistically. The former is of a Syrian origin and displays Byzantine influence. The latter, over which there has been much controversy concerning the date, appears to have an origin in Cairo.

In Chapter Three the general characteristics and styles portrayed are discussed and the unifying traits are brought out. Baḥrî painting is ornamental and tends towards abstraction. This swing from the more realistic productions of the Baghdad school is possibly due to new Asian influences.
but perhaps reflects the oscillation between realism and naturalism seen throughout art history.

The style is clear and bold. There is little sense of scale. Landscape depictions are simple with rocks and water being treated as surfaces for patterns. Plant forms play the largest role in landscapes and a wide variety of trees is shown. Architectural features are simple and probably have little basis in reality. The compositions are usually balanced and symmetrical and there is a lack of perspective. This flat-toned style concerned with colour and line was probably influenced foremost by the artists of Mosul. This is particularly noteworthy in the theatrical type of settings. However Syria, which produced a livelier set of paintings than Egypt, through its Byzantine influence left features such as the triangular hanging curtain. Add. 7293 (1323) and Add. 22,114 (c.1300) can be taken as a middle style between late Mesopotamian and developed Mamlūk styles, the latter represented by the Paris Bidpai (mid-14th century) and the Vienna Ḥarīrī (1334).

Burjī styles are not so accomplished, yet the Dublin Furūsiyya and the Kashf al-Asrār in particular display noteworthy illuminations.

Most of the artists have largely remained unknown, perhaps deliberately, owing to fear of offending religious sensitivities.

The frames, settings, and colours are dealt with in Chapter Four. Two types of frames are found, one composed of thin coloured lines, the other of architectural elements.
A large number of bright colours are used. Purple, red, and pink have been found to be particularly common in costume depictions. Or. 9718 has been closely analysed in respect of its colours. Large use is also made of gold in Mamlûk painting. This feature is probably a Byzantine legacy.

Human and animal depictions are discussed in Chapter Five. The Mongol influence is apparent in many of the faces examined. Most faces are shown frontally and not normally in profile. Negroses and red hair are also portrayed. A large variety of costumes is described and the activities of the people represented are extremely varied. The animal depictions are livelier than those of the more emotionless human beings. The Escorial Bestiary and the Milan Jahiz are singularly rich in this sphere.

Textile decoration, which is analysed in Chapter Six should be divided into three groups: 1) "scroll-folds", 2) geometric patterns, 3) floral designs. The influence of Mosul is again to be noted, particularly in the first two groups. The geometric designs have been carefully analysed in Tables Four, Five, and Six with particular attention to Or. 9718. Burjî Mamlûk illuminations show little elaboration in costume patterns.

Chapter Seven gives a thorough description of Or. 9718 which is a typical early Mamlûk work. Although it is damaged, all the Mamlûk features are visible. Events of sociological or historical interest are noted.

The final chapter is a comprehensive catalogue of all the known Mamlûk manuscripts.

The conclusions bring out the results of this original research.
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My acknowledgements are due first of all to the late Professor David Talbot Rice who was my initial source of inspiration. Without his enthusiasm, encouragement, and supervision my work might never have developed to such a degree. The following are also to be warmly thanked: Professor W. Montgomery Watt of the Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies, University of Edinburgh, for much practical advice including details of transliteration; Mr. J.R. Walsh of the Department of Turkish, University of Edinburgh, for providing many detailed points concerning manuscript examination and description; Mr. R. Hillenbrand of the Department of Fine Art, University of Edinburgh, for his suggestions.

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## List of Abbreviations

### Periodicals, Books, Articles

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<td>Ars Islamica</td>
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<tr>
<td>AO</td>
<td>Ars Orientalis</td>
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<tr>
<td>BIE</td>
<td>Bulletin de l'Institut égyptien</td>
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<tr>
<td>Burl. Mag.</td>
<td>The Burlington Magazine</td>
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<tr>
<td>DI</td>
<td>Der Islam</td>
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<td>E.I.¹</td>
<td>The Encyclopaedia of Islam. First edition.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Leiden and London, 1913-34.</td>
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<td>GBA</td>
<td>Gazette des Beaux-Arts</td>
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<td>KDO</td>
<td>Kunst des Orients</td>
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<tr>
<td>MW</td>
<td>Muslim World</td>
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<td>OLZ</td>
<td>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</td>
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<td>RAA</td>
<td>Revue des Arts Asiatiques</td>
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<td>RSO</td>
<td>Rivista degli studi orientali</td>
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**Holter, "Miniaturenmalerei"** K. Holter, "Die frühmamlukische Miniaturenmalerei".

**Holter, "Miniaturnhandschriften"** K. Holter, "Die islamischen Miniaturnhandschriften vor 1350".

### Texts

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<td>B.F.</td>
<td>Book of Farriery</td>
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<td>K.D.</td>
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<td>E.L.</td>
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PREFACE

The basic reason for the study of Mamlūk painting is that it has not been studied as a whole before. "It is the merit of Ahmad Musa, K. Holter and H. Buchthal to have been the first among the numerous students of Islamic painting to deal fully with Mamluk miniatures. Eclipsed by the Baghdad and Iranian schools, the Mamluk one has waited too long for a historian". Mayer has provided valuable additional information about this neglected school. Certain individual Mamlūk manuscripts have been thoroughly examined by various scholars but in isolation. Three of the four furūsiyya manuscripts have hitherto remained unpublished apart from a brief reference by Mayer to the Dublin work. Of its seventy-nine miniatures only three have been reproduced by various authors.

The photographs of this manuscript (Figs. 44-122) are not always very clear. This is very largely because they have been taken from a microfilm and have thereby lost a certain clarity. The miniatures in the original are, however, in quite good enough condition to allow of detailed analysis and this manuscript is in fact a particularly varied and interesting work. In spite of being badly damaged it is

2. Ibid. p. 8 and pl. XVI. M. Mostafa, "An Illustrated Manuscript on Chivalry from the Late Circassian Mamluk Period", Bulletin de l'Institut d'Egypte 51 (1969-70), p. 5, points out the lack of any study of the illustrations of these texts. His article concerns the de Unger manuscript.
of great importance for details of costume, social life and "genre" scenes. The photographs and the comprehensive documentation of this manuscript in Chapter Seven are to be stressed.

Ettinghausen was the first to reproduce illustrations from the Istanbul Qarnīn ad-Dunyā and the Kashf al-Asrār. However, neither these manuscripts nor Abū Ma' shar's Treatise (Arabe 2583 in Paris) are at all well known. The group of Automata manuscripts, which is a necessary part of the subject, is treated as a whole and it is to be hoped that a clearer view is thereby attained of this complicated series of manuscripts. No-one before has taken manuscripts of the Bahri and Burji dynasties and analysed them together bringing out the stylistic points and degrees of development. It is for these reasons that the study was undertaken.

The background to this particular topic of research has to be seen in the context of Islamic painting as a whole and Arab painting in particular. For this reason the Introduction includes points concerning extraneous influences and the general characteristics of the other schools of Arab painting. These are dealt with only briefly as it was considered that they are outside the scope of this thesis.

Mamlūk painting is also to be seen in its historical context. It was produced during a dynasty whose period was particularly thriving for the arts in general. In this way the Introduction helps further to set the scene.

The scope of the research can be narrowed to two sources. The first consists of the various manuscripts. In this respect
the thesis is "visual" and it was necessary for the eye to be attuned to the individual Mamlūk style. To a certain extent this source has obvious limitations, being somewhat tautological. Almost all the extant manuscripts have been consulted but in cases where this was not possible bibliographical references are provided in Chapter Eight.

The second source is the art historical and historical accounts already written. The major work done on this school is by K. Holter and reference to his articles, "Die frühmamlukische Miniaturenmalerei" and "Die islamischen Miniaturhandschriften vor 1350" will be widely made. Buchthal, Mayer, and Ettinghausen are the other authors who have dealt with Mamlūk miniatures in certain aspects.

"Eastern historians are as a rule singularly destitute of the sort of information we require about the art of the various dynasties and capitals".¹ Contemporary historical sources are not particularly rich in information relevant to painting. Possibly this is due to the traditional Muslim dislike of figural art. However, Lane-Poole has gathered information from historians such as al-Maqrizī and where certain of these points are relevant these have been included along with other additional information, particularly from Ibn Iyās.

The purpose of the thesis is to provide a descriptive account of Mamlūk illuminated manuscripts concentrating on

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1. S. Lane-Poole, The Art of the Saracens in Egypt (London, 1886), p. IX.
those obvious points which play a unifying role such as the
costume patterns, symbolic representations of the sky,
stylised motifs for trees and fruit and so on. It is to be
hoped that by providing stylistic criteria a solid foundation
will have been laid for the study of the complete school, both
Baḫrī and Burjī. Chapter One gives the literary background
of these manuscripts which is valuable in assisting the reader
to come to an overall conclusion about this school of
miniature painting. Or. 9718 has been chosen as a represen-
tative example of the richer Baḫrī group of manuscripts.
Chapter Seven concentrates on giving as thorough a description
as possible of all its paintings including historical and
sociological details but also relating previous general
comments where relevant. Here the unifying threads of Mamlūk
painting should become apparent. The aim of the thesis has
been also to provide a thorough catalogue as part of the wide
review of this school. In this way Chapter Eight is intended
to provide a useful starting base for further work on this
school which may be contemplated. It must be pointed out
that no such detailed list of Arabic illuminated manuscripts
exists. It is to be hoped that this will be of use for some-
one wishing to prepare comparisons of miniatures treating of
the same subject, e.g. Abū Zaid in the mosque at Samarkand
from the Maqāmāt or the Fight between the Lion and the Bull
from Kalīla wa Dimna. In this way Chapter Eight responds to
the general request made by O. Grabar for thematic lists of
subjects in Islamic painting.1

1. J. Norgren and E. Davis, A Preliminary Index of Shah-Nameh
Illustrations, with an Introduction by O. Grabar (Ann Arbor,
1969).
PART ONE
INTRODUCTION

It was inevitable that the early Arabs, when they settled in the newly conquered provinces, would seek the help of others in establishing a sedentary culture for themselves. Consequently Arab painting had its origin in sources unconnected with its own culture.¹ These origins are to be divided into three main groups, Byzantine, Sasanian, and Central Asian.

It was probably Byzantium that contributed most to Arab painting and also to the erection and decoration of various early religious monuments. Although much of the time was spent in warfare with the Byzantines, there were close cultural and commercial contacts.² In the early years of the Arab Kingdom administrative customs and tax systems were adopted, the coinage was retained up to 696, and Gibb has put forward the view that the Arabs were preparing themselves for the imperial throne at Constantinople.³

In the Dome of the Rock, Jerusalem (begun in 687 and completed in 691 A.D. by ʿAbd al-Malik, 685-705 A.D.), the Great Mosque at Damascus (finished in 715 A.D., the year in which its founder, al-Walīd, died), and the mosque at Medina, the mosaics, which are a Byzantine type of decoration, were done in a manner close to Byzantine forms.

3. Ibid., p. 232.
The Byzantine influence is shown in book painting also. In scientific books courtly frontispieces with a lavish use of gold were produced and even the iconographic types were retained. The De Materia Medica of Dioscorides, dated 1229 A.D. in the Topkapi Library (Ahmet III, 2127) is a prime example of this book illustration. A desire for scientific knowledge led the Arabs to translate Greek and Coptic books. In this way the illustrations passed to the Arabs though inevitably they underwent changes later, particularly in details of faces, costume and so on.

The Choicest Maxims and Best Sayings of al-Mubashshir (Topkapi Library, Ahmet III, 3206) is a further example of this aspect. In the Maqamät of al-Harîrî (B.N., Paris, arabe 6094) Byzantine forms and types were taken over. In Fig. 1 the facial types, particularly the beards and turbans, and the sail are undoubtedly under strong Byzantine influence. Byzantine art also influenced the Syrian-Jacobite painters who can be considered as a subdivision of this first group.

Originally it was thought that the Syrian-Jacobite school was a source of Arab painting. Now, however, it is considered that the Arabs influenced the Syrian-Jacobite painters. In a closely-knit society, such as the Islamic community was in the 13th century, it is difficult to state definitely which art played a greater part. Buchthal, after close study of the art of this school, has indicated the Byzantine and Islamic

traits to be found in it.¹ A representative manuscript is The Lectionary of the Gospels dated 1216-1220 (Add. 7170, B.M., London). In a comparison of the illustrations of the Maqāmat of al-Ḥarīrī with those of the Syrian-Jacobite painters or of the Nestorian church (a second subdivision) there are indications of a common origin. Nestorian art is possibly derived from Byzantine sources. Nestorian ecclesiastical paintings have been revealed at Samarra.² One of Arnold's conclusions is that the Muslims employed Christians thereby introducing religious themes to their art.³

A second major source of inspiration of Arab (and Islamic) painting was Persia. The scene of the Kings Acclaiming the World Ruler in Qusair 'Amra is of Sasanian inspiration. Sasanian art was monumental and hieratic. Its theme was the King as a source of good, and as mediator for the people of a correct relationship with Heaven.⁴ The rigid protocol implied is depicted in certain courtly frontispieces of an enthroned ruler surrounded by his attendants. This is to be seen in the frontispiece of the Kitāb al-Aghānī (Vol. 17) in the Millet Kütüphanesi, Istanbul, in the picture of Badr ad-Dīn Lu'lu', and in the frontispiece of the Mamlūk Vienna Ḥarīrī (A.F.9). Arnold has taken representations of angels, hunting scenes, and drinking parties in a garden which are all

common in later Persian painting and has pointed to their origin in Sasanian art. Motifs such as the lion killing the deer (seen in mosaic at Khirbat al-Mafjar, 724-743 A.D.) and the story of Bahram Gur and Azadah, which is popular in Persian painting, are only two examples of this powerful influence.

A third source of Islamic painting is to be found in Central Asia or Transoxiana. Central Asian art is composed of a mixture of Buddhist, Christian, Manichaean, and Chinese influences. Perhaps the latter two are the most dominant. The Manichaeans used art to spread their doctrines but there are very few remains. Khocho is the most important site and the finest miniatures have been found there. The titles are boldly presented, often in a gilded manner with a floral background. Under persecution the Manichaeans fled to Turkestan and their art must have continued to influence Muslim artists.

In China and Turkestan they formed a link between the arts of China and Islam.

2. Arnold, Painting, p. 69.
4. Ibid., p. 1825.
Chinese influences in Islamic miniatures become apparent with the Mongol invasions in the 13th century. The Manāfiʻ al-Hayawan by Ibn Baktīshū‘ (Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, M.500) and the al-Bīrūnī (Edinburgh University Library, Arab 161) display Chinese landscape elements and certain Far Eastern delicate colour tones. Persian painting was more under the influence of Chinese art than the early Arab painters and this is witnessed in the dragons, the "tai" cloud-forms, and the flame-halo among other motifs. The Edinburgh University Library Rashīd ad-Dīn (Arab 20) of 1306 in the depiction of its clouds, the phoenix, cranes, trees, mountains and so on displays a strong Chinese element. Certain Far Eastern elements are to be seen in the Escorial Bestiary, as will be discussed later.

In Arab painting five main centres of production have been established. They are Syria, Northern 'Irāq round Mosul, Southern 'Irāq round Baghdad, Mamlūk Egypt, and Spain and Morocco. With these centres went certain schools of painting. The most notable and easily distinguishable are those of Mosul, Baghdad (sometimes called the Mesopotamian school) and the Mamlūk school of Egypt and Syria. The artists working in pre-Mamlūk Syria were undoubtedly under strong Byzantine influence, whereas the school of Mosul was dominated by the artists who fled from Iran before the Mongols. Seljuk Persian influence

3. Infra, p. 51. E.g. Fig. 23.
has been pointed out\(^1\) in the top and bottom registers of the
frontispiece of the Vienna Book of Antidotes (A.F. 10).\(^2\)
Holter considers this school as the most important of pre-
Mongol book illumination because it exhibits traces of earlier
manuscripts as well as influencing the subsequent Mamlûk style.\(^3\)
The red backgrounds which are characteristic of the Mosul
style are to be found in the Syriac manuscript in the Vatican
Library (No. 559).\(^4\) This is a further example of the inter-
play of the various artistic traditions. Simple compositions
with little background elaboration and a few plant forms
characterize the Mosul school.\(^5\) The school based in Baghdad
produced the most realistic and lively paintings of all,
particularly in the two Ḥarīrīs in Paris and Leningrad.\(^6\)
Landscape and architectural features play a major part in the
scenes.\(^7\) A much freer mastery and understanding of the human
form is to be noted and there is a more linear treatment of
folds than the more flat-toned school of Mosul.\(^8\)

Two manuscripts in the Vatican Library\(^9\) and one in Paris

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1. Ettinghausen, op.cit., p. 92.
2. Fig. 4.
5. E.g. Fig. 3.
6. Arabe 5847 or the "Schefer" Ḥarīrī, and S23 in the Academy of Sciences, e.g. Fig. 2. The art of the Fātimids in Egypt (969-1171), which displays Sasanian and Mesopotamian features, is the only other "realistic" or "popular" Arab school of painting.
7. E.g. Fig. 2.
9. Arab 368, Ḥadīth Bayād wa Rayād and Ross 1033, Kitāb Suwar al-Kawakib ath-Thabitā (Treatise on Fixed Stars) by as-Ṣūfī.
(De Materia Medica of Dioscorides, arabe 2580) are the only known surviving works produced in Spain and Morocco. Little perspective is shown and a flat aspect is presented. However, the observation in the humans and certain architectural features reveal connections with the ‘Irāqī schools.¹

The Mamlūk style is closest to that of the school of Mosul. The ripply winklels, the objects "suspended" in space, the symbolization of the sky by a segment sometimes containing a sun or stars, and some of the various geometric patterns on the textiles have all been directly transposed to Mamlūk painting. A probable explanation is that the Northern ‘Irāqī painters fled before the Mongols taking their manerisms to Egypt.²

Finally, certain traditions should be mentioned which have a bearing on most of the above schools. In all the illuminated works encountered the depiction of animals is far more realistic and natural than that of the human portrayals. This is discussed below.³ Generally, however, the Arab artists had a much greater ability or disposition to portray animals. The human figures are almost always given haloes. This may well have been taken over from Byzantine art but may also be purely a decorative idea of the artist. As will be shown by the many examples the use of the halo is indiscriminate.

². Infra, p. 63.
The Mamlūks were a dynasty of slaves, usually of Turkish or Central Asian origin, who dominated Egypt and Syria for two hundred and sixty-seven years.  

There are two distinct dynasties within the Mamlūk period. The first is known as the Bāμrī period (1250-1390 A.D.). These Mamlūks were so called because they lived on the island, ar-Rauda, in the Nile. The second period is that of the Burji Mamlūks (1390-1517 A.D.), often called the Circassian Mamlūks. In this brief survey only the major events within these two periods are mentioned but special emphasis is placed on the artistic achievements, which were of a very high order.  

The background of this period was one of constant warfare with the Mongols and the Christians. Hūlūgū invaded Syria and annexed Antioch but at ‘Ain Jālūt (1260 A.D.) the Mongols were finally repulsed. This fact was of great importance to the arts. Not only were Egypt and Syria able to continue in relatively peaceful prosperity unravaged by the invaders, but they provided a potential haven of refuge for those artisans and craftsmen who probably fled from the occupied Eastern territories. However, although the Mamlūks were a bloodthirsty and warlike race, they had a keen appreciation of the arts and architecture.  

Architecture was particularly encouraged and once the war with the Crusaders was successfully over, access to stone in the North was attained and brick was thus replaced.  

1. Mamlūk ("owned") is the passive participle of the Arabic verb mālaka, "to possess".  
(This does not seem to be echoed in the Mamluk miniature paintings where the buildings shown are of brick, e.g. Figs. 10, 46. Perhaps this feature can be explained as an artistic legacy of the Mesopotamian school with its contemporary ‘Iraqi brick constructions.) The cruciform plan of the Madrasa-Mausoleum is typical and this is seen to perfection in the Mosque and Madrasa-Mausoleum of Sultan Hasan (757-760/1358 A.D.), perhaps the finest example of Islamic architecture in Cairo, and in the Mausoleum of Qa’it Bay (877/1472 A.D.). The main characteristics of the cruciform plan are a central court surrounded by four deep iwan-halls, the iwan facing to the east being deeper than the other three. It is sometimes separated by a carved screen from the court. This is known as the sanctuary and the mihrab is in the centre. If there is a mausoleum for a founder’s tomb, this is usually behind or at the side of the sanctuary and is surmounted by a dome. The spaces left in the four angles of the iwans are filled by madrasas and various rooms.

Domes, very light in construction but extremely richly decorated, are a typical Mamluk architectural feature.¹ As a general rule the plain and fluted domes are of plastered brick, whereas those ornamented with zigzag, geometric and arabesque patterns are of carved stone.² A variety of decoration is to be noted. In the dome of Qa’it-Bay star formations are used. In Barquq’s Mosque (786/1384 A.D.) bands of zigzags or chevrons are placed horizontally around the dome from its

2. Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 61.
base to its apex. The transition from the square to the dome is by squinches or by means of stalactites which disguise the pendentives. Differing coloured courses of masonry are a further distinctive feature of Mamlūk architecture. The Burjī dynasty's redeeming aspect, in a turbulent and violent period, is the number of outstanding architectural monuments it erected. The Mosques of Barquq, of Qāʾit-Bāy, and of al-Ghaurī (909/1503 A.D.) are all superb memorials of this dynasty and continue the "traditions of vigour and virile elegance established by the Ayyūbid school of Syria".¹

The chief external features are the domes and minarets as well as the gateways. However, inside the mosques a great variety of decoration is found including decorative inscriptions, arabesques, marbles, and glass. The cost must have been immense. An-Nāsir is said to have spent eight thousand pieces of gold a day on building and this was with forced labour, thereby excluding wages. In his reign (1293-4, 1298-1303, 1309-40 A.D.) more than thirty mosques were built.² This period can be considered as the climax of Mamlūk culture. Alexandria was connected with the Nile by a canal and in 1311 an aqueduct was constructed from the Nile to the Citadel of Cairo.³ Minor arts also flourished, particularly bronze and brass work, glass lamps, and illuminated Qur'āns.

Mosque doors in bronze were ornately patterned⁴ and

¹. Hitti, op.cit., p. 697.
². S. Lane-Poole, Cairo, Sketches of its History, Monuments, and Social Life (London, 1893), p. 34.
⁴. Creswell, op.cit., Pl. 95, c, d.
chandeliers and lanterns with lavish silver inlaid ornamentation and chasing were produced. Most of the metalwork appears to have been made in Cairo and is easily recognisable. The Arabic inscriptions are usually large and often a medallion contains the name of the Sultan. The ground is normally ornamented with whorls and arabesques. In secular art bronze cups, bowls, trays, incense burners, jewellery and so on were produced.

Glasswork was also an active industry. Mosque lamps were suspended by chains of silver or brass to the beams which spanned the smaller arches in a mosque. In the lamp a glass vessel containing oil was hung by wires fixed to the rims. The lamps are of a distinctive shape with a broad, flaring rim and rounded body. The decoration is normally in five bands on the neck, the junction of the neck and body, round the body, the lower curve of the body and on the foot. Apart from lamps stained glass, often decorated with floral designs and inscriptions, was made.

Woodwork was another leading Mamlûk craft and the carved designs, e.g. of the minbars, often inlaid with mother-of-pearl and ivory are comparable to those used in ivory carving. Elaborate arabesque ornamentation is characteristic and in the reign of Qā'it Bây (1468–95 A.D.) the minor arts were cultivated with an intensity not known since an-Nâṣir's rule.

1. Lane-Poole, Saracens, p. 221.
2. Cf. Tables Four–Six for similar geometric patterns.
Qur'ān illumination reached a high point under the Mamlūks. Frontispieces are extremely elaborate and varying types of Kufic script are used. The geometric patterning follows that of woodwork. The backgrounds are filled in with floral and arabesque forms.\(^1\) It is against this rich cultural background that the secular Mamlūk illuminated manuscripts must be considered.

So far no mention has been made of the other intellectual achievements, notably literary. Biography and history flourished. Ibn Khallikān (b. 1211 A.D.), who was the chief Gādī of Syria, wrote the Wafayāt al-A'yan, which is a collection of 865 biographies of the most distinguished Muslims.\(^2\) Among the historians are Ibn Taghribirdī, as-Suyūṭī, and al-Maqrīzī. Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406 A.D.) held a professorship under Barquq and was responsible for negotiating peace with Timūr at Damascus for Sultan Faraj. An-Nuwairī (d. 1332 A.D.) and al-Qalqashandī (d. 1418 A.D.) were noted encyclopaedists and Ibn Ṭāmīya (1263–1328 A.D.), who was a follower of Ibn Ḥanbal, was a puritan theologian.

Story-telling was popular and it was during the Mamlūk period that the Alf Laila wa Laila took its final shape which is known to the West. Sports, particularly tournaments, archery, and feats of horsemanship were keenly followed and the theatre also provided amusement for a large section of the population. The shadow-play appeared and, as will be seen, influenced the style of painting to a definite degree.\(^3\)

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A word should finally be said about the character of Mamlūk society. The court consisted of a minutely organized system with every person allotted specific duties. Thus the Bashmakdār carried the sovereign's slippers, and the Gūkandār carried the Sultan's polo-stick. Every Mamlūk's name was made up of five parts, a proper name, e.g. Baybars, a surname, or honorary epithet, e.g. Nūr ad-Dīn, a pseudo-patronymic, e.g. Abū 'l-Fath, an epithet affixed to the title of Sultan or King, e.g. al-Mālik as-Sā'īd, and a title of possession, e.g. al-Ashrafī. These facts indicate a certain obsession with order and hierarchy. This strict formality perhaps explains the lack of a realistic type of art. The type of geometric design used in some of the costume patterns will be seen to follow that of woodwork and ivory carving. A static and artificial arrangement within the paintings will also become apparent. This formal character echoes the rigidity of Mamlūk society just mentioned. The paintings to be discussed will be more readily understandable if the remarks in this introductory chapter are kept in mind.

1. Lane-Poole, Cairo, p. 88.
2. Ibid., p. 76.
CHAPTER ONE

THE SUBJECTS ILLUSTRATED

The main books and subjects illustrated are to a large degree identical with those of the Mesopotamian school, the Maqāmāt of al-Ḥarīrī and the Fables of Bidpai being the most common. However, as will be seen, many other books, often of a scientific nature, were illustrated. The books, many of an extremely high quality, were obviously produced for a class of persons with wealth and prestige. They were not necessarily productions for the court though Löfgren suggests that the Milan copy of Jāḥiz was done for a Sultan as it was such a vast work originally.¹ This is only guess-work however. It is stated on the title-page of the Maqāmāt now in the British Museum (Add. 7293) that it was the property of the tax-collector at Damascus, Ḍamād b. Jalba al-Mauṣili, only fifty-four years after it was produced.

Abu Muḥammad al-Qāsim al-Ḥarīrī of Basra (1054–1122 A.D.) produced a literary masterpiece in his Maqāmāt, which consists of fifty stories concerning the picaresque adventures of Abū Zaid of Sarūj, who displays his wit and a superlative control of the Arabic language. The author identifies himself in Ḍārīth b. Hammām who relates the stories; these often have a moral or didactic purpose.

There are five Mamlük copies of this work of which three are in the British Museum (Or. 9718, Add. 7293, Add. 22,114\(^3\)), one in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Marsh 458\(^4\)) and one in the Nationalbibliothek, Vienna (A.F.9).\(^5\) The first three are probably of Syrian origin while the other two appear to be from Egypt. In Chapter Seven Or. 9718 (Figs. 44-122) is dealt with as an example of the Mamlük school.

The **Fables of Bidpai** or **Kalīla wa Dimna** is a kind of Eastern Aesop's Fables with two jackals, Kalīla and Dimna as the main characters. This Arabic work of fifteen different stories was translated from the Pahlavi by Ibn al-Muqaffa' (died circa 760 A.D.) and has a Sanskrit source in the Pancatantra.\(^6\) Although it is one of the oldest Arabic examples of prose it is not considered to represent the ultimate in Arabian eloquence.\(^7\)


Four copies exist of which there is one in each of the following libraries: Staatsbibliothek, Munich (C. arab. 616),
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (arabe 3467), Bodleian Library, Oxford (Pococke 400), Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Mrs. Walzer has drawn certain conclusions on
dating from these iconographically related manuscripts, of
which the Oxford copy is the best preserved. The Munich
manuscript appears to be the oldest (probably early 14th
century); it is followed by the work in Paris (mid-14th
century). The Oxford manuscript is dated 1354, and the Paris
manuscript closely resembles it except that it lacks the
former's draughtsmanship. Both these examples are dependent
on the Munich manuscript. The author takes six stories (i) the
story of the treasure, (ii) the lion and the hare, (iii) the
fight of the lion and the bull, (iv) the two monkeys, (v) the
falconer's wife, (vi) the lion and his mother. A common
source for the four Bidpai manuscripts is plausibly proposed.
It is noteworthy that the illuminations of the Paris Kalīla
wa Dimna display a livelier sense of characterization than
is usual for this school (Figs. 27-34). The Cambridge Kalīla

2. Ibid., No. 78, de Lorey, op.cit., p. 125.
4. Ibid., No. 83. K. Holter, "Die frühmamlukische
Miniaturenmalerei", Die Graphischen Künste, N.F., 2 (1937),
pp. 2-3.
5. Mrs. S. Walzer, "The Mamlūk illuminated manuscripts of
Kalīlah wa-Dimnah", in Aus der Welt der islamischen Kunst,
Festschrift E. Kühnel, ed. by R. Ettinghausen (Berlin,
**wa Dimna**, which is dated 1388, is the least accomplished and appears to follow a different tradition and style to the other three. Its rather crude miniatures are in reasonable condition.

A single leaf illustrating the first story of the Fables (the lion being counselled by his mother) has been discovered by Mrs. Walzer in the Cairo Geniza.¹ It is now in the University Library of Cambridge (T-S. Box Ar. 51, f°\(60^v\)). Unfortunately this is all that has survived of the manuscript but interesting comparisons can be drawn with the four manuscripts mentioned above. As Mrs. Walzer points out a lively quality can be observed. This is in contrast to the more linear style of the Oxford and Munich manuscripts particularly.² The naturalistic treatment places this leaf "more in the Mesopotamian tradition"³ and thus it is valuable as indicating a link between the Mesopotamian and Mamlūk styles.

Another single leaf from a dispersed manuscript has been published by Ettinghausen.⁴ It is possibly from a further version of the *Kalīla wa Dimna* or an imitation of this type of book. The leaf is in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington (No. 54.2) and illustrates the story of the bear and the monkeys. The gold background and frame are comparable with some of the miniatures of the Escorial *Manāfi‘al-Ḥayāwān* (cf. Figs. 21-25) and the script also bears a resemblance to

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1. Walzer, "Lost Kalīlah wa-Dimmah", p. 504, pl. 1, Fig. 2.
2. Ibid., p. 505.
3. Ibid.
that in the Escorial manuscript. An attribution to Egypt, probably towards the mid-14th century, seems most likely.¹

The Kitāb al-Ḥayāwān of Jāhiz in the Ambrosiana Library, Milan (num. S.P.67) has many fine miniatures, mostly dealing with animals (Figs. 16-18).² This work was composed by Abū 'Uthmān 'Amr b. Bahr al-Fuqaimī al- Başrī al-Jāhiz who was born about 776 A.D. and who was a famous writer of works of prose and adab.

The Kitāb al-Ḥayāwān is not so much a Bestiary as an anthology, which is based on animals and often embraces theology, metaphysics, and sociology. The animals are attributed the qualities and failings of human beings. A comparable personification of animals is seen in the Kalīla wa Dimna. There are chapters on various attributes such as the generosity of the cock, the perfidy of the lizard, the stupidity of the bustard, the boldness of the lion and so on. The work was never completed.³

An interest in animals was also shown by physicians and naturalists such as Ibn Bakhtīshū' who wrote the Manāfi 'al-Ḥayāwān. There is a noteworthy specimen of this work written by 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Abī 'l-Fath b. ad-

¹ Ettinghausen, op.cit., loc.cit. He suggests a dating to the second quarter of the 14th century.
² This manuscript is not in Holter's list. See Löfgren, op.cit., where all thirty-two miniatures are illustrated.
Duraihim al-Maṣūlī, in the Escorial Monastery Library (Cod. (arab. num.) 898, Figs. 19-26).1

The Da‘wat al-ʿĀṭibba‘ is represented by a fine copy in the Ambrosiana (A. 125 inf.).2 This book, "The Medical Dinner Party" or "The Banquet of the Physicians", was written by Joannes or Abū‘-l-Ḥasan al-Mukhtar b. Ḥasan Ibn Buṭlān in 1058 A.D. and dedicated to Naṣr ad-Dawla Ahmad b. Marwān, the Marwānid ruler of Mayyāfāriqīn (1010-1060 A.D.). Ibn Buṭlān was a Christian physician in Baghdad. He died in Antioch c. 1075 A.D.3 This work consists of various skits on doctors and quacks, their ignorance and arrogance. There are remarks on the ethics of the medical profession. The second part of this book which deals with the attributes of priests has unfortunately not survived.4

The Kashf al-Asrār or "Disclosure of the Secrets" which is in the Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul (Lala Ismail 565), by Ibn Ghanim al-Maqdisī is a work which deals with the purpose of flowers and animals, including birds.5 In this manuscript Persian influence is more noticeable than hitherto. The illuminations (Figs. 37-39)

5. Ettinghausen, op.cit., p. 156.
are more formal and decorative and this typifies the later developed Mamlūk style. As Ettinghausen points out, the different type of setting and decoration is due to Persian influence. "Persian art is imbued with a decorative spirit; it prefers a balanced symmetrical composition".\(^1\) This remark is certainly true of the feeling behind many of these paintings.

There are several Books of Farriery or Bañarnāmas in Paris and Cairo which appear to be of late Mamlūk origin. The two works in the Bibliothèque Nationale (arabe 2824 [Figs. 40, 41] and arabe 2826 [Figs. 42, 43]\(^2\)) give an insight into the art of horsemanship and the skilled training which the Arab warriors underwent. These books served as manuals for horse-archery, lance exercises, and furūsiyya, which consisted of all that the horsemen had to master in order to become an accomplished knight.\(^3\) The word furūsiyya was often used in conjunction with funūn (arts) which gives an idea of the status of this ability. The exercises were sometimes even called kamālat (perfections).\(^4\) The scenes of jousting tend to become a little monotonous although there are a number of variations in the exercises shown. These books are to be considered as the equivalent of our modern military handbooks.\(^5\)

\(^1\) Ettinghausen, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 158.
\(^2\) Both mentioned by Mayer, \textit{Costume}, p. 8.
\(^3\) D. Ayalon, "Notes on the Furūsiyya exercises and games in the Mamluk sultanate", in \textit{Scripta Hierosolymitana} 9, ed. by U. Heyd (Jerusalem, 1960), p. 34.
\(^4\) Ibid., p. 36.
A wide variety of weapons are to be noted, among them the long sword, traditionally straight among the Arabs, and the sabre, which was introduced in the early 14th century. Also to be seen are daggers, a battle-axe (qabar), the mace (dabbūs), catapults, crossbows, halberds, lances (rumḥ) staves and canes, and small circular shields. These were called turs and were slightly convex. There are chapters on wrestling and plans of courses for riding and jousting. These are usually marked out with flags of varying colours. There were many hippodromes in the Ḫānī period but not so many in the Burjī period. This coincided with the decline of furūsiyya training in the late 14th century.

Arabe 2824 is a more colourful work and this is to be expected, in view of the fact that it was produced over 100 years earlier than arabe 2826. Yet though it is more akin to the earlier Mamlūk books, it lacks their vitality and forcefulness.

I was unfortunately unable to consult the Baiṭarnāma in the National Library in Cairo (Med. 49) but according to Holter the miniatures are similar to those of the Munich Bidpai.

1. Mayer, op.cit., p. 44. See also Fig. 109.
2. See Fig. 102.
3. See the index to the Paris and de Unger furūsiyya manuscripts in Chapter Eight for a detailed list of the miniatures.
5. Ibid., p. 45.
The Nihāyat as-Suʿāl waʾl Umnīyya fi Taʿlīm Aʿmāl al-
Furūsiyya in the Chester Beatty Library is a further copy
in this series and bears close comparisons with arabe 2824.
A manuscript which is in the private collection of Dr. E. de
Unger, deals with warfare and chivalry and has similarities
with arabe 2824.

Although the illuminations of the literary works are in
general of a higher standard than those of the scientific
books the tract on astrology by the 'Abbāsid astronomer Abū
Maʿahar al-Balkhī (died 886 A.D.) contains thirty-six full-
page illustrations (Figs. 35, 36). This manuscript is in the
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (arabe 2583) and deals with the
signs of the Zodiac and the phases of the moon in relation to
certain constellations. Each painting has a heading in large,
ornate black lettering and has ten round circles to the right
in black and red, arranged differently for each picture. The
actual paintings are divided into two registers, the lower
and smaller part being subdivided into five narrow partitions
in which are various illustrations of figures holding swords.

this manuscript as number 10 in the Jalāʾīrid section.
Cf. Rice, op.cit., pl. 4, Fig. a. The manuscript Rice
describes is an example of the same book in the Bodleian
Library (Or. 133). A similar division into three provides
small squares in which are figures and plants. These are
both very close to the Paris manuscript. Rice dates the
Bodleian manuscript to 1399 and suggests Baghdad as a source,
claiming that the style is Jalāʾīrid. Certain aspects of
the Paris manuscript are close to the Bodleian work and a
Mamlūk source for the former solely on the basis of costume
patterns and style of clothing must be made only very
tentatively. A Jalāʾīrid origin appears almost certain.
musical instruments, books and stylized patterns of the sun and the moon. The patterns on the clothing, the flatness of the figures, and the strong Mongoloid faces (Fig. 36) together with the buds and flowers suggest the possibility of a Mamlūk atelier.

Another scientific work is the book known as the Automata of al-Jazari. The full title is the Kitāb fi Ma‘rifat al-Ḥiyal al-handasiyya or "Book of the knowledge of ingenious geometrical contrivances". It is also known as al-jamī' bain al-'ilm wa-l-‘amal al-Nāfi’ fi Šīnā 'at al-Ḥiyal or "Work that combines theory and practice and is profitable to the craft of ingenious contrivances".1 Al-Jazari, who was a craftsman and inventor of devices rather than an author, compiled the text in 1206. Al-Jazari's treatise was probably inspired by Greek models and a possible source in a Heron manuscript has been put forward.2

The work consists of six sections. The first is on the construction of clocks (ten chapters); the second is on the construction of vessels and figures for carousals (ten chapters); the third is on the construction of ewers and cups for blood-letting and washing (ten chapters); the fourth is on the

construction in tanks of fountains which can change their form (ten chapters); the fifth is on the construction of instruments for raising water from shallow and running water (five chapters); while the sixth and last is on the construction of a variety of other things (five chapters). The book is partly based upon the tracts of Archimedes and Apollonius and on earlier Arabic treatises. It is thought not to be based directly on Greek writers.  

Several manuscripts of a medical treatise by az-Zahrāwī exist but their illustrations, mostly of surgical instruments, are of no great artistic value.  

The treatise is in three sections. The first deals with cautery; the second is on incision, cupping, and the withdrawal of arrows from the body; the third deals with injured bones. Az-Zahrāwī was well acquainted with Greek medical literature. His treatise was translated by Gerard of Cremona (died 1187 A.D.).  

An example of the very late Mamlūk period is the Qanūn ad-Dunya wa 'Ajā'ībiḥā or "Order of the World and her Wonders" in the library of the Topkapi Sarayi, Istanbul (Revan 1638). This work was composed by Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. al-Maṛūm as-Saʿūdī  

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3. Ibid., p. 87.  
4. Ibid., p. 83.  
and is a vast manuscript treating mainly of historical and geographical subjects. Not only is it a huge work from the literary point of view but its enormous and unwieldy extent gave great scope to the illuminator. Unfortunately it would have been too long and demanding to treat the whole work in the fine manner of earlier Arabic illustrated books.

Arab literature is very rich in collections of botany and medical husbandry, or herbariums. In the Municipal Library in Alexandria there is a manuscript (No. 3355) which is the twelfth volume of an encyclopaedia entitled Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār or "Journeyings of glances in the kingdoms of the big cities." The work was written by Ibn Faḍl-Allāh al-‘Umarī, who was born in Damascus in 1301 and died there in 1349. Farès was the first person to bring this work to light. Although there is no date Farès assigns it to Egypt or Syria and suggests a date of the mid-14th century in view of its calligraphy; forty-seven leaves are devoted to the Kitāb al-Ḥayāwān but the rest of the work (203 leaves) is dedicated to vegetables and minerals. This botanical


part contains 270 illustrations while the zoological section has been completely neglected in accordance, as al-*Umarî admits, with the hostility of the Traditions.\(^1\) Farès indicates that the illustrations are in general minute and rendered in a natural manner, which is however hardened under the influence of the Mamlûk style.\(^2\)

This collection of al-*Umarî is an abridged version of the celebrated work of Ibn al-Baiṭar with some medical instructions supplementary to Ibn al-Baiṭar's treatise. There are many authors mentioned, the most notable among them being Dioscorides from the Greeks and Ibn al-Baiṭar from the Arabs.\(^3\)

There is a Şah-Nâma in the Topkapi Library, Istanbul (Hazine 1519) which Atasoy has suggested is an example of late Mamlûk painting.\(^4\) The work is dated 2nd March 1510 and the scribe is given as Ḥusain b. Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusainî al-Ḥanafi\(^5\). The manuscript was probably produced in Egypt as an inscription on f 1\(^r\) states that it was produced for the library of Sultan Qanṣûh al-Ghûrî and on f 616\(^r\) the place

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1. Farès, op.cit., p. 86.
2. Ibid., p. 88.
3. Ibid., p. 87.
4. N. Atasoy, "Un manuscrit mamlûk illustré du Şähnâma", Revue des études islamiques 37 (1969), p. 157. She states that this manuscript is mentioned by Ch. Rieu, Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts in the British Museum (London, 1888); also by Ananiaz Zajaczkowski, Turecka Wersja Sah-nâme z egiptu Mameluckiego (Warsaw, 1956) who has published the text. This manuscript is mentioned by Holter, "Miniaturenmalerei", p. 2, n. 1.
5. Atasoy, op.cit., p. 152.
Qubbat al-Ḥusniyya in Egypt is mentioned. However, Atasoy herself speaks of a large number of "Turkmen" characteristics in the sixty-two miniatures and admits that one might be tempted to view these paintings as the work of a Turkman or Timurid artist working in the Shiraz tradition. It is more reasonable to consider these paintings as an offshoot of the early Ottoman style. The costumes, turbans, facial types, flowers, cloud forms, and expressions are among the points which are to be considered as predominantly Turkish. After the fall of the Mamluks the features of Mamluk illumination are still to be found, particularly in Turkish painting. This is the case with this Shāh Nāma. It is also highly unlikely that the Shāh Nāma, a Persian national epic, would have been chosen as the subject for illustration by Arab artists of the Mamluk dynasty. One of the conclusions to be drawn from this manuscript is the very strong Turkish tradition and presence in 16th century Egypt. As the paintings are so different from the styles of the other late Mamluk works mentioned this manuscript is not to be assigned to the same group.

1. Atasoy, op.cit., loc.cit. This is where the first volume was finished.
2. Ettinghausen, op.cit., p. 179.
3. In particular Lala Ismail 565 (Süleymaniye) and Revan 1638 (Topkapı), both in Istanbul.
CHAPTER TWO

THE AUTOMATA MANUSCRIPTS

This is a complicated group of manuscripts which deserves to be considered in some detail.

There are two well-preserved copies which were produced under the early Mamlûks. These both have iconographically rather stylized illustrations. The first is dated 1315.¹ A large part of it is in the H. Kevorkian Collection in New York, although some of its illuminations are in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington, the Cleveland Museum of Art, and the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston. The other is dated 1354 and was in the Aya Sofya Library in Istanbul (No. 3606).² It is now in the Süleymaniye Library (same catalogue number). However, most of its miniatures have been removed and dispersed among Western collections.

Holter gives the following manuscripts as continuations of the same style as his No. 13:

a) Cairo, N.L., No. 686, Riyāḍa, dated 10/1/1450. I was unable to find this manuscript but I did find two further works in the same library (Nos. 486 and 668 Riyāḍa). Both these manuscripts are concerned with Automata. Neither is of outstanding quality. They are, however, worth studying to understand the late Mamlûk period of painting.

b) Paris, B.N., arabe 2477 (A.F.1577), dated 1485. This manuscript, produced during the Burjî dynasty, contains many

¹ Holter "Miniaturhandschriften", No. 12.
² Ibid., No. 13.
miniatures which are in an unfinished state. Rice dates this work to c.1354 by analogy with the Aya Sofya manuscript.\(^1\) Line four of the colophon, however, gives a clear date of 890/1485.\(^2\) Its illuminations are in a later style than the 1315 and 1354 works.

c) Oxford, Bodleian, Uri 886 (Ms. Greaves 27), dated 1486. This manuscript was formerly known as Ms. Greaves 3800 and Greaves 28 which has caused some confusion. It is now known as Ms. Greaves 27.\(^3\)

d) Leiden, U.B., 1026 (626 Warn), dated 1562 after a copy of 1486.\(^4\)

e) Leiden, U.B., 1025 (117 Gol.), undated. The paintings are done in a coarse manner. There is another copy in Arabic in the Bodleian Library (Ms. Fraser 186) which is dated 1638. Of its 143 illustrations only about twenty are of any artistic interest. A Mamlük assignation should not strictly be made on account of its late date. It has been included, however, as being of interest and worthy of comparison with the other Automata manuscripts.

The 1315 manuscript measures 12 by 8 inches and the text is "on yellowish paper of oriental origin in clear well

2. See Chapter Eight.
3. \(\textit{Ibid.}\)
4. K.A.C. Creswell, "Dr. F.R. Martin's M.S. 'Treatise on Automata'", \textit{The Year Book of Oriental Art and Culture} (1924-1925), pl. 25A.
made Nashki characters".\textsuperscript{1} It has a long introduction where it is stated that it was written for an Urtuqid ruler of Diyarbakir by Abū ʻl-ʻIzz b. Isma‘īl b. ar-Razzāz at the end of Ramadān, 715 A.H., i.e. December 1315 A.D.\textsuperscript{2} It was copied by Farrūq b. ʻAbd al-Laṭīf al-Kâtib al-Yaqūtī al-Maulawī, who possibly also did the paintings. Aga-Oglu claims it is the earliest known copy of this work but this has since been disproved by Stchoukine's article concerning III A No.3472 in the Topkapi Sarayi Library, a manuscript which is dated 1206.\textsuperscript{3} Grube is of the opinion that this manuscript became the prototype of the "provincial Mamlūk school".\textsuperscript{4} It is in outstanding condition with numerous coloured illustrations.

The 1315 manuscript in the Kevorkian Collection is said to be "a copy of a copy of the original manuscript written by the author"\textsuperscript{5} and contains excerpts of geometrical drawings and about thirty miniatures depicting examples of automatic and hydraulic construction. There are many folios missing. Grube states that it has 100 illustrations.\textsuperscript{6} He also translates the colophon, the full text of which occurs on f 207r.

The miniatures are similar to the later 1354 Aya Sofya

\begin{itemize}
  \item[1.] M. Aga-Oglu, "On a manuscript by al-Jazari", \textit{Parnassus} 3 (1931), p. 27. Three illustrations are given.
  \item[2.] \textit{Ibid.}
  \item[3.] I. Stchoukine, "Un manuscrit du traité d'al-Jazarî, sur les automates du VII\textsuperscript{e} siècle de l'hégire", \textit{GBA}, 6th ser., 11 (1934), pp. 134-140.
  \item[4.] E.J. Grube, \textit{Miniature islamiche dal XIII al XIX secolo da collezione americane} (Venice, 1962), p. 7. A full account of this manuscript is given.
  \item[5.] Aga-Oglu, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 28.
  \item[6.] Grube, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 8.
\end{itemize}
manuscript but differ from it in colour and drawing. They show a strong Arab and Byzantine influence and are free of "East Asiatic influence". The leaf illustrated in Grube concerns Book Two and shows "A young man drinking wine". The man shown is of a typical Byzantine type particularly in his facial characteristics and the colours. Aga-Oglu considers the forms comparable to Christian-Byzantine miniature painting. He gives Damascus as the provenance, notes strong Byzantine influence and points to comparisons with the Mesopotamian school. The folds shown in the costume of the figure of the automatic wine server in Aga-Oglu's article are of the typical Mamlûk type to be described later on.

Holter does not accept Aga-Oglu's placing of Damascus and claims that the manuscript has a particular style. I think that the folds are doubtless of a Mamlûk origin, possibly Syria. Ettinghausen and Dimand agree on Syria as a source for this manuscript. The style is different from

2. Grube, op.cit., fig. 7.
5. They are certainly not Mesopotamian with strong Byzantine influence, as Aga-Oglu claims.
the earlier 1206 manuscript, particularly in the greater use of the third dimension.¹

The 1354 Automata miniatures which were dispersed from the Aya Sofya Library manuscript, have been the subject of much controversy. Examination of this manuscript and the various attributions given to it will serve to clarify the conflicting opinions and to put it into perspective with other, more recent, work which has been done on Mamlûk painting, particularly by Holter.²

The manuscript has been admirably analysed by Riefstahl in 1929.³ The miniatures have been dispersed among various collections but are now principally in America. The most notable places are in Boston (Museum of Fine Arts and the Elizabeth Stuart Gardner Museum), Cambridge, Mass. (Fogg Art Museum), and Washington, D.C. (Freer Gallery of Art).

It is necessary to consider the controversy over the date and origin of these paintings in a chronological manner.

Carra de Vaux saw the Aya Sofya manuscript (No. 3606) before 1891 but no-one took the trouble to examine it very carefully until Riefstahl in 1929.

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1. See Stchoukine, *op.cit.*, pp. 134-140 for a description of the Mesopotamian manuscript which is the oldest dated illuminated manuscript of this group.
3. R.M. Riefstahl, "The date and provenance of the Automata miniatures", *The Art Bulletin* 11 (1929), pp. 206-215. A number was given to each miniature or place of a former miniature. Only numbers 4, 13, 14, 27, 30, 40, 43, 50 were not traced. See Chapter Eight for a list of the many reproductions from this manuscript.
Claude Anet suggested 1354 as the date of Martin's leaves (instead of 1185 with the portrait of Saladin as Martin claimed). This is on Blochet's authority. Blochet says that the title Sultan al-Malik as-Sāliḥ Ṣalāḥ ad-Dunya wa Dān in an inscription refers to a prince who reigned from 1351-54 and was not Saladin. Martin refutes this. He claims that neither Anet nor Blochet ever studied the long protocol inscription which dates the leaves. Martin makes the point that the artist appears to have known the architecture of Egypt which existed 165 years before his time, and that he was not aware of the contemporary styles of architecture. Furthermore, "he dared to represent figures at a time when they were strictly forbidden." He concludes his argument by stating that the artist used "the old colours and the old gold which had disappeared after the Mongol invasion." 

Martin claims that the ornaments on the buildings are those of the early Ayyubid period or the latter years of the

1. C. Anet, "Dr. F.R. Martin and Oriental Painting. 'Le Traité des Automates', Burl. Mag. 23 (1913), p. 49.
5. Ibid.
12th century. His claim is very weak however. Furthermore, both figural representations and the use of gold were frequent in Mamlük illuminations. These points are dealt with later on.

Coomaraswamy refutes Martin's identification of Saladin, making the point that it is unlikely that the scribe would have made an error in the titles of a ruling Sultan. This author weakens his case in two ways. He doubts that the leaves necessarily come from the manuscript in the Aya Sofya and he rejects Blochet's attribution of a Mamlük origin. Coomaraswamy also denies any Egyptian features and claims Byzantine inspiration and affinities. The naskh script, according to him, offers no argument to the contrary of a date in the 13th century. It is undoubtedly true, however, that many of the illustrations are very close to the 1206 manuscript in the Topkapi Sarayi.

Creswell concludes that the manuscript is a copy of al-Jazarî's treatise and that it was made between 1351-54 for al-Malik as-Šalîḥ Şalâh ad-Dîn Şalîḥ and is an example of the style of painting of the mid-14th century, and not the style of miniature painting of 1206 as Coomaraswamy was inclined to believe.

3. Ibid., p. 3 and p. 8.
4. Ibid., p. 9.
Creswell goes on to deal with the leaf showing the gateway with five musicians which Karabacek and Martin claimed was of the 12th century. They arrived at this conclusion by claiming that the bird above the cup referred to the Urtuqid ruler Nūr ad-Dunya wa Dīn Abū 'l-Fath Muḥammad, who reigned 1174 to 1185. As mentioned above, Anet and Blochert disputed this dating. On the basis of architectural comparisons Creswell dates the Martin manuscript to about 1300, the architectural elements being of the period in which they were painted, and not of the period of the earlier manuscripts from which they were copied.2

Creswell gives four leaves with the subject of the clepsydra and tabl-khana or orchestra.3 They are Martin's copy of 1351-54 (now Süleymaniye AS No. 3506), the 1486 Bodleian copy (Ms. Crew. 27), the 1561 copy in Leiden (U.B. 1026), and an Indian copy in the Bodleian, possibly of the 17th century.4

Riefstahl pointed to f 246v, where it says that the

3. Lane-Poole, op.cit., p. 88 states that the tabl-khana, or Royal Drummery was the department where the royal band was kept. It was presided over by an officer called the Amīr al-‘Alam, or Adjutant-General. See also Lane-Poole, Saracens, p. 31, where the band is specifically stated to have played before the gates of a Lord.
manuscript was finished in Safar 755 A.H., i.e. February 25th to March 25th, 1354 A.D.¹ This corroborates the inscriptions to al-Malik aš-Šāliḥ Ṣalāḥ ad-Dunya wa-Dīn (752-55 A.H.). The work contains 246 leaves. However, the arrangement of the quires is difficult owing to many leaves being dispersed.² The title-page is illuminated in the manner of Mamlūk Qur’āns with naskh script at top and bottom. The middle octagon contains the name al-Jazarī. The Kufic writing round this refers to the Uرتuqid ruler of Diyarbakıır, Nāṣir ad-Dīn.³ Grube states that the manuscript was executed by the Treasury of the Amīr Naṣīr ad-Dīn Muḥammad, the son of His Excellency Tulak al-Ḥasan al-Malik aš-Šāliḥ.” He also indicates that there are only thirteen miniatures left in the original manuscript.⁴

This mistake concerning the number of miniatures was also made by Riefstahl. He suggests that possibly there were fifty numbered paintings, one for each of the fifty chapters of the book.⁵ There are in fact fourteen complete paintings which are coloured and not just preparatory drawings. In Chapter Eight all the line diagrams and other plans which are not strictly illuminations, but technical sketches, are included.

The illuminations are in a rigid and monumental style with little subtlety or delicacy. As Riefstahl rightly points

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2. Ibid., p. 209.
5. Riefstahl, op.cit., p. 213.
out, this is partly because they are technical illustrations and partly because they are the copy of a copy of the original. This explains the close similarity to the 1206 manuscript. The colophon of the 1354 manuscript states that it is "the copy of a copy of the original manuscript". ¹

The scribe's name is Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al ....... ² Wittek has read this last name as al-Izmīrī, i.e., "the Smyrnan". ³ Wittek agrees with Riefstahl's attribution and dating. He also adds further information. ⁴ The book was written for a Nāṣir ad-Dīn Muḥammad who was a Turkish Mamlūk, whose father's name was Jelek, and whose surname was al-Ḥasan al-Malik as-Šāliḥ. ⁵ Wittek produces evidence to date the manuscript to the mid-14th century and an attribution "undoubtedly to Egypt" on the grounds of the titles khizāna and magarr. Examples of the first title exist from 730/740 A.H. onwards. The title magarr, which Jelek bore first appears in 699 A.H. and is used from the end of the 13th century onwards.

The manuscript's origin is probably Cairo as Blochet suggested. ⁶ He gave this attribution because the illustrations are lettered with a hieroglyphic alphabet, obviously derived

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² Ibid.
⁴ Wittek, op.cit., p. 177.
⁵ Ibid.
from Ancient Egyptian sources. Schroeder gives strong support to such an attribution on historical grounds.\(^1\) The nisba "Izmīrī" is a possible further testimony to the Mamlūk court as Smyrna was besieged by the Pope's troops in 1344 A.D. and a Muslim artist would probably have fled for safety to the nearest celebrated court which at that time was Cairo. A further possibility is that the Ayyūbids may have taken the 1206 manuscript to Cairo when they captured Diyarbakir, where it appears to have been kept. As the 1354 manuscript seems to be directly copied from this manuscript Cairo would be a likely place for its origin. There is a third hypothesis that there may have been a manuscript, now disappeared, which acted as a model for the 1354 manuscript and which was a link between the two. This last view is substantiated a little by Wittek's statement that the 1354 manuscript is not a copy of the title-page of the original (i.e. 1206 manuscript) but a book written expressly for the owner and "in the name of the person who executed it".\(^2\) Having seen both the 1206 and 1354 manuscripts and seen the colophon which is quite clear (see Chapter Eight) I am inclined to support Riefstahl's view, namely that it is probably a copy of the 1206 manuscript and that it is likely that it was produced in Cairo. This is the opinion also of Schroeder who gives Diyarbakir or perhaps Hisnkaifa as its original home. The Ayyūbid al-Kāmil who seized both towns in 1231 A.D. may have taken it to Damascus

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or even directly to Egypt, of which he was also ruler.¹

If the work remained at Damascus it probably passed into the possession of Tangiz who administered the town and then subsequently passed to Cairo on Tangiz's execution or to Jelek, who was the father of the prince for whom the manuscript was made (as mentioned above). This Jelek lived in Damascus and was governor of the province but died in Egypt in 1352.² So the connection with Cairo makes Egypt the most likely source for this manuscript.

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² Ibid.
CHAPTER THREE
GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS AND STYLE

In the history of art a period of realistic representation and naturalism is often succeeded by an art which is abstract and symbolic. This is to be noted in the 20th century change from Impressionism to modern abstraction. This difference between the visual concept and the mental concept is expressed in the successive phases of art. In Greece a change to a natural approach about 500 B.C. succeeded a conventional and abstract style (e.g. the difference in approach in the static kouros figures and the Charioteer at Delphi). The early Christian artists reverted to a stylized iconography which in turn was rejected by the artists of the early Renaissance.

Similarly in Arab painting a certain change can be discerned from the lively, vigorous paintings of the Mesopotamian school to the rather wooden and lifeless, flat-toned depictions seen in Mamlûk manuscripts, particularly those of the Bahri period. This new phase of painting was concerned with line and colour patterns, not unlike the Fauvist movement.

The paintings produced in the Bahri Mamlûk period (1250-1390 A.D.) have an ornamental and severely formal character and there is always an element of immobility and even abstraction.

This change of spirit is perhaps to be partly explained by the impact of the Mongol invasions in the 13th century. An event of such magnitude may well have been the cause of
and impetus to a new style. Artists may have migrated westwards bringing their different traditions with them. Indeed many of the faces depicted indicate a Far Eastern origin. The narrow, almond-shaped and slightly slanting eyes, the thin arched eyebrows, the small mouth with curved upper lips (see Figs. 17, 36, 45), the drooping moustache and thin black beard (Figs. 34, 35, 48) all indicate an Eastern or Mongoloid type. Certain of the clothes and caps, such as those worn by the boy on the left in Fig. 9 with a black pigtail and the right-hand servant in Fig. 13 are further signs of Eastern influences. This new spirit is clearly illustrated in Fig. 37 where not only the individual elements such as the different forms of the clouds but also the whole sense of space and style are undoubtedly of Far Eastern inspiration. According to Buchthal, however, "the results of the Mongol invasion only supported an evolution corresponding to the general trend of Egyptian art which was always ready to look to Muslim Asia for new artistic stimuli". This statement seems valid when one considers that in architecture, for example, Ibn Tulun's mosque is based on the plan of The Great Mosque at Samarra to a very marked

1. Ettinghausen, op.cit., p. 145, makes the point that artists from Mosul fled before the Mongols thus bringing certain North 'Irāqi mannerisms to Mamlūk Egypt. This subject is dealt with in a further section.
2. See particularly the right-hand figures in Figs. 5, 6, 7.
3. Cf. the various line drawings in Table Three.
4. Cf. also Fig. 52 and Table Three.
degree. Other examples are the continuation of 'Irāqī styles in Tulūnid pottery owing to the importation of potters from that country and the style of ivory carving under the Fatimids. Here the 'Abbāsid traditions were followed and cultural contacts between the two courts have to be stressed. Another factor for the change of spirit seen in Mamlūk painting may have been the different type of society within which these works were produced. The Mamlūk state was a feudal society where each individual had his place clearly marked out in the hierarchy. At court there was a complicated system of precedence and society became much more inflexible than before. Mamlūk painting reflects this static type of society and formality to a very great extent. Ettinghausen considers that "it is the most rigidly composed art in the Islamic world".  

Although it is perhaps doubtful whether the Mamlūk state was a lot more rigid than the late 'Abbāsid period it probably had a more deadening influence on the arts. This is witnessed in literature where, for example, the poetry produced is extremely artificial and never rises to the former level of brilliance. Mamlūk literature is concerned

2. Grube, *op.cit.*, pp. 66, 67. R. Ettinghausen, "Early realism in Islamic Art", *Studi Orientalistici in onore di levi della Vida* (Rome, 1956), 1, Figs. 5, 6, etc.
largely with historiography and biographies and lacks the earlier inventive spirit.¹ This is a possible reason why a Mamlûk artist "could not have produced a realistic, genre-like art with psychological implications, let alone an art of social satire,"² that is the art of the "Schefer" Ḥarîrî. During the 14th century the manuscripts become more inclined towards pure decoration. As de Lorey describes it: "The forms become stiffer, the art loses its suppleness, conventions become supreme. Style gives place to a laborious stylization".³

Mamlûk paintings of the Bahîrî period are reduced to their most basic essentials. Due to this simplification a remarkable clarity is attained; this accentuates the sharpness and precise forms. The scenes of congregations in mosques (Figs. 34B, 53, 85, 105) or audiences in front of Governors (Fig. 78), and the groups of figures in tents (Figs. 9, 82) or in a shop (Figs. 11, 116) usually have few characters and this focuses attention on the central point of the painting. In brief the style is spirited and memorable.

Scale

No sense of scale is attempted within the paintings; figures often dwarf animals and buildings. In Fig. 8 the camels and the baggage are in relation to one another but

¹ Nicholson, *op.cit.*, p. 455. He writes: "To dwell longer on the literature of this period would only be to emphasise its scholastic and unoriginal character".
² Ettinghausen, *op.cit.*, p. 143.
the riders are out of proportion being drawn at least twice the scale of the camels.¹ In Fig. 14 the figure of Abū Zaid is more than the size of the door by about two-sevenths and al-Ḥarīth inside the building is of a much larger scale than either Abū Zaid or the house. In Fig. 31 the size of the hare and the elephant bear no realistic comparison, and in Fig. 34 the hanged men are much larger than the bystander. The artist seems to have taken one measurement for all the men which suggests the idea of a regular pattern with a complete disregard for realistic presentation. Small details are normally out of all proportion to the main composition. The birds (Figs. 9, 16) are unrealistically large and the beakers and carafe in Fig. 7 are also a little too big for the context. The flowers on the plant in Fig. 98 are enormous in comparison with the size of the heads of the figures.

**Landscape Depictions**

Large use is not made of landscape depictions, possibly due to the influence of the school of Mosul.² The Mosul style is itself rather bare and relies on the figures alone to tell the story. This is in marked contrast to the Mesopotamian school which was fond of a detailed background. "A Discussion near a Village" on f138r of the "Schefer" Ḥarīf is a prime example.³ Possibly the lack of landscape can be attributed to a connection with the shadow theatre

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1. Cf. however Fig. 109.
2. See Fig. 3.
or simply to the Mamlūk artists' desire for simplified patterns. What landscape is portrayed is primarily symbolic and has no relation of scale to the figures.¹

The settings are extremely summary. A segment, frequently containing a sun or moon, represents the sky by day or night (Figs. 8, 31, 93, 96, 97 and many others in Or. 9718). The sun is often portrayed with a face (Fig. 8) which is an unrealistic but decorative touch. This feature is not known to the author to occur in Mesopotamian or Mosul illuminations. Stars can be seen on a symbolic segment of sky in Fig. 31.² A notched green base line often indicates the ground (Figs. 11, 28-32, 108, 109). It appears to be made up of fleshy green leaves closely packed together to form the base. In many cases a simple line is drawn across to indicate the limit of the miniature (Figs. 5-7, 13, 15, 16, 60 among others).

Rocks

Rocks are treated as a completely flat surface (Figs. 29, 76, 92, 99, 121). One type of depiction gives an impression comparable to an interlocking jig-saw pattern.³ In Fig. 29 parts have been darkly coloured to suggest shadow and depth but this is not convincing and in some ways serves only to accentuate the idea of pure pattern. This has also been attempted in the Cambridge Bidpai (f109r) and

1. See Figs. 16, 69. In both cases the plant forms are too large for the context.
2. Cf. f87v of the Vienna Ḥarīrī, illustrated, Ettinghausen, op. cit., p. 151.
3. This appears to have connections with the school of Mosul, Cf. Fig. 3.
in Fig. 76, though the effect is not of the hard, linear quality seen in Fig. 29. A softer toning in Fig. 76 and the lesser degree of stylization suggest a closer dependence on the earlier Mesopotamian school, whereas the rocks seen in Fig. 29 are representative of the fully developed Mamlûk style. The rocks in Figs. 28, 30, 31, 44, 48 are of a different type and are closer to a kind of decoration used for costume patterns (to be discussed in Chapter Six). They have an even less solid aspect and perspective than the first type of rock described, and this second form seems to be more representative of the high Mamlûk paintings. In Or. 9718 most of the depictions of rocks follow the first type described. In the Paris and Oxford Bidpaiş a mixture of the two forms is seen. Fig. 29 shows an illustration of the Paris Kalîla wa Dimna where the first type of rock is depicted in unrealistic colours of purple and orange surmounted by thick green grass.

**Water**

Water is portrayed as a fragmented, irregular mosaic pattern (Figs. 17, 18, 26, 29, 31, 76) which is a further abstraction of reality. The artist has used an ornamental style to produce a not unpleasing symbol of water. The pattern of the water in Or. 9718 (Fig. 76) is of a more continuous and rhythmic form than the other examples where the water is composed of individual conjoined segments. This complete fragmentation would appear therefore to

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1. Cf. the rocks in Fig. 30 with the gowns of the men in Fig. 27 for example.
represent the fully mature Bahri style whereas the form displayed in Or. 9718 is an earlier and less stylized example. In Figs. 37 and 76 the pattern of water is broken by a wavy band composed of four parallel lines and this motif is probably meant to represent waves. 1 Fig. 23 shows the abstraction of water taken to its extreme. Here the style is very close to Far Eastern and Chinese paintings both in the thin delicate motif used for the water and in the plants. 2 The tree and plants of the Freer Gallery of Art Kalila wa Dimna leaf display a strong Far Eastern influence, as does the water which is more delicately and less ornately portrayed than in the Escorial Bestiary, or the Ambrosiana Kitab al-Ḥayawan (cf. Figs. 26, 17, 18), where water is shown as a fragmented pattern. As Ettinghausen points out this influence comes at second hand and is to be traced to Persian painting around 1300. 3

Plant forms

A similar sense of unreality both of scale and nature can be seen in the representations of trees and shrubs. Plant forms play the biggest role in the landscapes. They consist basically of two types. One is composed of thin wavering tendrils with large coloured leaves and lotus blossoms. This occurs in the Oxford and Vienna Ḥarīṭas, which are closely dependent. 4 The lotus flower betrays a

1. Cf. also f10r of the Kashf al-Asrar.
3. Ettinghausen, op.cit., p. 140.
4. Ibid., p. 153. The manuscripts are particularly close in the delineated frames, the gold ground, and the corner decorations.
Mongol or Far Eastern origin. Ettinghausen does say, however, that this influence was probably transmitted only indirectly.

The other form, which occurs in the group of Bidpai manuscripts, but also in the Vienna Magāmat, is of fat, smaller, branches with fleshy, short leaves and large almond-shaped red and blue buds. A type of this second form is seen in the Milan Jahiz in Fig. 16. Examples of this second thick succulent plant form are to be seen in Figs. 16, 28, 46, 51 and many others. This second form is linked with the representation of the ground, composed of rows of fat leaves.

Leaves

The shapes of the leaves in this group of manuscripts vary also, some consisting of onion shapes with a sharp tip (Fig. 29) while others are of a serrated type, not unlike a maple leaf (Fig. 31). In Fig. 8 the leaves are of a uniform type being thin at the junction of the stem or branch and broader and rounded at the tip. A couple of plants with closely packed leaves, formed in the same manner as some of the base lines, are used as framing devices in Fig. 17 in one of the miniatures from the Milan Kitāb al-Ḥayāwān. In this same manuscript the leaves are usually outlined in white and have the central part marked in white or a dark colour (Figs. 16-18). A similar but more crudely painted type of leaf is shown in Fig. 39 where the plants are used

1. Ettinghausen, op. cit., p. 142.
3. Cf. Fig. 68.
again as a framing device. There is a great variety in the colours of the leaves, particularly in the Paris and Oxford Kalīla wa Dimna manuscripts (Figs. 28, 29). Often these colours, such as purple and orange or deep blue, have little realistic value and are purely the whim and choice of the artist. In the London Maqāmat (Or. 9718), although the shape of the leaves varies, with pointed tips,\(^1\) rounded ends,\(^2\) or longer thinner and more graceful shapes,\(^3\) they are always regularly spaced and put symmetrically on either side of the branch.\(^4\) This is not the case in the Paris Kalīla wa Dimna where in Fig. 30 the leaves are placed in alternate positions to each other.

**Trees and Fruit**

The trees shown are of many species. Among them are the cypress, and possibly the fig tree, the sycamore, the acacia and the mulberry.\(^5\) This last fruit tree grew in all terrains and had fruits of such varying colours as black, yellow, white, purplish blue and ash-grey.\(^6\) This may well have been the inspiration for some of the bright colours mentioned above. The trunks of the trees are composed either of patterns comparable to those already discussed with regard to the rocks and costume\(^7\) or are built up of

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1. E.g. Fig. 51.
2. E.g. Fig. 60.
3. E.g. Fig. 72.
4. As is also seen in Figs. 8, 39.
5. See Figs. 74, 51, 69, 79, 83 for these five types of trees.
7. E.g. Fig. 28.
oblong segments which are normally outlined in black.¹ A common Mamlûk motif is the way coloured fruits are strewn around on the ground. This is particularly to be noted in Add. 22, 114 (B.M., London) and in Arabe 3467 in the Bibliothèque Nationale amongst other works.² The sheaves of grass and scattered flowers which litter certain of the backgrounds, e.g. Fig. 38 and other illustrations in the Kashf al-Asrâr in Istanbul and the frontispiece of arabe 2583 (Fig. 35) are probably the result of Mongol influence. This feature is more common in later Persian painting and indeed the liking for formal elegance and a balanced and decorative composition seen in the Kashf al-Asrâr are some of the characteristics to be noted in Persian illuminations.³

Architectural features

There are a number of illustrations showing architectural representations. The interior of a building is normally indicated by a brief frame which sometimes contains two or three arches to give a sense of depth.⁴ Mayer has indicated that the trefoil arch is the conventional representation of a private house⁵ and a tripartite division

1. E.g. Figs. 30, 46, 47, 51 among others.
2. Cf. Figs. 8, 11, 28, 32. Also Figs. 57, 72, 73, 75, 84 and others in Or. 9718.
4. See Figs. 27, 33, 54, 65.
5. Mayer, "Damascene Artist", p. 168. This article is entirely concerned with f53r (Fig. 65).
appears most normal.\textsuperscript{1} Sometimes there are corner-pieces but these are purely decorative and will be discussed with the different types of frames (Chapter Four).

All the buildings are of brick\textsuperscript{2} and an attempt has perhaps been made to represent glazed brick by means of a white outline surrounding a pale blue brick.\textsuperscript{3} Many of the constructions are extremely elaborate. In most cases the buildings bear little relation to existing contemporary monuments. They are probably to be taken as imaginative representations and fantasies of the artist. In Fig. 10 the building on the right consists of a high brick wall with an adjoined pillar. This probably is the surround of a doorway as al-\textsuperscript{f}ar\textsuperscript{i}n is shown half emerging. Above this is a gold band which supports the upper half of the building whose bricks are squarer than those below. At the top is a dome and what appears to be a funnel or chimney in brick.\textsuperscript{4} This is probably meant to represent an air-vent by means of which the rooms were kept cool and dark.\textsuperscript{5} To the left of

\begin{itemize}
\item[1.] de Jerphanion, *Miniatures du manuscrit syriaque*, p. 52.
\item[2.] See Figs. 10, 46, 51, etc.
\item[3.] E.g. Figs. 11, 77.
\item[4.] Rice, "Seasons and Labours", pl. 5, Fig. C. An identical example in wood is shown. See also D.S. Rice, "Studies in Islamic metal-work*, BSOAS 15(1963), p. 503, Fig. 11a for a similar construction. Rice claims this is a garden pavilion with a roof pergola.
\item[5.] Lane-Poole, "Saracens", p. 79, describes the ventilating chambers which were open to the roof and had *malqafa*, or screens, which guided the north winds down into the house. In the summer the open terrace or the rooms directly below the vents were used as bedrooms. This ventilating feature is to be seen in the Oxford *Bidyai* (ff108\textsuperscript{v}, 123\textsuperscript{v}) and the Cambridge *Bidyai* (f7\textsuperscript{v}).
\end{itemize}
the miniature is a brick building with an upper part which has a grille over the window. The wall surrounding this window is patterned with white spirals and lines and thus may represent a plaster surface.

In Fig. 14 there is a contraption which resembles a pulley on wheels. This kind of mechanism was to allow for a sliding roof which was an attractive addition to a house.¹ The tower on the left above the door has a window with a grille. This window, as in Fig. 10, may be the window of the qa'a or upper room of a house, in many cases the most spacious and airy.

The building in Fig. 39 is seen frontally and consists of a main part with two wings on either side. The ribbed domes and the surface decoration on the upper main section as well as the surround over the main door and two side windows are typical Mamlûk architectural features. The surround is probably meant to represent black and white marble which was used in a similar fashion to great effect in the portal to the Maristan or hospital of Qalâ‘ún.²

1. O. Grabar, "A Newly Discovered Illustrated Manuscript of the Maqâmât of Ḥarīrî", AO 5 (1963), Figs. 1, 7, 41, where this feature is shown. Fig. 1 shows an almost identical representation to Fig. 14 in the layout, the door, and the candle on the stand.
2. Lane-Poole, op.cit., p. 73 and Fig. 11. See also G. Wiet, The Mosques of Cairo (Paris, 1966), Fig. 29. Striped masonry and decoration (ablâq) was created by the use of differing coloured stones in courses, which was of Roman or Byzantine origin. See Hitti, op.cit., p. 691.
The other architectural scenes from Or. 9718 are described in Chapter Seven. Here attention should be drawn to the brick dome and the battlement of scalloped form in Fig. 51, and Fig. 68 where a simple building of brick with coloured crenellations is seen. Crenellations are widely found in Mamlük architecture. They are usually formed in a number of steps and these are not found in miniatures. However the idea of crenellations appears to have been used by the Mamlük painters. Figs. 85 and 105 are clear examples of horse-shoe arches within a mosque and the latter figure has a fine decorated parapet. This vertical division into three parts is echoed in the paintings illustrated in Figs. 87, 88, 118 and 122 among others.

Furniture

Furniture, consisting mostly of high-backed thrones or chairs, plays a small role. The tribunal or mahkama is often shown with the judge on a throne with a square, high back and covered with drapery. The thrones usually have a rigid and high bolster and this Islamic feature is to be found in a Syriac manuscript in the Vatican. In Fig. 55 the throne

1. Creswell, *Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, pl. 45, a,b,c (Madrasa of Baybars), pl. 76, a,b,c (Mausoleum - Madrasa of Sultan Qalā‘ūn).
2. Lane-Poole, *op.cit.*, p. 48, discussing the simple idea of furniture among the Muslims mentions the coverings of divāns as the most sumptuous part of an interior. The chief skill of an artist was spent on the actual structure of a building.
3. E.g. Figs. 55, 56, 77, among others.
4. de Jerphanion, *op.cit.*, pp. 53, 54. This feature is probably of Byzantine or even Roman derivation.
appears to be covered with some decorated cloth whereas in Fig. 56 a patterned wooden back may be intended. In Fig. 77 the base is made up of blue bricks which would suggest a more permanent type of throne. Fig. 14 depicts al-Ḥarīth seated on a high-backed chair. A simple kind of bed, rectangular with straight legs and draped with a florally patterned blanket is shown in Fig. 12. Cushions are portrayed with pointed ends¹ which are sometimes highlighted in gold.² In Fig. 33 a cushion is shown upright at the head of the low blanketed couch and this is described as the typical Islamic way of placing cushions.³ In Fig. 35 Satan is shown sitting on a low wooden stool with his feet on a footstool. Figs. 53 and 85 portray pulpits in mosques. The first example is probably of wood with ivory inlays possibly intended by the white lines. The second representation is of florally decorated wooden steps and possibly a cloth with further floral scroll patterns hanging at the side of the pulpit. Lamps are shown,⁴ and some of the mosque lamps are typically Mamlūk in shape and design. In Fig. 94 the hanging lamps are probably meant to portray glass and hang by either a cord of woven material or by brass chains.⁵ Apart from the lamps and candlesticks⁶ the representations of bowls and beakers such as are seen in Figs. 7, 17, 120 etc. are the only other

¹. E.g. Figs. 14, 65, 100 etc.
². E.g. Fig. 5.
³. de Jerphanion, op.cit., p. 53.
⁴. E.g. Figs. 5, 105, etc.
⁶. E.g. Fig. 14.
items of furniture or domestic goods that appear to be represented.  

**Composition**

The Mamlük painters were keen to attain a balance and symmetry in their paintings, as in the other decorative arts such as woodwork. This is shown in the way figures are placed. Figs. 5, 6, 10 for example each have two people placed in the centre and facing each other. Fig. 13 is an example of how this pre-occupation with balance was one of the causes which created a rather artificial style. The four main figures sit, two on either side, round a central fire. At the rear two servants are depicted bringing in the food from either side. No attempt has been made to suggest depth or spatial dimensions. The artist seems to have been wholly concerned with placing on either side three figures to form a triangular pattern of colour and line. The arrangement of the fish in Fig. 17 is a further indication of distribution of objects to form a decorative pattern rather than to aim at a realistic conception. A certain symmetry has been reached with the four outer fish following the shape of the oblong pool while the inner four diagonally form a cross.  

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1. In Fig. 11 the shelves of the cupper's shop are shown with retorts, beakers, phials, and two small caskets. In the same scene from Or. 9718 two instruments resembling tweezers are all that remain in this part of the miniature (Fig.116).

2. Lane-Poole, op.cit., Figs. 41-43.

3. Similar arrangements can be seen on Figs. 58,61,65 etc.

4. For similar patterns on brass-work see E. Baer, "'Fish-pond' ornaments on Persian and Mamluk metal vessels", BSOAS 31 (1968), pls. VI, VII. Also pl. XII where the underglaze painted bowl has a less artificial pattern.
Fig. 7 is a further good example of this formal method of arrangement to create a pattern. In Fig. 12 the shape of the curtain is echoed in the shape of the blanket in the lower half of the painting. In the illustrations of animals this stilted and regular method of depiction can often be seen. The fish in Fig. 18, all of the same size, swim to the left spaced at regular intervals. The Escorial Bestiary is full of examples of this kind and its illuminations can be regarded as those of a type of text-book. Fig. 20 shows two sorts of pigs, black and white, with the male and female of each species shown. The four are placed in the four corners with the script in the middle of the painting. Figs. 24 and 25 which portray a pair of eagles and owls follow this formal tradition, particularly in the case of the confronted owls. Fig. 26 which shows five different types of marine life has its upper and lower edges paralleled by an eel and a long-bodied fish. In between a triangular form has been created from the remaining three fishes with its apex at the left side of the miniature.

It is interesting to note that in the later examples of Burjī Mamlūk book-illumination, although a symmetry is still achieved in certain miniatures (e.g. Fig. 40), a freer and more flexible type of layout is attained also. Figs. 41, 42, 43, for example show much less concern than the earlier miniatures with where the different objects are placed. This should not be taken to mean that these illustrations are livelier in total effect than the earlier examples cited as the manner of depiction, colour, and quality of drawing is
obviously much lower. It is surprising, however, that at the stage when Arab painting was declining\(^1\) the usual formal arrangement of the paintings was relaxed.

A clear example of how the Mamlûk artists failed to depict reflection scientifically and accurately is shown in Fig. 29. This illustration depicts the account where the hare persuades the lion that there is another beast whom he should attack, thus luring him into the pit.\(^2\) The lion's reflection is on the hare's side of the trench while the latter's protrudes from the rocks on the other side. A comparable type of mistake is to be noted in Fig. 33 where the perspective is impossible. In the position in which the boy is shown standing he could not hold the column as depicted. Alternatively the column which is shown on the same level as the two outer ones forms an impossible architectural construction and indicates a lack of understanding of three-dimensional form.\(^3\)

A further representative Mamlûk feature is the way in which certain supplementary details are shown suspended in space. In Fig. 7 the bowl with a stack of fruit and a platter containing a beaker and two glasses fulfil only a

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1. See the remarks on the *Qānūn ad-Dunyā* in this chapter. *Infra*, p. 54.
3. This was first noted by de Jerphanion, *op.cit.*, p. 52.
symbolic role to call the viewer's attention to the purpose of the painting, in this case a dinner scene. In Fig. 44 a "suspended" jar symbolizes refreshment as does the bowl with fruit in Fig. 62. Fig. 120 is a further comparable example of this idea of the "floating" tray or bowl which is one of the characteristics taken over from the school of Mosul.¹

Another typical aspect of Mamlûk paintings is the use of solid gold backgrounds.² As Ettinghausen points out, this ties the colours together in a mosaic pattern.³ By this means also an additional richness and formal elegance is given to the miniature.⁴

In contrast to the stylized, large-scale human figures, the representations of animals are lively and continue the earlier energetic depictions. This aspect of Mamlûk book illuminations is dealt with in Chapter Five. Suffice it to indicate here, Fig. 30, where a genuine characterization has been attempted and successfully attained.

A last general point concerns the folds of the garments; this was first indicated by Holter.⁵ He calls them "Schnörkelfalten", or scroll-folds, and indicates that they

1. Ettinghausen, op. cit., p. 145.
2. See particularly Figs. 19-25, 39, 56, 70, etc.
3. Ettinghausen, op. cit., pp. 147, 151.
4. This feature is dealt with more fully in Chapter Four.
are based primarily on a realistic representation of folds. This peculiar type of curly decoration is one very sure way of distinguishing these Mamlūk works.\footnote{1}

The influences moulding the style

The rigid Mamlūk style was undoubtedly moulded by external factors. The Mongol influence has already been mentioned. In 1258 A.D. Baghdad was destroyed, "and the Mongols brought a new art, the art of the Far East, into the sphere of the Near East".\footnote{2} The most notable features which were brought to Arab painting by the Mongol invasions are two. One is the facial characteristics and the other is the type and style of costume.\footnote{3} As already mentioned an event of such importance inevitably had repercussions on the styles in the arts. Iranian metalworkers are known to have been dislodged by the Mongols and they took their styles with them to Mosul.\footnote{4} Ettinghausen has pointed out the Seljuk Persian influence in The Book of Antidotes of Pseudo-Galen in Vienna.\footnote{5} Later the artists of Mosul were probably forced to flee again and in this way their mannerisms and styles were probably transmitted to Mamlūk Egypt. Mongol characteristics are to be noted mainly in figural depictions.\footnote{6}

\begin{enumerate}
\item Cf. Figs. 5-7, 12, 16, 27, 45, etc. See infra, p. 116.
\item Martin, Miniature Painting, p. 15.
\item Supra, p. 45. Infra, pp. 105, 106.
\item Ettinghausen, op.cit., p. 92.
\item Ibid. The manuscript is in the Nationalbibliothek (A.F.10). See Fig. 4.
\item Facial types should particularly be noted in the Vienna Maqāmāt. See Ettinghausen, Arab Painting, pp. 148, 150, 151. See also Table Three, particularly Nos. 2, 8, 9.
\end{enumerate}
A clear example of Mongol and Far Eastern style in landscape depictions is to be seen in Fig. 23, as already noted.¹

But the Mamlûk artists were inspired by the other major schools prior to this period, the Mesopotamian school and those of Syria and Mosul. It is natural that they should have drawn to a certain extent on all these styles but the last-mentioned left the greatest mark. This is to be seen in such characteristics as the symbolic representation of the sky, certain geometric patterns, the ripply wrinkles seen on the costumes and textiles, the "floating" tray and other objects suspended in space as mentioned above.²

A Syriac manuscript in the British Museum (Add. 7170) has been taken by Buchthal as a model of the art of the Syrian Jacobites whose manner of painting until then had never been separately studied.³ There are two main traits to be distinguished in this work. One is the existence of whole-page miniatures as in middle Byzantine Gospels. The other is the portrayal of East Christian features such as few architectural adjuncts and the arrangement of a few figures in a row, the figures usually filling the whole of the painting.⁴ "Scroll-folds" appear in Syrian Jacobite manuscripts and Buchthal claims this is foreign to the

1. Supra, p. 51.
2. See the Pseudo-Galen frontispiece (Fig. 4). Ettinghausen, op. cit., p. 145. Holter, "Miniaturschriften", p. 27, writes that "early Mamluk book painting is above all to be understood as a continuation of...the Mosul school", although he does admit Mesopotamian influences.
4. Ibid., p. 139.
Christian character of the illustrations. The Jacobite painter is suggested to have borrowed these folds from contemporary Islamic manuscripts where the folds are part of an already developed style. In the Syriac manuscript they become merely an "enfeebled eclectic ornament".¹ It is made clear that the Christian artist has adopted Islamic elements which he used to replace former Byzantine ones. However, in such a closely woven society ideas and media must have been interchanged fairly readily thus making it very difficult to say definitely which style was prior to another and which played the decisive part in subsequent stylistic developments.

Byzantine influences are undoubtedly to be seen in certain early figural and architectural subjects. For instance, the mosaics at Khirbat al-Mafjar follow Byzantine traditions² and certain Byzantine iconographic types³ and traditions were retained in an adapted way, particularly with regard to the Greek texts which were translated into Arabic. The Dioscorides work in the Topkapi Library (Ahmet III, 2127) reveals typical Byzantine types.⁴ However the illustrated Mesopotamian manuscripts gradually replaced Byzantine concepts with spaces being filled with the details typical of this new "realism".⁵ In Mamlûk paintings

3. E.g. the faces and the folds of the sail in Fig. 1.
4. Ettinghausen, op.cit., pp. 70, 72. "The Grapevine" is an outstanding example of naturalistic art.
5. Ibid., p. 88.
little is left of Byzantine inspiration. Details such as the haloes should not be taken as representative of Byzantine influence as firstly the difficulty of disentangling the different strains has been indicated and secondly the use of the halo is quite indiscriminate in Arab painting. The school of Mosul continued this tradition much longer than the school of Baghdad. Ettinghausen does, however, suggest that the Byzantine tradition of a triangular curtain used to fill an empty space has been continued in f 30v of the Vienna Magāmat. 2

Holter draws attention to the close affinities that the school of Mosul had with that of the Mamlūks, particularly the shadow theatre type of scenery and symbolic portrayals of landscape. The connection with the shadow-theatre is significant as it was popular among the Turks, who were of course so dominant in the Mamlūk kingdoms. 4

The shadow-theatre

It is worthwhile to consider this art-form in a more detailed manner as it should help to explain certain characteristics seen in miniatures of the Mosul and Mamlūk schools. Ettinghausen points out that shadow figures and puppets helped to give an impetus to figural painting and he makes the point that the shadow figures, made of coloured

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1. de Jerphanion, *Miniatures du manuscrit syriaque*, p. 48. See also Fig. 3.
2. Ettinghausen, *op.cit.*, pp. 149, 150. See also Fig. 54.
hide and held against a white screen, resembled the miniatures. The figures are cut out of leather and made up of various pieces; the light is allowed to shine through in certain thinner parts. Kahle carried out experiments with lighting and shows that different results can be achieved depending on whether the lighting is in front of or behind the figure. The edge of the figure is often perforated with holes which serves to clarify the outline. The leather is usually brownish yellow but sometimes is green.

The shadow-play was probably invented in the Far East, the Muslims taking this idea from India or Persia. By the twelfth century puppet plays had been introduced into the western Islamic world and from Egypt they passed on to Constantinople. There the chief character was called Karagöz or black-eyed. Some of the material in the Turkish puppet theatre is possibly taken from "The Thousand and One Nights". It is noteworthy that in Turkey even today the shadow theatre and films of this type are extremely popular.

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1. Ettinghausen, op.cit., pp. 81, 83.
3. Ibid., p. 266.
5. Ibid., p. 691.
7. Arnold, op.cit., loc.cit., states that the shadow plays still exist in Java and he suggests a religious reason for this popularity. Theologians thought that the audience might realize that God directs men's affairs in the way the puppets' are directed.
Holter suggests the possibility of a connection between the shadow theatre and the style of corner-pieces and representations of interiors as portrayed in certain Mamlūk manuscripts.¹ If one considers Figs. 7, 27, 33 and 54 in this light one is reminded of a simple stage setting with the minimum of elaboration and maximum of effect. In Figs. 6 and 27 it does not take much imagination to consider the wooden figures as flat puppets with stilted and jerky mannerisms such as those of marionettes. Holter does in fact point to the influence of the shadow theatre in the representations of human figures in the group of Mamlūk manuscripts and states that "some connections must have existed".² This aspect of setting and puppet-like figures seen in Mamlūk manuscripts is also to be noted in the illuminations produced by the school of Mosul as mentioned above.³ As already discussed there is the possible historical explanation for this connection as ‘Iraqī artists probably fled before the Mongols to Mamlūk Egypt, which alone held out against the invaders at ‘Ain Jalūt.⁴ In this manner the Mosul style of painting was probably passed on to Mamlūk artists.

As Buchthal has pointed out⁵ Mamlūk art is not derived from one single pre-Mongol origin but is a fusion of the

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¹ Holter, op.cit., p. 4.
² Ibid., p. 6.
³ See Fig. 3 which is a representative example of these rather flat-toned compositions.
⁴ Grube, Miniature islamiche, p. 7.
⁵ Buchthal, "Three Illustrated Harīrī Manuscripts", p. 151.
three main groups already noted, notably the Mesopotamian school¹ and those of Mosul and Syria.² This last group was influenced very largely by Byzantine art, particularly in the facial depictions.³ The three groups all contributed a share although probably not in equal parts. The influence of the school of Mosul is undoubtedly more dominant than that of the schools of Syria or Mesopotamia. But as Buchthal indicates the three different stylistic groupings were probably moulded into one single style even before Mamlūk painting reached its full development probably about the mid-fourteenth century.⁴ Therefore Egyptian Mamlūk pictorial art can be considered as a combination of the three schools.

De Lorey pertinently analysed the origins of the Mamlūk style.⁵ He posed two questions. To what extent were the Mamlūk artists the successors to those of the Baghdad school, who, as represented by Wāṣiṭī, the painter of the "Schefer" Harīrī, continued the close adherence to naturalism? Alternatively, did they continue in the styles of the other schools (namely that of Mosul and to a lesser extent that of Syria) which since the 12th century had both developed an

¹ E.g. Fig. 2.
² Fig. 1 is representative of the Syrian influence in the Mesopotamian group of mss. Figs. 3, 4 are examples of the school of Mosul.
³ See Fig. 1, noting particularly the beards and turbans as well as the texture of the sails.
⁴ See Table Seven.
essentially decorative style? He states that it is not possible to answer these questions precisely in spite of Holter's researches. What he does state, however, is that the style is basically conservative and is a heritage of the past. The style "a traversé l'époque mongole sans avoir été profondément touché pour l'art nouveau qui l'a tout au plus effleuré".¹ In my opinion, however, the Mongol or Iranian spirit, as mentioned above, played a substantial part in these monumentalized paintings. Although the previous comments have shown Mamlûk painting to be eclectic and composed of former traditions it soon transformed the originals into its own particular ornamental style.

Various styles of the manuscripts (Bahri)

In his article Buchthal discusses three copies of the Maqāmāt in the British Museum. Or. 1200, written in 1256 by ‘Umar b. ‘Ali b. al-Mubārak al-MaušiI, has connections with the school of Mosul and has close similarities with arabe 3929, a further example of al-Ḥarīrī’s Maqāmāt. Add. 7293 (Figs. 14, 15) and Add. 22,114 (Figs. 8-13) belong to early Syrian Mamlûk art and can be regarded as a middle style between the late Mesopotamian and developed Mamlûk styles,² represented by the Paris Kalīla wa Dimna (Figs. 27-34) and the Vienna Ḥarīrī.

The Milan Banquet of the Physicians reveals characteristics noted as typical of the Mosul school, namely the

¹. de Lorey, op.cit., loc.cit.
². Buchthal, op.cit., p. 147.
objects "suspended" in space in Fig. 7 and the simplified composition of Figs. 5 and 6. However, the beard of the old man on the left in Figs. 5 and 7 is closer to those seen in works attributed to the Mesopotamian school.1 This man's eyes and those of the dark-skinned servant in Fig. 7 are not as narrow and Far Eastern as the other figures' in Fig. 7. In the Maqāmāt in London (Add. 22, 114, Figs. 8-13) and in the Paris Kalīla wa Dimna (arabe 3467, Figs. 27-34) the eyes are all of the slanting type associated with faces of Mongol character. These survivals in the Milan manuscript can be explained by the fact that it is early in date and therefore more liable to be under the influence of the former styles.

Add. 7293 although it is later in date (1323 A.D.) has strong connections with the Baghdad school. It is a useful manuscript in that it shows how the artists built up the pictures. A drawing in pink or red outline was made; gold and lastly colour was added. The work contains only about thirteen miniatures worthy of any study.2 There are numerous folios (ff 9v to 111v) with scribbles and rough drawings of flowers which bear some comparison with those

2. Martin, op.cit., p. 8, dismisses this manuscript as a work of "common quality" and "containing a few sketches of the most extraordinary kind". This echoes Lane-Poole, Saracens, p. 253. (footnote): "The curious figures in certain MSS of El-Harīrī's Maqāmāt are quite exceptional, and probably the work of Christians."
in the Qānūn ad-Dunya (dated 1563 A.D.)\(^1\) and this suggests they may be of that later period. The rough outline of the head of a bearded man, seated cross-legged and holding a rosary on f 62\(^v\) is comparable to the heads shown in the Dublin Furūsiyya, which is dated 1366 A.D.,\(^2\) so these later additions would appear to be datable somewhere between those two dates. In Fig. 14 the folds of the gown on the left are much closer to Abū Zaid's gown in Fig. 2 than to those seen in Add. 22, 114. Although al-Ḥarīṣ's gown in Fig. 14 has a kind of "schmörkelfalten" design, it is not as elaborate as, for example, the blanket in Fig. 12 which is representative of Add. 22, 114. The architectural representation in Fig. 14 is totally different from that seen in Fig. 10 or in Figs. 27 and 33 in the Paris Bidpai. The beards and turbans and the profile of Abū Zaid at the door in Fig. 14 are closer to Mesopotamian influence such as is seen in the "Schefer" Ḥarīṭ (arabe 5847).\(^3\) In Fig. 15 the heads, particularly in the way some are shown in profile and the gestures of the hands\(^4\) are a reminder of works of the Baghdad school.\(^5\) It would therefore appear that this work was produced under a strong Mesopotamian influence, although details such as the plants which are comparable with those in

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1. Cf. ff 15\(^r\), 17\(^v\), 53\(^v\), in particular.
2. Cf. especially f 151\(^v\).
3. Cf. also the third figure from the left in Fig. 12.
4. Cf. the much livelier and natural gestures to the more stilted and unrealistic movements of the hands in Fig. 33.
Or. 1200 and Arabe 3929 and the shape of the jar on f7 indicate the secondary influences of the other two schools of Mosul and Syria.\(^1\) Buchthal goes on to make the claim for a "local Mamluk school in Syria" but there is no evidence in the colophon to support this. On the title-page it is stated that the manuscript became the property of Ibn Jullāb Ahmad al-Mansūlī, mushidd (inspector) of ṣakāt (taxes) in Damascus in 777/1375 and 54 years after the manuscript was written. There is thus no conclusive evidence that it was written in Syria.\(^2\) The probability, however, is that it was produced in Syria by someone familiar with the old styles of painting.

Add. 22, 114 (Figs. 8-13) possesses many outstanding paintings which have clear and simple compositions and a keen concept of line and bright colour. There are also numerous geometric patterns on the costumes (see Table Five). This 
\[\text{Harīrī}\] manuscript is close to the Paris 
\[\text{Kalīla wa Dimna}\] particularly in the representations of faces. The face of the right-hand thief in Fig. 27 shares a remarkable likeness with several of the clean-shaven faces in Fig. 12. The bearded faces of the three hanged men in Fig. 34 are comparable to the left-hand person in Fig. 8. In Mamlūk paintings faces are usually shown frontally or in three-quarter view and not normally in profile. In Mesopotamian paintings the reverse is generally the case, profile or three-quarter view being most common. In Fig. 9 and Fig. 33 two faces are shown

1. Buchthal, \textit{op.cit.}, \textit{loc.cit.} 
in profile. The first example (see Table Three) is particularly close to Mesopotamian examples and may be an indication of surviving Mesopotamian traditions in this manuscript. The faces are very damaged in Or. 9718 which admittedly makes analysis difficult but as far as I am aware there is no example of a profile view in that manuscript. The bearded figure on the right in Fig. 80 is comparable to the left-hand bearded rider in Fig. 8. Add. 22, 114 and arabe 3467 are also close in the depictions of the patterns on the costumes particularly in the "scroll-fold" types. In Figs. 27 and 33 the "scroll-folds" are of the same rigidly delineated type as is shown in Figs. 8, 9, 12. The last example is particularly close to the Paris manuscript both in the hardness of line and the fussy and ornate shape of the scrolls.

The Paris and Oxford Bidpai (the latter dated 1345 A.D.) have been shown to be similar except that the Oxford work lacks the draughtsmanship of the Paris manuscript.¹ The head of the seated man in Fig. 33 is comparable with the head of the man second from the left on f43r of the Bodleian manuscript.² Both heads are thin and long and the beards are very similar. The hood of the gowns is almost identical. An examination of both manuscripts reveals a very close


². Meyer, Costume, pl. XVII, No. 1.
dependence on each other. Both manuscripts appear to share a common source with the Munich manuscript. The Paris work must, therefore, be dated to about the middle of the fourteenth century. Buchthal, by extension, attributes a date of the first half of the fourteenth century to Add. 22, 114. But Ettinghausen has plausibly pointed to analogies in the costume decorations of Add. 22, 114 with the Milan Banquet of the Physicians, which is dated 1272 and which has fresh and brightly coloured miniatures. It would seem, therefore, that the three manuscripts should probably be assigned to Syria and that Add. 22, 114 should be considered in date somewhere between the two other manuscripts, probably about 1300.

The copy of the Maqāmāt in the British Museum (Or. 9718) has not been studied much and this neglect is rectified by Chapter Seven and Figs. 44–122, which show various scenes of life in the Mamlūks' time and are particularly important for the study of costume. The date in the colophon of 12th Junādā I, 1271/1st February 1855 has nothing to do with the text or illustrations. As Rice points out, the last pages of the original manuscript are missing but were replaced by Ahmad b. al-Hitarī at Hyderabad. The date cannot be

3. Ettinghausen, op.cit., p. 147.
5. Rice, op.cit., p. 862.
accurately given as the artist (lived 1232-1310 A.D.) was active for over fifty years.\footnote{1} Rice dates the paintings of this manuscript to the third quarter of the 13th century.\footnote{2}

Many of the costumes bear a close comparison with the Milan Banquet of the Physicians as well as the London Maqamat (Add. 22,114). The left figure in Fig. 45 wears a gown with "scroll-folds" of a very close type to those on the blankets in Figs. 12 and 7. Geometric and floral patterns, as will be shown in Chapter Six, are also similar. The suspended curtain in Fig. 70 is of the same type as the gown of the person on the right of Fig. 9. A further comparison is the end of the turban of the left standing figure in Fig. 60 with the end of the old man's turban in Fig. 7. In both cases it is shown turned in and with a long sharp point.\footnote{3} The settings are more elaborate, e.g. Figs. 65, 66 and occupy more of the total space than in Add. 22,114. This would suggest a closer adherence to Mesopotamian models which, as mentioned before, tended to portray varied details to form a realistic representation. Figs. 3-13 of Add. 22,114 are starker and devoid of elaboration and this implies a

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1. The details of his life are given in a further section of this chapter.
2. D.S. Rice, "The Oldest Illustrated Arabic Manuscript", BSOAS 22 (1959), p. 216. In his earlier article, "Miniature in an autograph", p. 862, Rice dated the book to the early fourteenth century. There are certain additions (e.g. Fig. 50) which from their rough and unskilled appearance suggests they are late additions. They are comparable to the later line scribbles inserted in Add. 7293.
3. Cf. also Figs. 6 and 63.
later date for this manuscript and an earlier dating for Or. 9718. Rice himself says that this latter Maqāmāt is "a Damascene MS which closely adheres to a Mesopotamian model".\(^1\) The impression of the architectural scenes, such as Figs. 46 and 51, appears to have less of the linear quality seen in Figs. 10 and 11 where thin black lines create a much more precise pattern. This again points to not such a stylized and fully developed Mamlūk style. The arrangement of the books in Fig. 45 with a large use of gold frames is perhaps based on the conception seen in Fig. 5 where the jars are each placed in an individual alcove and the same kind of gold surrounds can be seen. This is further evidence to be borne in mind when considering the dating and style of this work. As Or. 9718 bears comparisons with the Milan Banquet of the Physicians (1272 A.D.) and the London Maqāmāt (Add. 22,114; c. 1300 A.D.) it seems fair and probable to date it somewhere between those two dates.

However the "scroll-folds" seen in Figs. 45, 49, 55 and other examples in Or. 9718 are quite close to those seen in Figs. 27 and 33 of the Paris Bidpai. They are also not very far removed from those on the loin-cloth in Fig. 16 of the Milan Jahiz. This and the fact that some of the facial characteristics are alike, e.g. Fig. 48\(^2\) and the left-hand face in Fig. 27 must also be considered and would suggest a date nearer 1300 than 1275. However the Paris work displays

\(^1\) Rice, "Oldest Arabic Manuscript", p. 217.
\(^2\) Table Three, No. 2.
a greater tendency to outline objects¹ and I would claim that Or. 9718 is undoubtedly closer to Add. 22,114 and the other Milan manuscript than to the Paris Bidpai or Milan Jāḥiẓ.

The Milan Kitāb al-Ḥayāwān (Figs. 16-18) has similarities also with arabe 3467 and the Oxford Bidpai, particularly in the costume patterns. The cover of the giraffe on Fig. 16 with designs of birds and floral patterns and the florally decorated gowns of two of the women in Fig. 17 are not dissimilar to those seen in Fig. 34 although the Milan patterns are more elaborate and suggest a greater development. The plant forms in Figs. 16 and 18 are cruder than those in the Paris manuscript but have a strong likeness with those in the Oxford Bidpai.² Lamm concludes that the Munich, Paris, and Oxford Bidpai manuscripts are the "most closely related to the Ambrosian fragments" but, apart from pointing to the difficulty of characterizing the Mamlūk style, he does not suggest a date. My analysis based on the costumes, plants and bright colours would place it about the mid-fourteenth century close to the Paris and Oxford works.

The Cambridge Bidpai has many illuminations.³ There is, however, a lack of finesse in the paintings and details such as the plants are not elaborate. The costumes are often left as plain areas of colour and this lack of adornment

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¹ E.g. Fig. 34, etc.
² Mayer, Costume, Pl. XVII, Nos. 1, 2.
³ See Figs. 34A, 34B.
is rare in Mamlūk manuscripts. Walzer suggests the illustrations are the work of an inexpert copyist working with little originality.¹

**Burjī Styles**

So far the styles discussed have been concerned with the works produced in the Bahri Mamlūk period. A word must be said about the subsequent manuscripts illustrated in the Burjī Mamlūk period (1390-1517 A.D.). The Kashf al-Asrar (Figs. 37-39) is one of the most elaborate works. Each miniature has a gold frame and gold backgrounds are not uncommon.² This adds a great richness to the work, whose illustrations are quite accomplished. A large part of the illuminations which deal with flowers reveal a certain lifelessness and in general there is more ornamental form and less characterization than in the Bahri works. Compare for instance Figs. 25 and 38. In both cases there is a pair of confronted owls but in the former great attention has been paid to such details and highlights as the claws, the feathers on the breast and head, and the eyes. A sense of texture has been attained particularly in the claws. In Fig. 38, however, the claws have been scored with some parallel dark lines and the hair on the body and head is totally unrealistic. The eyes, the beak and the shape alone of the head reveal a much weaker understanding of the birds and indicate the way which Mamlūk painting was to take. The building in Fig. 39 is interesting in that it affords us some


2. E.g. Fig. 39.
details of Mamlûk architecture.\footnote{1} However, in artistic technique the painting is totally lacking in comparison with the scenes from Add. 22,114 or Or. 9718 (Figs. 10, 46, 51, etc.) and indeed is almost crude in its construction. It does not have the fineness of line nor the detail such as the brickwork in Figs. 10 and 46. The bats are also roughly portrayed in contrast with birds in the Escorial Bestiary.\footnote{2} Ettinghausen favours a Syrian provenance\footnote{3} but the book may well have been brought privately from Egypt at the time of Selim's conquests. Certain of the words used, e.g. \textit{durra} for "parrot" are more common in Egypt. Professor Süheyl Ünver thinks it is most probably 15th century or between the 14th and 15th centuries.\footnote{4} I think an early date in the 15th century is the most satisfactory attribution as the stylization and decoration in the corner-pieces in Figs. 38 and 39 do not go as far as that seen in the costumes of arabe 2824 (Figs. 40, 41).

The four \textit{Furûsiyya} manuscripts should be considered together to give an idea of the style. The work in the Chester Beatty Library is undoubtedly the best preserved. In it the colours are very bright and the costume patterns continue the "scroll-fold" technique though in a much more rigid manner than those of the \textit{Bahri} works already examined. In fact the folds cease to have any possible realistic value and become purely a surface pattern of line. The manner of

\footnotesize
1. \textit{Supra}, p. 56.  
the depiction of the horses is extremely good and ranks with the earlier illuminations such as Fig. 19. In fact apart from the much less lively facial depictions, and some are little more than brief line drawings, the work continues the high standard of painting.

Wide use is made of gold for the horses' trappings and such details as the riders' spurs, the stirrups, and the edge of the saddle-cloths. These covers are highly decorative and usually have bold floral patterns.¹

Arabe 2824 is closest to the Chester Beatty work although it is approaching a hundred years later in date. The horses bear comparison with the Furūsiyya in Dublin but are much more linear in their depiction. The heads, manes, and tails particularly are much less effective and this deterioration in the fineness of line and colour is continued in arabe 2826 (Figs. 42, 43) where there are no colours except for certain highlights in gold² and occasionally in red. These illustrations are line drawings and should not be considered as paintings.

I am inclined to place the de Unger Furūsiyya somewhere between arabe 2824 and 2826 in date. The costume patterns are more simplified than in the former Paris manuscript and the zumūt hats are crudely painted. The horses, however, and the overall appearance is more accomplished than arabe 2826. Mostafa suggests a date around the time of the Ottoman

¹. E.g. f 166².
². In Fig. 42 the four clubs and the mens' hats are in gold.
invasion. He comes to this conclusion on account of the linguistic style and technical terms used as well as the rules of handwriting.¹

These four books are more interesting from a historical point of view than as works of art as they display a great variety of exercises and games. Fig. 40 illustrates the la‘ab al-dabbūs, or mace game. This is mentioned by Ayalon as one of the "branches" of the furūsiyya.²

Lance exercises were popular during the Mamlūk period and two riders practising their skill are shown in Fig. 41. The lance exercises constituted a central feature of the Mahmil procession³ and were introduced by Sultan Baybars in 1267-8 when he built the Maydan al-Qabaq.⁴ It is known that Baybars was fond of lance exercises⁵ and Ibn Iyās mentions how the reservists of Qā‘it-Bāy had to practice before him to show their skill.⁶ The game shown in Fig. 41 is the birjās game or sawq al-birjās. Lane-Poole compares this to the jerīd game,⁷ which was a kind of jousting with lances and was reserved for princes, pages, and court officers. Each town had an area reserved for this pastime and on certain days tournaments took place in front of large crowds.⁸

3. The caravan of the pilgrims to Mecca. See f94⁵ of the "Schefer" Harīf (Ettinghausen, op.cit., p. 119).
5. Lane-Poole, op.cit., p. 35.
7. Lane-Poole, Cairo, p. 178.
Mazaheri mentions how Ibn Jubair was present many times in the suburb of Damascus at the Bāb al-Faraj and states that each town had a stadium for archery with a central pole having a pumpkin\(^1\) or ring on top as a target.\(^2\) This is what appears to be illustrated in Fig. 41.

Fig. 43 would suggest another aspect of this exercise of shooting up at an elevated target from horseback\(^3\) and Fig. 42 may well be an illustration of the mace game or *fann ad-dabbūs*.\(^4\)

The Automata manuscript in Paris (arabe 2477) is not an outstanding book. Its miniatures are in very few cases finished to a high degree. A large number of unfinished drawings (some in red line are comparable to Add. 7293) and blank spaces make this a mediocre book from the artistic point of view. The two Automata works in the Bodleian (Greaves 27 and Fraser 186) are also not of outstanding artistic value.

The Qānūn ad-Dunya in the Topkapi can be considered as representative of the final phase of Mamlūk painting. The paintings are not outstanding and the manner of depiction

\(^1\) J. D. Latham, "Notes on Mamlūk horse-archers", BSOAS 32 (1969), p. 258, points to a Central Asian origin for the practice of using a gourd as a target. The word *qabaq* is Turkish for a gourd and Taybugha 'l-Baklamishi 'l-Yūnānī defines *qabaq* shooting as that directed into the sky.

\(^2\) Mazaheri, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

\(^3\) Latham, *op. cit.*, p. 265, gives 12 possible kinds of shot after Taybugha. The number of references to a person's skill in archery and horsemanship in their obituaries shows the importance attached to these attributes. Cf. Ibn Iyās, *op. cit.*, pp. 113, 133 among others.

\(^4\) Ayalon, *op. cit.*, p. 46.
is roughly done. The style is coarse and the colours have little subtlety or attraction. The faces and heads of the figures, e.g. the prophet Moses with other figures on f59r, are of a poor quality of depiction and the flowers, shrubs, and trees, particularly in the earlier illuminations, are comparable to some of the scribbles seen in Add. 7293. The manuscript, in such illuminations as f14r of a man holding a carp or f51r of the men cleaving the sea, bears a resemblance to the style seen in the small lower illustrations in Fig. 36 of Abū Ma'shar al-Balkhī's treatise in Paris (arabe 2583). The accompanying notes round the text are in Ottoman Turkish. Some supplementary notes have been inserted in the text. Most of the miniatures are full-page but they lack the richness and lavish use of gold found in earlier manuscripts, e.g. arabe 3467 (q.v.). Some of the bright colours are almost harsh. There are many diagrams and plans of varying interest, including a large number of religious sites.¹ The paintings are, however, typical of the late Mamlūk style - a style in decline.

The Artists and Scribes

It is unfortunate that the artists of these works remain for the most part unknown. The Bestiary in the Escorial Library is one of the four works with a definite signature, the others being Or. 9718 in the British Museum, the Automata manuscript in the Süleymaniye Library and the

¹. See Chapter Eight.
Qanûn ad-Dunyâ in the Topkapi Library.

The author of the Escorial manuscript is given as 'Alî b. Muḥammand b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzîz b. Abû'l-Fatḥ ad-Duraihim al-Maṣūlî (i.e. of Mosul) and he is described as the author-calligrapher and illustrator. The artist died in 762/1360-1. This nisba, as Holter points out, appears to have obvious references to the town and its art of the 13th century which, as explained above, influenced early Mamlûk art to a great degree. Holter in his fine study of this school says that "the miniature painters appear, however, to be identical with the writers" and this is borne out by the Escorial Bestiary's colophon, which states that "the completion of its marvellous arts and its paintings are due to the aforementioned ʿAbd al-ʿAzîz.

The second manuscript containing a signature is the copy of the Maqâmât in the British Museum (Or. 9718), where on f53r (Fig. 65) there is the inscription:

"Ṣanaḥu Ghâzî b. ʿAbd ar-Rahmān ad-Dimashqî" which Mayer first pointed out. This means that it was the work of Ghâzî, who was responsible for the painting at least and possibly for the calligraphy. The representation of the house in Fig. 65 is crowned with this ṭīrāz.

4. Ibid.
inscription which is in large ornate Kufic script, similar to "Qarmathian" Kufic.¹

Ghāzī b. 'Abd ar-Rahmān ad-Dimashqī (the Damascene) "the skilful calligrapher, was born in 630/1232/3 and studied hadīth but especially calligraphy. He excelled in the writing of the mansūb, and followed the style of Waliy al-‘Ajamī. He used to say that no-one had ever written like him. For more than fifty years, Ghāzī copied books for people, and all the good calligraphers of Damascus were his pupils, like Ibn al-Sayyid al-Najjār, Ibn al-Baṣīṣ, and al-Akhlaṭī. Shihāb (al-dīn’s) knowledge of (the theory of) calligraphy was greater than his practice. He had a vile tongue and died in Shawwal 709/March 1310, at the age of eighty or thereabouts".²

Fadlallāh b. Abī al-Fakhr as-Saqāṭ writes in Tāh Kitāb Wafayāt al-A‘yān, which is a continuation of Ibn Khallikān’s work, that Shihāb ad-dīn did not cease working until he died and how much he rejoiced in his life.³

The third signed manuscript is the Automata in the Süleymaniye Library (A.S. No. 3606). Here the scribe is given as Muḥammad b. Abī Ahmad al-İzmīrī. He was possibly responsible for the illustrations too. As already mentioned in Chapter Two, this scribe probably went to the Mamlūk court as it would have been a more stable base than Turkey, where the Ottomans under Orkhan were beginning to expand and take over

3. Ibid., p. 863 (footnote).
smaller dynasties such as the Karamanoglu.

The colophon in the Topkapi Library Qānūn ad-Dunya has the name of Ahmad Ḥasan as-Saʿūdī thus making four signed works in all.

The only other named painter of this period that I have come across is mentioned in Martin's book where we are told that Khwājah ad-Dīn b. Daya was the painter and chamberlain to the court of Baybars (653-676/1260-1277). No signed work of his appears to have survived. It must be remembered, however, that the practice of signing miniatures was rare possibly owing to the humble status of the artist. He was known as a mudhahhib, or gilder rather than as a musawwir, or "one who forms", as the verb sawwara has Qur'anic overtones, the act of creating being the exclusive prerogative of God. This may be why the artists were content to remain in relative obscurity in order to avoid incurring displeasure brought about by offending religious principles. It is worth noting here in contrast that the calligrapher received religious sanction because he was engaged in copying the Qur'ān. He was thus awarded a much nobler status than the painter.

1. Martin, op. cit., p. 111. Holter, "Miniaturhandschriften", p. 28, lists Add. 7293 as No. 75 and states that the scribe is Ḥamad b. Jalba al-Maṣūlī. As shown above, however, this is a mis-reading of the title-page.

2. Arnold, Painting in Islam, p. 71. See also B. Farès, "L'art sacré chez un primitif musulman", BIE 36 (1955), p. 640. Farès suggests that Vol. 11 of the Kitāb al-Aghānī in the N.L., Cairo, is possibly signed in the corners. This would be an addition to the number of signed Mesopotamian works.

The Number of Illustrations

The number of miniatures in each manuscript varies quite considerably. The Maqāmāt in London (Add. 22,114) has eighty-three miniatures, whereas the Dublin Furūsiyya has nineteen and The Banquet of the Physicians in Milan only eleven. The illumination of this latter manuscript was, however, not finished. 1 Similarly Add. 7293 in the British Museum has only eleven paintings of any note but contains many line drawings of varying quality and a very large number of blank spaces particularly from flllV to f285v. Holter suggests the possibility that it was intended to treat only of tracings. 2 The Automata in Paris (arabe 2477) has forty-three illuminations and line drawings but in addition has some unfinished sketches which I have not included in my count. 3

The average taken from sixteen manuscripts works out at fifty-nine miniatures per copy but this is based on figures given by Holter of certain works I have not yet been able to check. 4 By and large the earlier Mamlūk works such as the two accomplished London Ḥarīṭās (Add. 22,114; Or. 9718 with seventy-nine paintings), the Paris Kalīla wa Dimna (arabe 3467 with fifty miniatures), and the Vienna Maqāmāt (seventy illustrations) are richer than the later

1. See Chapter Eight.
3. See Chapter Eight for a detailed account of each manuscript and its number of paintings.
4. Holter, "Miniaturenmalerei", p. 4. The Munich Bidpai and the Vienna Maqāmāt have not yet been checked.
books, particularly those done in the Burjī period. The Kashf al-Asrār has only thirty-five miniatures and the Dublin Furūšıyva nineteen, as already mentioned. This is because the level of artistic activity, which was so great under the Bahrī Mamlûks, levelled off under the succeeding dynasty whose art has remained almost completely unknown.¹ Works of the Burjī period such as The Order of the World and her Wonders in the Topkapi Library, Istanbul (Revan 1638) are a sad example of this decline and contain a continuing repetition of poor quality paintings.²

2. E.g. ff 118v and 119r, illustrated, Ettinghausen, op.cit., p. 180.
CHAPTER FOUR
THE FRAMES AND SETTINGS

Most Mamlûk miniatures are enclosed by some sort of frame which separates them from the text. The frames are always kept quite apart and never interact with the script.1 Arab illuminated books generally have the script separated from the illustrations. This is not the case with Persian painting where text and illuminations often interact.2 Ettinghausen has pointed out that the method of framing miniatures with lines is a symbol of the constricting and decaying influences which were to close in on and succeed this last phase and flowering of Arab painting.3

Basically two types of frames are found. One is composed of thin coloured lines often with decorative additions at the corners, both within and without the frame.4 The other consists of certain architectural elements and is used to portray interiors.5 This second type is normally fairly simple. In general large use is not made of landscape and there is virtually no background decoration; this adds to the simplicity and freshness of the paintings.

The Bestiary of the Escorial has frames formed of double black lines themselves surrounded by a thicker blue line with ornate additions external to the frame at each

1. E.g. Figs. 24, 25, 26, 36, 37 etc.
2. Gray, Persian Painting, pp. 35, 39. The second illustration shows clearly how the miniature was extended into the outer margin.
3. Ettinghausen, Arab Painting, p. 137.
4. E.g. Figs. 7, 19ff, 56, etc.
5. E.g. Figs. 27, 33, 54, 67, etc.
corner. This is a regular feature used throughout this work. The miniature of the two cranes (Fig. 23), the fish (Fig. 26), and the crabs (f126r)\(^2\) are the only three paintings in the book possessing any form of setting. In the first there is a symbolic stream with plants and in the latter two an abstract design for the sea. An identical form of corner addition in blue is displayed in the single Bidpai leaf in the Freer Gallery of Art. This illustrates the Bear and Two Monkeys. Ettinghausen dates this painting to the second quarter of the 14th century.\(^3\) However, the parallel with the Bestiary (1354) may be an indication of a date around the mid-14th century. This is substantiated by the extensive use of gold for the background. External corner additions to the frames are found very often in the Vienna Maqāmāt.\(^4\) They are usually blue and are simpler than those in the Escorial book. In the Oxford Maqāmāt all the miniatures have an outer blue frame with corner additions, identical to those of the Escorial Bestiary. Some of the frames (e.g. f72v) have these decorative additions in the middle of the sides also. All the paintings are outlined with a single black line within the blue frame. In some cases (e.g. f45r) there is a double black line\(^5\) and occasionally two double black lines (e.g. f28r). In Or. 9718 the same

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1. E.g. Figs. 19-26.
3. Ettinghausen, op.cit., p. 141.
4. Ibid., pp. 150,151; Holter, op.cit., pp. 3 (No.2), 4, 8, 9 (No. 8), 11 (No. 11).
5. Ettinghausen, op.cit., p. 152; Holter, op.cit., p.3 (No. 1).
type of corner decoration is used. The only example is Fig. 56 but this suggests a possibility of others now lost.

In the Milan Kitāb al-Hayāwān there is no formal frame and often a thin line or section of ground with shrubs forms the base of the picture. In Fig. 17 two tall plants which incline inwards to the painting form the two sides of and serve as a frame for the miniature. In the other Milan manuscript (A.125 inf.) a thin base line or a frame consisting of architectural elements contains the miniatures. The latter type is simplified and is constructed from simple pillars with corner-pieces (Fig. 7). The corner-pieces, three blue and two purple, occur in five out of the eleven paintings and are decorated with tendril patterns. They occur so frequently in only two other manuscripts, the Kashf al-Asrār and Or. 9718. In the latter, however, they are normally connected with more elaborate architectural scenes and are not used so much as a single, isolated motif. It is therefore a feature which seems to have been widely used and cannot be relied on as an accurate dating control. In Fig. 5 the frame consists of jars placed on the shelves of a pharmacy. This format reflects the Mamlūk artists' liking for geometric patterns.

The Paris Kalīla wa Dimna (arabe 3467) has no surrounds other than those produced by landscape elements or narrow

1. E.g. Figs. 16, 18.
2. E.g. Figs. 5–7.
4. See Figs. 56, 62, 65 etc.
pillars to indicate an interior. (Figs. 32, 33). A notched
green line is often used as the base of the miniature lending a degree of continuity to the manuscript. This
feature is found frequently in Add. 22,114 (Figs. 8, 10, 11)
which the Paris work has been shown to resemble in some respects. Holter was the first to indicate that it is not
common for the Bidpai manuscripts to be enclosed by a linear frame. This is borne out by the copies in Munich, Oxford,
Cambridge and Paris, whose close connection Mrs. Walzer
analyses most succinctly. The only exception I know is the
leaf in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, of the Fables of Bidpai.

Linear frames are to be found, in addition to the Escorial Bestiary and the Oxford and Vienna Maqaṃat, in the
Kashf al-Asrār. This manuscript (Lala Ismail 565) has
broad gold frames which are outlined with double black lines.
In one of the Rūṣiyya manuscripts, the Kitāb al-Makhzūn in Paris (arabe 2824), the miniatures and surrounding text
are bordered with thin double black lines although the paintings themselves extend beyond the frames. The Dublin
manuscript has no surrounds to the illuminations. The title
to each painting is, however, sometimes given at the side
which makes a three-sided textual kind of frame. In two of

1. E.g. Figs. 28-32, 34.
2. Cf. Chapter Three, supra, pp. 71, 73.
5. Ettinghausen, op.cit., p. 141.
the London Ḥarīṭīs (Add. 7293, Add. 22,114) the frames are usually built up of architectural or landscape elements (Figs. 14, 10, 8). Fig. 8 is neatly framed by the segment of sky at the top and the grass at the bottom. The two plants which complete the sides have been used in a comparable manner to that seen in Fig. 17. In Fig. 10 the two characters are enclosed by the two tall buildings which serve the purpose as framing objects, while at the same time adding interest to the total mise-en-scène. Fig. 14 is not so clearly marked because the person of Abū Zaid protrudes beyond the line of the building on the left. The other three sides, however, are clearly delineated. In Fig. 15 the gown of the man standing on the left falls in a well-marked manner and it is not fanciful to envisage the two outside figures being used to mark the edge of the painting. In the third London manuscript (Or. 9718) some of the miniatures have formal frames of gold borders,1 or incorporate parts of the gold borders into architectural features as in Figs. 50, 54, 67. Many of the paintings use landscape depictions as surrounds,2 as has been shown with regard to Add. 22,114. Certain of the "throne-scenes" such as Figs. 59, 74, 77, use the back of the pulpit or seat as the edge of the miniature.

**Purpose and Origin of the Frames**

As has been mentioned in Chapter Three the representations of the buildings are of a great variety. The bricks

1. E.g. Figs. 45, 55, 56, 65, 70, etc.
2. E.g. Figs. 46, 73 which both use trees as framing devices.
are of differing colours and the roofs often have crenellated battlements of a variety of colours. In Fig. 50 the sections are regularly painted in red, blue, purple and green. Other roof coverings consist of sharp angled gables (Fig. 51), domes (Figs. 51, 86) and cupolas (Figs. 10, 45). Some of these latter forms when halved are used for corner-fillings (e.g. Fig. 27). These framing devices may have a connection with the shadow-theatre discussed in the previous chapter. They undoubtedly give the appearance of a simple stage setting. This is also to be noted in the Kashf al-Asrar which has gold frames and double black lines with decorated corner-fillings. This latter feature, the rigidity of the miniatures, and the fact that many of the paintings are divided into three vertical parts by arches suggests the probability of a theatrical inspiration. In Many Mamlūk paintings curtains suspended from the roof (Figs. 12, 50, 70) or tied in to the sides (Figs. 54, 66) serve as additions to the frames and help to unify the frame with the content of the painting. These curtains give scope for elaborate surface patterns as will be discussed in Chapter Six.

Colours

The colours used by Mamlūk painters appear to be of a wider range than the earlier Mesopotamian works. In general the Mamlūk illuminations are much brighter and have a fresher appeal. This is probably due to the artists using a more

1. Holter, op.cit., p. 7 (No. 6).
2. Üner thinks it is Egyptian. See footnote 4, supra, p. 80.
3. Cf. f6v, illustrated, Ettinghausen, op.cit., p. 159.
two-dimensional approach and with larger figures and subsequently larger surface areas the colours are more striking. Earth colours predominate in the Escorial Bestiary where fine, delicate linework is apparent in nearly all the miniatures (Figs. 20, 21). As has been indicated¹ this manuscript reveals Far Eastern influences, and this feature would appear to be a further example of this probability.² The red-brown horse (Fig. 19) has a canopy edged in blue with white etchings. The hexagonal design is of two shades of green with red and blue at the centre of each hexagon.³ The artist of this manuscript seems to have been able to cope with feathers and scaly textures better than with skins and hides. This is shown in the painting of the eagles (Fig. 24) where the white talons show up the scaly surface. The brown feathers, and the delicate lines on the necks and beaks, give an almost tangible appearance, whereas, for example, the brown hide of the buffalo (f13v) or the etching on the flanks of the pigs (Fig. 20) is a little less carefully painted in.

Shades of purple, red, and pink are particularly common in the costumes. In Or. 9718 blue and purple followed by yellow and green occur most often in the costumes. The following table gives a comparison in declining order of the occurrence of the various colours of the textiles in this Harriri manuscript.

1. Supra, p. 51.
2. de Lorey, op. cit., p. 232, where he compares these miniatures with the frescoes at Bazaklik.
3. See Table Four, type 2A.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency of Occurrence</th>
<th>Colour</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>(Figs. 45, 47, 50, 52, 57, 59, 63, 66, 72, 88, 91, 109, 114, 116, 122).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Purple</td>
<td>(Figs. 45, 47, 48, 52, 54, 58, 72, 81, 86, 88, 92, 104, 112).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Yellow</td>
<td>(Figs. 47, 48, 61, 63, 66, 78, 81, 84, 88, 91)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Green</td>
<td>(Figs. 47, 48, 52, 54, 56, 64, 66, 81, 115, 116)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Red</td>
<td>(Figs. 45, 47, 61, 70, 87, 91, 100, 109).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Brown</td>
<td>(Figs. 48, 60, 67, 68).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>(Figs. 47, 54, 56, 72).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Pale Blue</td>
<td>(Figs. 48, 60, 81).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Gold</td>
<td>(Figs. 50, 54, 70).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>(Figs. 47, 61, 122).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ultramarine</td>
<td>(Figs. 62, 70).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Cream</td>
<td>(Figs. 55, 60).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Peach</td>
<td>(Fig. 54).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Pink</td>
<td>(Fig. 74).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Bottle Green</td>
<td>(Fig. 74).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Or. 9718 the outlines of the costumes are often done in the same colour as the dress itself. This lessens some of the hardness seen in Add. 22,114.\(^1\) The backgrounds of the former manuscript, if not gold, are either red (Figs. 45, 64), orange (Fig. 56), or pale blue (Fig. 70).

Bright reds and bottle greens are normally used for succulent plants in the whole group of manuscripts. Often

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1. Cf. Fig. 109 with Fig. 8 for instance.
the colours have no connection with reality. In the Paris Kalīla wa Dimna the rocks in Fig. 29 are done in purple and orange. In a way the colours, though brighter than those in the "Schefer" Ḥarīrī (arabe 5847), are not so delicate and at times the effect is almost harsh, particularly with such a frequent use of gold in addition. Add. 7293 has many preliminary line drawings and these are usually in pink or red (Fig. 15). Then the gold and lastly the colours were added.

The Use of Gold

A gold background for many of the miniatures is a feature of Mamlūk painting which has already been mentioned.¹ Gold leaf in painting dates back to ancient Egyptian times and al-Maqrīzī (died 1442 A.D.) records that in his time gold-beaters followed their trade in the Funduq al-Mahmandār in Cairo.² Blochet claimed that its introduction to the East was due to the works of the Italian primitives becoming known there and that it was not drawn directly from Byzantine influence.³

I am more in agreement with de Jerphanion, however, who states that it is clear that the gold backgrounds are a reminder of Byzantine miniatures or perhaps of monumental decoration in mosaic.⁴ It is probably a legacy of Byzantine

4. de Jerphanion, op.cit., p. 27.
art which can be seen in the mosaics of the Dome of the Rock and in the Dioscorides manuscript of 1229 in Istanbul.¹

The Vienna and Oxford Ḥarīs together with the Kashf al-ʿAsrār make the fullest use of gold for the backgrounds and the effect is highly ornamental. Gold underlines the importance of the painting and brings out its noble and glorious character.² It gives the figures a solemn appearance though the gold haloes, which were originally intended to draw the viewer’s attention to the head, are thereby lost and make less impression. Gold leaf is used also for armband decorations and occasionally for bowls and dishes (Fig. 7); this may be intended to suggest lustre. The Kashf al-ʿAsrār, the Bestiary of the Escorial, and Or. 9718, make the largest use of gold for the frames as well as the backgrounds of the miniatures.³ It is to be noted, however, that schools other than the Mamlūks used this feature of a gold background, notably Persian miniature painting of the Timūrid period.⁴

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¹. Illustrations, Ettinghausen, op.cit., pp. 68, 69, 71.
³. Cf. Figs. 39, 19ff, 70.
CHAPTER FIVE

HUMAN AND ANIMAL REPRESENTATIONS

It is perhaps through the depictions of people that the very core of this art is reached. This was first pointed out by Holter.\(^1\) All types and classes of person are shown and through them and their actions some invaluable scenes of the daily life of this period have been preserved.

**Facial Depictions**

The faces are normally shown in three-quarter view (e.g. Figs. 9, 12, 34, 48 etc.) and there is less of the Semitic type of profile which is one of the characteristics of the Mesopotamian school.\(^2\) The faces generally are of a Mongolian cast with flat, square faces, heavy chins, small mouths, and slanting eyes with thin eyebrows. Most of the men wear beards and long hair and some of the boys have their hair tied in pigtails (Figs. 9, 33).\(^3\) The beards and moustaches are of a Far Eastern inspiration. De Jerphanion writes that faces of a "Turanian type" are to be seen in the Paris Bisipai.\(^4\) The same flat, expressionless type of representation used for beardless youths is comparable with that used in the depictions of women. The faces of the boys in

2. See Fig. 8 and the third face from the left in Fig. 12. See also Table Three, No. 7. These faces have a strong Semitic character.
Figs. 9 and 13 are very close to the faces of the maid-servants in Fig. 17. This latter miniature depicts Umm Ja'far, the daughter of Ja'far b. al-Mansūr, by a fishpond.¹ The faces of women, when they occur, are usually shown veiled. Because of this and as they are technically not showing their face, their eyes have not been rubbed out.² Many of the boys have beauty spots and curly side-locks, particularly those in the frontispiece of the Vienna Ḥarīrī.³ Grube traces the development of this Central Asiatic style from the seventh century Uighur kings to Sāmarrā', and the Fāṭimid facial depictions.⁴ It appears in the Capella Palatina and in the manuscript of Bayād wa Rayād in the Vatican (arab 368). It also appears in a muted form under the Mamlūks. But the broad-nosed, Mongolian faces and inanimate characters of the Vienna  

Maqāmāt are different from Add. 22,114 in the British Museum where a much closer dependence on the Mesopotamian school appears likely.⁵ A Syrian provenance, which seems most likely for this work, would have been more under the influence of the earlier traditions than the further-removed Egyptian school. These differences within the Mamlūk group of manuscripts must not be forgotten. The centre based at

¹. Lōfgren, op.cit., p. 27. Note her painted finger and toenails. See also Fig. 6 where the woman has painted fingernails.

². E.g. Figs. 6, 54, 60, 91. Also Table Three, No. 3.


⁵. See the profiles in Figs. 9, 12, 13 and the ginger-bearded representations of al-Ḥārith throughout this ms.
Damascus produced a livelier, more realistic type of figural depiction than the more ornamental Egyptian group of manuscripts, of which the 1354 dispersed Automata leaves, the Oxford Ḥarīṭ, and the Escorial Bestiary are examples. Lamm finds "certain archaizing tendencies" apparent in Egyptian art towards the end of the thirteenth century and in the first half of the fourteenth century. He calls attention to the new "naturalistic and impressionistic" tendencies which the Mongols brought from the East about 1300 A.D. He finishes by mentioning the difficulty of characterizing the Mamlūk style, as does Holter.¹

Sharp, long noses characterize the Paris Bidpai and the two Milan manuscripts,² which are in all probability of Syrian origin. The beards there are of a less full type than in the Oxford and London Maqāmāt. This is shown by the two thin black beards in Figs. 7 and 27 and the much fuller beards which cover more of the cheek in Figs. 10, 12, 14. Or. 9718 has facial depictions with a thinner type of beard, however.³ These depictions are close to the Milan Banquet of the Physicians, and this is a further point to be considered when attributing a date to this Maqāmāt. Unfortunately Or. 9718 is too badly damaged to allow of any definite general conclusions. The Oxford Maqāmāt displays faces which in their linear and flatter depiction are closer

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2. E.g. Figs. 6, 17, 27.
3. See Table Three, Nos. 2, 6.
to those of the Burjī manuscripts, presently to be discussed. The beards do not have the same solidity of colour and form as, for example, in Add. 22,114 and possibly an attempt at greater realism has been made by showing individual strands of the beards rather than treating them as an area of colour. Arabe 2583 in Paris has a completely different iconography. The figures are of a later date and possibly betray Turkish influence which preferred brighter colours and a bolder composition.¹

Negroes are depicted. In Fig. 36 a very dark-skinned man fills the lower left section. His feet are crudely painted but the white hair and beard are delicately indicated. He wears a long loin-cloth as does the slave in Fig. 16. This latter loin-cloth is decorated at the hems. The slave wears a long shawl whose ends are portrayed in the same manner as the turban in Fig. 6. This slave who holds a long thin staff is not as dark-skinned as the man in Fig. 36 and his features still follow Mongol traditions. His dark hair parted down the middle is comparable with that of the boy in Fig. 11² and the shape of his face and the line of the nose and eyebrows are comparable with the other faces in the same manuscript. Only the eyes are perhaps a little rounder which may be intended to indicate Negroid characteristics.³ In Fig. 7 the left-hand

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¹ Ettinghausen, *op. cit.*, p. 163. He mentions the Turkish influence in the frontispiece with Badr ad-Dīn Lu’lu’ and the Vienna *Maqāmāt*, pp. 64, 149.
² See Table Three, No. 9.
³ Cf. f37_v of the Vienna *Maqāmāt*, Ettinghausen, *op. cit.*, p. 151. The Negro slave’s face follows completely different traditions. It is long and has a large rounded chin.
servant is shown in profile. His face is the lightest coloured of the three figures mentioned. It shows up well the round staring eye which appears to look frontally rather than sideways. This may be intended to express surprise although in general little emotion is expressed in Mamluk paintings. The only way emotion is expressed is through the varying ways hands are portrayed. This is clearly shown in Fig. 15. The hands of Abū Zaid's son are stretched out in supplication while the man addressed is shown arguing in a rather defensive position. The two standing men at the upper left of the painting are earnestly engaged in conversation while two of the seated elders are obviously in a reflective mood. As Arnold points out the composition of the scene has a probable connection with Christian representations of Christ discoursing with the doctors. However, the subject of the forty-first Magāma of Tanūs describes how Abū Zaid's son urges his listeners to provide charity and money, which he then spends on food and drink with his father.

Little emotion is shown in the manuscripts produced in the Burjī period and the figures become even more stilted. In the Paris Books of Farriery (arabe 2824, arabe 2826) the faces are of a completely different kind to those just mentioned. In the latter manuscript (Figs. 42, 43) the faces are little more than quick line sketches. The noses are of a squarer, flatter type and the eyes and eyebrows are almost a pattern with the eyebrows joined at the bridge of the nose. In Figs. 40, 41 the men's hair is always short whereas in the

Bârî manuscripts long hair is more normal.\(^1\) The noses are indicated by a sharp line and the faces are more pointed. This lessening of the Mongoloid features possibly indicates an attempt to depict a Turkish type of face.\(^2\) These faces are far removed from those of the earlier manuscripts of the Bârî period which have been discussed.

Hair is usually painted black but there are exceptions. Abû Zaid is often depicted with a full grey beard to distinguish him from the other characters,\(^3\) and al-Ḥārith is sometimes given a red beard, particularly so in Add. 22,114. This colouring was frequently reserved to indicate non-Arabs.\(^4\) The same trait also appears in the "Schefer" Ḥārîrî.\(^5\)

Costumes

1) Court and Military

A wide variety of costumes and clothing is shown in Mamlûk manuscripts and most of the subsequent information has been compiled from L.A. Mayer's Mamluk Costume. The frontispiece to the Vienna Ḥārîrî shows the prince wearing a qaṭār or tight-sleeved coat, with a sallārî over it.\(^6\) This has wider and shorter sleeves. He has a belt of gold and has brown suqma, or shoes, on. On his arms the ṭīrāz, or honorific formula,\(^7\) can be seen. Originally this was reserved

- \(^1\) E.g. Figs. 7, 8, 27, 48.
- \(^2\) Cf. the face on f6\(^\text{v}\) of the Kashf al-Asrār, Ettinghausen, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 159.
- \(^3\) E.g. Figs. 9, 12. Also the old man in Figs, 5, 7.
- \(^4\) E.g. Figs. 10, 11, 14. This may, however, have been purely a means of identification for the reader.
- \(^5\) Ettinghausen, \textit{op.cit.}, pp. 114, 115.
- \(^6\) Ibid., p. 148.
- \(^7\) Mayer, \textit{op.cit.}, pp. 33, 34.
for those who possessed an iqṭa', or land fief. Under the Mamlūks, however, it became simply a decoration. On his head is the kalauta. This cap was originally yellow, then red, and was an official headdress. The texture of the coat, which portrays the ripply wrinkles or "scroll-folds", is probably meant to suggest watered silk. Mayer suggests that Qalqashandī's use of the word mumawwaj ("with wavy lines") may indicate a material like watered silk. Mayer states that 'Uthmān b. Jaqmaq received a satin coat with a pattern of wavy lines (atlās mutammar). Maqrīzī defines this material as "Alexandrian silk woven with gold thread". As Mayer points out, this is probably the kind of rich material which is portrayed so frequently in Mamlūk illuminations. The two figures at the lower right of the Ḫanīfī frontispiece wear zamṭ caps which were typical among the later Burjī military classes. The acrobat in front of the prince has his gown fastened by a zunār, or girdle. The sharbūsh, which marked an Amīr of the Bahri Mamlūks, was "a stiff cap trimmed with fur, rising to a slightly triangular front, and characterized by a metal plaque above the forehead." The sarāqūj was a tall, conical hat and the khaudha was the general term for a helmet.

2. Cf. the German "Atlas" for satin.
4. Ibid.
5. Cf. Table Two, No. 6 and Fig. 52.
7. Possibly Table Two, No. 2.
8. See Fig. 36. The second figure from the right in the lower section wears a helmet.
2) Ecclesiastical Costume

Ecclesiastical costume is portrayed by the ʿimāma, or turban which often was very long.¹ The ʿfarāba, or scarf, was worn over it and the neck, falling on to the shoulders.² The black dress of the khatīb, or preacher, indicated allegiance to the ʿAbbāsids.³ Sultan Baybars installed a member of the ʿAbbāsid family as a puppet caliph in Cairo in 1261 A.D., thereby continuing the fiction and charisma of the Caliphate. The artist's use of black has, therefore, to be seen in a political context. Ecclesiastics did not wear ornate clothes, i.e. those of watered silk, since these were forbidden. Theoretically, therefore, no watered patterns should appear in ecclesiastical depictions. However, in Fig. 105 where Abū Zaid is shown moralizing to the congregation his gown is patterned with "scroll-folds" thus indicating that the artists did not always portray traditional scenes accurately.

3) Women's Costume

The women wore qumsān, or chemises, which reached to the knees. Below this were worn sarāwīl, or long trousers. Over the whole person was the ʾizar, or wrap.⁴ These wraps and the men's turbans were coloured distinctively for Christians, Jews, and Samaritans, but the colours shown in the manuscripts are

1. See Fig. 74.
2. See Table Three, No. 6. The privilege of wearing the ʿfarāba was originally held only by the chief qāḍī of the Shafiʿites but in 663 A.H. Baybars allowed the other three judges to wear it. Mayer, op.cit., p. 51.
3. See Fig. 85. Also f94r of Add. 22,114.
4. See Fig. 6.
not necessarily significant. They are probably the expression
of the artist's keen sense of colour and pattern. The
‘īsāba, or piece of cloth, was wound round the hair and was
worn under the izār.

4) Men's Costume

The men usually wear bright leggings and long, richly
patterned coats or gowns with gold arm-bands and gold borders
at the lower ends and on the sleeves, as well as white turbans.¹
These sometimes had a rafraff, or tail-piece.² Turbans of
many other kinds are shown. Table Two is an indication of
the variety shown in Or. 9718 alone. Only slaves did not
have the right to wear a turban. They wore felt hats. All
free men wore a shashiyya, round which they draped their
coloured turban.³ In the Paris and Munich Fables of Bidpai
some figures are portrayed wearing a loin-cloth with a sash
across the chest.⁴ A loin-cloth is shown in Fig. 16 and an
oarsman in Fig. 76 wears breeches with a sash across his
chest in the manner mentioned above.⁵ Blochet supposed this
was the result of Indian influence.⁶ Similar half-naked
figures appear in the Vienna Maqāmāt and this feature is
probably to be taken as a representation of the lower classes.⁷

1. There are many examples, the best perhaps being Figs. 10
and 34 (the standing figure at the right).
2. Holter, op. cit., p. 7. E.g. Figs. 6, 14, 45. Also Table
Two, Nos. 1, 8, 10.
4. E.g. f36v of the Munich ms.
5. Table Three, No. 5.
Genre Scenes

The actions of the people are varied and scenes of daily life are common. In the Paris Bidpai there is a miniature of a couple having sexual intercourse (fl6r) and in the Milan Kitāb al-Ḥayawān an example of sodomy is seen (fl8r). There are scenes of theft (Fig. 27) and scenes of the hunt, trials before qādīs (Figs. 52, 55, 56, 100, 101, 102, 104, 112) and before rulers and governors (Figs. 59, 78, 103). There is a scene of three hanged men (Fig. 34). Pictures of banquets, sometimes with musicians, are not uncommon (Figs. 7,13), nor are drinking parties (Fig. 62). Scenes in libraries (Fig. 45), pharmacists' shops (Figs. 11, 116), views of tents (Figs. 9, 81, 82), and camps on journeys (Figs. 8, 48, 109, 110) and pilgrimages (Figs. 91, 92), are shown as are inns (Figs. 87, 88), mosque scenes (Figs. 34B, 53, 74, 85, 105) and funerals (Fig. 60). There are scenes in bed (Fig. 12), at wedding feasts (Figs. 70, 71), and in boats on the Euphrates (Fig. 76), as well as at school (Fig. 114). All these add up to give a vivid picture of life under the Mamlūks.1

Animal Representations

One of the most notable features of Arab painting is the keen sense of observation in representations of animals. This truth to life is often lacking in the paintings of human beings. This has been noted by many scholars and seems to be an inherent Semitic trait.2 Successful and convincing portrayals

1. See Chapter Seven for a detailed analysis of genre scenes and events in Or. 9718.

of animals can be noticed as far back as the Assyrian reliefs. Scenes of the hunt and domestic and wild animals were common in Roman and Byzantine mosaics and, after the Arab painters, this great sense of realism was continued by the Persian and Indian painters. Jahāngīr seems to have shown an interest in natural depictions and his painter, Maṇṣūr, produced a host of animal and flower paintings in a fresh, natural style.¹

Arnold writes that "throughout the many works in which animals appear, they receive a sympathetic treatment at the hands of the painters of one generation after another, until this attractive series of animal art attains its finest expression in India".² This is echoes by Martin: "Nor was it only human beings that the Arabs depicted so well. They were perhaps still closer observers of animals and the distinguishing traits peculiar to each of them".³

The "Schefer" Ḥarīrī (arabe 5847) provides one of the finest Arab animal paintings ever produced, "The Drove of Camels".⁴ The art of the Mesopotamian school did not lose contact with nature as it was to do later.⁵ Patient observation taught it values other than abstract rhythm and imposed rules other than those of strict frontality.⁶ However, although Mamlūk painting became more abstract the Mamlūk artists

4. flol⁷, Ettinghausen, op.cit., p. 117.
5. Under the Burjī Mamlūks in particular.
did not extend this abstraction to the treatment of animal
depictions and the former realism was continued.

The Escorial Bestiary displays a naturalism which bears
witness to the skill and anatomical knowledge of the painters.
There is little fantasy and the animals have a precise
appearance almost like those of a zoological text-book. This
is increased by the fact that all the Bestiary's miniatures
are painted on a gold ground, itself very well preserved, and
this and the lack of background combines to give a simple and
restricted style, particular to the Mamlûk school of painting.
The text of each chapter on the various animals is divided
into such detailed sections such as the brain, liver, kidneys,
intelligence, size, smell, flesh, urine, blood and so on,
giving an extremely thorough account. The tail of the camel
on f14r is portrayed in a spiky manner as though it were a
thorn. This can be seen also in the Vienna Harîrî and is to
be understood as a continuation of one of the features of
the school of Mosul.¹

The book is divided into four sections: 1) On domestic
animals (f2r) 2) On wild animals (f28v), 3) On domestic and
wild birds (f68v), 4) on kinds of fish (f117v). The identical
construction of the heads, and the stylization, make it clear
that all the animals were painted by one hand.² In this
manuscript all the animals are shown in pairs, indicating male
and female.

¹. K. Holter, "Die Galen-Handschrift und die Makamen des Harîrî
der Wiener Nationalbibliothek", Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen
Sammlungen in Wien, N.F. 11 (1937), p. 30, Cf. Fig. 109.
There are some striking resemblances between the various Mamlūk manuscripts. For example the hares on f31° of the Bestiary (Fig. 21) are comparable with "The king of the hares with his subjects" of the Paris Bidpai (Fig. 30). The position and way they hold their paws expresses very real characterization, particularly in the supplicant hare whose ears are humbly laid back. The king of the hares has a strong, almost human air and this is echoed in the miniature from the same manuscript where he is with the king of the elephants (Fig. 31). This picture bears a remarkable similarity to f99° of the Oxford Kalīla wa Dimna. In the Paris manuscript, however, the elephant's fore-feet have been tampered with and toes and anklets added. Originally the animal's feet were in the water, as in the Oxford illustration.

The pond of goldfish in the Milan Jāhiz (Fig. 17) is comparable in the depiction of the scales and heads with the fish in the Escorial Bestiary (Fig. 26). The former illustration is, however, more mobile whereas the latter displays the fish in a rigid manner all swimming to the left. These two manuscripts are particularly close in the depiction of the heads and hind-quarters of the animals. In these manuscripts all the animals are shown moving from right to left and in the Oxford and Vienna Maqāmat, illustrations to the forty-fourth and thirty-first maqāmas respectively show the camels moving in this direction also.¹ This movement from right to left is

¹. In the Bestiary ff98°, 99°, 100° (Fig. 25), 131° portray the birds and toads in confronted pairs. Cf. also Fig. 38 of the Kashf al-Asrār. In this manuscript ten types of birds are shown between ff17° and 25°, 29°, 33°, 35°. Four animals are shown between ff38° and 41°. The last two face left.
seen in Figs. 8, 42 and in Or. 9718 in Figs. 66, 91, 92, 109. In this manuscript the birds in Figs. 44, 46, 47, 67, 69, 79, 82, 117, are all either flying to the left or facing in this direction. This feature occurs frequently in the earlier Mesopotamian manuscripts but not so consistently as in these Mamlûk works.

The varied portrayals of animals and birds are very penetrating. In Fig. 32 the owls seem emotionless, and regardless of the terrible calamity which is occurring to them. The observation in the crows' wings and in the different patterns of flight is notable and this is further seen in the picture of the battle between the owls and crows on f66V (Fig. 28). Both these miniatures are in Paris. The London Harrî (Add. 22,114) has many miniatures which have painstaking representations of flying birds purely as decorative additions (e.g. Fig. 9). The camels in Fig. 8 are depicted in a clear, linear style comparable with those in Figs. 91, 92, 109. The Kitâb al-Ḥayawān of Jâḥîz in Milan has a large number of vigorous animal paintings though they appear coarser than the above-mentioned representations. The ostrich on f10r has an ungainly but natural look. The crocodile (Fig. 18) is less realistic. A bird is shown picking the crocodile's teeth. "What is more extraordinary than a bird earning a livelihood by means of cleaning a crocodile's teeth? This is a means of living for the bird and a relief for the crocodile. And what's more remarkable than two birds...?"

2. Lofgren, op.cit., pp. 32, 33, quoting from Jâḥîz.
The giraffe’s covering (Fig. 16) is, according to Lamm, the only motif in this manuscript which is up to date and not a continuance of archaic traditions. An interesting feature is the adornment of the giraffe and other animals with anklets and necklaces. This seems to be purely a decorative addition arbitrarily inserted.

Other manuscripts concerned with animals are the Books of Farriery. In the two Paris works the depictions of the horses are not very accomplished, simply consisting of linear drawings in arabe 2826 (Figs. 42, 43) and only slightly more elaborate coloured depictions in arabe 2824 (Figs. 40, 41). In the Dublin manuscript, however, the illustrations of the horses are of a high quality, particularly in such highlights as the heads, the manes, and the hooves. It is interesting to note that all the twenty-seven horses in this book, except for that shown on f151v, have their tails tied up in the manner seen in Figs. 19, 40.

The astrological treatise of Abū Ma‘shar al-Balkhī (arabe 2583) has a frontispiece of the Devil with demon animals (Fig. 35) which betray a Turkish or Central Asian origin. These are comparable with the drawings and paintings said to be by Siyāh Qalam. The only other depictions of monsters in the

1. Löfgren, op.cit., p. 35.
2. Cf. the elephant in Fig. 31, the demons in Fig. 35, the camels in Figs. 48, 92.
manuscripts consulted occur on ff72r, 73r of the Paris Automata. In the Istanbul Qānūn ad-Dunyā dragons are shown on ff15v, 16v but these do not have the Central Asian appearance seen in Fig. 35.
CHAPTER SIX
DECORATION AND ORNAMENT

Textile Patterns

A means of distinguishing and dating manuscripts of the various schools is the differing patterns on the clothing and textiles. They became increasingly more developed and Bahri Maluk painting made great use of the stylized patterning referred to in Chapter Three. Holter calls these patterns "scroll-folds". There were also, however, purely geometric patterns, formed most often from the square or hexagon. A third type of pattern is that of tendril and floral designs.

"Die Schmörkelfalten können als leitmotiv der ganzen Gruppe gelten, sie sind in allen Handschriften das häufigste Ziernovis. An exception to this group is the Munich Bidpai. This "scroll-fold" ornamentation appeared in the Vienna Galen (mid-13th century; from Mosul) where it is already rigid.

The connection with the school of Mosul has already been noted and these Mamluk patterns must therefore be understood as an extension of that school. The Oxford Maqamat exhibits the closest resemblance to the Mosul manuscripts and "the

1. Supra, pp. 62, 63.
2. Ettinghausen, op.cit., p. 144, distinguishes the "scroll-folds" or "ripply wrinkles" from a type "composed of large ovoid shapes with darker shades along the lower edges". These are, however, only an elaboration of the "scroll-folds" and have been treated as part of the same group.
4. Ettinghausen, op.cit., p. 91.
drawing of the garments, too, has further advanced so that the designs indicating folds have no connection with the natural fall of a fabric. The *Bestiary* of the Escorial uses the same type of decorative pattern in the shells of the tortoises (f123v) and of the crabs (f126v) and in the backs of the toads (f131r). A similar form is used for the trunks of trees in the *Bidpai* manuscripts of Paris, Oxford, and Cambridge (Fig. 30).2

The *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* displays costume patterns which have a connection with the Northern 'Irāqī mannerisms. They are seen also in the Paris *Pseudo-Galen* manuscript.3 They clearly show, however, the way in which the garments were treated as flat areas for decoration. In the picture of the giraffe (Fig. 16), the man leading the animal wears a loin-cloth embellished with scroll-folds while the giraffe has a covering decorated with tendril patterns and birds. In Fig. 17 the costumes of the women depict the swirling type of tendril pattern which is widely used throughout Or. 9718 and to a lesser degree in Add. 22,114 (Figs. 9, 11,12, 13). These latter two manuscripts have also a large number of "scroll-fold" decorations and geometric patterns.4 The *Maqāmāt* in Vienna has a mixture of all three forms but the handling of the folds and patterns is rougher and much less accomplished.

2. de Lorey, "Bestiaire", p. 236, states how close the ornamental patterns of the shells of the crab are to the "scroll-folds" in the Paris and Oxford *Bidpais*.
4. See Tables Five and Six.
In f87v the figure of al-Ḥarīth has a gown with rather large and simplified patterns, while the servant's yellow gown has "scroll-folds" so stylized that they resemble an interlocking chain.

The Milan Banquet of the Physicians has predominantly "scroll-fold" patterns with very few geometric or tendril decorations. These last two types would appear to be representative of the more mature Mamlūk style. In the Paris Bidpai for example all the three types are used (Figs. 33, 34). The one manuscript of this group which continues to use styles of patterning which are close to Mesopotamian manuscripts is Add. 7293. Fig. 15 is an unfinished drawing but the looseness of line and the brief indication of folds together with the much less stylized "scroll-folds" shown in Fig. 14 are reminiscent of the Mesopotamian style. A possible explanation is a Mesopotamian origin of the artist or that he was copying from a previous manuscript. The pulley shown in Fig. 14 is comparable with fl4v in the Istanbul Ḥarīṭī which may have been a model.

The Burjī Mamlūk works have a completely different method of depiction of textile patterns. Arabe 2824 (Figs. 40, 41) shows rather carelessly indicated lines or a stiffened and tauter type of "scroll-fold". This type, which is seen in the right-hand man in Fig. 41, is the sort most widely used in the Dublin Furūsiyya manuscript. It gives the appearance almost of a type of mail or of overlapping plates of metal.

1. Ettinghausen, op. cit., p. 151.
2. Grabar, "Newly Discovered Manuscript of Ḥarīṭī", pl. 1, Fig. 1.
In arabe 2826 thin black lines are the only indication of folds on the textiles and no patterns are portrayed.

**Geometric Decoration**

For the sake of convenience Holter's divisions of the types of geometric patterns have been used.¹ The numerical divisions have been followed and extended and particular note has been made of the patterns in Or. 9718 (Table Six). Type 1 is formed of squares while Type 2 is made up of hexagons. Types 3 to 7 are of individual shapes which occur less frequently.

1) **Holter's classifications**

1A is found in the 1354 *Automata*.²

1B in the Oxford *Maqamat*, the 1354 *Automata*, the Munich *Bidpai*.

1C in the Munich *Bidpai*.

1D in the Vienna *Maqamat*.³

1E in the Munich *Bidpai*.

1F in the Munich and Paris *Bidpais*.

1G in the Munich *Cazwin*⁴

¹ See Table Four and Holter, *op.cit.*, p. 10.

² Holter, "Miniaturhandschriften", p. 27, No. 73, gives the Persian *Bidpai* manuscript (B.N. Pers. 2025) as a Mamlük work. This manuscript has rightly been assigned by Gray to the Shīrāz school of c.1300 and is close to certain Shāh Nāmas produced there. See B. Gray, "Fourteenth century illustrations of the Kalilah and Dimnah", *Al* 7 (1940), pp.134-140.

³ The ornamentation of this book is mostly of a honeycomb or six-cornered model. See Holter, "Galen", p. 34.

⁴ This is not to be considered a Mamlük work. It was produced at Wāsiṭ in 1280. See Ettinghausen, *op.cit.*, pp.138-140.
2A in the Vienna Maqamat.
2B in the Oxford Maqamat.
2C in the Oxford Maqamat.
2D in the Escorial Bestiary, Persian Bidpai.
2E in the Oxford Maqamat, Munich Bidpai.
2F in the Munich and Oxford Bidpais.
3A in the Oxford Maqamat.
3B in the Oxford Maqamat.

2) Further additions.
1G in the London Maqamat (Add. 22,114).
2B in Or. 9718.
2D in Or. 9718.
2E in the Oxford Bidpai, London Maqamat (Add. 22,114),
Astrological Treatise (arabe 2583).

3) New Classifications.
1M in the two London Maqamat (Add. 22,114, Or. 9718).
2G in the two London Maqamat, the Paris Bidpai.
2l in the two London Maqamat.
Types 1H to 1L, 2H, 2J, 2K, occur only in Add. 22,114.
4A in the two London Maqamat.

4) The following table gives the place of occurrence of the above and further types in Or. 9718.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency of Occurrence</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>(Figs. 49, 55, 66, 84, 85, 88, 94, 100, 103).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>2A</td>
<td>(Figs. 58, 60, 64, 75, 80, 81, 105, 119).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>7A</td>
<td>(Figs. 51, 56, 65, 82, 94, 104, 119).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>2Q</td>
<td>(Figs. 62, 64, 67, 86, 101, 102).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>2M</td>
<td>(Figs. 44, 56, 68, 100, 117).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2D</td>
<td>(Figs. 64, 70, 75, 96).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>2G</td>
<td>(Figs. 70, 75, 105).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>2I</td>
<td>(Figs. 57, 103, 111).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>2L</td>
<td>(Figs. 54, 85, 109).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>5A</td>
<td>(Figs. 73, 74, 77).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1N</td>
<td>(Figs. 48, 99).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1M</td>
<td>(Fig. 45).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1P</td>
<td>(Fig. 58).</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2B</td>
<td>(Fig. 46).</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2G</td>
<td>(Fig. 98).</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2M</td>
<td>(Fig. 99).</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2N</td>
<td>(Fig. 72).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2Q</td>
<td>(Fig. 52).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2P</td>
<td>(Fig. 50).</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>3B</td>
<td>(Fig. 63).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>4A</td>
<td>(Fig. 78).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>6A</td>
<td>(Fig. 99).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These geometric decorations are found in Mamlūk materials and damasks. Saddle-cloths are shown decorated in this way in the Escorial Bestiary in the illumination of the horse (Fig. 19) and on fl6r in the depiction of the elephant. Similar

geometric patterns are seen in woodwork, particularly star formations. 1 Mihrabs and lecterns are often decorated in this geometric manner favoured by the Mamlūks which is "the hallmark of this style". 2 This abstract decoration was particularly popular under the Mamlūks and Ayyūbids and is probably a reflection of the more orthodox aspect of these societies. This was in reaction to the heretical Fatimids. The art of this latter dynasty was highly distinctive and there were no inhibitions in the portrayal of living forms. 3 There was more concern with movement and action and "the Fatimid artists were to a certain extent able to break the ties of tradition in style and iconography and to approach the world around them with eyes more aware of unnoticed aspects of life than the preceding Muslim periods". 4 It was probably in reaction to this realistic style that the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk artists turned to a rather severe form of decoration. The Arabs, of course, had a special genius for these geometric patterns as they had for arabesques. The former is "an expression of geometrical speculation", the latter "a sort of graph or rhythm". 5 "There is no better symbol, in the visual order, of the internal complexity of

1. E. Kühnel, "Der Mamlukische Kassettenstil", Kunst des Orients 1 (1950) pp. 55-68. Both wood and bronze decorations are treated in this article.
2. de Lorey, op.cit., p. 236.
Unity ... than the series of geometrical figures contained in a circle, or the series of polyhedrons contained in a sphere.\(^1\) The minbars gave the Mamlûk artists ample scope for geometric patterns, many of them identical with the costume decorations. These are often shown in the miniatures (e.g. Fig. 53).\(^2\) The minbar patterns bear a strong resemblance to the ornamental title-page or *'anwan* of Qur'ans. "In the second half of the twelfth century a new international style based on complex star configurations arose within the Muslim world"\(^3\) and its apogee was in the middle of the fourteenth century when the Mamlûks commissioned the decorating of beautiful Qur'ans.\(^4\)

There is a possibility that the trellis pattern may be derived from the mushrabiyya work, or lattice-screens, which were prevalent under the Mamlûks.\(^5\) Bricks also are to be found arranged in geometric patterns, often of differing colours to accentuate the rhythm.

**Floral Decoration**

It has been pointed out that the arabesque represents moving life and "furnishes place for the idiosyncracies of the artist".\(^6\) Arabesques, which were usually produced out of

4. See Musa, *op.cit.*, plates 17-45.
the Muslim artist's unwillingness to create a specific form,¹ are normally composed of two elements, the interlace and the plant motif. There are various types of floral decorations displayed in the spandrels and other architectural features of certain of the Mamlûk manuscripts (e.g. Figs. 37, 38, 39, 66). However, the normal decoration in the spandrels consists of tendril patterns, which when spiral can pass for an arabesque.² These tendril shapes with palmettes and coarse branch patterns should be considered as a separate group within this section. They are characteristic of the fourteenth century and came into use under the Mamlûks through the new Mongol influences which have already been mentioned.³ These patterns can also be followed in wood-carving and bronze inlays.⁴ As they occur in the Oxford and Vienna Maqâmât, dated 1337 and 1334 respectively, and in the undated Munich and Paris Bidpai manuscripts⁵ this can be used as an additional guide for dating these latter two manuscripts to the second quarter of the fourteenth century. The coarse branch patterns are found most often in the Munich Bidpai, where they sometimes appear in a thin form. They are frequently found in the Oxford Bidpai and the Vienna Maqâmât.⁶

3. Holter, op.cit., p. 11.
4. See Rice, Islamic Art, p. 136, Fig. 136 and Kühnel, Islamic Arts, p. 176, Fig. 142.
5. Holter, op.cit., p. 5, Fig. 4.
Calligraphy

A final form of decoration is that of the script. Calligraphy was the art "most highly valued by the Muhammadans themselves"\(^1\) and it is reported that the Prophet said: "Beauty of handwriting is incumbent upon you, for it is one of the keys of man's daily bread".\(^2\) The calligrapher, because he was engaged in copying the Qur'\(\text{\textae}n\), "which represents the visible body of the Divine Word",\(^3\) had a very different and superior status to that of the painter. The script in all the Mamlūk manuscripts consulted at first-hand is naskh of varying sizes. The only two exceptions are No. 668 Riyaḍa in Cairo and the Kitāb al-Ḥayāwān in Milan where examples of thuluth are seen. All the titles are in larger gold letters.\(^4\) The custom of using gold ink is first found in Jewish literature and appears to have an Eastern origin.\(^5\)

The main text in all the manuscripts is in black ink but notes and additions in red or black ink are often to be found in a more cursive hand round the margins. In the Paris Automata the rubrics are in blue.\(^6\) Sometimes, as in the Escorial Bestiary and Add. 7293 in the British Museum, the titles are in white on a gold ground, itself frequently decorated with tendril patterns of a similar kind to those

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2. Ibid., p. 2.
4. In the Kashf al-Asrār purple and red titles are found.
6. See Chapter Eight for fuller details.
seen in certain of the spandrels. In the Bestiary this motif was usually reserved for a new grouping or chapter. Otherwise the titles are given in gold lettering above the frame, but often the name of the animal illustrated is painted in white naskh script within the frame itself.
CHAPTER SEVEN
MANUSCRIPT Or. 9718 IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to describe thoroughly the seventy-nine miniatures in this copy of the Maqamāt. For other details concerning the work see Chapter Eight.

The titles and folio numbers of the individual magāmas are included in order to help the reader identify the scenes portrayed. In some cases where there is a pair of illustrations to a magāma, the second carries the story illustrated in the first a stage further (e.g. Figs. 91 and 92). The chapter headings and references to where tafsīr1 occur may also be of help and guidance to anyone referring to the manuscript itself.

Each miniature is given a title and referred to the relevant illustration. In some cases where the scene is not easily identifiable (e.g. Fig. 93) a general title has been given. Each miniature has been measured, although some of the measurements are approximate, as many of the edges have disappeared (e.g. Fig. 71). There are very few complete illustrations with a surround. In such cases as Fig. 64 about half the miniature is missing. The size of the paintings varies but they are usually about 11 centimetres high and 13 centimetres wide. A few are square (e.g. Figs. 65 and 114).

The detailed descriptions include information on clothing,

1. The word tafsīr ("commentary") is used in the text itself and does not have a Qurʾānic sense here.
furniture, household goods, armour, architecture, natural life and so on. The patterns of the gowns, always important in establishing dates of Islamic miniatures, are reproduced in Tables Four-Six.

The details in the photographs of the miniatures (Figs. 44-122) are unfortunately not always clear. Moreover, gold has not been successfully reproduced. Nevertheless, certain of the miniatures which look a little dull and monotonous in these photographs have in fact a very rich appearance in the work itself; many of their gold backgrounds and highlights, such as the haloes and arm-bands, are reasonably well preserved. Although certain of the textile patterns and compositions are repetitive, evidently suggesting that the illustrations are the work of a single artist working in a unified style, the colours and their combinations, the varied tendril patterns and such stylized motifs as the fruit strewn on the ground, have to be seen in the original to be fully appreciated.

Most of the miniatures originally had gold borders and the text proper never intrudes. Where some script does impinge on the illumination, these are later glosses (e.g. Figs. 72 and 80). In Figs. 16, 18, 28, and 42, the text and illuminations are in varying degrees of closeness. In Fig. 45 the text may be considered as an addition to the roof but this proximity is not normal.

The scale of the paintings is smaller and more delicate than those of Add. 22,114 and they have less of the flatness which characterizes the latter manuscript.\(^1\) This is probably

\(^1\) Cf. Figs. 8 and 91, 9 and 91, 10 and 51, 11 and 116 etc.

The scale of the photographs of Or. 9718 is fairly accurate. The paintings are about the same size as the figures.
because Or. 9718 is of an earlier date and therefore follows the Mesopotamian originals more closely than Add. 22,114. There is more attempt made to render form and there is not such a bright mosaic pattern of colour. This is partly because Or. 9718 is damaged but also because the colour is spread over larger single areas in Add. 22,114 (e.g. the tent in Fig. 9). In both manuscripts large use is made of geometric patterning on the textiles (see Tables Five and Six).

If one excludes the fact that almost all the faces have been rubbed out through iconoclastic zeal which even removed facial decorations of the sun (exceptions are Figs. 93, 96, 97 etc.) the manuscript is in a reasonable state of preservation.

Large use is made of outline but, as it is often applied in a matching colour, this lessens the hardness which is seen in Add. 22,114. Features such as the haloes, scroll-fold gowns with arm-bands, "suspended" platters, the facial depictions, the gold backgrounds and so on will be seen to be representative of the Mamlūk school, although they do not form so developed a style as in Add. 22,114.

**First Maqāma (Sana‘ā)**

*f5r*

*f7r* Abū Zaid discoursing in a cave. (Fig. 44).

8 x 12 cms. Three figures are to be seen against a rocky background which has purple decorative scroll patterns. These, however, are not so stylized as in Add. 22,114. At the top left are two birds with red beaks and cream-grey

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bodies. They face to the left, a trait which in animal depictions has been noted. The background is of royal blue against which in the middle is a tall, red jar. It has a slender base and a wide brim and represents the qulla. They are usually made of grey, porous earth which keeps the water cool. The faces and haloes are damaged. The large use made of haloes is noteworthy. This was originally a Byzantine motif but was possibly adopted by the Islamic artists working in Syria who would have been aware of Byzantine artistic traditions. However, the use of the halo was arbitrary in Arab painting and may have been inserted purely for decorative reasons. The miniature has been cut at the base.

Second Maqāma (Jūlwan)  

fSV  
f9v Abū Zaid with al-Ḥarīth in the public library at Basra. (Fig. 45).  

10.8 x 12 cms. This miniature shows how books were stored in mediaeval times. They were laid flat, one on top of the other, and the name was written upon the front of the outer case or upon the edge of the leaves. The composition is in two horizontal halves. As was mentioned in Chapter Three the usual division of Mamlūk paintings is in three vertical parts (e.g. Figs. 54, 65, etc.). However, this double horizontal division is echoed in Fig. 17 and to a lesser extent

1. Supra, pp. 112, 113.  
3. Supra, p. 66.  
4, Lane, op.cit., p. 190.
in Fig. 12. Both halves are here surrounded by a gold frame.\footnote{Cf. supra, p. 94.} The frame is surmounted at the left by a grey onion-shaped cupola with a gold crown and heart-shaped finial. Below are three tiers of books with three layers of books in each tier. Below the books are six figures but all except the left two are damaged. The painting has a red background and a green base to the lower half.

Third Maqāma (Qa‘īla\footnote{In Add. 7293 this is named Dīnāriyya after the account of Abū Zaid’s begging.})

\textit{fll}\textsuperscript{V} Abū Zaid, al-Ḥārith and a third figure. (Fig. 46).

15.5 x 13 cms. Abū Zaid is on the right by a tree, which has a purple, knobbly trunk. At its base is a green, succulent creeper. The fleshy leaves in gold and the coloured fruits perhaps indicate a mulberry bush which has fruits of varying colours and which was widely cultivated as it grew in all types of terrain.\footnote{Mazaheri, \textit{op.cit.}, pp. 245, 246.} To the right is a blue, long fork-tailed bird (a swallow?). At the left is a brown brick building with a blue brick dome and a gold finial. To its right is a short tower of yellow brick in which is a window with a grille (i.e. a mushrabiyya).\footnote{Mushrabiyya, "drinking-place", was where the water was placed to keep cool. Lane-Poole, \textit{Saracens}, p. 75.} This is intended to represent the mamraq, which had lattice-work sides and which was surmounted by a cupola, in this case a grey dome, and is probably a portrayal of a private house.\footnote{Lane, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 14. Cf. Figs. 10 and 14.} To the left is a damaged
tower of purple brick. The two figures below the building are damaged. Abū Zaid holds a staff in his left hand which perhaps indicates his pretended lameness. Originally at the base of the miniature was a row of bricks with a grassy ground. This can still be faintly seen through the thin paper which covers it. (It is, however, only partly visible in Fig. 46). This was done probably to repair the thinness of paper which was possibly caused by the iconoclast's damage.

f\textsuperscript{13}v Abū Zaid leaving three figures. (Fig. 47).

11.5 x 13 cms. Abū Zaid is seen leaving to the left. A succulent tree is almost identical to the representation in the previous miniature (q.v.). The white bird flying to the left is of the falcon family. The person on the right wears a purple "scroll-fold" gown, a colour which recurs frequently in this manuscript, possibly due to cheapness or availability of pigment. The three figures are seated on a wall consisting of three layers of brown brick. The building at the rear has a blue brick cupola and small side towers.

Fourth Maqāma (Damietta) 

f\textsuperscript{14}v Al-Ḫarīth during a night halt. (Fig. 48).

11.2 x 13.5 cms. Al-Ḫarīth is shown with four other figures during a night-halt en route to Damietta on the Nile. Abū Zaid and his son are at the top left. The former sits in an odd pose with his bare knees outspread and his heels touching. He holds a black staff in his right hand. At the left of the miniature are four camels with their long-haired attendant who remains awake with the baggage. The animals are delicately
outlined in black.¹ His eyes are shut and his face is a very fine example of the Mongol features to be noted throughout this manuscript.² His yellow turban is of the same type seen in Fig. 45 and Table Two, No. 1. The camels have gold collars.³ At the rear are brown rocks decorated in the same manner as Fig. 44.

f16v Al-Ḥārith and five others round a camel. (Fig. 49) 11.1 x 12.3 cms. The painting, which is badly damaged, shows three figures to the right by a thin, ornate and stylized tree. At the left are three figures with the remains of a shrub. A grass base and segment of sky (with the sun's rays) are still visible.⁴ Originally there was a camel in the centre, of which only the saddle and cover and rear-legs remain.

Fifth Mağāma (Kūfa) fl7r

f17v Abū Zaid knocks at al-Ḥārith's door. (Fig. 50). 11.4 x 11.7 cms. At the right is a round-topped door in six panels. Doors were usually made of wood and made up of several panels. This lessened the damage that the climate caused by making the wood warp and shrink.⁵ The rear half of Abū Zaid is damaged and has been filled in with black ink.

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1. Cf. Fig. 8.
2. Table Three, No. 3.
3. Cf. supra, p. 114 and cf. Figs. 16, 35, where animals are adorned with necklaces and anklets, etc. This motif does not appear so often in Mesopotamian manuscripts.
4. Cf. supra, p. 49.
His right hand grips one of the two round door-knockers. It consists of a simple gold ring on a hook.¹ To the left is a large semi-circular central portion of a trefoil arch with a hanging green curtain trimmed in gold and purple. The spandrels are filled with white leaves outlined in red on a black ground.² An elaborate battlement in regular sections of red, blue, purple, and green is a good illustration of the way Mamlūk architects embellished their buildings.³

f19v Abū Zaid conversing with al-Ḥarīth. (Fig. 51).
11.5 x 13.5 cms. A mulberry tree is on the right.⁴ The two men are outside the town walls which show the lack of perspective in Mamlūk illuminations. A yellow brick wall with a scalloped arched gate is surmounted by a gable end with blue tiles and purple bricks. A second section has white bricks at the base, a semi-circular opening with brown spandrels and a gold cornice. There is a blue brick sphere at the top.

Sixth Maqāma (Marāgha or Lakhīfa) f20v

f24v Abū Zaid with the Qādī of Marāgha. (Fig. 52).
10 x 13 cms. The qādī or judge is seated on the right with his head inclined to Abū Zaid. He sits on an elaborate

1. There are no bells in traditional Islamic doorways. This is because the Prophet declared that a bell is the devil's instrument and that angels do not resort where a bell is. Lane-Poole, Cairo, pp. 129, 130.
2. Cf. Fig. 27.
3. Cf. Creswell, Muslim Architecture of Egypt, Figs. 88, 139, pls. 45(a, b, c), 76(a, b, c).
4. Cf. Figs. 28, 73 for similar bushes.
throne of judgement, or mahkama, with a high and rigid bolster. Its lower part may consist of a few steps leading to a flat bench (as here) or of a pillow on a rug. The wooden base is elaborately patterned with gold arabesques possibly representing painted woodwork. This is unusual as Mamluk woodwork was normally geometrically patterned. Behind the throne are two Mongol-looking attendants, one of whom holds a spear (rumh) with a fine blue point, while the other has a sword point downwards with an elaborate, large, gold hilt. One attendant wears a red cap, trimmed with black fur and with a gold top. The other, like the judge, wears a Mongol high-fronted hat or sharbush. Abū Zaid wears a plain white robe, trimmed with gold and below knee-length. Note the clearly defined haloes.

Seventh Maqāma (Barghā'īd) f24v

f25r Abū Zaid in the mosque of Barghā'īd. (Fig. 53).

11.5 x 13.2 cms. The mosque has a central horseshoe arch with a lamp hanging from the centre. Both the lamp and the spandrels are in white. The roof is decorated with five trefoil-shaped purple crenellations on a gold base. These crenellations on walls are probably derived from Mesopotamia

1. The text mentions a "Court of Supervision".
3. Cf. f36r of the Milan Jāḥīz.
4. Table Two, No. 6. Cf. Fig. 74.
5. See supra, p. 106.
and as shown were common in Egypt. The minbar and the standard (*anaza) on the right are not clearly visible. The decoration of the pulpit is typically Mamlūk, consisting of interlocking white inlays (ivory?). The standard, which is black with gold tendril patterns was the predecessor of the mīrāb, serving to indicate the direction and area of ground for prayer. Black was the colour of royalty and of the house of the *Abbasids. The congregation (four figures) sit in a row below the pulpit. Abū Zaid, with his eyes closed, sits with an old woman to the upper left above two other seated figures. This attempt to indicate two rows is an example of the crude type of perspective in this group of manuscripts. The woman wears a blue gown (izar) and a shawl round her head and neck. Abū Zaid wears a white turban with a red top and a plain orange-brown gown.

\[127^r\] Abū Zaid in al-Ḥārith’s house. (Fig. 54)

9.9 x 12 cms. The purple hanging curtain, which is trimmed with green and gold bands provides a clear example of the

4. Ibn Iyās, *op. cit.*, p. 3. See also Fig. 85. Sultan Baybars, when riding out to hold a review, wore a black silk qubba, or vest with large sleeves but without embroidery or gold. Lane-Poole, *Caire*, p. 89.
6. Table Two, No. 8.
7. See comments on Fig. 112.
richness of the Mamlûk geometric patterns. This complex one consists of interlocking hexagons, executed in black lines (cf. the decoration of the pulpit in the previous miniature). A shallow red arch joins two smaller semi-circular red arches with blue bricks and gold borders. The columns, capitals, and bases are plain white, decorated with gold foliated carving. An old woman is seated in the left section of the building. She holds a black staff in her right hand and wears a blue shawl with scroll-fold decorations over a red gown (thaub).\(^1\) Abû Zaid's legs are bare from the knee down. Al-Ḥārith to the right is half-hidden by a column.

**Eighth Maqâma (Ma'arra)**

\(f30^r\) The Qâdqî of Ma'arra. (Fig. 55).

9 x 12.5 cms. This painting contains a fine linear depiction of the judge. He wears a cream-coloured gown which may represent a robe of honour (khil‘a). In the case of judges these were made of wool, white on the outside and green on the inside.\(^2\) The scribe sits by the judge. This is probably a representation of the nā‘ib, or deputy, who decided the ordinary cases.\(^3\) A hanging curtain with floral patterns is an alternative to the Mamlûk segment of sky. The miniature has suffered from an iconoclast cutting it in several places.

**Ninth Maqâma (Alexandria)**

\(f31^r\) Abû Zaid before the Qâdqî of Alexandria. (Fig. 56).

11.3 x 12.5 cms. Two sides of the gold frame and the trefoil

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2. Lane-Poole, *Saracens*, p. 249.
arch are visible. The spandrels are decorated as on f17v.1 
The judge wears a white overgown (tarba) above a green, 
geometrically patterned robe. The tarba was a scarf worn 
over the turban and neck, falling on to the shoulders. It 
was originally worn only for special occasions.2 He wears 
short, black boots. The purple throne has geometric patterns 
similar to type 7A in Table Six and a red pillow.3 The back-
ground is of a dull orange colour.4 The gold frame has a 
thin outer blue line with corner decorations.5

f34v Abū Zaid rejoicing at his duping of the Qādī. (Fig. 57). 
10.9 x 13 cms. The green base line consists of serrated 
leaves.6 A segment of blue sky contains a sun off-centre 
which is not usual in this Mamlūk motif. A white cloud 
effect has been attempted unlike the bold, blue tone in 
Add. 22,114. The sun has rays. This does not occur in Add. 
22,114, which has more abstract illuminations and a larger 
scale.7 There are small plants at the base. Abū Zaid is 
shown capering and clapping his hands.

Tenth Maqāma (Rafba) 

f35v Abū Zaid with his son and a crowd. (Fig. 58). 
11 x 13.5 cms. Eight figures form the crowd, four on either 
side of the central figures of Abū Zaid and his son. This

1. Fig. 50. 
3. Cf. the throne in Fig. 52. 
4. Cf. the colour of Abū Zaid's gown in Fig. 54. The range 
of colours the painter used in this manuscript is fairly 
wide. See supra, pp. 96, 97. 
5. Cf. Figs. 20-26 and see supra, p. 90. 
6. Cf. Figs. 11,18,28-32,34A, for this motif. 
7. E.g. Fig. 8.
type of symmetry was much favoured by the Mamlūk artists. A small plant separates the central figures completing the symmetry as a whole. The ends of the turbans (rafraf) hang down the figures' backs. The two central figures wear white under-trousers (sarawil²).

**Four figures with the Governor of Raḥba. (Fig. 59).**
12.8 x 12.7 cms. Five steps built of ornamental bricks lead to the throne.³ The bricks are outlined with a broad, gold border and have tendril decorations in white on a brown base. There are two Mongol-looking attendants below the Governor and two more on either side at the rear of his throne. The Governor wears the Mongol hat with the high front-piece (sharbūsh).⁴ His blue scroll-fold gown is edged with gold and is meant to represent watered silk. Qalqashandī states that watered silk was used particularly for garments made for the Caliph and notables.⁵

**Eleventh Maqāma (Sāwa)**

**A funeral scene. (Fig. 60).**
11.4 x 13 cms. Two brown coloured plain brick cenotaphs each with four layers of brick in three stages are in the foreground. "The Prophet forbade engraving the name of God, or any words of the Kur-ān, upon a tomb. He also directed that tombs should be low, and built only of crude bricks."⁶

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1. Cf. Figs. 5, 6, 7.
3. Cf. Fig. 52.
4. Cf. Fig. 52.
Zaid stands on a mound of rocks of a flat type to the right.\(^1\) Traces of his beard are to be made out. Two women are grieving by the left tomb.\(^2\) They both have large, white veils, which if the artist is being authentic, would indicate the funeral of an old man, as they would not then alter their dress. In the case of other men the women would dye their veils and handkerchiefs a blue or black colour with indigo.\(^3\) They have their hands to their faces to express emotion. Their gowns of pale blue and cream with red lines are decorated with scroll-folds. This manuscript has more scroll-fold patterns than Add. 22,114, where the textile depictions are flatter.\(^4\) Three mourners stand behind the women.

**Twelfth Maqama (Damascus\(^5\))**

\(^{f42r}\) \(^{f43r}\) Abū Zaid being rewarded by travellers. (Fig. 61).

10.7 x 13.5 cms. There are four damaged figures of travellers, two symmetrically arranged on either side of the door. Only the lower parts remain of the left two with the shoes, or suqman, visible. In the middle, framed by the doorway, is Abū Zaid. He wears a black gown over a yellow robe, a Mongol cap, and has a red staff in his left hand. In his right hand is a string of black beads. This is probably meant to represent the tasbīḥ (rosary) which would imply a religious

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1. Cf. the rocks in Figs. 29,32. Also ff\(^\text{V}3,M\), of Add. 22,114.
2. Table Two, No. 12, contains a detail of the head and veil of one.
3. Lane, op.cit., p. 487.
4. E.g. Figs. 10, 11.
5. Entitled Ghūṭiyya in Add. 7293, after the group of orchards on the outskirts of Damascus.
character for Abū Zaid. One could judge a man's character by the type of rosary he possessed, what it was made from, and what purpose he used it for.¹ The frame of the doorway is patterned with a regularly repeated interlocking swastika motif.² The lower side doors originally had a trefoil decorated cornice.³

f45r Abū Zaid drinking in a tavern at ‘Āna. (Fig. 62). 11 x 11.4 cms. This town, which lies on the Euphrates to the north-west of Baghdad, was famous for its wine.⁴ The spandrels of the trefoil arch are decorated as on ff17v and 32r with the same gold border.⁵ The arch frames a royal blue background, against which are a bowl of fruit (possibly pears and dates as both were common⁶) and a gumgum or scent-bottle (usually made of brass or silver). Both these objects are suspended in space, a Mamluk feature taken from the school of Mosul.⁷ The lutanist plays a more decorated brown ‘ūd (lute) than is seen on f26r of Add. 22,114. Two figures on the left

1. Mazahéri, op.cit., p. 220. Cf. f62v of Add. 7293 where there is a rough sketch of a man holding a rosary.
2. The swastika, a religious symbol used in India and China, usually representing toil in Islamic art. Hayward, "Symbolism in Islamic Art", p. 155.
3. Cf. Figs. 50,53.
5. Cf. Figs. 50,56.
6. S.D. Goitein, A Mediterranean Society. The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza (Berkeley, 1967), 1, pp. 120,122.
7. Supra, pp. 62,64. Also cf. Figs. 7,44.
hold napkins, one also holding a glass. This figure's napkin (fūṭa) has black lozenge patterns. The composition is similar to that on f26r of Add. 22,114 but is more elaborate and lacks some of the clarity found in the other work. The miniature is framed by a broad gold band and a thin outer blue line.  

Thirteenth Maqāma (Zowra ²)  
f49r  Al-Ḥārith discovering Abū Zaid, disguised as an old woman in a ruined mosque. (Fig. 63).  
12 x 13.2 cms. The rāwī (narrator) at the left peers through a chink in the door. ³ He wears a blue turban with a tail-piece hanging down to his waist. Abū Zaid wears a blue īzar, or wrap, draped from the top of his head, over a yellow gown. Above is a mosque lamp and a gold trefoil arch with decorated spandrels. Above this is a coloured battlement with a gold-pointed blue cupola at the left end. The four colours of the cornice and their arrangement are identical to those on f17v. ⁴ The figure of al-Ḥārith is almost identical with a representation of Abū Zaid in Add. 22,114. ⁵ This suggests a possibility of the artist having seen this other manuscript.

Fourteenth Maqāma (Mecca)  
f50r  Al-Ḥārith with friends. (Fig. 64).  
13.1 x 8.9 cms. Only the right-hand portion of this miniature remains. Fig. 64 therefore gives a false idea of the scale

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1. Cf. Fig. 56.  
2. Entitled Baghdad in Add. 22,114.  
3. Cf. the door in Fig. 50.  
4. Cf. Fig. 50.  
5. On f35r, where he is shown knocking at al-Ḥārith's door.
of the painting. Three seated figures with haloes are set against a red background. The colour of the backgrounds probably has no special significance but merely illustrates the artist's sense of colour and pattern. A green hanging curtain, trimmed with gold, is attached at five points. There are two arches on differing planes to indicate depth and a purple tower with floral decoration (carved stucco?). A green brick wall is at the rear. This appears to be a representation of an interior although the text refers to a tent. The turbans are of an elaborate type and recall the puffed up turbans of the Ottoman era. Turbans were sometimes used as purses and this may explain the larger size, particularly of the middle turban.

_Fifteenth Maqama (Farḍīyya³) _

\[f_{52}^v\]

\[f_{53}^r\] Abū Zaid with al-Ḥarîth (Fig. 65).

12.9 x 12.5 cms. This miniature is very important as it contains an inscription written in large gold ornamental Kūfic lettering. This reads: "Ghāzī b. ‘Abd ar-Rahmān the Damascene made it". The inscription was first read by Mayer and probably means that Ghāzī was the painter as well as the calligrapher. Hayward draws attention to the possible

1. Table Two, No. 9. Also cf. Fig. 15 and \[f_{20}^r\] of Paşaname Sloane 3584 (B.M., London), G.M. Meredith-Owens, *Turkish Miniatures* (London, 1963), pl. XXIV.
3. Or "The Legal."
4. Mayer, "Damascene artist", p. 168. This article is apparently the only published work on this manuscript.
symbolism in calligraphy. "In orthodox Islam the very framework of a building must needs be supported by the words of Allah".¹ The use of Qur'anic passages in a mosque or of script in a secular building occupies the same place as the Old and New Testament cycles in the Christian world.² A similar role for this secular inscription may have been in the artist's mind. The inscription above the arch is framed in broad, gold bands and between the lettering are gold leaves on a blue background. Below is a trefoil arch, the conventional representation of a private house, with purple complicated interlocking geometric patterns.³ From a central arch hangs a yellow double-ended banner or ribbon. The ends have bands of red and gold. It is perhaps a kind of wall-hanging. To the left and the right are free-standing gold dishes of fruit, dates and pomegranates.⁴ Abū Zaid and al-Ḥārith sit on large florally decorated cushions. Both men are barefooted and both wear turbans having long ṭafrafs. The haloes, the "suspended" dishes, and the scroll-folds are all Mamlūk features taken from the school of Mosul.⁵ The gold armbands (ṭirāz) are a frequent Mamlūk characteristic.⁶

¹. Hayward, op.cit., p. 154.
². Ettinghausen, "Character of Islamic Art", p. 263.
³. Cf. Table Six, Type 7A and the back of the throne in Fig. 56.
⁴. Cf. Figs. 7,44,62. Dates were particularly common in Egypt during the late Fāṭimid period and pomegranates are mentioned in traders' lists in the Geniza documents. Goitein, op.cit., pp. 120,151.
⁵. Supra, p. 64.
⁶. Cf. Figs. 6,8,14,17,27,34A,35,51 among many others.
Abū Zaid being fed by a stranger. (Fig. 66). 11.5 x 12.3 cms. This is a badly mutilated folio, of which the right side has largely disappeared. Abū Zaid is seated on a blue geometrically patterned cushion cross-legged and bare-footed. His face has been rubbed out. Behind his head is a green hanging curtain, which is fastened to the side of the frame thereby binding the composition together more tightly. Above the trefoil arch, a feature which occurs frequently in this manuscript is a blue, ribbed cupola with a gold pointed tip. Two lions in purple and blue are on either side of the cupola, both moving to the left, a trait already noted. The spandrels of the arch are decorated with the same pattern as the decorative frieze in the previous miniature.

Sixteenth Maqāma (Maghrib)  

Three figures within a house. (Fig. 67) 10.9 x 9.7 cms. This is one of the badly mutilated miniatures. A gold lamp of typical Mamlūk type hangs in the middle of a semi-circular arch below a red cornice with four trefoil additions. Two birds are at the top above the cornice.

Two figures by a door. (Fig. 68) 10.9 x 13.6 cms. The figures are badly damaged. The tree has a purple, knobbly trunk and green, palm-type fronds;

1. Table Six, Type I 0.
4. Cf. Figs. 53, 63. Also Lane-Poole, Saracens, Fig. 93.
presumably it is a stylized representation of a palm tree.  
The house is of brown brick with a gold base to a multi-
coloured battlement.  

**Seventeenth Maqāma (Qah̲ār**

f61⁵ *Six figures by a tree.* (Fig. 69).
10.8 x 13.9 cms. There are six figures, three symmetrically
arranged on either side of a tree. In the middle is a
possible representation of a sycamore tree, a kind of fig
tree, whose large spreading branches provide welcome shade.  
The segment of sky with an attempted cloud effect is well-
preserved.  

**Eighteenth Maqāma (Sinjar**

f64⁷ *A wedding feast.* (Fig. 70)
10.5 x 12.7 cms. This painting has the first complete gold
frame in this manuscript. At the top is a curtain hung

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1. Cf. the trunks in Figs. 46, 47.
2. Cf. Figs. 50, 63.
3. Or "The Reversed".
5. Cf. Fig. 57.
6. But cf. Figs. 60,91 where depictions of veiled women are
left untouched.
7. Entitled Tijāriyya in Add. 7293.
symmetrically. It is decorated with floriated patterns in
gold, red, and a deep blue, all against a pale blue ground.
It is trimmed with a broad gold and red band.¹ A Mamlûk
feature is the gold background of the miniature. The six
seated figures wear gowns of watered silk and geometric
patterns.² There is a dish of sweetmeats (hulwa) in the
foreground.³ All the faces are damaged. As there are only
males present, this scene must represent the hurûba ("flight"),
a ceremony which took place on the morning after the wedding
and which lasted the whole day. It was expressly for the
bridegroom and his companions.⁴

f67⁷ Scene from a wedding feast. (Fig. 71).
10.1 x 12.5 cms. The painting which unfortunately is badly
damaged originally had a gold frame. In the middle of the
picture a servant brings in a tray with four goblets on it.
In Fig. 71 this is only faintly visible. It is much clearer
in the original manuscript.

Nineteenth Maqâma (Naṣībîn) f67⁸

There are no illuminations to this maqâma. There is,
however, a gloss on ff70⁷ and 71⁸.

¹ Cf. Fig. 12.
² Table Five, Type 2G with the hexagons decorated with
Type 2D.
³ Cf. Fig. 17.
⁴ Lane, op.cit., p. 158.
Twentieth Maqāma (Mayyāfāriqīn)  

f72r Abū Zaid seeking bounty. (Fig. 72).

10.6 x 13 cms. The assembled company is represented by three seated figures on the right. This is a typical example of Mamlūk simplification.\(^1\) Abū Zaid has black shoes and holds a black staff in his right hand. Staffs are portrayed in black or red only, which may indicate a different type of wood. It is more likely to be an example of the artist’s desire for variety.\(^2\) The gown of the left seated figure is a good example of how the shape of the body was subordinated to the pattern of the gown, the figure being treated as a flat plane. There are more geometric patterns in Add. 22,114 which is of later date. This manuscript is still under a Mesopotamian influence which leaves the miniatures less stilted. The arm-bands, haloes, plants and sky have all been shown to be representative of the Mamlūk style.

f73v Al-Ḥārith with Abū Zaid. (Fig. 73).

10.2 x 13 cms. Al-Ḥārith stops the hero "by the joining of his sleeves”. In general the illustrations to this manuscript follow the text closely. Note the reffraf of al-Ḥārith's turban with a deep red and gold band. To the right is a tree with six branches. The yellow fruit at the ends suggest it is a fig tree.\(^3\) There is a bird with a red back and white belly in the tree.

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1. Other examples are Figs. 8, 53, 74, 85.
2. Cf. Fig. 92 where both colours are used.
3. Cf. Fig. 51.
Twenty-First Maqâma (Rayy)  

f74v  Abû Zaid preaching at Rayy. (Fig. 74).  
13.5 x 12.9 cms. Abû Zaid sits at the top of the pulpit wearing a bottle-green gown and pink turban. The pulpit has five steps patterned with brown floral scrolls and the seat of the pulpit is patterned with gold leaves on a blue-ground.  

1  Two figures at the left are deeply moved by his sermon and rub their eyes. One of them wears the sharbûsh.  

2  The left figure in the back row wears a red Mongol hat, the zamt, typical of the Burjî military classes.  

3  To the right at the rear is a cypress tree, in which is a blue, long-tailed bird.  

f77r  Four figures. (Fig. 75)  
10.8 x 13.5 cms. The painting has been pasted over at the top. A segment of sky containing a sun with rays can be seen.  

5  The arrangement of the different patterns on the gowns is symmetrical.  

Twenty-Second Maqâma (Euphrates)  

f77v  Six figures in a boat on the Euphrates. (Fig. 76)  
11.1 x 14.1 cms. The water is depicted as a large swirl making six deep loops. Within these divisions the water is 

1. Cf. the spandrels in Fig. 66.  
2. Cf. Figs. 52, 59 and Table Two, No. 7.  
4. Cf. Fig. 46.  
5. Cf. Figs. 49, 57.  
6. Cf. Fig. 1 for a Mesopotamian rendering of this same scene. Also f63r of Add. 22,114.
patterned in light blue edged with a darker blue and a white outline.\(^1\) The style of the water is closest to that seen in Arabe 3467 (Figs. 29 and 31) where even the same arrangement of colours has been used. The black-hulled boat has a high, gold stern. The river-boats drew more water at the bows than the stern on account of the liability of running aground.\(^2\) This could be a representation of the \textit{sumajriyya}, which as its name indicates is from ‘Iraq, but more likely it is a portrayal of the \textit{kh\l}. This was the most commonly used type except for the \textit{markab}, a general term for a ship but usually referring to Nile boats.\(^3\) Ibn Baṭṭūṭa refers to a "small boat" or \textit{sumbuq} which he took from Basra for Ubulla. This could be a further name for the same kind of boat.\(^4\) At the stern is an oarsman with yellow breeches and a long oar in both hands. Over his right shoulder is a purple sash, knotted at the back with the two ends trimmed in gold.\(^5\) The other figures are in a poor state of preservation. Three fishes (carp?) swim towards the left. They are red on their upper-sides with white bellies. The fork tails, fins, and heads are accurately portrayed. This more accurate rendering of animals than human beings has been noted above.\(^6\) The purple rocks which surround the water on

2. Lane, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 302.
5. Table Three, No. 5.
three sides are done in the Mamlūk "jig-saw" style already encountered.¹

Twenty-Third Maqāma (Baghdad)  

f³⁰v  f³¹v  Abū Zaid before the criminal judge of Baghdad (Fig. 77).  
10.5 x 13.5 cms. At the left is the Governor seated on his throne. Its base is made up of blue bricks outlined in white, possibly to represent glazing. The back of the throne is a deep blue decorated with gold floral work and a broad, gold band.² It has a red, curved top-piece. A gold frame with two small cupolas completes the throne.³ The Governor wears a purple robe of watered silk fastening from right to left. It is trimmed with gold and has a gold sash round the waist. This was the typical Turkish coat known as the sallārī. It was particularly popular under the Burjī Mamlūk dynasty.⁴ The halo shows up the high-fronted sharbūsh. The Governor's face and hat are, however, badly rubbed. He holds a fūṭa, or napkin, in his right hand.

f³⁵v  The Governor of Baghdad. (Fig.78).  
11 x 12.1 cms. An outer gold frame surrounds a pointed central arch bordered by two semi-circular arches on each side. These arches are outlined with gold frames. The spandrels have a dark base and are decorated with coloured,  

¹. E.g. Figs. 29, 32, 60.  
². Cf. Figs. 66, 74.  
³. Cf. remarks on Fig. 52.  
floriated scrolls. In the lower half are two figures with the Governor on the throne. An attendant stands behind. The Governor who wears a yellow, scroll-fold gown with a high neck sits cross-legged. He wears a sharbūsh and black leather boots (khuff). The back of his throne is geometrically patterned in two tones of blue. A large curtain hangs fastened to the right edge of the frame unifying the composition to a certain degree. This may be a Byzantine feature as mentioned in Chapter Three. It is noteworthy that these "Governor" or "Judge" scenes have more elaborate surrounds than the others.

Twenty-Fourth Maqāma (The Portion) f86r

f87r Al-_MAGIC1 with friends. (Fig. 79).
11.6 x 13.4 cms. This badly damaged picture shows five figures carousing. A man on the right plays a lute. Next to him another man holds a tall glass. The garden is represented by a large central tree made up of scaly leaves of two shades of blue. This is most likely to be a representation of an acacia or gum tree.

A tafsīr occurs on f89r.

Twenty-Fifth Maqāma (Kara.1) f92v

On f94v there is a blank space for an illumination. It has been left, however, in a sheet with Arabic script of a much later hand. The whole folio may, therefore, be a subsequent addition.

2. Mayer, op. cit., p. 34.
3. Table Five, Type 4A.
4. Cf. Figs. 56,100,101,112. Also cf. Fig. 2.
5. Cf. Fig. 62.
Abū Zaid and al-Ḥārith. (Fig. 80).

10 x 12 cms. A very simple composition shows the two figures by a cypress tree with a knobbly, purple trunk at the left. The cypress tree which acts as a balance to the right has been pasted over. A bird sits in the left tree. The ground of green grass, composed in a serrated manner is strewn with fruit which is a frequent Mamlūk feature.

Twenty-Sixth Madāma (The Spotted)

Al-Ḥārith in Abū Zaid's tent at Aḥwāz. (Fig. 81).

13.9 x 12 cms. The tent is of a light blue watered silk with a gold cupola and two yellow streamers at the top. These have gold bands and purple ends. The interior consists of a gold background and the tent is supported by a central purple tent-pole. A gold dish of fruit (pears?) is suspended between the two main figures. Two slaves stand on the left. One has a large, white skull cap and a high-fastening yellow gown. He wears his dark hair long. The other is barely visible as the painting is lacking about a centimetre of its left side. A coarse later hand has added a black outline to this side. A brightly coloured bird flies to the right of the tent, behind which is the neck and bridle of a horse(?).

1. Cf. Figs. 46, 47, 51, 68, 73 for the same type of trunk. See also Figs. 28, 31.
2. Supra, p. 54. Cf. Fig. 57.
3. Cf. the tent in Fig. 9.
4. Table Three, No. 4.
The same scene as above in the tent. (Fig. 82). 10.2 x 12.6 cms. Here the tent is much lower than in the previous miniature. The central pole, the figures and the colours are hardly changed. The attendants have been moved to either side to produce a more balanced effect. The right-hand slave has black knee-length boots, as does al-Ḥarīth. The neck of the horse is behind the tent to the left.

Twenty-Seventh Maqāma (Badawiyya) f99r

Al-Ḥarīth with Abū Zaid. (Fig. 83). 11.2 x 13 cms. The narrator is with his horse under an ornate multicoloured tree on the right. Its purple knobbly trunk and coloured fruit suggest a mulberry bush. Abū Zaid and a fig tree on the left act as a balance. Abū Zaid holds a red water-skin by the neck out to al-Ḥarīth. This is the qirba, a water-skin made from a goat's hide. The narrator's face and halo have been roughly restored with an outline in black by a later hand, perhaps that responsible for the addition in Fig. 81. The horse is delicately and accurately portrayed and stands with its right forelock raised. The saddle cloth is red spotted with blue. The saddle, bridle, and bit are all in gold. The cropped tail has been retouched.

1. Or "The Tent-Dwellers". It is entitled Watriyya in Add. 7293.
2. Cf. Figs. 46, 47.
3. Lane, op. cit., p. 295.
Al-Ṭarīḥīn arguing with a stranger. (Fig. 84).

12.5 x 14 cm. One figure has his hands at the other’s throat. Abū Zaid, wearing a yellow scroll-fold gown is on the horse at the left and strokes the camel’s uplifted neck. Note the realistic representation of these animals, particularly the texture of the camel’s tail. A cypress tree at the right and a thin shrub at the left serve as framing devices.

A tafsīr occurs on f102v.

Twenty-Eighth Maqāma (Samarkand)  

Abū Zaid preaching in the mosque at Samarkand. (Fig. 85).

11.1 x 12.5 cm. The lower right corner of the painting is missing. A solid gold outer frame surrounds a simplified scene in the mosque. Abū Zaid is in the pulpit. He is dressed in black and has a black sword in his left hand.

Black was the traditional colour of the ‘Abbāsids whose support came from the area which includes Samarkand. This symbolic use of colour has been seen in Fig. 53. The sword is attached by a red shoulder band or nijad. The rear of the pulpit is decorated with interlocking red stars on a red ground. The side of the pulpit is composed of blue floriated designs. The three steps are of the same colour and pattern as in Fig. 74. At the rear is a yellow brick wall supported

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2. Cf. f94r of Add. 22,114 for this same scene. Ettinghausen, Arab Painting, pp. 145-147.
3. Mayer, op.cit., p. 45. At coronations the Sultans wore the sword suspended from their shoulder.
4. Cf. Fig. 67.
by three columns with gold capitals and three horse-shoe arches. Two gold mosque lamps hang from the centre of the arches. The Mamlûk glass lamps were of extremely fine quality and were often decorated with Qur'anic quotations and heraldic emblems. Two figures sit below and two at the side of the pulpit, being a simplified representation of a congregation.

f109v Abû Zaid and al-Ḥarîth. (Fig. 86).
11.3 x 12 cms. The narrator has a wine-glass and napkin and Abû Zaid holds a carafe by its neck. This is the dauraq or narrow-necked water-bottle made out of porous earth to keep the contents cool. Both men have turbans with rafrâfs and both are seated cross-legged on florally decorated cushions. A blue brick cupola and battlements in purple, red, and green are above the tripartite arch.

Twenty-Ninth Maqâma (Wâsit) f110v
f111v In the hostelry at Wâsit. (Fig. 87).
11.5 x 13.7 cms. This is a representation of a typical caravanserai (funduq) in which the upper section contained rooms and the central courtyard was used for storage and stabling animals. In this picture there is a courtyard

1. Cf. Figs. 53, 63, 67. Also Fig. 5 and supra, p. 15.
   Birds with spread wings or cups on tall stems were particularly common. Rice, Islamic Art, p. 133.
2. Cf. simplification in Figs. 53, 74.
3. Lane, op.cit., p. 135. Cf. Fig. 44 where the broader-mouthed qulla can be seen.
4. Cf. the battlements in Figs. 50, 63.
5. Ibn Battûta, op.cit., p. 343, n. 29.
with four red pillars supporting a red balcony. The capitals are plain. The balustrade has gold interlocking patterns. Traces of a blue background can be made out between the gold lines. The lower register is damaged. There are two realistic representations of donkeys one of which has a black nosebag.

fll4\* Al-‘Arith reproving Abū Zaid and his son. (Fig. 88)

11 x 12.6 cms. The guests (represented by two figures\(^1\)) are shown sleeping. The frame of the hostelry is the same as in Fig. 87 except that there is a curtain added on the left. Al-‘Arith (on the right) is shown reproving Abū Zaid (almost obliterated) and his son for putting the guests to sleep and taking their valuables.

Thirtieth Maqāma (ṣūr)  

fll6\* Six figures. (Fig. 89).

10.9 x 11.4 cms. This badly damaged painting originally had eight figures. The red outlines are all that can be seen of two. Note the frame, the curtain, and the decorative gold piece at the ends of the cushion.

fll8* Abū Zaid and five figures. (Fig. 90).

10.6 x 13 cms. The gold frame is almost complete. Abū Zaid is standing on the frame itself. This is unusual for the Mamlūk school, which tended to enclose the whole painting, to suggest an action beyond it. The dishes, which are all

\(^1\) Cf. Fig. 85 for similar simplification.
decorated with arabesque patterns, are of a smaller but identical type to those in Figs. 65,70,71,81.

Thirty-First Maqāma (Ramla¹) fll9

The departure of the caravan from Syria for Mecca. (Fig. 91).

11.5 x 13.5 cms. Three camels bearing two men and a woman in a litter move to the left with a guide on foot.² This would be a rifqa or sulpba which was a small caravan travelling to no timetable, as opposed to a mausim or big caravan travelling on a fixed date.³ The base consists of a strip of grass strewn with fruit and a flower to the left.⁴ The women's face is untouched.⁵ Her cream-coloured gown is delicately indicated by thin, red lines of the kind seen in the early stages of illustration in Add. 7293. The guide wears a red gown hitched up to leave his legs bare and has on small, ankle-length boots. The camels are delicately outlined in black. The right-hand rider sits on a red cushion on top of a yellow scroll-fold decorated camel cover. The stirrups and bits are in gold. The litter is of blue watered silk with a small cupola (originally gold?) and has a broad,

1. Entitled Shāsiyya in Add. 7293.
2. Ibn Baṭṭuṭa, op.cit., p. 108, refers to women in the Yemen travelling in litters on camels. The litters, or palanquins, were often very richly decorated with jewels and gold brocade. Ibn Iyās, op.cit., pp. 90,117,146.
3. Goitein, op.cit., p. 277. The pilgrimage was also connected with transcontinental trade which played a large part in it.
4. Cf. Fig. 80.
5. Table Three, No. 3, Cf. Fig. 60.
red base which rests on a green side cover with hexagonal patterns.

A further stage in the caravan's progress. (Fig. 92) 11.4 x 13.7 cms. This painting shows how one rides a camel. The figure on the right sits with his right leg on the camel's neck while his left hangs at the beast's side. He has a sword with a yellow hilt and a black sheath attached by a niṣāṭād over his left shoulder.¹ The other rider has a long spear (rumḥ) and his yellow turban is wrapped around his neck. Both turbans have high head-pieces.² Two guides are leading with black and red staffs. The ground is composed of purple rocks in a scaly manner composed like the close-fitting sheaves of grass.³ One of the gowns is decorated with swastikas within a square. Swastikas have already been noted as a decorative motif in Fig. 61.

Thirty-Second Maqāma (Taiba⁴) f123rv

Four figures with a camel. (Fig. 93). 10.6 x 13.5 cms. The painting is in a poor state. The segment of sky contains a sun which has an untampered face. This is the first time it appears complete in this manuscript.⁵

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¹ Cf. Fig. 85.
² Cf. Figs. 10,53.
³ Cf. Figs. 34.
⁴ Entitled Fiqhiyya in Add. 7293 and Ḥarbiyya in Add. 22,114.
⁵ Cf. Figs. 69,72 where the faces have both been rubbed out. See Fig. 8 for a well-preserved example.
Thirty-Third Maqāma (Tiflis)  

fl34r  

Abū Zaid begging. (Fig. 94).  

10.9 x 13 cms. The hero holds a black staff in his left hand and wears a short gown of blue-grey watered silk trimmed with gold. The arm-bands are also of gold. This does not follow the text which says he is poor. He has white undertrousers and is barefooted. Four men are seated opposite, two with their hands held out, one having a clenched fist (containing money?). Note the very high quality of the drawing of the hands. A gold frame includes a tall semi-circular arched doorway to the left. Four gold lamps hang from the frame by red cords. ¹

fl36r  

Abū Zaid conversing with al-Ḥarīth. (Fig. 95).  

10 x 13 cms. The miniature has a grass baseline and is framed by a cypress tree to the left and a succulent plant, probably a fig tree² to the right. A bird with a blue head, red beak, red tail, and yellow wings is in the cypress tree.

Thirty-Fourth Maqāma (Zabīd)  

fl37r  

Five figures. (Fig. 96).  

10.6 x 13.3 cms. The segment of sky and the sun with a face painted on it and the patterns of the costumes³ with arm-bands and the haloes are all typical of the Mamlūk style.

fl41r  

Two figures. (Fig. 97).  

10.6 x 13.6 cms. The hands are delicately drawn. ⁴

¹. Cf. Fig. 85.  
². Cf. Figs. 51,73.  
³. Table Four, Type 2D.  
⁴. Cf. Fig. 94.
Thirty-Fifth Maqāma (Shīrāz) f142r
f142v Five men sitting in the open-air. (Fig. 98). 11.1 x 13.6 cms. This badly damaged painting contains depictions of ornate plants, the middle one being a sycamore¹ and the outer two a kind of harebell.

Thirty-Sixth Maqāma (Maltīyya) f144r
f145r Eleven figures. (Fig. 99). 12.8 x 14.4 cms. Again a very badly damaged painting. Originally there were eleven figures, four being in the second row. At the top is a segment of sky with a sun, on which is a face turned sideways. The base of the painting has a section of large purple rocks done in the flat manner seen in Fig. 92. Plants frame the sides. A tafsīr occurs on f148v.

Thirty-Seventh Maqāma (Ṣaʿda) f149v f150r Before the Qādī of Saʿda. (Fig. 100). 10.7 x 12.5 cms. On the right the judge is sitting cross-legged and barefooted on a purple cushion with lozenge patterns against a red geometrically patterned throne.² An attendant stands at the rear by a curtain. This is in a poor state but its border is visible. The painting lacks the simplicity usually found in Add. 22,114.³

¹ Cf. Fig. 69.
² Table Six, Type 2M.
³ Cf. Figs. 8-13.
Before the Qādī of Sa'da. (Fig. 101).
10.7 x 12.8 cms. Compare the composition with the same scene in Fig. 100. Thin black outlines characterize this picture, particularly the feet of the right-hand figures and the lower part of the shawl of the judge. The latter's long scarf can be seen. This was part of the qādī's costume of office.¹ Compare the position of the judge and attendants with the Governor of Baghdad in Fig. 78.

Thirty-Eighth Maqāma (Merv)

Six figures before the qādī with attendants. (Fig. 102).
10.5 x 13 cms. The left side of the miniature is particularly badly damaged. The end of the halberd is in blue to indicate iron and has ornate patterns. It is a depiction of the ghaddara which was common in the Mamlūk period.² The two figures expressing a point with their hands are typically Mamlūk.³

Thirty-Ninth Maqāma (Uman⁴)

Abū Zaid and al-Harith meet the childless Wāli's servants. (Fig. 103).
11.3 x 13.2 cms. The base of the miniature consists of a low purple wall of four bricks high regularly constructed.⁵ To the right is a building with a pointed, black double door, outlined in gold.⁶ The roof consists of a blue cupola

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¹ Cf. Fig. 56.
² Mayer, op. cit., p. 47.
³ Cf. Fig. 15.
⁴ Entitled Subariyya in Add. 22,114.
⁵ Cf. Fig. 77.
⁶ Cf. Fig. 50 and comments on the construction of doors, supra, p. 133.
with floral scrolls topped by a red onion-shaped peak. Slight later additions have been made to the side cornices. At the left is a cypress tree and between this and the building is a blue double-branched fig-tree. Abū Zaid and al-Ḥarith sit at the base of the building. The three servants, weeping because their master is childless, approach from the left.

**Fortieth Maqāma (Tabrīz)**

Abū Zaid and his wife before the Qādī of Tabrīz. (Fig. 104).

10.9 x 12.7 cms. The left side of this painting is damaged. The throne is edged with gold and has a solid red background. The qādī wears a shawl, which originally was reserved for special occasions.¹ He wears a long gown possibly the farajiyya² and has black boots. The shape of an attendant can just be made out behind the throne. At the base is a scribe holding a scroll with eight lines of Arabic text, most of which is too small to be read. It begins: Bismillāh.... At the right are four figures. Abū Zaid holds a staff. His wife is on his left with her arms folded. She wears black boots and the thaub or gown over a red geometrically patterned qamīṣ or chemise, edged with gold. The thaub is of purple and black checks, trimmed in black.³

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¹ Cf. Figs. 56, 101.
² Mentioned by Mayer, *op.cit.*, p. 50.
³ Mayer, *op.cit.*, pp. 69-74. Also see Figs. 6,17 for other Mamlūk depictions of women.
Forty-First Maqāma (Tanīs)

Abū Zaid in the mosque of Tanīs. (Fig. 105).

11.7 x 13 cms. The composition is in three vertical parts corresponding to the three aisles and horse-shoe arches of the mosque. The pillars, which are badly rubbed, have gold capitals. The mosque lamps are of a Mamlūk type. Above is a gold decorated battlement with alternating onion and trefoil shapes. The spandrels are of glazed brick as in Fig. 77. Note the broad, white base to the miniature.

Abū Zaid with his son and the narrator. (Fig. 106).

11.2 x 13.4 cms. An inverted segment of sky has a few wispy clouds. A tall cypress tree is at the left and ornate plants (tulips?) with fruit adorn the base. Abū Zaid and his son wear white under-trousers and small, black slippers.

Forty-Second Maqāma (Najrān)

Five figures. (Fig. 107)

10.7 x 13.3 cms. They are grouped round a succulent young fruit tree, probably fig. Note the manner of seating of the figure on the left.

Abū Zaid taking his leave. (Fig. 108).

11.1 x 13.5 cms. This painting is rubbed, pierced and torn in a few places. An inclining cypress tree and a fig tree are behind the four seated figures who are facing Abū Zaid.

1. Cf. Fig. 85.
Forty-Third Maqāma (al-Bakrīyya)  

f172r

f173r Abū Zaid and al-Ḥarīth riding their camels after a night-journey. (Fig. 109).

11.3 x 13.4 cms. This is one of the best-preserved illustrations in the manuscript and is a good example of the linear style of the artist. At the base is a thin strip of grass strewn with fruit. This motif seems to be entirely a decorative addition. A low plant and a scaly green tree, possibly a cypress though an acacia is more likely owing to the spiky leaves,¹ act as framing devices. The hooves are done in a delicate black line with black dots for the toe-nails. One camel has its head and fetlock raised. Compare the tail of the rear camel with that on ff119v and 120r.² The red camel saddles are trimmed with gold. Note the gold straps and stirrups. One rider has a sword of a long straight type with a small gold hilt and a red scabbard. This kind of iron or steel sword was in accordance with old Arabic custom. "Damascened", i.e. swords "ornamented with gold incrustation" were frequently made in the Mamlūk period.³ It is fastened by a gold strap as was seen on fl20r. The other rider points forward while looking back at his companion. He has a white turban with a long rafraf trimmed in blue and gold.

¹.Cf. Fig. 79.
². Figs. 91,92. See also Holter, "Galen", p. 30, where he discusses the ornate tails found in the Vienna Maqāmāt. Cf. also Fig. 19.
³. Mayer, op.cit., pp. 43,45 where he analyses this illumination.
Two camels with their riders. (Fig. 110).

10.8 x 14.2 cms. This further linear-style painting depicts one camel grazing at the grass while the other turns its head to its red saddle whose characteristic shape with high ends to the pommel is clearly shown. The cover is badly rubbed. The segment of sky has a sun decorated with a face. This detail occurs more often in this manuscript than in Add. 22,114 and appears to be an idiosyncrasy of this artist.¹ An ornately coloured sycamore tree, a fig tree and the patterned garments are all typical of this work.² Note the expressive gestures of the two men talking.

Forty-Fourth Maqāma (The Wintry) fl78r

Five figures indoors. (Fig. 111).

10.6 x 12.7 cms. The room has a gold frame with double black lines and a coloured battlement of the same type as on f60r.³ All the faces are rubbed. One man holds a glass. In the foreground are representations (unfortunately badly damaged) of stools (kursī) which were usually made of wood and covered with mother-of-pearl. They stand half a metre high off the ground.⁴

Forty-Fifth Maqāma (Ramla) fl87v

Abū Zaid before the judge of Ramla. (Fig. 112).

11 x 13 cms. The judge is at the right on a throne of a black ground with light blue floral decorations. He wears

¹. Cf. Figs. 93,96,97,99.
². Type 1L (Table Five) is to be seen on the right figure's gown.
³. Fig. 68. Cf. also Figs. 50,63,86.
⁴. Lane, op.cit., p. 130.
a white shawl over a red hexagonally patterned gown (Cf. comments on Fig. 104). Behind the throne is a purple curtain with patterns of Type 6A in Table Six. It is trimmed in gold and green. This combination occurs frequently in Mamlūk (Syrian) manuscripts and is probably due to popularity rather than economic reasons. It is suspended from two of the three horse-shoe arches at the top. The spandrels are blue with pink and red scroll work. Abū Zaid's wife is in the second row at the right with her hands up to her face. One figure's feet extend beyond the frame.¹

f190r Three figures, including Abū Zaid's wife. (Fig. 113). 9.9 x 13 cms. This damaged painting depicts Abū Zaid and his wife meeting al-Ḥārith on the right. The representation of Abū Zaid's wife is almost identical with that in Fig. 104.

Forty-Sixth Maqāma (Aleppo²) f190v

f191r Abū Zaid, as a faqīh, instructing boys in school at Aleppo. (Fig. 114). 13.1 x 12.6 cms. The painting has a rich appearance with a gold frame and background. The haloes are outlined in red and black to give them prominence. Abū Zaid and al-Ḥārith sit above ten boys. The latter are about five-sixths the size of their master. All but two have white writing tablets with an inverted triangular top.³ These were made of wood

1. Cf. Fig. 90.
2. Entitled Ḥoms in Add. 7293.
3. This shape is derived from the ancient Classical writing-tablet. These tabulae ansatae are known to have played an important role in the cult of the dead in Ancient (Contd.
painted white and could be washed clean. All the faces are mutilated.

fl96r  
Abū Zaid talking with al-Ḥārīth. (Fig. 115).  
9.2 x 12.6 cms. A complete gold frame has thin double black lines (cf. Fig. 111). Note the symmetric arrangement of the hanging lamp between the two green curtains. The barefooted men sit on cushions.

Forty-Seventh Maqāma (Hajr)  
fl97r  
fl97v  In a cupper’s shop. (Fig. 116).  
10.4 x 13.3 cms. This is an illustration of a cupper’s or bloodletter’s shop. "The work of the cupper, or bloodletter which also was subject to disqualification according to the Muslim lawyers, was not despised because it was somehow a subsection of the highly honored medical profession". The other less likely explanation is that this is a druggist’s shop (‘attār). Four figures are at the right in two rows. This attempt at perspective has been seen before. Abū Zaid is seated on a chair with an ornamental back, decorated with blue floral designs. Above him is a damaged pair of shelves on which are two instruments, resembling tweezers and tongs in blue to suggest iron.


1. Lane, op.cit., p. 49.
2. Cf. Fig. 85.
Three figures out of doors. (Fig. 117).
10.5 x 13 cms. There are two blue birds with red legs flying to the left. The base consists of green grass strewn with fruit.

Forty-Eighth Maqāma (Haramiyya)

Four figures. (Fig. 118).
10.7 x 12.7 cms. This badly rubbed painting shows three purple semi-circular arches outlined in gold with three seated figures and Abū Zaid standing beneath on the edge of the frame. The pillars and mosque lamps are hardly visible.

The narrator and Abū Zaid. (Fig. 119).
10.5 x 13 cms. The segment of sky has white scrolls to indicate clouds. The sun has been deprived of its face, which indicates the extent of the iconoclastic feeling. There is a grassy base of closely-packed leaves and three succulent plants, the outer two being fig-trees. The two turbans are depicted in a clear linear style. One has a conical top-piece in red and a long white rafraf. The other is shorter and squatter. The owner of this one holds a napkin or small towel in his hand.

1. Cf. Figs. 90, 112.
2. Cf. Fig. 57.
3. Cf. Fig. 69.
4. Table Two, Nos. 10, 11.
Forty-Ninth Maqāma (Sāsān)  

f206r  Abū Zaid with his son. (Fig. 120).  
10.5 x 12.5 cms. In this damaged miniature the background and curtains have almost disappeared. In the middle is a suspended platter (ṣīnīyya) with a carafe and a beaker. Abū Zaid sits on a high-backed seat with red geometric patterns.

Fiftieth Maqāma (Basra)  

f209r  Abū Zaid preaching at Basra. (Fig. 121).  
10.8 x 12.5 cms. Abū Zaid is "upon an elevated stone" preaching to eight people. At the top is a hanging cornice from a gold frame. All the faces are damaged. The rocks at the base have no spatial depth.¹

f213r  Four figures facing Abū Zaid. (Fig. 122).  
13.5 x 12.5 cms. Three blue glazed brick cupolas surmount a tripartite frame² Four seated figures on the left face Abū Zaid, now dressed completely in black in contrast to the watered silk garment of the previous painting.³

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1. Cf. Figs. 29, 32, 60, 76, 92.  
2. Cf. Fig. 77.  
CHAPTER EIGHT

A Catalogue of Illuminated Mamlûk Manuscripts.

The aim of this chapter is to provide as thorough a catalogue as possible of all the known illuminated Mamlûk manuscripts. In the course of preparation of this thesis all the manuscripts have been consulted at first-hand except for those in Munich, Vienna and Alexandria. A key to the letters used is appended below.

a) The catalogue number in the relevant library.
b) The full title and the name of the author.
c) The date of production (in full) in Islamic/Christian eras.
d) The provenance of the work.
e) The scribe or artist.
f) The number of miniatures and their size.
g) A description, or information, from the catalogue of the relevant library.
h) A general statement of condition or quality.
i) The number of folios; the size of the book, the written page, and the outer margin; the number of lines per folio. The quality and colour of the paper and whether it is watermarked and glazed. The colour of the ink and annotations. The type of script. The binding of the book and whether it has a flap (lisan) and is decorated with a medallion (shamsiyya) on the cover.
j) An index to all the miniatures.
k) A bibliography, including all the known reproductions of the miniatures and the relevant folio numbers, if known.
A) No. 3355.

b) Masalik al-Abshar fī Mamalik al-Amsār (12th volume) of al-‘Umarī.

c) Mid 14th century.

d) Egypt or Syria.

e) Not known.

f) Botanical section contains 270 illustrations. 47ff are on animals and 203ff on vegetables and minerals.

g) Unknown.

h) Leaves at beginning and end missing.


k) Farès, "Un Herbarium illustre", Fig. a Henbane (banj); pl. XVIII, I(palm), 2(banana), 3(quince), 4(vine).

Note: Farès mentions (p.85) a Herbarium with 24 black ink drawings and 57 paintings in the private collection of Dr. D. al-Djalabī of Mosul. There is also a further manuscript in Princeton University Library (No. 1064) which has illustrations and appears to belong to the 15th century. Farès reproduces a double page (pl. XVII).
(I include this account of a photographed copy of a manuscript which I believe is in the Topkapi Sarayi in Istanbul. It has connections with No. 668 (in N.L., Cairo) and the series of Automata books and would appear to be a late Mamlūk work.)

a) No. 486 Riyāḍa.

b) Kitāb al-Ḥi'at wal-Ashkāl, or Book of Devices and Forms, it is in three parts.

c) 4 Rabī‘ I 863/9th January 1459.

d) Provenance unknown.

e) Not known.

f) A large number of illuminations, whether in colour or not, is not known.

g) Unknown.

h) Miniatures in better condition than No. 668 in Cairo. They possess strong Mamlūk characteristics.

i) A detailed description was impossible as the scale of the photographed copy in relation to the original is not known.

j) No index is given. I mention only a few folios which have a particular note.

Folios:

74r Sultan sitting with three musicians on each side of him. At the top is a man and twelve battlements. Cf. the clepsydra discussed by Creswell, "Dr. F.R. Martin's Treatise", pp. 33-40.

164r Mechanical clock of the type shown in Grube, Miniature islamiche, Fig. 9.

328r Peacock and a water-clock. N.B. the stylization of the bird.

403r A sitting figure. The face is poorly done suggesting a late date.

477r A mechanical contraption with troughs for water. Gold appears to have been used lavishly.
k) No reproductions are given in the thesis or the main sources.

Note: Holter, "Miniaturhandschriften", p. 7, No. B, a, lists No. 686 Riyāḍa which appears to have close connections with the work described above. It may even be the same manuscript. I was unable to find No. 686 Riyāḍa but an intensive search revealed No. 668 Riyāḍa which I describe below. It would seem that an error has been made with respect to the catalogue numbers of these Automata books.
CAIRO - NATIONAL LIBRARY

a) No. 668 Riyāda.
b) Kitāb fī Ḥiyal Ḥamala al-Asḥyā' ath-Thaqīla, or Book on Devices which bear Burdensome Things. The author is unknown.
c) Date unknown. Has the marks of a late Mamlūk work, perhaps mid to late 15th century.
d) Provenance unknown. Possibly Egypt as there are similarities with arabe 2824, particularly in the representations of the bearded heads and turbans (e.g. f31v).
e) Not known.
f) Many rather insignificant line drawings depicting Automata. No colours.
g) Unknown.
h) A poor quality work. Some blank folios. Poor paper. Inferior quality of script.
i) 51ff; 25 x 18 cms.; 16.5 x 11.5 cms.; 24.2 x 17 cms.; 25 lines per folio. Medium to coarse quality, cream paper. Texture still shows signs of pulp. No glaze. Black ink throughout. Diagrams in red ink. Small, regular thuluth. Some diacritical points omitted. European green cloth binding. No līsan. Fir has the seal of the Imperial National Library and the date 5th February, 1922. States that the work was translated from the Greek.
j) No index is given as the work does not contain enough miniatures of merit.
k) No reproductions in the thesis and as far as is known there are no reproductions in any of the main sources, which do not mention this book.
a) Ms. 578.

b) Kalīla wa Dimna, or Fables of Bidpai.

c) 23rd Jumādā 2 791/19th June 1388.

d) Probably Egypt. (The boat on f130v is comparable with Nile boats).

e) Not known.

f) 120. Size varies between 8 and 11 cms. vertically. The average is 9.5 cms. Nearly all are 18.5 cms. horizontally. Some have a thin red baseline possibly left as a guideline for the artist(?). This is always 18.5 cms. long.


h) The miniatures, though crude are in a good state.

i) 135ff (Foliation begins from the rear). In fact there are 137ff as one page is unnumbered after ff43 and 23. An inserted leaf states that this work was written in 848/1436. W.T. Sandiford was the Persian translator to the Government of Bombay and may have misread a subsequent line. On f2v the date is clearly stated except for the last word which is missing. As Holter, "Miniaturhandschriften", p.30, gives 1388 as a certain date this suggests that this part of the date must have been lost since 1937.

31.3 x 24 cms.; 25.5 x 18.5 cms.; 30 x 21.5 cms.; usually 16 lines per folio.

Good quality, cream paper, Medium glazing.
Black ink throughout. Titles and the few rubrics are in red. Medium, regular naskhi. Recent European blue leather binding.

j) f135r) 24 x 18 cms. A double frontispiece (full-page).
f134v) 24 x 19.5 cms. Registers in gold at top and bottom contain the title of the book and name of the author.

The frontispieces are outlined in black and have a blue outer surround with decorative corner additions (cf. Escorial Bestiary). The first depicts a king seated frontally on his throne and holding a sword. He is surrounded by twelve courtiers, including a scribe; two lions are seated back to back at the base of the throne. The lower right corner is badly damaged. The second shows ten servants approaching the ruler and bringing him a sword, a goblet, a purse(?), a napkin, and a falcon. Both paintings have blue backgrounds.

f133v A ruler seated frontally on his throne with four attendants.

f132v A king receiving a delegation of three men.

f131v A preacher addressing nine members of a congregation from the steps of a minbar.

f130v Two figures, possibly attendants, and their master who is covered by a canopy, in a boat sailing to India.

f129v The king meeting the Indian philosopher.

f127v The king seated on his throne.

f127r King Anūshirwān reprieveing the execution of a man bound before him.

f125r Barzawaih reading the epistle of the King.

f121r Three men carrying away gold.

f120r The thief making off with his plunder from the sleeping man's house.
The thief with his companion carrying off the sesame bags containing gold.
The husband chasing the intruder from his house while his wife lies in bed.
The man in bed with his wife while the two intruders wait on the roof above to break in.
The husband beating the thief who is shown hanging upside-down from the skylight in the roof.
The husband ejecting the incomer and beating him with his stick.
The man playing a tambourine before the merchant.
One of the jackals with a rib in his mouth walking by the side of a pool and seeing his reflection.
The unfortunate man above the pit.
The king of India with two philosophers.
The ploughman driving two oxen who pull his cart. This is the first depiction of wheels that has been encountered in Mamlûk miniatures.
The bull.
Kalīla, together with Dimna, a third jackal and the leopard before the lion.
The monkey and the man sawing off part of the beam on which the monkey is sitting.
The two jackals.
Kalīla and Dimna talking with the lion.
The fox beating the drum which is hanging from a tree.
The bull, Shanzaba, talking with Dimna.
The jackal, with the bull, before the lion.
The goats catching Dimna between their horns.
f99v The man in bed with his neighbour's wife.
f99r The cupper stopping his wife talking by using her veil as a gag.
f98v The cupper with his wife and the ascetic before the qādī.
f97r A stork holding a fish between its beak.
f96v The stork fighting with the crab.
f96r A crow flying off with a bangle made up of gold roundels above two men who are by a cave.
f95r The hare persuading the lion to jump on its own reflection in the pit.
f93v The two fishermen. One has a gold net and holds a fish.
f91v Dimna addressing the bull.
f89r The lion in counsel with the crow and the camel.
f88r The lion talking with the crow.
f87v The lion in conversation with the crow, the jackal, and the camel.
f87r The old she-camel being attacked by the lion, the crow, and the two jackals.
f86r Two ducks in an ornamental pool.
f85v The two ducks carrying the tortoise on a rod held between their beaks.
f85r A red double-headed eagle surrounded by other birds.
f84r The lion attacking the bull in front of the two jackals.
f82v A bird in a tree telling the monkeys not to make a fire in the mountains on a cold night.
f82r The monkeys, bringing the dead bird before a man.
f81v The two men who have been in dispute over money being judged by the qādī.
f81r The stork holding a crab between its beak.
The bird bringing back the merchant's small son by holding him to its breast.

Dimna talking to the lion.

The lioness talking to her son.

Dimna with the leopard and two other jackals talking with the lion.

The woman misguidedly returning bread (?) to her neighbour.

The two jackals in their home.

The lion in conversation with the leopard, the bear, and Dimna.

Dimna with the King of the pigs.

The lion with two leopards and a bear.

A young boy holding a green parrot in his left hand.

The falcon pecking out the young man's eyes in front of a young woman.

A huntsman with a net and staff before the crow in the tree.

The rat freeing the doves in the net by gnawing through it.

The crow and rat beside a pond.

Similar to the above.

The rat and crow beside the pond which has a tortoise.

The ascetic sitting at home with his guest while the rat is eating the food from a bowl.

The sleeping huntsman with Dimna by his bow and quiver. A boar is watching. At the rear is a dead onager.

The man woken from his sleep driving out the rat while his wife looks on from her bed.

The tortoise in the pool with the rat and crow looking on.
The gazelle drinking from the pool in which the tortoise is swimming.
The young man with the tortoise arriving before the crow and gazelle who are waiting by the rocks.
Similar to the above. The young man has been replaced by a hare.
The king of the crows in counsel with his subjects.
The king of the hares addressing his subjects.
The hare and the elephant.
The cat talking to the hare and duck.
The cat, having lured the other animals into its confidence, turns upon and kills the hare.
Two men bringing a ram before the ascetic as a present.
Three owls with one crow by a tree.
The thief stealing out of the bedroom in which there is a sleeping couple.
The ascetic in bed while the thief is intruding. Satan with a man's body and an ox's head enters at the ascetic's request.
The young man lying under the married couple's bed.
The falcon bringing a rat in its claws to the ascetic sitting beside the pool.
Two young women with the rat.
The battle between the crows and the owls. The iconography here is quite different from that in the Paris and Oxford Bidpai.s.
The monkey riding on an eel(?)
The monkey in the tree talking with the tortoise in the pool.
Kalila and Dimna talking with the lion.
The ascetic reclining at home is shown breaking a jar (of honey) with his stick.

The old man beating the weasel thinking that it has attacked and killed his son, who is sleeping in a cot.

The king with three of his courtiers.

Bilād, the king's wife, and Ablād.

The king with his wife, Bilād.

The king prostrating himself before Kaināyurūn.

The important personages and nobles presenting themselves before the king.

The king receiving a white elephant.

The king, who is seated on his throne handing a letter to one of Bilād's maidservants.

Bilād appearing before the king.

Bilād entering Ablād's home.

The king grieving with three courtiers.

The man, who lies down to rest in the noonday heat from carrying lentils has his food stolen by the monkey, who is sitting in the tree nearby.

Bilād and Ablād before the king.

The owl and the rats rejoicing that the cat is trapped in a net.

The rat talking to the cat, who sits in a shelter.

The huntsman taking away his rope while the rat talks to the cat in a tree.

The young prince catching and killing a chick by some rocks.

The chick's mate pecking the young boy's eyes.
f18v  A young man on horseback approaching a bird, which sits on some rocks at the left.
f15v  The lion talking with the jackal.
f14r  The lion in conversation with the bear.
f13v  The lion and his mother.
f11v  The jackal with the lion.
f9v  The man rescuing the boy trapped in a well.
f7v  A woman, who is looking "from the heights of her castle" and four men gazing at a man tied to a palm tree.
f5v  A man by two blue birds in a tree.
f4r  The lioness with the cat.
f3v  The ascetic with his guest eating from a bowl of fruit between them.

k) Thesis, Figs. 34a,34b—Walzer, "Lost Kalīlah wa-Dimnah", pl. 2, fig. 5(f78r)—Walzer, "Mamlūk illuminated manuscripts", Fig. 4(f121r), 8(f95r), 12(f84r), 16(f82r), 20(f69v). Exhibited at the exhibition of Persian Art, London, 1931. Catalogue No. 534B.
a) Unclassified. (Not in Arberry's catalogue).


c) Jumādā I 767/January 1366.

d) Probably Egypt.

e) Not known.

f) 19. Varying size: 13, 14, 15 x 15 cms.

g) Uncatalogued.

h) In very good condition.

i) 319ff; 29.5 x 19 cms.; 29.5 x 17.5 cms.; 24 x 15.8 cms.; 29.5 x 17.5 cms. 19 lines per folio.

Light quality, cream paper.
Black ink throughout. Vocalised script with marks in red.
Regular naskh script.
Green silk binding with red leather flap and centre medallion; gold tooling on leather.

j) Folios: 116r Two lancers
118v Four horsemen round a pool
120v Mounted lancer
130r Mounted lancer
134v Mounted rider speaking a bear
144r Mounted swordsman
146v Rider encouraging horse with unsheathed sword
149r "What to do with the sword"
151v A rider holding a sword under his arm-pit
154r Similar to above
154v Similar to above
156v Rider with sword and shield
157v Rider with two swords
159v Similar to above
161r Two horsemen "wheeling about in battle"
162f Rider with two leather shields
164v Rider with shield and lance
166f As above
176v Four mounted horsemen round a pool

k) Mayer, Costume, pl. XVI (f120v) - Musa, Buchmalerei, pl. 14.

Note: This manuscript appears to be identical with a manuscript formerly in the Aya Sofya Library, Istanbul, No. 4197. This latter work is mentioned by Holter, "Miniaturhandschriften", p.10, No.22 and H. Ritter, "La Parure des Cavaliers und die Literatur über die ritterlichen Künste", DI 18(1929), p.135. Ritter gives a description of the nineteen miniatures which corresponds almost exactly to the descriptions of the Chester Beatty illuminations given above. The order of some of the folios has perhaps been changed. I was able to ascertain that the Chester Beatty Library bought their manuscript from Mr. Isaac Feldman in Paris some time before 1970. It is hoped that further inquiries will reveal what has happened to this manuscript between 1937 and its arrival in Dublin. A further point is that there is a mistake in the title of the manuscript "ta'allum" being written instead of "ta‘1Im".
EL ESCORIAL
(Monastery of San Lorenzo El Real near Madrid)

a) Cod. (arab. num.) 898.
b) The Usefulness of Animals by b. ad-Duraihim al-Mausili.
c) 3rd RabI'I 755/28th March 1354.
d) Egypt?
f) 91. From 6 x 12 to 9 x 14 cms. Illustrations of the insects more rectangular than the others.
h) In very good state. All ff. in original order. Mins. of animals, mostly in pairs.
i) 154ff.; 26.5 x 18.5 cms.; 17.5 x 11.5 cms.; 26 x 18 cms.; 13 lines per folio.
Medium quality, cream, highly glazed paper.
Black ink, rubrics in gold, titles in white on gold ground, outlined in blue.
Medium regular naskh script, of high calligraphic quality.
Red brown, leather binding with shamsiya, no lisan.
The colophon on f153 states that this manuscript is the work of the Ibn ad-Duraihim, mentioned above and on f154 the date and year is given along with pious blessings. No seal or indication of the owner.
j) Folios:
The beginning is missing. Introduction on Man and his nature.
Section on domestic animals begins.

- 2r Ram/ewe
- 13v Buffalo
- 17v Horse
- 4r Goat
- 14v Camel
- 20v Domestic ass
- 6v Bull/cow
- 16v Elephant
- 23v Pigs

Section on wild animals begins.

- 28v Deer
- 55v Cat
- 31v Hare
- 56v Weasel
- 34v Mountain cow
- 57v Panther
- 35v Mountain goat
- 57v Monkey
- 36v Onager
- 58v Hedgehog
- 36v Gazelle
- 61v Fieldrat
- 38v Wild cow
- 61v Lizard
- 39v Wild ass
- 61v Crocodile
- 40v Lion
- 62v Ferret
- 43v Wolf
- 63v Salamander
- 45v Hyena
- 63v Unicorn
- 47v Bear
- 64v Rat?
- 49v Leopard
- 66v Mole
- 50v Dog
- 67v Porcupine
- 53v Fox

Section on domestic and wild birds begins.

- 68v Cock/hen
- 93v Eagle
- 73v Partridge
- 94v Osprey
- 75v Rail
- 95v Falcon
- 75v ?
- 97v Falcons
- 76v Duck
- 98v ?
- 79v Quail
- 99v White vulture
- 79v Sand-grouse
- 100v Owl
- 80v Heron
- 101v Crow/Magpie
- 81v Bustard
- 104v Hoopoe
- 82v Peacock
- 106v Swift
- 82v Swan
- 108v Bat
- 83v Ostrich
- 111v ?
- 84v Domestic dove
- 111v ?
- 85v Wild dove
- 112v Ostrich?
- 90v Quail/lark/?/Ring-dove
- 113v Locusts
- 90v Sparrow/Starling
- 114v Hornets
- 92v Quail
- 116v Beetles
Section on fish begins. Also reptiles, worms, insects, etc.

Fish
Tortoises
Crabs
Shells (Conch and sea-urchins)
Toads
Crocodile
Snakes
Scorpions
?

Gecko
Chameleon
?
Beetles?
Ants
Earth-worms
Lice
Centipedes
?
Worms

ISTANBUL - SÜLEYMANİYE LIBRARY

a) Lala Ismail 565.

b) Kasif al-Asrar or Disclosure of the secrets by Ibn Ghanim al-Maqdisi. In the catalogue the author is given as 'Izz ad-Din b. 'Abd as-Salâm al-Maqdisi.

c) No date given. Ettinghausen claims that it is mid-14th century. On ft. the words "in the year (——) and eight hundred" can be made out giving a date of about 1400. This is by no means a certain dating and is possibly a late addition.

d) Syria or possibly Egypt.


f) 35. The height of the miniatures averages about 6.8 cms. the length is usually about 11 cms.

g) Catalogue: Hamidiye Lala Ismail, 18, p.141: One volume in Arabic in Arabic script. Seal says that Lala Ismail Efendi gave this volume to the library of 'Abd al-Hamid I. No date is given.

h) Book in very good condition. Text written in saj'. Certain of the figures are crudely painted. Very formal and stylized paintings. Sense of constriction produced by the frames. Lifelessness accentuated by a frequent use of gold for the backgrounds and frames. The frames have two double black lines, except for ft. The decorations, e.g. scattered flowers and the corner-fillings, reveal a Persian spirit.

i) 46ff; 26 x 17.5 cms.; 17.5 x 11.5 cms.; 26 x 17 cms.; 13 lines per folio. Occasionally in two columns. Medium to thick quality cream, non-watermarked paper. Highly glazed. Black ink with rubrics in red. Titles in purple, red, or black large naskh. Medium regular naskh.
Tooled, dark leather binding. No lisan. Shamsiyya outlined in gold on cover.
No colophon on f46r. Only some pious formulae.
The cover and many folios, particularly 35-42 extensively damaged by insects.

j) Folios:
1r The title and the author's name are given. Also a seal of *Abd al-Ḥamīd I.

Flowers
4r The rose 11v The jasmine
5r The willow* 12r The basil
6v The violet 13r The oxeye daisy
7v The narcissus 13v The lavender
8v The fountain 15r The red anemone
10r The gillyflower

* Ettinghausen gives Myrrh as the subject.

Birds
16v The clouds 28v Cock
17v Kite 29v Duck
18v Falcon 30v Bee
19v Dove 31v Wax
21v Swallow 32v Butterfly
22v Owl 33v Fire
23v Peacock 33v Crow
25v Parrot 35v Hoopoe
27v Bat

Animals
38v Dog 42v Silkworm
39v Camel 43v Spider
40v Horse 44v Ant
41v Cheetah

a) No. 3606. This manuscript was formerly in the Aya Sofya Kütüphanesi, all of whose books have now been transferred to the Süleymaniye.

b) Automata of al-Jazari

c) Safar 755/February 1354.

d) Provenance unknown.

e) Muḥammad b. Ḥamad al-Izmīrī.

f) 14 miniatures proper. Numerous other less important illustrations.

g) Unknown.

h) A very large and unwieldy book. Does not now contain many fine illuminations.

i) 246ff.; 39 x 28 cms.; 30 x 19.5 cms.; 39.3 x 27.9 cms. 15 lines per folio. Medium to heavy quality, cream, lightly glazed paper. Black ink throughout. Medium to large naskh script of reasonable quality. Comparatively recent, European binding. Flowered type of end-papers. No lisan. Colophon on f246v in rather rough script gives the date on line one, the name of the scribe on line two, and the fact that this manuscript "was copied from the original manuscript" on line three. The title-page is in Mamlūk style; the middle octagon contains in ornate script the full name of al-Jazari.

j) Folios:

*19r  31v  56r
26r  32r  *69r
*71r cf. 1206 ms. in Topkapi.
90v Figure not coloured.
96r
*98r Two peacocks and a water-machine. Fine colouring.
103v
A bird and a mechanical contraption.

cf. 1206 ms. in Topkapi. Folds of gown not particularly Mamlük.

Head of male figure has been tampered with.

N.B. Typically Mamlük high-peaked cap (ṣharbūš with fur).

A peacock.

A mechanical clock.

Two standing men and a water clock.


Mechanical plans with large areas of colour. These are continued for the remainder of the book on folios 202v, 204v, 206v, 209v, 210v, 212v, 214v, 215v, 220v, 224v. Most are line diagrams.

The folios marked with an * are the 14 most accomplished illustrations.

k) Binyon, Wilkinson, Gray, p. 26, No. 12—Blochet, Musulman Painting, pl. XXXV—XXXIX—Blochet, "Peintures à types byzantins", Figs. 4–10—Catalogue "Les arts de l'Isam", No. 322—Coomaraswamy, "Treatise of al–Jazari", 8 pls. (all in American collections)—Creswell, "Dr. F.R. Martin's M.S.", pl. 23—Hämíd, Ph.D. Thesis, Figs. 201, 202, 203—Kühnel, "Miniaturmalerei", pls. 1, 2—Martin, Miniature Painting, Vol. 1, Pl. A; Vol. 2, Pls. 1, 2(No. 18), 3(No. 23), 4(No. 6)—Martin and Sarre, Ausstellung, pls. 3(No. 46), 5—Migeon, Manuel, Fig. 15—Musa, Geschichte der islamischen Buchmalerei, pls. 7, 8—Rice, Islamic Painting, Fig. 29—Riefstahl, "Date of Automata Miniatures", Figs. 1(ff2, 2v), 2(f246v), 3(f246v), 4(title page), 5(f69v), 6(f36v), 7(f149v), 8(f155v), 9(f175v), 10(f178v), 11(f190v)—Sakisian, Miniature persane, Figs. 21, 22—Schulz, Persisch–islamische Miniaturmalerei, pls. 1, 4(Nos. 2, 7, 3)—Schroeder, Persian Miniatures, Pl. 1—Stchoukine, "Traité d'al–Jazari", Figs. 1, 5—Weitzmann, "Greek sources of Islamic scientific illustrations", Pl. XXXIII, Fig. 4.
a) Revan 1638.

b) Qānūn ad-Dunyā wa-'Ajā'ibihā or Order of the World and her Wonders.

c) Wednesday 23rd Dhu‘l Qa‘da 971/4th July 1563.

d) Provenance unknown. Probably Egypt as there are many illustrations with reference to Egypt (see index).

e) Ḍāhid b. ʿAlī b. al-Marhūm Ḥasan as-Sa‘ūdī. Ettinghausen gives Ḍāhid Miṣrī.

f) 348. Many of these miniatures are simple schemes but I have included them in my count as the intention was obviously to produce a vast illustrated work.

g) Unknown.

h) Generally the paintings are not outstanding.

i) 460ff; 28 x 21.5 cms.; 22 x 14.2 cms.; 28 x 20.3 cms.; 29 lines perfolio.
Medium to thick quality, cream, non-watermarked paper.
Lightly glazed.
Black ink with rubrics and titles in red. Margins in double red line.
Small regular naskh of regular format.
Red-brown leather binding. Tooled covers and lisan.

Shamsiyya.
The colophon on f460v gives the name of the scribe and date in full.
Slight insect damage on covers. Some blank folios.
Seal and Imperial tughra on f460r. Seal on f137v, 136r, 368r with tughra and name of Osman.

j) Ornate title-page with decorative blue margins and gold floral patterns. White lettering. On the upper and lower registers is the title of the book. A central roundel has decorative butterflies at the corners.
In the following list only those miniatures of historical or particular interest are included.
Folios:

4\(^r\) The earth. Six fishes swim round an almond-shaped earth. Full-page.

14\(^\text{v}\) A dragon of the *simurgh* type.

18\(^\text{v}\) *Mū'adh* in minaret. N.B. the sun in gold with a face on it.

24\(^\text{v}\) King Dāhīak with snakes growing out of his head. They have to be fed on human brains.

29\(^\text{r}\) Bearded man with the people of 'Ād.

30\(^\text{r}\) Buildings of type seen in Add. 7293 and Or. 9718 in London.

37\(^\text{r}\) Mecca and the Ka'aba.

38\(^\text{v}\) As above.

47\(^\text{v}\) Armed men with clubs and maces with balls. Cf. arabe 2826, f103v.

59\(^\text{r}\) The prophet Moses and others.

64\(^\text{v}\) Map of Cairo with Rhoda Island.

70\(^\text{r}\) The seventh gate to Heaven.

76\(^\text{v}\) The pyramids.

82\(^\text{v}\) Ibn Tūlūn's mosque.

86\(^\text{r}\) Old Cairo.

93\(^\text{r}\) The Nile.

94\(^\text{v}\) The tomb of Shaikh Ahmad Badawy.

100\(^\text{v}\) Alexandria.

105\(^\text{v}\) Hussein in Mashad.

112\(^\text{v}\) Baghdad. N.B. the gold hanging mosque lamp of simplified Mamlūk type.

118\(^\text{v}\) Demons.

119\(^\text{r}\) As above.

120\(^\text{v}\) The Dome of the Rock, Jerusalem.

122\(^\text{v}\) Solomon with his courtiers.
There follow many pictures of figures and constellation plans. There are also various illuminations of flowers and plants as well as fishes and animals.

a) Or. 9718. Presented by Mrs. Theodore Brent. 8th May, 1926.
b) Maqāmāt of al-Harīrī.
c) 1275-1300.
d) Probably Syria.
e) Ghāzī b. 'Abd ar-Rahmān ad-Dimashqī.
f) 79. On average about 11 x 13 cms.
g) The Maqāmāt of Ḥarīrī, fully vocalised. With numerous illustrations in colour. Copied in the XIIth century, and collated with the author's autograph (see title page (folio 2)); lacunae supplied. A.H. 1271. (This information is supplied in "The list of Oriental Manuscripts", Or 9035-11,819).
h) In reasonable condition though many of the figures have been damaged purposely out of iconoclastic zeal.
i) 215ff.; 22 x 28 cms.; 14 x 17 cms.; 20 x 26.5 cms.; usually thirteen lines per folio.
Poor quality, brown to cream, non-watermarked paper. Hardly glazed.
Black ink. Titles in gold. Rubrics in red.
Medium small regular naskh of good calligraphic quality. Occasional tendency to the cursive.
Plain maroon European binding. No līsān or shamsiyya.
j) No index is given here as a thorough account of all the miniatures is given in Chapter Seven.
k) Thesis. Illustrations of all the miniatures are included (Figs. 44-122) - Mayer, "A Hitherto Unknown Damascene Artist", facing p. 168 (f53r) - Mayer, Costume, pl. XIX, 1 (f173r) - Rice, "Autograph", pl. 4 (f173r) - Rice, "Oldest Illustrated Arabic Manuscript", pl. V (f39r) - Zaky, "Islamic Swords", Fig. 3 (f173r).
LONDON - BRITISH MUSEUM

a) Add. 7293.
b) Maqāmāt of al-Ḥarīrī.
c) 1323.
d) Syria?
e) Not known.
f) 227. Generally they are rather large.
g) Catalogus Codicum Orientalium qui in Museo Britannico asservantur: Codex bombycinus in fol. maj. ff. 437 literis majusculis luculenter exaratus, etc. A.H. 723, A.D. 1323 Per folia 112 in initio multae adpictae sunt imagines; etc.
h) Many are unfinished or consist of crude plant forms. There are few good illuminations.
i) 437ff; 31 x 43.5 cms.; 20 x 31 cms.; 29 x 43 cms. 13 lines per folio. The use of the mastara may be seen. Medium quality cream paper. Highly glazed. Black ink. Titles in white on a gold ornate ground and many gold rosettes. Large and not always regular naskh of medium quality. Many subsequent lines of commentary have been added round the margins. Plain European brown leather binding. No shamsiyva or lisān. Colophon on f437r: Finished in 723. The last two and a half lines of the colophon are badly damaged.
j) On the title-page it is stated that the book became the property of the tax inspector at Damascus in 777/1375. In the following index only the most notable miniatures are listed. 7r Al-Ḥarīth with Abū Zaid enjoying good food. 9v Architectural scene from the Maqāma of Ḥulwān. 14v Two seated figures with Abū Zaid done in red line. 16r As above except that there are three figures. 17r Camels and figures in red lines pricked with dots.
33v House with three stories bordered by cypress trees.
34v Ruined mosque scene.
41v Qādī of Ma‘arra with three figures.
50r Blue brick wall with brown balustrade and four mosque lamps to right of curtained opening.
80r Composition comparable to Add. 22,114. Abū Zaid meeting al-Ḥārith.
87r Cf. the above. Al-Ḥārith stretches his hand out in greeting.
93r Trees with white buds. ff 90v to 111v contain numerous sketches of plants.
A large number of the following folios deal with plants and shrubs. Most are coarsely painted.
ff 111v to 285r contain many blank spaces. There are usually 3-5 lines of text.
285v A very fine and delicate line drawing of Abū Zaid's son asking for sympathy.
Most of the subsequent folios have blank spaces but only the odd scribble on them.

LONDON - BRITISH MUSEUM

a) Add. 22,114.
b) *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī.
c) c.1300.
d) Probably Syria.
e) Not known.
f) 83. Generally a horizontal size filling the width of the page.
g) Catalogue of 1854-56: "Makāmāt al-Hariri, a classical work of fiction in Arabic (written in a fine hand of the 14th century and ornamented) with curious miniatures, eighty-four in number. 14th cent. Quarto".
h) In an extremely fine state. All the miniatures are well-preserved.
i) 186ff.; 20.3 x 28 cms.; 16 x 24 cms.; 19 x 26.7 cms. 13 lines per folio. Medium quality cream non-watermarked paper; not highly glazed. Black ink with red rubrics; some titles and rosettes in gold. Medium regular naskh of high calligraphic quality. Recent red leather cover, tooled in gold with gold shamsiyya and lisān. No colophon. Seal on f186v indecipherable.
j) Folios:

3r Abū Zaid preaching against self-indulgence.
3v Al-Ḥārith with Abū Zaid in the cave.
6r Al-Ḥārith taking leave of Abū Zaid.
8v Al-Ḥārith rewarding Abū Zaid for recitation in front of two scholars.
10r Al-Ḥārith rebuking Abū Zaid.
12v Al-Ḥārith invites Abū Zaid to his house for a meal.
15r Abū Zaid brought before the ʿQādī of Alexandria by a beautiful woman.
Abū Zaid with his son appealing to the Governor of Rahba.

Al-Ḥārith meeting Abū Zaid in the courtyard of the Governor.

Abū Zaid’s oration at a funeral.

Al-Ḥārith and two travellers being addressed by Abū Zaid.

Caravan setting out for ‘Irāq.

Al-Ḥārith and Abū Zaid drinking with musicians.

Al-Ḥārith conversing with Abū Zaid and two others.

Abū Zaid and son begging from al-Ḥārith.

Abū Zaid addressing a group of others.

Abū Zaid knocking at al-Ḥārith’s door.

Al-Ḥārith offering food to Abū Zaid.

Abū Zaid addressing four people in a mosque.

Abū Zaid discussing philological niceties with three men.

Al-Ḥārith, Abū Zaid and two others in a caravan from Damascus to Baghdad.

Abū Zaid, al-Ḥārith at a merchant’s wedding feast at Sinjār.

Abū Zaid, al-Ḥārith with the host and two guests.

Abū Zaid meeting the narrator at Naṣībīn.

Al-Ḥārith in a cupper’s shop.

Al-Ḥārith pitying Abū Zaid and son

Al-Ḥārith and his companion handing 2 dirhams to Abū Zaid.

Abū Zaid ill in bed.

Abū Zaid still in bed.

Abū Zaid with al-Ḥārith. A badly damaged miniature.

Abū Zaid discoursing at Rayy.

Abū Zaid reproving the Governor of Rayy.

Abū Zaid with al-Ḥārith and two others in a boat on the Euphrates.
66r Abū Zaid before the Governor of Baghdad.

68r Abū Zaid and his son showing their prowess in verse composition.

69r A party in the suburbs of Baghdad. This miniature belongs to the previous maqāma.

76v Abū Zaid in a loin-cloth surrounded by a crowd.

78r The two heroes in front of the crowd.

79v Al-Hārith meeting Abū Zaid in great prosperity in a tent with slaves.

82v Abū Zaid before the Governor of Tus in Khorasan.

85r The narrator with Abū Zaid and his son. Abū Zaid rather badly damaged.

85v As above.

86r As above with a grassy base. Scene out of doors.

94r Abū Zaid preaching in the mosque of Samarkand.

96r Abū Zaid entertaining al-Hārith.

98r The khan, or inn, at Wāsiṭ.

99r Abū Zaid engaged in astronomical calculations.

100v Abū Zaid makes off with drugged guests' valuables.

103r A wedding feast in Cairo.

104r Abū Zaid lamenting his weakness and old age. Misplaced; refers to Maqāma No. 20.

105r Abū Zaid addressing the seated company.

107v Al-Hārith on his way to Mecca.

108r Abū Zaid talking to pilgrims in Mecca.

111v Abū Zaid assuming the role of muftī of Taiba.

114r Al-Hārith with Abū Zaid's son before the Qādī of Zabīd in the Yemen.

115r Al-Hārith reproving Abū Zaid.

116r Damaged illustration to the Maqāma of Shīrāz.

117v Abū Zaid and son in front of the Qādī of Ma'arra. Refers to the eighth Maqāma.

119v Damaged illumination to the Maqāma of Mālīyya.
125r Abū Zaid before the Qādī of Saʿada in the Yemen.
128v Before the Governor of Merv.
132r Al-Ḥārith, Abū Zaid and two others in a boat in a storm. (Maqama of Šuḥār.)
133r The two heroes meeting slaves in front of a castle.
134r The two men meeting the childless master.
135v Two women with Abū Zaid and al-Ḥārith.
137r Abū Zaid arguing with his wife in front of the Qādī of Tabriz.
143r The mosque of Tanīs in Egypt.
144r Al-Ḥārith and Abū Zaid.
145r Abū Zaid taunting three men.
149r The two heroes with their camels.
150r Abū Zaid consulting a young boy by throttling him!
153v An unremarkable illumination to the Maqāma of al-Bakrīyya.
155r Abū Zaid and other guests enjoying hospitality on a winter’s night.
156r Al-Ḥārith addressing three seated men.
164r Abū Zaid with his wife before the Qādī of Ramla.
168r Abū Zaid as a schoolmaster teaching his pupils. This painting and the following 4 refer to the 46th Maqama, that of Aleppo.
168v As above but badly mutilated.
169r Has rubbed against the previous one but is clearer.
169v As above but not in a good state.
170r Boy in red cap standing in front of Abū Zaid, who holds a red staff.
175r Abū Zaid with the congregation in the mosque of the Banū Harām in Basra.
180r Abū Zaid in the "cathedral" mosque at Basra.
184r Abū Zaid advising his son to practise beggary. Misplaced; it belongs to the previous Maqama of Sasan.
k) Thesis, Figs. 8-13—Buchthal, "Painting of Syrian Jacobites", pl. XXIV (f55r)—Buchthal, "Three Illustrated Harîrî Manuscripts", pls. II A (f94r), C (f79v), E (f68r)—Ettinghausen, Arab Painting, p.146 (f94r)—Mayer, Costume, pl. XVIII I (f68r), 2 (f94r), pl. XIX 2 (f135v)—Rice, "Oldest Illustrated Arabic Manuscript", pl. 6 (f21r)—Rice, "Deacon or Drink", pl. VIII (f26r)—Rice, Islamic Art, Fig. 141 (f96r)—Rice, Islamic Painting, Fig. 27(b)(f132v).
LONDON - DE UNGER COLLECTION

a) Unclassified.
b) Furūsiyya manuscript. Title not known.
c) Early 16th century?
d) Probably Egypt.
e) Not known.
f) Upwards of 30. Roughly half-page. In 1928 there were 46 miniatures.
g) Uncatalogued.
h) Miniatures in good condition. Some folios are missing.
i) Originally c. 184ff. 24 x 16.5 cms. (size of outer margin).
   15 lines per folio.
   Text in black naskh; titles in red ink.
j) No foliation available. Numbers 1 - 14 are in the De Unger Collection.

1 A plan for mobilizing troops.
2 Similar to the above.
3 A cask on a bearer for arrow-shooting exercises.
4 Spearheads and bows and arrows.
5 A rider carrying out a lance exercise.
6 The use of a lance with an iron hook to down an opponent.
7 Two horsemen wrestling.
8 The "naftiyya" or naphtamen.
9 The "matraq" game or jousting.
10 Striking clay with a sword to acquire striking power.
11 Lance-fight training.
12 A rider training in the use of a lance.
13 The method to make a mace.
14 Arrow-shooting from a horse.
Numbers 15 and 16 are in the collection of Mr. J. Achérhof in Paris.

15 Whole-page miniature of two Mamlūks training in the use of the bow and arrow.

16 Similar to the above.

k) All the above drawings and miniatures are illustrated in M. Mostafa, "An Illustrated Manuscript on Chivalry" from which most of the above and following information has been drawn.

Three pages from this manuscript are in the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo, registered under Nos. 18019, 18235, 18236. These have been published by M. Mostafa, Guide to the Exhibition "Unity in Islamic Art" (Cairo, 1958), p. 26. Nos. 18019 and 18235 have been published in Islamic Art in Egypt 969-1517 (Cairo, 1969), pp. 292-293 (Nos. 279a,279b). A further miniature has been published by M. Mostafa, "Darstellung des täglichen Lebens in der islamischen Kunst", Bustan 2 (1960), pp. 33-48, illus. 23.
MILAN – BIBLIOTECA AMBROSIANA

a) A.125 inf.

b) Da‘wat al-Āṭibbā' or Banquet of the Physicians by Ibn Buṭlān.

c) 10th Jumādā I 671/4th December 1272.

d) Syria?

e) Not known. Probably the Muhammad b. Qaisar mentioned on f37r.

f) ll. About 11 x 15 cms.


h) Miniatures in very good state.
Book appears not to have been finished as there are blank spaces and some chapter headings, e.g. "Law" on f38r with a large blank space. Similarly ff77r, 77v, 78r, 78v are blank. The use of the mastara may be seen. F79r "Almanack of Health" the rest blank, as is f79v. The remainder of the work seems connected with astrology. Last folio blank.

i) ll2ff.: 30 x 21.5 cms.; 22.5 x 17 cms.; 30 x 22 cms. 15 lines per folio.
Medium to light quality, creamy-brown, non-glazed paper. Black ink with rubrics in red.
Medium, regular naskh of good quality.
Brown leather binding with tooled shamsiyya. No lisan. Colophon on f37r gives the date in red ink, the name of the scribe in gold, and his nisba and blessings on him in red ink.
Also colophon on f120v (damaged in lower parts). This appears to be a colophon to the second part of this book, which has little connection with the earlier piece.
j) Folios:
   5r Two doctors conversing.
   9v Two figures sitting cross-legged. On how to eat.
   12v A doctor facing five others. On how to sit when drinking.
   15r Six figures drinking and playing the lute.
   16v Similar to the above.
   20v Six doctors.
   24v Standing man and woman. On the ignorance of doctors.
   29v Six figures celebrating.
   33v As above with a Negro slave.
   35v The doctor finding his servants carousing.
   36r The master has his servant imprisoned. Follows on from the above.

k) Thesis, Figs. 5-7—Ettinghausen, Arab Painting, p. 144 (f35v)—Rice, Islamic Art, Fig. 140 (f35v)—Rice, Islamic Painting, Fig. 27(a)(f35v).
MILAN - BIBLIOTECA AMBROSIANA

a) num. S.P. 67 (formerly Ar. D. 140 inf. Antico Fondo)

b) Kitāb al-Ḥayawan or Book of Animals by al-Ｊāḥiz.

c) Mid to late 14th century. Lamm: late 13th cent. or first half of 14th century.

d) Syria?

e) Not known.

f) 32. They all occupy the whole width of a page but never the whole height. Generally they are in the middle of the text. Two scenes are on f44V.

g) Included in a volume of miscellany which contains an off-print of Hammer's catalogue: De natura animalium et primo de cane.

h) Miniatures are much larger than normal for this school. All have a matt appearance. This is possibly due to the unglazed paper which would absorb the paint more readily than if it were glazed. The style and manner of depiction of the animals bears a close resemblance to that in the Escorial Bestiary, particularly in the shape of the head, and the curve of the hind-quarters. No frames or coloured backgrounds. Rich colours and use of gold.

i) 87ff; 32.5 x 25 cms.; 26 x 18 cms.; 33 x 25 cms.; 15 lines per folio.
Unglazed, matt paper.
Black ink.
Thuluth of medium quality. Slightly backhand.
Simple binding; lisan missing; bound in Feb. 1616 (Löfgren, "Ambrosian Fragments", p. 15). Beginning and end missing; leaves in great disorder.
No colophon.

j) Folios:
1r Two dogs eating entrails of ass.
3r Lion eating entrails of cow.
4r He-goat flanked by plant designs.
5r Hare; plant motifs.
6r Boar rooting in ground; fish in pool.
6v Cock; vulture; hoopoe.
7r Three dogs and plant designs.
8r Cock.
9r Cock copulating with hen.
9r Lilac-coloured cat cowering from golden lizard.
10r Ostrich on eggs.
19r Scene of sodomy; boy with goat.
19v Woman between two men.
20v Veiled woman in front of Mu’awīya and slave.
22v Dog-like animal.
23r Dog-like animal.
23v Two dogs - Salūqian and Indian.
25r King (Dhū‘l-Qarnain)
26r Giraffe led by halter by dark-skinned driver with goad. Conventionalized tree.
26v Three shabbut fish and plants.
29r Fishpond and 8 fishes. Sitting woman with halo and standing women. Bowl of fruit. This is Umm Ja‘far daughter of Ja‘far b. al-Mansūr.
36r Governor with turban and sword reading letter: "Let the weaklings in it be castrated!"
40r Cock before bowl of food. Plant designs.
40v Harem scene.
41r Eunuch releasing birds from cage.
42r Piebald horse mating with an ass.
44v Two scene above each other of copulating goats.
51r Crocodile with open mouth.
63r Eagle with snake in beak; below larger snake attacking chicken.
63v Kneeling man catching birds in net. Owl used as decoy.
64r Two copulating elephants.

k) Thesis, Figs. 16-18—Ettinghausen, Arab Painting, p. 157 (f10r)—Löfgren, "Ambrosian Fragments", pls. 1-24 (all the miniatures)—Zaky, "Islamic Swords", Fig. 5 (f36r).
MUNICH - BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK

a) C. arab 616.
b) Kalīla wa Dimna, or Fables of Bidpai.
c) First quarter of the 14th century.
d) Egypt or Syria.
e) Not Known.
f) 73.
g) Catalogue: J. Aumer. Die arabischen Handschriften d.k. Hof-und Staatsbibliothek in München (Munich, 1866), No. 616.
k) Holter, "Miniaturenmalerei", Figs. 4 (f20r), 5 (f36r).--Holter, "Galen", Fig. 35 (f41v).--Kühnel, "Miniaturenmalerei", Fig. 3a.--Schulz, Persisch-islamische Miniaturmalerei, pl. 10 a, b; 11 a, b.--Walzer, "Lost Kalīlah wa-Dimnah", pl. 2, Fig. 3.--Walzer, "Mamlūk illuminated Manuscripts", Figs. 1, 5, 9, 13, 17. Exibited at the exhibition of Islamic Art, Munich, 1910. Catalogue No. 153, p. 22.
a) Marsh 458.
b) *Maqāmāt* of al-Harīrī.
c) 2nd Rabī' 1 738/28th September 1337.
e) Not known.
f) 42 (Holter gives 39). Size is usually 12.5 x 17 cms.
h) In very good state. Some folios of text have been replaced. Some *maqāma* titles are missing. Some are misplaced.
i) 131ff. (1 folio is unnumbered after f110); 38 x 28 cms.; 26 x 17 cms.; 36.5 x 24.5 cms.; 19 lines per folio.
Medium quality cream glazed paper.
Black ink, rubrics in red. Titles are in white on a gold ground, outlined in black.
Medium regular naskh script of high calligraphic quality.
Light brown European leather binding (18th century?).
No seal or indication of owner.
j) Folios:

4r Frontispiece. 32.5 x 21 cms. In three registers. The upper and lower registers are narrow. The central register has a gold background. Fourteen figures with varied animals. Upper register contains scenes of the hunt and flowers. The lower register depicts female musicians.

6v Abū Zaid surrounded by eight friends.

7v Three figures in a cave.

23r Abū Zaid and seven other figures grouped round a wooden tomb. The white draped cloth contains a Qur'ānic quotation.
25^r Three mounted figures.
26^v Six people carousing.
28^r Abū Zaid and his son composing poetry.
29^v Al-Ḥārith waking Abū Zaid at the latter's home.
30^v Three figures in a tent entertaining two others.
32^v Abū Zaid entertaining two others.
36^r Six men including a lutanist at the left.
39^r Abū Zaid addressing four others.
40^v The narrator and Abū Zaid.
41^v Al-Ḥārith on horseback with Abū Zaid on a camel.
44^r Al-Ḥārith meeting a pedlar.
45^r Abū Zaid arriving to settle a dispute over a camel.
48^r Abū Zaid preaching in the mosque at Samarkand.
49^v Abū Zaid and Al-Ḥārith on cushions picnicking in the open-air.
50^v Abū Zaid in bed talking to two visitors.
51^v Abū Zaid addressing nine figures.
53^r Abū Zaid making off with the wedding guests' belongings.
54^r Abū Zaid and Al-Ḥārith between two tall buildings.
55^r Abū Zaid seated on a throne with six figures to his right.
56^r Eight figures eating from three gold dishes.
57^r Abū Zaid standing on a mound addressing five others.
59^r Similar to the above. Only four figures.
65^v Abū Zaid with Al-Ḥārith by a tent.
67^v Three men including Al-Ḥārith banishing Abū Zaid who leaves at the left.
72^v Abū Zaid addressing three seated figures.
74^r Abū Zaid and his son meeting Al-Ḥārith.
75^r Abū Zaid and three figures. A red bird of the simurgh type.
77v Abū Zaid and al-Ḥārith with their camels at a cave during a night-halt.

82r Abū Zaid and three men eating with a gulla and a carafe in front of them.

85v Abū Zaid and al-Ḥārith.

88v Three figures by some multicoloured rocks.

92r Three sleeping figures and one other person facing Abū Zaid who removes an emerald casket from a camel.

116r Abū Zaid teaching in the school at Aleppo.

120r Al-Ḥārith in Abū Zaid's cupper's shop.

126r Abū Zaid and his son.

127v Abū Zaid addressing seven seated figures in the mosque at Basra.

129v Three mounted figures on camels.

131r A mosque scene with tripartite arches with marble columns.

k) Arnold, Painting, pl. XII a(f36r), b(f92r), c—Binyon, Wilkinson, Gray, col. pl.I, pl.II A,B—Ettinghausen, Arab Painting, p.152 (f45r)—Grube, World of Islam, Fig. 63—Holter, "Miniaturenmalerei", Figs. 1, 6 (f23r), 9, 12, 14—Mayer, Costume, pl. XX 1(Frontispiece), 2 (f56r)—Rice, "Oldest Illustrated Arabic Manuscript", pl. VII a(f23r).

Exhibited at the exhibition of Persian Art, London, 1931. Catalogue No.533B.
OXFORD - BODLEIAN LIBRARY

a) Pococke 400.
b) *Kalila wa Dimna*, or Fables of Bidpai.
c) Monday 25th Rabī' II 755/19th May 1354.
d) Probably Syria.
e) Muḥammad b. Āḥmad b. Ṣafī b. Qāsim b. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān aṣ-Ṣūfī? (See (g) below.
f) 78. This includes a small fragment at the beginning (f5v). Usually half the written page, sometimes three-quarters; about 17 x 20 cms.
g) Uri, No. 356. 755 A.H./1354 A.D. Translated from the Indian language by Barzawaih, a doctor and philosopher. From there into Persian and thence to Arabic. 174ff. 15 Chapters. Writer is the Muḥammad b. Āḥmad mentioned above, known as al-Ghuzūlī.
h) In good state. First folio and title-page missing. Rather large and coarse paintings. Text enclosed by a red linear frame.
j) Folios:
   5v A small fragment. The remains of a shrub and a saw through a piece of wood.
   10r The two wise men with the philosopher and the king.
   12v Three men mounted on horses en route to India.
   13v The traveller seated with the Indian.
   15r King Nūshirwān talking with the philosopher.
   18v Barzawaih addressing Nūshirwān and two others from a pulpit.
20v Two men carrying away gold while a third fills a wicker basket from the cave.

21v The wise man addressing three others.

22r A thief carrying away a basket from the bedroom of a sleeping man.

24r A man and the sesame merchant taking away baskets from an interior.

25r The householder driving out the thief with a stick.

30r A man in bed with his wife. The two thieves are on the roof above.

31r The husband (who is almost nude) traps one of the thieves by dropping that section of the ceiling. This is a comparable feature to the sliding roofs.

32r The husband beats the wife’s lover while his wife looks on.

33r The merchant with a customer who is banging cymbals.

36v The man trapped above a well.

40v The two jackals, Kalīla and Dimna, facing each other and chatting.

41v Dimna addressing two lions.

43v The fox inquisitively putting its nose into the drum hanging from the tree.

45r Dimna with the lion and the bull.

46r The two mountain goats butting each other.

46v The man in bed with his neighbour’s wife.

48r The cupper with his wife and family and the ascetic before the qādī.

50r The crab and the heron locked in close combat.

51v The hare persuading the lion to jump on his own reflection in the pit.

53r Two men fishing with nets beside a pool.

58v The fight between the lion and the elephant.

60r The lion, the crow, and the two jackals killing the old she-camel.

61v The two ducks flying with the tortoise on a stick held between their beaks.
63r The lion fighting with the bull.

64v Kallila and Dimna.

65v Two monkeys below the two birds in a tree. A pile of wood is between the monkeys.

67r The qaṭṭtā circling a tree on his horse.

70r The lion with his mother.

73v The two jackals.

75v The leopard addressing Dimna, two other jackals, and a hare.

77v The ploughman and his two wives. The latter wear loin-cloths and head-wraps only.

80v The falcon pecking out the boy's eyes.

82v The rat gnawing the net to free the trapped doves.

86r The ascetic with his guest.

90v The tortoise swimming in a pool.

92v The hunter follows a gazelle while the rat gnaws the ropes tying the tortoise.

94r The battle between the crows and the owls.

94v The king of the crows addressing his five subjects.

97v The king of the hares addressing his four subjects.

98r An identical scene to the above.

99r The hare persuading the elephant that the reflection of the moon in the water is a coin.

102v The king of the crows and four subjects.

104v The man in bed with his wife.

107r The crows fanning the flames which consume the owls huddled in the cave.

108v The ascetic with his son who has been bitten by a snake.

111v The monkey in the tree throwing figs to the tortoise in the water below.

114r The monkey riding on the tortoise's back.

114v The monkey in the tree and the tortoise in the water below.
116v The ascetic breaking a hanging jar. Honey and butter flows out.

117r The ascetic and his son who is lying in a cot.

121r The king talking with Kaināyurūn, the wise man.

123v Ailādh knocking King Balārwazīr on the head with a gold piece of cedar.

125r The two doves in their nest.

125v King Balārwazīr talking with the wise man.

129r The king with his wife brought before him.

130r The three hanged men.

131v The rat; the cat in the net; the weasel in the lair; the owl in the tree.

133r The king and the philosopher.

133v The king's son who has killed a young bird.

134r The bird's mate clawing the eyes of the king's son.

136v The king with the philosopher.

138v The lion talking with the jackal.

142v The lion with the jackal and two wolves.

143r The king with the philosopher.

144v The ascetic helping to rescue with a rope the man in the pit.

145r The crucified thief.

145v The ascetic riding back-to-front on a donkey. A young man in front tolls a bell. At the rear is another man wearing a tall, conical hat (saraquj?).

146r The king with the philosopher.

148r The king riding on an elephant while making the circuit of Medina.

150r The lioness looking at her two dead and skinned offspring.

150v The lioness gazing on plants.

151v The crow with the partridge.
k) Arnold, *Painting*, pl. 63 a(f97r)—Binyon, Wilkinson, Gray, pl. IIIA,B, IV A,B—Buchthal, "Indian Fables", Fig. 2 (f116v)—Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, p. 154. (f99r)—Gray, *Persian Painting* (1930), pl. 2—Holter, "Miniaturenmalerei", Figs. 6,12—Holter, "Galen", Fig. 36 1(f146r)—Mayer, *Costume*, pl. XVII 1 (f48v), 2 (f18v)—Walzer, "Lost Kalīlah wa-Dimmah", pl.I, Fig. 1 (f70r)—Walzer, "Mamlūk illuminated Manuscripts", Figs. 2 (f20v), 6 (f51v), 10 (f63v), 14 (f65v), 18 (f80v).

Exhibited at the exhibition of Persian Art, London, 1931. Catalogue No. 534 C.
a) Ms. Greaves 27.


c) Midday, Sunday 28th Safar 891/5th March 1486.

d) Possibly Egypt.

e) Not known.

f) 52 miniatures in completed condition or partially completed condition but of note. Many other line drawings and diagrams are not of great artistic merit. 21 miniatures are full-page.

g) Uri, No. 886. 114ff. No date.

h) In good state.

i) 115ff; there are really 114ff as there is no f77. 26.8 x 18.7 cms.; 22 x 14 cms.; 26.1 x 17.7 cms. Usually 27 lines per folio. Sometimes 26 or 29. Medium quality, cream glazed paper. Black ink throughout. Rubrics in red. Title numbers in gold. Title headings in blue. Small, regular naskh. Some diacritical points. Brown, European leather binding with gold tooling.

j) Only the most outstanding miniatures have been listed below.

Folios:
4r "Clepsydra" scene
9v A pulley arrangement with a colourful bird and man.
12v) Both are painted pulleys.
15r)
15v A trough with cups on levers being turned.
17v A large circular zodiacal indicator.
19r Zodiacal signs.
21r "Clepsydra" scene.
24r A series of cups on a central lever.
25r A complicated set of pulleys.
26r A full-page illumination with a lamp and a canopy with a man and a dragon.
30v An elephant with a canopy and two men.
32r A man seated on top of a pulley contraption.
33r Man seated astride a mechanical "horse".
42v Series of coloured cups together with cog wheels, circles containing water, etc.
48r A man with a sword at the top of a scale and pulley.
54v Upright water-filled basin with a duck at the top.
61v A full-page scene of a band and servants bringing gifts to a ruler who is framed by a canopy.
78r A linear peacock with mechanisms in its tail.
86v A peacock with water pouring from its mouth to a lower trough.
113v Half-page outline of a man with a pipe and rod standing in the shell of a boat.

k) Arnold, Painting, pl. XI a (f4r), b (f61v)---Creswell, "Dr. F.R. Martin's M.S.", pl. 24 A, B.
a) Ms. Fraser 186.

b) Kitāb al-Jāmī' bain al-ْIlm wa'l-'Amal an-Nāfi'fī Ṣinā'at al-Ḥiyal of al-Jazarī.

c) 6th Rabī' I 1048/18th July 1638.

d) Unknown.

e) Not known.

f) 143 illustrations or simple plans. Only about 23 are of any artistic interest.

g) Card catalogue: al-Jazarī fl.c.1205.1638. 185ff.

h) In good state. Has been affected by damp, particularly towards the end. Also the cover and some folios are worm-eaten.

i) 187ff. (ff173 and 174 have not been counted).

23 x 17 cms.; 18 x 7.5 cms.; 23 x 17 cms.

21 lines per folio.

Light quality, cream lightly glazed paper.

Black ink throughout. Rubrics and chapter divisions in red. Margins in red, gold, and blue.

Very small regular naskh. Not of very high calligraphic quality. No diacritical points.

European maroon leather binding. Old maroon covers with tooling and gold shamsiyya have been pasted on new boards.

j) Only the most notable of the drawings and miniatures have been included in the following list.

Folios:

6r "Clepsydra" scene. The five men are painted in gold. Full-page.

15v A man and bird combination with a pulley.

22r An elaborate pulley and cog-wheels.

26r A bearded man with a turban by a wheel containing a series of cups. The turban suggests an Ottoman influence.

31v Twelve signs of the Zodiac (in gold) on a blue circular frame.
35  A "clepsydra" scene.
43  A dragon clock. Full-page.
45  A full-page automaton with a large pulley.
50  An elephant (blue) with a rider; a gold canopy contains a figure and a dragon.
54  A bearded man (Indian?) with a rod standing over some machinery.
56  A bearded man (gold) riding on a piece of machinery with elephant's legs.
62  A woman, dressed in white, seated on a throne under a canopy.
69  Three layers of gold peacocks.
71  Two peacocks above a water-wheel of cups.
83  A full-page pulley with a monkey in gold standing on a T-square.
90  Water-powered machinery.
99  Water-wheels and cups.
104  Scene of a band and an enthroned ruler.
110  A seated figure with a turban of Ottoman, or perhaps Moghul appearance.
117  Two seated figures within a canopied frame.
128  A peacock in delicate black outline with machinery.
141  A peacock with water pouring from its mouth.
150  Full-page piece of machinery.

k) No illustrations known.
a) Arabe 2477

b) Automata of al-Jazarī.

c) Friday 7th Rabī' II 890/23rd April 1485.

d) Provenance unknown.

e) Not known.

f) 43. Size varies but in general they fill a full half-page.

g) Catalogue: De Slane, Mss. arabes (Paris, 1883): The second part of Abou'1-‘izz Ismā‘īl al-Djazarī (sic!) on the use of water to power automata to produce music, and to allow several waters to emerge from the one vase. Interiors or cross-sections of these automata are shown. The work was first composed in 602/1206.

h) Not outstanding illustrations. Mostly of various machines with no human figures.

i) 58ff. (The foliation has been done in European pagination, i.e. 112pp. F99 seems to have been enumerated twice). 28 x 19.5 cms.; 19 x 12.5 cms.; 26.7 x 18 cms. 29 lines per folio. Use of the mastara, or ruler, can be clearly seen.

Medium, cream-coloured paper, fairly highly glazed.
Black ink throughout. Rubrics in red or blue.
Small, regular naskh. Rubrics and chapter headings in medium-size naskh.
European-style cloth binding, leather spine. No lisan.
Colophon on fll2r.
No indication of owner.

j) Folios: (left-hand column are the nos. in the book; the ones on the right are mine.)

2r/2r Yellow orb.
3r/2v Cup (full-page) of a simple water-powered clock.
5r/3v Full-page diagram.
7r/4v Diagram (half-finished).
8r/5r Diagram in red lines.
Diagram only within the text.
Series of drinking cups on a wheel.
A variation of the above.
A variation of the above only larger.
Unfinished red line sketch.
Unfinished red line sketch.
Painted diagrams.
A chess-board?
Full-page diagram.
Red line drawings.
Red line drawing, has been pasted over.
Full-page plan.
Narrow plan at side of text.
Unfinished drawing of a seated man and a water-clock.
As above without the figure.
Small painted plans.
Painted diagram.
Red line sketch.
Colourful Automaton.
Colourful Automaton.
Colourful Automaton.
Colourful Automaton.
Colourful Automaton.
Yellow pipe.
Pipe with two basins.
Full-page complicated piece of machinery.
Half-page painted monster.
As above.
74r/39r ? Type of contraption.
76r/40r ? Type of contraption.
77r/40v Unfinished line drawing.
78r/41r Full-page automaton.
79r/41v \frac{1}{2} page contraption.
80r/42r Full-page machine.
82r/43r As above.
84r/44r Full-page unfinished line drawing.
88r/46r As above.

The last thirteen folios have no illustrations though there are spaces, which indicates the original plan of the artist.

k) No illustrations known.
a) Arabe 2583.

b) Astrological Treatise by Abu Ma‘shar (al-Balkhī).

c) Monday 5th Muharram 700/Tuesday 20th September 1300. (Blochet: 1250; Holter: after 1350). The last two leaves which contain the date are of a more modern hand than the rest of the manuscript. (I) A later date, such as the mid-fourteenth century, is more probable.

d) Provenance unknown; Egypt(?), more probably Jalā‘īrid.

e) Not known. Qanbar ‘Alī ash-Shīrāzī?

f) 36. All are full-page.


h) Numerous coloured drawings of a good quality. The four first represent Satan and other demons, the others the signs of the Zodiac, the phases of the moon personified, and other bizarre forms.

i) 36ff. (Foliation in book incorrect by one). 35 x 27 cms.; 30.5 x 22 cms.; 35 x 26 cms.

26 lines per folio. Sometimes 27 or 25.

Medium, cream coloured paper. No glaze. Has been repaired at the edges.

Black ink with rubrics in red.

Medium regular naskh of quite high quality.

Brown native leather binding with shamsiyā on cover and lisān with tooled design.

Colophon on f37v, line 15 with the full date.

j) First folios are missing.

Folios:

2r Satan and demons

2v Demons

3r Demons

3v Demons

(I) Holter, "Miniaturhandschriften", p. 30. He also gives the name of the author as in (e).
4\textsuperscript{V} Jupiter
5\textsuperscript{V} Mercury
6\textsuperscript{V} Moon
7\textsuperscript{V} Saturn
8\textsuperscript{V} Gemini
9\textsuperscript{V} Mars
10\textsuperscript{V} Sun
11\textsuperscript{V} Venus
12\textsuperscript{V} Cancer
13\textsuperscript{V} Crab-Scorpio
14\textsuperscript{V} Leo
15\textsuperscript{V} Jupiter - different phase of moon
16\textsuperscript{V} Virgo
17\textsuperscript{V} Venus - different phase of moon
18\textsuperscript{V} Mercury - different phase of moon
19\textsuperscript{V} Moon - different phase of moon
20\textsuperscript{V} Saturn - different phase of moon
21\textsuperscript{V} Libra
22\textsuperscript{V} Scorpio
23\textsuperscript{V} Scorpio - different phase of sun
24\textsuperscript{V} Scorpio - different phase of Venus
25\textsuperscript{V} Saggitarius - the Archer from Jupiter
26\textsuperscript{V} Saggitarius - from the moon.
27\textsuperscript{V} Saggitarius - from Saturn
28\textsuperscript{V} Capricorn
29\textsuperscript{V} Capricorn - from Mars
30\textsuperscript{V} Capricorn - from the sun
31\textsuperscript{V} Aquarius
32\textsuperscript{V} Aquarius - from Jupiter
33\textsuperscript{V} Aquarius - from the moon
34\textsuperscript{V} Pisces
35\textsuperscript{V} Pisces - from Jupiter

k) Thesis, Figs. 35,36---Blochet, Elnuminures, pl. XX a,b; XXI a,b---Blochet, Musulman Painting, pls. XXXII, XXXIII---Arnold, Painting, p. 71.
PARIS - BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE

a) Arabe 2824.

b) Kitāb al-Baiṭara-Kitāb al-Makhzūn Jāmi' al-Funūn by Ibn Akhī Khuzām.

c) Sunday 9th Muharram 875/8th July 1470.

d) Provenance unknown; probably Egypt. It appears to have been produced for a high court personage.

e) Not known.

f) 52. Often almost full-page.

g) Catalogue: De Slane, Mss. arabes (Paris, 1883): Treatise by Ibn akhī Khozām (sic!) on military science "renfermant les écoles de peloton, de cavalier, de fantassin, d'archer, et d'arbalétrier". Done in 875 A.H. for an important person of the Mamlūk Sultan's court (at that time Qā'it-Bāy). The name has been rubbed out from the frontispiece. Several folios missing between Nos. 1 and 2. Paper. 90ff. Height: 30 cms.; width 20 cms. 15 lines per page.

h) More colourful than arabe 2826 (which it closely resembles) and while it bears obvious characteristics of that school (e.g. in the colours, depiction of costume and faces) it lacks life and is more rigid than earlier works (e.g. Add. 22,114 in the B.M.). Less linear than arabe 2826 and more interesting in content. However not an outstanding ms. Was foliated in 1874 (noted on page preceding first folio).

i) 90ff. 29.3 x 20 cms.; 24 x 16.2 cms.; 29.2 x 20 cms. No. of lines in inner section varies between 11-13. Usually there is an upper and lower band of text making 15 lines per folio. Medium quality, cream paper. Highly glazed. Black ink throughout. All upper titles and rubrics in red. Margins a thin double red line. Medium regular naskh. Titling at top and bottom of pages much larger.
European-style maroon leather binding with superimposed mottled paper on end-pages. No lisān. The colophon on f90r gives the date in full as well as the usual pious blessings upon the author. On folio 2 an indecipherable seal bearing the Ottoman tughra. On f90r the Ottoman tughra is to be seen on the left of the page.

j) Folios:

2r Ornate frontispiece. Composed of an inner section shaped by six semi-circles.

2v Title at the top reads: "The beginning of horsemanship and instruction in furūsiyya."

3r Coloured flags which indicate a course for the horses. This continues for the next 7 folios on both sides. Varying shapes and sizes are shown. They bear a strong resemblance to arabe 2826.

17r Damaged illustration of man doing acrobatics on horseback.

17v Three standing men holding bamboo canes.

18v Two horsemen. N.B. turbans and patterned robes.

20v Two riders.

21v Two jousting riders. Beard and moustache on man on right a new addition.

22v A blue horse.

23v Jousting scene.

25v A contraption for hunting?


26r Hunter killing a pig with an arrow.

26v Two hunters.

27r Four objects?

28r Two archers on horseback.

29v Two mounted men in arena of three circles.

30r to 35v inclusive contain plans with flags. Cf. ff59v to 73r of arabe 2826.
230

37v Two riders fighting with swords.

43v Flags.

46v Damaged. Two horsemen jousting.

47v As above.

48v As above.

49v As above.

50v As above.

51v As above.

52v As above.

53v Two horsemen jousting.

54v As above.

55v As above. Damaged. This monotonous series is comparable to the series of shrubs shown in Add. 7293 q.v.

56v Mounted jousters.

57v As above.

58v Two standing men fighting with staves.

59v A strange contraption.

60v Rider with battle-axe on horseback.

61v Two riders.

62v Rider with stick, at ends of which are balls of flame.

62v Rider with a torch.

63v Four men with sticks.

64v Four mounted men with staves.

65v Two men with staves and small shields.

67v Archer shooting a crossbow.

68v Two jousters on horseback.

69v Jousters aiming at circle on top of pole.

70v Three jousters in two registers.

73v Two men attacking with swords 2 pyramidal structures.
75\textsuperscript{v} Two men fighting with staves.
76\textsuperscript{v} As above.
77\textsuperscript{r} Two riders wrestling.
77\textsuperscript{v} Two riders jousting with staves.
78\textsuperscript{v} As above.
81\textsuperscript{r} Three archers, one mounted.
82\textsuperscript{r} Archers on horseback.
82\textsuperscript{v} "How to hit one's opponent on the shoulder with a spear without using reins".
86\textsuperscript{v} Rider brandishing a sword.
87\textsuperscript{r} Types of shields.
87\textsuperscript{v} As above in a colourful pattern.

k) Thesis, Figs. 40, 41 - No other illustrations known.
PARIS - BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE

a) Arabe 2826
b) Kitāb al-Baitara.
c) 986/1578.
d) Provenance unknown.
e) Not known. Possibly the Nāṣir ad-Dīn mentioned on f29v.
f) 56. Usually at least half-page.
h) Text in good state. Illustrations not of high quality. They lack the former Arab vitality and are rather monotonous. This is typical of the barren period of the second Mamlūk dynasty. Not an outstanding manuscript.
i) 112ff.; 29 x 20 cms.; 18 x 12 cms.; 28 x 18.5 cms. 21 lines per folio.
j) Ff1-27r are of a thicker type of paper, smaller in size and inserted later. They all possess pencil-drawn diagrams which have obviously been copied from an older original. These are to be taken as plans of race-courses, etc. Cf. ff58v et seq. From ff22r to 26v Arabic script in black ink has been added at the top. Ff27r to 29r are blank, save for a squiggle on f28r.
f29v has a sub-title: *Kitāb al-Makhzūn li Arbāb al-Funūn*.
The author of this treaty on military horsemanship is
given as al-Ustādh Nāṣir ad-Dīn b. at-Ṭarāblūsī.

Folios:
34v Two horsemen jousting with lances.
43v A galloping horseman picking rings off the ground with his lance. Perhaps sugar-cane.
44r As above but in the opposite direction.
45r As above.
45v As above. Ring has a banner attached.
46r As above. Three rings on the ground.
46v As above.
47r A rider lifting a ring off another man's head with his lance.
54v Sub-title for treaty on military art.
58v Black ink designs for racing or jousting with flags marking the course.
59r As above.
59v to 73r there are 26 plans of differing courses. These lines were laid out with flags on a central square for jousting and other feats of riding.
78v Rider standing on two swords on saddle of horse while holding two poles upright. Horse is shown in an impossible galloping position!
79r Two men stand holding poles in either hand. Both wear red caps which are common in this ms.
79v Two men jousting.
80r As above.
80v As above.
82r Man jousting at square pole with two holes in it.
82v and 83r A double illustration. Two riders galloping round a course composed of three circles. This is spread over the two pages.
84r Two horsemen jousting.
84v A groom assisting the rider's foot into the stirrup.
Two sets of riders, upper two wrestling, lower ones jousting.

Jousting scene.

As above.

As above.

Jousting with clubs.

Two men with lances, following one behind the other.

Riders jousting.

As above.

Two men tilting at each other with their lances.

Two riders.

A rider inserting his lance into his dead opponent's back.

Two riders.

Two pairs of jousters.

Two riders fighting with gold, broad sabres.

Two barefooted men fighting with sabres round a grain silo.

Two men fighting with sabres and targes.

A black ink design.

A man's tunic roughly done in black ink.

A decorated urn.

Man on horseback with two gold clubs and a triangular gold hat, followed by a man on foot in the same attire.

Men jousting with rods, gold balls and gold clubs.

N.B. gold, spiky head-dress.

Jousting scene.

Four men doing what appears to be a stick dance.

Three upright lances.

A lance in a doorway.

Archer on horseback shooting arrows into the ground.
106⁵ Archer with assistant who holds four arrows in his hands.

107⁰ Large semi-circular jousting centre.

107⁵ A few scribbles.

108⁰ Two archers, on horseback and on foot.

108⁵ Two mounted archers.

109⁰ Two archers on foot. Saddle also shown.

109⁵ Two archers with a crossbow.

112⁵ Another jousting ring.

k) Thesis, Figs. 42,43. No other illustrations known.
a) Grande réserve arabe 3467.

b) Kalīla wa Dimna, or Fables of Bidpai.

c) Mid-fourteenth century? (Ettinghausen: second quarter of 14th century; Walzer: close to Oxford ms. of 1354).

d) Syria? There are resemblances, however, with the Escorial Bestiary, which is probably of Egyptian origin. Cf. the two renderings of "The hares in counsel".

e) Not known.

f) 50. Size varies. Most are half-page, i.e. about 8 x 10 cms.

g) Catalogue: De Slane, Mss. arabes (Paris, 1883); Beginning missing; ff119; height 30 cms.; width 23 cms.; 15 lines per page; ms. of the 15th century.

h) Illustrations little damaged; colours bright; sense of feeling displayed in miniatures.

i) 119ff: 30 x 27 cms.; 28.7 x 21.2 cms.; 29 x 23 cms. This is only a rough guide as all the folios have been remounted and there is a new wide margin. 15 lines per folio.

Medum quality, cream paper; has been glazed highly but has worn off most folios.

Black ink, rubrics in red, chapter headings in gold.

Medium, regular naskh with a tendency towards the cursive. New maroon leather binding with ornate tooled work at the corners and on the shamsiyya. Lisan.

Colophon and end of book defective. Frontispiece also lacking. No indication of owner.

j) Begins with list of contents starting at the third chapter. A total of eight chapters.

Folios:

1v Two figures. Has been restored.

2r Three men carrying away gold hidden in the rocks.

3r The lion with the three jackals.

3v The king with the philosopher.

9v A single figure. Rather damaged.
15v Two goats butting each other; a man looks on.
16r The man in bed with his neighbour's wife.
21r The two jackals.
22r Two lions with Dimna
26v Two men carrying away the gold.
28r The householder catching the thief.
30r The hare persuading the lion to jump on his own reflection in the pit.
40v The fight between the lion and the bull.
41v Kalila and Dimna
42v The two monkeys. The one on the right is damaged.
46r The lion with his mother. The lion's lower jaw is not original.
51r The ascetic and his guest and the rat. The head and beard of the right figure are not original.
56r The judge with the leopard and the army and Dimna.
58r Three men.
61r Boy having his eyes pecked out by falcon.
63r Rat freeing doves caught in net.
64r The crow with the tortoise and rat.
64v Gazelle drinking from pond; the tortoise, rat and crow.
66v Crows attacking owls.
67r Crows with their leader.
70r King of hares with his subjects.
71r Elephant looking at reflection of moon with hare.
74r King of owls, four subjects and a crow.
76r Thief (or lover?) under bed. Couple asleep.
78v Crows fanning flames with their wings to burn owls in cave.
80r The ascetic with his son, the latter bitten by a snake.
85r Monkey throwing figs to tortoise in sea.
86r The lion attacking ass.
87v Man breaking jar of honey and butter.
88r Father driving snake away with stick from son in bed.
93r King with his courtiers.
94r Half-miniature damaged. Blue birds and plants.
94v Half-miniature damaged. King sits on throne (roughly restored).
98v King with his courtiers.
Three hanged men.
The lion with the jackal.
An owl in a tree; a cat in a trap; two rats by their hole.
The king with a supplicant.
King's son who has caught a bird.
Bird pecking out king's son's eyes.
King with the philosopher.
The ascetic rescuing a man in a cave with a rope.
Wild animals watch.
The lion with two dead pigs.
Damaged. Only flowers remain.
The philosopher and the old man eating.

k) Thesis, Figs. 27-34——Blochet, Enluminures, pls. VIII a(f26v), b(f28v); IX a(f40v), b(f61r)——Blochet, 
Musulman Painting, pls. XVIII-XXIII——Buchthal, "Three Illustrated Harîrî Manuscripts", pl. II F(f61r)——
Ettinghausen, Arab Painting, p.155 (f78v)——De Jerphanion, 
Miniatures du manuscrit syriaque, Fig. 15 (f80v), 16 (f28v),
23 (f30r)——Kühnel, Islamic Arts, Fig. 11 (f63r)——De Lorey,
"De Wasiti à Behzad", pl. XII (f28v)——Rice, Islamic 
Art, Fig. 104 (f70r)——Rice, Islamic Painting, Fig. 30
(f70v)——Sakisian, Miniature persane, pl. XII Figs. 11 (f40v), 12 (f41v); pl. XIII Fig. 13 (f67v)——Sakisian,
"L'école de miniature prémongole", pl. LIV 5 (f40v)——
Walzer, "Lost Kalīlah wa-Dimnah", pl.2 Fig. 4 (f46v)——
Walzer, "Mamlûk illuminated Manuscripts", Figs. 3 (f2r),
7 (f30r), 11 (f40v), 15 (f42v), 19 (f107v).

Exhibited at the exhibition, "Les Arts de l'Iran", B.N.,
Exhibited at the exhibition, "Les Arts de l'Islam",
VIENNA - NATIONAL BIBLIOTHEK

a) A.F. 9.

b) Maqāmāt of al-Ḥarīrī.

c) 22nd Rajab 734/29th March 1334.

d) Probably Egypt.

e) Abū 'l-Fadā' il b. Abī Ishāq.

f) 70. (1 whole page).


h) Two leaves at beginning are missing. Between f40 and f41 one miniature is missing. Between f57 and f58 a miniature is probably missing. (This is not certain.) Between f75 and f76 two miniatures are missing. Between f96 and f97 a miniature is lacking and between f109 and f110 three leaves are without miniatures. Therefore a total of seven or possibly eight miniatures are missing. Also fourteen folios and three maqāma titles are missing.

i) 195 ff.; 37 x 25.5 cms. (size of outer margin); 13 lines per folio.

Stout, yellowish paper.

Vowelled naskh script. Red glosses between the lines and round the edge of the text.

Titles of maqāma in white on a gold ground.

Leather binding of first half of 19th century. Double eagle as supralibros.

Colophon on f195v. The writer was probably responsible for the illustrations.

j) Folios:

1v Dedicatory frontispiece (sarlauḥa).

5v Abū Zaid, dressed as a pilgrim, makes a speech of atonement.

6v Abū Zaid, who urged abstemiousness, in a cave with roast kid, bread and wine.

8v Abū Zaid in the public library at Basra.
11r  Al-Ḥarīth with two friends. Abū Zaid as a beggar limps in.
15v  Abū Zaid and his son.
17v  Al-Ḥarīth with friends in a night conversation as Abū Zaid demands entrance.
18v  Abū Zaid talking with a boy.
20v  A company, which includes Abū Zaid, in conversation.
25r  Al-Ḥarīth in a mosque at prayer-time as Abū Zaid and a woman enter.
26r  Abū Zaid and his son arguing with the qaṭī of Maʿarra.
30v  Abū Zaid confessing before the judge.
31v  Al-Ḥarīth before the qaṭī of Alexandria and Abū Zaid with his wife.
35v  Al-Ḥarīth among a crowd and Abū Zaid scolding his son.
36r  Al-Ḥarīth before the Town Governor, to whom Abū Zaid makes his complaint.
37v  Al-Ḥarīth in the courtyard of the Governor and Abū Zaid and his son.
42v  In a tavern: Abū Zaid enjoying flute and lute music in the company of girls.
44v  Abū Zaid dressed as an old lady.
46v  The narrator with Abū Zaid in a ruined mosque, where the latter removes his disguise.
48r  Al-Ḥarīth and friends resting from the midday heat in his leather tent.
50v  Abū Zaid visiting the narrator.
55r  Al-Ḥarīth with Abū Zaid and friends in a mosque.
59r  A travelling party.
59v  A wedding scene.
64v  Friends visiting Abū Zaid who is ill.
67v  Al-Ḥarīth with two friends and Abū Zaid.
69r  Abū Zaid displays his nakedness to al-Ḥarīth.
70r  Abū Zaid as a famous speaker in a crowd of people.
72v  Abū Zaid’s departure from al-Ḥarīth.
74r  A journey by boat on the Euphrates.
84v  Abū Zaid addressing a crowd. In spite of the winter he is dressed only in a loin-cloth and a turban.
87v  A night meeting of Abū Zaid and al-Ḥarīth in the former’s tent.
Abū Zaid mediating in a dispute between al-Ḥārith and another man over a camel.

Abū Zaid preaching in the mosque of Samarkand.

Abū Zaid speaking with his son.

Al-Ḥārith with Abū Zaid.

Abū Zaid's speech in the khān.

A troupe of five riders.

The rogue in his "castle".

The bridegroom entering a room ostentatiously decorated.

Abū Zaid at the beggar's wedding.

A wedding banquet.

Abū Zaid joins the last stage of al-Ḥārith's pilgrimage to Mecca.

Abū Zaid as a paralytic beggar in the mosque of Tiflis.

Al-Ḥārith talking with Abū Zaid.

Abū Zaid selling his son as a slave.

Al-Ḥārith and Abū Zaid's son before the Judge.

Al-Ḥārith meeting Abū Zaid with whom he is angry.

Abū Zaid entering a literary company.

A drinking party.

Abū Zaid before the Judge of the Yemen.

Abū Zaid before the Governor of Merv.

A sea-journey on the Persian Gulf.

Al-Ḥārith and Abū Zaid, who is surrounded by women including his wife.

Abū Zaid on his knees with his wife before the Judge.

Abū Zaid preaching in the mosque of Tabriz.

Abū Zaid entering a company of men.

Al-Ḥārith on a night-journey is surprised to find a sleeping man and his camel.

Al-Ḥārith and Abū Zaid before a Judge.

The two men on a journey through a village meet a boy with a bundle of grass.

Al-Ḥārith with other guests round a fire at night indoors.

A night conversation from which Abū Zaid absents himself.
165r Abū Zaid's departure while the others are sleeping.
167v Abū Zaid with his young wife, who lays aside the disguise, before the Judge of Ramla.
170v Al-Ḥarīth visiting Abū Zaid during school lessons in Ḥoms.
176r Abū Zaid as a hair-dresser.
180r Abū Zaid explains the 48th Maqāma.
184v Abū Zaid gives his son his legacy.
188v Abū Zaid in ragged clothes makes a speech from a raised stone in the "Cathedral" mosque at Basra.
192r Al-Ḥarīth visiting Abū Zaid, whom he has pulled back to an honest life.

Note: Almost all the information on this manuscript has been taken from Holter's article "Die Galen-Handschrift und die Makamen des Harīrī der Wiener Nationalbibliothek".

k) Arnold/Grohmann, Islamic Book, pl.44a(f6v), 44b(f8v), 45v(f42v), 45b(f44v), 46a(f48v), 46b(f59v), 47a(f64v), 47b(f67v)—Ettinghausen, Arab Painting, p. 143(f1r), p.150(f30v), p.151(f67v)—Glück-Diez, Kunst des Islam, Fig.502a(f6v)—Grube, World of Islam, col.pl.43(f1r)—Holter, "Miniaturenmalerei", Fig.2(f5r), Fig.3(f108v), Fig.7(f59v), Fig.8(f170v), Fig. 11(f156v), Fig.13(f95v)—Holter, "Galen", pl. III(f1r), Fig. 11(f8v), pl.IV/1 (f11r), pl.IV/2(f15v), pl.IV/3(f20v), pl.IV/4(f25r), Fig.12(f31v), pl.IV/5(f36v), Fig.13(f42v), Fig.14(f46v), Fig.15(f48v), pl.IV/6(f55v), Fig.16(f67v), Fig.17(f72v), Fig.18(f74v), Fig.19(f84v), pl.V/1(f92v), Fig.20(f95v), Fig.21(f98v), pl.V/2(f103v), Fig.22(f104v), Fig.23(f104v), Fig.24(f105v), pl.V/3(f106v), Fig.25(f114v), Fig.26(f118v), pl.V/4(f126v), pl.V/5(f141v), Fig.27(f154v), Fig.28(f156v), Fig.29(f165v), Fig.30(f167v), Fig.31(f170v), Fig.32(f180v), pl.V/6(f184v), Fig.33(f188v), Fig.34(f192v)—Holter, "Mss.de Vienne", pl.XVIIb(f1r)—Kühnel, "Miniaturmalerei", Figs.17,18—Martin, Miniature Painting, pls.15,16a(f6v)—Migeon, Manuel, Fig.14(f1r)—Rice, Islamic Art, Fig.142 (f1r)—Rice, Islamic Painting, Fig.28(f1r).
CONCLUSIONS

Throughout the preparation of this thesis it was apparent how little research had been done on Mamlūk painting. It is hoped that this neglect has been rectified, particularly by the detailed descriptive catalogue in Chapter Eight.

Bahārī Mamlūk painting has been shown to be composed from various former styles with the school of Mosul playing the most influential part (pp. 64, 66). Mongol influence, particularly in facial depictions, is to be stressed (pp. 63, 100, 101). There is little landscape depiction and the essence is a formal, stiff style with balanced compositions predominating. The centre at Damascus appears to have produced a livelier group of paintings than the centre based in Egypt (represented by the Oxford Ḥarīrī) (pp. 101, 102). The most active period was between 1325-60 (see Table Seven).

Or. 9718 is a typical early Mamlūk work and displays all the recognizable features. Its date should perhaps be influenced by the fact that the "scroll-folds" are near to the Paris Bidpai (p. 77) although certain of the faces are similar to the Milan Banquet of the Physicians (p. 102). A date of the late 13th century, possibly near to 1300, is most likely. The colours which predominate in this work are blue, purple, yellow and green (p. 97). A large number of geometric patterns are displayed (see p. 121 and Table Six).

Burjī painting has up to now been almost totally neglected. Ettinghausen dismisses the treatises on military exercises and military machines as "of little artistic significance". 1 While the works produced in the Burjī

1. Ettinghausen, Arab Painting, p. 143.
period are undoubtedly less accomplished than the earlier works, the four Furūsiyya manuscripts must be considered as worthwhile artistic productions in their own right (pp. 80-83). The Dublin manuscript must almost certainly be considered as identical with the work formerly in the Aya Sofya Library (No. 4197) (p.185). No analysis of this manuscript has up to now been published, nor of arabe 2824, which it resembles, particularly in the depiction of horses. Nothing has been published in respect of arabe 2826, and the de Unger manuscript (which is between the Paris manuscripts in date) has hitherto not been considered in comparison with other illuminated Books of Farriery.

This original, comparative analysis of Burjī Mamlūk book illuminations is continued with two of the Automata manuscripts, Fraser 186 in Oxford and arabe 2477 in Paris, remaining unpublished until now. This group of manuscripts is monotonous but the Şhleymaniye manuscript (1354) has some accomplished illustrations, which are now mostly dispersed. This work is to be assigned to Cairo and should be considered as a copy of the 1206 manuscript in the Topkapi Library (p.43). A high-point of artistic activity in the Burjī period appears to be between 1460-85 (see Table Seven).

The following points have also emerged from the research for this thesis.

1. The large influence the shadow-theatre played, particularly in the frames and compositions of Bahri Mamlūk illuminations (pp.68,95).
2. The lack of emotion in early and late Mamlūk paintings. What exists is revealed by the hands (see Fig. 15 and pp.104,140,160,162).
3. Add.7293 displays the closest connections with the earlier Baghdad school of painting, particularly in the way the heads and hands are depicted (pp. 70-72).

4. Faces are usually shown frontally or in three-quarter view and not in profile (pp. 73, 74).

5. Arabe 2583 is to be considered as a Jalā'īrid manuscript. It bears close comparison with Or.133 in Oxford (p. 26).

6. The Shāh Nāma in the Topkapi Library (Hazine 1519) is not a Mamlūk work. A Turkish assignation appears more likely (p. 31).
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Fig. 89. A.H.: Six figures. Probably Syria, 1275–1300. Or.9718, f116v, B.M., London.

Fig. 90. A.H.: Abū Zaid and five figures. Probably Syria, 1275–1300. Or.9718, f118r, B.M., London.
Fig. 91. A.H.: Departure of the caravan from Syria for Mecca. Probably Syria, 1275-1300. Or. 9718, f119v, B.M., London.

Fig. 92. A.H.: A further stage in the caravan's progress. Probably Syria, 1275-1300. Or. 9718, f120r, B.M., London.
Fig. 93. A.H.: Four figures with a camel. Probably Syria, 1275-1300. Or.9718, f133V, B.M., London.

Fig. 94. A.H.: Abū Zaid begging. Probably Syria, 1275-1300. Or. 9718, f134V, B.M., London.
Fig. 95. A.H.: Abū Zaid conversing with al-Ḥarīth. Probably Syria, 1275–1300. Or. 9718, f136v, B.M., London.

Fig. 96. A.H.: Five figures. Probably Syria, 1275–1300. Or. 9718, f138r, B.M., London.
Fig. 97. A.H.: Two figures. Probably Syria, 1275-1300. Or. 9718, f141r, B.M., London.

Fig. 98. A.H.: Five men sitting in open air. Probably Syria, 1275-1300. Or. 9718, f142v, B.M., London.
Fig. 99. A.H.: Eleven figures. Probably Syria, 1275-1300. Or.9718, f145r, B.M., London.

Fig. 100. A.H.: Before the Qādī of Saʿada. Probably Syria, 1275-1300. Or.9718, f150r, B.M., London.
Fig. 101. **A.H.:** Before the *Qādi* of Sa'ada. Probably Syria. 1275-1300, Or.9718, f152v, B.M., London.

Fig. 102. **A.H.:** Six figures before the *Qādi* with attendants. Probably Syria, 1275-1300. Or.9718, f153v, B.M., London.
Fig. 103. A.H.: Abū Zaid and al-Harith meet the Wall's servants. Probably Syria, 1275-1300. Or.9718, f157r, B.M., London.

Fig. 104. A.H.: Abū Zaid and his wife before the Qādi of Tabriz. Probably Syria, 1275-1300. Or.9718, f159v, B.M., London.
Fig. 105. A.H.: Abū Zaid in the mosque of Tanīs. Probably Syria, 1275-1300. Or.9718, f166r, B.M., London.

Fig. 106. A.H.: Abū Zaid with his son and the narrator. Probably Syria, 1275-1300. Or.9718, f167v, B.M., London.
Fig. 107. A.H.: Five figures. Probably Syria, 1275-1300.
Or.9718, f169r, B.M., London.

Fig. 108. A.H.: Abū Zaid taking his leave. Probably Syria,
1275-1300, Or.9718, f171v, B.M., London.
Fig. 109. A.H.: Abū Zaid and al-Ḥarith riding their camels after a night-journey. Probably Syria, 1275-1300. Or.9718, f173r, B.M., London.

Fig. 110. A.H.: Two camels with their riders. Probably Syria, 1275-1300. Or.9718, f177v, B.M., London.
Fig. 111. A.H.: Five figures indoors. Probably Syria, 1275-1300. Or.9718, f179r, B.M., London.

Fig. 112. A.H.: Abu Zaid before the Judge of Ramla. Probably Syria, 1275-1300. Or.9718, f138r, B.M., London.
Fig. 113. **A.H.**: Three figures, including Abū Zaid's wife. Probably Syria, 1275-1300. Or.9718, f190r, B.M., London.

Fig. 114. **A.H.**: Abū Zaid instructing boys in school at Aleppo. Probably Syria, 1275-1300. Or.9718, f191r, B.M., London.
Fig. 115. A.H.: Abū Zaid talking with al-Fārith. Probably Syria, 1275–1300. Or.9718, f196, B.M., London.

Fig. 116. A.H.: In a cupper's shop. Probably Syria, 1275–1300. Or.9718, f197, B.M., London.
Fig. 117. A.H.: Three figures out-of-doors. Probably Syria, 1275-1300. Or.9718, f200v, B.M., London.

Fig. 118. A.H.: Four figures. Probably Syria, 1275-1300. Or.9718, f203r, B.M., London.
Fig. 119. A.H.: The narrator and Abū Zaid. Probably Syria, 1275–1300, Or.9718, f205\(^v\), B.M., London.

Fig. 120. A.H.: Abū Zaid with his son. Probably Syria, 1275–1300. Or.9718, f206\(^v\), B.M., London.
Fig. 121. A.H.: Abū Zaid preaching at Basra. Probably Syria, 1275-1300. Or.9718, f210r, B.M., London.

Fig. 122. A.H.: Four figures facing Abū Zaid. Probably Syria. 1275-1300. Or.9718, f213r, B.M., London.
The Bahri Mamluk Kingdom in the middle of the fourteenth century.
TABLE TWO

TYPES OF TURBANS AS DEPICTED IN OR.9718.

1. Folio 9 recto (Fig. 45)  2. Folio 7 recto (Fig. 44)  3. Folio 7 recto (Fig. 44)

4. Folio 13 recto (Fig. 47)  5. Folio 13 recto (Fig. 47)  6. Folio 24 recto (Fig. 52)

7. Folio 24 recto (Fig. 52)  8. Folio 25 recto (Fig. 53)  9. Folio 50 verso (Fig. 64)

10. Folio 205 verso (Fig. 119)  11. Folio 205 verso (Fig. 119)  12. Folio 59 recto (Fig. 60)
TABLE THREE

FACIAL AND FIGURAL DEPICTIONS.

1. Folio 9 recto (Fig. 45)  2. Folio 14 recto (Fig. 48)  3. Folio 119 verso (Fig. 91)
Or. 9718  Or. 9718  Or. 9718

4. Folio 96 recto (Fig. 81)  5. Folio 78 verso (Fig. 76)  6. Folio 32 recto (Fig. 56)
Or. 9718  Or. 9718  Or. 9718

7. Folio 50 verso (Fig. 9)  8. Folio 68 recto
Add. 22, 114  Add. 22, 114

9. Folio 51 recto (Fig. 11)
Add. 22, 114
Given in Holter, "Die Frühmamlukische Miniaturenmalerei."
TABLE FIVE

TEXTILE PATTERNS: TWO

Samples from Add.22,114.
TABLE SIX
TEXTILE PATTERNS: THREE
Samples from Or. 9718.

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