The 12th Maqṣūma is appropriately set in a tavern in the city of (Ana, on the Euphrates. (Ana was celebrated for its wine, and Abū Nuwaṣ said,

"I vow that I shall drink the cool wine of Fallūj and (Ana - a wine that is unlike any other wine."

Al-Ḥārith and his party have just been successfully escorted across the desert from Damascus by a man "with the features of mature age, and the garb of an ascetic", who had composed a talisman for their safe journey. However, they were bemused by the old man’s abrupt departure after they had very generously rewarded him with jewellery and gold coins. Al-Ḥārith decided to follow up a certain rumour concerning the whereabouts of this paragon, and visit a wine hall (daskara).

Al-Wāṣiṭī has provided a very comprehensive miniature for the tavern scene and the dénouement is revealed in the two lines of text above. The first line represents the end of Abū Zayd’s poem in mitigation of his conduct ...

"Now the brother of want, who has a household, is not blamed if he be wily."

Immediately above the illustration, the beginning of al-Ḥārith’s prose reads ...

"Then I knew that it was Abū Zayd, the man of ill-fame and disgrace, he that blackens the face of his hoariness."
Three lines of text below the miniature complete the confrontational dialogue and include al-Hārith’s castigation of his friend.

Al-Wāṣiṭī’s commentary is written in the usual manner down the side of the folio. However, part of it is in dark ink, and it is not clear if this has been over-written at a later stage. Reference is made to ‘poverty’ {‘aylat}, 7 and it is evidently a comment on the first three words of the first line of text in the illustration, viz., "and the brother of want" {wa akhū’l-‘aylat}.

This is a commodious and handsome two-storeyed building. One should note the extremely simplified and theatrical architecture, which suggests some ‘staging’ of the various activities. An even greater feeling of theatricality is evident from the Leningrad S.23 manuscript. In some ways, it is more successful than al-Wāṣiṭī’s, with the creation of rooms on different levels, and the bustling lively figures are reminiscent of shadow play characters. The long dangling sleeves there are reminiscent of illustrations of dancing Sufis, 8 and the essential elements of wine-making, pressing, straining and storage also occur.

The Leningrad S.23 miniature is reproduced overleaf.
We return now to the Wāsitī illustration. The three rooms on the upper landing have domes with insets for light and ventilation, and the large central dome indicates that the building extends backwards for some way. Al-Ḥarīth finds Abū Zayd in what
Preston familiarly renders the "tap-room", 9 which he says was the principal chamber in the centre of a tavern for the entertainment of guests, and was surrounded by different areas of wine-making activity. 10 Al-Wāsīṭī's illustration conforms to this description.

Various stages of wine-making are being carried out in surrounding chambers. These activities tend to confirm that this tripartite architectural setting on two storeys represents {six} different rooms.

Abū Zayd has just "bade broach the wine-casks", 11 and one has the clear impression that he is set for a long sojourn. He sits on a type of throne, with a gracious inclination of his head towards al-Ḥārith, patiently listening to and possibly oblivious of his friend's harangue. His drinking cup is daintily held in his left hand and with his right hand he grasps a white napkin {mandīl}.

Abū Zayd holds his mandīl in the correct manner; it was characteristically folded double and held in the hand closer to the looped end. 12 It has a fine tirāz band which sets it off as a more elegant item than the one which is held by the less refined fellow quaffing greedily in the upstairs room and also apparently prepared for a long drinking bout. Both napkins are white, which was the predominant colour, 13 and they were made variously from silk {ḥarīr}, fine Egyptian Dābiqi linen, cotton, wool and other fabrics. Manadīl appear in Māgamāt manuscripts and elsewhere, and in other contexts. 14

In the 4th/10th century, al-Washshā' quoted a specimen of a lover's quatrain written on the mandīl by an artistically trained
slave girl, where the mandil "speaks" thus,

"I am the mandil of a lover who never stopped
Drying with me his eyes of their tears.
Then he gave me as a present to the girl he loves
Who wipes with me the wine from his lips." 15

This phrasing of inscriptions as if they were 'put into the mouth of the object' also occurred on metalwork from an early period. 16

An earlier example of the mandil in the royal context occurs on page 220 of the Istanbul, Ahmet III, 3472, al-Jazari Handisiyya manuscript of 602/1206, in an automaton illustration. 17 The female servant holds the cup which is mechanically filled with wine, and in her left hand she has "a mandil which the king can use to wipe his mouth after drinking". 18

The drinking ruler on the frontispiece of the 8th/14th century Vienna A.F.9 Maqamat has an elaborately decorated mandil in his left hand. 19 Still in the context of the Mamluk court, the napkin or fūta was associated with the office of the jandar, 20 who was a court official, possibly a scribe. 21 Evidence of this is found on Mamluk shadow figures, which Kahle and Mayer have dated to between 1290 and 1370. 22 These show a square in a blazon, and the square is taken to represent a kind of fūta. 23 The napkin's affiliation with court practice has thus been demonstrated.

Because we know of the disapproval of wine-drinking by society in general and by al-Hārith in particular, the mandil here serves both to highlight Abu Zayd's newly-found refinement, and in some way to mitigate, and indeed justify, his conduct in the eyes of the viewer. The composition is evidently a parody of royal iconography and matches exactly Abu Zayd's duplicity.
In all of these situations there was an implicit notion of refinement, but the term mandil also covered coarser items with more mundane functions and accounts of the mandil in the Arabian Nights apparently correspond with its use in contemporary urban society.

According to Rosenthal, the mandil in time replaced the flower of an older tradition which was held by drinkers. By now, the flower had outgrown its capacity to symbolise drinking as a socially acceptable pastime. Earlier examples of drinkers with flowers are found in a variety of media, and flowers (along with youthful attendants) provoke a vision of Paradise (janna).

It is interesting to note that in the 8th/14th-century Maqāmāt London B.L. or. add. 22.114 the flowers have been retained in place of the mandil. Buchtal attributed a Syrian origin to London 22.114, although Grabar considers that it is still a matter of speculation. If a Syrian provenance is correct, then it seems to confirm a notion that older traditions in manuscript painting survived there, especially when one considers the contemporary Paris B.N. 6094 Maqāmāt manuscript.

Ibn Khallikan’s Wafayāt tells us that the apparatus of social occasions also included cushions, perfumes, flowers, musical instruments and wine. Several of these elements are present in the illustration, and the miniature therefore appears to represent a contemporary convivial scene. The myrtle (ās) (and violet) were particularly popular; myrtle and jasmine perfume Abū Zayd’s tavern, and are mentioned immediately before the mizmār and mizhar of the text. According to al-Suyūtī, the Prophet said that the
myrtle was one of the three things which Adam brought from Paradise and that it was "the chief of sweet-scented flowers in this world". 33

Plants were also elements in the language of love of the Sufi mystics, and each had a specific metaphorical significance. 34 For example, the narcissus represented eyes to look at the Friend; the hyacinth reminded the poet of the Beloved's curly hair, and the lily was silent and had ten tongues. 35

It is not possible to say whether Abū Zayd's drinking cup is made from glass or metal, but it is dark in colour; one imagines that metal vessels would adversely affect the taste of wine, so it is likely to be a heavy moulded glass.

A fresco on a hammām from 5th/11th century Fatimid Egypt portrays a drinking man with a long glass beaker in his right hand; 36 he is not in a full frontal formal pose, and he faces slightly to the left. Strictly speaking, because of the rules of ritual purity, the left hand should not be used when eating or drinking, if it can be at all avoided. However, a seated ruler with fluted glass in his left hand is also found on two cartouches on a candlestick from Mosul. 37 The wedding scene on the Sackler bowl, which is an undated but post-Sasanian piece, depicts a bridegroom holding a small, flattish drinking bowl in his left hand; 38 Rosen-Ayalon stresses the difference between the flat drinking-cup in Sasanian art and the Islamic beaker. 39

Another Arab with a drink in his left hand is noted in an al-Jazari manuscript dated 1354, in Boston. 40 Perhaps we need not regard al-Wasiṭī's portrait of Abū Zayd as necessarily being a
parody of the courtly repertoire, because his glass is in his left hand, although it could be interpreted as an amusing adaptation of royal iconography, and a lampooning of royalty.

Grabar says that

"Since the act of drinking was a central mode for the representation of the prince, Abū Zayd has been transformed into a prince in pose and composition ... Drinking and power have been so fully associated visually with royal images that it is only in such terms that Abū Zayd could properly be represented in these activities." 41

This bears out Rosenthal’s assertions. While this may be true, it is also possible that the artist adapted royal iconography as a convenient short cut.

Throughout the Magamät illustrations we have seen that drinking bouts were by no means restricted to the royal scenario, and Rosen-Ayalon confirms this, saying that

"there is little doubt as to the fact that drinking scenes illustrated real drinking in Muslim society." 42

Objects relating to wine-drinking seem to have been sufficiently well-known generally to be depicted and reproduced to such an extent that the use and adaptation of the princely cycle for entertainment does not preclude the existence of drinking among the lower orders.

These points mean that one must ask if this illustration was based on the common wine-hall of the text or on some other drinking establishment.

The Umayyad ruler, Yazīd I, paid a visit incognito to a well-known vintner {khammār}. 43 Each time the khammār broached a jar, he washed his hands, strained each drink, and supplied his customers with a fresh napkin so that they might wipe their mouths...
after each mouthful. Presumably that place of manufacture was also the place of consumption of the product.

Usāma, on his visits to Nablus, used to lodge with a man called Mu‘izz, who ran a guest-house for Muslim travellers, 44 and Usāma described his lodgings as being on the opposite side of the road from a house belonging to a Frank who sold wine for merchants. 45 This Frank used to appear with a bottle and cry out,

"So-and-so the merchant has just opened a caskfull of this wine. He who wants to buy some of it will find it in such-and-such a place." 46

Many ahādīth reiterate the evil of alcohol, for example,

"Prayer of him who drinks wine is not accepted by God." 47

and

"Cursed is he who drinks, buys, sells wine or causes others to drink it." 48

Sentiments such as these may underscore another possible motive for the hardening of the official Muslim attitude to wine, and that is the parallel shift in the lesser regard for Jews and Christians. Over a period of time, as attitudes changed, 49 it appears that the wine-trade devolved largely to these two communities for what seem to be obvious reasons; a parallel in Christianity was the early disapprobation of usury and the subsequent involvement of the Jewish community in money-lending. This presumably was tolerated, because it was not run by Christians.

Indeed, some of the finest wines were to be sampled in taverns attached to monasteries. 50 When al-Wāthiq built his wine-hall at Sāmarrā in the middle of the 3rd/9th century, he commanded that an expert vintner should be engaged, and a Christian from Qutrabul
fulfilled his requirements. 51 Qutrabul was near Baghdad and was a well-known drinking haunt named frequently in Arabic poetry; 52 its reputation lasted at least until al-Wāṣitī's era, for it was also mentioned in Yāqūt's Mu'tjam al-buldān. 53 Schimmel implies that Magians, too, were associated with the wine-trade, 54 and Lane quotes a poem by Zuhayr which refers to Christian friars laying up wine. 55

Even given the fact that the guide was in "the garb of an ascetic" and carried a rosary, it may be significant in this maqāma about a tavern that on folio 32 of London B.L. 1200, 56 he looks for all the world like a Christian priest, in that the artist perhaps made an automatic association between wine and Christians.

Numerous accounts of wine-drinking exist in Arabic literature, for example in the Kitāb al-Aghāni, 57 the poetry of Abū Nuwās, 58 'Umar ibn al-Fāriḍ, 59 and al-Fīrūzābādī, 60 among others.

Nabīdāh was permitted; this was made by soaking grapes or dried dates in water, to extract the sweetness, then allowing just enough fermentation to occur until the mixture tasted sharp. 61 Even the most devout Muslim might permit himself to drink nabīdāh, for the Prophet partook of date wine which had fermented for no more than two days. 62 According to Ibn Khaldūn, Ḥārūn al-Rashīd and al-Ma'mūn, who had been accused of debauchery because they drank fermented wine, only drank nabīdāh. 63

Some explanation is required regarding the "foulness of the report" 64 which came to al-Ḥārith's notice. One is not certain if al-Ḥārith refrained from taverns on account of the disreputable company to be found there, or if he personally had any religious
objections to alcohol. On another occasion, in Magāma 41, 65 Abū Zayd had masqueraded as a preacher in the Tannis mosque and, after being caught out by al-Ḥārith, he further outraged him by suggesting that they should "pass {wine} between us from hand to hand". 66

Al-Sharishī described the bāna or tavern as a name derived from the noun for "destruction" 67 because, he said, "wine shops are destructive to property and reputation". 68 That would explain al-Ḥārith's reluctance to enter the daskara.

The Shari'a is less explicit on the proscription of wine {khamr} than one might expect from the abstention from alcohol by very many Muslims, even today. Several passages in the Qur'ān vary both in import and in guidance to the pious. 69 Initially, the value of wine as an excellent source of nutrition was recognised. 70

The association of wine with gambling and divination and its apparent impairment of the correct performance of the ritual prayers led to a discernible tenor of disapproval, 71 and this in turn gave way to its proscription in Sūra 5. 72 This might be explained by the revelation of Sūras at different periods and their taking into account the exigencies of the times. Despite some dissension between the four law schools, the prohibition of wine was adopted by the jurists. 73

Al-'Umari's Masālik al-absar has preserved an eye-witness account from the mid-3rd/9th century on the presentation and service of alcoholic beverages. 74 He describes how the servants in al-Wāthic's wine-hall on the river {bānat al-shaṭṭ} at Sāmarrā brought forth trays {saniya}, measures {makāyil}, ewers {kizān}, and tools
{mabāţīl} to broach the fragrant plaster plug of the wine jar. 75
Al-Wāṣīṭī may show an adaptation of a princely scene with a ruler "at ease" and holding court at a majlis al-shirāb or drinking bout, and a similarly relaxed setting is found in the Vienna A.F.10 mid-7th/13th-century Pseudo-Galen manuscript. 76

Al-Wāṣīṭī's miniature captures something of the flavour of revelry and almost fulfils a poet's description of al-Wāthiq's wine-halls, where

"The choicest wines were procured and the taverns were furnished with the caliph's own furnishings. Curtains were put up, gilt vessels and painted jars were supplied: altogether the wine-halls presented a splendid and joyful sight." 77

Abū Zayd is being entertained by a musician with a fine, eight-stringed lute. Eight strings seem to be unusual. Rice also analysed this tavern scene and identified the lute as the ṭūd; 78 Steingass's text says mizhar; 79 this term was synonymous with ṭūd in the mediaeval period. 80 {However, Rice quoted correctly the names of the plants in the Arabic text.}

Ziryāb, a musician at the court of Hārūn al-Rashīd, replaced the customary silk lower strings with gut; silk strings were preferable for the upper strings because they could withstand the greater tension there and produced a superior tone. 81 A quill plectrum seems to have replaced the wooden type. 82

In the mid-3rd/9th century, al-Kindi mentioned lutes with five strings. 83 The belly and the back of the instrument were evidently then made of thin wood of uniform thickness overall. 84 Al-Ṭanūkhī tells how an amīr in Baghdad had a lute made for a singing girl called Futuwa with whom he was in love; 85 it was
According to the Epistles of the Sincere Brethren (Rasā’il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā) in the 4th/10th century, the recommended length of the four-stringed lute was half as much again as the width, the depth one half of the width, and the neck one quarter of the length. 87 Evidently these 4 strings were all silk. 88 Al-Wāṣīṭī’s lute conforms approximately to the length and neck measurements.

I cannot say where al-Wāṣīṭī’s type of lute originated, but Farmer says that the Persian lute (barbat) was an improvement on the skin-bellied lute of the rubāb type; 89 rubāb seems to refer to the skin of a ewe or she-goat. 90 In the early days of Islam the Persian lute had four strings. 91

An extremely elaborate lute appears on folio 42v in the Vienna A.F.9 Magāma tavern; 92 it has carved hexagonal insets in geometrical star patterns which are similar to those found on doors and other panels. It was not possible to determine the number of strings there.

This tavern obviously boasts a good wine cellar, in the modern sense, for the room at the upper right of the composition is used as a store for the jars of fermenting wine; these dinān do not have the thin, elongated points which were found on jars at Sāmarrā, 93 as well as in al-Wāṣīṭī’s miniature in Magāma I, on folio 3v. 94 There were two types of wine, the naturally fermented mushammas, and the artificially fermented matbūkh. 95 Fermented wine was stored in these pottery vessels (dinān) in the illustration (s. dān) which Rice, in his re-examination of an account of excavations at Sāmarrā, described as measuring some 20cm. wide at their widest and 80-85 cm.
tall. There was a large opening at the top while the bottom tapered sharply to form a thin stalk; the stalk presumably allowed the sediment to gather, and the dānn must have been stored in sand or earth, if the method of stacking in the illustration is correct. Dīnān were coated internally with bitumen and hermetically sealed with plaster. This practice of rendering cheap, porous vessels watertight had long been current, since the Ancient Mesopotamian period.

A fitting metaphorical description of a dānn has been handed down by the debauched poet Abī Nuwās, who said...

"Hasten the first wine from the bottom of the dānn which has two coats of armour, one clay, one bitumen."

Sadan says that the amphora of alcoholic beverages was usually corked with putty and cloth. This is confirmed by the text, when Abū Zayd called for a wine jar to be "broached".

We read of the dānn in the Khamrīya of Ibn al-Fārid,

"And were the revellers to gaze at its seal, This sight alone would intoxicate them."

As in the Leningrad miniature, the dinān are also stacked in the top right hand corner, but al-Wāṣitī has expanded yet balanced his composition by having another set leaning to the left in the bottom left hand corner. Al-Wāṣitī's wine-jars in close formation recall a verse by the poet Ibn al-Mu'tazz...

"The wine jars are like a row of men drawn up to dance a dastaband."

The action of passing down a fresh jar from the upper storey provides a visual link between the two floors and also lends air of bustle to the environment. The boy in the gallery is Arab, and he
wears the turban, but it is not clear if the small lower figure receiving the dānn is turbanless; this perhaps would indicate that he {if it is a male} is non-Arab or, alternatively, that it is an unveiled female attendant.

Two people are engaged in wine processing at al-Ḥārith’s left hand side, and the slight, dark-skinned figure in a waist-cloth is trampling grapes in a wine-press. To enable him to exert as much weight as possible, and to lend support, straps were fixed to the ceiling. 103 This element is illustrated both here and in the Leningrad miniature. 104 It is a very unusual image, and it is likely that the person trampling the fruit would be spattered with grape juice. A poem attributed to al-Nuwayrī likened the wine press to "a sea of red flames" in which the labourer stands, as his lower body becomes spattered with grape juice. 105 Some liquid is running out into a small red terracotta pot. Another small figure, but clad in short pants which come to the knee, has been painted by al-Wāsiṭī on the island in Maqāma 39; 106 both of these people are small and dark-skinned, and they are perhaps foreigners.

In the tavern context, a verse by al-Qātāmī may be apposite and shed further light on the involvement of non-Arabs in the wine trade.

"He put {the wine} in pitch-coated jars {rawāgid} dark in appearance and clad in clay, upright, defying the heat of the sun like Aramaeans in short trousers {tabābin}." 107

Similar short trousers are worn by peasants at work elsewhere in Islamic miniatures 108 and on metalwork. 109
The cloth strainer in al-Wāṣīṭī's miniature was known as rāwūq or najūd. 110 The corners of this straining-bag, which was probably muslin, are knotted to each side of the tripod, and the process is confirmed by the Ḥalbat of al-Kumayt, which quotes al-Sadr ibn al-Waqil ...

"While tears of blood trickle from the strainer the ewer beneath it giggles." 111

This quotation is apposite, as the wine being served is red.

An earlier wine-strainer, possibly made of basketry-work, is shown at the foot of a Persian silver plate dating from the 2nd/8th-3rd/9th centuries; 112 its rope handle is attached over the three points of a tripod and it is suspended over a pot. In the medical context, a strainer for aromatic wine occurs in an illustration for the De Materia Medica which is dated 1224. 113 A similar strainer also occurs in a medallion on a late 7th/13th-century-early 8th/14th-century candlestick, which possibly came from north west Persia. 114 Baer describes this strainer as a "rhomboid-shaped filtering cloth suspended on strings, held by a suspension ring". 115 This description seems to be a variation of the method used on page 76 of the Leningrad S.23, 116 where the top of the filter-cloth was attached to a suspended crosspiece.

The attendant in white has just pierced the perfumed plaster seal of the dānn 117 and he is straining it into a large yellowish footed bowl which rests on the floor. This seems to be a metal bowl with a band of epigraphy on the exterior. It is not clear if the wine which is filtering through would be presented directly to
these drinkers from a bowl of this size.

A very similar metal container being borne by an attendant in the regal context occurs on a Mamlûk bowl with gold and silver inlay now in the Louvre. Once more, there is no sign on that Mamlûk vessel that there was an intermediate stage between the large bowl and the drinking vessel. However, several wine pourers, in silver from Persia, and in beaten brass inlaid with gold and silver and a black compound from Egypt, have survived. These take the form of a flattish bowl with a long spout.

One appears in a feasting scene on the lid of a contemporary metal wallet, and they are also illustrated in two 9th/15th-century manuscripts. Allan suggests that such vessels may have contained a filtering device. A 10th/16th century-Turkish manuscript in the British Museum depicts an attendant pouring wine from a similar flat pourer with long spout, but the liquid passes through a metal funnel and then into a glass flask.

On the Paris B.N. 5847 occasion, the wine was possibly decanted into something smaller or, alternatively, it might have been ladled, as indicated by al-‘Umari, "as is the wont in public taverns".

A verse in the Mufaddaliyyat, concerning red wine, runs,

"Not wine of the white grape, fragrant as musk {when the jar is broached} and set on the strainer to clear, and ladled from cup to cup ... "

In this refined milieu, ladling from cup to cup was perhaps considered unseemly.
Upstairs, two companions also appear set for a long drinking session, and the flared tops of two large glass flasks can be made out above the balustrade. These carafes represent the last stage in the path of the beverage from the storage jars to the table in this miniature.

Similar vessels occur on metalwork, and there is a 7th/13th-century lustre ware flagon from Kāshān with a tulip-shaped top in the Victoria and Albert Museum. A drinker with a glass as well as a flask appears on a 5th/11th-century ivory casket from Cordova, and there is an Ayyūbid example of a long-necked Syrian glass flask in the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo which bears a dedication to Sultan Salaḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf. Both the body and the neck have enamel and gilt decoration. Although this is a luxury item, its shape and function would probably remain constant in any environment, on grounds of practicality. Another possibility for pouring directly into the glass is the spouted type of glass flask which appears on folio 55 in Paris 6094 in Maqāma 18, which is reproduced in the list of illustrations for that manuscript. Four similar Mamlūk examples occur on the trays which two shadow-play figures, street vendors, are hawking drinks around the market; four similar ‘carafes’ rest on their trays, which they carry on their heads.

Returning to the Wāṣīṭī painting, the man on the right in the gallery of the tavern is quaffing from a stemmed drinking-cup, and he also holds a mandil, so this may be no common drinking den. This impression is reinforced by the fine Arab costumes with tīrāz bands and gold edging of those present. At official drinking bouts it was the custom for the guests and host to wear bright robes in shades of
red, yellow and green. 131

The salon was perfumed by a censer which contained ambergris, aloeswood or some other fragrant substance; this is alluded to in the Arabic text, where Abū Zayd is mentioned inhaling the "fragrant odours" (rayhān). 132 The men also perfumed their moustaches and beards with rose-water or civet. 133 There is no censer in the miniature. A wide selection of fruits, including apples, quinces, grapes, pears and lotes, among others, was offered as dessert at these sessions; 134 and a large footed dish of fruit is prominent in the foreground.

Al-Wāsiti’s illustration is an adaptation of royal iconography, and his architectural representation is intended as a refined setting for an evening’s entertainment. This may have been based on literary accounts or on personal acquaintance. He has encapsulated well Abū Zayd’s enjoyment of wine and his portrait admirably sums up a verse by Ibn al-Fārid,

"Were you to be for one hour only,  
Drunk with It,  
You would fancy the world your slave,  
To rule and command." 135

Finally, mention should be made of the similarities in al-Wāsiti’s composition and the pharmacy found in a Dioscorides De Materia Medica manuscript from Baghdād dated 621/1224. 136 Bearing in mind that there are parallels with some of the techniques in the preparation of pharmacological compounds, it is interesting to see a good selection of medical dinān with incised and painted decoration, as well as what seems to be either trails of bitumen coating or tails of cloth which were inserted with the seal and which will be used to remove it from the jars.
in that illustration. People in the pharmacy are also busily engaged in different areas. One might compare similar jars in the B.L. or. add. 22114 Magāmāt tavern. 137

Another miniature from the same De Materia Medica manuscript, 138 shows a physician supervising the preparation of an aromatic wine for colds and coughs, and there is a strainer on a tripod. This is not to suggest that the pharmacy and the wine-hall were necessarily identical buildings. Rather, the architecture as depicted may be a convention by the artists to convey the impression of a series of rooms where various activities take place simultaneously, in these cases preparation, storage and a reception area. Al-Wāsiṭī has been more successful in suggesting depth in his positioning of figures and the provision of a link between the ground and first floors in the handing down of another wine-jar, as called for by the text.

An accessory from a Mamlūk shadow play, a stand with eight pitchers with tapered bases and decorated bodies on two shelves, suggests a further possible connection with the architectural framework in the manuscripts. 139 In addition, two huge dinān for the storage of the oil for the light occur in the Mamlūk shadow-figure for the Lighthouse of Alexandria. 140 These demonstrate yet another function for the dinān and also the topicality and genre element of shadow-plays and manuscript illustrations.

As it has also been clearly demonstrated that the theme of drinking was widespread throughout society, whether in the royal or everyday context, the posthumous papers of an otherwise pious Cairo jurist, which revealed him as an author of somewhat erotic verse, should occasion no
great surprise. One example of his work reads,

"O God, I ask not for Rest
Give me not Peace -
Only a waist to embrace
And a winecup that never shall cease." 141

The analyses of the taverns in Paris B.N. 3929 and London B.L. or. 1200 have already been dealt with, and restricted to musicians and their instruments.

We turn now to food and etiquette at that period.
{b} Food and Etiquette.

Food is mentioned in some eight of the Magāmāt,142 and meals have, on occasion, been depicted throughout the manuscripts.

Paris B.N. 5847 provides a dramatic encampment scene in Maqāmā 44 which best exemplifies Arab hospitality. The tale opens on a bitterly cold winter’s night, when a famished al-Hārith and his friends are welcomed by a generous Bedouin host.

Al-Wāsītī’s double-page spread is reproduced overleaf
At first glance, I wondered whether the slaughter scene should not have come first, {that is, on the right hand folio} in chronological order, but an examination of the Arabic text confirms that folio 139v, which is not marked as such, is in the correct place, and that folio 140, depicting the slaughter of the camel, follows it. Therefore the proper interpretation of the illustrations must be that the travellers arrived at the camp fire, they were brought hors d'oeuvres {nuqt}, and they warmed themselves at the fire while waiting for the main courses.

In folio 139v, al-Hārith and his benighted fellow-travellers seem momentarily to have lost their sense of propriety, for the caption above tells us that,

"We spurned what is said about gluttony and saw sense in plunging into it with the measure of the greedy." 143

Even if the guests were famished with hunger and cold, they possibly risked being rebuked by their hosts, as the following tale illustrates. Abūl-Ḥasan, who had devoured several types of kid at the table of Abū ‘Abd Allāh Barīḍī, tells how

"... I was about to take the shoulder, but was anticipated by the hand of Abū ‘Abd Allāh, in consequence of which I withdrew mine. He said to me: "Abūl-Ḥasan, you are the modern 'Ṣābur of the Shoulders!'". I was very much ashamed, knowing that he said this out of annoyance." 144

Abū Zayd had an illustrious paradigm in the sage Luqmān, who inspired the proverb "More voracious than Luqmān". 145

The Shari'ā prescribed correct methods of eating, such as eating less than one's full appetite and eating slowly. This
was perhaps out of concern with the direct medical effects, rather than the niceties of social behaviour.

Arabic humanistic literature had encompassed culinary works since the first half of the 3rd/9th century. These not only dealt with the preparation and cooking of food, but covered dietary concerns and etiquette, all of which were deemed indispensable for refined members of society. The earliest scientific work on diet, Kitāb al-aghdiriya made its appearance in the 6th/12th century, and was written by the Andalusian physician Abū Marwān ibn Zuhr.

The two women are bustling around and bringing in another tray of nuq'il, which was considered an important constituent of any meal. An anecdote concerning the Caliph Wathiq tells how he asked some courtiers for their opinion on the best nuq'il. Some preferred savouries such as salt and biscuits, or vegetables {nabāt}. Others chose fruit such as pomegranates, or sugar soaked in rose-water.

The two women are unveiled, although their heads are covered with very long dark scarves; this might be surprising in the presence of strange men. However, al-Jahiz said

"An indication that looking at women in general is not prohibited is that a middle-aged spinster will appear before men without any bashfulness. Were this prohibited when she is young, it would not be permissible when she is middle-aged."

A commentary on a hadith concerning guests says that a stranger approaching a camp without friend or acquaintance there will go to the first tent, whether or not the man is home. The wife or daughter will immediately set about
spreading a carpet and preparing a meal. Al-Wāsiti’s mature women certainly act decisively in the entertainment of their guests and they seem eager to please them.

A late-6th/12th-century account confirms the welcome which even the unexpected guest received. When ʿImād al-Dīn al-Isfahānī rejoined the Sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in Damascus, he described how

"... the tablecloth was spread out; the carpet rolled out ... tables were made ready; deep dishes were lined up ... the cooks presented sheep, fowls, very sweet, fiery, acidic, with no particular flavour, stinging, boiled, roasted, already-made, fried foods."

The ladies wear fine, dark-green robes with tirāz bands. Wide sleeves have been noted elsewhere in Magāmat illustrations, for example al-Wāsiti’s famous singer {gayna} with her camels, and the captivating maiden in Paris B.N. 3929; here the robes also seem to be the variation of the jubba called tirāz farajiyya.

The woman in the centre of the composition bears a remarkable resemblance in features, build and clothing to al-Wāsiti’s celebrated singer just referred to; this again might indicate that the painter regarded her as a ‘type’ who represented a capable and spirited mature Arab woman. Here she is very much mistress of her own domain and quite unlike the tearful wife appearing before judges whom we have already encountered.

Two of the guests sit on what appear to be woven matting carpets. In view of the weather, they sensibly wear their
turbans in the Bedouin manner, tied under the chin, {although two of their companions do not}. The standard small table {khiwān} 161 is placed on a patterned rug, and two bowls and food are laid out on it; one wonders whether the platters might not, in fact, have been spread on rugs, in the context of an encampment. The guests are holding some unidentifiable white food in their right hands. It is not possible to see what the bowls contain, but the two round objects may be fruit.

Two other men are warming themselves beside a flaming fire at the right hand side. It is improbable that the fire was inside the tent itself, especially as shown in the painting, although it is possible that a charcoal brazier might have been used in a tent. However, this would be extremely dangerous if used in an enclosed atmosphere, unless proper ventilation in the form of a smoke-hole were provided.

Perhaps these two men by the fire would be considered to be sitting indecorously, with their legs exposed, especially as they were guests and, more particularly, in the presence of the women of the family. However, Paris B.N. 6094 162 and the 8th/14th-century London B.L. or. add. 22114 163 also show men round a fire, with their robes far pulled up, and it is evidently a genre feature and here an underscoring of the extent of the hospitality on offer, in that it was very much appreciated.

The scene is enacted inside a large tent which is open to the elements; this allows it to appear as a backdrop. As explained in the general discussion of tents in the
caravanserai in Maqāma 4, the orange-red interior is a separate hanging, and the colour was perhaps dictated by the need to indicate the depth of the welcome of a fire-lit scene.

A 7th/13th-century account by Abū’l-Fidā’ describes the tent of Al-Mālik al-Muzaffar, who was on a military expedition to Aleppo. That tent quoted: "pitched over against Hamus had a red exterior, and was made of western cloth. Its interior was decorated with fine dyed linen-work." 164

In the nomadic setting, woollen wall hangings would have been more appropriate. While decorative, they would of necessity have been more of a craft than an art, their shadings and weaving tensions reflecting the gathering here and there of diverse materials and the hurried packing and unpacking of a rudimentary loom at the dictates of the environment.

Although the exterior of al-Wāsīṭī’s tent has places for poles to be affixed, none are included, because they would inhibit the composition. A single spear behind the tent points upwards and outwards to the edge of the folio and suggests an element of depth; the encroachment into the text is an early innovation.

This tent is of the same basic, wide type which also appears in the miniatures for this tale in the Leningrad S.23. 165 There is very little difference as regards shape between al-Wāsīṭī’s tent and his cave scene in Maqāma 1, for both are semi-circular, but the cave was naturally in gloomier hues. In both illustrations he has used the semi-circular shapes as a decorative framework.
Al-Ḥarīth and his companions would have agreed with a contemporary qasida of Ibn Mammati, which runs,

"How brightly his fires burn at night to attract the tardy guest! He who draweth to the light of his fire will not have reason to complain, Provided he never received hospitality from the family of Muhallab." 166

The text at the second painting, on folio 140, describes how the company have wiped their hands with napkins and settled down to civilised conversation. A rather aloof old man, who is later revealed as Abū Zayd, turned aside "as the lofty turns aside from the lowly" 167 and quoted a passage from the Qurʾān, viz. "Verily this is nought but idle tales of the ancients". 168

This miniature shows the preoccupations of the cooks outdoors; they are evidently about to provide a sumptuous repast, for the scene is dominated by the ritual killing (dhibh) of a camel. Although the eating of camel flesh was not proscribed in the Qurʾān, it was not, apparently, eaten universally among the Arabs. 169

The name of Allāh must be invoked over an animal about to be slaughtered, but this is not the full basmala, merely "In the name of Allāh". 170 It seems that the use of the epithets, "The All-Compassionate, the All-Merciful" is considered inappropriate, in the light of what the beast is about to undergo, although every effort is made to avoid unnecessary suffering. 171

The Counsel for Kings reports that the Prophet said,

"God loves kindness in all {human} actions. Let the man who is to a slaughter a sheep therefore sharpen his knife, so that he may deliver that living creature from pain sooner." 172

In 13th/19th-century Egypt Lane reported that some women would
intone over the animal about to be killed for food

"In the name of God! God is most great! God give thee patience to endure the affliction which He hath allotted thee!" 173

Camels are stabbed at the throat, at that part nearest to the breast, whereas other animals have the throat cut at the part next to the head, as in the miniature, and then the windpipe, carotid arteries and the gullet are removed. 174

The camel in the illustration has had its limbs tied, and the man is forcefully holding its head down. Al-Wäsiṭī has cleverly accommodated the contours of the hillock to the camel’s humped outline. It is not difficult to imagine the beast’s distress and its fearful noises. Reference has already been made to the "roaring" of the camels in this encampment, and elsewhere in the Mağämät 175 one comes across mention of shaqāshiq, {s. shigshiga}, the facial bags of the throats of camels which emit a roaring sound. 176

An extract from Mağäma 25 captures something of the slaughter,

"My humped camels mourned the morning I made the feast." 177

and a paraphrase of a passage in the Lāmiyat al-‘Ajam sums this up,

"There bounty ever kindles high
The flame of hospitality;
And camel choice and stately steed
Full oft are doomed for guests to bleed." 178

Another man stirs a large gidr, a cooking-pot or cauldron, which was the most important utensil. 179 According to al-Baghdadi, the most superior pots were stone, {baram or hijara} 180 followed by those of clay, {fakkhār}; 181 others were made of copper {nubās} 182 or lead, {anuk}. 183 Syrian pots were of good
quality and larger vessels from Marw, Tus and Sughd were also highly thought of. 184

The text indicates quite clearly the size of pot used, for it refers to a'shār, which was originally the plural of 'ushr or a tenth part. 185 A'shār is applied to a cooking pot so large that its capacity is ten times that of an ordinary pot. These huge utensils were also used in cooking dishes of grain, among other things. 186 We know that they were exactly the same as the "pots of fire" which contained naphtha and which were thrown at the Siege of Acre during the Crusades. 187

One would expect a huge pot such as the a'shār to cook this camel, and perhaps the one on the fire contains a first course dish. In this connection, it is obvious that the actual feast is some time off.

Abī'l-Aynā', who was famed for his quick wit, was being entertained by Ibn Mukram, who set a pot before him. It was full of bones, so Abī'l-Aynā' said to his host, "This is evidently a gravy-pot". 188 Arab hosts may have been fearful of their guests' criticism, given their reputation for hospitality; this might explain the tolerance of the behaviour and deportment of these guests.

The cook ladles the contents of the pot directly into a serving bowl; his ladle has a long, straight handle with a knop. If this ladle were metal, he would surely have used a cloth to hold it. In the Bedouin context, it is possible that the ladle is wooden, for the trunks of palm trees are called into service to provide utensils. Everything in that environment would be put to good use,
and nothing of this camel would go to waste; meat unused for the meal might be pickled in vinegar with salt, herbs and vegetables, \(^{189}\) or dried \(_{\text{gadid}}\) \(^{190}\), and bones could be used for combs and needles.

In the scene of the "Mi'trā" in the Edinburgh manuscript \(^{20}\) Rashid al-Dīn Universal History (Jami' al-Tawārikh) of 707/1306-7, an angel proffers the Prophet heavenly fare from a bowl which is carried on a shallow dish with a foot. \(^{191}\) There the ladle has a swan-necked, short handle. An 8th/14th century feast scene has also been noted in the Jami' al-Tawārikh manuscript in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, \(^{192}\) which Gray says should not be much earlier than 1430. \(^{193}\) It is on a rather grander scale, for it depicts the Feast of Hūlāgū Khān in 651 in an al fresco setting. However, all the basic ingredients are there, viz. a slaughtered animal on the ground; a man with a sharp knife who is carving a bird; a large uncovered pot with two handles, storage jars and flasks and, additionally, wine cups.

A boy is tending a fire with sticks in al-Wāsiṭī's miniature, and he may be blowing on the fuel. This genre element of watching a pot on a fire occurs elsewhere, for example in the Khamsa of Nizāmī. \(^{194}\) It is also noted in an encampment scene in the Siya Qalam Album of the Conqueror, \(^{195}\) where a blazing fire of sticks licks round a large black cauldron with handles and a fluted metal cover. \(^{196}\)

Blowing on a fire to keep it alight also seems to be a cliche, but it was nonetheless a vital task, to provide sustenance, keep away wild animals and the like.
It is obvious that for cooking in such quantities as in this tale an abundant supply of good wood would be necessary, and the date palm at the left of the illustration would provide some fuel in the way of dried branches; also, to encourage growth, the trunk would be regularly lopped, and the growth there could be burnt. A proverb concerning firewood is mentioned in Maqāma 37. 197 Fuel from the palm, ilex and olive trees were particularly popular, for they gave off little smoke. 198 Markh and `ufar excel as firewood, as they are easily set alight when rubbed. 199 These trees can also be set alight merely by the wind. 200 These are perhaps in general vegetation of the settled lands (al-hādira); 201 otherwise nomads could gather spikes and thorns (sharg). 202

Fuel, whether in the form of wood or charcoal, was considered a basic commodity in settled areas. A ratl of charcoal of inferior quality cost six dirhams in Damascus in 1246, 203 and according to a text concerning the founding of the Mustansiriya in 1234, a lecturer received part payment in kind, including "firewood". 204

As well as being a reminder of its importance in the Bedu diet and its indication of a water source, the palm here acts as a "space-filler" and as a balance in the composition.

When the camel has been cooked, generous portions will be carried to the guests on large serving dishes; this is confirmed in a commentary to Maqāma 48, where Preston says that because the Arabs slaughtered camels or horses for a feast, "broad dishes" were necessary. 205
The woman bears a large tray, possibly a *tabaq*, with two dishes. During the 'Abbasid period, the term *tabaq* was also synonymous with a feast or banquet in the caliph's palace, or more frequently, in the vizier's official residence. 206 *Tabaq* is still used today for any type of tray, whether made of any metal, or glass.

The serving-woman is dressed like the other females in the family, but her pale blue robe is very beautiful and elaborate. It is lightly figured in red, and its folds are highlighted in a darker tone. One is reminded of the design of the extremely elaborate spandrels of the house in this manuscript in *Majma*ā 5, even if the floral motifs there were quite definite and there were golden *shamesas*. 207 So far as this robe, at least, is concerned, Papadopoulo seems to be correct in saying that, while luxurious garments existed, their price put them beyond the purse of the average citizen, and one assumes that they are used in this manuscript for their aesthetic qualities.

Papadopoulo plausibly suggests 208 that the space in this miniature has been organised around a spiral which runs from the hand of the man ladling food from the pot down and round the fire, up through his eyes, along to the woman’s eyes and then up round the figure of the man, ending through his hand with the knife. 209

These scenes of a flickering fire must have proved as enticing to the weary traveller as they did to the romantic poets, who often composed verses to the departed lover, of whom only the traces of the beloved's camp fire had been left.

A poignant metaphor was conjured up by al-Miskawayh, in his
obituary of a man who died in 360/970. He said,

"In this year perished Abū Tahir Husayn ibn Hasan, governor of Basra, with all his connexions; their traces were obliterated, their fortunes dissipated; there remained not on the face of the earth a blower upon tinder from among them." 210

Al-Wāsīṭī has captured well al-Ḥārith’s description of arriving at a "house" {bayt} "whose camels roared, whose cauldrons boiled". 211

His scene recalls a report in the Wafayāt, where Ibn Khallikān quotes one, Abūʾl-Maṣūr Sadarr,

"How often, during the shades of night, have we arrived, without previous notice, at {the encampment of an Arab} tribe; but found not, by their fire, a person who could direct us to our way. And yet their scouts were not remiss; but we fell in among {them} {gently} as falls the dew." 212

This chapter concludes the discussion of individual Magāmat, and there follows a general description of the manuscripts, based on the evidence.

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CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

It has been demonstrated in this thesis that the Maqāmāt illustrations provide an insight into 'everyday life'. A wide range of collective and particular activities, mundane and spiritual, has been personified through the text. We have seen people in the work-place and at leisure, from the lowliest mendicant to the highest in the land; people in sickness and health; people eating and drinking, fighting and arguing; robbery, treachery, and domestic squabbles in courts of law. The best and worst of human characteristics have been manifested, but good finally triumphed, and Abū Zayd eventually repented.

Frequent recourse to the text meant that miniatures which, in many cases, might otherwise have been unintelligible, have been explained. Each manuscript can be seen as a highly individual response by artists to a previously unillustrated and difficult secular work, which called either for the creation of new imagery or the adaptation of existing sources.

The nature of the Maqāmāt, both in title and content, demanded an audience before whom Abū Zayd could perform. Audience participation necessarily involved the reader-cum-viewer and, to this extent, it is arguable that the reader was also somehow a factor in the creation of the illustrations. This was a period of great artistic activity, of a change in spirit; perhaps the artists were given freedom of choice, and we have instances where the illustrations are liberated to some degree from the text. The acceptance of an anti-hero in itself represented a new taste. Figural representations were now required in all areas of the arts.
People in the Magâmat, as Grabar has pointed out, conform broadly to a ubiquitous male Arab of a certain type, perhaps a city-dweller in the Mediterranean Arab world. Such a type might serve a variety of functions in these paintings. This type had already appeared in science manuals, Arabic literature and in other media. It should be borne in mind that neither Abû Zayd nor al-Ḥarîth was ever associated with a consistent iconographic type, for example in the manner of Christian saints. In this may lie one explanation of the apparent failure of the Magâmat idiom to perpetuate itself. It was a nascent visual language which was being moulded by different individuals in diverse places, and it did not comprise a large mass of material. Further, if the illustrations were indeed as dependent on the text as I contend, this would not render them readily transferable to other literary works.

Landscape and simple types of architectural framework occurred in both Christian and Muslim mediaeval manuscripts, and had a long tradition dating from the late antique period onwards; they appear to be almost unknown in Persian art. The repetition of a small number of typologies of people available to Magâmat artists, and the rudimentary indications of indoor and outdoor space, are common throughout the Magâmat. The thesis demonstrates the great elaboration of architectural and landscape forms in the three 'key' manuscripts, Leningrad S.23, Paris B.N. 5847 and Istanbul E.E. 2916, even to the extent that some instances could only have been reproduced from direct observation.

Other contemporary sources, as we have seen, were royal iconography, the 'author portrait' and possibly the shadow theatre. External influences, such as the protruding further eye, which occurred
in Western Indian painting and Ethiopic art, 'fantastic literature' and eastern medical manuscripts also made their mark.

Nevertheless, it has been established that there was a particular *Maqāmāt* idiom; specific settings with no apparent parallels elsewhere, for example beggars, caravans and the authentic river-boats which plied the Euphrates, were depicted according to textual requirements, and artists adapted and sometimes transformed existing traditions. Purely confrontational scenes between the two protagonists confirm this point.

No further light has been shed on who actually determined the position of the paintings in the text and the type of illustration required or whether manuscripts were produced piecemeal or in a workshop, but it has been pointed out that there was certainly some degree of uniformity concerning the placing of illustrations in the text.

The question of patronage has also not been clearly determined. However, if there is any relationship between the perceived need to illustrate the *Maqāmāt* and the proliferation of figural representation in the decorative arts generally, then it seems plausible to suggest that potential patrons would be drawn from a less exclusive social class than at earlier periods, viz., from an affluent middle class.

The miniatures were in no way aides-mémoires; indeed all the manuscripts, even Paris B.N. 5847, for which a sophisticated and literate audience might be assumed, bore extensive textual exegesis. One must conclude that the illustrations were added for their aesthetic appeal and were seen at that time as a necessary dimension to that most Islamic of all arts, the creation of a book.
The 7th/13th-Century Illustrated Maqamat Manuscripts: A General Description


This is a fine manuscript which has sadly sustained some damage. The date appears on two occasions; in the 22nd Maqāma, on folio 68 an inscription on the hull of a boat advises that the manuscript was made in the year 619, which corresponds to 1222, and on a schoolboy’s writing board in the 45th maqāma, at folio 167. Grabar points out that Rice disputed this date, on account of “stylistic details”. Unfortunately the matter remains open on account of Rice’s untimely death, although Grabar’s attribution to the first quarter of the 7th/13th century seems beyond dispute. Yet another note on a second pupil’s writing board informs us that the work was completed in ten days. Buchtal assigned the work to Syria, and its debt to eastern Christian art is apparent.

The manuscript is of medium size, and measures 30 x 23 c.m. It has thirty nine large well-drawn miniatures, and only one for each maqāma. On folio 3 there may have been a frontispiece or a dedicatory inscription, for there are traces of a frame, and the end of the work is incomplete. There are one hundred and eighty seven folios, and generally there would be no inordinate length of text between the miniatures. However, twelve tales are
unillustrated, and this means that fairly long blocks of text occur. \(^8\) There are no double-page spreads.

The text is written in naskhi script, and commentaries have been added in other hands. \(^9\) All thirty nine miniatures are concerned with the setting of the scene and they are overwhelmingly sited within the prose narrative. The illustrations on folios 59v, 82v and 167 appear at poetry sections; \(^10\) these are instantly recognisable by the shorter, centred lines, as well as by red dots which are written above the last words as an embellishment of the usual sukūn, the small circular Arabic diacritical point which can also indicate poetry. There are several occasions when this artist has chosen to illustrate a tale at the same place in the text as in the Leningrad S.23, Paris B.N. arabe 5847 and London B.L. or. 1200 manuscripts. \(^11\) However, there seems to be no indication that these illustrations are related to each other either stylistically or iconographically. One wonders if there was some 'rule of thumb' for determining how and where to place an illustration in a text.

The palette consists of red, pink, dark blue, black, brown, dark green, yellow/gold, silver and white. These hues are less delicate than in paintings attributed to Baghdad. Further, they are less strong and bright than the Mosul repertory of colour.

Given the parallels with Christian art and the plain background, it is perhaps surprising to find that no haloes appear here; however, the lack of emphasis provided by the aureole is counteracted by the heavily delineated turbans, beards and moustaches and the piercing eyes without pupils. The glances direct
the eye of the viewer to the main action. 12 The influence of Hellenistic painting is found in the aspect of gravity of mien and the rather Byzantine bearded faces. 13 Hands, feet and faces are outlined in red, and a white line runs the length of the noses. An emphasis on these bodily features is common to all the Maganāt manuscripts; further, from the structural viewpoint, these elements provide constant colour and form which tie the images together.

Buchtal has pointed out similar expressive body gestures, postures and costume in the contemporary Paris B.N. arabe 3465 Kalīla wa Dimna, 14 and the hand to mouth gesture has been appropriated from Classical Antiquity. 15 As in Byzantine art, heads in profile occur rarely. 16 Stylistic and iconographic similarities between this work and the contemporary Istanbul Topkapi Sarayi Ahmet III, 3126 Mukhtar al-Hikam wa-Mahasin al-Kalim (The Choicest Maxims and Best Sayings), of al-Mubashshir, 17 are the unshod feet, the transformation of the Byzantine author and philosopher portraits, and types of costume. A group of figures on 49v 18 in Magāna 16 seems to betray an eastern, non-Hellenistic model, a formula which, according to Buchtal, came to be known in Iran in an earlier period. 19 The appearance of beardless attendants in the context of the Saljuq court conforms to prevailing notions of youthful masculine beauty. 20

The field of garments and textiles is now rather harsh, in contrast to the Byzantine gradation of light and shade, and it reinforces the sombre impression created by the grave faces. Surfaces of garment folds are emphatically modelled, or else they
are of an abstract vermiculated variety, and patterns are based on floral scroll or geometric forms. Designs are executed without regard to the human form, for the dimensions of the garment are treated as a flat surface amenable to decoration. A Saljuq derivation of costume, headgear and boots (and pendant leg pose) is obvious in *Magāmāt* 23 and 38, where the governors are drawn from the princely cycle. 22

The illustrations are not bound by a ruled frame, and they appear on a plain ground, although schematic architectural elements circumscribe the action. Miniatures are frequently framed within a tripartite scheme, which was also adopted on occasion by the major *Magāmāt* artists. Rounded archways are more common than the pointed variety. Plain or mugarnas domes and half-domes are also found. Specific elements may be added to indicate, for example, a mosque or house, but the frameworks otherwise bear no close relationship to any known building and are merely visual pointers. To this extent, the architecture complements and completes the other elements of the image, but it has no real aesthetic merit.

Architectural motifs include meander and interlaced patterns, Y-shapes and heart motifs. Similar architectonic elements and ornamentation occur in the contemporary Paris *Kalīla wa Dimna* B.N. arabe 3465. 23 The somewhat monotonous repetition in composition, (which is sometimes clearly of a Byzantine origin), and the reduction of architecture to symbols evidently influenced later Mamlūk painting in the region; this is best exemplified by the Vienna A.F.9 *Magāmāt* of 734/1334. 24 Yet, despite the two-dimensional architectural framework of Paris B.N. arabe 6094, the
dynamic tension between the characters is conveyed by eye, hand and body movements; these points have their counterparts in the Istanbul, Ahmet III, 3206 Mukhtār al-Hikam wa Mahāsin al-Kalim. Indoor settings generally have a ground-line of two fine ruled black lines, and this was frequently breached by unshod feet, as in Byzantine art.

Vegetation anchors the composition in seven outdoor settings, although in Maqāma 22 a ruled line underscores the water of the Euphrates. Trees are large and stylised and they do not seem to be botanically identifiable; they resemble out-of-scale plants and remind one of textile compositions. Grass is shown as oblique bands of tight vegetation which are occasionally punctuated by single flowers or curved leaves, and similar vegetation is found in the B.N. arabe 3465 Kalila wa Dimna, volumes IV and XX of the Kitāb al-Aghāni, the Paris B.N. arabe 2964 Kitab al-Tiryāq, Vienna A.F.10 Kitāb al-Tiryāq manuscripts and two volumes of Syrian Gospels.

A huge, tree-like open fire burns in the desert encampment on folio 156, in the 44th maqāma; it is particularly striking and underscores the depth of the welcome on offer. Rocks of a type found in Syriac manuscripts occur, and rocks were later to be further elaborated as a major theme in Persian miniature painting. The encampment scene in Maqāma 4 encompasses most landscape elements, so there is neither evidence that the artist was unable to render landscape, hence its relatively few appearances, nor that his landscape repertory had to develop gradually throughout the Maqāmāt.
Very few animals appear in the natural landscape. A lunule indicates a night-time outdoor scene, and a rather coy horse, a few camels and two birds complete the repertoire in the merchants' caravan on folio 13 in *Magāma* 4. 32 Striking similarities in tree forms {and judgment scenes} with the *Paris Kalīla wa Dimna*, B.N. 3929, are evident. 33

Papadopolou 34 has persuasively proposed that one means to exploit the pictorial space is by the staggering of figures arranged in tiers on a spiral of oval form, which suggested a projection in depth, and this does seem to be so in two of the miniatures which he has analysed. 35 This device was not new, for it occurred in Syrian Gospels, 36 and it was adopted in later Persian illustration by Junayd, Bihzad and other masters. 37 The influence of Syrian iconography on B.N. arabe 6094 can also be noted in the early Mamlūk *Magāmat* manuscript, the British Library or add. 22.114, which was executed around the beginning of the 8th/14th century. 38

The stylistic characteristics and pictorial repertoire of Paris B.N. arabe 6094 may be read as a reworking by Byzantine and provincial schools of Hellenistic representations. 39 However, closer examination reveals the intrusion of a number of Islamic features, such as posture and iconography, 40 vegetation 41 and architectural ornament. 42 Grabar considers that the Coptic elements of composition, style and motifs in the Fatimid period are particularly evident. 43
B.N. arabe 6094 stands in sharp contrast to other Magāmāt manuscripts, which are essentially Islamic and non-Hellenistic in nature and, at first glance, it is hard to reconcile it as an ‘Arab’ work, despite the turbans and Arabic text. This impression confirms Grabar’s assertion that it is the only Magāmāt manuscript which "can be taken as an independent unit, since it alone displays a consistently distinctive style". 44

2. Leningrad, Oriental Institute, Academy of Sciences, S.23.

I have not personally examined this manuscript and was unable to obtain photographic slides, and have relied on Grabar’s microfiche reproductions and the very few illustrations which have been published elsewhere. 1

The manuscript is undated, and its place of origin, the artist and copyist are all unknown. Grabar’s analysis 2 leads him to conclude that the relative independence of this manuscript from contemporary illustrated Magāmāt tends to confirm the belief of Ettinghausen 3 and Rice 4 that this is the earliest version.

This is the second smallest in size of the six manuscripts under discussion at 25 x 19 c.m., but it contains by far the largest number of folios, namely three hundred and fifty eight. 5
There are ninety eight illustrations, just one less than the B.N. arabe 5847, and eight maqāmāt are unillustrated. The greatest number of unillustrated pages together is twenty, between Maqāmat 44 and 46, otherwise miniatures are regularly interspersed at short intervals at prose or poetry sections. The high-quality miniatures are small, and all have been defaced by iconoclasts by scoring them with black ink. Lines appear across faces, necks, shoulders and limbs; fortunately these have not necessitated repainting, such as in London B.L. or. 1200.

This manuscript has been poorly preserved in places, and the first eleven folios are lost. Compared with the Wāṣiṭī work, and to a more limited extent Istanbul E.E. 2916, the miniatures are found in the 'correct' place. The scenes are a combination of architectural and landscape set-pieces, which can combine denouements.

Although space was left for an illustration on page 131, in the 21st maqāma it has been left blank, and this allows us to see, how, on this occasion at least, the artist, or someone else, planned the composition. A reproduction of this illustration follows, together with a translation of the Arabic.
The title of the work, "Maqāmāt Harīrī", is written across the three horizontal circles. The other circles indicate where "al-Hārith ibn Hammām" and "{wa} {A)bū Zayd al-Sarūjī" were to be placed. This means that Abū Zayd al-Sarūjī was to be at the centre, with al-Hārith ibn Hammām at the left of the composition. The folio shows that two lines of text were written, then a space was left for the illustration above four lines of text. This occurs at the place where Abū Zayd is about to harangue the amīr who was present in the mosque. 10 In view of the fact that the background was unpainted, it follows that a mosque interior must have been intended, for a detailed darker background would be needed to obscure the large thulūth captions.

There are several peculiar features in this maqāma. First, one would expect that the artist would inscribe the circles to indicate where the characters were to be placed, yet the fact that it was necessary to include the title of the literary work, may suggest that the artist and copyist were two different people. Secondly, it seems unnecessary to include the title of the literary work by this stage, Maqāma 21, unless all the tales were illustrated by different people; alternatively, were texts handed to the artist piecemeal for illustration? The manuscript may have been produced in a workshop and laid aside while awaiting a miniature. It would then have been necessary to include the title to distinguish the work from any other prepared text lying about awaiting illustration. If this is so, does this mean that it was assigned to an artist, one "al-Layth"; but why not just "Layth"? Is there also a hint here that stock models were available, which
were capable of adaptation according to the particular work? This might explain the difference between Abū Zayd in Leningrad S.23 and the Abū Zayd of Paris B.N. arabe 5847 and, to a lesser extent, Paris B.N. arabe 3929, where he transcends a mere 'type', to become a personality in his own right. The questions raised are perhaps insoluble, but they must be posed.

Annotations to the text are added in small naskhī script below, or they might be written above or at the side of the Arabic, or even upside down, as on page 41 and apparently at the whim of the commentator. 11 Unusually for Magāmāt manuscripts, magāmāt titles here are enclosed in an ʿunvān in the form of a plain ruled rectangular frame in the centre of the folio and centred between lines of text. 12 This is darkly ruled with a light (possibly white) band, and the background seems to be decorated with floral scrolls.

One further important difference is the variant of Eastern Kufic script used. Eastern Kufic is more delicate than standard Kufic, and it was used in 5th/11th century Iraq and Persia. 13 For the introduction to the 39th tale, the upright letters are straight, the ʿayn and gāf are diamond-shaped, and the lam and alif are crossed like tongs. However, open letters have not been blocked in. 14 An elaborate palmette with pointed finial is placed on the right hand side of the rectangle. The artist has apparently appropriated these features from Qurʾānic illumination.

There are some instances where illustrations here are placed at the same point in the text as those in Paris B.N. arabe 6094, the Wāsiti work, B.N. arabe 3929, Istanbul E.E. 2916 and London B.L. or.
1200, but they are dissimilar, and again the interpretation of individual artists. 15

Figures are lively and spontaneous; they are relatively small in scale and frequently appear in the large overlapping swarms of people so typical of a bustling metropolis. These scenes were made possible by the dexterous manipulation of crowds, using an elliptical ground-line, which created the illusion that figures in the distance were slightly above eye-level. 16 In Magäma 47 the ellipse successfully conveys the idea of a spectacle within a spectacle, and there it reached a maturity not achieved by eastern Christian and western mediaeval manuscript illustration. 17 Persian painters also adopted the elliptical device to exploit the pictorial space. 18

The people are the ubiquitous bourgeois Arab types identified by Grabar 19 who are found elsewhere in the Magämat, and whom he says must be regarded as "an invention of the predominantly Arab world". 20 However, these were not confined to Magämat illustrations, for we find that the peripatetic judge in the 43rd tale is almost identical to the physician in the Freer Gallery, Washington, folio of De Materia Medica of Dioscorides, which was executed in Baghdad in 621/1224. 21 Long-haired attendants are beardless and moon-faced, 22 in accordance with an idealised notion of youthful beauty, and they are modelled, perhaps, on young attendants from princely iconography, for they wear the short tunic and long boots of an attendant at the court of the governor of Marv. 23 The dark-skinned sailors in Magäma 39 seem to represent foreigners 24 but it is not unlikely that a voyage to Oman and,
indeed anywhere in the Arabian Gulf, could involve Indian seamen.

There is a limited range of colours of blue, brown, white, and red. Robes may be in plain colours, or they are patterned with the decorative floral scrolls which had already appeared in the Paris B.N. arabe 2964 Kitab al-Tiryāq of 595/1199. Large ovoids in garment folds are emphasised by minor folds, and there is heavy shading and highlighting. These are seen to best effect on the governor of Marw's robe in Maqāma 38, and they serve to imbue the field with life, with folds which are less rigid than in the Paris B.N. arabe 6094. There is an elaborate textile drapery with a dragon in the encampment scene in the 26th tale, and the inference must be that there is a Chinese influence here. An intricate frieze of large running animals also fronts the pavilion, and the pennants fluttering on the tents seem to indicate that the composition is based on a royal enclosure.

Haloes are outlined by a single black line, and when they do appear, it is possible that the character has been appropriated wholesale from an earlier tradition. However, they are used at particular points in the composition, perhaps as singular points of reference, as emphasis against a plain background, or where the colour of the background might otherwise obscure the image. To this extent they parallel in function the points of colour in this manuscript which serve to tie the compositions together.

Forty-four of the illustrations are landscape settings, and these may demonstrate a preoccupation with spatial depth, for landscape seems to offer wider parameters for the development of pictorial space than architecture, which necessarily circumscribes.
The technique of setting one plane of activity above the other is perhaps to be understood as representing them either before or alongside each other. This seems to be a continuation of practices in Syriac and Byzantine manuscripts, and it is also to be noted particularly in Istanbul E.B. 2916. A double ground plane composed of unconnected terraces is found in Magäma 42. There is a limited landscape repertory of plants and close-packed grass which is used to establish a ground-line. Heavy spiky plants, sometimes sprouting smaller foliage, appear in the foreground and are used as space fillers. They also anchor the composition to a base-line. Water is delineated in shaded curves, and the inverted cloud motif which was noted in Paris B.N. arabe 6094 and London B.L. 1200 also appears.

There is no notion that the artist's landscape compositions developed as he worked his way through fifty tales. Even by the 4th maqāma one finds a composition on multiple planes which define particular moments in the plot. It includes full genre details, such as settling the beasts for the night, Abū Zayd conversing, al-Ḥārith overhearing the conversation, and the fire being prepared for the cook. In this composition we have a hint of what was to follow in Persian miniature painting. However, closing-off the framing greensward precluded the freedom of movement between the diverse fields of activity and did not lend itself to the structural unity of, for example, an unusual miniature in the 'Demotte' Shāh-nāma which was probably executed in the second quarter of the 8th/14th century.

Similar devices to develop landscape compositions on multiple
planes were employed to great effect by the artist of Istanbul E.E.
2916 for his village scenes, but that same setting was less
successfully depicted by al-Wāṣīṭī.  

Architectural settings are generally detailed, and there is a
fairly wide variety of compositional schemes; here there is a
definite evolving from simple two-dimensional compositions to the
remarkable 'cityscape' in the 42nd tale, which James says has “an
awareness of structure and scale that is rare in mediaeval
painting”. The standard tripartite forms are adaptable to
different usages, such as a house, or a lawcourt. Much use is made
of hanging drapes, intricate crenellations, ribbed domes with
clerestory lights and carved stuccowork and woodwork, but there is
nevertheless a notion of repetition. Detailed tripartite
architectural forms were also employed in the ‘Demotte’ Shāh-nāma,
where they were a deviation from the norm, and Grabar is of the
opinion that there they were planned in advance.  

Rounded arches predominate in this manuscript, but cusped
arches also occur. Simple spandrels make an appearance on occasion,
and it seems that where architecture is called for by the text, it
almost invariably appears in some form. Conversely, there is no
architectural framework in the government office in the 23rd Magāna.
The ground-line is merely hatched, but the apparent adaptation
of the official from the princely cycle to an Arab milieu is
sufficient to define the setting.

Although architecture may be detailed, there is
nevertheless the feeling that it is a staged set piece; the most
obvious impression of a theatrical backdrop for lively figures is found in the tavern in Magāma 12, on page 76. One is reminded of the shadow play (khayāl al-zill), which had been known from at least the 5th/11th century, bearing in mind that the earliest surviving shadow play texts are those of Ibn Dāniyal, the creator of scabrous plots, who died in the early 8th/14th century. Grabar considers that influences are more likely to have gone from play to manuscript illustration than the other way around.

There are similarities in style and iconography with the Paris B.N. arabe 5847 and Istanbul E.E. 2916 manuscripts, as well as the Washington 32.20 Dioscorides De Materia Medica, which was executed in Baghdad in 621/1224. In Magāma 4, a man in a camel litter wears a curious, white pointed hat of a similar type to those found in the contemporary Vienna A.F.9 Kitab al-Tiryāq frontispiece, which also featured a genre scene of riders and litters.

Although there are stylistic differences between this artist and Christian Arab illustrators, he seems to have been influenced by Christian iconography, as was the painter of Paris B.N. arabe 6094. For example the composition of the sweeping lines of mourning figures in the cemetery scene in Magāma 11 may be based on an entombment of Christ, and Abū Zayd’s pose as a pilgrim on a high rock in Magāma 31 recalls Moses on Sinai receiving the Ten Commandments.

This manuscript is the undisputed jewel in the crown of the illustrated *Maqāmāt*, and is dated 6th Ramadan, 634H. [Saturday, 3rd May, 1237] It was signed by the artist, al-Wāsīṭī, who was also the scribe, but Safwat disagrees with Grabar’s reading of the signature. The work is attributed to the ‘Baghdad’ school of painting, although Grabar cautions that the place of execution is as yet unclear. What we do know is that the nisba "al-Wāsīṭī" implies that the artist’s family came from Wāsīt, in Iraq.

The manuscript was beautifully rebound in 1939 in dark red leather, and there is tooling in red and yellow. It is extremely large in size, measuring 37 x 28 cm. Although it is the second smallest *Maqāmāt* manuscript regarding the number of folios, some one hundred and sixty eight, it has ninety nine miniatures, which is greater than any other. Only the 27th and 35th tales are unillustrated. There are but thirteen occasions when one miniature per *maqāma* occurs, so the illustrations punctuate the text at very frequent intervals. In addition, there are some ten double-page spreads, which includes the unique double frontispiece. James suggested that the double, full-page illustration originated with al-Wāsīṭī. With the exception of the frontispieces, which are painted on a dark blue background, the miniatures appear on a plain field.

It is noticeable that the incidence of double-page spread clusters decreases sharply in the second half of the manuscript; for example, between folios 43v and 64, that is *Maqāmāt* 16 to 23,
there are some six of these expanded illustrations, whereas a similar group, of three, occurs between Maqāmāt 30 and 32. There is no apparent notion, then, of tailoring illustrations towards the middle of the manuscript, where there would be an equal number of folios on either side, and the volume would lie flatter for ease of viewing on a bookstand. It should be pointed out that 'double-page illustration' refers to miniatures in the same tale which are meant to be read as one scene; two facing miniatures occur on folios 133v and 134, but they refer to Maqāmāt 42 and 43 respectively.

Al-Wāsitī has not developed the notion of three-dimensional picture space on a single folio to the extent of the artists of Leningrad S.23 and Istanbul E.E. 2916. Rather he has expanded his compositions laterally, across two pages; some of them are tall and have no text above or below, as in the cupper scene in Maqāma 47, while others are wider than they are tall. In view of the large size of this manuscript, the full page representations in particular take on an almost monumental appearance, and their visual impact in the 7th/13th century can only be imagined, especially when spread over two pages.

Perhaps among the reasons for the good state of preservation of this work, despite some retouching, are that it was obviously a very special and costly production, and worthy of preservation; further, its size militated against it being well-worn, for it would have been necessary to lay it out on a cross-shaped rihla or bookstand of the type found in contemporary illustrated manuscripts.

The text is written in naskhī script. Maqāmāt titles are unframed and written in large gold thulūth script outlined in black;
these are centred, both as to folio width and lines of text and they merely give the number of the magāma, with no mention of the place name. Two peculiarities in the artist’s method of heading chapters may be observed. First, the heading for the 15th tale, al-magāmat al-khamsat ‘ashra, is in a large naskhī script in ordinary ink; it is centred and fairly precise. Secondly, that for Magāma 37 is written in the usual thulūth, but it is very close to and almost dwarfed by the greensward of the illustration above. It would appear that on this latter occasion, at least, al-Wāsitī had already copied the text for the next magāma, leaving space for the illustration; but, in the event, he miscalculated the scale. Magāmāt do not necessarily start on a new page, but follow straight on. The title of the 11th tale (which is written in red ink) incongruously occurs on the last line of the folio, and this may imply that the top and bottom folio margins were strictly adhered to.

Several of al-Wāsitī’s illustrations are not in the place required by the text. 11 At least one, in Magāma 37, is an endpiece, 12 and he sometimes goes above and beyond obvious textual dictates; for example, he has been particularly inspired by a Qur’ānic allusion to “horses and footmen” 13 to produce a unique image of a mounted cavalcade in the 7th magāma, 14 although it has to be said that such a gathering did precede the Ramadān service in the mosque and that the double image would have been understood by a Muslim reader. This is a learned work, for al-Wāsitī used his knowledge of literature to enhance his imagery.

In some cases, al-Wāsitī’s illustrations are placed at the same
point in the text as those of the artists of Paris B.N. arabe 6094, Leningrad, S.23 and Istanbul E.E. 2916. However, it is only in the Istanbul E.E. 2916 miniature in the 38th tale that there are similarities with al-Wāsīṭī’s composition, where there is no architecture; the throne is raised, and spears appear.

The text itself, consisting of prose and poetry, is arguably set out in a form of page decoration. For example, in Maṣāma 36, Maltiya, Abū Zayd set twenty riddles. In the course of the tale he turns to ten of his audience. Each line of introduction is short and runs in the manner of,

"Then he turned to the foremost ... and said" 16

The riddle is posed in rhyming couplets, and the whole by itself provides a pleasing eye-rhyme, punctuated by

"Then ..."

This in a sense breaks up the continuous prose. As such, if the objective is to enliven the text, it is not really necessary to provide an illustration at that juncture. On folio 111r, the words thumma and qa‘la, "then" and "he said", are written five times in a very large script, where they further embellish the page. Commentaries in red ink are written down the sides of some of the illustrations in a zig-zag fashion; these are decorative, but also serve to close the extremities and provide a framework. I cannot state categorically that al-Wāsīṭī wrote the commentaries. 17

Settings may be precisely or imprecisely defined, and may include confrontations. There seem to be very few illustrations which deal solely with denouements.

Al-Wāsīṭī has only rarely adopted the halo as framing
device. Males comprise the vast majority of the characters and they are the standard bourgeois Arab types, but there are also ample, capable Arab females, as the text requires. Body language is lively and emphasised by hand and head movements and the positioning of other elements of the composition. There is much inter-personal action here, and this helps the reader identify with the characters.

Abū Zayd and al-Ḥārith are usually identifiable and clothed in a manner appropriate to the context, and al-Wāsitī, like the Paris B.N. arabe 3929 artist, always renders our hero in an empathetic manner. One wonders how much of this psychological refinement is due, as copyist, to his knowledge of the literary character. One of the best portraits of Abū Zayd in the Maqâmât corpus is in the 18th tale, where he rides off with his booty; this in turn resembles a further portrait in Maqâmâ 44. These illustrations may have influenced the artists of London B.L. 1200 and Istanbul E.E. 2916 in their miniatures for the 44th tale, although landscape elements have been rendered in these artists’ own fashion. Social satire, if it occurs, is gentle and amusing and it never approaches lampooning which, in Maqâmâ 10, is arguably justifiable.

There is a wide variety of facial types, for example a very large moon-faced spinning woman in Maqâmâ 5. She bears some resemblance to Mary in the Annunciation scene in the Edinburgh University Library 161 Athâr al Bāqiyâ of al-Bīrūnî, which is dated 1306-7, and to al-Wâsitî’s woman in the village scene in the 43rd tale. The wâlî in Maqâmâ 39 was
possibly drawn from an Indian prototype, as was his wife whose monumental proportions can be seen in the childbirth scene, and other non-Arabs appear. Alternatively, Grabar suggests that figures in loin-cloths "were probably standard for the representation of foreigners, since they also occur in 8th/14th-century Persian painting".

Youths are full-faced and beardless, and conform to an ideal of beauty, rather than representing a physical type; they have been appropriated from the context of the princely cycle. Like those of other artists, al-Wāṣiṭī’s children posed some difficulty in modelling, and they are out of scale. Perhaps this is because there was no developed iconography for the portrayal of children, and their appearance now, apart from textual requirements, is possibly called for as a genre element. Although the characters are Arab, al-Wāṣiṭī has drawn from royal iconography in the matters of characters, poses and scale, for example in Maqāmāt 12 and 24.

People wear Arab garments with tirāz, but these change in the case of foreign-looking rulers, when they wear Saljūq Turkish robes, and boots and fur hats and pointed headgear, such as found in the Istanbul Feyzullah Efendi 1566 Kitāb al-Aghānī from Mosul, c.1218-1219, or the Vienna Nationalbibliothek A.F.10 Kitāb al-Tiryāq frontispiece, which was probably also executed in Mosul, in the mid-7th/13th century. Despite his Arab turban, the pose and costume of the governor of Raḥba in Maqāmā 10 also suggests a Saljūq model, as do the fur hat and costume on one half of the frontispiece, the costume of the governor in the Rayy mosque,
and the non-Arab robes and stockings of footmen in the hajj procession. 36

Full plain garments are depicted with ductile ovoid folds, loosely modelled in a calligraphic rhythm; 37 al-Wasiti used them to enliven the field. These contrasted well with the heavy rinceaux or geometric designs on other textiles, which also endowed the pictorial space with vibrancy. While magnificent fabrics undoubtedly existed, the depiction of Abu Zayd and other ordinary mortals in richly decorated and costly garments confirms the notion that the textiles (like some landscape and architecture) were ‘possibilities’, and were included for their aesthetic allure.

This elaborate treatment of garments, although it continued for some time, was to become less significant in Persian painting, where carpets and architecture became the focus of lavish decoration. 38 Practical short trousers worn by workmen and a sailor 39 are rather similar to those worn by peasants in the slightly earlier Paris B.N. arabe 2964 Kitāb al-Tiryāq which probably originated in northern Iraq in 595/1199. 40

Colours are brilliant and gay, with no great gradation of tone; there are various shades of blue and red, violet, yellow, green, ochre, brown, gold and black.

There are thirty-nine natural settings and, as in the Leningrad S.23 and Istanbul E.E. 2916 manuscripts, double and multiple ground planes are built up by bands of vegetation, for example in the hajj procession and the village. 41 In the village and encampment scenes, al-Wasiti sought to emphasise spatial depth by organising his staggered figures on variations of a spiral;
this device had already appeared in the Paris B.N. arabe 6094 *Magāmāt* as well as in Coptic and Syriac Gospels 42 and it was carried over into later Persian miniature painting. 43

Al-Wāsiṭī’s landscape elements are generally decorative and conceptual, and within the ‘Mesopotamian’ tradition, that is, foliage sprouts straight from arterial limbs. They verge on the possibility of being real plants. While this latter feature might exemplify a new freedom for the artist, and echoed the methods of breaching the text as a means of liberating the illustration, one has the feeling that trees and plants were included for their own sake, as forms and colours which were integral to the composition. Only occasionally are landscape elements realistic; 44 otherwise they represent aesthetic renderings of the natural world. These comments apply equally to the Leningrad S.23 and Istanbul E.E. 2916 landscapes. Further, one should bear in mind that rendering plants {and architecture and people} in less than realistic terms was a possible factor in any attempt to deflect hostile criticism, and thus move towards acceptance by theologians. Perhaps the lush island with its harpies in *Magāma* 39 45 was inspired by ‘fantastic’ literature in the genre of al-Qazwīnī’s *Ajā‘ib al-Makhlūqât* {Wonders of Creation}, and it seems that the artist of Istanbul E.E. 2916 used the same model for his illustration on folio 130v. 46

Animals are well drawn and realistic and imbued with rare sensibility, and their trappings are also depicted in detail. 47 Al-Wāsiṭī has captured perfectly the balance between ungainliness and grace, the camels’ stubborn indifference to man and their haughty pride in his fine portrayal of Abū Zayd’s ‘reward’ in the
32nd Maqāma, the singer and the camels. 48

Like the artist of Istanbul E.E. 2916, al-Wâsiṭî has provided functional variations of his standard tripartite compositions, and so there is less of the monotony found in Leningrad S.23. The architectural catalogue is wide and varied. It includes roof ventilating towers and rolled matting, balconies and balustrades, brickwork floors, carved stucco and woodwork and so forth. Rounded and pointed arches, and their derivatives, as well as simple spandrels, appear throughout the manuscript. The standard ‘house-type’ can be transformed into lawcourt or school by the addition of specific features, for example the lawcourt tribunal, garments of functionaries and such-like and, in the absence of architecture, these items alone define the setting. This happened in the other Maqāmat manuscripts. There is also a basic mosque format, which is capable of elaboration into a great congregational mosque, and there may be a notion of a final flourishing of religious architecture by the 50th tale, where many elements appear. 49

The stylistic feature of the ‘protruding further eye’ which seems to emanate from the gradual replacement of the three-quarter view by the profile, 50 as well as the iconography of the monumental woman in labour in the 39th tale 51 perhaps came from Indian works. One can agree with Ettinghausen 52 that the illustrated Maqāmat, like the Arabian Nights, have been remarkably successful in the assimilation of foreign material into a mirror of Arab civilisation.

There are few instances where al-Wâsiṭî’s pictorial renditions breach the text; noticeable exceptions are the long banner in the
early Ramadan group of mounted horsemen and the minaret in the final tale. The latter composition should be compared with the Samargand minaret in Maqāmāt in Istanbul E.E. 2916, which employs the same device.

Although this manuscript is stylistically and iconographically related to the Leningrad S.23 and Istanbul E.E. 2916 manuscripts, and the three works form a key set of Maqāmāt, al-Wāsiti has more uniquely modified an existing tradition. Whether this was at his own behest, or at that of a patron, it is impossible to say, but he certainly had autonomy as scribe and artist that the other painters did not have. He alone managed to transcend the limitations of the text and his images appear to be his own visual perceptions. On the question of ownership, if not patronage, it is inconceivable that such a de luxe volume did not possess at least an ex libris, when even the artist/copyist signed it.

Al-Wāsiti has indeed produced the visual embodiment of what Gibb termed "the mediaeval view of literature as an 'intellectual luxury or vehicle of edification'".


The colophon has not been preserved. Earlier opinion had assigned the manuscript to the late 6th/12th or early 7th/13th century, but Grabar says that, taking into account the view of Rice and Ettinghausen it was possibly executed about the 1240's.
Although the place of execution is unknown, it shares many characteristics with the manuscripts assigned to the so-called 'Mosul' school; these are uniformity of style, flat ornamental compositions, two-dimensional architecture, haloes, landscape elements and stylistic parallels with metalwork. Further, Saljūq royal iconography, which seems to have been particularly popular in Mosul, is called upon. The realistic approach lent itself to genre painting and, as in the case of Paris B.N. arabe 5847, a keen identification of the viewer with the principal characters is possible. There is nothing here of the derivative Byzantine style of B.N. arabe 6094.

The work measures 32 x 21.5 cm. Its initial pages have disappeared, and one hundred and ninety six folios remain; this makes it the third longest manuscript, and it has some seventy five miniatures interspersed throughout the text at fairly short intervals. These illustrations are on a plain background and, in the contemporary manner, there is no frame. Fifteen maqāmāt are unillustrated. This may be due to loss and replacement, and Grabar is of the opinion that there are insertions of a later date. A personal examination of the manuscript reveals that some pages with illustrations have been bound in the wrong order. This is likely to have arisen out of an incomplete understanding of Arabic and of individual tales.

The miniatures in general provide a running narrative of the text, and for this reason the work had been assigned to an earlier period. An extreme example is found in Maqāma 36, where three distinct moments are shown in rapid succession, with no
indication whatever of indoor or outdoor settings. There are no double-page illustrations which should be read as one. Folio 20 in the 9th tale bears two miniatures. Illustrations appear at both prose and poetry sections, and they may also signal the break between prose and poetry.

The text is written in naskhī script. Thulūṭh script is used as a caption in gold, with black outlining, and it provides a clue both to the scene of the action and the personages involved. This element accounts for an extreme literalness in interpretation and, to that extent, it would be useful to a reader who did not know the text. It is arguable too that this literal quality can render a miniature as a metaphor in literary and visual terms. The caption may be written normally above the miniature, or down the side of the page, and this functions as a frame. James suggests that prior to 1258, when illustrations were inserted into the text devoid of background or frame, a caption appeared in original editions; there seems to be no reason to suppose that copying for copying’s sake was not also done.

An introductory caption above the miniature (which is framed by a fine double-ruled line) also occurs in the Istanbul Hazine 841 Varqa va Gulshah, which is undated, but of the 7th/13th century. Although the Maqāmāt illustrations here are not confined by a frame, they generally retain the horizontal format.

Thulūṭh script is also used for maqāmāt headings; tales are numbered but not named according to place. It is interesting to see how al-Wasiti has dealt with the matter of chapter headings and page layout. The number of the 13th maqāma is not within a block or
frame; it is not centred, neither is it separated by more space than between the lines of naskhi script of the text, where the Arabic letters for 'n' and 'y' are particularly prominent as looped descending letters. The first one and a half lines of script represent the end of the Arabic text of Maqāma 39, and the thulūth script on line two reads "The Fortieth Maqāma". However, because he chose not to centre the chapter heading, he has had to squeeze "al-tabrīzī" ["the Tabrīzī (maqāma)"] into the margin in a thicker darker outline. This is quite different to al-Wasiti’s treatment on folio 11v in Maqāma 4, which has been discussed in "The Caravan", where he centred his thulūth heading and adjusted his spacing and centring of lines to decorative effect. The Paris B.N. 3929 artist’s caption here is written down the left hand of the folio and acts as a compositional framework.

Illustrations sometimes appear at the same point in the text as in the Istanbul E.E. 2916, London B.L. or. 1200 and Leningrad S.23 manuscripts, for example in Maqāmat 29, 30 and 34. Although both miniatures here and in B.L. 1200 in Maqāma 34 are denouement scenes, there do not appear to be great similarities in these compositions; rather each manuscript represents an individual response by the different artists to an immutable text.

The palette consists of flesh tints, black, white, red, blue, gold, brown, yellow and green; and colours are stronger than those of the Syrian school. They lack the gaiety which was to become characteristic of Mamlūk painting, although that was achieved at the expense of liveliness in composition. There is a notion of pattern for its own sake here, which was to be fully developed in Mamlūk
Golden circles with a fine black outline circumscribe the heads, but there is no religious connotation. They are used as a framing device and, in the absence of a coloured background, ruled frames or architectural structures, as a fixed compositional marker. The characters are Arab or Saljūq Turkish {in the context of princely iconography} in appearance and dress, but an exception is a dark-skinned man with a top knot who appears as an attendant on folio 85, in the 32nd maqāma. Figures are brisk and lively and create a feeling of immediacy and intimacy; in this, there is something puppet-like about them reminiscent of shadow-play figures, and a further connection with this medium is the linear arrangement of crowds in additive fashion.

Textile patterns offer a variety of convoluted floral motifs as well as geometric shapes, and the Arab robes with tīrāz are full, with heavily delineated pendant folds. Short robes worn over light trousers also occur. Rulers are of non-Semitic origin and wear elaborately patterned cross-over Saljūq garments; their attendants are almost invariably youths with full cheeks with long hair who wear short robes, boots and pointed Turkish hats.

Women make their appearance according to textual requirements, and their short, shoulder-length headdresses without veil are reminiscent of those in the Istanbul Varqa va Gulshah Hazine 841. There are further similarities in the haloes, short lively figures, the pointed hats, moon-shaped faces and long tresses of youths with the Saljūq ruler portraits. There are, of course, considerable differences in these manuscripts in such matters as framing of
illustrations and text, and of architecture.

There is almost no concern with the setting and its literal imagery, and architecture is not a key element in this manuscript. No rounded arches appear here, but pointed arches and their derivatives occur, as well as simple spandrels. The use of captions to some extent obviates the need for a detailed background. Paradoxically, the Wāsīt khān in Maqāma 29 is by far the most comprehensive caravanserai in the Maqāmat cycle and it represents an attempt to create spatial depth, with one figure partly seen in a doorway, and only the legs visible of another person ascending a staircase. 24

Papadopolou’s analysis of the composition of the drinking party in Maqāma 24 appears to point to organisation on the spiral form, which runs through glances and hand gestures. 25 This device is also picked up in the rinceau pattern of one of the garments. 26 Here, people are most often ranged in rows, 27 as opposed to groups, and this fact, and similarities in colours, gestures, scale of figures and costume 28 led Ward to suggest that B.N. arabe 3929 and the Istanbul Topkapi Sarayi Ahmet III al-Jazari manuscript dated 602/1206 were products of the same school, perhaps at an Artūqid court. 29 Mosul was of course a major centre of Atābekid art, as a great Saljūq city. 30

Landscape is also sparsely used (on nine occasions); it is stylised and takes the form of clumps of trees and rocks, as in Maqāma 42, 31 where his elevation suggests that Abū Zayd is departing. Heavy plants at groundline resemble stage properties in form and function. 32 These elements are used for compositional
purposes. Horses and camels and their harness are well drawn, and are similar to those in London B.L. or. 1200 and Paris B.N. 5847.

This is a manuscript which pulsates with life, and one wonders how much this effect is heightened by not being tied to a ground line and uncircumscribed by architecture and landscape. These factors foster an intimacy between the viewer and the main protagonists, and the artist, like al-Wāṣiti, seems to have a real insight into the character of Abū Zayd. His depictions are never malicious, and one of the most touching and aptly-placed portraits of all in the Maqāmāt corpus is found in the 31st tale, where Abū Zayd and al-Ḥārith fondly embrace “as closely as lām cleaves to alif”, after which al-Ḥārith sought in vain for his friend and described how

"Nor did I suffer in all my travels an affliction like this, Nor was visited in any journey by such poignant grief."

5. İstanbul, Sulemaniye, Esad Efendi 2916

This is the most recently discovered illustrated Maqāmāt manuscript, and it was found by Ettinghausen in the Suleymaniye Library, Istanbul, in 1960. I have been unable to view it personally, or to obtain photographic slides, but Grabar gave an excellent analysis in Ars Orientalis. There is no colophon, and its place of execution is unknown. Grabar says that the inscribed
frieez. on the mosque on folio 204 in the 48th magama mentions the caliph "al-Musta‘sim" (1242-58), and so provides a terminus ad quem. He discounts the argument that the inscription conclusively proves a Baghdad provenance and he considers that it should merely be read as a reference to the caliph in power at that time. It is reproduced below.

However, this inscription is curiously different from the Arabic text which Grabar quotes on page 206 of the Ars Orientalis, which follows and which reads "al-Mu‘tasim" who, of course reigned from 833/842 A.D.

In any event, this does not seem to contradict his dating of the work to the mid-7th/13th century, as shall be demonstrated. Perhaps the artist used an earlier mosque as his model.

This is the third smallest manuscript in size; it measures 30 x 22 c.m. and has two hundred and sixteen folios. Later, recent insertions occur at the beginning and end of the manuscript, and Grabar discovered new pages in the middle. There are fifty six large illustrations, which have suffered at the hands of iconoclasts. The heads appear to have been obliterated in order to render the figures acceptable to theologians, because they were no longer "alive", and some are irreparably damaged.
James points out the progressive reduction in the number of ṭagāmāt illustrations as time passed, and the parallel expansion of the miniatures; in Istanbul E.E. 2916 all of James's 'standard' ṭagāmāt seem to have one illustration, and it is usually his 'confrontation' scene which has been omitted. This also appears to have been the case where there were compound plots. His point is borne out by my own analyses, for there is a preoccupation with the setting of the scenes within architecture or landscapes. There are no double-page illustrations. This seems to be due to the artist’s attempts to exploit the pictorial space in depth and vertically on individual folios to include several elements of the plot.

Generally speaking, both this artist and the Leningrad S.23 painter remain more faithful to the text than al-Wasitī in Paris B.N. arabe 5847. However, miniatures are sometimes placed in the text in an arbitrary fashion, such as in the village in the 43rd Magāma. Al-Wāsītī’s illustration for this tale has been similarly misplaced and it may be that the painters sought to give the illustrations independence from the text as an assertion of their own autonomy. This latter point is reinforced here and in the Wāsītī manuscript, when both artists have invaded the text with elements of the miniatures, for example in Magāmāt 7 and 28 respectively. Liberation of illustration from text was to find fruition in Persian miniature painting.

The text is written in naskhī script, while a fairly coarse large thulūth script is used for gold-framed headings; their ground is ornamented with red rinceaux, and the black titles are
enclosed in a white border. Commentaries, presumably added later and in a different hand, appear on some folios. Miniatures appear both at prose and poetry sections, and there are instances where they occur at the same point in the text as those in London B.L. 1200, Paris B.N. arabe 3929, Paris B.N. arabe 5847 and Leningrad S.23. It is only in Maqāma 38 that any real similarity is apparent; both here and in Paris B.N. 5847 there is a lack of an architectural framework, and the characters are similarly grouped.

It is impossible to define facial types, but the figures are simple in body, with large heads. The heads are framed in aureoles which have been outlined with two fine lines, in the manner of the artist of B.L. 1200. People are often lively and gesticulating, and they are shown in squatting poses. The almost identical portraits of Abū Zayd in Maqāmāt 19 and 20, where he reclines against pointed bolsters, one hand upraised, find a parallel in the type of author portrait noted in the Washington Dioscorides De Materia Medica work of 621/1224, which was executed in Baghdad.

In view of the Arab garments and other similarities in style and iconography with Paris B.N. arabe 5847 and Leningrad S.23, it is assumed that the people depicted here are mostly Arabs. Another example of the use of inherited iconography is the princely cycle; the artist has drawn on this in the 26th tale, where Abū Zayd, who was, in fact, only under the patronage of a governor, appears in a rich tent with all the trappings of a governor, viz., a throne with attendants flanking it. The attendant at the right
of Abū Zayd there is wearing a short tunic and boots and possibly a pointed hat, and seems close in type to attendants in Paris B.N. 3929, who were drawn from Saljuq court iconography. This is only the artist's interpretation, but it seems to confirm that the Maqāmāt illustrators drew on royal iconography. The horizontal framework and the mixture of princely and genre elements are themes reminiscent of the frontispiece of the mid-7th/13th century Vienna Pseudo-Galen A.F.10 Kitāb al-Tiryāq, which was probably made in Mosul.

Garments are otherwise Arab and bear ṭirāz on the sleeves. Textiles are heavily decorated with floral rinceaux and heart-shaped motifs, and these compositions imbue the page with vibrancy. Plain fabrics, with wrinkly folds looped and shaded, are shown, while others are decorated in a variety of hexagons, crosses and geometric patterns which are seen elsewhere in Maqāmāt illustrations. The rug on the governor of Marw's throne in Maqāma 38 is a particularly fine textile, where addorsed birds make a very early appearance in illustrations.

There are twenty landscape settings which, strictly speaking, are not all required by the text. Trees are drawn in the so-called 'Mesopotamian' fashion, and heavy spiky plants, with or without flowers and similar to those in the Leningrad S.23, also occur. Water with stylised ripples, simple rock forms and bands of grass complete the landscape repertoire. A comparison of the illustration in the 35th tale here with al-Wāsiṭī's island scene in Maqāma 39 indicates that they used the same model, and adapted it according to the dictates of the separate tales; there is no
indication of setting in the text of *Magāma* 35, other than that Abū Zayd was entertaining a group of litterateurs.

Landscape seems to offer more flexible parameters than an architectural framework in the creation of several ground planes. If this were indeed a primary concern of the painter, then it would account for the relatively high number of landscape settings. The outdoor drinking scene in the 24th tale, where there is a filling in of the area between grassy strips, points to the gradual development of the high horizon favoured by Persian painters. Undulating hillocks are reminiscent of those in the Leningrad S.23 miniatures, and these are even more akin to Persian landscape features. Rocks are an unusual feature in pre-Mongol painting. The cypress trees which so often appear in Persian illustration are also frequently found in this manuscript.

Two planes are created by bringing bands of fairly sparse vegetation up and over to form a frame; in this there are parallels with the Wāsītī 38 and Leningrad S.23 works. On folio 67 birds have been added to a group of figures to indicate an outdoor setting. While these were a fairly common motif in other 7th/13th century miniatures, as well as in Persian ceramics they seem to be fairly rare in the 7th/13th century *Magāmāt* cycle. Birds also establish an outdoor setting in the contemporary Istanbul Topkapi Saray Hazine 841 Varga va Gulshah manuscript. Camels, horses, a cow, domestic fowls - the usual animals of genre scenes - make their appearance here and, alone of the artists, the Istanbul E.E. 2916 painter has added two dogs in the market place in the 47th tale. The delightful addition of a baby camel being
suckled by its mother in Maqāma 31 is, according to Grabar, "a pictorial reminiscence with no textual backing of a type found in Byzantine manuscripts with classical backgrounds". Lastly, a small cheetah and a gazelle at the waterside have been added in the 36th tale; these are exotic in the Maqāmat and uncalled-for by the text.

The architecture is generally detailed and comprehensive, and this artist, like that of the Leningrad S.23 manuscript, establishes the primacy of the setting. A notable exception is the house in Maqāma 19, where a brick dikka (platform) indicates an interior scene. A mixture of rounded and pointed arches and their derivatives prevails, and simple spandrels also appear. The catalogue of architectural features, which includes tympanum grilles, an inscription, twisting staircases and ventilation systems, is wide and mitigates a tendency to exact repetition; although there is a fairly standardised tripartite architectural framework, there is less monotony of architectural form than that of Leningrad S.23. These features reflect a concern with the artist’s contemporary surroundings, and he takes up and expands a trend already seen in the Washington, Freer Gallery 621/1224 Dioscorides De Materia Medica manuscript, where furniture makes an appearance. This artist, and the painter of Leningrad S.23, have developed further the interest in physical setting which is apparent in Paris B.N. arabe 5847. It is fair to say that they have been more successful in burrowing into the pictorial space. Al-Wāsiṭī’s solution was to create double-page illustrations.

On occasion, architecture can be minimal. For example, two
separate scenes have been compressed in the slave market in Mağama 34, where one artificial frame sits atop another. 51 While it is true that architecture in some of the earlier tales, for example in Mağamät 6 and 9, is extremely basic and little more than a framework, 52 this should not necessarily be taken as an indication that it evolved as the artist made his way through the fifty tales, for he has already proved innovative by Mağama 15, where the shop in the market-place is shown in elevation. 53

Iconographically and stylistically, this manuscript is linked to Paris B.N. arabe 5847 and Leningrad S.23. This artist also exploited spatial values in his architectural compositions; for example, a course of bricks set at an angle of approximately 45 degrees in the Samargand mosque in the 28th tale emphasises the cylindrical minaret and provides a visually truer impression of contemporary Iraqi minarets than, say, al-Wasiti does. 54 The Istanbul E.E. 2916 painter has carried this minaret up to enclose the first two lines of text and, as in some of his landscape miniatures, he hints at what was to come in Persian painting. His two-aisled illustration is almost a mirror image of al-Wasiti’s Basra mosque in the final tale, except that the latter has three aisles. 55

An unusual division of personages into three groups occurs in the Tiflis mosque in Mağama 33. 56 This seems to be uncommon in secular works of the period and is more usually found in Byzantine and early Ilkhānid painting; 57 it occurs to good effect in Paris 5847 in the Banū ʿHarām mosque in Basra. 58 The elliptical ground line, as found in Leningrad S.23, is not employed here.
These are expanded images, in the sense that they differ from the literal interpretations of the narrative in, say London B.L.1200 and Paris B.N. arabe 3929. They take inspiration from the text and incorporate genre elements, and there are innovations in both landscape and architecture. There seems to be little evidence of a link with Christian iconography, as has been made with Leningrad S.23 and Paris B.N. arabe 6094, although Grabar 59 tentatively suggests a model for the single motif of the tree in Magäma 42, 60 either an Entry into Jerusalem, or Christ and Zaccheus, as for example in the Paris B.N. copte 13, which was executed in Damietta, Egypt, in 1180. 61

Finally, we come to London B.L. or. 1200.


"İsa Salmân Hamid was of the opinion that the date of this manuscript was 605/1209; he said, "It is thought that its date is 654/1256, perhaps as a result of two letters which look like the Arabic number four which is {sic} inscribed just before number five. It is clear that the date is 605 as one cannot ignore the zero between number six and five". 1 He goes on to point out similarities with two volumes of Ahmad ibn al-Hasan’s Kitāb al-Bayṭāra or Book of Farriery, which were executed in Baghdād in 605/1209 and 606/1210 regarding the simplicity of style, floral patterns, haloes, human beings, architecture, flora and fauna. 2

My own examination of the colophon, which is subject to
restoration, is that there are three Arabic numbers, viz. 654. Part of the text appears to have been re-written. There is indeed a dot, which indicates zero in Arabic, between the six and the five, but there is also the Arabic cipher for four to its right. The dot seems to be a brown blob of ink, matching the brown ink of the re-written text; in any event, it is impossible to deny the existence of the Arabic cipher for four, which is to the right of the five. It cannot conceivably read 604, and I am of the opinion that the date is as stated by Grabar and others. I am grateful to Nahla Nasser for confirming that the cipher for four cannot be disregarded, as there is no way that the date could include four numbers. If this date of 654/1256 is correct, then one cannot regard London B.L. 1200 as the earliest Maqâma manuscript, and a forerunner of al-Wâsîtî’s compositional schemes, as Hamid does.

Grabar says that the pious invocation which follows the date has Shi’ite connotations; in this there seems to be a parallel with the Paris B.N. arabe 5847. A marginal commentary on folio 177 states that the collation was completed by ‘Umar ibn ‘Ali ibn al-Mubârak al-Mawsili; the century, (7th H) is still legible, but there are queries whether this person was the copyist of the Ḥarîrî text or of the commentaries, and also whether the manuscript was necessarily executed in Mosul. Grabar categorically dates the manuscript in any event to the second half of the 7th/13th century, and states that either it or its model dates from 1256.

This is a manuscript of inferior artistic merit which has suffered flaking of paint. If it was intended for the popular market, the simple narrative illustrations were possibly inserted

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for their own sake, for they seem in no way to illuminate the subtleties of a difficult text; however, it should be said that they do tend to draw attention to a significant moment of the tale, and there is a parallel here with the Paris B.N. arabe 3929, although there are no explanatory captions here.

After restoration, {it was originally 24.5 x 15.5. c.m.}, the work measures some 24.5 x 17 c.m. 11 and it is the smallest in size with one hundred and fifty five folios. 12 There are some eighty five badly damaged miniatures, 13 which appear both on verso and recto folios, and so they ensure that the text is regularly punctuated with paintings at short intervals. The faces of the people in most of these have been badly repainted at an unknown later date, possibly to make good the damage done by iconoclasts, whose hand was evident in both the Istanbul E.E. 2916 and Leningrad S.23 manuscripts.

An examination of B.L. 1200 reveals the miniatures to be more attractive than their rather wooden reproduction on black and white microfiche film and the photographs reproduced in this thesis suggests. The paintings comprise a mixture of scene-setting and dénouements. There is one double-page spread which is intended to be read as one image, in the Samargand mosque in Mağâna 28, and a double illustration {but separate images} in the 31st tale. 14 The paintings comprise a mixture of scene-setting and dénouements. Four mağânât are unillustrated.

It is not known who tailored the manuscript to accommodate the miniatures. In the majority of cases, there is only one ground plane, which means that a fairly standard space could be left blank
by the copyist. There are exceptions, for example, on folio 116
15 two ground planes occur, and the pictorial space required is
obviously greater than usual. Did the scribe copy exactly from
another Magämät manuscript, thereby forcing the artist to enlarge
his composition; or did the artist tell the copyist that he wanted
an expanded miniature at that point? In fact, this scene seems to
be very similar to the Istanbul E.E. 2916 illustration, in that it
has several planes, but there are no trees. 16

The text is written in naskhi script, and small gold rosettes,
outlined in black, with red dots and similar to those which
indicate pauses in Qur'ānic recitation, are a decorative motif.
These are a surprising embellishment, given the general quality of
the work, and the conclusion is that the black outlines were not
worked individually, but applied with a tool and the colours then
quickly added.

Magämät titles are written in gold thulūth and outlined in
black, or in red thulūth; only the number is indicated. Poetry is
centred and textual commentaries have been added. Sometimes the
artist has chosen to illustrate the same part of the text on
occasion as the illustrators of Paris B.N. arabe 6094, B.N. arabe
3929, Istanbul E.E. 2916 and London B.L. 1200. 17

Miniatures in general occur at prose sections, but there is at
least one confrontation, in the 47th tale, where Abū Zayd provides
his justification in poetry. 18 It is noticeable that, from the
28th tale onwards, the number of illustrations per magāma increases
fairly dramatically. Until then, there were generally one or two
illustrations to each, but this increases to three, four and even

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five in some instances. It is fair to say that Magâma 31 is long and Magâma 43 very long and that the texts of both of these, and of the 29th tale, are considered to be difficult. These may have been relevant factors in the tailoring of this particular manuscript, although my attempts to find a correlation between magâma length and/or degree of difficulty and the number of miniatures per tale, throughout the 7th/13th century Magâmât corpus, in general proved abortive.

There appears to be no evidence that anyone has previously noted the illustration on folio 165v, in Magâma 47. It shows a man standing at the left, and a woman prostrate on the ground. This is an apparently meaningless illustration without a knowledge of the text, which refers merely to the "Cupper of Sâbâṭ"; it is an allusion to an Arabic proverb, which has been fully explained in the section on "The Cupper". In the context, one wonders who read the text, made the connection, and decided to illustrate it.

People are badly modelled; they have narrow shoulders and short necks, and their heads are large and out of scale, with schematic facial features. Of course, these features might mitigate what was possibly the cause of their defacement, their previous {presumed} realism. It is impossible to define ethnic stock, other than to say that they are not Arab-looking, which was also an impression gained from the characters in Paris B.N. arabe 6094. A very incongruous illustration of the birth-scene appears on folio 128 in Magâma 39, where the new mother wears a crown. She resembles royalty on playing-cards, and may have been adapted from a Nativity scene; crowns are also worn by the five curious figures
who peep out from niches in the manner of the later Persian convention on folio 89 in the Wāsit khan in Mağama 29, and also appear in Mağamät 40 and 43, and these perhaps have their origins in Christian iconography. 20

Heads are almost invariably enclosed by golden haloes 21 which are outlined with one or two fine black lines, in the manner of the painter of Istanbul E.E. 2916, but this is a convention now devoid of religious significance. The dark-clad figures spread over two pages in the Rayy mosque in the 28th maqāma 22 could be read as Orthodox Christian priests, and Abū Zayd, who plays an itinerant pilgrim in the 12th tale, carries a rosary. 23 Christian models seem to underlie these figures.

However, in most cases the garments are Arab and consist of the turban, galansuwa (a long pointed hat, of Persian origin), the judge’s headcovering taylasân, trousers and robes, and the governor of Rahba is portrayed as an Arab in Mağama 10. 24 A standard format for the symbol of authority is employed, namely a rug-strewn throne with an incumbent clothed in a manner appropriate to his station, 25 and there is no evidence of borrowing from Saljuq court iconography, so far as costume, youthful attendants and royal paraphernalia are concerned. In Mağama 6, Abū Zayd is leaning back on an upright bolster in a pose which seems to have been appropriated from ‘author portraits’, 26 such as those in the Dioscorides De Materia Medica of 621/1224 from Baghdad. 27

Textile patterns on garments and carpets fall within the standard geometric motifs of cruciform variations, squares and cross-hatching, although here they are less elaborate and varied
than elsewhere. Folds are lightly delineated. Floral motifs are heavy 28 and are similar to those in other contemporary manuscripts, and the palette is composed of blue, green, brown, black, gold, silver, red and rose. Buchtal cautioned that the colours should not be read as necessarily pertaining to the 7th/13th century. 29

Architecture is not a prominent feature in this manuscript. It is generally employed as a basic framework for the composition; architectural ornament is rudimentary, and might consist of a simple 'running pattern' such as is later found in the British Library or. 13506 Persian Kalila wa Dimna of 707/1307-8. 30 Ogee spandrels occur, and these were common in the Mamlûk B.L. or. add. 22.114 and Vienna A.F.9 Maqâmât manuscripts. 31 Compositions are otherwise unframed, in the manner of earlier 7th/13th century illustration.

There are thirty two landscape settings, untouched by the iconoclasts' hands, and the trees are depicted in the so-called 'Mesopotamian' style, with large blossoms and fruit attached to arterial branches on short stalks: the most fully comprehensive example is found in Maqâmât 24. 32 Dark plants fold inwards in a tong movement which was also found in manuscripts from Mosul. 33 These plants are used as space fillers and for the establishing of a base-line, and the grassy ground-line may be straight or wavy. 34 B.L. 1200 has certain parallels with Paris B.N. arabe 5847 in tree forms and in composition. 35 A similar depiction of tree trunks in a 'bamboo' form occurs in manuscripts from northern Iraq (with Mosul as its probable centre), 36 and there also seems to be a northern Syrian influence. 37 Further details which this
manuscript shares with the British Library or. 13506 Persian Kalila wa Dimna are the inverted cloud motif and floral textile designs. 39

The animals have a certain naturalistic charm, and their harness and tack are depicted in some detail. One finds parallels in gestures, costume, animals and composition with Paris B.N. arabe 3929, and similar landscape features are also evident. 40

This artist has made little attempt to exploit pictorial space. The impression of depth is very weak, with the point of vision at a low level, and the figures set in rows have something in common with Paris B.N. arabe 3929. 41 There is an experiment with a composition on several ground planes in Maqama 36, which seems to be based on the illustration in the same maqama in Istanbul E.E. 2916, 42 but here it is lacking in expertise.

Diverse influences have made their mark on this manuscript and it is of some importance as a reflection of existing traditions. One must agree with Grabar that "it could be either a provincial work or a cheap metropolitan production", 43 although it is clearly not just a wilful copy.

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APPENDIX 1(b)

THE COMPLETE LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS:
the 7th/13th-century Magamat Manuscripts.


Mq. 1. San'ā: unspecified setting.
   f.6:IA5 - Al-Hārith describes the mendicant as "a person of emaciated frame, in the garb of pilgrimage, and with a plaintive voice." Reproduced in "The hajj".

Mq. 2. Basra, public library: not illustrated.

Mq. 3. The dīnār: indoor setting.
   f.11:IC4 - Abu Zayd pleading poverty to al-Harith and his friends.

Mq. 4. Dimyatā [Damietta]: landscape setting.
   f.13:1D7 - a caravan at rest for the night.
Kūfa:

f.16:IE7 - al-Ḫārith and his friends summon a ghulām, who rushes in bearing food for 'a benighted traveller'. Reproduced in "Hospitality".
Mq. 6. Marāgha: the Dīwān al-nazar [main auditing office].
   f.19:1F11 - A discussion of eloquence. An elderly person sat on the outside, in the place assigned to attendants.

Mq. 7. Barqa‘īd: not illustrated.

Mq. 8. Ma‘arra: a lawcourt.
   f.25:2A12 - Abū Zayd and his son appear before a qaḍī.

Mq. 9. Iskandariya [Alexandria]: a lawcourt.
   f.27v:2C1 - An "ill-conditioned old man, whom a woman, who seemed like a mother, was hauling along" before the qaḍī.
   Reproduced in "Women and the Law".

Mq. 10. Rahba:
   f.31:2D4 - Abū Zayd and his son importuning the governor of Rahba.
   Reproduced in "The Saljūq Governor".
Mq. 11. Sāwa:
f.33v:2E10 - Abu Zayd exacting alms from a party of male mourners at a grave. The 'cenotaph' tomb form was instrumental in assigning this manuscript to Syria.

*Paris, B.N. arabe 6094, f.33v:2E10, Mq. 11.*

"An old man made his appearance on a rising ground, With a staff in his hand and his face wrapped in a cloak, And his form disguised with crafty intent ..."

Mq. 12. Dimashq [Damascus]: not illustrated.
   f.40:3A4 - an 'old woman' begging with two weak children
   "thin as spindles".

   Paris B.N. arabe 6094, f.40:3A4


Mq. 15. The legal: not illustrated.

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Mq. 18. Sinjär: a merchant’s house.
   f.55v:4A4 - Abü Zayd and guests at the merchant’s banquet, where the host “set before us a vessel of glass ... it contained assortments of various sweetmeats, and was sprinkled with perfumes that pervaded them all, and rosewater of Tasnîm had been poured therein ... ”

   f.59v:4B9 - Abū Zayd ‘holding court’ from his sickbed, surrounded by wellwishers. They are discussing the metaphorical names for the food served to them.

Mq. 20. Maysāfariqīn: not illustrated.

   f.64v:4D12 - A preacher “superior even to Ibn Sa‘mīn” in the Rayy jāmi’. He sits on the topmost step of the pulpit, although this was traditionally regarded as the preserve of the Prophet. Reproduced in “The Saljūq Governor”.

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Mq. 22. Al-Furat [The Euphrates]:

f.68:4F2 - Abu Zayd and a party of snobbish landowners in a boat. This is the balam, an Iraqi river boat par excellence, with scroll ornamentation at both ends; it draws little water and is generally poled, but may be rowed or sailed.

Paris, B.N. arabe 6094, f.68:4F2, Mq. 22.

Mq. 23. The Precinct: indoor scene.

f.70v:4F11 - Abu Zayd accuses a youth of plagiarism of his poetry before a wali.

Reproduced in "The Saljuq Governor".

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Mq. 24. Baghdad - Rabia, a suburb:
   f.75v:5A2 - a carousing party outdoors, and a lutanist.

Mq. 25. Karaj: unspecified setting.
   f.81v:5Al2 - A half-naked old man seeks alms from a group
   of men on a wintry day.
   f.82v:5B1 - Abu Zayd and the group.

Mq. 26. Ahwaz - The Spotted:
   f.84:5C5 - al-Harith finds Abu Zayd in a comfortable tent,
   living under the patronage of a governor. He saw fair
   servants and fresh fruit and was graciously invited in.

Mq. 27. The Tent-dwellers: not illustrated.

Mq. 28. Samargand: a congregational mosque.
   f.93:5E12 - Abu Zayd preaching to an appreciative crowd.

Mq. 29. Wasit: a Khan - not illustrated.

Mq. 30. Tyrus [Cairo]: the mansion of the 'beggar chief'.
   f.101:6C3 - the 'beggar chief' and his wedding guests.

Mq. 31. Ramla: the hajj.
   f.103v:6E1 - Abu Zayd preaching to a group of fellow
   pilgrims on the Day of Judgement and the real meaning of
   the pilgrimage.

Mq. 32. Tayba: unspecified setting.
   f.106v:6F7 - Abu Zayd in the guise of a famous legist, in
   a turban tied in the orthodox fashion, answering ambiguous
   legal questions.

Mq. 33. Taflis: a mosque.
   f.117:6G8 - Abu Zayd telling the congregation of his
   misfortune.

Mq. 34. Zabid: unspecified [but set in slave market].
   f.120:7Al1 - al-Harith agreeing to terms with an old man
   with a face-veil for 'Yusuf', a 'slave', who "... spoke
   not either sweet or bitter and uttered not a sound of the
   son of a slave woman".
Mq. 35. Shirāz: indoor scene.
  f.124:7C5 - Abū Ẓayd and a group of literary types discussing double entendres.

Mq. 36. Maltiya: landscape setting.
  f.126:7D4 - al-Ḥārith and an outdoor drinking party being set conundrums by an old man.

Paris, B.N. arabe 6094, f.126:7D4, Mq. 36.

"I found them to be a medley assemblage thrown together from the deserts, as though the woof of literary culture united them as with the union of relationship, and matched them in their ranks ... "
Mg. 37.  Sa’da: indoor scene.
       f.130v:7E3 - Abū Zayd and in son in dispute before a qāḍī.

Mg. 38.  Marw:
       f.133:7F3 - Abū Zayd and al-Hārith at the court of the
           governor of Marw, "... from whose generosity bounties are
           hoped, to whose court requests are carried".


Mg. 40.  Tabrīz: a lawcourt.
       f.139:8A6 - Abū Zayd and his wife play-act before a judge,
           while al-Hārith observes.

Mg. 41.  Tannūs: a mosque.
       f.144v:8B7 - al-Hārith finds an 'eloquent preacher'
           surrounded by an attentive congregation.

Mg. 42.  Najran: unspecified interior.
       f.147:8C9 - Abū Zayd setting riddles to a group of men.

Mg. 43.  Hadramawt: not illustrated.

Mg. 44.  The Winter Night: landscape setting.
       f.156:8F11 - al-Hārith and Abū Zayd, famished travellers,
           warm themselves before a huge welcoming fire.

Mg. 45.  Ramla: not illustrated.

Mg. 46.  Aleppo: a schoolroom in Hims.
       f.167:9A11 - al-Hārith listens while the proud
           'schoolteacher' hears his eldest pupil recite, "Fair
           Tajanni has maddened me and bewitched me with her
           thousands of wily tricks and beguilements".
           Reproduced in "The Schoolroom".

Mg. 47.  Hajriya: the market place.
       f.174:9C6 - the cupper in his booth.

Mg. 48.  The Banū Ḥarām: not illustrated.

Mg. 49.  The Banū Sāsān: indoor setting.
       f.180:9B6 - the aged Abu Zayd instructing his son in the
           ways of his ancestors, the Banu Sasan.

Mg. 50.  Basra: a congregational mosque.
       f.181v:9F3 - Abū Zayd on a rock eulogising Basra,
           "wherein the worship of idols was never practised".

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2. **Leningrad, Academy of Science, S.23.**

Mg. 1. **San'a:** not illustrated.

Mg. 2. **Basra, public library:**

p.13:1B10 - an indoor scene, very damaged.

Mg. 3. **The dinar:**

p.17:1C7 - outdoor setting: al-Ḥārith, a large group of litterateurs and a lame man.
p.19:1C8 - a similar scene, with al-Ḥārith offering the stranger a dinár.
p.20:1C9 - al-Ḥārith asks the man what caused the lameness.

Mg. 4. **Dimyata [Damietta]:** the merchant caravan at rest.

p.22:1D11 - al-Ḥārith overhears two men conversing on right conduct towards one’s neighbour.

**Leningrad, Academy of Science, S.23, p.22:1D11, Mg. 4.**

"We came to a spot with dewy hillocks and a fresh breeze which we therefore chose as a place for the camels to rest, and to repose ourselves during the remainder of the night ..."

Mg. 4. continued

p.25:1D12 - a similar scene.
Mq. 4. continued
p.25:1D12 - a similar scene.
p.26:1E1 - a similar setting.

Mq. 5. Kufa:
p.27:1E11 - a house in Kufa; al-Ḥārith and companions in "evening conversation".
p.29:1E12 - a candle is lit up and food brought for a benighted traveller.
p.30:1F1 - Abū Zayd's deserted wife, Barra, spinning.
p.32:1F2 - Abū Zayd arrives at Barra's home.

Mq. 6. Maragha: a group of learned men in the Diwān al-Nāzar bemoan the current lack of eloquence, but an old man disagrees.

Mq. 7. Barga'id:
p.41:2A3 - a mosque scene: an old man in shamlataini [two cloaks], his eyes "being entirely concealed and closed" appears before the congregation.
p.44:2A4 - al-Ḥārith at Abū Zayd's house with Abū Zayd's guide, his wife.
p.46:2B3 - a lawcourt: an old man and a youth quarrel before a qādi; al-Ḥārith is in attendance.

Mq. 8. Ma'arra:
p.49:2B4 - a similar scene.

Mq. 9. Iskandariya [Alexandria]:
p.52:2C3 - a lawcourt: al-Ḥārith witnesses the dispute between an old man and his young wife before a judge.
p.57:2C4 - a similar scene.
p.58:2C5 - a similar setting, very damaged.

Mq. 10. Rahba:
p.59:2D7 - landscape setting: al-Ḥārith and a crowd see an old man hanging on to a boy, whom he says killed his son.
p.60:2D8 - Abū Zayd and his son importune the governor of Rahba.

Mq. 11. Sawa:
p.72:2F11 - a cemetery: mourners around a tomb.

Mq. 12. Dimashq [Damascus]:
p.72:2F11 - a caravan at rest.
p.76:2F12 - al-Ḥārith finds the 'holy man' in a tavern at 'Ana.

Mq. 13. Baghdad: Al-Zawra [The Tigris]:
p.79:3A6 - an 'old woman' with children seeking alms from al-Ḥārith and a group of learned men.
p.82:3A7 - a ruined mosque: al-Ḥārith finds Abū Zayd changing clothes.

Mq. 14. Khayfa, near Mecca:
p.85:3B9 - al-Ḥārith in a pilgrim tent, when an old man and a youth arrive.
p.88:3B10 - the old man tells the caravan, "Sanūj is my home".

Mq. 15. The Legal:
p.90:3C12 - al-Ḥārith's house: he admits Abū Zayd.
p.91:3D1 - the market-place: a food vendor's stall.
p.93:3D2 - outdoor setting: Abū Zayd reads out to al-Ḥārith the legal conundrum which a shaykh has set him.
p.94:3D3 - a house.
p.95:3D4 - a house.

Mq. 16. Al-Maghrib [Morocco]:
p.103:3E12 - a munākh [abode]: Abū Zayd returns home with a servant laden with gifts.

Mq. 17. The Reversed:

Mq. 18. Sinjār:
p.109:4A9 - a group of travellers are invited to a merchant's banquet.
p.112:4A10 - the governor who allegedly made Abū Zayd sell him his beautiful jāriya.
p.116:4A11 - a tent scene: Abū Zayd "began to hand the dishes about and to distribute their contents to the company ...".

Mq. 19. Nasībīn:
p.121:4C1 - house interior: the sick Abū Zayd resting as his visitors enjoy hospitality.

Mq. 20. Maiyāfārīqīn:
p.124:4C12 - landscape scene: Abū Zayd addresses a gathering concerning his virility.

Mq. 21. Rayy:
p.133:4E3 - Abū Zayd takes leave of al-Ḥārith and 2 others, and says, "Oh Ḥārith, who has meekly an injury borne, that my brethren and kin would have sorely resented ... art glad that I now have sincerely repented ... ".
p.121:4C1 - not illustrated, but there is a space for a
miniature, and preliminary notes for the placement of al-Ḥārith and Abū Zayd.

Mq. 22. Al-Furat [The Euphrates]:

p.135:4F4 - al-Ḥārith and some landowners in a boat.
p.139:4F5 - a similar scene.

Mq. 23. The Precinct:

p.147:4G3 - an unspecified setting: riders and pedestrians are entertained by an altercation between a youth and an old man.
p.149:4G5 - a scene before a qādī.

Mq. 24. Baghdad - Rābi‘a, a suburb: not illustrated.

Mq. 25. Karaj:

p.163:5B5 - outdoors on a winter’s day: al-Ḥārith and a group are accosted by a half-naked old man.
p.164:5B6 - Abū Zayd departing with a bundle of clothes.

Mq. 26. Ahwaz - The Spotted:

p.166:5C8 - Abū Zayd in a sumptuous tent enjoying the patronage of a governor.
p.167:5C9 - a similar scene.
p.169:5C10 - a visual flashback of Abū Zayd delivering his address to the governor.

Mq. 27. The Tent-dwellers:

p.173:5D11 - al-Ḥārith on horseback searching for his valuable milch camel.
p.176:5E1 - a similar landscape scene.
p.177:5E2 - Abū Zayd and al-Ḥārith confront the thief.

Mq. 28. Samargand: not illustrated.

Mq. 29. Wāsīt:

p.194:6A8 - a khan: the ‘wedding party’.
p.196:6A9 - the drugged ‘guests’ being stripped of their valuables.

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Tyrus [Cairo]:
p.202:6C7 – the mansion of the 'beggar chief'.
p.205:6C8 – Abu Zayd delivers a panegyric on his birthplace, Saruj, a city whose waters originated in Salsabil, a fountain in Paradise.

Leningrad, Academy of Science, S.23, p.205:6C8, Mg. 30.
Mq. 31. Ramla:
p.208:6E4 - Abū Zayd in ihram preaching from a rock to pilgrims who have also donned consecrated clothing. Reproduced in "The hajj".
p.211:6E5 - a similar scene, with newly arrived mounted pilgrims.

Mq. 32. Tayba:
p.213:6F10 - a Bedouin camp [very damaged].
p.223:6F11 - al-Ḥarīth with Abū Zayd and his reward, a drove of camels and a qayna [singer].

Mq. 33. Taflis:
p.229:6G11 - al-Ḥarīth confronts Abū Zayd, who replies, "Thou has found, so rejoice, and hast encountered the generous, so cleave to him".

Mq. 34. Zabīd:
p.231:7B2 - slave market: Abū Zayd extols the virtues of a young 'slave'. Reproduced in "The Slave Market".
p.235:7B3 - Abū Zayd regretfully parting with the youth, whom he embraces, while al-Ḥarīth watches.
p.236:7B4 - al-Ḥarīth before a qādi questioning the legality of the 'sale'.
p.238:7B5 - the confrontation: cold comfort for al-Ḥarīth as Abū Zayd rejoinds, "I am not one of those who sting twice!"

Mq. 35. Shīrāz: not illustrated.

Mq. 36. Maltiya:
p.240:7D6 - landscape scene: an old man happens upon a group of wine-drinkers.

Mq. 37. Saʿḍa:
p.250:7E6 - Abū Zayd complains about his son to a munificent judge. Reproduced in "The Judiciary".
p.254:7E7 - the inevitable denouement with al-Ḥarīth.

Mq. 38. Marw:
p.256:7F5 - Abū Zayd eulogises the governor of Marw in the expectation of financial gain. Reproduced in "The Arab Governor".
Mq. 39. Oman:

p.260:7G5 - Abū Zayd about to embark for Oman on a mahaila. The mahaila has a poop and a steering platform aft, and a foc'sle for poleing and working the ground tackle. Its single mast, which carries a lateen sail, is folded down.

Leningrad, Academy of Science S.23, p.260:7G5, Mq. 39.

"Will ye take for companion a son of the road, who carries his provisions in a basket, and whose shadow is not heavy, wishing for nought but a sleeping-place?"

Mq. 40. Tabrīz: not illustrated.

Mq. 41. Tannīs:

p.275:8B10 - a mosque: al-Ḥarith preaches, then a child exhorts the congregation to alms-giving

p.276:8B11 - Abū Zayd graciously invites al-Ḥarith to partake of some wine at his home; his pious friend is outraged.

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Mq. 42. Najrān:
p.278:8C12 - a landscape scene with a city skyline: an old man sets riddles to al-Ḥārith and his learned companions.
p.283:8D1 - a similar setting: Abū Zayd tearfully justifies his wandering existence, saying he had "no bidding-place" on earth.

*Leningrad, Academy of Science, S.23, p.278:8C12, Mq.42.*

"[O ye full moons of gatherings and seas] of bounties, forsooth the morning light is evident to him who has two eyne, and beholding holds the stead of two witnesses. So what see you fit to do in what you see [of my state]: will you vouchsafe help, or recede when ye are called upon? ..."
Mq. 43. Hadramawt:
p.286:8E2 - al-Harith and Abū Zayd resting.
p.288:8E3 - al-Harith and the 'judge' [a shaykh of the tribe] arguing over the linguistic niceties of his lost "mount". Reproduced in "The Judiciary".
p.293:8E4: our friends challenge the camel thief.
p.295:8E5 - [very damaged] an outdoor scene: Abu Zayd 'borrows' al-Harith's sword so that it might be pawned "to satisfy thy gut and thy guest".

Mq. 44. The Winter Night:
p.296:8G3 - al-Harih and Abū Zayd enjoy the hospitality of a Bedouin family.
p.298:8G4 - [very damaged] a similar setting.

Mq. 45. Ramla: not illustrated.

Mq. 46. Aleppo:

Mq. 47. Hajriya:
p.328:9C10 - the market: a large crowd enjoys the badinage between a cupper and a surly customer. Reproduced in "The Capper".
p.331:9C11 - a similar scene, with Abū Zayd berating the customer.
p.333:9C12 - another version: al-Harih feels sorry for the poor cupper, who has lost a customer, and gives him 2 dirhams

Mq. 48. The Banū Ḥarām: not illustrated.

Mq. 49: The Banū Sāsan: not illustrated.
Mq. 50. Basra:
p.345:9F6 - Abu Zayd delivering a final encomium to the congregation in the jami' from a rock in the mosque precincts.

Leningrad, Academy of Science, S.23, p.345:9F6, Mq.50.

"[I saw a man in rags,] on a high pedestal of stone
With countless companies of people gathered round him."

al-Ḥārith encounters a band of travellers, who advise that Abū Zayd is in his birthplace, Sarūj, living as a holy man.

al-Ḥārith at last finds his friend, and asks him for a "parting charge". Al-Ḥārith recounts, "So I bade him farewell, while tears fell from my eyes, and sighs ascended from my very bosom. Such was the last occasion of my meeting with him".

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Double frontispiece -
- f.1v:1A1 - enthroned Saljūq ruler.
- f.2:1A2 - enthroned Arab ruler.
Both reproduced in "The Governor".

Mq. 1. Sana‘a:
- f.3:1A6 - al-Hārith finds Abū Zayd and his young assistant in a cave enjoying fine bread, a roast kid and a flask of wine.

Paris B.N. arabe 5847, f.3:1A6, Mq. 1.

Mq. 2. Basra, public library:
- f.4v:1B2 - al-Hārith meets Abū Zayd.
- f.5v:1B8 - Abū Zayd expounds on the poetry of Walid ibn 'Ubayd [al-Buhtūrī], to the astonishment of the assembled company of litterateurs. Reproduced in "The Library".
- f.6v:1B9 - Abū Zayd recites a final poem as he departs, and draws "our hearts along with him".

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Mg. 3. The dīnār: an outdoor scene.
  f.7:1C5 - Abū Zayd explains his destitution to al-Hārith and a group of friends.
  f.8v:1C6 - a similar outdoor scene.

Mg. 4. Dimyāta [Damietta]: the merchant caravan at rest.
  f.9v:1D8 - "a spot with dewy hillocks and a fresh breeze".

Paris B.N. arabe 5847, f.9v:1D8, Mg. 4.

Mg. 4. continued.
  f.10:1D9 - al-Hārith finds Abū Zayd talking to his son.
  f.11v:1D10 - al-Hārith and two companions find a message containing a Qur'ānic allusion on the camel saddle, which makes it clear that they have been duped by Abū Zayd.

Reproduced in "Trade".

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Kūfa:
f.12v:1E8 – al-Hārith and friends "engaged in evening conversation" in a house.
f.13v:1E9 – Abū Zayd calls at the home of his estranged wife, Barra, and their son. Reproduced in "The Virtuous Wife".
f.14v:1E10 – al-Hārith confronts Abū Zayd and says, "Then he took leave of me, and went away from me, leaving in my heart the embers of lasting regret".

Marāgha: the Diwān al-Naḥar.
f.16:1F12 – al-Hārith and friends lament the state of eloquence in their time, when an old man [Abū Zayd] appears.

Barqaʿīd: double page spread.
f.18v:2A1 – Abū Zayd and his wife begging in the congregational mosque during the Ramadān service.
f.19:2A2 – the Ramadān cavalcade of musicians assembles at a musallā [place of prayer] to announce ‘IId al-Fitr [the breaking of the fast]. Both reproduced in "The Religious Life".

Maʿarra:
f.21:2B1 – Abū Zayd and his son in dispute before a judge and his scribe; the onlooker may be al-Hārith.
f.22:2B2 – a similar scene, without scribe.

Iskandariya [Alexandria]:
f.25:2C2 – Abū Zayd’s wife remonstrating with the qādi, while Abū Zayd obsequiously kisses his hand; al-Hārith looks on in dismay. Reproduced in "The Judiciary".

Rahba:
f.26:2D5 – Abū Zayd and an effeminate-looking boy importuning the governor of Rahba. Reproduced in "The Saljuq Governor."
f.27:2D6 – al-Hārith finds Abū Zayd ‘guarding’ the youngster until he receives the balance of money promised by the governor.

Sāwa:
f.29v:2E11 – a cemetery scene with gravediggers, family mourners and professional wailing-women. Neither al-Hārith nor Abū Zayd is present.
f.30v:2F8 - a nervous group of travellers pondering the hazards of the overland trip from Syria to Iraq.

f.31:2F9 - the group have acquired a young guide and prepare to set off; a 'holy man' has prepared the following incantation for their safety.

"[Preserve me oh God] ... In my strength and my fortunes, in my family and dwelling, And bestow upon me thy election and thy goodness, Nor consign me to any other protection than thine ..."

f.33:2F10 - al-Harit confronts the 'holy man' surrounded by wine casks in a tavern in 'Ana. Reproduced in "Hospitality".
f.35v:3A5 - al-Ḥarīth and some learned men are accosted by an ‘old woman’ and several children.

Mq. 14. Khayfa, near Mecca:
f.37v:3B7 - an old man and an agile youth.
f.38v:3B8 - Abū Zayd arrives at the tent of al-Ḥarīth and his friends, and greets them with an eloquent plea to almsgiving.

Mq. 15. The Legal:
f.40v:3C10 - Abū Zayd in a house "narrower than the ark of Moses, more fragile than a spider’s web".
f.41v:3C11 - Abū Zayd departs.

Mq. 16. Al-Maghrib [Morocco]:
f.42v:3E8 - a group of men.
f.43v:3E9 - al-Ḥarīth and a group of men in a mosque composing palindromes, when a beggar appears.
f.44v:3E10 - Abū Zayd takes a bag of food from a servant at a munakh [abode].

Mq. 17. The Reversed: unspecified outdoor setting.
f.46v:3F8 - al-Ḥarīth and a literary group.

Mq. 18. Sinjar:
f.47v:4A5 - a banquet in a merchant’s house.
f.48v:4A6 - guests indoors.

A double-page spread follows -

[a]
f.50v:4A7 - Abū Zayd has ordered the ghulam to take the silver dishes to his abode.
"When Abū Zayd turning to us said, 'Now sing a song of triumph,
And accept the news of the cure of your disappointment;
For God has now repaired your bereavement,
And removed every hindrance to your intended meal,
And permitted you to unite in the enjoyment of the sweets;
And thus "what you dislike may sometimes be for your good".'"
Arabic manuscript Abū Zayd on his camel would be to the left of the group.

Paris, B.N. arabe 5947, f.51:4A8, Mg. 18.

"... 'I now therefore take leave of you as a faithful friend,
And commend you to the care of the Best of guardians.'
Then he mounted his beast to retrace his steps and return home,
And so quitted us, while his strong camel set forward at speed;
And we were left by the loss of his agreeable company
Like an assembly whose president is departed,
Or a night whose moon is set."
   f.52v:4B10 - an extension of the group around Abū Zayd’s sickbed.
   f.53:4Bl1 - Abū Zayd in his sickbed, surrounded by solicitous companions.

Mq. 20. Maiyāfārīqīn: outdoor setting.
   f.55v:4C9 - Abū Zayd complains about the loss of his virility to a group of men.
   f.56:4C10 - an extension of his audience.
   f.57:4C11 - Abū Zayd and a horrified al-Hārith; a case of ‘indecent exposure’.

Mq. 21. Rayy: the congregational mosque.
   Double-page spread, f.58v:4E1 and f.59:4E2 - Abū Zayd chastises the governor in a marvellous sermon, and is surrounded by the large congregation who flocked to hear a ‘great preacher’. The women are secluded in a gallery. These illustrations were reproduced in both "The Saljuq Governor" and "Women in the Mosque".

Mq. 22. Al-Furāt [The Euphrates]:
   f.61:4F3 - Abū Zayd and a group of discourteous landowners in a boat.

Mq. 23. The Precinct:
   f.63v:4F12 - Abū Zayd and his son and a group of people.
   f.64:4G1 - Abū Zayd and his son before an enthroned governor.
   f.67v:4G2 - al-Hārith confronts the pair and learns how the wall was duped.

Mq. 24. Baghdad - Rābi‘a, a suburb:
   f.69v:5A3 - a ‘ragged stranger’ joins al-Hārith and a group of friends, who are enjoying wine and music in a garden. Reproduced in "The Water Wheel".

   f.74v:5B2 and f.75:5B3 - a well-dressed crowd listens to a half-naked old man on a cold day.
   f.76:5B4 - al-Hārith and Abū Zayd, who is laden with a sack of clothes.
Mg. 26. Ahwáz - The Spotted:
f.77:5C6 - a sumptuous tent: Al-Hārith encounters Abū Zayd enjoying the largesse of a governor. The two horses of a different colour seem to be a visual pun on the literary artifice of khaifa': Abū Zayd had composed an address to the governor with alternate letters pointed and unpointed. Khaifa’ also refers to different coloured horses.

Paris B.N. 5947, f.77:5C6, Mg. 26.

Mg. 26. continued
f.79:5C7 - al-Hārith [apparently] copying down Abū Zayd’s address to the governor. The young man is not identified.

Mg. 27. The Tent-dwellers - no illustration.
Mq. 28. Samargand: the jämi‘ [Friday mosque].
   f.84v:5F1 - Abū Zayd preaching. Reproduced in "Ramadān".
   f.86v:5F2 - Abū Zayd later entertains al-Ḥārith at his home.
Mq. 29. Wasit: a khan.
   f.89v:6A6 - Abū Zayd and his son strip the drugged 'wedding guests'. Reproduced in "The khan".
   f.90v:6A7 - al-Ḥārith confronts the pair as they make off with their plunder.
Mq. 30. Tyrus [Cairo]: the mansion of the 'beggar chief'.
   f.91v:6C4 - assorted wedding guests.
   f.92v:6C5 - Abū Zayd and guests.
Mq. 31. Ramla: the hajj.
   A double-page spread.
   f.94v:6E2 - the official pilgrim caravan with the mahmil.
   f.95v:6E3 - Abū Zayd high on a rock, preaching to a band of pilgrims on the true meaning of the hajj.
   Reproduced in "The hajj".
Mq. 32. Tayba: a double-page spread.
   f.100v:6F8 - al-Ḥārith accosts Abū Zayd, saying, "I know thee a rogue; since when has thou become a legist?"
   f.101v:6F9 - Abū Zayd justifies his reward for "virgin gasidas indited by me that met with applause loud expressed and enduring".
Mq. 33. Taflis: an indoor scene [mosque].
   f.103v:6G9 - Abū Zayd recounting his misfortunes to the congregation.
Mq. 34. Zabīd: the slave market.
   f.105v:7A12 - an old man, his face covered, strikes a bargain with al-Ḥārith for 'Yūsuf'. Reproduced in "The Slave Market".
   f.107v:7B1 - al-Ḥārith and Abū Zayd in dispute before a qāḍī over the legality of the 'sale'.
Mq. 35. Shirāz: no illustration.
Mq. 36. Maltiya: an outdoor drinking party.
Mq. 37. Saʿda:
   f.114v:7E4 - al-Ḥārith observing in the lawcourt. Abū Zayd and his son seek the intervention of the qāḍī in their dispute.
   f.117v:7E5 - Confrontation - al-Ḥārith says, "So I went back after I had ascertained their identity, but where was I to find the twain of them?"
Mq. 38. Marw: the governor's court.
   f.118v:7F4 - al-Ḥārith in attendance at the court, when a
tattered 'beggar' appears, praising generosity in men of letters.

Mq. 39. Oman:
  f.119v:7G1 - a ship en route to Oman.
  f.120v:7G2 - an eastern island: the palace of the wali Al-Hārith and Abū Zayd meet the despondent slaves. Reproduced in "Childbirth".
  f.121v:7G3 - The exotic island.
  f.122v:7G4 - the birth scene in the palace: Abū Zayd writes a charm for the safe delivery, while al-Hārith consults his astrolabe. The enthroned wāli anxiously waits in another chamber. Reproduced in "Childbirth".

Mq. 40. Tabriz:
  f.125v:8A7 - Abū Zayd and his wife before a miserly judge, with female witnesses and al-Hārith in attendance.
  f.126v:8A8 - an alternative version, with some changes in characters.

Mq. 41. Tannús:
  f.130v:8B8 - al-Hārith confronts Abū Zayd, who asks him if he was impressed with the young Sarūjī.
  f.130v:8B9 - al-Hārith angrily declines Abū Zayd’s offer to go to his house and quaff wine, then he burns "with grief" at his departure and fain would not have met him.

Mq. 42. Najrān: unspecified interior.
  f.131v:8C10 - Abū Zayd sets a riddle on the khaysh, a ventilating device.
  f.133v:8C11 - a similar scene, when an elder asks Abū Zayd about his background.

Mq. 43. Hadramawt: an outdoor setting.
  f.134v:8D11 - al-Hārith and a sleeping Abū Zayd.
  f.138v:8D12 - al-Hārith and Abū Zayd converse with a lad outside a village. Reproduced in "The Village".

Mq. 44. The Winter Night: a double-page spread.
  f.139v:8F12 and f.140v:8G1 - the famished travellers enjoying hospitality in a tent, and a camel being slaughtered for the feast. Reproduced in "Hospitality".
  f.143v:8G2 - a portrait of Abū Zayd on his camel.

Mq. 45. Ramla:
  f.146v:9A4 - al-Hārith observes Abū Zayd and his wife quarrelling before a gādī.

Mq. 46. Aleppo:
  f.148v:9A12 - a schoolroom in Hims: al-Hārith, the 'schoolmaster' and his boys. Reproduced in "The Schoolroom".
f.152:9B1 - a similar scene. The tenth and last boy gives his recitation. He was "a lad brighter than the fire of hospitality in the eyes of the son of the night-faring".

Paris B.N. arabe 5847, f.152:9B1, Mq. 46.

Mq. 47. Hajriya: in the market-place.
        f.154v:9C7 - an altercation in the cupper's booth and interested spectators savouring the repartee.
        f.155v:9C8 - part of the crowd, and a companion piece,
        f.156v:9C9 - a similar scene to that of f.154v. Both of these are reproduced in "The Cupper".

Mq. 48. The Banū Ḥarām:
        f.158v:9D11 - Abū Zayd addressing a group of men in a mosque.
Mq. 49. The Banû Sāsān:
  f.160v:9E7 - Abu Zayd instructing his son on the wiles of the Banû Sāsān.
  f.162v:9E8 - a similar scene.

Mq. 50. Basra: the jāmi‘.
  f.164v:9E4 - A preacher and the congregation.

Paris B.N. arabe 5847, f.164v:9E4, Mq. 50.

"So I repaired to you, urging my camel to the utmost ... And I ask not your bounty, but solicit your prayers, And crave not your wealth, but desire your intercessions; And I pray to God to guide me aright to repentance ... "

f.166:9E5 - indoor setting: a final farewell.

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Mq. 1. San'ā: not illustrated.

Mq. 2. Basra, public library: f.2v:1B6 - "a man in rags, with a short thick beard" astounds al-Hārith and some littérateurs with his versification.

Paris B.N. 3929, f.2v:1B6, Mq. 2.

Mq. 3. The dinār:
   f.5:1C3 - a 'lame man' explains his destitution to al-Hārith.

Mq. 4. Dimyāṭa [Damietta]: the merchant caravan at rest.
   f.84v:1D6 - al-Hārith overhears two people discussing one's moral duty to one's neighbour.

Mq. 5. Kūfa: not illustrated.
Mq. 6. Marāgha:
f.7v:1F10 - an enthroned wālī in the Diwan al-Nazar; Abū Zayd being rewarded for his eloquence.

*Paris B.N. arabe 3929, f.7v:1F10, Mq. 6.*

"The picture of the wālī filling his mouth with pearls."

Mq. 7. Barqa'īd: not illustrated.

Mq. 8. Ma'arra:
f.13v:2A11 - a youthful attendant calls back Abū Zayd and his son, because the qādī has realised they are impostors.
f.14 - it is likely that there was a miniature here at one time.

Mq. 9. Iskandariya [Alexandria]:
f.15v:2B11 - al-Bārith, in attendance at the lawcourt, sees Abū Zayd's wife bringing him before the qādī.
f.20:2B12 - 2 illustrations: the upper shows Abū Zayd dancing and singing in glee, with his wife, while in the lower, the qādī laughs so much that his hat falls off.

Mq. 10. Rahba:
f.21:2C12 - an old man accuses a youth of killing his son.

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f.21v:2D1 - Abū Zayd brings the youth before the governor of Raha.
f.22v:2D2 - the old man 'guards' the youth overnight.
f.23v:2D3 - Abū Zayd alone with the governor.

Mq. 11. Sāwa:
f.26:2E6 - al-Ḫārith 'framed' by brick tombs.
f.26v:2E7 - an old man preaches from a high rock to a group of mourners at a funeral.
f.30:2E8 - Abū Zayd alone on the rock.
f.30v:2E9 - al-Ḫārith upbraids Abū Zayd on his scandalous exploitation of vulnerable people.

Mq. 12. Dimashq [Damascus]:
f.34v:2F7 - the 'holy man' relaxes in a tavern with convivial company. Reproduced in "Hospitality".

f.37:3A1 - an 'old woman' accosts al-Ḫārith and his friends, seeking alms.
f.38v:3A2 - a similar scene with 2 females.
f.61v:3A3 - al-Ḫārith finds the 'old woman' in a ruined mosque, and recognises Abū Zayd.


Mq. 15. The Legal:
f.90:3C7 - "The picture of the 2 shaykhs", Abū Zayd and the shaykh of the tale.
f.83v:3C8 - the shaykh brings fresh dates and milk for Abū Zayd.
f.185:3C9 [the folio numbers are very mixed up in this manuscript, but the illustrations tie in with the story] - "A picture of Abū Zayd and the dogs" [which pursued him during the night].

Mq. 16. Al-Maghrib [Morocco]:
f.186v:3E6 - a mosque: a 'beggar' displays virtuosity in the composing of palindromes.

Mq. 17. The reversed: not illustrated.

Mq. 18. Sinjār:
f.149:4A1 - an indoor setting: al-Ḫārith and others feasting.
f.151:4A2 - a wonderful portrait of Abū Zayd's beautiful young slave [jāriya], who was "unrivalled in perfection". Reproduced in "The jāriya".
f.40v:4A3 - Abū Zayd rides off on a camel, leading 2 camels laden with gifts.

Mq. 19. Nasibīn:
f.41:4B7 - Abū Zayd on a "camel of Mahra", bearing "a
lance of Samhar”.
f.66v:4B8 - a caravan at rest: sleeping travellers.

**Mq. 20. Maiyafariqin:**
f.42v:4C7 - unspecified outdoor setting: an old man tells a group of his loss of virility.
f.45:4C8 - al-Harith and Abu Zayd: a case of 'indecent exposure'.

**Mq. 21. Rayy:**
f.46:4D9 - "A picture of the crowd and the shaykh in their midst": a preacher, "superior even to Ibn Sam‘un".
f.173:4D10 - the governor, whom Abu Zayd reminds of the equality of all in the face of death, and al-Harith.
f.52v:4D11 - Abu Zayd departs.

**Mq. 22. Al-Furat [The Euphrates]:**
f.53:4E12 - unspecified indoor setting: Abu Zayd and 2 scribes.
f.155v:4F1 - Abu Zayd on a boat with a group of landowners who "disliked his presence".

*Paris B.N. 3929, f.155v:4F1, Mq. 22.*
Mq. 23. The Precinct:
   f.163:4F10 - Abu Zayd signals to al-Hārith not to disclose his identity to the wali; his son also appears.

Mq. 24. Baghdad - Rabīʿa, a suburb:
   f.165v:5A1 - a landscape setting: Abu Zayd chances upon a carousing scene.

Mq. 25. Karaj:
   f.54v:5A9 - an old man, naked except for a turban and loincloth, recites to a well-dressed group on a bitterly cold day.
   f.56:5A10 - Abu Zayd "bowed down and shivering".
   f.93:5A11 - our hero being handsomely rewarded with fine garments.

Mq. 26. Ahwaz - The Spotted:
   f.96v:5C4 - Abu Zayd composing an address before a governor who greatly admires literary excellence.

Mq. 27. The Tent-dwellers:
   f.101v:5D7 - Abu Zayd encounters al-Ḥārith, who is searching for his camel.
   f.103:5D8 - al-Ḥārith and Abu Zayd resting.
   f.104:5D9 - al-Ḥārith and Abu Zayd confront the camel thief.
   f.105:5D10 - an indoor setting: the two friends.

Mq. 28. Samargand: not illustrated.

Mq. 29. Wāsit:
Reproduced in "The khan".
   f.178v:6A2 - Abu Zayd consults his astrolabe before the 'wedding guests'.
   f.179:6A3 - The drugged food is served.
   f.114:6A4 - the recumbent 'guests'.
Mq. 30. Tyrus [Cairo]:
f.117:6C1 - al-Harith meets a group of people riding to a wedding.
f.120:6C2 - al-Harith and the others enjoy a wedding feast in the house of the 'beggar chief'. Note the unusual 'tablecloth' {simät}, which is the second word of the text above the miniature. This is a unique image in these manuscripts; it is made of leather, has rings and a thong, and can be folded up into a bag for provisions.

Paris B.N. arabe 3929, f.120:6C2, Mq. 30.

Mq. 31. Ramla:
f.68v:6D11 - a touching portrait of al-Hārith and Abu Zayd embracing as closely as "lam cleaves to aliph". Reproduced in "The mā˒māl procession".

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f.69:6D12 - an outdoor setting: Abū Zayd as a beggar. Al-Ḥārith and a dark foreign man look on. Abū Zayd wears a long pointed hat [danniyya], shaped like a wine jar [dānn], and he has the requisite belongings of a beggar, viz., a waterskin, a bag for dry provisions and a staff.

Paris B.N. arabe 3929, f.69:6D12, Mq. 31.

Mq. 32. Tayba:

f.85:6F5 - Abū Zayd brilliantly discoursing with the Bedouin "glib of tongue, stout of heart". Reproduced in "The Bedouin" and overleaf.
"Verily I am the legist of the Arabs of the Arabians, and the most learned of those that live under the star-pocked sky ..."
f.57v:7A10 - Abū Zayd rudely takes his leave of al-Ḥārith, "breaking wind".

Mq. 35. Shirāz: not illustrated.

Mq. 36. Mālṭiya:
f.180v:7D1 - a beggar accosts a party of drinkers.
f.180v:7D2 - another group scene,
f.181v:7D3 - a similar illustration.

Mq. 37. Ṣaʿda:
f.50v:7E1 - Abū Zayd before a qādī, with al-Ḥārith in attendance.
f.50v:7E2 - a similar scene.

Paris, B.N. 3929, f.50v:7E2, Eq. 37.

"{ ... there entered an old man in plumage worse for the wear, of shabby appearance}, who looked at the throng with the sharp look of the money-sifter ... "

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Mg. 38. Marw:
f.129v:7F1 - Abū Zayd and his son before the governor of Marw.
f.131v:7F2 - a similar scene, with al-Ḥarīth present.


Mg. 40. Tabriz:
f.134v:8A4 - "A picture of Abū Zayd and the women at his side" before a qādī.

Mg. 41. Tannūs:
f.144v:8B6 - a mosque: an old man "bare of body" and a child seek alms.

Mg. 42. Najrān:
f.65v:8C8 - an outdoor setting: a group setting riddles. An entranced listener tries to delay Abū Zayd’s departure.

Mg. 43. Hadramawt:
f.156v:8D9 - "A picture of al-Ḥārith riding on horseback", f.157v:8D10 - the judge [who appears to be an Eastern ruler] ponders the merits of the case.

Mg. 44. The Winter Night: not illustrated.

Mg. 45. Ramla: not illustrated.

Mg. 46. Aleppo: not illustrated.

Mg. 47. Hajrīya: not illustrated.

Mg. 48. The Banū Ḥarām: not illustrated.

Mg. 49: The Banū Sāsān: not illustrated.

Mg. 50. Basra: not illustrated.

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5. İstanbul, Suleymaniye Mosque, Esad Efendi, 2916.

This manuscript is very badly damaged, and the illustrations marked ** have not been reproduced on microfiche by Grabar.

Mq. 1. San'ā: **

Mq. 2. Baṣra, public library: **

Mq. 3. The dinār: **

Mq. 4. Dimyata [Damietta]: the merchant caravan at rest. f.12 - the merchant caravan at rest. **

Mq. 5. Kūfa: f.14v:1F3 - Abū Zayd arrives late at night at the house where al-Ḥārith and his friends are conversing.
Mq. 6. Marāgha:
f.18:1G2 - a group of learned men [‘ulama’] lamenting that "none remained who possest purity of style": Abu Zayd proves otherwise. Note the punka made from lif, the membranous fibres from the base of the palm tree; this also occurs in the schoolroom here and in Paris B.N. 5847.

Istanbul, Esad Efendi 2916, f.18:1G2, Mq. 6.

Mq. 7. Barga‘īd: **

Mq. 8. Ma‘arra: **
f.24.
Mq. 9. Iskandariya [Alexandria]:
  f.27v:2C6 - Abu Zayd and his wife, who is complaining to
  the qadi that she has married a wastrel.

Mq. 10. Rabba:  **
  f.31.

Mq. 11. Sawa:
  f.34:2F1 - Abu Zayd harangues mourners at a funeral,
  "... how oft have you ... been regardless of the decease
  of your friends!"

Mq. 12. Dimashq [Damascus]:  **
  2 illustrations, f.36v and f.39.

Mq. 13. Baghdad: The Tigris [Al-Zawra]:
  f.41:3A8 - an 'old woman' and children soliciting alms
  from a group of litterateurs.

Mq. 14. Khayfa, near Mecca:
  f.44:3B11 - Abu Zayd and his son in conversation with al-
  Harith and some people in a tent.

Mq. 15. The Legal:
  f.47:3D5 - Abu Zayd being entertained in a house. An old
  man gives him a good meal of milk and dates; he was well
  pleased by Abu Zayd's explanation of a riddle dealing with
  the law of inheritance.
  The illustration is reproduced overleaf.
Istanbul, Esad Efendi 2916, f.47v:3D5, Mg. 15.

Mg. 15. continued.

f.48v:3D6 - the booth of a food vendor in the market.

Mg. 16. Al-Maghrib [Morocco]: **

f.52.

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Mq. 18. Sinjâr: **

Mq. 19. Nasîbin:
f.64:4C2 - Abu Zayd holds court from his sickbed before a group of solicitous companions.

Istanbul, Esad Efendi 2916, f.64:4C2, Mq. 19.
Mg. 20. Maiyafāriqīn:
f.67:4D1 - Abū Zayd complaining to a group of travellers about the loss of his virility.

Mg. 21. Rayy.  
f.70:4E5 - Abū Zayd preaching before the governor in the jāmi', "Dost thou imagine that thou wilt be left in impunity, and that thou wilt not be called presently to account?"

Mg. 22. Al-Purarāt [The Euphrates]:
f.73v:4F6 - Abū Zayd in a boat with those who initially "disliked his presence" and "were harsh towards him".

Mg. 23. The Precinct:
f.77:4G6 - Abū Zayd before the governor, accusing his son of stealing his poems.

Mg. 24. Baghdad - Rābi‘a, a suburb:
f.82v:5A4 - Abū Zayd joins a drinking bout in a garden.

Mg. 25. Karaj:  
f.89:5B7 - a destitute old man recites poetry to a bourgeois group of men.

Mg. 26. Ahwāz – The Spotted:  
f.92:5C11 - Abū Zayd comes across a tent and "some fair boy servants and furniture which thou wouldst gaze at, and an old man; on him was noble apparel". This is reproduced in "The Arab Governor".

Mg. 27. The Tent-dwellers:  
f.96v:5E3 - Abū Zayd recites to al-Hārith, "I am roving from land to land, a night-traveller from one trackless desert to the other".  
f.98:5E4 - Abū Zayd and al-Hārith confront the camel thief.

Mg. 28. Samarqand: a jāmi‘.  
f.104:5F3 - Abū Zayd delivering a splendid khutba.

Mg. 29. Wāsit: a khān.  
f.110:6A10 - Abū Zayd and his son stripping the ‘wedding guests’ of their finery.  
f.116v - **

Mg. 30. Tyrus [Cairo]: **  
f.130.

Mg. 31. Ramla:  
f.117v:6E6 - Abū Zayd preaching to the pilgrims and swearing by "Him who ordained to the devotee the rites of the hajji" that the performance of those rites alone does not guarantee entry to Paradise.
Mq. 32. Tayba: **
   f.121.

Mq. 33. Taflis: a mosque.

Mq. 34. Zabîd:
   f.134:7B6 - Abu Zayd selling 'Yûsuf' to al-Hârîth.
   f.136v:7B7 - The qâdî expounds on the legal niceties of al-Ḥârîth's plaint.

Mq. 35. Shîrâz: an outdoor setting.
   f.138v:7C6 - Abu Zayd entertains a group with puns.

Mq. 36. Maltîya: a landscape setting.
   f.141:3D7 - Abu Zayd sets al-Ḥârîth and companions 20 abstruse conundrums.

Mq. 37. Sa'da: **
   f.146v.

Mq. 38. Marw:
   f.150v:7F7 - al-Ḥârîth sees an old man and his son in dispute before a qâdî.

Mq. 39. Oman:
   f.153:7G6 - Abu Zayd about to embark for Oman.
   f.154v:7G7 - al-Ḥârîth and Abu Zayd encounter a "troupe of slaves" outside a palace "with an iron gate".

Mq. 40. Tabrîz: **
   f.157v.

Mq. 41. Tannîs: **
   f.165.

Mq. 42. Najrân: a landscape scene.
   f.167v:8D2 - Abu Zayd setting riddles to a literary party.
Mq. 43. Hadramawt:
f.171:8E6 - Abū Zayd and al-Ḥārith rest.
f.176:8E7 - an idyllic village scene. This is misplaced, because it appears long before the mention of a village in a text.

Istanbul, Eşad Efendi 2916, f.176:8E7, Mq. 43.

f.177v:8E8 - "... the journey brought us to a village, and forthwith we entered it to forage for provender". Abū Zayd and al-Ḥārith converse with a bucolic local lad. Reproduced in "The Village".
The Winter Night:
f.180v:8G5 – hospitality in a Bedouin tent. Al-Harīth explains the guests’ attitude to an aloof old man. "We softened our speech to him and were afraid to encroach on him by questioning."

f.184v:8G6 – Abū Zayd rides off with his spoils, "not alighting until yonder goal is reached". One should compare this with al-Wasiti’s portrait of Abū Zayd in a similar situation in Mq. 18, reproduced in this section.

[B.N. 5847, f.51:4A8]

Istanbul, Esad Efendi 2916, f.184v:8G6, Mq. 44.
Mq. 45. Ramla:
f.188v:9A5 - Abū Zayd before a gādī. His wife "removed from her face the flap of her kerchief and indited with the tongue of an impudent shrew". This is reproduced in "The Judiciary".

Mq. 46. Aleppo:
f.192:9B3 - a schoolroom in Hims. Al-Hārith watches the 'schoolmaster' administer the bastinado to a recalcitrant pupil. This is not mentioned in the text, and it is a unique image. Reproduced in "The Schoolroom".

Mq. 47. Hajrīya:
f.198:9D1 - the market-place. A fracas between a cupper and an insolent youth.

Mq. 48. The Banū Harām:
f.203:9D12 - a mosque: an uplifting admonition by Abū Zayd, who says, "... thy friend in truth is he who tells thee truth, not he who says 'true' to all thou sayest!"

Mq. 49. The Banū Saṣān:
f.207v:9E9 - Abū Zayd giving his 'last' instructions [wasfiyya] to his son, "... attend to my charge and eschew disobedience ...".
The illustration is in a poor state.

Istanbul Esad Efendi 2916, f.211v:9F10, Mq. 50.

"O people of Basra,
May God keep and guard you, and confirm your piety;
How diffused is the sweet odour of your reputation,
How conspicuous are the virtues that distinguish you;
Your country is the most perfect of all lands in purity."
Mq. 1. San'ā:
   f.4:1A7 - unspecified setting: man and a crowd.
   f.5:1A8 - a 'cave': al-Ḥārith confronts Abū Zayd and his companion, who eat roast kid with bread and wine.

Mq. 2. Basra, public library:
   f.6v:1B11 - Abū Zayd expounding on the poetry of the 3rd/9th-century court poet, al-Buḥṭurī, to a group of literary men.

Mq. 3. The dīnār:
   f.8v:1C10 - outdoors: a lame and shabby Abū Zayd before a crowd.
   f.10:1C11 - al-Ḥārith confronts Abū Zayd on his 'lameness'.

Mq. 4. Dimyāṭa [Damietta]: the merchant caravan at rest.
   f.10v:1E2 - outdoors - al-Ḥārith overhears a cynical older man denigrating an idealistic youth for his idealism.
Mq. 5. Kufa:
f.13:1F4 - 'indoor' setting: a ghulām brings in food for an unexpected guest.

Mq. 6. Maragha:
f.16:1G3 - A learned group in the Diwan al-Nazar: Abū Zayd composes "a passage as with a painter's pencil", and employs "metaphors with most exquisite elegance".

Mq. 7. Barqa’īd:
f.19:2A5 - outdoor setting: the 'blind' Abū Zayd and his wife, with hand-written petitions for alms composed in verse.
f.20v:2A6 - Abū Zayd and his wife later enjoying hospitality at Al-Hārith's home.

London, B.L. or. 1200, f.20v:2A6, Mq. 7.

Mq. 8. Ma‘arra:
f.22:2B5 - indoors: Abū Zayd and his wife appear before a qadi; al-Hārith is in the background. Reproduced in "The Judiciary".

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Mq. 9. Iskandariyya [Alexandria]:
f.24v:2C7 - lawcourt scene: Abū Zayd, his wife and al-Ḥārith. The qādi has a huge head, which is reminiscent of scientific drawings.

Mq. 10. Rahba:
f.27v:2D10 - before the enthroned governor of Rahba: Abū Zayd enticing the governor with his son.

Mq. 11. Sāwa:
f.29v:2F3 - cemetery scene: Abū Zayd preaches to a group of mourners.
f.31v:2F4 - al-Ḥārith upbraids Abū Zayd for his hypocrisy in exhorting vulnerable people to give him money.

Mq. 12. f.32v:2G1 - outdoor setting - al-Ḥārith and fellow travellers meet a 'holy man' carrying a rosary.
f.34v:2G2 - a tavern in 'Ana: al-Ḥārith tracks down the 'holy man' drinking wine. Reproduced in "Musicians".

f.35v:3A9 - an 'old woman' and children seek alms from al-Ḥārith and friends.
f.37v:3A10 - ruined mosque: a suspicious al-Ḥārith finds that Abū Zayd was the 'old woman'.

Mq. 14. Khayfa, near Mecca:
f.28v:3B12 - al-Ḥārith and others in a 'tent' when an old man and an agile youth appear.

Mq. 15. The Legal:
f.40v:3D7 - indoors: Abū Zayd, al-Ḥārith, a female servant and food on a table.
f.41v:3D8 - outdoors: al-Ḥārith and Abū Zayd.
f.43v:3D9 - indoors: al-Ḥārith and Abū Zayd: one of them, probably Abū Zayd, is penning a legal riddle.

Mq. 16. Al-Maghrib [Morocco]:
f.44v:3F1 - a 'mosque': a beggar writes out palindromes.
f.46v:3F2 - al-Ḥārith confronts this 'beggar'.

Mq. 17. The Reversed:
f.47v:3F11 - unspecified setting: Abū Zayd composing riddles for al-Ḥārith and a group of men.

Mq. 18. Sinjār: not illustrated.


Mq. 20. Maiyafāriqīn:
f.56v:4D12 - unspecified setting: Abū Zayd and a group of men.

Mq. 21. Rayy: not illustrated.
Mg. 22. Al-Furat [The Euphrates]: not illustrated.

Mg. 23. The Precinct:
- f.67:4G7 - outdoor scene: al-Harith meets Abū Zayd after an altercation between Abū Zayd and his son in a government office.
- f.68:5A5 - a detailed landscape setting: drinking party.

Mg. 24. Baghda - Rābi‘a, a suburb:

Mg. 25. Karaj:
- f.73v:5B8 - outdoors - al-Ḥārith and 2 others meet a naked and destitute old man.
- f.75:5B9 - al-Ḥārith with Abū Zayd, who has received gifts of clothing.

Mg. 26. Ahwāz - The Spotted:
- f.76:5C12 - al-Ḥārith comes across Abū Zayd enjoying the largesse of a governor in a tent; 2 servants are in attendance.

Mg. 27. The Tent-dwellers:
- f.79v:5E5 - al-Ḥārith meets Abū Zayd outdoors.
- f.81:5E6 - al-Ḥārith and Abū Zayd confront the camel thief.

Mg. 28. Samargand: a double-page illustration.
- f.85v:5F4 and f.86:5F5 - Abū Zayd preaching in the mosque. Reproduced in "The 'Id al-Fitr khutba".
- f.87v:5F6 - Abū Zayd's house: Abū Zayd about to launch into a poetic justification of his behaviour to al-Ḥārith, who has been persuaded, for once, not to denounce him publicly.

Mg. 29. Wāsit:
- f.89:6A11 - groups of people, upstairs and downstairs, in a khan.
- f.90:6A12 - Abū Zayd consults his astrolabe in the company of the 'wedding guests'.
- f.91:6B1 - al-Ḥārith, Abū Zayd and the drugged 'guests'.

Mg. 30. Tyrus [Cairo]:
- f.93:6C9 - al-Ḥārith chances upon a group of guests riding to a wedding.
- f.98v:6C10 - in the mansion of the 'beggar chief': al-Ḥārith and guests feast before Abū Zayd.

Mg. 31. Ramla:
- f.96v:6E7 - Abū Zayd preaches to a group of pilgrims.
- f.97:6E8 - a band of mounted pilgrims.
- f.98v:6E9 - Abū Zayd on the rock.
- f.99:6E10 - more pilgrims, on camels.
Mg. 32. Tayba:
  f.100v:6F12 - Abū Zayd in the garb of a mufti.
  f.106v:6G1 - Abū Zayd says, "I alter my coat to the whims of each moment", after receiving the gifts of a qayna [singing-girl] and a drove of camels.

Mg. 33. Taflis:
  f.107v:7A1 - an old man preaches to a group of 3 outdoors.
  f.108v:7A2 - al-Ḥārith confronts Abū Zayd, but finds himself unable to rebuke his old friend.

Mg. 34. Zabīd:
  f.110v:7B8 - a veiled man agrees terms of 200 dirhams with al-Ḥārith for a 'slave' named Yūsuf.
  f.112v:7B9 - al-Ḥārith complains to the gādī that he has been tricked.
  f.113v:7B10 - al-Ḥārith reminds Abū Zayd that he has cheated him.

Mg. 35. Shīrāz:
  f.114v:7C7 - unspecified setting: an old man and a crowd.
  f.115v:7C8 - Abū Zayd tells the admiring al-Ḥārith, "I am quarrelsome and thou are faint-hearted, so there is a wide gulf between us".
Mq. 36. Maltiya:
f.116:7D8 - a very detailed landscape setting of al-Harith and a drinking party.

B.L. or. 1200, f.116:7D8, Mq. 36.

"[I saw a group of nine people, who had purchased some wine, wherewith they had ascended a hillock,] and their winning manners captivated men's eyes, while their pleasantry was sweet-spoken ... "

Mq. 37. Sa'da:
f.120:7E8 - Abu Zayd complains to a qadi of the intractability of his son.

Mq. 38. Marw:
f.124:7F8 - al-Harith observes Abu Zayd obsequiously addressing the governor of Marw "in some fine verses in praise of liberality to men of genius".
Mq. 39. Oman:
- f.125v:7G8 - the ship sailing to Oman.
- f.126v:7G9 - al-Ḥārith and Abū Zayd find disconsolate slaves outside the palace of the wālī.
- f.128:7G10 - interior setting - the wife of the wālī [here] has just given birth, and two female attendants are present.

Mq. 40. Tabriz:
- f.129:8A9 - al-Ḥārith sees Abū Zayd with two women.
- f.130:8A10 - al-Ḥārith finds Abū Zayd and his wife arguing over conjugal rights before a gādi.
  Both of the following illustrations seem rather to be a reflection of the commentary, and not the Maqāmat text - f.133v:8A11 and f.134:8A12 - al-Ḥārith and Abū Zayd on horseback.

Mq. 41. Tammūs:
- f.135:8B12 - Abū Zayd preaching to a group in a mosque, "Poor is the son of Adam, oh how poor!"

Mq. 42. Najrān:
- f.137:8D3 - a crowd of learned men. "There crouched before us an aged man".

Mq. 43. Hadramawt:
- f.140:8E9 - al-Ḥārith encounters a recumbent figure.
- f.141:8E10 - the two friends on horseback go searching for al-Ḥārith’s lost camel.
- f.142:8E11 - al-Ḥārith, the plaintiff and defendant before a gādi who makes a play on the word for ‘mount’ and ‘sandal’
- f.143:8E12 - Abū Zayd and a youth discuss the merits of marrying a virgin or a matron.
- f.145:8F1 - al-Ḥārith and Abū Zayd talk to a village lad carrying a load of grass.
Mq. 44. The Winter Night:
   f.146v:8G7 - 6 men in a tent enjoy the lavish hospitality of a Bedouin family.
   f.151v:8G8 - Abū Zayd riding off on his gift of a camel of the breed of ‘Id’, as al-Hārith realises that he is "the Sarūji who when he had sold out, was wont to start off, and when he had filled his bushel, to decamp".

Mq. 45. Ramla:
   f.154v:9A6 - al-Hārith sees Abū Zayd and his wife seeking redress for their matrimonial grievances from a qādi.

Mq. 46. Aleppo:
   f.156v:9B4 - a schoolroom in Hims: the proud 'schoolteacher' and his pupils produce sparkling verses for their visitor, al-Hārith.
   f.161v:9B5 - al-Hārith and Abū Zayd on the dais.

Mq. 47. Hajrīya:
   f.162v:9D2 - the market: a 'throng' [of 3 men] views the altercation between the cupper and his patient.
   f.164v:9D3 - Abū Zayd justifies his behaviour to al-Hārith.
   f.165v:9D4 - the apparently previously unrecorded "Cupper of Sābāṭ" with his prostrate dead mother; he bled her so often to appear busy that she died from weakness.

Mq. 48. The Banū Harām:
   f.167v:9E1 - Abū Zayd spins a yarn to a group of men.

Mq. 49. The Banū Sāsān:
   f.169v:9E10 - Abū Zayd as death beckons, instructing his son on the wiles of his ancestors, the Banū Sasan.

Mq. 50. Basra:
   f.172v:9F11 - Abū Zayd on a rock delivering a panegyric to the people and city of Basra.
   f.174v:9F12 - al-Hārith meets travellers, who advise him that Abū Zayd has returned to Sarūj to become a holy man.
   f.177v:9G1 - al-Hārith at last finds his now-pious friend in a mosque.

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APPENDIX 3

TYPOLOGY OF ARCHES, SPANDRELS AND ARCHITECTURAL FRAMES

in the 7th/13th century Maqamat manuscripts and London B.L. or. 9718, as well as in the following 8th/14th century manuscripts, London B.L. or. add. 22.114, London B.L. 7293, Oxford, Bodleian, Marsh 458 and Vienna, Nationalbibliothek A.F.9. It is outwith the scope of this thesis to relate them to vernacular architecture; they are not to scale, and merely a tool towards identification. Pagination and microfiche numbers follow Grabar; folios are recto, unless otherwise stated.

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29 Khan

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London B.L. 22.114  

f.12v:2A9  7 House  
f.114:2B7  8 Lawcourt  
f.15:2C0  9 "  
f.18:2E1  10 Palace  
f.19v:2E2  10 Indoors  
f.26:2G7  12 Tavern  
f.36:3E1  15 House  
f.49:4B4  18 "  
f.56:4C5  19 House  
f.66:4G10  23 Gov's palace  

Istanbul E.E. 2916  

f.68:4G11  23 "  
f.82v:5D4  26 "  
f.96:5F10  28 House  
f.105:6D2  30 House  
f.134:7B6  34 Slave market  

London B.L. 22.114  

f.125:7E1  37 Lawcourt  
f.134:8A2  39 Eastern palace  

London B.L. 1200  

f.164:9A9  45 Lawcourt  
f.156v:9B4  46 School  
f.161:9B5  46 "  

Oxford Marsh 458  

f.120:9D9  47 Cupper's booth  

London B.L. 22.114  

f.184:9E12  49 House  

40.

Ms. London B.L. 22.114  

f.117:2B8  8 Lawcourt  
f.99:6B5  29 Khan  

41
| Ms. London B.L. 1200 | f. 37:3A10 | 13 Mosque |
| " " " | f. 38:3B12 | 14 House |
| " " " | f. 40v:3D7 | 15 House |
| c.f. London B.L. 22.114 | f. 43:3D9 | |
| Ms. Paris B.N. 3929 | f. 178v:6A2 | Mg. 29 Khān |
| Vienna A.F.9 | f. 104:6D7 | 30 House |

| Ms. Vienna A.F.9 | ff. 104v:6D8, 105:6D9 | 30 House |
| " " | ff. 161v:9A1, 162:9A2 | 44 Tent |
| " " | f. 167v:9A10 | 45 Lawcourt |
| " " | f. 170v:9C5 | 46 School |
| " " | f. 176:9D10 | 47 Cupper’s booth |

| Ms. Vienna A.F.9. | f. 17v:1F8 | 5 House |
| " " | f. 20v:1G7 | 6 Diwan |

517
| " " " | f.36:2E4 | al-nazar | 10 Gov's court |
| " " " | f.64v:4C6 | " | 19 House |
| " " " | f.98:6B | " | 29 Khan |
| " " " | f.123:7C1 | " | 35 No specific setting |
| " " " | f.126:7D12 | " | 36 Outdoors |
| " " " | f.130v:7E12 | " | 37 Lawcourt |
| " " " | f.134v:7F12 | " | 38 Palace |
| " " " | f.142:8B5 | " | 40 Lawcourt |
| " " " | f.150:8D8 | " | 42 No specific setting |
| " " " | f.156:8F9 | " | 43 Lawcourt |

45.

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| " " " | f.36:2E4 | 10 Outdoors |
| " " " | f.50v:3 | 15 House |
| " " " | f.64v:4C | 19 House |
c.f. Vienna A.F.9
| " " " | f.25:2A10 | 7 Mosque |
| " " " | f.98v:6B | 29 Khan |

46. Architectural settings without framework.

| Ms. London B.L. 1200 | f.13:1F4 | 5 House |
| Paris B.N. 3929 | f.7v:1F10 | 6 Diwan |
| London B.L. 1200 | f.16:1G3 | 6 al-nazar |
| " " " | f.20v:2A6 | " |
| London B.L. 1200 | f.22:2B5 | 8 " |
| Paris B.N. 3929 | ff.15v:2B11.20:2B12 | 9 " |
| Paris B.N. 5847 | f.25:2C2 | 9 " |
| London B.L. 1200 | f.24:2C7 | 9 " |
| Paris B.N. 3929 | f.23v:2D3 | 10 Palace |
| Paris B.N. 5847 | f.26:2D5 | 10 " |
| " " | f.27:2D6 | 10 " |
| London B.L. 1200 | f.27:2D10 | 12 Tavern |
| " " " | f.34:2G2 | " |

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Paris B.N. 5847  
Istanbul E.E. 2916  
London B.L. 22.114  
Paris B.N. 3929  
Paris B.N. 6094  
Paris B.N. 5847  
London B.L. 22.114  
Paris B.N. 3929  
" " " "  
Paris B.N. 5847  
London B.L. 1200  
London B.L. 22.114  
Paris B.N. 3929  
London B.L. 1200  
Oxford Marsh 458  
Paris B.N. 5847  
" " " "  
Paris B.N. 3929  
London B.L. 1200  
Paris B.N. 3929  
London B.L. 1200  
Paris B.N. 5847  
Istanbul E.E. 2916  
London B.L. 1200  
Paris B.N. 3929  
London B.L. 1200  
London B.L. 22.114  
Paris B.N. 3929  
Paris B.N. 5847  
London B.L. 1200  
London B.L. 9718  
London B.L. 22.114  
Paris B.N. 3929  
Paris B.N. 5847  
London B.L. 1200  
London B.L. 22.114  
Paris B.N. 5847  
London B.L. 1200  
Paris B.L. 6094  

f.53:4B11  
f.64:4C2  
f.50:4C3  
f.46:4D9  
f.64v:4D12  
ff.58v:4E1.59:4E2  
f.59v:4E8.61v4E9  
f.53:4E12  
f.163:4F10  
f.86:5F2  
ff.90:6A12.91:6B1  
f.100v:6B6  
f.120:6C2  
f.95:6C10  
f.56:6D5  
f.103:6G9  
f.107:7B1  
f.79:7A8  
f.112:7B9  
ff.50:7E1.50v:7E2  
f.120v:7E8  
ff.129:7F1.131v:7F  
f.118:7F4  
f.150v:7F7  
f.124:7F8  
f.128v:7F10  
ff.134:8A4.137:8A  
ff.125:8A7.126:8A  
ff.129:8A9.130:8A1  
f.159v:8B1  
f.137:8B3  
f.157:8D10  
f.142:8E11  
f.146:9A4  
f.154:9A6  
ff.85:9B8.85v:9B9  
86:9B10.168:9B11,  
168v:9B12.169:9C1,  
170:9C3  
19 House  
19 "  
19 "  
21 nādi  
21 "  
21 nādiT  
22 Indoors  
23 Govt. office  
28 House  
29 Khan  
29 Khan  
30 House  
30 House  
33 Mosque  
34 Lawcourt  
34 Slave market  
37 Lawcourt  
37 Lawcourt  
38 Palace  
38 "  
38 "  
40 Lawcourt  
40 "  
40 "  
40 "  
40 "  
40 "  
40 "  
40 "  
40 "  
40 "  
40 "  
43 "  
43 "  
45 "  
45 "  
46 School  
49 House  
49 "  
50 Mosque  

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FOOTNOTES

AL-HARIRI'S MAQAMÁT


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12. ibid., 34.

13. Mgt. 49; C. E. Bosworth, Mediaeval Arabic Culture and Administration, [Reprint, London, 1982], VIII, 64.


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18. loc. cit.


22. O. Grabar, The Illustrations of the Magāmāt, [Chicago, 1984], 104.


26. op. cit., 143 4

27. Preston, op. cit., 33.


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CHAPTER 1

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3. Grabar, op. cit., 145, notes 57 and 58

4. op. cit., 11.

5. Paris, B.N. arabe 6094, f.68:4F2, Mg. 22 and f.167:9A11, Mg. 46.

6. Istanbul Esad Efendi 2916, f.204:9D12, Mg. 48.


9. London B.L. 1200, f.85v:5F4 and f.86:5F5, Mg. 28.


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15. Paris B.N. 5847, f.5v:1B8, Mg. 2.

16. Leningrad, Academy of Sciences, S.23, p.288:8E3, Mg. 43.

17. Istanbul, E.E. 2916, f.64, 4C2, Mg. 19.


22. Istanbul E.E. 2916, f.192:9B3, Mq. 46.
23. Istanbul E.E. 2916, f.198:9D1, Mq. 47.
25. Istanbul E.E. 2916, f.204:9D12, Mq. 48 and f.211v:9F10, Mq. 50.

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CHAPTER 2

THE RELIGIOUS LIFE

i Ramadān

{a} The Ḥd al-Fitr sermon {khutba}.
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2. Preston, op. cit., 2301.
3. op. cit. 232.
4. loc. cit.
5. Steingass, Arabic text, 54, ll. 1- 55, 1.3; Preston, op. cit., 238-9.
6. Steingass, Arabic text, 52, 1.6.
8. loc. cit.
9. ibid.
10. ibid., 235.
11. Paris B.N. 5847, f.58v:4E1, Mg. 21; f.101r:6F9, Mg. 32, Ettinghausen, AP, 117
15. Mg. 2, Halwān: Mg. 49, Banū Sasan.
16. Mg. 2, Halwān: al-Ḥarīth recounted that he met Abu Zayd of Sarūj in Halwān, "avowing himself to be of the mendicant class of Sasān, though claiming descent from the princely tribe of Gaāsān"; Mg. 49, Abū Zayd recites his last will and testament [wasfiyya] to his son, instructing him in the ways of the Banu Sasan.
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40. Al-Jāḥīz, Bayan, iii, 92, cited Ahsan, op. cit., 55236
41. Al-Sabī, Rusūm, 1111
42. E. W. Lane, Arabic-English Lexicon, [Reprint, London, 1984],
   ii, 3034, s.v. nataqa
43. T. J. al-Janabi, Studies in Mediaeval Iraqi Architecture,
   [Baghdad 1982], 192.
44. loc. cit.
45. Whelan, op. cit., 22273
46. loc. cit.
47. ibid.
48. ibid.
50. 'Amadiya, the Great Mosque, 548/1153, ibid., pl.190.
52. ibid, 194-5.
54. Paris, B.N. 5847, f.84v:5F1, Mq. 23.
55. Whelan, op. cit., 206.
56. loc. cit.
57. op. cit., 209.
58. ibid., 215.
59. ibid., 211.
60. loc. cit.
61. Paris, B.N. 5847, f.47v:4A5, Mq. 18; f.64:4G1, Mq. 23; f.74v:5B2, Mq. 25; f.158v:9D11, Mq. 48.
62. London, B.L. or. 9718, f.25:2A7, Mq. 7.
63. Baghdad, Bab al-wastani, F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, Archäologische Reise im Euphrat und Tigris Gebiet, [Berlin, 1911-1920], IV, Table CXXXIII.
64. Al-Janabi, op. cit., 211.
68. loc. cit.
69. Al-Janabi, op. cit., 37; fig. 7;
70. Al-Janabi, loc. cit., ibid., 4757; Sarre & Herzfeld, op. cit., II, 175.
72. ibid., 248.
73. loc. cit.
74. Paris, B.N. 5847, f. 84v:5P1, Mg. 28, and f.164v:9P4, Mg. 50.
75. Leningrad, S.23, p.256:7F5, Mg. 38.
76. Mihrāb, Al-Azhar; D. Brandenburg, Islamische Baukunst in Ägypten, [Berlin, 1966], figs. 2, 4; Mausoleum of Qalāwūn, op. cit., fig. 1.
77. Sarre & Herzfeld, op. cit., III, Table 22.
78. Al-Janabi, op. cit., fig. 43.
79. ibid., pls. 160A, B.
80. ibid., pl. 16.
81. Stucco panel in Rayy madrasa, 6th/12th century. Ettinghausen, "Beveled", pl. XIV, fig. 4.
82. British Museum, 1944 5-133, teak panel, Iraq or Egypt, late 3rd/9th century, stylised palmettes in bevelled Sāmārā ‘C’ style, presented by N.A.C.F.; 1944 5-131, teak shutter in same style, presented by N.A.C.F.
83. Wooden tie-beams, mosque of al-Hākim, Cairo, 393/1003, Ettinghausen, op. cit., 75; pl. X, fig. 3.
84. London, B.L. or. 9718, f.25:2A7, Mg. 7.

[b] The military band tabl khānā.
85. Preston, op. cit., 240.
86. S.17:65.
87. Steingass, Arabic text, 53, ll.3 - 55, l.3: Preston, op. cit., 234-239.
88. Steingass, Arabic text, 55, l.3; Preston, op. cit., 239-40.
89. Ettinghausen, AP, 120.
90. The same explanation may apply to certain other unique images in al-Wāṣiti’s repertoire, for example the mahmil procession on f.94v, and the childbirth scene on f.122v; Ettinghausen, op. cit., 119, 121 respectively.
91. B.N. 5847, f.11v:1D10, Mg. 4.
92. von Grunebaum, op. cit., 63.
93. ibid., 56
94. ibid., 58.
96. loc. cit.
97. Grabar, Illustrations 64.
99. J. Lassner, The Topography of Baghdad in the Early Middle Ages: Texts and Studies, [Detroit, 1970], 194, Appendix C. Al-Tanukhi recounted that his father told him how he was "sitting in the presence of 'Adûd al-Dawla". He continued, "We were encamped close to the musallâ of the Festivals on the east side of madinat al-salâm [Baghdad] ... " op. cit., 114.
100. Lane, Lex., i, 872, s.v. dari'a.
101. loc. cit., s.v. midra'a.
102. Ahsan, op. cit., 36.
104. loc. cit.
105. Lane, Lex., i, 1354.
110. Al-Sâbi, op. cit., 78.
111. Serjeant, op. cit., 78.
112. Al-Tha‘alibi, op. cit., 129.
113. Ashtor, Prix 150.
114. Lane, Lex., ii, 1726, s.v. samata.
115. op. cit., ii, 3054, s.v. washā'.


117. J. R. Hinnells, [ed], Dictionary of Religions. [Harmondsworth, 1984], 32.

118. Lane, Manners, 489.


120. Paris B.N. 5847, f.138:3D12, Mg. 43, Ettinghausen, AP, 116.


122. loc. cit.

123. Lane, Lex., ii, 2140, s.v. 'alima.


125. Lane, Lex., i, 579, s.v. hashiya.

126. op. cit., ii, 1840, s.v. tariza.

127. ibid., ii, 2646, s.v. labida.

128. ibid., i, 626, s.v. hils, s.v. halasa.

129. Lisān al-'arab, cited Lane, op. cit., i, 1068, s.v. rashaha.

130. Lane, Lex., i, 626, s.v. hils.

131. Lane, Lex., i, 1343, s.v. saraja.

132. Lane, Lex., ii, 3008, s.v. aljama.

133. op. cit., ii, 1589, s.v. shakama.

134. Qamus, cited ibid., i, 561, s.v. bazama.

135. S. Wiklund and C. J. Lamm, "Some Woollen Girths from Egypt", Ars Islamica, 6, [1939], 149.

136. loc. cit.

137. op. cit., 143.

138. ibid., 150.

139. loc. cit

141. op. cit., 14.

142. ibid., pl. 12.

143. H. G. Farmer, The Sources of Arabian Music: an annotated bibliography of Arabic manuscripts which deal with the theory, practice and history of Arabian Music. [Cairo, 1932], fig. 4.


146. Jenkins & Olsen, op. cit., 60.


149. loc. cit.


151. ibid., f.75:5B3, Mq. 25.

152. P. Kahle, "Schattenspielfiguren", Der Islam, 1, [1910], figs. 58 and 59.


154. Victoria & Albert Museum, Brangwyn Collection, lustre dish, late 6th/12th century, Talbot Rice, op. cit., fig. 66.


156. von Grunebaum, op. cit., 63.

158. op. cit., 168.

ii. The Hajj

{a} The mahmil procession
160. ibid., 409.
161. ibid., 413.
162. Steingass, Arabic text, 243, 11.6-7; Preston op. cit., 419.
163. Lane, Lex., ii, 2161, s.v. 'amiya.
165. E. W. Lane, Manners & Customs of the Modern Egyptians, Paisley & London, 1895], 475.
166. Al-Săbī, Rusūm, 76-7.
168. R. Ettinghausen, Turkish Miniatures from the 13th to the 18th Century, [London, 1965], pls. 1 and 2.
172. loc. cit.
173. London, B.L. or. 1200, ff.85v, 86, red and blue; and Abu Zayd sometimes wears a blue turban, as in f. 100r, or a red one on f.110, London B.L. or. 9718, f.72.
174. Mez, op. cit., 58
176. Mez, op. cit., 58
177. Lane, Lex., ii, 2943, s.v. washshaha.
178. op. cit., i, 872, s.v. dar’ía.

179. Ahsan, Social Life, 64.


181. Lane, Lex., i, 403, s.v. jariba.

182. Ahsan, loc. cit.


184. Lane, Lex., i, 918, s.v. danna.

185. Al-Tabari, Ta’rîkh al-rusûl wa’l-mulûk, iii, 1368, cited Ahsan op. cit., 52.


187. B.N. 3929, f.54:5A9, Mg. 25, Talbot Rice, Islamic Art, pl. 105; B.L. or. add. 22114, f.96:5F10, Mg., 28, op. cit., pl. 141; Istanbul E.E. 2916, f.92:5C11, Mg. 26.


189. Ettinghausen, op. cit., 124.


191. Paris B.N. 5847, f.26:2D5, Mg. 10; f.94v:6E2, Mg. 31; f.121:7G3, Mg. 39.


195. Vienna, Natbib. A.F. 10, Kitāb al-Tiryaq, f.1r, ibid., 91


199. Kāshān polychrome glazed tile, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, No. 31.495, ibid., pl. 6

200. London B.L. or. 1200, f. 79v: 5E5, Mg. 27; f. 151: 8G8, Mg. 44.

201. Paris B.N. 3929, f. 101v: 5D7, Mg. 27.

202. Paris B.N. 6094, f. 13: 1D7, Mg. 4; f. 40: 3A4, Mg. 13; f. 75v: 5A2, Mg. 24; f. 126: 7D4, Mg. 36 and f. 156: 8F11, Mg. 44.


204. loc. cit.


206. Istanbul E.E. 2916, f. 141: 7D7, Mg. 36.

208. Leningrad S. 23, p. 240: 7D6, Mg. 36.

209. D. James, Arab Painting, [Bombay, 1977], 32.


211. loc. cit.


214. Mez, op. cit., 121.

215. ET², s.v. amīr al-hadjdj. [J. Jomier.]


551
220. Lane, *Lexicon*, i, 650, s.v. hamala.

221. loc. cit.

222. ibid.

223. ibid.


226. J. Jomier, *Le mahmal et la caravane egyptienne des pelerins de la Mecque* [XIIIe-XXe siecles], [Cairo, 1953], 23.


228. ibid., 656-7.


231. loc. cit.

232. Ettinghausen, "Lustreware", 136


234. *op. cit.*, note 16

235. Ettinghausen, *op. cit.*, 137.

236. *op. cit.*, 143.


239. Ettinghausen, "Lustreware", 144.


242. R. Ettinghausen, "Painting in the Fatimid Period: a reconstruction", *Ars Islamica*, 9, [1942], fig. 12. 6

244. Preston, *op. cit.*, 413.

245. Ibn Batūta, *op. cit.*, 73, 51

246. *loc. cit.*, 63

{b} The Pilgrims


248. *ibid.*, 414.

249. *loc. cit.*


253. Preston, *op. cit.*, 422.

254. *ibid.*, 415.


259. Steingass, Arabic text, 243, note 39.

260. Lane, *Lex.*, i, 599, s.v. *haffa*.

261. *loc. cit.*

262. *ibid.*, 530, s.v. *hadaja*.


553
265. Ivory, Cairo, Musee Arabe, Ettinghausen, "Lustreware", pl. 1, fig. 2.


268. Syro-Mesopotamian tray, Cleveland Museum of Art, 45.386, E. Baer, Metalwork in Mediaeval Islamic Art, [New York, 1983], fig. 123.

269. Ibn Batštîta, op. cit., 104.

270. loc. cit.


272. Preston, op. cit., 419.


274. op. cit., 127.

275. loc. cit.

276. ibid., 65.

277. S.15:75.

278. Mez, op. cit., 313.


280. Paris B.N. 5847, f.140:8G1, Mq. 44

281. Preston, op. cit., 415.

282. ibid., 414.

283. Grabar, Illustrations, 80.


285. loc. cit.

286. Steingass, Arabic text, 241, 1.5.

287. Steingass, op. cit., 241 16

ibid., 242, 1.4, al-hujjāj.
288. Lane, i, 556, s.v. ḥarīm; von Grunebaum, op. cit., 26.


290. Tāj, 154, attributed to al-Ḥāfīz, cited Ahsan, op. cit., 34.


292. Lane, Lex., i, 1072, s.v. ṭadiya.

293. loc. cit.


297. loc. cit.

298. ibid.

299. ibid.

300. Preston, op. cit., 422.

301. ibid., 423-4.

302. ibid., 414.

303. Lane, Lex., i, 1354.

304. op. cit., ii, 3035, s.v. na‘ala.

305. ibid., ii, 1542, s.v. sharika.


307. Preston, op. cit., 757, Mg. 1.

308. Lane, Lex., i, 403, s.v. jarība.

309. ibid., ii, 2068, s.v. 'asa.

310. Steingass, Arabic text, 3348 Mg. 40.

311. Wright, op. cit., ii, 306 C.

312. Preston, op. cit., 426.
313. ibid., 427.
314. Lane, Manners, 441.
315. Steingass, Arabic text, 242; Sura 40:34.
316. Preston, op. cit., 421.
317. Steingass, Arabic text, 10, ll. 3-4; Preston, op. cit., 75.

CHAPTER 3

POWER AND AUTHORITY

i. The Ruler

{a} The Arab Governor

1. Steingass, Arabic text, 318, 1.6-319, 1.2; Steingass, tr., 91.
3. loc. cit.
4. Steingass, tr. 93.
7. S. Lane-Poole, The Art of the Saracens in Egypt, [London, 1866], 23.
12. Steingass, tr. 90.
13. op. cit., 93.


18. loc. cit.

19. loc. cit.

20. Al-Sābī, Rusūm, 75.

21. loc. cit.


23. loc. cit.


27. op. cit., 88.

28. loc. cit.

29. ibid.

30. Istanbul E.E. 2916, f.150v:7F7, Mg. 38.

31. Edinburgh University Library no. 161, Al-Bīrūnī, Athār al-bāqiya, "Mankind doing homage to Farīdūn".

32. Al-Sābī, Rusūm., 73.


34. Ettinghausen and Grabar, op. cit., pl. 388.
35. D. Brandenburg, Islamische Baukunst in Agypten [Berlin, 1966], figs. 1,2.


38. op. cit., fig. C.


40. Al-Tanūkhi, fragmentary manuscripts, tr. D. S. Margoliouth, "The Table Talk of a Mesopotamian Judge", Part II, Islamic Culture, 5 [1931], 133-4.

41. op. cit., 29.

42. Al-Sâbi, Rusūm., 73,4.

43. ibid., 59.


45. Al-Sâbi, Rusūm., 74.


47. loc. cit; Lane, Lex., [Reprint, London, 1984], ii., 2768, s.v. najada.


49. loc. cit.


51. Paris, B.N. arabe 5847, f.5v:1B8, Mg. 2.

52. Al-Gailani, op. cit., figs. 82B,C.


54. 3 carved teak shutter panels in Sāmarrā ‘C’ style, in British Museum, [presented by NACF 1944 5-13 1].

55. Lane, Lex., i, 924-5, s.v. dihlīz.

57. Preston, op. cit., 492.

58. Chenery, op. cit., 264.


61. op. cit., 102.

62. Steingass, Arabic text, 320, ll.8-9.

{b} The Saljuq Governor

63. Maqamat 10, 23, 26, 38.

64. Hitti, op. cit., 321.

65. ibid., 330.

66. ibid., 331.


68. Steingass, Arabic text, 74, ll. 5-6; Chenery, op. cit., 159.


70. op. cit., 7.

71. loc. cit.

72. ibid.,

73. ibid.,

74. op. cit., 6.

75. Al-Tanukhî, op. cit., 25.

76. Preston, op. cit., 482.

77. S.26:165.


559

80. Chenery, op. cit., 159.


82. loc. cit.

83. Ettinghausen, op. cit., 124.

84. loc. cit.

85. Lane, Lex., i, 392, citing Siḥah, Misbah and Qāmūs, s.v. jadala.

86. Al-Dhahabī, Kitāb duwal, 245.

87. loc. cit.

88. S. Lane-Poole, Saracens, 23.


92. loc. cit.


94. op. cit., fig. 17.

95. Esin, op. cit., 23.

96. loc. cit.

97. loc. cit.

98. Paris B.N. 6094, f.133:7F3, Mg. 38.


100. Paris B.N. 3929, f.131v:7F2, Mg. 38.


103. Lane, Lex., i, 392, citing Sīhah, Misbah and Qāmis, s.v. jadala.


108. London, B.L. 1200, f.896:All, Mg. 29.


110. Al-Gailani, op. cit., fig. 86A.

111. W. H. Worrell, "On certain Arabic Terms for 'rug' ", Ars Islamica, 1, [1934], 221-2.

112. loc. cit.

113. R. Ettinghausen and O. Grabar, op. cit., 255.

114. Al-Ghazālī, Nasihāt., 86.

115. Steingass, Arabic text, 156, 1.4.


117. Al-Ghazālī, Al-adab, 42.


119. Paris, B.N. 6094, f.64v:4D12, Mg. 21 and f.93:5E12, Mg. 28.

120. Lustreware basin with chequered design, in Kelekian Collection, E. Kuhnel, "Die 'Abbasidischen Lustrefayencen", Ars Islamica, 1, [1934], fig. 4.

121. Mihrāb, G. Marcais, La Grande Mosquée de Kairouan, [Paris, 1934], fig. 64. Fatjence mosaic in a star/"flower" pattern on mihrāb of Ulu jami', Birgeh, dated 712/1312, R. M. Rieflstahl, Turkish Architecture in Southwestern Anatolia, [Cambridge, Mass., 1931], pl. 36.
122. R. B. Sergeant, "Material for a History of Islamic Textiles up to the Mongol Conquest", Ars Islamica, XV-XVI, [Reprint, Beirut, 1972], 77.


125. 'Blacas ewer', British Museum, No. 66.12-69.61, Nassar, op. cit., figs. 2 c,d; Ewer, Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, No. 54-456, op. cit., fig. 2 e. 'Cup', Istanbul, Turk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi, No. 102, op. cit., fig. 2 f.

126. Nassar, op. cit., 86.


130. Vienna, A.F.10, Kitāb al-Tiryaq, ibid., 91.

131. Melikian-Chirvani, op. cit., figs. 6, 29, 64.


133. Hitti, op. cit., 326.

134. Mez, Renaissance, 141.


137. loc. cit.

138 Al-Sābî, Rusūm, 74.
139 loc. cit.

140 Nizām al-Mulk, op. cit., 103-4.


142. loc. cit.

143. ibid., 67.

144. ibid., 75.

145. ibid., 77.


147. loc. cit.


149. loc. cit.


151. op. cit., 219-220.


154. Carved stone niche from the Gu’ Kummet in Sinjār showing eight youths in military dress carrying appropriate items of rank, now in Iraq Museum, Baghdad, Whelan, op. cit., fig. 2; 222⁴⁵. Artūqid 6th/12th century stone bridge built by Qara Arslân at Hisn Kayfa with figures in Turkish military dress, Whelan, op. cit., fig. 9; 222⁴⁴

155. Whelan, op. cit., 220.
156. ibid., 236


158. Al-Ghazāli, Al-adab, 42-3.


162. Steingass, Arabic text, 170, 1.1-171, 1.2; Chenery, op. cit., 235.

163. Steingass, Arabic text, 170, 1.9.

164. London B.L. 1200, f.22:2B5, Mq. 8 {white}. 
Istanbul E.E. 2916, f.188v:9A5, Mq. 45 {white}. 
Paris B.N. 5847, f.114v:7E4/, Mq. 37 {white}. 
Paris B.N. 3929, f.50v:7E2, Mq. 37 {black}. 
Leningrad S.23, p.250:7E6, Mq. 37 {black}.

165. Paris B.N. 6094, f.25:2A12, Mq. 8; f.27v:2C1, Mq. 9; f.130v:7E3, Mq. 37, and f.139:8A6, Mq. 40.

166. H. Buchtal, "Hellenistic Miniatures in Early Islamic Manuscripts", Ars Islamica, 7, [1940], figs. 27,8.

167. Paris B.N. 6094, f.27v:2C1, Mq. 9, which is reproduced here at "Women and the Law".

168. Nassar, op. cit., 94

169. ibid., note 32.

170. Steingass, Arabic text, 170; Chenery, op. cit., 480.


172. Steingass, Arabic text, 171, 1.2.

173. Paris B.N. 5847, f.26:2D5, Mq. 10.

174. Chenery, op. cit., 481.

175. loc. cit.

176. Steingass, Arabic text, 171, 14

177. B.N. 6094, f.133:7F3, Mq. 38.


184. Kalîla wa Dinna, Paris., B.N. arabe, 3465, ibid., fig. 23.


186. Paris B.N. 6094, f.31:2D4, Mg. 10.

187. London, B.L. Maqâmät or. add. 22.114, Syria, early 8th/14th century. f.66:4G10, Mg. 23 and f.82v:5D4, Mg. 26.

188. Vienna, A.F.10, probably Mosul, mid-7th/13th century, Ettinghausen, op. cit., 91.

189. ibid., 85.


193. Nassar, op. cit., fig. 2e.

194. op. cit., 91.

195. loc. cit.

196. ibid.

197. Al-Sâbî, Rusûm, 75.

198. op. cit., 152-3.

199. Nassar, op. cit., fig. 2c.

200. Al-Sâbî, Rusûm, 75.


204. op. cit., {25}, 22.


207. Al-Tha‘ālibī, op. cit., 142.

208. loc. cit.

209. ibid.

210. 7th/13th c. - Paris B.N. 6094, f.31:2D4, Mg. 10; f.133:7F3, Mg. 38; 8th/14th c. - B.L. or. add. f.68:4G11, Mg. 23 and f.82v:5D4, Mg. 26.

211. Paris B.N. 3929, f.157:8D10, Mg. 43.

212. Paris 3929, f.173:4D10, Mg. 21. N.B. These are the numbers given by Grabar, who has pointed out that "the folios are no longer in their original order", Illustrations, 8. I have confirmed this by examining the manuscript, and this folio no. [173] may be incorrect. However, there is a governor scene in Mg. 21.


ii. The Judiciary

214. Mg. 8, 9, 34, 37, 40, 43 and 45.

215. Mg. 9.

216. Steingass, Arabic text, 308, 1.1-6; Preston, op. cit., 352-3.


220. Leningrad, S.23, p.288:8E3, Mg. 43, Ettinghausen, op. cit., 111.


566
222. Istanbul, E.E. 2916, f.64:4C2, Mg. 19.

223. F. R. Martin, The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey from the 8th to the 18th Century, [London, 1912], 2 vols., Pl. 70.


229. loc. cit.

230. Paris B.N. 6094, f.93:5E12, Mg. 28.

231. Levy, op. cit., 333.


234. Taj al-ʿarūs and Muhkam, cited Lane, Lex. ii, 1866, s.v. taylasan.

235. Lane, op. cit., 1867.


239. loc. cit.


241. loc. cit.


243. op. cit., 32.

244. Al-Jāḥiz, Bayān, iii, 100, cited Ahsan op. cit., 32.
246. loc. cit.
251. Al-Ṭanūkī, I, 137.
253. Al-Ṭanūkī, Table Talk, I, 125-6.
255. ibid.
256. Al-Ṭabarī, iii, 627, cited Levy, loc. cit.
259. loc. cit.
261. R. Levy, Social Structure, 343 ff.
262. loc. cit.
263. loc. cit.
265. Al-Ṭanūkī, Part II, tr. D. S. Margoliouth, "The Table Talk of a Mesopotamian Judge", Islamic Culture, 5 [July, 1931], 179.
266. loc. cit.
268. Mez, ibid., 225.
270. Mez, op. cit., 224.
271. loc. cit.
272. ibid.
275. Al-Duri, op. cit., 145.
278. loc. cit.
280. loc. cit.
283. Mez, op. cit., 220.
284. Al-Tanūkhī, Table Talk, I, 125.
290. S.68; S.96:3-4.
291. Al-Ghazālī, Nasiḥat, 118.
292. loc. cit., 114-5.
293. op. cit., 116.
294. loc. cit.
295. ibid
296. ibid.
297. Sihāh, cited Lane, Lex. i, 500.


299. Esin, "Sedent Postures", fig. 10.

300. Paris B.N. 5847, f.122v:7G4, Mq. 39; London, B.L. 1200, f.43:3D9, Mq. 15.


305. Mez, loc. cit.

306. ibid.


308. ibid.


310. Preston, op. cit., 353.


314. Steingass, tr. 88.

315. Steingass, Arabic text, 308, 1.4-5; Preston, op. cit., 353.


317. Steingass, Arabic text, 374, 1.5-7; Steingass, tr. 142.

318. Istanbul B.E. 2916, f.18:1G2 Mq. 6; London, B.L. 1200, f.22:2B5, Mq. 8; Paris B.N. 5847, f.107:7B1, Mq. 34; Paris


321. G. le Strange, Baghdad During the 'Abbāsid Caliphate, [Oxford, 1900], 268-69.


325. op. cit., 128.


331. Al-Sharīṣī, ii, 318, cited Ahsan, op. cit.


334. Steingass, tr. 142.


337. Steingass, Arabic text, 60, l.11; Chenery, op. cit., 148.

338. London, B.L. 1200, f.120v:7E8, Mq. 37 and f.124;7F8, Mq. 38. f.130:8A10, Mq. 40.

571


341. ibid., 58.

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CHAPTER 4

Trade

(a) The Caravan

1. Steingass, Arabic text, 30, 1.7-8; Preston, op. cit., 377.
2. Chenery, op. cit., 374.
4. Paris B.N. 5847, f9v:1D8, Mq. 4.
5. Buchtal, "Hellenistic", f.30v, fig. 35.
8. Nassar, "Saljuq or Byzantine", fig. 3b.
9. Ivory carving, Ettinghausen, "Notes on the Lustreware of Spain: to Ernest Kühnel on the occasion of his seventieth birthday", Ars Orientalis, I, [1954], 135, note 6, pl. 1, fig. 2.
10. Fatimid wood carving, op. cit., pl. 1, fig. 3.
11. Inlaid brass platter, ibid., pl. 1, fig. 4.
15. op. cit., fig. c.
17. loc. cit.


20. Leningrad S.23, p.288:8E3, Mg. 43; Paris, B.N. 3929, f.173:4D10, Mg. 21; Istanbul E.E. 2916, f.77:4G6, Mg. 23; London B.L. 1200, f.120v:7E8, Mg. 37, and Paris, B.N. 5847, f.156:9C9, Mg. 47

21. De Materia Medica, Freer Gallery of Art, 32.20, 621H/1224, E. Baer, Metalwork in Mediaeval Islamic Art, fig. 2, and Na’at al-Hayawan of Ibn Bakhtishu, B.L. or. 2784, op. cit., f.3.


25. Steingass, Arabic text, 233, 1.4.


27. Lane, Lex., ii, 2210 and Chenery, op. cit., 303.

28. Leningrad S.23, p.288:8E3, Mg. 43, Ettinghausen, AP., 111.


32. loc. cit.


35. op. cit., 997.

36. loc. cit.

37. ibid.
38. ibid.


42. Leningrad S.23, pp.166,7:5C8,9, Mq. 26.


47. Andrews, op. cit., pl. 95.


49. Al-Biruni, Al-Athar al-Baqiya 'an al-Qurun al-Khaliya, Edinburgh University, Arab 161.


51. ibid., pl. 91.

52. Haft Awrang of Jami', 1556-65 AD, Welch, op. cit pl.45; Khamsa of Nizami, 1539-43 AD, op. cit., pl. 28.


54. Leningrad, p.288:8E3, Mq. 43, Ettinghausen, AP., 111.

55. Ibn Khallikân, Wafayât, I, 73.


60. loc.cit.


63. loc. cit.


68. loc. cit.

{b} The khān

69. Steingass, tr. 16.

70. op. cit., 18.


72. Steingass, tr. 21.

73. op. cit., Arabic text, 229, 1.12 - 230, 1.5; tr. 22-23.

74. loc. cit.


76. Steingass, Arabic text, 229, note 62.

77. Lane, Lex., i, 258-9, s.v. banj.

78. Steingass, tr. 169.

79. C. E. Bosworth, Mediaeval Arabic Culture and Administration, [Reprint, London, 1982], VI, 10.


82. op. cit., 115.


84. Tâj al-ʿArūs, *Lex.*, i, 259, s.v. banj.


86. loc. cit.

87. ibid., 145.

88. loc. cit., note 40

89. ibid.


94. Steingass, tr. 16.


99. ibid., Pls. 163, 4, mihrab of al-Juwaijati mosque, Mosul, and stone niche in Mosul which al-Janabī says is probably a mihrāb.

100. ibid., 171, note 18

101. Al-Duri, op. cit., 222.

102. loc. cit.


107. D. Brandenburg, Islamische Baukunst, fig. 1 D.


110. op. cit., 255.

111. loc. cit.

112. ibid., 256.

113. ibid., 255.


117. loc. cit.

118 Mez, Renaissance, 122.


120. Mez, op. cit., 122.

121. loc. cit.

122. ibid., 117.

123. ibid.


125. ibid., 318.

127. Fathi, op. cit., 23.


129. loc. cit.

130. Al-Janabi, op. cit., 144; Leningrad S.23, p.231:7B2, Ms. 34, slave market roof.


132. Steingass, tr. 16.

133. op. cit., 19.


135. Al-Janabi, op. cit., 143.

136. Lewis, op. cit., 127.

137. Steingass, tr. 22.

138. Steingass, Arabic text, 224, 1.4; Steingass, tr. 17.


140. Ibn Jubayr, op. cit., 244.

141. O. Grabar, "Newly Discovered Illustrated Manuscript", 103.


146. loc. cit.


149. D. S. Margoliouth, "Wit and Humour in Arabic Authors", Islamic Culture, 1, [1927], 528.


151. op. cit., 255.

152. loc. cit., note 425.

153. op. cit., 245.


155. Mez, op. cit., 481.

156. loc. cit.


158. loc. cit.


160. loc. cit.

161. op. cit., 262.

{c} The Slave Market.

162. Steingass, Arabic text, 275, ll. 3-7; Steingass, tr. 65.


164. Steingass, tr. 65.

165. Ibn Khallikān, Wafaÿät, 83.


167. Steingass, Arabic text, 275, l.3; Steingass, tr. 211.

168. Steingass, Arabic text, 275, note 2

169. Lewis, op. cit., 127.


579
173. loc. cit.
174. Al-Tha‘alibi, Latā‘if, 140-1.
175. Al-Durî, op. cit., 309.
177. loc. cit.
178. Al-Durî, op. cit., 308.
179. G. Le Strange, Baghdad During the Abbasid Caliphate, [Oxford, 1924], 68.
181. op. cit., 239.
182. loc. cit.
183. ibid.
184. Steingass, Arabic text, 245, 1.7.
186. Steingass, Arabic text, 279, 11.1-6; Steingass, tr., 65.
188. op. cit., 161.
190. S.16:73.
194. J. Abū Haidar, "Maqāmāt Literature", 6
195. loc. cit.
197. loc. cit.

199. loc. cit.

200. loc. cit.

201. ibid.


203. Steingass, tr. 65.

204. Steingass, tr. 212.


206. Lane-Poole, Saracens, 27.

207. loc. cit.


209. loc. cit.

210. ibid., figs. 67a,b; 68, 69.

211. Al-Miskawayh, op. cit., 202,3

212. B. Farès, Le Livre de la Thériaque: manuscrit arabe a peintures de la fin du XIIIe siècle, [Cairo, 1953] pl. XI.

213. Ewer from Herât, late 6/12 or early 7/13 centuries, Allan, Nuhad Es-Said, 51.

214. Steingass, tr. 118.

215. Steingass, Arabic text, 356, 1.5.

216. Al-Ghazâlî, Al-adab, 45.


219. Lewis, op. cit., 171.

220. ibid., 172.

221. Mez, op. cit., 416.

222. Hitti, History, 322.
CHAPTER 5

ASPECTS OF URBAN LIFE

{a} The Cupper

1. Steingass, English text, 156.

2. op. cit., 162.

3. A. Mez, Renaissance 429.

4. Steingass, Arabic text, 385, l.12; English text, 157.

5. Margoliouth, "Trade" 309
7. Steingass, English text, 158.
8. op. cit., 157.
10. Al-Tanûkhî, Table Talk., 101-2.
11. Grabar, Illustrations, 100.
12. James, Arab Painting, 22.
14. loc. cit.
15. op. cit., 196.
16. loc. cit.
17. ibid.
18. ibid.
19. Steingass, Arabic text, 388, 1.18; English text, 161; Lane, Lex., i, 522, s.v. ḥajama.
20. Lane, Lex., i, 522, s.v. ḥajama.
22. Lane, Lex. i, 710, s.v. khad’a.
23. Steingass, English text, 158.
25. loc. cit.
26. These may be de materia medica; Nasr, op. cit., Pl.111, and see mortar and pestle in the Istanbul E.E. 2916, f.198:9D1, Mg. 47.
27. H. Kamal, Encyclopaedia of Islamic Medicine, [Cairo, 1975], 204.
28. loc. cit.
29. James, *op. cit.*, fig 21. London B.L. Add. 22.114, f.51:9D6, Mg. 47.


31. *loc. cit.*

32. Kamal, *op. cit.*, 204.

33. *loc. cit.*


36. *op. cit.*, 204.

37. *ibid.*, 205.

38. *ibid.*, 204.


40. Lane, *Lex.*, ii, 1734, s.v. *san'a*.

41. Kamal, *op. cit.*, 204.


44. *op. cit.*, 176.

45. Browne, *op. cit.*, 42, Part VII, concerning general and special pathology, including phlebotomy; and 43, concerning Discourse 12 [20 Chapters], including baths, and the indications afforded by the pulse and urine.

46. *loc. cit.*

47. Ullmann, *op. cit.*, 45.

48. Ullman, *op. cit.*, 44.


55. loc. cit.

56. Ahsan, op. cit., 21, 72.


60. Ahsan, op. cit., 294, 132.

61. Ullmann, op. cit., 112.

62. loc. cit.

63. ibid.

64. Kamal, Encyclopaedia, 204.


66. Z. M. Hassan, "Madrasa baghdād fi‘l-taswīr al-islāmī", Sumer, 2, [1955], fig. 13 [d].


69. loc. cit., note 12.

70. op. cit., 589.

71. Bosworth, Underworld, 127.

72. Steingass, Arabic, 385, 1.3.

73. Usāma ibn Mungidh, op. cit., 174.

74. op. cit., 175.

75. Buchtal, "Hellenistic", 126.

76. loc. cit.

77. Grabar, Illustrations, 100.

78. Paris, B.N. 6094, f. 16:1E7, Ms. 5.
79. Istanbul, Suleymaniye Mosque, Kala Ismail 565, Kashf al-Asrar
[The Disclosure of the Secrets], Ettinghausen, AP., 159.


81. Paris, B.N. arabe 3465, Kalīla wa Dimna, 1200-1220, probably Syria, Buchtal, "Hellenistic Miniatures", fig. 35.

82. Ahsan, op. cit., 150, notes 665-6.

83. loc. cit.

84. ibid., note 667; Lane, Lex., ii, 2369, s.v. farsakh.

85. ibid., note 668.

86. G. Makdisi, "The Topography of Eleventh century Baghdad: Materials and Notes" {1}, Arabica, 6 [1959], 182.

87. op. cit., 195.

88. Steingass, English text, 161.

89. op. cit., 159.


91. loc. cit.


93. London, B.L. or. 1200, f.165v, Mq. 47. Curiously, this illustration from the manuscript is neither mentioned nor reproduced in Grabar, Illustrations.

{b} The Library

94. Preston, op. cit., 395.

95. loc. cit.

96. ibid., 396.

97. Steingass, Arabic text, 19, 1.8-20; Chenery, op. cit., 115-6.

98. Preston, op. cit., 395.

99. Steingass, Arabic text, 18, 1.8.

100. Preston, op. cit., 395.


102. Farès, Thériaque, figs. VII-VIII.

586

104. B.L. or. 1200, f.89;5A11, Mg. 29.


107. op. cit., 94.

108. Qur'ānic allusion; S.49:12, Preston, op. cit., 400.


111. Istanbul, Top. Saray, Hazine 841, Varga va GULSHAH, Melikian-Chirvani, "Varque et Golshah", fig. 1.


117. Pedersen, op. cit., 129.

118. Lane, Lex. i, 939, s.v. dana.


120. Mez, Renaissance, 173.

121. loc. cit.

122. ibid.


125. Terracotta decoration on exterior of mausoleum of Sitt Zubayda, Al-Janabi, op. cit., fig. 6; Mosul, Al-Mujāhidi Mosque, stucco ornamented muḥrāb, ibid., Pl. 187.
126. Paris B.N. 5847, f.105;7A12, Mq. 34, slave market, and f.120r;7G2, Mq. 39, palace.

127. Leningrad, S.23, p.231;7B2, Mq. 34, slave market.


129. op. cit., 32.


131. Chenery, op. cit., 114.

132. Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, 139.

133. loc. cit.


135. loc. cit.


137. loc. cit.


140. Steingass, Arabic, 18, 1.6.

141. Mez, op. cit., 172.

142. G. Le Strange, Baghdad during the Abbāsid Caliphate, [Oxford,1924], 92.


144. Al-Durī, op. cit., 263.

145. ibid.

146. Ullmann, Islamic Medicine, 73.

147. Ibn Tiqṭaqā, Al-Fakhri, 2.

148. Lane, Lex., i, 734, s.v. khazana.
149. Al-Ṭanūkhī, op. cit., 289.
150. Steingass, tr. 148.
151. Steingass, Arabic, 378, 1. 9-12; Steingass, tr. 148-9.
152. Istanbul E.E. 2916, f.192:9B3, Mg. 46.
153 Hitti, History, 409.
154. Sadan, "Kings and Craftsmen", II, 120.
155. Ahsan, Social Life, 21 72
156. S.2:282.
158. Mez, Renaissance, 185.
162. ibid., 408.
164. Steingass, Arabic, 378, 1.6.
165. Steingass, tr. 149.
166. Rosenthal, Four Essays, 90.
167. op. cit., 94.
168. Al-hayl fi‘l-ilm wa‘l-‘amal, dated 1304 AD, Minassian Collection, Hassan, "Madrasa Baghdad" fig. 5.
170. E. Herzfeld, "Die Tabula ansata in der islamischen Epigraphik und Ornamentik", Der Islam, VI [1916], figs. 4-13.
171. 5th/11th century alabaster headstone from Yazd, B.M. Collection A. Upham-Pope, Brooke Sewell Fund, 1982 6-23 1.

173. A. J. Spencer, *Death in Ancient Egypt*, [London, 1984], fig. 44. This was a small wooden label, some 12 cm. by 5 cm. in size which was attached to an individual mummy as a new means of identification before it was released for interment. A short text in Greek or demotic script gave the name and age of the deceased, and sometimes the names of the parents. These labels were the only means of identifying bodies in a communal tomb, at the time mummification became available to a wider segment of society.


175 Lane, *Lex.*, ii, 2069, s.v. ‘asā’

176. Steingass, tr. 155.


180 Paris B.N. 5847, ff.40:3C10, f.41:3C11, Ms. 15.


185. *loc. cit.*


188. *loc. cit. viz.*, Abū Zayd would have received seven rails of bread, two dishes of rice a day, and three dinārs per month;
the reciter four rails of bread, one dish of rice and one dinár twenty girāts per month, and the boys three rails of bread, one dish of rice a day and thirteen girāts per month.

189. Hitti, op. cit., 408.
192. loc. cit.
193. Lane, Lex., ii, 3015, s.v. lif.
195. Steingass, tr. 115-6.
196. Istanbul, E.E. 2916, f.188v:9A5, Mg.45.
198. loc. cit.
199. Steingass, Arabic, 379, l.1-5: Steingass, tr. 149.
200. Paris, B.N. 6094, f.31:2D4, Mg. 10.
202. Paris, B.N. 6094, f.27v:2C1, Mg. 9, reproduced in "Women and the Law".
203. Kashān lustre plate, Layla and Majmun, Hayward Gallery Catalogue, fig. 344.
204. Baer, op. cit., 240-1.

{d} Musicians
205. Steingass, Arabic text, 92, l.2,3: Chenery, op. cit., 173.
207. loc. cit.
208. Steingass, Arabic text, 92, 1.2; Lane, Lex. i, 1262, s.v. zahara.
211. loc. cit.
212. Paris B.N. 3929, f.151:4A2, Mg. 18.
214. Star tile with lutanist, F. Sarre, Der Kiosk von Konya, [Berlin, 1936], pl. 7a.
216. Al-Tanūkī, Table-Talk, 46.
217. loc.cit.
218. Margoliouth, "Wit and Humour", 525.
219. loc. cit.
220. ibid.
222. loc. cit.
223. ibid., 31-2.
224. ibid.
227. loc. cit.
230. op.cit., 115.
232. loc. cit.


234. loc. cit.


236. loc. cit.

237. Steingass, Arabic text, 92, 1.2.

238. Lane, Lex., i, 1251, s.v. zamara.


240. op. cit., 53.

241. B.L. or. add. 22114, f.26:2G7, Mq. 12.


243. V & A Inv. no. 10 1866, ibid., 133.

244. Louvre, 3681, Baer, Metalwork, f.188.


246. Steingass, Arabic text, 92, 1.2.


248. He mentions boatmen accompanying their earthenware drums with a "double reed pipe" [zummara]; this seems to be related to the root of mizmār. Lane, Manners, 374.

249. E. J. Grube, Islamic Pottery of the Eighth to the Fifteenth Century in the Keir Collection, [London, 1976], fig. 213.


251. D. S. Rice, "Inlaid Brasses", 200; fig. 25b.


253. Rice, "Inlaid Brasses", fig. 25 {b}.

593
254. Welch, op. cit., Pl. 18.
255. ibid., Pl. 27.

{e} Professional mourners
256. Preston, op. cit., 249.
257. loc. cit., 3

James, "Space forms". 314-317.


260. loc. cit.
261. op. cit., 19.


263. H. Wehr, A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic, 4th edn., [ed. J. Milton Cowan], [Wiesbaden, 1979], 943, s.v. gayna.

265. Lane, Lex., ii, 2430, s.v. faqaha.
266. loc. cit.
268. loc. cit.

269. Al-Bukhari, lxviii, 46-47, cited Stillman, EIV, 735, s.v. libas.

270. Ibn Tiqtaqa, Al-Fakhrī, 175-176

271. Stillman, ibid, 735.
272. loc. cit.

274. loc. cit.

276. Lane, Lex., ii, 2430, s.v. faqaha.
277. Grabar, Illustrations, 14769
278. Al-Dhahabī, Kitāb Duwal al-Islām, 99-100.
279. Esther 4:3.

281. The Shah-nāma tells how when Fāridūn went out to greet his favourite son, Iraj, "the troops all rent their clothes", and Faridūn noticed "their banners rent, their kettledrums reversed". O. Grabar, "Notes on the Iconography of the 'Demotte' Shah-nāma", 39.
The mourners at Isfandiyār's funeral wore purple/blue dresses, op. cit., fig. 13.

Following the untimely death of Muhammad Sultan, the governor of north-western Persia, in 850/1403, Timur and his army wore garments of "black or dark blue". V. V. Bartol'd, O Pogrebenii Timura, tr. J. M. Rogers, Iran, [1974], 75.

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CHAPTER 6
ASPECTS OF RURAL LIFE

{a} The Waterwheel

2. Steingass, Arabic text, 187, 1.4 - 188, 1.4; Chenery, op. cit., 246-7.
3. Lane, Lex., ii, 1814, s.v. dafa.
5. Paris B.N. 3929, f.34v;2F7, Mq. 12, Rice, "Oldest", Figs. C [IV], [VII] and [IX]; Biblioteca Apostolica, Vatican ar. 368, Hadith Bayad u Riyad, Spain or Morocco, 7th/13th century, f.10r, Ettinghausen, AP., 129. The musical aspect is dealt with fully in the analysis of al-Wasiti's tavern scene in Mq. 12, at the section on "Drinking".
6. Paris B.N. 6094, f.70v;4F11, Mq. 23; Paris B.N. 3929, f.120;6C2, Mq. 30.
7. New York, The Pierpoint Morgan Library, M.500, Manafi' al-Hayawān, {Book on the Usefulness of Animals}, c.690/1290,


11. Lane, Lex., i, 1229, s.v. zaranga.

12. loc. cit.


15. Ibn-Taghribirdi, Hawadith al-duhur, 27.


19. op. cit., 144.


[b] The Village

24. Steingass, Arabic text, 364, 1.2-3; Steingass, tr., 130.

25. Steingass, Arabic text, 364, 1.2.

26. Steingass, tr. 130.


28. op. cit., 186.
29. B.L. 1200, f.68;5A5, Mg. 24.
30. Paris B.N. 5847, f.94v;6E2, Mg. 31, Ettinghausen, AP, 119.
31. Paris B.N. 5847, f.11v;1D10, Mg. 4.
32. Paris B.N. 3929, f.79;7A8, Mg.34,Buchtal, "Three Illustrated Hariri manuscripts", pl. 1, fig. A. [Buchtal says "79v".]
34. Leningrad S.23, p.22:1D11, Mg. 4, ibid, 112.
35 Leningrad S.23, p.288:8E3, Mg. 43, ibid., 111.
36. Leningrad S.23, p.293:8E4, Mg. 43.
37. Steingass, Arabic text, 364, 1.4.
39. 'Mosul' candlestick, 622/1225, Rice, "Oldest", 338, fig. D, medallions III, VI, VII, VIII & XI; Cleveland ewer and ewer by Ibrahim ibn Mawāliya, Rice, "Inlaid Brasses", 297, figs. 19, 20; 298, figs. 21, 22.
40. Al-Janabi, Studies, 203.
41. loc. cit.
42. ibid., note 14.
43. ibid., 201.
44. loc. cit.
46. loc. cit.
47. ibid., 179.
49. Hitti, History, 408.
50. For example there was a Suq al-Ghazl {Thread Market}, in Baghdad.
51. Istanbul, E.E. 2916, f.176;8E7, Mg. 43.
52. Leningrad S.23, p.260;7G5, Mg. 39, Ettinghausen, op. cit., 108.
55. Oxford, Bodleian, Marsh 458, f.29v;3B4, Mg. 13.
56. Istanbul, E.E.2916, f.211v;9F10, Mg. 50.
57. S.112:1.
60. ibid., Pls. 161, 163.
61. Paris B.N. 5847, f.164v;9F4, Mg. 50.
62. Istanbul, E.E. 2916, f.204;9D12, Mg. 48.
64. ibid., 201.
65. ibid., 202.
66. ibid., 208.
67. Istanbul E.E. 2916, f.211v;9F10, Mg. 50.
69. B.L. or. 1200, f.40v;3D7, Mg. 15 and fig. 128;7G10, Mg. 39; the early 8th/14th century Kalila wa Dimna B.L. or. 13506 [Waley & Titley, "An Illustrated Persian Text of Kalila wa Dimna dated 707H/1307-8", British Library Journal, 1, [1975], figs. 4, 10-13 and 18-20]; and Istanbul E.E. 2916, f.211v;9F10, Mg.50.
70. Al-Janabi, op. cit., pl. 67.
71. Istanbul E.E. 2916, f.104;5F3, Mg.28 and f.211v;9F10, Mg. 50.
73. **loc. cit.**

74. **ibid., fig. 11.**

75. **ibid., pls. 15, 17, 21 and 24.**

76. **ibid., 243.**

77. **ibid., 244.**

78. **ibid., pls. 36, 45 and 97.**

79. Paris B.N. 5847, f. 29v; 2E11, Mg. 11, the crenellations on the vaulted mausoleum, and the omission of a buttress.


83. **ibid., 186.**

84. **loc. cit.**

85. Paris B.N. 5847, f. 29v; 2E11, Mg. 11.


88. Steingass, English, 131.

89. **loc. cit.**

90. **ibid., 130.**

91. Steingass, Arabic, 362, 11.16-19: Steingass, tr. 128.

92. Steingass Arabic, 364, 1.2.


94. **op. cit., 217.**

95. **loc. cit.**
97. Ettinghausen, Arab Painting, 112.

98. Shahānshāh-name, B.L. Or. 2780, Timurid [Shiraz style], 1397-98 A.D., Meredith-Owens, op. cit., Pl. II.


100. ff.18v:2A1, 19:2A2, Mq. 7; f.122v:7G4, Mq. 39.

iii The Countryside
[c] The Bedouin

101. Steingass, Arabic text, 360, lines 6-8; Steingass, tr. 124.

102. Lane, Lexicon, i, 930, s.v. dara.

103. op. cit., 931.

104. Steingass, Arabic text, 205, l.7, also described in the title as "al-badawīyya aw al-wabariyya", ibid., line 5.


108. loc. cit.

109. ibid., 22.

110. loc. cit.

111. EII, [New Edition], 735, s.v. libās.[Y. K. Stillman].


117. Washington, Freer Gallery of Art, 32.20, De Materia Medica of Dioscorides, 621/1224, Baer, Metalwork, fig. 2.

118. Steingass, tr. 124.

119. op. cit., 265.

120. Grabar, Illustrations, 94.

121. Ettinghausen, AP, 110.

122. Paris, B.N. 3929, f.157:8D10, Mg. 43; London, B.L. 1200, f.142:8E11, Mg. 43.

123. Steingass, Arabic text, 360, l.5.

124. Qāmūs and Tāj al-‘Arūs, cited Lane, Lex., i, 617, s.v. hakama.

125. Levy, Social Structure, 2, 144.

126. Paris, B.N. arabe 3465, Kalīla wa Dimna, f.69v, Buchtal, "Hellenistic", fig. 27.

127. Ettinghausen, op. cit., 97.


129. loc. cit.


132. Tāj al-‘Arūs, cited Lane, Lex., ii, 1933, s.v. ‘abā’.

133. Dozy, Dictionnaire, 200.


135. Steingass, tr. 204


137. Steingass, tr. 39.

138. loc. cit.

139. Preston, op. cit., 75, 7.

140. Steingass, Arabic text, 119 7.
141. Chenery, *op. cit.*, 412.


144. Paris, B.N. 3929, f.50v:7E2, Mg. 37 and f.131v:7F2, Mg. 38.


146. Qāmīs, cited Lane, *Lex.*, i, 540, s.v. haraba.


149. *ibid.*

150. Preston, *op. cit.*, 432.


156. *ibid.*, 147.


159. Paris, B.N. 3929, f.34v:2F7, Mg. 12.


161. *ibid.*, 269-270.
{a} The Virtuous Wife

1. Mqt. 5, 7, 9, 11, 12, 13, 18, 21, 32, 39, 40, 43, 44, 45.
2. Mqt. 5, 7, 9, 13, 18, 32, 39, 40, 45.
3. Mqt. 5, 18.
4. Preston, op. cit., 207.
5. ibid., 206.
6. ibid., 209.
7. ibid., 220.
8. Steingass, Arabic text, 40.
9. Steingass, Arabic text, 40, 1.1-4; Preston, 218, 9.
10. Steingass, Arabic text, 1.5-7; Preston, 219.
11. Paris B.N. 5847, f.138:8D12, Mq. 43; f.101:6F9, Mq. 32; f.19:2A2, Mq. 7, and f.94v:6E2, Mq. 31; London B.L. or. 1200, f.75:5B9, Mq. 25, Ettinghausen, AP., 116,7,8,9 respectively.
12. Lane, Lex., i, 485.
15. Paris, B.N. 5847, f.105:7A12, Mq. 34.
19. Paris B.N. 6094, f.16:1E7, Mq. 5.

22. op. cit., 233.


24. op. cit., 249.


26. loc. cit.

27. ibid., 77 102


29. Fare`s, op. cit., Pl. VII, middle figure.

30. Preston, op. cit., 47.

31. loc. cit.

32. ibid., 55.


34. Leningrad S.23, p.256:7F5, Mq. 38; p.250:7E6, Mq. 37; Paris B.N. 5847, f.26:2D5; f.122v:7G4, Mq. 39; Ettinghausen, op. cit., 106,107,114,121 respectively.


36. loc. cit.


38. Leningrad S.23, p.27:1E11 and p. 29:1E12, Mq. 5; p.205: 6C8, Mq.30.


40. A Dictionary of Classical Antiquities, [Delhi, 1986], 696.

41. loc. cit.

42. ibid.

43. Leningrad S.23, p.30:1F1, Mq. 5.

44. Lane, Arabian Society, 238-9. 604
45. op. cit., 239.
47. Chenery, op. cit., 318.
48. loc. cit.
52. Herât painting of Jamshîd teaching the crafts, dated 1469. The spinning woman wears a shoulder length headdress [khimâr] which has been commented upon in Ms. 40 in Paris B.N. arabe 3929, f.134:8A4, B. W. Robinson, Persian Drawings, [New York, 1965], Pl.20.
54. op. cit., 182.
55. loc. cit.

{b} Childbirth

56. Steingass, tr. 98.
57. Steingass, Arabic text, 329, 67.
58. op. cit., 332, 1.8.
59. Steingass, tr. 100.
60. op. cit., 94.
61. op. cit., 98.
62. op. cit., 100.
63. Steingass, Arabic text, 330, 1.2.
64. Steingass, tr. 96.

67. Istanbul, Suleymaniye Mosque, Esad Efendi 3638, ff.3v and 4, respectively, 686/1287, Baghdad, \textit{op. cit.}, 99 and 98.

68. Steingass, Arabic text, 330, 1.2.

69. \textit{loc. cit.}, note 77.

70. M. Ullmann, \textit{op. cit.}, 108.


73. \textit{loc. cit.}


75. B.L. Or. 3299, f.119a, probably 10th/16th century, Timurid, Meredith-Owens, Persian Illustrated Manuscripts, pl. XIII {c}.

76. Steingass, Arabic text, 331, note 93. This word, há'id, together with the term for pregnant woman, makhad is, by its signification, applicable only to females; this explains the apparent lack of the female form.

77. Steingass, tr. 242.

78. Nasr, \textit{op. cit.}, 127.

79. \textit{op.cit.}, 123.

80. EI\textsuperscript{1}, [New Edition, Leyden & London, 1960], 722, s.v. asturlab; the linear type was known as the "staff of Tusi", after its inventor, Muzaffar Sharaf al-Din al-Tusi, and there was also a spherical form of instrument.

81. Bronze astrolabe, 6th/12th century Saljuq, in Islamic and Turkish Art Museum, Istanbul, Nasr, \textit{op. cit.}, pls. 73 and 74; brass astrolabe, Andalusian, 7th/13th century, and brass astrolabe, Egyptian, 7th/13th century, \textit{ibid.}, pls. 75 and 77,

82. \textit{op. cit.}, Pl. 79.

83. EI\textsuperscript{1}, [New Edition], 723.

84. \textit{loc. cit.}
85. loc. cit.


87. loc. cit

88. ibid.


90. Paris, B.N. arabe 3465, f.78, Buchtal, "Hellenistic", fig. 36.

91. B. Fares, *op. cit.*, pls. VII, VIII, XI.


96. Sournia, *op. cit.*, 97.

97. loc. cit.


100. Sournia, *op. cit.*, 96.


103. loc. cit.

104. ibid.


106. *op. cit.*, 97.

108. Steingass, Arabic text, 322.
110. Sournia, op. cit., 95.
111. loc. cit., 95.
115. Talbot Rice, op. cit., fig. 6.
116. Paris, B.N. suppl. pers. 332, Talbot Rice, Islamic Art, fig. 121.
117. Timurid provincial style, c. 1450, Robinson, Drawings., pl. 78.52.
119. Nasr, op. cit., pl. 105, profile view of kneeling man, robe pushed up to waist, having haemorrhoids cauterised.
120. ibid., fig. 84.
121. ibid., pls. 106, 107.
122. ibid., pl. 103.
123. Ettinghausen, op. cit., 123.
124. Martin, Miniature Painting, Pl. 6a.
125. Esin, op. cit., pl. 11; figs. 4,5,7,9.
127. Esin, op. cit., fig. 4.
128. ibid., fig. 5.
130. Steingass, tr. 98.


133. ibid., f.120v;7G2, Mq. 39.

134. Ceramics

Bowl, end of 6th/12th century, Persia, R. Ettinghausen, "Early Shadow figures", Bulletin of the American Institute for Persian Art and Archaeology, fig. 2, 7th/13th century bowl from Fustat, Egypt. A version of a type which was also manufactured in Syria, Talbot Rice, Islamic Painting, fig. 132.

Glass

Pilgrim flask, c.1250-60, Syria [possibly Aleppo], in London, British Museum, no. 691-203. Hayward Gallery Catalogue, fig. 136.


Ivory


idem, "Oldest Dated 'Mosul' Candlestick", figs. 5, 6.

Textiles

Paris B.N. arabe 2964, Kitab al-Tiryaq, old page 22, 595/1199, probably Northern Iraq, Ettinghausen, AP., 84.

Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, A.F.9, Maqamat, 734/1334, probably Egypt, frontispiece, f.1r:1A4, Hassan, op. cit., fig. 12.

Vienna, Natbib. A.F.9, f.42v:2G10, Mq. 12, James, op. cit., fig. 20; fig. 21, London, B.L. Add. 22.114, f.51:9D6, Mq. 47, ibid., fig. 21.

Paris, B.N. 6094, f.93:5E12, Mq. 28, Talbot Rice, op. cit., Plate 105.

Paris B.N. 3929, f.54v:5A9, Mq. 25, ibid., plate 105.

Paris B.N. arabe 3465, Kalila wa Dimna, probably 1200-20, Syria, f.78, H. Buchtal, "'Hellenistic"
Miniatures", fig. 36.
Varga vā Gulshah, Istanbul, Topkapi Sarayi Museum
Library, Hazine 841, f. 42a, P. Waley and N. Titley, "An
Illustrated Persian Text of Kalila wa Dimna dated
707/1307-8, British Library Journal, I, [1975], fig.
7; London B.L. ms. no. Or. 13506, 707/1307-8, f. 11a, op.
cit., fig. 10.

Woodcarving
Openwork carved panel, Egypt, 5th/11th-6th/12th
centuries, in Paris, Louvre, E. Kuhncl, The Minor Arts
of Islam, [New York, 1977], fig. 201;
Berlin, Islamic Museum, 7th/13th century folding desk for
the Qur'an, [Master Abduwahid], Asia Minor, op. Cit.,
fig. 202.

Similar vegetal motifs were also noted on spandrels in the
Marzubānnama, dated 1299, f. 5r, Simpson,"The role of Baghdad", fig. 50.

135. Paris B.N. 5847, f. 13v; 1E9, Mq. 5.

cit., 195.

cit. 195 213

138. Ibn al-Faqih, 253; Tabassur bi’l-Tijāra, 344, 347
[ed.] ‘Abd al-Wahhab Hasani, Cairo, 1354/1935, 41-2;
Latā’if, 183, cited Ahsan, op. cit., 195 214

139. Leningrad S. 23, p. 205: 6C8, Mq. 30,
The Wedding Banquet, Ettinghausen, op. cit., 113;
Leningrad S. 23, p. 250:786, Mq. 37, qādi of Sa’d, op.
cit., 107.

140. Al-Jāhiz, Bukhārī, 72; Al-Hamadhānī, Maqāmāt, 113,
122, cited Ahsan, op. cit., 180 10

141. loc. cit.

142. ibid., note 105.


144. ibid., 188, note 118.

145. Al-Gailani, op. cit., 354

146. Leningrad S. 23, p. 250: 786 Mq. 37, in Court of qādi of
Sa’d, on the table, and enclosing a fleur de lis motif
on the two stucco insets above the ante-rooms,
Ettinghausen, op. cit., 107;
610
p.256:7F5, Abū Zayd before the Governor of Marw, on capital to left of Governor, ibid., 106;
p.260:7G5, Mg. 39, on the ship, ibid., 108.

147. Paris B.N. 5847, f.13v:1E9, Mg. 5.
148. ibid., f.154v:9C7, Mg. 47.

{c} Women and the Law

149. Steingass, Arabic text, 71, ll. 5-12; Preston, op. cit., 114.
150. Preston, loc. cit.
151. ibid., 115.
152. Steingass, Arabic text, 71, 2.
154. ibid., 100.
155. S.4:19.
156. M. Asad, The Message of the Qur'ān, [Gibraltar, 1980],
157. op. cit., 105
158. Preston, op. cit., 110.
159. S.4:35.
160. Mayer, Mamlūk Costume., 73.
161. Sergeant, op. cit., 78.
163. loc. cit.
164. Lane, Lex., i, 362, s.v. thawaba.
165. Ashtor, op. cit., 152.
166. loc. cit.
167. ibid., 165.
168. loc. cit.
169. loc. cit.


171. op. cit., 96 7

172. Lane, Lex., ii, 2279, s.v. ghilāla.

173. Preston, op. cit., 112.

174. loc. cit.


176. op. cit., 56.

177. ibid., 60.

178. Usāma ibn Munqidh, Kitāb al-I’tibār, tr. Hitti, 8.


180. ibid., 79.


182. op. cit, 13.

183. Al-Ghazālī, Al-adab fi’l-Dīn, 45.

184. Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Reg. Gr. 1, f.263, David anointed by Samuel, Buchtal, "'Hellenistic' Miniatures" fig. 11.

185. Martin, op. cit., Pl. 6A, lower figure.

186. Paris B.N. 5847, f.107:7B1, Mg. 34.


188. Simpson, op. cit., fig. 50.

189. Vienna A.F.10, f.30v:2B10, Mg. 8.

190. Baer, Metalwork, 145.

191. loc. cit.

192. ibid., 294.

612

194. loc. cit.


196. Margoliouth, "Wit and Humour", 524-5.


198. Al-Ṭanūkhī, Table Talk, 52.

199. Paris B.N. 5847, f.33:2F10, Mg. 12.

200. ibid., f.122v:7G4, Mg. 39.

201. ibid., f.26:2D5, Mg. 10.

202. Paris B.N. 5847, f.58v:4E1 and f.59:4E2, Mg. 21, Abu Zayd preaching before the Governor of Rayy; Leningrad S.23, p.147:4G3, Mg. 23, Abu Zayd putting on a robe of honour {khilla'} before an enthroned governor; Istanbul E.E. 2916, f.92:5C11, Mg. 26, Abu Zayd enthroned in a tent. This may be a misunderstanding on the artist's part, for Abu Zayd was enjoying the governor's patronage.


204. Al-Ṭanūkhī, op. cit., 271.

205. Al-Miskawayh, op. cit., 63.

206. Samadi, op. cit., 43 67

207. Al-Miskawayh, op. cit., 45.

208. Shaikh Uways, Tarīkhī, tr. van Loon, 81.


211. Ahsan, op. cit., 72.

212. Lane, Manners and Customs, 45.

213. Ashtor, op. cit., 54.


218. Steingass, Arabic text, 334, ll. 2-4; Chenery, op. cit., 102.

219. Steingass, Arabic text, 335, 1.5.

220. London B.L. or. 1200, f.124:7F8, Mg. 38.

221. Paris B.N. 3929, f.50v:7E2, Mg. 37.

222. Steingass, Arabic text, 106, 1.7.

223. ibid., 106 44.


225. Melikian-Chirvani, op. cit., Pl. 41.


228. Preston, op. cit., 493.

229. Steingass, tr. 101.


231. loc. cit.

232. S.4:35.

233. Preston, op. cit., 112.

234. Grabar, Illustrations, 142.

235. Mīnā’ī bowl, 6th/12th or 7th/13th century, Talbot Rice, Islamic Art, fig. 69; Rosen-Ayalon, "Problem of the 'Baghdād' School", pls. 2, 8.
The jāriya

236. Preston, op. cit., 130.

237. op. cit., 134-5.

238. S.2:96, a reference to the witchcraft of Babylon, explained by Steingass, Arabic text, 135 40.

239. Preston, 135 1.

240. op. cit., 137.

241. loc. cit.

242. Steingass, Arabic text, 135, 1.4.


244. Al-Jāhiz, Tāj cited Ahsan, op. cit., 34 43.


246. Freer Canteen, Washington, Baer, Metalwork, 243, fig. 198.


250. Al-Dhahabi, Kitāb duwal al-islām, 146.

251. Lane, Lex., ii, 2359, s.v. faraja.


253. op. cit., 40.


255. loc. cit.
256. ibid.
259. loc. cit.
260. Serjeant, op. cit., IX, 84.
262. Ettinghausen, op. cit., 117.
263. Lane, Lex, ii, 2564, s.v. gamasa.
264. loc. cit.
265. Ahsan, op. cit. 36.
266. Al-Jahiz, cited Ahsan op. cit., 34 43.
272. op. cit., 34.
274. Samadi, "Arab-Iranian Culture", 26
275. loc. cit.
276. ibid.
279. EI, V, New Edition, Pl. XL, fig. 5, s.v. libās.
280. Lane, Lex, ii, 3026, s.v. māla.

616
282. loc. cit.
286. loc. cit.
287. Lane, Lex. i, 1258, s.v. zanara.
288. Sihâb and Qāmûs, Lane, Lex., ii, 2834, s.v. naqaba.
289. loc. cit
290. Titley, Plants and Gardens, 5.
291. Al-Ṭanūkhî, Table Talk, tr. Margoliouth, 286-7.
293. Samadi, op. cit., 43.
294. Lane, Manners, 55.
295. loc. cit.
296. loc. cit.
299. op. cit., fig. 85.
300. British Museum, 1958 10-13 2, Persian, 6th/12-7th/13th centuries, pair of cast gold bracelets with bands of dedicatory inscriptions and niello work, unhinged and open ended.
302. Ashtor, op. cit., 222.
303. ibid., 220.

617
304. loc. cit.
305. ibid.
306. ibid.
308. Melikian-Chirvani, op. cit., figs. 45, 59
309. loc. cit.
310. Lane, Lex., i, 779, s.v. khalla.
311. Lane, op. cit., 569.
312. loc. cit.
313. Isaiah 3:16.
315. Lane, Lex., 323. tūma.
316. Cambridge Univ. Taylor-Schechter, 10, J.21, 4a, cited Ashtor, op. cit., 220.
317. loc. cit.
319. Hayward Gallery Catalogue, 179, fig. 184.
320. loc. cit.
321. ibid.
322. ibid.
323. Pope & Ackerman, op. cit., XIII, 1302, figs. A, B.
324. ibid., fig. D.
325. ibid., fig. E; London B.L. or. 1200, f.89:6a11, 5 "kings" looking down from niches representing the upper storey of the Wasit khan.
326. Ashtor, op. cit., 222.
327. loc. cit.
328. Pope & Ackerman, op. cit., XIII, 1310, f.47v.

618

330. op. cit., 36.


332. loc. cit.


{e} Women in the Mosque.


338. loc. cit.


340. EI III, 326.

341. loc. cit.

342. ibid.

343. ibid.

344. ibid., 336.


346. S. D. Goitein, "Urban Housing in Fatimid and Ayyubid Times [as illustrated by the Cairo Geniza Documents], in Studia Islamica, 47 [1978], 18.

347. R. B. Serjeant, "Islamic Textiles", reprint from Ars Islamica, XV/XVI, 79.

348. loc. cit.

350. Sergeant, op. cit., 78.
351. Stillman, Female Attire, 142.
352. loc. cit.
353. ibid.
354. ibid.
356. Preston, op. cit., 2914.
357. loc. cit.
359. Paris B.N. 3929, f.151:4A2, Mg. 18.
360. Ashtor, op. cit., 220.
361. London B.I or. add. 22114, f.19v:2E2, Mg. 10.
362. M. Bahrami, Gurgan Faïences, [Cairo, 1949], Pl. 5 [a].
363. Rayy bowl, 6th/12th century, B. M. 1914 3-18 1.
Waley & Titley, "An Illustrated Persian Text" 49, fig. 6.
364. Minâ‘î bowl, 6th/12th-7th/13th centuries, Talbot Rice,
Islamic Art, fig. 69.
365. Herati ewer, late 6th/12th or early 7/13th centuries. J.
Allan, Nishapur: Metalwork of the Early Islamic Period, [New
York, 1982], 47.
366. Qur‘ān of Argun Shah, Egypt, c.770-790H/1368-1388, Cairo,
National Library, ms. no. 54. 1388, Ettinghausen, AP, 174.
367. Paris B.N. 5847, f.5v:1B8, Mg. 2.
368. Leningrad S.23, p. 250:7E6, Mg. 37, Ettinghausen, op. cit.,
107.
369. Ettinghausen, Turkish Miniatures from the 13th to the 18th
century, [London, 1965], pls. 1 and 2.
370. Paris B.N. 3929, f.151:4A2, Mg. 18.
372. Paris B.N. 5847, f.152:9B1, Mg. 46.
373. Istanbul E.E. 2916, f.192:9B3, Mg. 46.
374. Leningrad S.23, p.395:9F9, Mg. 50.

375. Paris B.N. 3929, f.173:4D10, Mg. 21 and f.129:7F1, Mg. 38.
[N.B. the illustrations in this manuscript are not in the correct order, as bound by the Bibliothèque Nationale].


379. Paris B.N. 5847, f.26:2D5, Mg. 10, Ettinghausen, AP., 114.


381. Serjeant, op. cit., IX, 84.

382. loc. cit.


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CHAPTER 8
HOSPITALITY

{a} Drinking

1. Steingass, Arabic text, 91 61

2. D. S. Rice, "Deacon or Drink": some paintings of Samarra re-examined", Arabica, V [1958], 33.

3. Preston, op. cit., 179.

4. Steingass, Arabic text, 92, 1.1.

5. Steingass, op. cit., 94, 1.1; Chenery, op. cit., 175.

6. Steingass, op. cit., 92, 11. 6,7; Chenery, loc. cit.

7. Lane, Lex. ii, 2213, s.v. 'ala.

8. Khamsa of An̄ār Khusraw Dihlāvī, 890/1485, F. R. Martin, Miniature Painters of Persia, India and Turkey, [London, 1912], Pl.76a;
Lakabi ware plate, probably Kashan, Talbot Rice, Islamic Art, pl. 68.

621
9. Preston, op. cit., 190

10. loc. cit.

11. Steingass, Arabic text, 92, 1.3

12. F. Rosenthal, Four Essays, 76.

13. op. cit., 69.

14. Magamat B.L. or. add. 22114, f.94:5F9, Mg. 28 - worshipper in the Samargand jam‘i’ overcome by Abu Zayd’s sermon, Ettinghausen, AP, 146;
Al-Jazari’s Kitab fi ma‘arifat al-


17. Ward, op. cit., fig. 4.


21. Lane, Lex., i, 389, s.v. jadara.


23. loc. cit.


25. op. cit., 64.


Ivory casket, Louvre, Paris, dated 969, loc. cit.
Ceiling panel, Cappella Palatina, Palermo, 6th/12th century, Ettinghausen, AP, 45.
Candlestick, 7th/13th century, possibly Mesopotamian, Cairo Museum of Islamic Art, 15.121, where there appears to be a drinking figure with glass and flower, Baer, op. cit., fig. 143.

28. B.L. or. add 22114, f.26:2G7, Mg. 12.
31. Lane, *Lex.*, i, 125, s.v. as.
32. Steingass, *Arabic*, 92, 1.2.
34. Schimmel, op. cit., 77.
35. loc. cit.
37. Rice, "Oldest", 337, figs. C [I], [IV].
39. op. cit., 71.
40. Al-Jazari manuscript in Boston, dated 1354, K. Weitzmann, op. cit., fig. 4.
41. Grabar, "Bourgeoisie and the Arts", 219
42. Rosen-Ayalon, op. cit., 73.
44. Usama, op. cit., 164.
45. op. cit., 165.
46. loc. cit.
47. EI IV, [Leiden, 1978], 995, s.v. khamr, [A. J. Wensinck]
48. loc. cit.
50. Rice, "Deacon", 32.
51. op. cit., 28.
52. loc.cit., note 1.
53. ibid.
54. Schimmel, op. cit., 78.
55. Lane, Arabian Society, 38.
56. B.L. or. add. 1200, f.32:2Gl, Mg. 12.
58. Abu Nuwas, Diwan, 214, cited Rice, op. cit., 26 6
59. Ibn al-Farid, Khamriyya, tr. A. Sefi, The Wine Song of Ibn al-
   Farid, [572-632H], BSOAS, 2 [1934], 235 et seq.
60. Al-Firuzabadi, Kitab al-jalis fi tahrim al-handaris, B.M. Or.
   9200, cited Rice, op. cit., 32 4
61. Lane, Arabian Society, 148.
62. op. cit., 149.
63. loc. cit.
64. Chenery, op. cit., 173.
66. op. cit., 170 1
67. Preston, op. cit., 189 9
68. loc. cit.
70. S.16:69.
71. S.2:216; S.4:46.
72. S.5:92.
73. EIT IV, [Leiden, 1978], 995, s.v. khamr, [A. J. Wensinck].
74. Rice, op. cit., 28.
75. loc. cit.
76. Kitab al-Tiryag, Vienna, Natbib. A.F.10, probably Mosul,
   mid-7th/13th century, Ettinghausen, AP, 91.
77. Rice, op. cit., 28.
78. ibid., 29.
79. Steingass, Arabic, 92., 1.2.
80. Lane, Lex., i, 1262, s.v. zahara.
82. loc. cit.
83. ibid.
84. ibid.
85. Al-Tanukhi, Table Talk I, 107.
86. loc. cit.
87. Farmer, op. cit., 774.
88. loc. cit.
89. op. cit., 768.
90. Lane, Lex., i, 1005-6, s.v. rabba.
91. Farmer, op. cit., 768.
93. Rice, "Deacon", 17.
94. Paris B.N. 5847, f.3v:1A6, Mg. 1.
95. Rice, op. cit., 23.
96. op., cit., 17.
97. ibid., 31.
98. ibid., 24.
99. loc. cit.
101. Ibn al-Farid, Khamriya, 241 {19}.
102. Rice, op. cit., 27.
103. ETV, 997, [Leiden, 1978], s.v. khamr, [J. Sadan].
104. Leningrad S.23, p.76:2F12, Mg. 12.

625
105. EI IV, loc. cit., citing apud al-Nuwayri, Nihaya, iv, 144.


111. Lane, Arabian Society, 157 2


113. Acc. no. 13.152.6, M. S. Dimand, "Dated Specimens of Mohammedan Art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Part II: Manuscripts and Miniature Painting", Metropolitan Museum Studies, I, part 2, [1928/29],

114. Istanbul, Tv.IEM, T.I.109, Baer, op. cit., 229, fig. 189.

115. ibid., 228-9.

116. Leningrad S.23, p.76:2Fl2, Mg. 12.


120. Hayward Gallery Catalogue, Metal wallet, mid-7th/13th century, North Mesopotamia, fig. 199.

121. Baer, op. cit., 325 279

122. Allan, op. cit., 100.
123. B.L. or. 4125, Divan of Neva’i, f.109a, Turkish, 10th/16th century, Titley, Sports and Pastimes, pl. 10A.


125. ibid., 27.

126. Candlestick, private collection, U.K., Nassar, op. cit., fig. 3a.


129. Hayward Gallery Catalogue, fig. 135.


132. loc. cit.

133. ibid.

134. op. cit., 161.


137. Rice, op. cit., 16.

138. Martin, Miniature Painting, Pl. 7b.

139. Kahle, Schattenspielfiguren, fig. 51.


141. Badeau, op. cit., 38.

{b} Food and Etiquette

142. Mgt. 1,2,5,7,14,18,30,44.

143. Steingass, Arabic text, 366, l.10; Steingass, tr. 134.

144. Al-Tanūkhi, Table Talk I, 282.

146. Nasr, op. cit., 166.


148. loc. cit.

149. Nasr, op. cit., 166.

150. Al-Mas'ūdi, Murūj al-Dhahab, vii, 170-71; Qutūb al-Surūr, 290-1, cited Ahsan, op. cit., II2 324

151. Ahsan, loc.cit.

152. ibid.


154. Lane, Arabian Society, 143-44.

155. loc. cit.
Steingass, Arabic, 366. They are here described as his waļā'id, which Steingass translates as "slave-girls". It appears also to mean "girls", Mūqam and Līsān, Lane, Lex., ii, 2967, s.v. waļada.


158. Paris, B.N. 3929, f.151:4A2, Mg. 18.

159. EIV Leiden, 1986], Pl. XL, fig. 5, s.v. libās [Stillman].

160. Ettinghausen, op. cit., 117.

161. Lane, Lex., i, 827, s.v. khana.

162. Paris, B.N. 5004, f.156:8F11, Mg. 44

163. B.L. or. add. 22114, f.155:8G10, Mg. 44.

164. Abū'1-Fidā', Al-Mukhtasar, 28.

165. Leningrad, S.23, p.296:8G3, p.298:8G4, Mg. 44.

166. Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, 293.

628
167. Steingass, Arabic text, 366, 1.16.

168. loc. cit.

169. Lane, Manners, 109.

170. loc. cit.

171. ibid.

172. Al-Ghazālī, Nasihat, 58.

173. Lane, op. cit., 109.

174. loc. cit.

175. Steingass, Arabic text, 10 22, Mq. 1; op. cit., 223 10, Mq. 29.

176. loc. cit.

177. Chenery, op. cit., 516.

178. Preston, op. cit., 42.

179. Al-Masʿūdī, Murūj, 54, Ibn Qutayba, Uyun al-Akhbar, iii, 265-69 and others, cited Ahsan, op. cit., 120 392

180. Al-Baghdādī, Kitāb al-Tabīkh, 7, cited Ahsan, op. cit., 120 394

181. loc. cit.

182. Al-Baghdādī, op. cit., and others, Ahsan, op. cit., 120 393

183. ibid.

184. G. Le Strange, Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, 429, 471, cited Ahsan, op. cit., 121 408

185. Steingass, tr. 274

186. Ahsan, op. cit., 120..

187. Al-Isfahānī, Al-fath, 300.

188. D. S. Margoliouth, "Wit and Humour", 526.


190. loc. cit.

191. Gray, World History, fig. 36.

193. op. cit., 66.


195. Istanbul, Top. Sar. 2153, Album of the Conqueror [Siya Qalam, 2nd half, 9th/15th century. Ettinghausen, Turkish Miniatures, pl. 3.

196. op. cit. The lid and the high metal trivet are incongruous and too sophisticated in a scene with sinuous, half-clad people; the simpler utensils noted elsewhere are more in keeping with a genre setting.

197. Steingass, Arabic text, 315, 1.7, Mg. 37.

198. Al-Baghdadî, Al-Tabîkha, [B.M. or. 5079], cited Ahsan, op. cit., 119 379

199. Steingass, Arabic text, 315 80

200. loc. cit.

201. Lane, Lex. i, 589, s.v. hadara.


203. Ashtor, Prix, 255.

204. op. cit., 113. He also received 12 dinars per month, 600 artal [s. ratl] of bread and 150 artal of meat and vegetables.

205. Preston, op. cit., 41.


207. Paris, B.N. 5847, f.13v:1E9, Mg. 5.

208. Papadopolou, op. cit., 99; fig. 581.

209. loc. cit.


211. Steingass, Arabic, 366, 11.4-5.


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CHAPTER 9

THE 7th/13th-CENTURY MANUSCRIPTS


1. f.68:4F2.
2. Grabar, Illustrations, 9.
5. H. Buchtal, "'Hellenistic' Miniatures" in Early Islamic Manuscripts, Ars Islamica, 7, [1940], 130-33.
7. ibid., 9.
8. 9 pages between the 13th and 16th maqāmāt and between the 26th and 28th and the 42nd and 44th; and 11 pages between the 44th and 46th.
10. f.59v:4Bl; f.82v:5Bl, Mq. 25; f.167:9A11, Mq. 46.
11. Leningrad S.23, p.66:5C8, Mq. 26; Paris, B.N. arabe 5847, f.118:7F4, Mq.38; Istanbul, E.E. 2916, f.92:5C11, Mq.26; B.L. or. 1200, f.100:6F12, Mq. 32.
12. Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica, Vatican, ms. ar. 368, Ḥadīth Bayād u Rīyād, Ettinghausen, Arab Painting, 129.
15. ibid., 127.
16. loc. cit.
17. Ettinghausen, op. cit., 75-77.
18. Buchtal, op. cit., fig. 16, f.49v:3E7, Mq. 16.
19. ibid., 127.
20. ibid., fig. 6, Mq. 38; fig. 32, Mq. 23.

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Ettinghausen, *op. cit.*, 79, f.147:8C9, Mq. 42.


23. *ibid.*, figs. 34, 36.


25. *ibid.*, 75-77.

26. f.68:4F2, Mq. 22.


28. *loc. cit.*


30. f.156:8F11, Mq. 44.

31. Buchtal, *op. cit.*, fig. 1, f.181v:9F3, Mq. 50;
Papadopolou, *op. cit.*, fig. 1048.

32. f.13:1D7.

33. Buchtal, *op. cit.*, judgment scenes; fig. 22, B.N. 6094 and fig. 28, B.N. 3465; tree forms, fig. 40, B.N. 6094 and fig. 42, B.N. 3465.

34. Papadopolou, *op. cit.*, 96.

35. *ibid.*, figs. 577, 580.


37. *ibid.*, 97.


40. Buchtal, *op. cit.*, figs. 32, 48.

41. *ibid.*, figs. 33 and 45; figs. 46 and 47;
Nassar, *op. cit.*, fig. 4.


43. Grabar, *op. cit.*, 144 48-50 and
44. Grabar, op. cit., 144.

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2. Leningrad, Oriental Institute, Academy of Sciences, S.23.

D. James, Arab Painting, 305-20.  
K. Holter, "Die islamischen Miniaturhandschriften vor 1350",  
Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen 54, [1937], 1-34.  
D. S. Rice, "The Oldest Illustrated Arabic Manuscript", BSOAS,  
22, [1959], 207-20.


3. Ettinghausen, op. cit., 105.


5. Grabar, op. cit., 11.

6. loc. cit.

7. Ettinghausen, op. cit., 104.

8. p.131:4E4, Mg. 21.


10. loc. cit.

11. p.41:2A3, Mg. 7.

12. p.259:7F6, Mg. 38.

13. Y. H. Samadi, Islamic Calligraphy, [London, 1978], figs. 29,  
30, with reference to p.259:7F6, Mg. 38.

14. p.259:7F6, Mg., 38.

15. Leningrad S.23, p.278:8C12 and B.N. 6094, f.147:8C9, Mg. 42.  
" " p.351:9F9 and B.N. 5847, f.166:9F5, Mg. 50.  
" " p.194:6A8 and B.N. 3929 f.178:6A2, Mg. 29.  
" " p.208:6E4 and Istanbul E.E. 2916, f.117:6C6,  
Mg. 31.

" " p.250:7E6 anfd B.L. 1200, f.120v:7E8, Mg.37.


17. James, Arab Painting, 22, and fig. 13.
20. *op. cit.*, 139.
   *James, op. cit.*, pl. 6.
23. *loc. cit.*
30. *ibid.*, 106.
32. *Grabar, "A Newly Discovered Illustrated Manuscript", fig. 24, f.134:7B6, Mg. 34.*
33. *James, op. cit.*, fig. 10, p.278:8C12, Mg. 42.
34. *Ettinghausen, op. cit.*, 111, p.288:8E3, Mg. 43; 112, p.22:1D11, Mg. 4.
35. *Leningrad S.23, p.63:209, Mg. 10; Buchtal, "Hellenistic", fig. 40, B.N. 6094, f.13:1D7, Mg. 4; B.L. or. 1200, f.90:6A12, Mg. 29; Waley & Titley, op. cit.*, fig. 11.
37. *James, op. cit.*, fig. 17.
38. *Grabar, op. cit.*, figs. 33, 34, Istanbul E.E. 2916, f.176:8E7, f.177v:8E8, both Mg. 43.
40. *James, op. cit.*, 21;
   *James, op. cit.*, figs. 9, 27:1E11, Mg. 5, and p.278:8C12, Mg. 42;
   *Ettinghausen, op. cit.*, p.205:6C8, Mg. 30.

42. op. cit., 33.

43. Ettinghausen, op. cit., 113, p.205:6C8, Mg. 30; 107, p.250:7E6, Mg. 37, and 106, p.256:7F5, Mg. 38.

44. p.147:4G3, Mg. 23.

45. p.76:2F12, Mg. 12.

46. Grabar, Illustrations, 142.

47. loc. cit.

48. Ettinghausen, op. cit., 111; James, op. cit., fig. 6.


50. ibid., 91.

51. p.65:2E12, Mg. 11.


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1. Grabar, Illustrations, 11.


4. loc. cit.

5. loc. cit.

6. op. cit., 159.

24 maqāmat have 2 illustrations, 10 have 3, and 2 have 4.
7. James, "Space-forms", 313.
8. f.155v:9C8 and f.156:9C9, Mg. 47.
9. f.30v:2F8 and f.31:2F9, Mg. 12, and f.18v:2A1 and f.19:2A2, Mg. 7.
10. Washington, Freer Gallery, 32.20, De Materia Medica of Dioscorides, Baghdad, c.621/1224, James, Arab Painting, fig. 6.
11. f.29v:2E11, Mg. 11.
12. f.117v:7E5, Mg. 37.
14. Ettinghausen, AP., 118, f.19:2A2, Mg. 7.
16. Steingass, Arabic, 300, 1.3.
17. Ettinghausen, op. cit., 118, f.19:2A2, Mg. 7.
    ibid., 119, f.94v:6B2, Mg. 31.
18. ibid., 121, f.122v:7G4, Mg. 39.
19. ibid., 117, f.101:6F9, Mg. 32.
20. f.51:4A8, Mg. 18.
21. f.143:8G2, Mg. 21.
22. H. Buchtal, "Three Illustrated Ḫārīrī Manuscripts in the British Museum", Burlington Magazine, 77, [1940], pls. 1 C, D, London B.L. or. 1200, f.151:8G8, Mg. 44.
23. Ettinghausen, op. cit., f.26:2D5, Mg. 10.
24. f.13v:1E9, Mg. 5.
26. Ettinghausen, op. cit., 116, f.138:8D12, Mg. 43.
27. f.122:7G4, Mg. 39, and f.33:2F10, Mg. 12
28. Grabar, Illustrations, 143 40.

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29. f.35:3A5, Mq. 13.
32. ibid., 91.
33. ibid., 114, f.26r:2D5, Mq. 10.
34. f.1v:1A1.
35. f.59:4E2, Mq. 21.
37. James, Arab Painting, fig. 7, f.114v:7E4, Mq. 37.
39. f.33:2F10, Mq. 12; f.121:7G3, Mq. 39.
   Ettinghausen, op. cit., 122, f.121r:7G3, Mq. 39.
40. Ettinghausen, op. cit., 84.
41. ibid., 114, f.94v:6E2, Mq. 31; 116, f.138:8D12, Mq. 43.
42. Papadopolou, op. cit., figs. 571, 577, 580.
43. ibid., 97; fig. 582, f.29v:5E11, Mq. 11; fig. 575, f.138:8D12, Mq. 43; fig. 581, f.138:8D12, Mq. 44; fig. 579, f.164v:9F4, Mq. 50.
44. Ettinghausen, op. cit., 116, f.138:8D12, Mq. 43, date palm, [possibly symbolic] and papyrus flowers in foreground.
45. ibid., 122, f.121r:7G3, Mq. 39.
46. Grabar, A Newly Discovered Manuscript", 103, f.138v:7C6, Mq. 35.
47. Ettinghausen, op. cit., 118, f.19:2A2, Mq. 7.
48. ibid., 117, f.101:6F9, Mq. 32.
49. f.164v:9F4, Mq. 50.
50. Ettinghausen, op. cit., 124.
51. ibid., 122, f.122v:7G4, Mq. 39.
52. ibid., 124.
53. ibid., 118, f.19r:2A2, Mq. 7.
54. f.164v:9F4, Mq. 50.
55. Grabar, op. cit., pl. 10, f.104:5P3, Mq. 28.

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1. Grabar, Illustrations, 8.
3. Ettinghausen, op. cit., 83.
5. Rice, "Inlaid Brasses from the Workshop of Ahmad al-Dhakī al-
Mawsilī", Ars Orientalis, II, [1957], fig. 16; 
6. Kitāb al-Tiryāq of Pseudo-Galen, probably northern Iraq,
595/1199, Paris, B.N. arabe 2964, Ettinghausen, op. cit., 84-
85; Kitāb al-Aghānī frontispieces, Cairo, adab no. 579, vol.
XI, Rice, "The Aghani Miniatures", fig. 17; Istanbul,
Peyzullah, no. 1566, vol. XVII, fig. 18; Istanbul, Pey
zullah, no. 1565, vol. XIXop. cit., fig. 19.
Ward, "Evidence for a School of Painting at the Artūqid
Court", 76; op. cit., fig. 6.
8. loc. cit.
9. ibid.
10. ibid.
11. f.180:7D1; f.180v:7D2 and f.181:7D3, Mq. 36.
12. f.20:2B12, Mq. 9.
13. f.54v:5A9, Mq. 25.
14. f.41:4B7, Mq. 19, where al-Hārith is on "a camel of Mahra",
with "a lance of Samhār", Steingass, Arabic, 143, 1.4.


18. f.37:3A1, Mg. 13.


20. Ward, op. cit., fig. 6, f.131v:7F2, Mg. 38, and the dress of the young jāriya on f.151:4A2, in Mg. 18.


22. Ettinghausen, op. cit., 82, f.69:6D12, Mg. 31.

23. Paris B.N. 3929, f.34v:2F7, Mg. 12; Ward, op. cit., fig. 6, f.131v:7F2, Mg. 38; Melikian-Chirvani, op. cit., figs. 5, 40.

24. Ward, op. cit., fig. 7, f.177:6A1, Mg. 29.

25. Papadopolou, op. cit., fig. 578.

26. loc. cit.

27. f.85:6F5, Mg. 32.

28. Ward, op. cit., fig. 6, f.131v:7F2, Mg. 38.

29. ibid., 76-77.

30. Hitti, History, 480 4

31. f.65v:8C8, Mg. 42.

32. f.69:6D12, Mg. 31.

33. f.101v:5D7, Mg. 27 and f.122:6F6, Mg. 32.

34. Buchtal, op. cit., pl. I, c.f. figs. A and B, and C and D.

35. Preston, op. cit., 423.

36. op. cit., 427.

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Istanbul, Sulaymaniye Râd Efendi 2916.


2. Grabar, Illustrations, 12.

3. f.204:9D12, Mg. 48, Grabar, op. cit., fig. 40.
   Grabar, Illustrations, 12.

4. loc. cit.


7. f.204:9D12, Mg. 48, Grabar, op. cit., fig. 40.

8. Grabar, Illustrations, 12.

9. loc. cit.

10. ibid.


13. loc. cit.


15. Ettinghausen, op. cit., Paris B.N. 5847, f.138:8D12, Mg. 43.


17. op. cit., 97.

18. ibid., 99, f.64:6C2, Mg. 19; ibid., 100, f.67:4D1, Mg. 20.

19. Grabar, ibid., f.131v:6G12, Mg. 33 and fig. 38, f.192:9B3, Mg. 46.


22. f.64:4C2, Mg. 19; f.67:4D1, Mg. 20.

23. James, Arab Painting, fig. 6.


25. Ward, op. cit., fig. 6, f.131v:7F2, Mg. 38.


27. Ettinghausen, op. cit., 91.

28. Grabar, op. cit., fig. 37, f.188v:9A5, Mg. 45.

29. ibid., fig. 25, f.136v:7B7, Mg. 34.

30. ibid., 104, f.150v:7F7, Mg. 38; fig. 10, f.64:6C2, Mg. 19.

31. ibid., 103, f.138v:7C6, Mg. 35.


33. Grabar, op. cit., fig. 15, f.82v:5A4, Mg. 24.

34. ibid., 17, and Leningrad S.23, p.285:8E1, Mg. 43.

35. f.117v:6E6, Mg. 31.

36. Grabar, op. cit., fig. 18, f.96v:5E3, Mg. 27; fig. 26, f.138v:7C6, Mg. 35.

37. ibid., fig. 27, f.141:7D7, Mg. 36.

38. Ettinghausen, op. cit., 116, f.138:8D12, Mg. 43.


40. Grabar, op. cit., fig. 11, f.67:4D1, Mg. 20.

41. ibid., 100.

42. loc. cit.

43. Melikian-Chirvani, op. cit., fig. 14.

44. f.198:9D1, Mg. 47.

45. Grabar, op. cit., fig. 22, f.117v:6E6, Mg. 31.
46. ibid., 102, 12.
47. ibid., fig. 27, f.141:7D7, Mq. 36.
48. f.64:4C2, Mq. 19.
50. James, Arab Painting, fig. 6.
51. Grabar, op. cit., fig. 24, f.134:7D6, Mq. 34.
52. ibid., fig. 2, f.18:1G2, Mq. 6; fig. 3, f.27v:2C6, Mq. 9.
53. f.48v:3D6, Mq. 15.
57. ibid., 103.
58. f.158v:9D11, Mq. 48.
59. Grabar, Illustrations, 143.
60. f.167v:8D2, Mq. 42.

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2. op. cit., 242.
3. Grabar, Illustrations, 12.
4. loc. cit.
5. op. cit., 19.
6. ibid., 10.
7. ibid., 12.
8. loc. cit.


10. loc. cit.


12. loc. cit.

13. loc. cit. Grabar says "87"; his list on p.163 gives 84, but he has not recorded f.165v, the "Cupper of Sābāt" mentioned in Maqāma 47.


15. f.116:7D8, Mq. 36.


18. f.164v:9D3, Mq. 47.

19. Mqt. 29, 34, 39, 50 have 3; Mqt. 31 and 40 have 4, and Mq. 43 has 5 illustrations.

20. f.128:7G10, Mq. 39; f.134:8A12, Mq. 40 and f143:8E12, Mq. 43.


22. ff.85v:5F4 and f.86:5F5, Mq. 28.

23. f.32:2G1, Mq. 12.

24. f.27:2D10, Mq. 10.

25. f.22:2B5, Mq. 8; f.124:7F8, Mq. 38.

26. f.16:1G3, Mq. 6.

27. James, Arab Painting, fig. 6, f.68:5A5, Mq. 24.

28. f.73v:5B8, Mq. 25.

29. Buchtal, "Three Illustrated Hariri manuscripts.", 147.

30. f.161:9B5, Mq. 46; Waley & Titley, op. cit., figs. 10-13.
31. Typology of Arches, figs. 40, 42-45.

32. f. 68:5A5, Mg. 24.


34. f. 20v:2A6, Mg. 7.

35. London B.L. 1200, f. 151:8G8 and Paris B.N. 5847, f. 143:8G2, Mg. 44; Buchtal, *op. cit.*, figs C & D and f. 68:5A5, Mg. 24.


37. *ibid.*, 54.

38. f. 90:6A12, Mg. 29.

39. f. 124:7F8, Mg. 38.


41. London B.L. 1200, f. 13:1F4, Mg. 5; Ward, *op. cit.*, fig. 6, Paris B.N. 3929, f. 131v:7F2, Mg. 38.

42. London B.L. 1200, f. 116:7D8 and Istanbul E.E. 2916, f. 141:7D7, both Mg. 36.


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Arabic terms have generally only appeared once; thereafter English has been used.
Figures in bold indicate illustrations produced in the List of Illustrations, and not discussed individually elsewhere in the thesis.

Animals and Birds

‘ayas {yellowish-white camels}, 152.
baghl {mule}, 39,40,41,42,181.
baqar {genus} {oxen}, 262
Chemah, 428.
dajaj {domestic fowls}, 262,272,427.
dhazal {gazelle},428.
hinar {donkey}, 159.
jamal camel, 46,57,59,61,62,64,72,82,150,151,152,159,273,274,381,384, 385,388,390,396,414,415,422,427,438,460,462,465,490.
kalb {plural kilâb} {dog}, 427.
ma'z {goat}, 262.
Mahri {a valuable red camel from Mahra, Yemen}, 474.
shaqashiq}, {singular shiqshaqa} {the throat-bags of camels, which emit a roaring sound}, 385.
tayr {bird}. 188,396,263,427,446,489,492,438.

Architecture

ajurr {kiln-fired bricks}, 260.
Bab al-Saqiya {Water-wheel Gate}, 254.
bâdan {minaret shaft}, 263.
bayt {house; tent}, 291,293,390,485.
Dar kutub {public library - literally the house of books}, 218, 472,493. See khizanat al-kutub.
Dar al-raqiq {Slave's House, also name of a quarter in Baghdad}, 192,193.
daskara {wine hall, tavern}, 355,366.
dihliz, {vestibule}. 87,234,296.
Divan al-Aqar {the department which administered caravans and markets}, 167.
divan {department}, 216.
Divan al-Nazar fi-l-Mazālim {a higher court for the redress of civil wrongs}, 92,329,440,449,450,473,483,494.
dukkan {platform; shop}, 228.
dulâb type of water-drawing device}, 254.
funcūq al-aruzz {caravanserai for rice merchants}, 177.
hadar al-baqar {oxen-slope}, 254.
hana {tavern}, 174,287,366.
hanat al-shatt {drinking-hall on the river}, 366.
hashwash {decorative insets in wood}, 21,22.
bawd or shurfa {minaret gallery}, 264.
ibwan {archway}, 171,228.
jami' {the Friday congregational mosque}, 12,143,26,30,101,104,110,130, 175,218,347,352,443,447,457,470, 471,485,492. See masjid.
khān {an urban merchants' caravanserais, in the Maqāmat context}
khażanat al-kutub {a "treasury of books"}, 220, 244, 248, 259.
kifṣi {bannisters on pulpit}, 22.
manāra {minaret}, 264, 269, 416, 457, 471.
manāratani {dual} {minarets, here 'pillars'}, 253.
manāzil al-qiyān {singing-girls' houses}, 241. See 'Music'.
marsjarra {enclosed space in jāmī for ruler}, 103, 111, 348.
margṣa {village}, 257, 488, 489.
margṣa kā'l-madinā {village like a city}, 266.
mażālat {caravanserais and markets administered by the Diwān al-Aqṣar}, 167.
mīhrāb {the focus of the orientation of prayer to Mecca}, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 83, 104, 167, 226, 263, 264, 471.
mīhrāb mujawwaf {semi-circular prayer niche}, 23.
mīl {dome}, 293. See qubba.
minbar {pulpit}, 18, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 30, 34, 82, 104, 112.
muqarnas {a honeycomb type of vaulting}, 114, 209, 210, 265, 269, 293, 294, 394.
musallā {a place of prayer, not necessarily a mosque}, 34.
Musallā al-Bayāštira {Farriers' Oratory}, 159.
mustaghallāt {caravanserais and markets administered by the Diwān al-Aqṣar}, 167.
qabr {grave}, 245, 266, 269, 441.
qa'idā {base of minaret}, 264.
garya {village}, 257, 488, 489.
garya kā'bira {large village}, 266.
garya kā'l-madīna {village like a city}, 266.
Qaṭṭi'at al-Raqīq {Slaves' Quarter}, 192.
gaysariyya {urban khan}, 173, 174, 177.
gubba {dome}, 58, 64, 265.
gubbadar {undressed stone on face, with smooth edges}, 260.
sāhīn {courtyard}, 171.
sāj {teak}, 313, 226.
sarūj {quicklime}, 260.
shashsha {terracotta tilework}, 24.
sug {market}, 79, 185, 190, 196, 7, 8, 209, 210, 353, 485, 500.
Sug al-Ghazl {Thread Market}, 86.
Sug al-Khayl {Horse Market}, 159. See 'Animals'.
Sug al-Khiyām {Tent Market} 153, 159. See 'Textiles'.
Sug al-Thalātha {the Tuesday Market}, 353.
Sug al-Warrāqīn {Booksellers' Market}, 218.
tagfīsa {one of three horizontal panels of minbar or pulpit}, 21.
tunbūr {type of Archimedes screw to lift water}, 254.
tūṭh {mulberry wood}, 168.

The Bedouin
ahl-al-wabar {people of the hair tents}, 275.
al-badawiyya {Bedouin}, 85, 110, 145, 152, 180, 273, 279, 280, 281, 284, 382.
bayt {house, also tent}, 390.
dār {tent, house}, 275.
duwar [{tents} in a circular layout], 275.
gharāt {raids}, 285.
harb {war}, 285.
jiayy {an encampment}, 275.
gabila {clan}, 276.
gaym {tribe, made up of affiliated clans}, 275.

Costumes and Textiles

‘abā’ {woollen garment or cloak}, 280,353.
‘adhaba {tail of turban}, 17.
‘adil {honourable person}, 126
‘alā’ rasmi’l-‘abbāsiya {in the ‘Abbāsid manner}, said of turbans, 126.
‘alam {banner; ornamentation of figured borders of garment or textile}, 19,38,44,48,155.
‘alāma {banner}, 38,403.
arbāb al-tayālisa {"hood-wearers", i.e. of the taylasān"}, 126. See taylasān.
‘asb {a mourning garment proscribed by Prophet; it was made in Yemen and had threads which had been dyed before weaving}, 247.
bahtala {a Mamluk term for the gamis or shift}, 334.
bajam {an imported wood which produced red dye}, 339.
bitān {girth, see himz}, 64.
būrqu’ {a face-veil attached to the head-dress by a cord} 276,277. See ‘veil’.
Dabiq {fine linen from Dabiq, Egypt}, 81,82,197,318,359.
dibāj {brocade}, 36.
dithar {the category of outer garments worn over clothes next to the bare skin {called sh‘i‘ār}}, 127,334.
durrā’a {woollen tunic} 35,44,51,52.
farajiyya {split}, 335.
frūr {napkin}, 360. See mandil
ghalala {wrap-around robe}, 15,318,319,335.
Hajiza bayn al-kufr wa’l-īmān {a divider between belief and unbelief} viz. turban, as badge of Islam, 50.
harīr {silk}, 338.349.
harīr mu‘ayyan, {silk embellished with a circular motif}, 339.
hashiyya {fringed}, 39,48.
hizām {girth, double-woven from wool; also used for ‘belt’}, 40.
ibrism {silk}, 338.
‘imāma musmata sawdā ‘black turban, also known as ‘the Baghdadī turban’; 80,81,126,141.
‘isāba mu‘āila {a bejewelled headdress; or possibly with sewn-on coins, as still found today}, 339,340.
izār {a women’s close-fitting waist-wrap which covers the legs}, 71,318,330,349,351,352,353,389.
jubba {a woollen cloak-like garment}, 280,335,337.
jurūb or jawrāb {socks}, 52.
Khaysh {a ceiling hanging in felt or canvas; it was wet, to allow cooling by evaporation}, 141,142,229,469
khazz {a type of silk}, 349.
khifār {boots} {singular khuff}, 35,84,96,107,110,343,394,420,426.
khifār zanā‘iyya {narrow boots}, 318,343.
khimār {modified form of female turban covering head and shoulders}, 329.
khilla {robes of honour}, 36,81,118,334.

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kisa' {wrapper, usually of wool}, 280.

kimirzi {apparently a type of brocade}, 336.


la`d {silk fabric}, 349.


lif {matting from palm leaves}, 228, 352.

mamhura or katifa {type of rug}, 90, 99, 140, 144, 274, 293, 435.

mandil {napkin {see futa}}, 109, 224, 308, 323, 359, 360, 361, 363, 373.

maqsur {split type of shoe}, 343.

midra'a {See durrā' a} {a woollen tunic}, 34.

min {bridle}, 40.

mahfüra or katifa {type of rug}, 90, 99, 140, 144, 274, 293, 435.

mibrad {slave's robe}, 190.

musha`ara {fur-lined shoes}, 343.

mulham {half-silk fabric}, 33, 127, 318, 325.

mu`lam mu`thaggag, {gold-embroidered edge}, 353.

muza {stockings or leggings}, 52, 119.

musmat {cloth of one colour}, 36.

nakhkh {gold brocade}, 336.

nataq {female waist-wrapper}, 329-30.

nifāl {singular na'il} {sandals}, 74, 81, 143, 145.

nijād {sword shoulder-strap for wearing the sword, Arab-fashion; the Persians wore theirs at the waist}, 84.

nīqāb {outdoor veil}, 340.

panka, 228, 352, 470, 483.

qaba`a {garment worn under cloak}, 81.

galansuwa {Arabicised from Persian} {long tapering hat}, 35, 52, 53, 74, 128, 435, 438.


gargal {type of gamīs or shift}, 338.

qart Shuffle, 338.

qatāb {camel saddle}, 64.

Rabb al-`imāma {Lord of the Turban, turban-wearer}, 128.

rahāwi {type of shoe from Edessa}, 343.

raya {banner}, 38, 415.

rida' {type of cloak; a single, uncut garment}, 71, 318.

Sāhib al-`imāma {turban-wearer}, 128.


sawād {a robe of one colour}, 81.

shamlu {cloak}, 14, 62, 449.


shawdar {type of gamīs}, 338.

shī'ār {clothes worn next to bare body}, 71, 338.

shirak {sandal thongs}, 74.

sidar {version of the gamīs}, 338.

Susi {a fabric}, 118.
sugmân {shoes}, 110,118,129.
sutur {singular sitār} {curtains}, 82,83,84,123,124,281,292, 
311,313,328,367,405,452.
tababin {short trousers}, 370.
taj {crown}, 434,435.
taylas`an {shawl worn over turban},
114,125,126,127,139,141,145,278,325,328,435.
thawb {ample robe with wide sleeves}, 318.
thawb al-hidad {mourning robe}, 246. See 'Mourning'.
tikka {trouser cord}, 338.
tirâz {decorated arm bands}, 14,17,18,37,38,39,48,49,
51,63,66,68,81,83,99,106,113,118,129,145,247,252,277,279,284,311,
324,336,359,373,381,412,420,426.
tirâz farajjîya {robe split down the middle, with tirâz bands on
sleeves}, 334,381.

Food and Drink

'ashâr {pl. of 'ushr} {a huge pot, ten times the size of an ordinary
pot},386.
anuk {lead {pot}}, 385.
basal al-fā'ir {squills}. 164.
dahn {plural dinän} {elongated tapering wine-jar; a storage jar},
52,210,358,367,368,369,371,374,375,459.
fakhkhâr {clay {pot}}, 385.
hîjra {stone {pot}}, 385.
kūs. {plural kî'âs}, glass, 106,198,237,240,251,
khalanj {a type of wood used for utensils}, 164.
khammâr {a vintner}, 363.
khamr {wine}, 366,480,496,446,498.
Khiwān {small table}, 382,459,494.
kizân {ewers}, 366,443.
mabâzîl {implements to break a cork or plaster seal}, 367.
majlis al-shirāb {drinking bout}, 367.
makāyîl {measures for liquids}, 366.
methbelum {artificially-fermented wine}, 368.
mî'âsara {wine press}, 358,370.
mushâmas [wine fermented naturally in the sun {shams}], 368.
nabāt {vegetables}, 380.
nabīd {wine which has lightly fermented for only two or three days},
365.
najîd {wine-strainer}, 371.
nugl {hors d'oeuvres}, 379,380.
nuḥâs {copper {pot}}, 385.
gâdíd {dried food}, 387.
gîdîr {cauldron} 385.
rawâqîd {pitch-coated storage jars}, 370.
rawûq {wine-strainer}, 371,375.
saniya {tray}, 366.

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simāt {a circular cloth, with rings and a cord at its edge; it was used as a ‘tablecloth’, and as a bag when closed up}, 52,152.
tabq {tray}, 389.

**Jewellery and Cosmetics**

chehra barafurukhtan {Persian}, a red stain for cheeks and lips, 341.
dumlu {gold armlet}, 343,351.
balqa {earring}, 343.
hinnā {henna}, 341.
khalqha {anklets}, 306,343.
kohl {antimony, used to enhance the lustre of the eyes}, 342,346.
lū’lū’ {pearl}, 339.
tawq {necklace}, 239.
siwar {pl. asāwir} {bracelets}, 306,342,343,350,351.
tuma {type of earring, with large bead at centre}, 343.

**The Law**

Al-Awzān w’al-Maḡādir, {branch of the Shari’a devoted to Weights and Measures}, 187.
bid’a {innovation}, 248.
faqih, pl. fuqaha, {juriconsult}, 281,284.
fatwa {legal opinion}, 137,319.
hakam {wise man, judge}, 278.
hākim {wise man, judge}, 303,324.
imāţ {consensus}, 165.
mahr {dowry, which in Muslim law is for the sole use of the female}, 317.
makhrūţ {reprehensible, regarding a testimony}, 202.
mufti {juriconsult who delivers a fatwa}, 497.
Qādī’-Qudāt {Chief Qādī}, 134,5,6.
shahid {witness}, 94,135.
talāq {divorce}, 331.
‘urf {customary law}, 202,279.
See ‘Architecture’ and ‘Costume and Textiles’.

**Music**

‘addāda {pl. ‘addādat} {female professional mourners/singers}, 246.
‘addudā {lament}, 246.
ālāti {musicians}, 238.
amīr al-ṭarab {‘ prince of enchantment’, referring to the lute}, 238.
barba {Persian lute}, 368.
daff {drum}, 55.
darabukka {small hand drum}, 242.
duff {tambourine}, 244.
karna a raucous double-reed instrument used in military music.
mizhar {lute}, 238, 242, 361, 367.
mizmär {a type of pipe, end-blown, as opposed to the flute} 75, 241, 242, 254, 361.

nafir {a single-reed trumpet}, 41, 42, 43, 44, 49, 55.

nagara {kettledrum} 42, 43, 49.
gusb or qusaba {old Arabic name for mizmär}, {pipe} 241.
gayan {plural qiyán} {singer}, 127, 239, 246, 247, 287, 336, 345, 381.

See manazil al-qiyan, 'Architecture'.
reed flute, 254.
rubáb {a skin-bellied lute, made from ewe or she goat skin}, 368.
santur {modern term? {dulcimer}, 244.

shabal {fife}, 55.
tabla {tambour, a drum}, 55.
tabla {verb, 'to drum'}, 41.
tabl khâna {military band}, 31, 42, 55, 58, 62.

'amal {prince, commander}, 92.

dârîya ghilman {the 'household' class of personal attendants at court}, 110. See ghulām.
hajib {chamberlain} 83, 84.
haras {Caliphal bodyguard}, 108.
jandar {a Mamluk official, whose heraldic blazon featured a fûta}, or napkin}, 360.
khâssa {category of private/personal servants within the dârîya ghilman or household servant class}, 119.
khasṣāklya {the Mamluk institution of personal servants}, 110.
muhṭar or ra'īs {the official in charge of the pilgrim caravan}, 56.

muhtasib {superintendent of the day to day running of the markets}, 169, 189.
Al-mukhtārīn {Caliphal bodyguards}. 108.
ra'īs [chief {here in charge of hajj caravan}], 56.
Sahib al-Diwân {the official who farmed the customs-duty}, 170.
Shâh {prince, a Persian title}, 299, 310, 311.
Wâli {ruler}, 80, 82, 107, 112, 114, 115, 117, 118, 120, 121, 190, 284, 299, 324, 411.
wazīr {vizier}, 2, 18, 33, 34, 83, 85, 92, 151, 186, 227, 334.

Religion

basma ṣa {invocation, 'in the name of God'}, 134, 384, 385.
al-balad al-hârâm, {sacred land, precincts of Mecca}, 70.
'lâšb {mourning garment from Yemen, with threads dyed before weaving}, 247.
dhibh {ritual slaughter}. 384.
dhimmi {a member of the ahl al-dhimmâ}, 50, 51.
hajj, {the Pilgrimage to Mecca; the fifth 'pillar' {rukn} of Islām}, 38, 46, 48, 56, 61, 65, 66, 67, 128, 153, 258, 370, 413, 485, 496.

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hajjajī {a type of camel litter specifically associated with pilgrims, as its name implies}, 57.

harīm {a place of seclusion for women}, 255, 320, 348.

I'd {religious festival}, 17.

I'd al-Fitr {the celebration of the breaking of the month’s fast at the end of Ramadan}, 11, 12, 15, 17, 23, 24, 30, 33, 34, 42, 104.

I'd al-kabīr {the Greater Feast}, viz., the Hajj, 38.

I'd al-saghir {the Lesser Feast}, viz., Ramadan, 38.

ihram {state of ritual purity, also used for the white, unsewn garments worn by pilgrims}, 61, 62, 70, 71, 453.

imam {preacher of the Friday sermon {khutba}}, 23, 25.

hujjaj {pilgrims}, 70.

Janna {Paradise}, 361, 452.

jami' {congregational mosque} See ‘Architecture’.

juz' {sign to indicate a pause in {Qur'ānic} recitation}, 292.

khatib {preacher}, 17, 18, 19, 22, 103, 111, 126.

Khuṭba {Friday sermon}, 11, 14, 20, 37, 101, 104, 283.

mahmil {camel-litter, specifically associated with the Pilgrimage; in the mid-13th century it became invested with a political meaning}, 56, 57, 59, 60, 66, 155.

masjid {mosque} See ‘Architecture’.

mikhsara {the staff which (with turban) was indispensable for a preacher}, 19.

mu'adhdhin {he who calls to prayer}, 265. See minaret.

qadi {the Prophet’s staff}, 19.

qibla {orientation of prayer towards Mecca}, 34.

raka'at {singular rak'a} {prostrations in prayer, with appropriate recitations}, 17.

Ramadan, {month of fasting and severe abstinence; the fourth 'pillar' of Islaam}, 11, 18, 20, 31, 33, 44, 45, 49, 104.

Rashidun {orthodox}, 276.

sadaqa {voluntary alms-giving}, 15, 18, 94.

Shahada {confession of faith}, 37.

Taḥdīd {doctrine of One God}, 37.

tibb al-nabawi or tībb al-nabī {literally ‘medicine of the Prophet’}, 201.

waqf {religious endowment}, 167, 218, 227.

General

adab {belles-lettres}, 36.

'ajam {Persians; foreigners}, 127.

akhḍā'ain {dual} {two deep neck veins at the occiput or back of skull}, 198.

akhū'1-'aylat {literally 'brother of poverty'}, 351.

'alam {Banner}, 19, 38, 44, 48, 155.

ālif {initial letter of the alphabet}, 72, 74, 183, 401.

ās {myrtle}, 361.

'asa' {staff}, 74, 235, 283, 441, 478.

'asa'al-qasal {distaff}, 261, 296, 298.

ashnūd {in the full vigour of life}, 180.

asturlab {astrolabe}, 162.

balam {Iraqi river boat}, 444, 451, 466, 475.

banj {hashish}, 164, 165.

barshā {saddle for mule or ass}, 39.

būlayda {diminutive of balad, country} {small town}, 266.

daffa {wooden board at side of saddle to support drums}, 41, 44.

darb {lane}, 210.
dikka {brick platform}, 93,99,100,428.
diyafà {hospitality}, 287.
dulab {water-drawing machine}, 254.
hand-held fan, 120,129,347a,352,477.
farsakh {measurement of approximately three miles}, 210.
Fasd {Feast of Cupping}, 203.
Flag type of fan, 120,477.
fly whisk, 119,120,252.
hadira {settled lands}, 388.
hajña {cupper, phlebotomist}, 195.
hamása {fortitude, enthusiasm}, 285.
hashish {hemp}, 164,165.
Hawdaj, {plural ahc1 j} {a type of camel litter}, 57,59,63,64,66.
hij {a camel-litter for women}, 63,64,65.
hijama {the technique of cupping}, 198.
hisba {regulation}, 222.
Istil {'blind' beggar who frequented mosques}, 16.
Jariya {young maiden, literally "one who runs about"}, 238,261,331,332,333,334,340,342,345,346,350,352.
Katib {scribe}, 131,133,301.
Khayzurân {bamboo}, 8.
Al-khudayna {diminutive} {nickname for an effeminate man}, 95.
kudda {female accomplice of a beggar who frequented mosques}, 16.
Kufi {Kufic script}, 401.
Kutub {books}, 151.
Lam {the letter 'l' in Arabic}, 72,74,183,401.
Na'ajin {narcotics such as hashish and opium}, 165.
Mahalla {boat with a poop and sliding platform}, 454.
Mahalla {a tented encampment of pilgrims}, 56.
Masa'il {questions}, 302.
Mihzal {spinning-wheel}, 296,297,314,411,449.
Mihaffa {a camel-litter for females, like the hawdaj, but without the tent-like top}, 64.
Mihbara {inkwell}, 134.
Mihjama {cupping vessel}, 198.
Mirror, 344,345.
Muruwwa {manliness}, 285.
Musatta or sathî {flat type of astrolabe}, 302.
Muzayyin {cupper or phlebotimist}, 204.
Markh {an excellent firewood}, 388.
Mukallafin {a body of people required to form the congregation in the jami'}, 266.
Mutarabbi'an {sitting squarely with legs crossed beneath oneself}, 115.
Na'âma {wooden beam}, 253,254.
Nadi {meeting place}, 101.
Naskhi {one of the Sitta {six} Arabic scripts in the classical tradition}, 32,401,408,409,418,419,424,433.
Gaf {an Arabic 'k', one of two}, 401.
Galam {pen}, 133,134,224.
Gasida {an ancient Arabic poetry form}, 3,346,384.
Gatab {camel saddle}, 64.
qintar {a dry measurement}, 338, 339.
ra‘is al-tujjar {chief merchant}, 169.
rawi {narrator}, 2.
rayhān {fragrant odours from a brazier}, 374.
riqa {ticket}, 130.
rumūn {spear}, 9, 48, 98, 274, 383, 410, 475.
sāhib al-mabādhī wa‘l-mawāsī, {'the man with lances and razors', viz.,
  the cupper or phlebotomist}, 202, 207.
saj {rhymed prose}, 2.
samūn {a wind}, 60.
saqīm {drooping, of eyelids}, 95, 346.
sayf {pl. suyyif}, {sword}, 18, 19, 81, 84, 108, 109, 284, 287.
shakīma al-lijam {horse’s bit}, 40.
shālīsha {flagpole}, 48, 49.
shawwāl {beardless youth}, 84, 95.
shawq {thorns, used as fuel}, 388.
shaykh {honorific title denoting respect}, 208, 274, 278, 304.
sil‘a min al-sila‘ {but one commodity among many}, 193.
sukun {diacritical point to indicate both a pause and poetry}, 221.
tamūn {talisman}, 159.
thulūth {another classical, large script, used in the Magāmāt for
  captions and chapter headings}, 9, 32, 72, 138, 172, 179, 282, 327, 333,
  399, 400, 418, 419, 424, 433.
tujjar {single tijjar} {merchants}, 158, 159,
tunbūr {water-lifting device, here in the form of an Archimedes
  screw}, 254.
‘umān {singular amūn} {trustees}, 169.
‘ufar {excellent firewood}, 388.
‘urw {a suspension ring, here on an astrolabe}, 303.
wakīl {agent}, 158.
waliya {saddle}, 151.
wasakh al udhn {wax from the ear}, 164.
wine-pourer, 372.
zabad bahrī {ambergris}, 301, 309.

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