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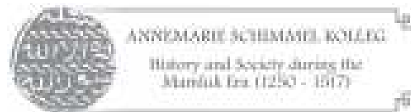

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The Arts of the Mamluks in Egypt and Syria – Evolution and Impact

With 150 figures

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Editorial note

In order to keep the main text of this book clear and easy to read also to the non-specialised reader, no diacritic signs have been used for foreign terms except in the bibliography, the glossary and the footnotes, where transliteration has been used for citations, names of authors and titles of publication at their first occurrence in the article.

For the same reason, italics have been kept to a minimum; current foreign terms in Islamic art literature such as minbar, mihrab, muqarnas, or terms that can be found in English language dictionaries are not italicised; terms with varying meanings according to regions such as *qaʿa* and *khanqah* are.

Most foreign and unknown technical terms are explained in the main text at their first occurrence, those relevant to the study of Islamic art are listed in the glossary.

The transliteration follows the system current in academic literature written in English.

Acknowledgement

Although this book is based on the conference *The Arts of the Mamluks in Egypt and Syria* held at SOAS in 2009, it is not a “proceedings” publication. Yet the book is indebted to the conference for the stimulation of fruitful exchanges and lively debates among scholars and between speakers and audience, which inspired the authors of this book with fresh ideas, and drew attention to problems to be solved and efforts still to be made. This is a good opportunity to repeat our thanks to the sponsors whose contributions made the conference possible: The Barakat Trust, The British Academy, The British-Egyptian Society and Professor Nasser D Khalili.

The authors of this book also thank the Barakat Trust and the Fondation Max Van Berchem for their financial support in covering the costs of the editorial works and the illustrations of the manuscript.

I thank Mehreen M. Razvi and Rosalind W. Haddon for helping me with the proofreading.

Foreword

This book is the first collective publication dedicated to Mamluk art to appear since 1984, when the papers of the first conference on Mamluk art, held three years earlier in Washington, D.C. were published in the periodical *Muqarnas*. The conference accompanied an exhibition on the same subject organised by Esin Atıl at the Freer Gallery, together with her invaluable book on the Mamluk decorative arts, *Renaissance of Islam: Art of the Mamluks.* At that time Mamluk art was described as a new field. Since then, individual studies have been published on many, but not all, aspects of Mamluk art. A number of topics still have not received the scholarly attention they deserve, in particular the art of the Circassian Mamluk period with its various phases. Calligraphy, illumination, metalwork and ceramics of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries still await focused research, as does a rare illustrated manuscript made for an Emir Khushqadam in the 1460s. Some questions may never receive a definitive answer, such as, for example: to what extent can Mamluk artifacts be attributed to either Egypt or Syria?

The most extensively researched subject in the last decades has been Mamluk architecture and its patronage in Egypt and Syria. While studies of the arts of the book, glass, and metalwork have dealt with individual objects and issues, they have not, however, addressed the bigger issues of workshops and production patterns, patronage, style and interdisciplinary connections.[1] The present book and the conference on the Arts of the Mamluks held at the School of Oriental and African Studies in September 2009, on which it is partly based, are a response to the urgent need for an updated view of the subject on individual issues and as a whole. The necessity of a new exhibition on Mamluk art is still to be met.

This book cannot answer all questions or cover all aspects of Mamluk art in Egypt and Syria. However, in pursuit of a better documentation of the different aspects of the artistic and material culture of the Mamluk period, the contributions in this book take a variety of approaches and present new research and ideas, inevitably also diverging opinions, in response to the challenges of a complex and great subject that occupies an important place in medieval world history.

1 See the select bibliography at the end of this book

Doris Behrens-Abouseif

The Arts of the Mamluks in Egypt and Syria: An Introduction

The arts of the Mamluks have been enthusiastically described as a "Renaissance of Islam."[1] Indeed, they embody the last artistic flourishing of the pre-modern Arab civilisation, before the rise of the great empires of the Safavids, Ottomans, and Mughals. However, when the Mamluk sultanate was eclipsed, it was still displaying much of the artistic brilliance that had enhanced its golden age. The arts of the Mamluks continued to flourish under political decline because they had a major function to fulfill, in particular when the damaged image of the political power needed to be restored. Although this may apply to all regimes and the arts, the very nature of the Mamluk regime required continuous testimony to its legitimacy.

The Mamluks, whose history began as an elite corps in the army of the last Ayyubid sultan al-Salih Najm al-Din (r. 1240–49), were purchased on the slave market in the Black Sea and the Caucasus. Using the vacuum left by al-Salih's death to seize power in Egypt and Syria, their unconventional and bold choice of a woman, Shajar al-Durr (1250), al-Salih's widow, as the first Mamluk sultan, was a most obvious expression of their emphasis on allegiance to their Ayyubid master. Continuity and tradition are also emphasised in the Mamluks' allegiance to the institution of the Abbasid caliphate, which they perpetuated after the sack of Baghdad by the Mongols in 1258, with a symbolic caliph in Cairo. The pursuit of continuity implied the consolidation of orthodoxy; the Mamluk sultans assumed the role of guardians of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, as the Abbasid caliphs had done before them. However, once their authority was confirmed, the Mamluks earned legitimacy not only through continuity, but also through their triumphs on the battlefield that led to the eviction of the Crusaders and the Mongols from their territory, and through the promotion of Islam with intense pious patronage. For two and a half centuries they ruled a territory that stretched between Anatolia and Nubia and between Libya and the Arabian peninsula. Besides the natural resources of Egypt and Syria, the prosperity of the Mamluk sultanate relied on the transit trade between the Far East and Europe. The cities of Egypt and Syria flourished and the capital, Cairo, became the cultural centre of the Muslim world and one of the largest and most developed metropolises of the time. The

patronage of *madrasas*, primary schools *(maktab* /today *kuttab*), Sufi institutions (*khanqah* s, *zawiya* s, and *ribat* s), and other philanthropic foundations hosted in lavish monuments attracted scholars, students, and craftsmen from various parts of the Muslim world, stimulating a vast literary and artistic production.

The non-hereditary succession of the Mamluk system, based on merit rather than genealogy, was maintained in spite of regular, and sometimes successful, attempts to undermine the rules. By continuously renewing itself through purchase, the Mamluk aristocracy also had to renew the testimony to its legitimacy. Mamluk meritocracy is visually reflected in the ubiquitous blazon, a unique feature in Islamic art and material culture, which signals the identity of the Mamluk class and its princely functions on all its belongings, portable or immovable. At the same time, the Mamluks gave a new meaning to religious foundations by turning them into funerary memorials to themselves. The blazon and the mausoleum were thus the most visible Mamluk symbols, widely propagated by artifacts and monuments of piety. Mamluk royal patronage of the visual arts was mostly intended to address a large rather than an exclusive courtly audience. In spite of the social barrier between the ruling establishment and the local population, which was more pronounced under the earlier Bahri period than in the later Circassian period, the sultans and the emirs were present and visible in their cities, with whose population they cultivated the spiritual ties of religion and Sufi worship. This environment provided opportunities for craftsmen of Egypt and Syria to excel in almost all the artistic media of their time: architecture and its decoration, the arts of the book, metalwork, ceramics, glass, and textiles. However, the consistent abstinence of the sultans from the patronage of illustrated manuscripts (with the exception of al-Ghawri's Turkish *Shahnameh*), against the established practice in other contemporary Muslim courts, confirms their orthodox attitude; figural representations on artifacts diminished gradually from the late thirteenth century onwards.

Mamluk architecture was to a great extent the achievement of princely patronage, but it was not exclusively so. In Syrian cities and in the Cairo suburb of Fustat, members of the religious establishment, merchants and other commoners figured as patrons of religious and secular monuments, and in the fifteenth century men of religion and commoners increasingly contributed to the monumental patronage of Cairo. Although Mamluk epigraphy, in particular in the Bahri period, is characterised by the princely attributes of titles and blazons, many anonymous masterpieces suggest that art objects of ceramics, glass, metalwork and textile were made for unknown non-princely patrons, as well as for export. The lavish markets of the great Mamluk cities of Egypt and Syria served an affluent and widespread clientele, which also included the sultan's court. The ruling establishment also made use of their power to control the markets when their need for military equipment or luxury goods was concerned, imposing certain productions and dictating prices.

The State trade, *matjar sultani,* that goes back to the Fatimids, continued to play a major role in the Mamluk markets; the monopoly on certain vital trades practiced by the later sultans has been viewed by some historians as the reason for the decline of Mamluk economy. This notwithstanding, no artifact can be definitely and exclusively associated with court workshops as State production apart from the industry of the regal *tiraz* textiles of Alexandria, which seems to have declined after the fourteenth century, and the armoury (*zardakhana*), located in the Citadel, alongside other strategic industries. The only mentions of designers (*rassamin*) by Maqrizi refer to workshops in the commercial centre of the capital, and biographical literature seems to confirm this fact. The forces of these urban markets – the market of Cairo continued to have a breathtaking impact on visitors even during the campaign of the Ottoman sultan Selim I, as attested by Leo Africanus – must have contributed substantially, alongside princely patronage, to shaping the arts.

The visual arts that flourished under Mamluk patronage did not form a homogeneous body, neither was their evolution uniform or linear; they rather followed the fluctuations and preferences of princely patronage and market demand, as the studies of this book clearly show. Nasser Rabbat explores the visual culture under the four great sultans of the early period, between the mid-thirteenth and the early fourteenth century, al-Zahir Baybars, al-Mansur Qalawun, and his sons al-Ashraf Khalil and al-Nasir Muhammad, and concludes that while being keen to assert their legitimacy and identity in their epigraphy and blazons, these rulers were still open-minded or undecided as to the artistic idiom that should express their aspirations. During this formative and experimental period, the Mamluk regime was still in search of an identity. One may speculate that the allegiance to their Ayyubid patron, al-Salih Najm al-Din, which the early sultans advertised to promote a sense of continuity, accounts for their reluctance to introduce bold innovations at this stage. Although J.M. Rogers suggests that a certain quality of workmanship, such as that of the Baptistère de St. Louis, would not have been sustainable without the presence of court workshops, he admits that there is so far no literary evidence to support this argument. As long as they had not articulated a new artistic agenda, the early Bahri Mamluks may not have altered the existing mechanisms of trade and court supply with the creation of court workshops. It was not until the third reign of al-Nasir Muhammad (1310–1341), when the Crusaders and Mongols had been definitively repelled and prosperity prevailed under his mature rule, that certain archetypical and official features took shape in the visual arts.

Rabbat criticises previous generalising descriptions of Mamluk art as monolithic, and pleads for a periodisation based on accurate studies focused on specific subjects and taking evolution into consideration. This is also the primary aim of this book. If we exclude Maqrizi's description of the markets of Cairo, Mamluk literature tells us little about the contemporary artistic production; unlike the Ottoman period, which is extensively documented in the court registers, no Mamluk

documents of significance are available as evidence of trade and industrial activities of this period. We have to rely mostly on the objects themselves, their inscriptions, techniques, and their place in archaeology to tell their history.

Unlike architecture, which was the most powerful and direct representation of the ruling establishment, there was no uninterrupted development of the Mamluk decorative arts. The art of metalwork was one of the greatest achievements of Mamluk craftsmanship, and as was the case with enamelled glass, it was rooted in a tradition established under the Ayyubids in Egypt and Syria and initially influenced by the craftsmen of Mosul. The design of the silver-inlaid Baptistère de St Louis, discussed by Rogers, appears today as an exceptional case in the history of this art while at the same time it marks the end of the pictorial tradition on metal. The reign of al-Nasir Muhammad ibn Qalawun brought Mamluk metalwork to a zenith, while associating it at the same time with a Qalawunid–Mamluk identity that was maintained to the end of the dynasty's rule in 1390. The art objects and vessels of daily use made for al-Nasir Muhammad, his emirs, and his descendants are dominated by calligraphic inscriptions referring to the patrons with titles and blazons. The sultan had a predilection for epigraphy, which was manifested in his own blazon, in which he replaced the icon used by his predecessors with an inscription glorifying his name, thus establishing a tradition that was maintained by all his successors.

Sophie Makariou and Carine Juvin discuss an example of metalwork from this glorious period, a composite object in the Louvre Museum. This object, which combines elements of a kind of box called a *kursi* with a tray in the name of an emir of Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad, attests to the high value of the art of metalworking that justified the reuse of their scraps to create new forms and combinations, once the 'life' of the initial object had come to an end. While discussing the unusual inscriptions, the authors speculate on the function of the enigmatic *kursi* and trace its reception in Ottoman art.

Enamelled mosque lamps are another artistic highlight of the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Although the art of enamelled and gilded glass was created by Ayyubid craftsmen, the large mosque lamps were a Bahri Mamluk achievement closely associated with the princely patronage of religious foundations; they have become almost emblematic of Mamluk art altogether in recent publications, despite the end of their history already at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Rachel Ward provides a long-awaited chronology of the evolution of the art of enamelled glass. Using the mosque lamps datable by their patrons' inscribed names as a point of reference, she traces the technical evolution of the enamel decoration across eight decades of the lamps' production. She then proposes to apply the chronology of enamel techniques to date the other, non-inscribed and undated secular vessels rather than the stylistic criteria applied hitherto. The final decline of enamelled glass has been attributed to Timur's invasion of Syria and the eco-

nomic crisis or political unrest of the early decades of the fifteenth century; however, as will be shown below, these circumstances did not have the same effect on other arts.

Just as the combination of epigraphic information with technical considerations can be significant in dating enamelled glass, archaeological evidence is crucial in the documentation of Mamluk ceramics, as the articles by Roland-Pierre Gayraud and Rosalind Wade Haddon show. Gayraud's overview of Mamluk pottery, supported by archaeological data, refers to the rather common and utilitarian character of some ware, including pottery made for 'packaging' take-away food and eventually reused as building material in mortar. The *sgraffito* vessels of red clay produced in Egypt must have been made, in spite of their inscribed princely titles and blazons, for the use of junior *mamluk*s attached to the emirs rather than for the tables of the emirs themselves. Paradoxically, this everyday tableware embodies the Mamluk–Qalawunid stylistic archetype shared with princely metalwork and glassware. By celebrating the status of the *mamluk* at the lower stage of his career, this pottery is a remarkable phenomenon of Mamluk identity. The more refined contemporary underglaze-painted pottery, made of frit or stonepaste, displays a very different style, un-epigraphic and strongly influenced by Ilkhanid prototypes. The patrons of this production may have been either a different group of society or a less specific clientele. Rosalind Wade Haddon explores the underglaze-painted pottery of the fourteenth century and the confusing similarities it bears with the contemporary Iranian production, pointing to the simultaneous influence of Ilkhanid ceramic decoration on Mamluk architecture. The blue-and-white pottery of the fifteenth century also reveals Iranian influence, but of a different kind, marked by imitations of Chinese Ming porcelain that had already been absorbed in Timurid ceramics. Gayraud attributes the absence of prestigious pottery in the fifteenth century to the massive import of Chinese porcelain and European pottery. This did not force the ceramists at the end of this century to abandon their craft altogether, but rather to turn to the production of tiles for architectural decoration.

Modern historians have often described the fifteenth century as a period of decline. However, this judgement does not apply to scholarly and literary activity or to the visual arts. One may think of it as a new chapter in the history of the Mamluk visual arts, behind which an initiative for renewal sought various sources of inspiration, probably in Iranian and Turkmen sources. In the first half of that century architecture continued to be innovative in Egypt and Syria, and in the second half following a period of recession, a renaissance of the art of metalwork was manifested in an unprecedented array of styles that have little in common with their predecessors. Ceramics displayed new trends that include architectural decoration; an illustrated manuscript was commissioned by an emir,[2] and a new production of luxury carpets, among the finest in the pre-modern Muslim world, conquered

European markets. Jon Thompson proposes a chronology of the late Mamluk carpets, which continued to be produced well into the Ottoman period. These carpets, which are known almost exclusively from European collections, represent an artistic category of their own. Stylistically they are hardly related to any other Mamluk craft except for the occasional appearance of blazons. Their production does not show much of a chronological evolution, except when Mamluk techniques were combined with Ottoman patterns. Thompson discerns a Turkmen stylistic influence and suggests the contribution of craftsmen from Iranian–Turkmen lands in the launch of this new production, which was of a quality that made it a highly esteemed item in Renaissance Europe. This production, which may have been distinct from the previous Mamluk carpets mentioned in fourteenth-century sources, was most likely initiated under the reign of Sultan Qaytbay, whose patronage was propitious to many arts.

Unlike the decorative arts where Egyptian and Syrian craftsmanship are still difficult to distinguish, Mamluk architecture maintained a pronounced regional identity with few exceptions that confirm the rule. Due to the nature of the building craft and the relative immobility of builders in comparison with other craftsmen, in particular those associated with princely patronage, architecture more than any other craft, was tied to regional traditions and techniques. Syrian architecture does not belong to the same 'school' of Cairene Mamluk architecture, which created its own style embedded in a long history and was rarely reproduced outside the capital. Syrian architecture itself is divided into sub-regional styles. Ellen Kenney's reconstruction and biography of the mosque of the great emir Tankiz in Damascus during the reign of al-Nasir Muhammad is a case in point. Whereas the mosque's architecture and decoration, notably the glass mosaics, are rooted in the local tradition, similarities with Cairene architectural features such as the shape of the minaret, are, in her view, intentional citations of and references to the royal capital. Bernard O'Kane's reconstruction of a contemporary mosque in Cairo founded by another prominent emir, Bashtak, is based on his discovery of drawings made in the nineteenth century by the English architect James Wild. The architecture and the decoration of this monument reveal the dynamics of the patronage of al-Nasir Muhammad and his emirs. While displaying outstanding features, such as the marble bench (*dikka*), the monumental minaret, the rectangular muqarnas vault of the portal and the elevated passage that connected the mosque with the *khanqah* opposite it, the mosque belongs to a group of hypostyle Friday mosques that spread at that time on the outskirts of the capital.

The fifteenth century also saw a tremendous patronage of religious foundations and urban projects in Cairo. Julien Loiseau discusses a Cairene phenomenon of patronage during the early fifteenth century, the 'popularisation' of Friday mosques. The privilege of founding a Friday mosque, previously confined mainly to the ruling establishment, was extended to include a larger group of individuals of various

social backgrounds. At the same time, former madrasas, *khanqah* s, and *zawiya* s were redefined to fulfill the function of a Friday mosque as well. This development, which took place during a specific period of the fifteenth century, raising a wide range of socio-political questions that need further investigation, had an impact on the architecture and function of religious monuments as well as urban mechanisms.

Islamic palatial and secular architecture has, in general, been less well preserved and hence less well studied than religious monuments. However, recent archaeological excavations in Cairo and in Syrian cities have brought to light significant new material. Iman Abdulfattah and Mamdouh Sakr reconstruct the decorative programme of recently discovered glass mosaics in an excavated Bahri Mamluk hall in the Citadel of Cairo. Their finds confirm the impact of the Umayyad mosque of Damascus, continuously maintained and restored by the Mamluks, on the religious and secular architecture of the early period in both Damascus and Cairo and place the extant examples of Mamluk glass-mosaic decoration in a broader context. A different palatial architecture is revealed by Julia Gonnella, whose article is likewise based on recent archaeological finds. She discusses the fifteenth-century reconstruction of the Throne Hall at the Citadel of Aleppo following the devastation caused by Timur's invasion, and demonstrates that the architecture of this hall clearly differed from that of Cairo, being rooted rather in the regional tradition of Aleppo. At the same time, consistent with the traditional pronounced involvement of Mamluk patrons in the architectural design of their monuments, the taste of the patron, the emir Jakam, and notably his aspirations to the Mamluk throne, decisively shaped the innovations he introduced in the reconstruction of this Throne Hall. Gonnella interprets the modernised fenestration of the hall as a significant factor in the ceremonial visual communication between the Throne Hall and the city, and a phenomenon of zeitgeist rather than a Cairene influence.

While rooted in the traditions of Egypt and Syria, the arts of the Mamluks reflect at the same time worldwide interaction with the rest of the Muslim world and beyond. Monuments and portable objects reveal inspirations from Iran, Anatolia, the western Islamic world, and the Far East. Artistic interactions also took place with Latin Europe and were not only one-sided, as previous scholarship has suggested, with Europe on the receiving end. Evidence of contact with the Crusaders is visible in Bahri Mamluk architecture and European heraldry is likely to have inspired the blazons of the sultans Baybars and Qalawun. In a fresh approach to the famous metal basin, the so-called Baptistère de St Louis made in the early Mamluk period, Rogers suggests that the craftsman Ibn al-Zayn, who signed it, was inspired by a French Gothic source. Interaction with Latin Europe continued during the Renaissance, assuming new forms.

While the resonance of Islamic Art in Europe, including the arts of the Mamluks, is a well-established topic, the resonance of Mamluk art in other Islamic regions is less clearly determined. Two articles from the perspective of Turkish scholarship shed light on this subject. Zeren Tanındı emphasises the deep cultural interaction between the various cultures of the Muslim world through the migration of men of religion, as well as scribes and artists, between Mamluk, Jalayirid, Turkmen, Timurid, and early Ottoman lands in the fifteenth century. Her research, focused on manuscripts, reveals the interest of some Mamluk emirs in Turkish Sufi poetry and the hospitality they granted to Turkish Sufis. At the same time, she draws attention to the work for Mamluk and Ottoman patrons of a Mamluk scribe, illuminator and bookbinder, who may have originated in Jerusalem.

Baha Tanman highlights Mamluk features in the architecture of the Anatolian principalities, touching on two aspects of this transmission of patterns: the force of regionalism that accounts for common architectural traditions between Syria and Anatolia and the sheer impact of Mamluk architecture and decoration on its neighbours.

My article discusses the ambiguity of the Mamluk attitude to foreign arts, pointing to the discrepancy between the artistic interaction revealed in the arts and crafts and the statements expressed in literary sources, explicitly or implicitly, about foreign countries and their arts. Political and military confrontations with the Ilkhanids and Timurids, with their disastrous impact on Mamluk interests, did not prevent a Mamluk fascination, perceptible in the visual arts and sometimes in narratives, with the Iranian world and the patronage of these dynasties. By contrast, artistic interaction with the Crusaders and the increasing demand in the fifteenth century for European goods and expertise could neither overshadow nor soften the Crusader image of Latin Europe conveyed by the historians of that time. Books and objects tell different stories.

The collective contribution of this book sharpens our picture of Mamluk art through dating and periodisation based on technical considerations and archaeological finds, and the scrutiny of patronage. While focusing on the evolution of specific crafts (glass, ceramics, carpets), individual objects (metal vessels, books) and monuments (mosques and palaces in Cairo, Damascus, and Aleppo) it refers at the same time to the bigger picture of evolution, self-representation in the early period, pious patronage in the later period, and artistic interaction with other cultures.

Notes

1 Esin Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam: Art of the Mamluks* (Washington, D.C., 1981).

2 An illustrated *Iskandarnameh* of the Turkish poet Ahmedi is briefly discussed by Esin Atıl in "Mamluk Painting in the Late Fifteenth century," *Muqarnas* 2 (1984), 159–72.

Nasser Rabbat

In Search of a Triumphant Image: the Experimental Quality of Early Mamluk Art

The formation of Mamluk culture in late medieval Egypt and Syria is a fascinating yet scarcely studied phenomenon.[1] Of the numerous scholars specialising in Mamluk history, only a few have gone beyond the analysis of Mamluk social structures, protocols, or ceremonies to try to understand their underlying cultural and mental makeup.[2] Even fewer are those who have ventured into any speculation about the Mamluks' manners, attitudes, beliefs, preferences, and taste, all fundamental elements in the composition of culture.[3] This is so primarily because culture manifests itself in ways that are not easily captured in biographical or annalistic writing, which constitute our main historical sources for the period.[4] But it is also a function of the peculiarity of the Mamluk system, which created a one-generation military aristocracy composed of young slaves (*mamluk*s), all foreign and forcibly imported to Egypt and Syria where they were acculturated to the Islamic religion and ways and extensively trained in *furusiyya* (equestrian and military exercises), before being manumitted and conscripted into the army to rule and defend an extraordinary empire. These Mamluks, already separated by linguistic and ethnic barriers from the rest of society, upheld their exclusion as a means of control and manipulation of power and wealth. And even though they shared the same religion, Islam, and the broad sense of identity it engendered with the majority of their subjects, the rulers and the ruled occupied different cultural spheres and observed distinct codes of behaviour, especially in the formative period, when the Mamluks were still busy building their empire against all odds and had not yet adapted to the local mores.[5]

The nascent Mamluk culture was indeed novel, almost experimental, and decidedly unconventional. It was, in essence, aimed at bolstering a common frame of reference between the disparate groups of Mamluks who, lacking a shared ethnic, linguistic, or historical background, had to forge their norms from the bits and pieces of customs and traditions they brought with them from their various countries of origin and the experiences they underwent and absorbed as *mamluk*s in their new abode. This syncretism defined most details of Mamluk culture, such as habits of socialisation, ethics, and etiquette, as well as the image they projected of

themselves. It was also symbolically deployed in the buildings they erected, the art they commissioned, and the elaborate insignia system (blazons or *rank*), dietary, musical, ceremonial, and dress codes they introduced and guarded exclusively as theirs.[6]

That experimental quality appears most clearly in the art and architecture of the formative period, when the new rulers were busily expanding and securing their empire and building its new institutions and social structures with the Mamluks at the top. Four great sultans, al-Zahir Baybars (r. 1260–76), al-Mansur Qalawun (r. 1280–90), his sons al-Ashraf Khalil (r. 1290–92), and al-Nasir Muhammad (r. 1293–1341 with two interruptions), were not only responsible for the construction of the new polity, they were also directly involved in the noticeable dynamism and originality of the period's art, a dynamism that reflected and was illuminated by other historical processes unfolding at the same time and animated by the same actors. Drawing upon the material and spiritual resources available to them, the great sultans were able to sustain a counter-offensive against the Crusaders and reconquer all the castles and cities they had held on the Syrian and Palestinian coastline, while simultaneously repelling many Mongol forays into Syria and subduing internal revolts and unruly neighbours. Domestically, they introduced novel rules that were aimed at translating their slave background, foreignness, military hierarchy, and fabricated group cohesion into new foundations for their remarkable and highly innovative political and military regime that was to last far longer than many of their contemporary sultanates.[7]

The four great sultans constituted a special group of extraordinary rulers and avid art and architectural patrons. They erected citadels to defend their realm, palaces to display their wealth, civic structures to support social and religious activities and demonstrate their piety, and mausoleums to commemorate their lives and aggrandise their deeds. They used these structures efficiently to communicate political messages that stressed their legitimacy as defenders of the faith, while at the same time distinguishing themselves from other contemporary and competing ruling elites. To that end, they deployed an elaborate inscriptional system, which built upon the conventions developed by their Zangid and Ayyubid predecessors, and, at the same time, noticeably differed from them. Extensive and carefully calibrated royal titles, which publicised their names and stressed their religious merits and military prowess, and were sometimes prefaced by or interspersed with thoughtfully selected Koranic verses, were executed in various media and all sizes and colours and placed on every building they endowed and every object they commissioned.[8]

The art and architecture these great sultans commissioned, however, show no explicit cultural or historical preference or direction. In fact, a number of the innovations and revivals executed during their reigns seem to us today unusual, ephemeral, foreign, ambiguous, or totally incomprehensible.[9] They seem to have

been adopted, borrowed, resurrected, or invented at every stage, and then either reapplied with or without modification or rejected with the next work. Artifacts and buildings reflected this provisional and experimental character in their methods, techniques, and models. They referred to diverse, and sometimes even contradictory, cultural and artistic traditions, ideals, and images that the Mamluks must have considered suitable, representative, or desirable and tried to fashion from them a new, workable, and expressive Mamluk style.

Some of these traditions were picked up from the Mamluks' places of origin or their stopovers along the way to Egypt, such as elaborate stone carvings and glass mosaic, which may have originated in Anatolia and Syria.[10] Others were encountered in their new abode and appropriated or absorbed, such as the dome, iwan, and high portal, which had become the main elements of monumentality in the Ayyubid period. Still others were either remembered or simply conjured up to serve an ideological, political, or, sometimes, even a frivolous purpose, such as the emblem system known as *tamgha* in the Asiatic steppes, which may have constituted the basis of the Mamluk *rank* /blazon system, or the resurrected signs of the early Caliphate, such as green domes and hypostyle plans.[11]

Some experiments seem to have led nowhere and were dropped either immediately or after a few trials, such as the insertion of a basilical plan, complete with a tripartite basilical façade, inside the large iwan of the madrasa of Sultan Qalawun in Cairo (1284) (fig. 1). Others were felt to be more satisfactory and were adopted for longer stretches of time, such as the revival of glass mosaic as a decorative medium, which first appeared in the Mausoleum of Sultan al-Zahir Baybars in Damascus (1284), then in at least eighteen buildings across the Mamluk Empire between ca. 1284 and 1339, including the Qaʿa Ashrafiyya at the Citadel of Cairo (1292) (fig. 2). Others became stylistic fixtures and were used over and over again, some of them even surviving the Mamluks themselves into later periods, such as the tripartite minaret profile with its bulbous finial, which developed in the first half of the fourteenth century and later became a distinct Egyptian minaret type, before it spread across the Islamic world in the late twentieth century as a quasi-universal type.

Examining a few instances in some detail will help us understand the nuances of this experimental early phase in Mamluk art and architecture. The first case is the frequent use of figures in painting, reliefs, murals, metalwork, and miniature painting, in addition to textiles adorned with images. Contrary to the practice of earlier Islamic dynasties in Egypt and Syria, such as the Umayyads, Abbasids, and Fatimids, and following customs established by the Saljuks and their successors, the early Mamluks employed figural art not only in their private residences and illustrated books, which they usually kept for themselves, but also in public spaces, such as royal palaces, hammams, and citadels, and in books that they endowed as public waqfs.[12] They even used images on temporary structures or models for celebratory purposes in processions and festivals, and, in a few instances, as visual

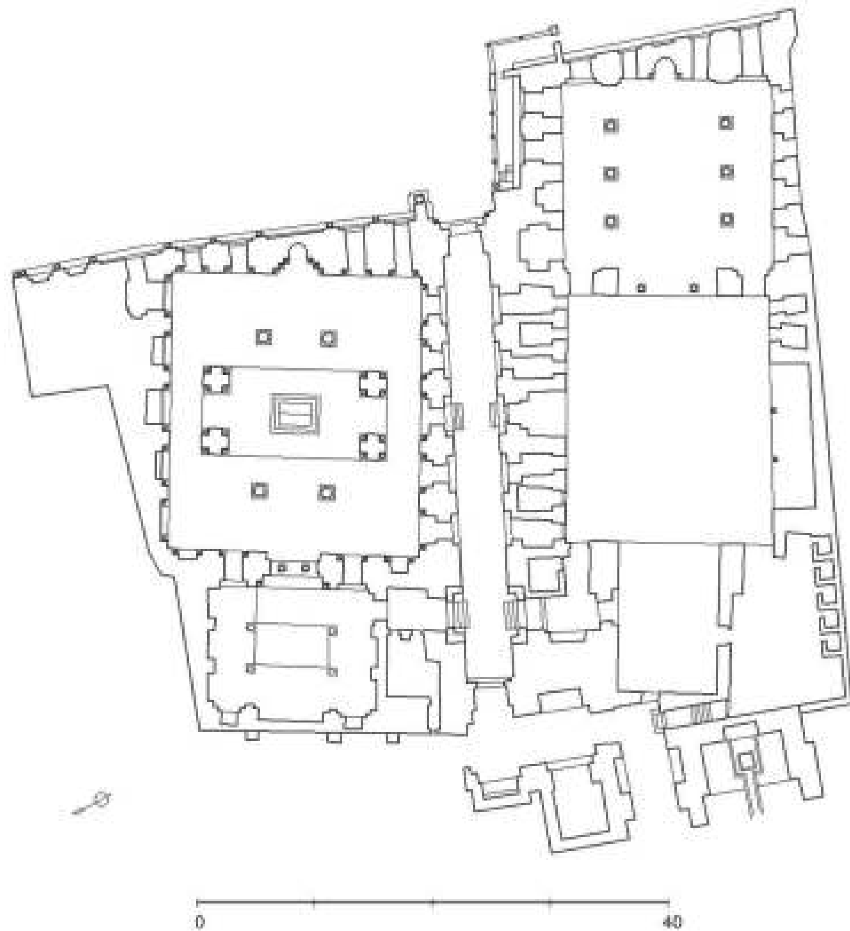

Figure 1: Plan of the mausoleum and madrasa of Sultan Qalawun, Cairo.

signals communicating various messages to the public, such as when Emir Manjak al-Yusufi raised images *(suwar)* of executed women in 1351 on the walls of the city to dissuade Cairene women from wearing men's cloaks.[13]

The most illustrious examples are naturally those that adorned royal palaces and objects. We know of two no-longer-extant palaces in the Citadel of Cairo that used figural representations on their walls. The first, built by al-Zahir Baybars in 1264, is known as the Qubba Zahiriyya. It was profusely ornamented, and figures of the sultan and his emirs were represented (*suwwirat*, which could mean 'painted') on its interior walls. Ibn Shaddad says that the scenes represented Baybars and his emirs and retinue in the day of the procession (*mawkib*), a reference perhaps to

Figure 2: Mosaic detail from the mausoleum of Sultan al-Zahir Baybars, Damascus.

a cycle of princely scenes.[14] Ibn ʿAbd al-Zahir stresses the military quality of the images and explains that Baybars, the great fighter and leader of armies, preferred scenes of horsemen and warriors to surround him in his hall, unlike the rulers before him, who chose to portray themselves among singers and in drinking settings, possibly a direct reference to Fatimid and Tulunid precedents.[15] This stricture was intentional; Baybars was a rather austere ruler, whose favourite pastimes were indeed hunting and *furusiyya* exercises. The most famous object that illustrates this preference is the so-called Baptistère de St. Louis, whose date and patron remain a subject of debate. Doris Behrens-Abouseif has presented a very persuasive ar-

gument that suggested the date to be the 1260s and the patron none other than al-Zahir Baybars himself.[16] The figures on the brass basin have been interpreted as the great emirs and private *mamluk*s of Baybars, represented individually and in a ceremonial formation around a central figure that may have been Baybars himself, or Baybars and his great emirs, since the basin has four central figures represented in four roundels with varying facial features. The figures are divided along ethnic lines into the Turks and the Mongols who formed the two dominant groups in Baybars's court. Ironically, however, Baybars died in 1276 at the Ablaq Palace he had built on the outskirts of Damascus following a night of drinking *qimiz* (fermented mare's milk favoured by the Turks and Mongols), either because *qimiz* is a treacherous alcoholic beverage, or because his beaker *(hunnab)* was poisoned.[17]

The second royal palace is the audience hall or iwan renovated by al-Ashraf Khalil in 1293. Khalil's iwan, Ibn al-Dawadari reports, had representations of his emirs, each with his own emblem (*rank*) above his head.[18] This composition suggests a convention different from the princely cycle of Baybars's palace. Similar designs with earlier dates can be found in the Jazira, such as the stone niche from the Gu' Kummet at Sinjar, dated around 1240, where single figures are carved in relief, each standing by itself in its own frame carrying the attribute of his office (fig. 3). The figure with a sword most probably signified the *silahdar* (arms bearer), the one with a bow and arrow the *bunduqdar* (master archer), and the one with a beaker the *saqi* (cupbearer), and so on. Estelle Whelan interpreted the figures as representations of the *khassakiyya* (the chosen or select *mamluk*s) of the ruler and the whole composition as a symbol of sovereignty.[19] This is how the images of Khalil's iwan should be read. They constituted a reflection, and a condition, of the political and military contexts of the Mamluk state at that time and were meant to visualise and publicise the great sultans' military traits and their victories against the Crusaders and Mongols, as well as the new Mamluk hierarchy they were laying down.[20]

My second example is the basilical plan, which appears in several early Mamluk monuments, the most famous of which was the Great Iwan of al-Nasir Muhammad at the Citadel of Cairo, also known as Dar al-ʿAdl (the Palace of Justice) and used as the official setting for the dispensation of justice (also called *dar al-ʿadl*). This public audience or throne hall was so pivotal for the portrayal of the Mamluk sultan that it was rebuilt five times by the four great sultans: each of them destroyed the throne hall constructed by his predecessor and built a new one in its place soon after he ascended the throne. Al-Nasir rebuilt it twice, in 1318 and 1333. We know only the last one.[21]

Analysis of the nineteenth-century drawings and descriptions of al-Nasir's throne hall suggests that its plan resembled that of a basilica,[22] without the anachronistic envelope of an iwan employed in the earlier madrasa of Qalawun (fig. 4). The basic tripartite division leading to a focal point in the centre of the

Figure 3: The stone niche from the Gu' Kummet at Sinjar.

back wall is clear, though the hall's sides are shortened so that it is almost a square, unlike the traditional longitudinal arrangement of basilicas. The apse is replaced with a monumental portal, and the sides are opened up to provide an unobstructed view to the outside, implying the accessibility of the sultan sitting within. These alterations, important as they may be, do not conceal the fundamental affinity of the Great Iwan's plan with the domed basilica type, examples of which abound in eastern Roman, Byzantine, and Umayyad urban and provincial architecture, though basilicas were uncommon in Cairo at the time.[23] As I have argued elsewhere, al-Nasir Muhammad's hall with its green dome was probably a throwback to early caliphal models, both Umayyad and Abbasid. It was a consciously historicising structure, through which al-Nasir Muhammad wanted to reintroduce not only an early form but also its well-established associations with a caliphal golden age.[24]

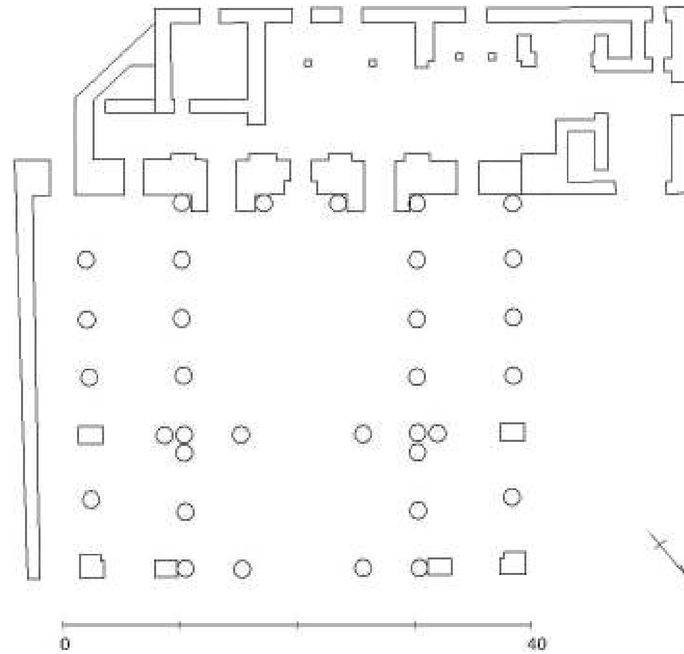

Figure 4: Plan of al-Iwan al-Kabir al-Nasiri, after the *Description de l'Égypte*.

My third example is the little-understood emblematic system of *rank*, or Mamluk blazons, which might have first appeared somewhere in the Islamic Turkic principalities of Central Asia but came to be used primarily in the Ayyubid and Mamluk sultanates. *Rank*s were carved on buildings, painted on glass, wood, and pottery, engraved on metalwork, struck on coins, and embroidered or dyed on textiles.[25] Early Mamluk *rank*s were denotative, displaying the codified images invented to represent the attributes of the holders' offices, positions, and ideals. The *rank* of Qawsun, the favourite cupbearer (*saqi*) of al-Nasir Muhammad, for example, carries a cup. That of Aydakin al-Bunduqdar (the master archer), Baybars's original master, has two stylised bows (fig. 5).

The most exceptional *rank*s may be termed representative. They portray images of animals and mythical creatures. The most famous of them was Baybars's blazon that depicts a feline (possibly a lion) passant and which adorned many of his buildings and objects (fig. 6).[26] This figural blazon, which was never to be adopted again by other Mamluk sultans, may have illustrated Baybars's own name *baybars*, meaning 'chief panther' in Turkish. Another motif, the double-headed eagle, appeared in at least one *rank*, that of Emir Badr al-Din Baysari al-Shamsi, one of Baybars's great emirs, as shown in his beautiful pierced globe, made around 1270, on which the *rank* appears four times on the sphere.[27]

Figure 5: *Rank* of Aydakin al-Bunduqdar on the frieze of his *khanqah* in Cairo.

The overall effect of these and other experiments was to give the art and architecture of the early Mamluks an aura of a vibrant and fluid, yet inconclusive, search for an artistic idiom that glorifies military attributes. Art, naturally, was echoing what was happening in the political, cultural, and social spheres while the Mamluks had been constructing their realms and their image with few preconceived notions and established norms and against tremendous odds. But things began to change when the Mamluk sultanate finally achieved political maturity and regional supremacy under al-Nasir Muhammad, after both external and internal threats had been neutralised. The relative stability led to a shift in the character of the once strictly segregated Mamluks and a softening of their insular existence and military image. They began slowly to adopt the urban and more conservative culture of the local notables.

The acculturation had a direct effect on the character and meaning of Mamluk art and architecture. Figural and symbolic representations, for instance, were

Figure 6: Baybars's rank on a basalt block from the Bosra Citadel.

abandoned by the time al-Nasir Muhammad finished redesigning the state system midway through his third reign. In *rank*s, it was replaced by abstract emblems, which developed their own coded arrangements in the Burji period, reflecting both the position and affiliation of the holders. Similarly, in royal buildings, images gave way to standardised inscriptions containing formulaic, fixed sultanic titulatures beginning with the now familiar expression *ʿizz li-mawlana al-sultan al-malik* (Glory to our Lord the Sultan, the King) (fig. 7).

Other symptoms of acculturation were soon to follow, and by the beginning of the fifteenth century the Mamluks' transformation became apparent, not only in the new habits and manners they affected, but also through the more sedate and poised artistic and architectural forms they commissioned and sponsored. These are the forms that we have come to identify with Mamluk art and architecture. But to accept the concomitant reading, that presents Mamluk art in general as a static, perhaps even self-consciously conservative, artistic tradition resistant to innovation and change, is to miss the vibrancy of its formative period as well as the setbacks, detours, or diversions of its later development.[28]

Indeed, to make sense of the fluid artistic and architectural production of the early Mamluks, we have first to positively abandon the notions of homogeneity and continuity that have long dominated the study of Mamluk art and architecture, and all other Islamic art subfields for that matter. These seemingly benign concepts have been unreasonably deployed to frame 267 years of tremendously rich artistic production as a seamless and steady evolution toward stylistic and formal equilibrium. Series upon series of buildings and art objects have been seen to dutifully share the same formal and semiotic characteristics and repeat the same features, which only became more refined and more intricate over time but never

Figure 7: Inscription: ʿ*izz li-mawlana al-sultan al-malik Qansuh*, medallion on the mausoleum of Tarabay al-Sharifi.

departed from their stylistic or typological standard. The few examples that did not fit into the general typology were explained away as oddities or aberrations provoked by singular circumstances, such as the two strange minarets of the mosque of al-Nasir Muhammad at the Citadel, which are reported to have been built by a visiting architect from Tabriz.[29]

To counter this lazy notion of Mamluk art we have to construct an interpretive art-historical framework within which visual and formal references to earlier or contemporary artistic traditions and ideals are identified, their application examined, and their revival or survival in subsequent works judged and interpreted. By bringing together these various strands of reference and comparing their significance and durability, we can begin to understand the processes of selection, appropriation, hesitation, alteration, and rejection that characterised the production of the dazzling early Mamluk artifacts and buildings and uncover the ideological and cultural attitudes of their patrons, makers, and users.

A nuanced and flexible programme of inquiry, which takes into account the stylistic, dynastic, and socio-cultural overlaps, would provide the most adequate art-historical setting for the study and interpretation of Mamluk and other subcategories of Islamic art and architecture, as opposed to the repeatedly criticised and inadequate dynastic periodisation that has hitherto been used.[30] Such an historically attentive approach offers a more intelligible framework to comprehend and structure the diverse alignments that asserted and reasserted themselves in flexible combinations within the domain of Mamluk art as it was emerging, and all the formative stages of Islamic art for that matter. These strategically situated investigations can help us bridge the historiographical gaps in the study of Islamic art, and to establish stronger links with other areas of art-historical scholarship that have equally understood the importance of considering the import of idiosyncratic local histories in their conceptual and aesthetic formations.

Illustrations (with image credit)

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Figure 7: Inscription: *ʿizz li-mawlana al-sultan al-malik Qansuh*, medallion on the mausoleum of Tarabay al-Sharifi. (Photo by the author).

Notes

1 I use the term culture here as developed by Norbert Elias in *The History of Manners* (New York, 1978), and *Power and Civility*, (New York, 1982) to mean the aggregate of knowledge, manners, attitudes, beliefs, social and ceremonial codes, and the kinds of sports, arts, and literature favoured, promoted, and pursued by members of a class as their privilege and the mark of their solidarity, distinction, and perhaps even status.

2 A few preliminary studies of the ceremonial aspects of the Mamluk court culture are Karl Stowasser, "Manners and Customs at the Mamluk Court," *Muqarnas* 2 (1984), 13–20; ʿAbd al-Munʿim Mājid, *Nuẓum dawlat salāṭīn al-mamālīk*, 2 vols., (Cairo, 2nd ed., 1982). These studies depend primarily on the writings of Qalqashandi and Maqrizi, both Burji authors who may have presented their material anachronistically, and offer very little text criticism. For a

more critical approach, see the succinct argument presented by Maya Shatzmiller, "The Crusaders and Islamic warfare – a re-evaluation," *Der Islam* 69 (1992), 247–88, where she uses the military literature as a case study to trace the acculturation of the Mamluks in the thirteenth century; see also Ulrich Haarmann, "Arabic in Speech, Turkish in Lineage: Mamluks and their Sons in the Intellectual Life of Fourteenth-Century Egypt and Syria," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 33 (1988), 81–114. Haarmann – a pioneering student of the mentalities of the Mamluks – seems here to mean by culture the artistic, scholarly, and literary interests of members of the Mamluk court.

3 Some articles in the volume edited by Albrecht Fuess and Jan-Peter Hartung, *Court Cultures in the Muslim World: Seventh to Nineteenth Centuries*, (London, 2010), may shed some new light on the subject, but the book was not yet published when I submitted this article. For a brief review of writings on the mechanics of medieval Islamic court cultures, see, Boaz Shoshan, "High Culture and Popular Culture in Medieval Islam," *Studia Islamica* 73 (1991), 67–107, esp. 69–74.

4 Haarmann, "Arabic in Speech," 83, n. 5, rightly notes that when Ira Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages*, (Cambridge, Mass., 1967, 2nd ed. 1984), 44, states that "no study of ʿMamluk culture' has yet been made," he seems to neglect the fundamental deficiency inherent in the sources' limitations in achieving such a study, although Lapidus after that statement goes on to stress "the lack of mutual comprehension between the populace and the foreigners," as a primary cause for this difficulty. The fact that such a study, important as it is, has not been undertaken yet, forty years after Lapidus's remark, proves the magnitude of the problem.

5 See Nasser Rabbat, "The Changing Concept of Mamluk in the Mamluk-Sultanate in Egypt and Syria," in eds. Miura Toru and John Edward Philips, *Slave Elites in the Middle East and Africa: A Comparative Study*, (London/New York, 2000), 81–98; idem, "Representing the Mamluks in Mamluk Historical Writing," in ed. Hugh Kennedy, *The Historiography of Islamic Egypt, c. 950–1800*, (Leiden, 2000), 59–75.

6 I have studied this process in detail: see Nasser Rabbat, "The Militarization of Taste in Medieval Bilad al-Sham," in ed. Hugh Kennedy, *Muslim Military Architecture in Greater Syria from the Coming of Islam to the Ottoman Period*, (Leiden, 2006), 84–105.

7 Several monographs exist on three of these sultans – Baybars, Qalawun, and al-Nasir Muhammad: cf., Peter Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt: Sultan Baybars I and the Near East in the Thirteenth Century*, trans. P. M. Holt, (London, 1991); Linda Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan: the Career of Al-Mansur Qalawun and the Consolidation of Mamluk Rule in Egypt and Syria* (*678–689 A.H./1279–1290 A.D.*), (Stuttgart, 1998); Amalia Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History: the Third Reign of al-Nasir Muhammad Ibn Qalawun (1310–1341)*, (Leiden, 1995). For a general treatment of the period, see Robert Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages, the Early Mamluk Sultanate 1250–1382*, (Carbondale, Ill., 1986).

8 One of the best analyses of an Islamic inscriptional programme remains Yasser Tabbaa, "Monuments with a Message: Propagation of Jihad under Nur Al-Din (1146–1174)," in eds. V. P. G. and C.V. Bornstein, *The Meeting of Two Worlds: Cultural Exchange between East and West during the Period of the Crusades*, (Kalamazoo, 1986), 223–40.

9 Oleg Grabar, "Reflections on Mamluk Art," *Muqarnas* 2 (1984), 1–12, noted that in a few iconic monuments but explained them differently.

10 Michael Meinecke wrote extensively on this topic. His various German articles are synthesised together in his posthumously published book, *Patterns of Stylistic Change in Islamic Architecture: Local Traditions versus Migrating Artists* (New York, 1995). For the mosaic and stone, see idem, "Das Mausoleum des Qalāʾūn in Kairo: Untersuchungen zur Genese der Mamlukischen Architekturdekoration," *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo, Mitteilungen* 27 (1971), 62–69; and "Mamluk Architecture: Regional Architectural Traditions: Evolution and Interrelations," *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 2 (1985), 163–75, esp., 171–72.

11 For the *rank* connection with *tamgha*, see Michael Meinecke, "Zur mamlukischen Heraldik," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 28 (1972), 213–87; he changed his mind on the origins of the *rank* in his later article "Löwe-Lilie-Adler: Die europäischen Wurzein der islamischen Heraldik," *Das Staunen des Welt: das Morgenland*

und Friedrich II (1194–1250) in *Bilderheft der Staatlichen Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz* 77/78 (Berlin, 1995), 29–32. For the caliphal domical references, see Nasser Rabbat, "Mamluk Throne Halls: Qubba or Iwan," *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993), 201–18.

12 A succinct analysis of this phenomenon is Estelle Whelan, "Representations of the Khassakiyah and the Origins of Mamluk Emblems," in ed. P. Soucek, *Content and Context of Visual Arts in the Islamic World*, (Philadelphia, 1988), 219–43. Her more elaborate study on medieval iconography was published posthumously as *The Public Figure: Political Iconography in Medieval Mesopotamia*, (Sawbridgeworth, Herts, 2006).

13 See Nasser Rabbat, "ʿAjib and Gharib: Artistic Perception in Medieval Arabic Sources," *The Medieval History Journal* 9/1 (2006), 99–113, ref. 109–11.

14 Ibn Shaddād, *Tārīkh al-Malik al-Ẓāhir*, ed. A. Ḥuṭayṭ (Wiesbaden, 1983), 340; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa 'l-nihāya fī 'l-tārīkh*, 14 vols., (Cairo, 1932–39), 13: 275; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira fī mulūk Miṣr wa 'l-Qāhira*, ed. Muḥammad Ramzī, 16 vols., (Cairo, 1929–72), 7: 190.

15 Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *al-Rawḍ al-zāhir fī-tārīkh al-Malik al-Ẓāhir*, ed. A. Khuwayṭir (Riyadh, 1976), 246.

16 Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "The Baptistère de Saint Louis: a Reinterpretation," *Islamic Art* 3 (1988–89), 3–13.

17 For a fuller discussion of al-Qubba al-Zahiriyya, see Nasser Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo: a New Interpretation of Royal Mamluk Architecture*, (Leiden, 1995), 125–31.

18 Ibn al-Dawādārī, *al-Durra al-zakiyya fī akhbār al-dawla al-turkiyya*, ed. Ulrich Haarmann (Cairo, 1971), 345.

19 Whelan, "Representations of the Khassakiya," passim.

20 For a fuller discussion of al-Iwan al-Ashrafi, see Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo*, 169–80.

21 The history of the rebuilding of Dar al-ʿAdl in Cairo is analysed in Rabbat, *Citadel of Cairo*, 108–10, 143–46, 169, and 244–52. See also idem, "The Ideological Significance of the Dar al-ʿAdl in the Medieval Islamic Orient," *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 27/1 (February 1995), 3–28.

22 Though basilicas are mostly connected with early Christian churches, the original Greco-Roman functions and symbolism of this widespread type were never lost or forgotten; see Irving Lavin, "The House of the Lord," *Art Bulletin*, 44 (1962), 16–17; William L. MacDonald, *The Architecture of the Roman Empire: an Introductory Study*, (New Haven, 1982), 53 and n. 21.

23 A variety of domed basilicas, modified in different ways to accommodate the dome, span the entire historical and functional ranges of Late Roman and Byzantine architecture: see Cyril Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, (New York, 1985), 52–88, where the domed basilicas of the age of Justinian are discussed, including the most famous of them all, the Hagia Sophia of Constantinople.

24 Rabbat, "Mamluk Throne Halls," 215–16.

25 Meinecke, "Zur mamlukischen Heraldik;" J. W. Allan, "Mamluk Sultanic Heraldry and the Numismatic Evidence: a Reinterpretation," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 2 (1970), 19–112; Nasser Rabbat, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn. (Leiden, 1954–2005), s.v. "Rank," 431–33. See also Meinecke's article "Löwe-Lilie-Adler", where he sees European influence as the origin of Mamluk heraldry.

26 For the extant examples of Baybars's blazons, see K. A. C. Creswell, *Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, 2 vols., (Oxford, 1959), 2: 148–54.

27 (British Museum, ME OA 1878.12-30.682). For a web photo of the burner cf., http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight_image.aspx?image=ps258380.jpg&retpage=18969; or http://www.lessing-photo.com/search.asp?a=1&kc=202020206BEC&kw=BRASSWORK&p=1&ipp=, accessed Januray 30, 2011.

28 Grabar, "Reflections on Mamluk Art," exemplifies that general opinion.

29 The story is told in Laila ʿAli Ibrahim (with J. M. Rogers), "The Great Ḫanqāh of the Emir Qawṣūn in Cairo," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 30/1 (1974), 37–64, esp. 55–56; Michael Meinecke, "Die mamlukischen Fayencemosaikdekorationen: Eine Werkstätte aus Tabriz in Kairo (1330–1355)," *Kunst des Orients* 11 (1976–77), 85–144, esp. 85; Donald P. Little, "Notes on Aitamiš, a Mongol Mamluk," *Beiruter Texte und Studien*

22 (1979), 387–401, esp. 398; Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *The Minarets of Cairo*, (London, 2010), 62, 155–59.

30 For recent critiques of the dominant periodisation, and other methodological obstacles in the study of Islamic art, see Sibel Bozdoğan, "Architectural History in Professional Education: Postcolonial Challenges to the Modern Survey," *Journal of Architectural Education* 52/4 (May 1999), 207–15; Nasser Rabbat, "Islamic Architecture as a Field of Historical Inquiry," *AD Architectural Design, Islam+Architecture* 74/6 (Nov–Dec 2004), 18–23; Finbarr Barry Flood, "From the Prophet to Postmodernism? New World Orders and the end of Islamic Art," in ed. Elizabeth Mansfield, *Making Art History: a Changing Discipline and Its Institutions*, (London, 2007), 31–53.

Sophie Makariou and Carine Juvin

The Louvre *Kursi*: Function and Meaning of Mamluk Stands

The Louvre Museum is fortunate to have in its Islamic art collection a single fragment of what is known as a *kursi.*[1] It immediately brings to mind the famous metal stand made for Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad ibn Qalawun (r. 1293–1341), now one of the great treasures of the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo.[2] The Louvre fragment is the upper plate of a similar piece of furniture[3]. It was purchased in 1902 from Mr Julien Barois (1849–1937), the French director of the Egyptian Railways, who spent more than thirty years in Egypt,[4] where he acquired a small collection of Islamic art.[5]

The *kursi* fragment kept in the Louvre will be the starting-point from which we will investigate a larger group which includes the famous so-called *kursi* dated 1327, another metal example from Cairo, and a wooden one commissioned for the complex of Sultan Shaʿban's mother (Umm al-Sultan Shaʿban),[6] and their Ottoman descendants. The focus of this paper is to concentrate on and discuss the function of these pieces of furniture.

The Louvre Piece

The Louvre *kursi* (fig.1) is an octagonal plate, a maximum of 51 centimetres in length, with each side measuring 25.5 to 26 centimetres. The brass plate is decorated with a central radial inscription, a characteristic of the calligraphy mainly developed on metalware during the reign of Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad.[7] Numerous masterpieces of Mamluk metalware made for al-Nasir Muhammad come to mind: a candlestick in the Metropolitan Museum;[8] a basin in the British Museum;[9] a huge tray[10] and an incense burner,[11] both in the Museum of Islamic Art, Doha. The central sun motif is interlaced with twelve smaller circles, like satellites, all of them containing composite flowers and lotuses. The whole composition is framed by an inscribed band, which contained, as well as an epigraphic medallion, the second half of the list of the "Beautiful Names of God" (*al-asma' al-husna*), beginning the radial composition of the medallion with the 48th name, *al-wadud*. We can deduce

Figure 1: Plate from a stand, Paris, Musée du Louvre.

that the list started on the now missing sides of the stand. It was lavishly inlaid with gold, silver, and black paste, with faint traces of a red layer underneath the gold inlays. The size and decoration are similar to the upper part of the Mamluk stand dated 1327 in the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo (fig. 3). Nonetheless, the ornament of the Louvre fragment (especially the type of composite flower) is closer to the large Doha tray. We would propose, therefore, a date in the 1330s, or possibly a little later, when radial inscriptions became more widespread.

A surprise awaits us on the other side (fig. 2). The plate has been cut out from a tray which appears to be only slightly earlier than the obverse. The tray's decoration appears to be off-centre, having once had a central medallion with intertwined double-circles filled with floral scrolls, including lotuses, and can be fairly attributed to the 1320s to 1330s. As indicated by the inscription on the border, it was made for an emir of Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad.[12] The use of the title *al-janab* suggests that the emir in question was of middle rank.[13] The incomplete title – some parts were cut during the process – does not allow precise identifi-

Figure 2: Plate from a stand, Paris, Musée du Louvre.

cation. The reuse of this tray embodies the rapidly changing fortunes of Mamluk careers.

The Term *Kursi*

The famous stand made by order of al-Nasir Muhammad in 1327–28 was signed by Muhammad ibn Sunqur al-Baghdadi and only includes the sultan's long titles on the side panels and the top. It is reported to have come from the hospital of his father al-Mansur Qalawun. The Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo has another stand, also made of inlaid and openwork brass, but without an inscription[14] (fig. 4). Its original location is not known, though Stanley Lane-Poole, in his *Art of the Saracens*, mentions it as coming "from the Maristan of Kalaun," while saying nothing about the first one;[15] there is probably confusion between the two pieces. Some details of the decoration can be compared to ornamental features of the same period; for instance, the large central medallion, with its radiating arches, reminds us of a

Figure 3: Stand, Cairo, Museum of Islamic Art.

motif on the minaret of al-Nasir Muhammad's madrasa.[16] Particular details, such as delicate lotus flowers and open-worked arabesques, are quite similar to those of the stand made for al-Nasir Muhammad. This leads us to attribute it not only to the same period, but also possibly to the same workshop.

A third piece, once a vertical panel of a stand, was sold in London in 1992 (fig. 5). It is so strikingly similar to the two previous pieces that we can also attribute it to the same hand or workshop (fig. 6).[17] Finally, we have to add an important piece, made of wood and entirely covered with minute mosaic patterns of marquetry work, reputedly coming from the complex of Sultan Shaʿban's mother, built in 1369[18] (fig. 7). This stand is also without an inscription, as are other later wooden pieces,[19] also kept in the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo. They bridge the gap with Ottoman products of the sixteenth century.[20]

Figure 4: Stand, Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo.

Now, what about the term *kursi*, usually associated with this type of furniture? In the Geniza documents,[21] and according to recorded inscriptions, the term *kursi* refers to types of furniture that are not made to contain objects or manuscripts, but rather to put manuscripts or objects on; the name appears, for example, on a small wooden stand made for the mosque built inside the monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai and dated 1129.[22] The name is also used to designate the large stand for Koran readers, as shown in the inscription on that made for Qaytbay's funerary madrasa[23] or in the *waqf* (endowment) deed of Sultan al-Ghawri's madrasa, mentioning the reading of a "large holy Koran… put on a large *kursi* within the madrasa."[24] Such *kursi*s can still be seen in many Mamluk mosques; they consist of a bench for a reader combined with a support for a book. The term is indeed

Figure 5: Panel from a stand, private collection.

Figure 6: Detail of stand, Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo.

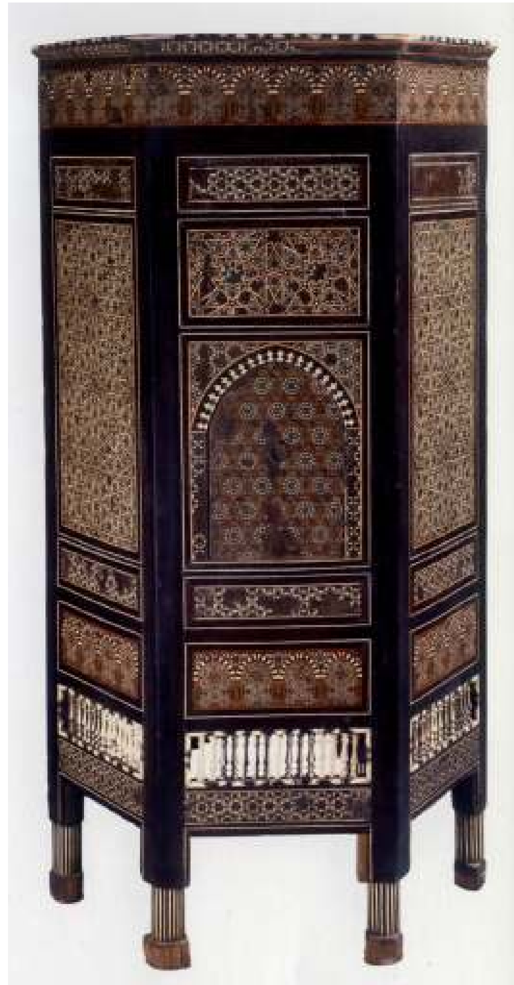

Figure 7: Stand from the madrasa of Sultan Shaʿban's mother, Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo.

rather awkwardly applied to the type of furniture with which we are concerned; it appears that no mention is ever made of this type of furniture in the sources.

The term *kursi*, currently used in Arabic for all types of stands or small tables, has been employed in most publications since the end of the nineteenth century,[25] sometimes translated in English as 'table'[26] or, in French, *guéridon*.[27]

These terms do not imply the function of a Koran box. Nevertheless, these objects, which include square and polygonal boxes, are generally accepted as being Koran holders.

Koran Boxes

The Koran box is a widespread type of container throughout the Islamic world from tenth-century Spain to fourteenth-century Morocco, and from Iran to Egypt.[28] In North Africa, in the inventory of the Great Mosque of Kairawan,[29] written in 1294, there are twenty-seven citations of Koran boxes under various names: *bayt*, *tabut* and *rabʿa*. The inventory also lists, *rabʿa muqassama ila thalathat buyut*[30] (a *rabʿa* divided into three *buyut*), indicating that *bayt/buyut* is used to designate the containers inside a Koran box (*rabʿa*). *Sunduq* is also used, according to, for example, the waqf deed of the Amajur Koran (dated 875–76)[31] or the inscription on the wooden Koran box made for Sultan al-Ghawri.[32] Mamluk waqf documents regularly use the term *rabʿa* for Koran manuscripts, probably referring to a certain format.

This term *rabʿa* seems to apply perfectly to the group of Mamluk quadrilateral Koran boxes, which have inner divisions intended to house thirty-volume Koran manuscripts (the whole set also designated by the term *rabʿa*). Three of them remain – one is in the Museum for Islamic Art in Berlin (fig. 8), the other two are in Cairo, at the Azhar mosque and at the Museum of Islamic Art, respectively.[33] They demonstrate a very well-planned organisational system, the inside being divided into two *bayt* s each subdivided into fifteen rows, ensuring proper storage and conservation for the manuscripts and keeping the different volumes in order. The term *rabʿa* is also found on the bindings of the thirty-volume Koran manuscript made for the Aqsa mosque by order of the Merinid Sultan Abu ʾl-Hasan ʿAli in 1344. Yet, there, the term clearly refers to the whole set of volumes and not to the box enclosing them: "this blessed *rabʿa* was written by ʿAbd Allah ʿAli … ."[34]

Figure 8: Koran box. Museum für Islamische Kunst, Berlin.

Figure 9: Koran Box from the complex of Sultan Shaʿban's mother complex, Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo.

The huge stand in the madrasa of Sultan Shaʿban's mother seems to have been made alongside a similar Koran box (fig. 9), showing the same type of decoration and a newly adopted hexagonal shape.[35] The box still preserves two beautiful inlaid Mamluk hinges and has three inner compartments; one wonders why then two different types of containers would have been made for the same purpose.

Let us examine the case of al-Nasir Muhammad's stand. Its shape is hexagonal: the usable side is no wider than 40 centimetres, although the stand is 51 centimetres in height. A unique pair of doors give access to the interior, less than 25 centimetres wide. Thus the inner space could have held a volume measuring no more than 23-centimetres by less than 40 centimetres. The upper parts of the doors are arched and the entrance is 25 centimetres in height, which makes it difficult to imagine how several volumes could be stored in this tiny space. Koran manuscripts measuring 23 centimetres by less than 40 centimetres do exist, for example, the single volume manuscript dated 1328–29 that was commissioned by al-Nasir Muhammad and donated as waqf.[36] Nonetheless, the space, which is quite unsuitable for storing a multi-volume Koran manuscript, would seem oversized for storing a single volume manuscript. We know of no box with these dimensions made for a single volume.

Pursuing this line of thought, it seems increasingly unlikely that the wooden stand made for the madrasa of Sultan Shaʿban's mother was intended for storing lavish manuscripts as, though slightly higher but no wider than its metal models,[37] it certainly would not accommodate the huge manuscripts which were endowed

as waqf to this complex, which are 73 or 75 centimetres high by 56 centimetres wide.[38] Nor, for the same reason, would it have been able to contain one of the so-called ʿUthman Koran manuscripts, mainly from the second half of the eighth century, of which two copies existed in Cairo, and which were famous for their extraordinary size. The copy previously kept in the shrine of al-Husayn in Cairo (now in the Sayyida Zaynab Mosque Library) measures no less than 57 centimetres by 68 centimetres, and is 40 centimetres thick.[39] It seems more likely that a large manuscript of this size would rather be stored in a wooden box like that in the name of Sultan al-Ghawri mentioned above, as their dimensions fit each other perfectly. This requires a reconsideration and new thoughts about the possible use and intended location of these stands.

The Function of the *Kursi*

In view of the arguments presented here, it is clear that these lavish stands could not have been designed to store Koran manuscripts, which raises the question as to their actual function.

Does the answer lie in the inscriptions? A selection from the list of the 'Beautiful Names of God' or *al-asma' al-husna* is inscribed on the Louvre plate. It is, as far as we know, a unique occurrence on Mamluk metalware. While the use of the 'Beautiful Names' on objects and monuments is documented all over the Indo-Persian world and also in Ottoman art,[40] it is unusual in the Mamluk context. The only evidence for their occurrence in the material culture of that period is found in manuscripts. For example, a manuscript in St. Petersburg, a Mamluk copy of al-Busiri's *Burda*, dated 1379,[41] uses the 'Beautiful Names' as a frame for the poem. Another manuscript of *al-asma' al-husna* dated 1433–34, is kept in the Maktabat al-Asad in Damascus.[42] Twenty-nine 'Names of God' also appear on the upper cover of a Mamluk bookbinding in the Victoria and Albert Museum, datable to the beginning of the fifteenth century.[43] The 'Names of God' again occur on two talismanic scrolls, attributed to the fifteenth century, along with Koranic verses, prayers and other religious formulas.[44] The practice of inscribing the 'Beautiful Names of God' in Mamluk material culture certainly needs further study.

It remains to be explored to what extent the inscription on the Louvre plate might point to the specific purpose of such an important object. At first thought, the use of *al-asma' al-husna* recalls Sufi practices: the ninety-nine Names of God are extensively used in Sufi prayers and *dhikr* ceremonies,[45] and they can be interpreted as successive steps towards the divine. However, the Sufi context could only be definitely deduced from a specific choice amongst the complete list of *al-asma' al-husna*,[46] which is not the case here; indeed, the order strictly follows the usual sequence.[47]

When considering the Hadith: “He who retains them [The Beautiful Names] in his memory will enter Paradise”[48] could lead us towards another context. The piece in Cairo dated 728/1327–28 is inscribed only with the titles of al-Nasir Muhammad, without any religious reference, which would be unlikely for a Koran holder. Indeed, Max Van Berchem[49] proposed that it was a piece of furniture made for one of al-Nasir Muhammad’s palaces, thus placing it in a secular context. The piece is reported to come from the hospital of al-Mansur Qalawun (r. 1280–90), but it could very well have been placed originally in the domed mausoleum (*qubba)* of his complex. The mausoleum was restored shortly before, in 1325, by al-Nasir Muhammad, who added in its centre a wooden *maqsura*, or enclosure, inscribed with his titles. The polygonal shape of this stand would have echoed the octagonal shape of the inner mausoleum, as well as the polygonal lamps that would appear to date from the same period, thus emphasising a visual unity between architecture and furniture.[50] The form of the stand brings to mind an architectural structure (at first glance, the Dome of the Rock, a reference to Qalawun’s mausoleum) or the scarcer form of the *Bayt al-Mal* (public treasury), such as those still visible in the Great Mosques of Damascus[51] and Hama, or the one which once stood in the Mosque of ʿAmr in Fustat. Could this association connect this type of furniture with a treasury? This speculation seems to be supported by the information provided by Maqrizi, that the subsidiary waqf incomes of the foundation were kept in Qalawun’s mausoleum.[52]

The mausoleum of al-Mansur Qalawun gained new importance during the reign of his son Muhammad: it then became a dynastic monument, which newly-appointed emirs visited, and where Ilkhanid emissaries were received, for example in 1327.[53] In this way, al-Nasir Muhammad aimed to assert his royal status – not as a slave but as a sultan’s son – towards the Ilkhanids, who were obsessed with their Chingizid ascendancy.[54] Furthermore, some garments of the deceased sultan were kept in the mausoleum, with attendants specially employed to care for these dynastic relics.[55] This lavishly decorated stand would have been an element of this *mise en scène* and a possible container for these precious dynastic relics.

Let us turn now to the panel which was sold in London.[56] It is inscribed with two Koranic quotations, 9:111 and 33:56, the first one alluding to paradise, and the second to salvation. These quotations are never found on Koran boxes, which use other verses (2:255; 3:18–19/26/27; 56: 76–80; 59:23). The third metal stand and the wooden ones do not bear any inscription and, therefore, are of no help. Looking now at the places in which they were found we must add later Ottoman examples to this group. The Ottoman examples’ strong visual connection with architecture is strikingly similar to the Mamluk pieces. They have a square or hexagonal body, crowned by a dome, emphasising the architectural metaphor. All the Ottoman pieces, which derive, we surmise, from a Mamluk prototype, were found in mausoleums. One of the earliest comes from the mausoleum of Shehzade Mehmed

Figure 10: Koran box from the mausoleum of Sultan Mehmed III, Istanbul.

in Istanbul (d. 1543).[57] Another famous one was found in the mausoleum of Selim II, inside the enclosure of Hagia Sophia.[58] And, finally, one of the most famous ones was signed by the chief architect of the Ottoman court between the years 1598 and 1605, Dalgıç Ahmet Çavush. It was kept in the mausoleum of Mehmed III[59] (fig. 10). There is no doubt that the Ottomans borrowed the shape from the Mamluks, and that the same shape was used during the Ottoman period for a variety of purposes, most common of which was as a Koran box. The inscriptions, for example on the Koran box made for Mehmed III, are chosen according to the

rabʿa of the Mamluk period, quoting the Throne verse from the Koran. Also, during the Ottoman period, the system of opening was much improved in order to accommodate the Holy Book.

We would like to conclude that there was probably a connection between this type of Ottoman furniture and funerary structures, where they were mostly found, and that it cannot be excluded also that the funerary use of these objects goes back to Mamluk tradition, which created this *kursi* shape. This might be a new aspect in Mamluk-Ottoman artistic relations.

While following a Mamluk model, this type of Ottoman furniture seems to be linked to Ottoman funerary architecture, Ottoman mausoleums being mostly octagonal structures.

To return to the Mamluk examples, the functional analysis and the choice of inscriptions on the stands lead us to reject the hypothesis that their original use was as Koran boxes. The possible funerary context, as well as the few inscriptions on the objects, leads us to propose other functions. Were the boxes intended to store the sultan's garments, as was practised in the complex of Qalawun[60] during the Mamluk period and throughout the Ottoman period prior to their transfer to the Topkapı Museum?[61] The stand might also have been meant to contain the endowments' income (waqf) as a metaphorically reduced representation of the architectural treasury (*bayt al-mal)* mentioned above, within the mausoleum. Later in the Ottoman period, the shape inspired new models for Koran boxes and thus enjoyed a long-lasting fashion.

Epilogue

Finally, when considering the longevity of such so-called *kursi*, let us return to the most famous one, that in the name of al-Nasir Muhammad. It has been published frequently since the 1880s, and, above all, has been widely copied. It even became the icon for the Mamluk revival style that flourished in the late nineteenth century. From time to time one of these revival pastiches appears on the art market which once adorned the mansions belonging to the wealthy clients of Giuseppe Parvis.[62] Giuseppe Parvis was the most famous producer of oriental wood and metal furniture in Cairo, whose creations were displayed in international exhibitions from 1867. The Khedive Ismaʿil granted him access to all of Cairo's Islamic monuments, of which he made a number of sketches. In 1890, he was allowed to study in the Museum of Arab Art located in the mosque of al-Hakim. Afterwards, his most successful model was a copy of the famous metal stand.[63] Facsimiles were sold widely and even reached the Topkapı Saray, where two nineteenth-century examples are kept, which were published mistakenly as Mamluk originals.[64] These numerous copies continued the long-lasting fashion for this particular type of furniture, while

finding unexpected new functions and meaning, in the bourgeoisie's boudoirs, as 'must-haves' amongst orientalist paraphernalia.

Illustrations (with image credit)

Figure 1: Plate from a stand, Paris, Musée du Louvre, Islamic Art Department, inv. no. OA 5701, obverse. (Photo courtesy of the Musée du Louvre/Raphaël Chipault)
Figure 2: Plate from a stand, Paris, Musée du Louvre, Islamic Art Department, inv. no. OA 5701, reverse. (Photo courtesy of the Musée du Louvre/Raphaël Chipault)
Figure 3: Stand, Cairo, Museum of Islamic Art, inv. no. 139. (After Gaston Wiet 1932)
Figure 4: Stand, Cairo, Museum of Islamic Art, inv. no. 138. (After Gaston Wiet 1939)
Figure 5: Panel from a stand, private collection. (Photo courtesy of Christie's Images Limited 1992)
Figure 6: Detail of stand, Museum of Islamic Art Cairo, inv. no 139. (Photo Courtesy of the American University in Cairo, photographer Boulos Isaac)
Figure 7: Stand from the madrasa of Sultan Shaʿban's mother, Cairo, Museum of Islamic Art, inv. no. 449. (Photo courtesy of the SCA/AUC/Boulos Isaac)
Figure 8: Koran box, inv. no. I. 886. (Photo courtesy Museum für Islamische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, photographer J. Liepe)
Figure 9: Koran Box from the complex of Sultan Shaʿban's mother complex, Cairo, Museum of Islamic Art, inv. no. 452. (Photo courtesy of American University Press in Cairo, photographer Boulos Isaac)
Figure 10: Koran box from the mausoleum of Sultan Mehmed III, Istanbul, inv. no. 6. (Photo courtesy of the Türk ve Islam Müzesi, photographer J. Hyde)

Notes

1 The first occurrences of this term are found in Gustave Le Bon, "L'art arabe," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, fasc. 1, vol. 29 (1884), 69; and Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Art of the Saracens in Egypt* (London, 1886, 168 and 226–27. The Louvre *kursi* (Musée du Louvre, Islamic Art Department, inv. no. OA 5701) was first published in Gaston Migeon, *L'Orient musulman. I, Sculpture, bois sculptés, ivoires, bronzes, armes, cuivres, tapis et tissus, miniatures* (Paris, 1922), no. 101, 26.
2 Inv. no. 139, see Gaston Wiet, *Catalogue général du Musée arabe du Caire: Objets en cuivre*, (Cairo, 1932), 14–18.
3 Musée du Louvre, Islamic Art Department, inv. no. OA 5701.
4 Julien Barois was also a member of the Egyptian Committee (for which he acted as accountant and librarian) and of the Comité de conservation des monuments de l'art arabe from 1887;

thus he was closely connected with personalities such as Yacoub Artin Pasha, Herz Bey, and Ali Bahgat.

5 The collection included a candlestick made for Emir Salar, signed by a *mawsili* artist and dated 1307, now in the Louvre Museum, inv. no. AA 101.

6 Cairo, Museum of Islamic Art, inv. no. 449, published in Gaston Wiet, *Album du musée arabe du Caire*, IFAO, Cairo, 1930, 34–35 and more recently in Bernard O'Kane, *The Treasures of the Islamic Art in the Museums of Cairo*, (Cairo/New York, 2006), no. 7, 13.

7 On this topic, James W. Allan, "'My father is a sun, I am a star': Fatimid symbols in Ayyubid and Mamluk metalwork," *Journal of the David Collection* 1 (2003), 25–47.

8 Rachel Ward, "Brass, gold and silver from Mamluk Egypt: metal vessels made for Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad. A memorial Lecture for Marc Zebrowski. Given at the Royal Asiatic Society on 9th May 2002," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 14/1 (April, 2004), 62, fig. 3.

9 British Museum, inv. no. OA 1851.I–4.1; see Rachel Ward, *Islamic Metalwork*, (London, 1993), 111, fig. 88.

10 The tray was formerly in the Toulouse-Lautrec Collection, see Jean Soustiel, *Art arabe des collections du Comte de Toulouse-Lautrec*, sale catalogue, Paris, Drouot-Richelieu, Etude de Me de Ricqlès, September 25th 1998, no. 6, 18–23, and James W. Allan, *Metalwork Treasures from the Islamic Courts*, (Doha, 2002), 91–95, no. 29.

11 The incense burner was in a French collection in the 1880s and is the masterpiece of the Nuhad al-Said Collection, now in the Museum of Islamic Art, Doha: James W. Allan, *Islamic Metalwork: The Nuhad al-Said Collection*, (London, 1982), 24–26.

12 "*al-janāb al-ʿālī al-mawlawī al-amīrī/al-ʿālimī al-ʿādilī al-[m]alakī al-mā/likī al-ghā[zī] ? al-mujāhidī al-murā[biṭ]ī/ …al-mu[ʼayyadī ?]/ …[al-ha]māmī al-ʿaw[nī] …/ al-niẓāmī (?) al-malakī al-nāṣirī* "

13 According to recorded inscriptions, *al-janāb* is used for emirs with the following duties: *mihmandar* (in charge of hospitality); *sāqī* (sultan's cupbearer); *muqaddam al-mamālīk* (chief of the royal *mamluk* s); *amīr ākhūr* (master of the sultan's stables); *shadd al-ʿamāʼir al-sulṭāniyya* (inspector of royal buildings); *jashnakīr* (the sultan's food taster), though, at the end of the Mamluk period, the use of this title became less clear.

14 Islamic Art Museum, Cairo, inv. no. 138, published by Gaston Wiet, *Album du musée arabe du Caire*, (Cairo, 1930), 47–48.

15 Lane-Poole, *The Art of the Saracens*, 187, ill. 74.

16 Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks, A History of the Architecture and its Culture*, (London, 2007), 152–56, fig. 99.

17 *Islamic Art, Indian Miniatures, Rugs and Carpets*, sale catalogue, Christies, London, April 28th–30th 1992, lot 208; 30.4 × 18.4 cms.

18 Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo, inv. no. 449, see above n.7.

19 Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo, inv. no. 442; 444.

20 A less known example comes from the Çoban Mustafa Pasha Complex in Gebze, near Istanbul, built in 1523 (published in: E. Kühnel, *Die Sammlung Türkischer und Islamischer Kunst im Tschinili Köschk*, (Berlin, 1938), pl. 19, and again in: O. Watson, "The Case of the Ottoman Table," *Journal of The David Collection* 3 (2010), 46, fig. 32. Not surprisingly, it was greatly inspired by Mamluk models, as Çoban Mustafa Pasha was governor of Egypt after the Ottoman conquest. Later, he became a vizier and son-in-law to the sultan before he died in 1529.

21 S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, (Berkeley, 1976–1993), 6 vols., 4: 130, 131, 144; and 2: 267, 151.

22 See J. A. Jaussen, "Inscription arabe du Sinaï," *Mélanges Maspéro* 3 (Cairo, 1934). This shape is also known in ceramics.

23 Max Van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*: *première partie, Egypte*, (Paris, 1894–1903), 435–36, no. 302.

24 Muḥammad Amīn, *al-Awqāf wa 'l-ḥayāt al-ijtimāʿiyya fī Miṣr*, (Cairo, 1980), 199.

25 This Arabic term was used for the Louvre tray when purchased in 1902 (see above note 3). See also: Gaston Migeon, *Manuel d'art musulman* 2 (1907), 71–72, ill. 72–73; Martin S. Briggs, *Muhammadan Architecture in Egypt and Palestine*, (Oxford, 1924), ill. 216–217 and 227–230.

26 Le Bon, "L'art arabe," 69; Lane-Pool, *The Art of the Saracens*, 192, ill. 74–75.

27 Van Berchem, *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum* 3, 656; Wiet, *Catalogue général*, no. 139, 14.

28 See: A. Shalem, "Two caskets in the treasuries of the Cathedrals of Chur and Bayeux," *Arte Medievale*, 2nd series, no.1–2 (2000), 15–25; on the Merinid Koran given to al-Aqsa Mosque, Khader Salameh, *The Koran Manuscripts in the al-Haram al-Sharif Islamic Museum, Jerusalem*, (London/Reading, 2001), 69–83; on an Iranian wooden box in the al-Sabah Collection, LNS 35 W, Marilyn Jenkins, *Islamic Art in the Kuwait National Museum: the Al-Sabah Collection*, (London, 1983), 110. As for the reputed box of the Nurse's Koran manuscript, dated 1020, and kept in the Raqqada Museum, it is not the original one. The inscription it contains has been reused and nothing in it indicates that it was once part of a Koran box. Nonetheless, the inscription mentions a *habus*/waqf made the same year as the famous Nurse Koran, and a box for that Koran was recorded in the inventory of the Kairawan Library (see below n. 29), see Bernard Roy, Paule Poinssot, "Inscriptions arabes de Kairouan," *Publication de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes de Tunis*, 2/1 (Paris, 1950), 27, 28.

29 I. Chabbûh, "Sijîl qadîm li-maktaba jâmiʿ al-Qayrawân," *Revue de l'Institut des manuscrits arabes*, 22 (1956), 339–72, 339–72.

30 Ibid., 48.

31 F. Déroche, "The Qur'an of Amājūr," *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 5 (Leiden, 1990–1991), 59–66.

32 See Jean David-Weill, *Catalogue général du Musée arabe du Caire: Les bois à épigraphes jusqu'à l'époque mamlouke*, (Cairo, 1936), 2 :10–12, no. 436, pl. XXXIV.

33 Respectively published in: *Museum für islamische Kunst* (exhibition catalogue, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz), (Mainz, 2001), 81–82; *Islamic Art in Egypt: 969–1517*, (exhibition catalogue, Ministry of Culture), (Cairo, 1969), 68, fig. 9, no. 60; and Esin Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam. Art of the Mamluks*, (Washington D.C., 1981), 86–87, no. 25.

34 Salameh, *The Qur'an Manuscripts in the Haram al-Sharif*, 66–83.

35 Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo, inv. no 452, illustrated in O'Kane, *The Treasures of Islamic Art*, no. 115.

36 Cairo National Library (Dar al-Kutub), inv. no. 4, published in David James, *Qur'āns of the Mamluks*, (London, 1988), 224, cat. 11.

37 The piece is 115 centimetres high and 54 centimetres wide.

38 James, *Qur'āns of the Mamluks*, cats. 31 and 32.

39 The other fragmentary copy belongs to the Dar al-Kutub in Cairo, see: François Déroche, "Les emplois du Coran, livre manuscrit," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 218, no. 1 (2001), 52–53 ; see also the on-line resource: http://www.islamic-awareness.org/Quran/Text/Mss/.

40 For instance, architectural inscriptions on the Blue Mosque (Masjid-e Kabud) in Tabriz, dated 1465; the mausoleum of Iʿtimad al-Dawla, Agra, 1622–28. They are also found on Turkmen and Ottoman armour. Part of them also appear on some Safavid prayer rugs, amongst which is the famous Kelekian niche rug, recently acquired by the Louvre Museum. The earliest example on an object to our knowledge is a large ceramic tile featuring a mihrab, kept in Tokyo, Centre for Middle Eastern Studies, published in Yoko Shindo, *The Glass: Various Approaches to the Study of Glass*, (Tokyo, 2005), 27, no. 48.

41 *De Bagdad à Ispahan : manuscrits islamiques de la filiale de Saint-Pétersbourg de l'Institut d'études orientales, Académie des sciences de Russie*, (exhibition catalogue, Petit-Palais), (Paris, 1994), 146, no. 26.

42 Inv. no. Ayn 340, on loan to the Maktabat al-Khaṭṭ al-ʿArabī, quoted in Vlad Atanasiu, *Hypercalligraphie. Le phénomène calligraphique à l'époque du sultanat mamluk*, Ph.D. thesis (Paris, EPHE, 2003), 256.

43 Duncan Haldane, *Islamic Bookbindings* (London, 1983), no. 19, 39, inv. no 1070 b-1869.

44 *Art de l'Islam*, sale catalogue, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, November 7, 1996, no. 55 and *Fine Oriental Manuscripts, Miniatures and Qajar Lacquers*, (sale catalogue, Sotheby's, London, October 13 and 14, 1980), no. 92.
45 *Dhikr* (literally remembering) is a Sufi ritual of recitation consisting mainly of the mention of God.
46 We would like to thank Eric Geoffroy of Strasburg University, for giving us his authorised view on this topic.
47 That of Abu Hurayra, transmitted through al-Walid ibn Muslim al-Dimashqi, see Daniel Gimaret, *Les noms divins en Islam*, (Paris, 1988), 55–57.
48 In Bukhari , see Gimaret, *Les noms divins*, 51.
49 Van Berchem, *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, 3: no. 466. As did Lane-Poole earlier, when he stipulated that these stands were used to support a large tray (see reference in n. 1).
50 See the lamp in the David Collection, Copenhagen, inv. no. 37/1982.
51 For a similar comparison, see Federica Broilo, "Ottoman Woodwork: some little-known Koran boxes from the Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi in Istanbul (sixteenth–seventeenth centuries)," unpublished lecture at the *13th International Congress of Turkish Art*, Budapest, 2007. We thank Dr Broilo warmly for her kindly giving us access to her unpublished article.
52 See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa ʾl-iʿtibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa ʾl-āthār*, 2 vols. (Būlāq, 1853), 2: 380.
53 Ibid and also al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*, ed. Muṣṭafā Ḥijāzī, (Cairo, 1997), 33: 231.
54 On this matter, see Anne F. Broadbridge, *Kingship and Ideology in the Islamic and Mongol Worlds*, (Cambridge, 2008), 99–101.
55 According to Maqrizi, see reference in note 52.
56 See above note 17.
57 Kept in the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art, Istanbul, published in eds. M. Bernus Taylor and T. Bittar, *Soliman le Magnifique* (exhibition catalogue, Grand Palais), (Paris, 1989), 110, no. 112.
58 Kept in the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art, Istanbul, published in *The Anatolian Civilisations, III, Seljuk/Ottoman*, (exhibition catalogue, Topkapı Palace Museum), (Istanbul, 1985), 197.
59 Most of them have been published in exhibition catalogues. Most recently, see: Broilo, "Ottoman Woodwork": "In fact, inlaid works intended for imperial use were produced in a special section at Topkapı, the *mimarlar ocağı* (imperial corps of architects), with the involvement of the department of architecture and construction."
60 Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 2: 380.
61 C. Maury, "Du vêtement d'apparat à la relique dynastique," in: *A la cour du Grand Turc. Caftans ottomans du palais de Topkapı*, (exhibition catalogue, Musée du Louvre), (Paris, 2009), 57.
62 Born near Turin in 1832, he arrived in Cairo in 1859. See StephenVernoit, *Occidentalism: Islamic Art in the 19th Century*, Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, vol. 23 (New York, 1997), 238–39 for further bibliography.
63 Guiseppe Parvis' company might not have been the only producer of these pieces, other workshops probably followed his. An Egyptian metalworker named Gad, who specialised in inlaid pieces was located (in 2009) near the Umayyad mosque in Damascus; in his shop, he displayed a copy of al-Nasir Muhammad's stand, which was made by either his father or grandfather in Cairo some fifty years previously.
64 K. Çiğ, "Two metal Koran cases recently discovered in the Topkapı Palace Museum," in ed. G. Fehér, *5th International Congress of Turkish Art*, (Budapest, 1978), 261–66.

Rachel Ward

Mosque Lamps and Enamelled Glass: Getting the Dates Right

Glass vessels decorated in gold and coloured enamels with inscriptions, abstract designs and occasionally animal or figural scenes were popular luxury wares in the medieval period. The colourful vessels found a ready market because they were decorative yet thinner and lighter than local glazed pottery and cheaper than imported Chinese porcelains or precious metal vessels. Tablewares, such as bottles, bowls and beakers, were especially appreciated, as the hard, smooth glass was durable and easy to clean. Mosque lamps were also produced in great quantities: hundreds were commissioned by the Mamluk sultans and their emirs to adorn and illuminate the religious institutions which they built in Egypt and Syria.[1] An important additional function of these lamps was to advertise the patron's charitable foundation to God and the world, which is why they are usually inscribed with his name, title, and blazon. The lamp made for Emir Qawsun al-Saqi, the cupbearer (d. 1342), is typical (fig. 5): His name and titles are inscribed around the body and part of the Verse of Light from the Koran is inscribed around the neck, this last punctuated by large roundels containing a cup, the blazon of a cupbearer at the Mamluk court.

The development of enamelled glass was one of the finest achievements of the medieval Middle East, but the value of enamelled glass vessels as cultural and historical documents has been undermined by disagreement over their date and provenance. The famous pilgrim flask in the British Museum (fig. 1) has been attributed by Lamm to Aleppo ca.1250–60, by Carboni to Egypt or Syria in the third quarter of the thirteenth century, and by myself to mid-fourteenth century Damascus.[2] Was it made for an Ayyubid ruler in Aleppo? Or for a Mamluk courtier in Cairo before orthodoxy set in? Or on commission from Venetian merchants based in Damascus for export to Europe? This paper will focus on establishing a reliable chronology for enamelled glass.

For more than eighty years C. J. Lamm's *Mittelalterliche Gläser und Steinschnittarbeiten aus dem Nahen Osten* has been the standard work on Islamic glass; indeed the stature of this large two-volumed monograph effectively deterred much new research on the subject. Lamm divided enamelled glass into stylistic groups and pe-

Figure 1: "Pilgrim bottle," gilded and enamelled glass. Ht. 23cms.

riods: Raqqa group 1170–1270, Aleppo group thirteenth century, Damascus group 1250–1310, Fustat group 1270–1340. Despite the lack of archaeological and documentary material to support Lamm's attributions, his chronology for enamelled glass was generally accepted.[3]

In 1995 I convened a conference at the British Museum to take a fresh look at this material. In my paper there I suggested that Lamm's chronology should be revised. While I accepted that the origins of the industry were in thirteenth century Syria, I suggested that several of the large figured objects should be dated a hundred years later and to the Mamluk period. Although official Mamluk art did not usually include figures after about 1320, objects with figures were produced for other markets such as the Rasulids in Yemen, Europeans and probably off-duty Mamluks too.[4]

The most important discussions of enamelled glass since the conference are by Stefano Carboni.[5] He rejects Lamm's attributions to Raqqa, Aleppo and Damascus, but retains his stylistic chronology, with some minor revisions. He suggests that the source of the technique was probably Raqqa in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century and like Lamm regards the early or mid-thirteenth century as

"the golden age of enamelling and gilding on Islamic glass." He argues that although bigger vessels were produced, surface decoration became "less varied and polychromatic over time. The largest objects are also those with the least colourful combinations and the most stylised and repetitive decorative patterns."[6] He suggests that figures are absent from fourteenth century vessels due to Mamluk orthodoxy and so attributes all of the figured objects to the thirteenth century.

Essentially, the controversy is whether the most elaborate figural vessels such as the flask (fig. 1) and the bottle (fig.10) are thirteenth century or fourteenth century. This paper will argue that a progressive development of the technique can be traced throughout the period of production and that Lamm and Carboni's chronology should be inverted, with improved skills resulting in increasingly sophisticated objects during the fourteenth century.

Mosque lamps are the obvious starting point for a chronology of enamelled glass. Unlike secular vessels, most lamps bear the name and blazon (and sometimes the official position) of the person who commissioned them as well as the title of the reigning sultan, so they can usually be dated within a few years. The time span can be narrowed further if it is known when the building was completed, as these fragile vessels would have been ordered towards the end of the work. Most lamps were commissioned during the lifetime of the building's patron, but lamps were sometimes ordered for buildings after (sometimes many years after) the death of its founder. So inscriptions which invoke blessings on the soul of the deceased, or are simply endowed as waqf to the particular building which bears his name, cannot be used as evidence to date a lamp.[7]

Before discussing the technical developments made by Mamluk glass makers, it is important to understand the process of making and decorating these lamps and some of the particular difficulties this posed in the medieval period.

To make a lamp, the glassmaker gathered a molten mass of ready-prepared glass kept in a container within the furnace on a blowpipe and blew it to size while shaping it with instruments outside the furnace, reheating it within the furnace regularly to keep the glass malleable. He then transferred it to a pontil, or iron rod, to continue to work on the shape of the vessel and to add additional elements such as a foot and handles. When complete, the vessel was placed in the *lehr* (the annealing chamber positioned above the furnace) and allowed to cool slowly by moving it gradually towards the entrance. The manufacture of blown-glass vessels has not changed much between Roman times and the present; however, the thickness of the glass and the size and weight of these lamps made both blowing and handling them a considerable achievement.

The finished lamp was passed to the decorator. He sketched the design, usually with powdered gold mixed with a fluid medium such as gum arabic; these gold lines can be seen inside the vessel (fig. 9a and b). The coloured areas were then filled with enamels, pulverised coloured glass or clear glass mixed with colouring

agents such as ground cobalt and mixed, like the gold, with a little gum arabic. A more dilute mixture of gold was then painted on between the enamels. Finally, the design was outlined with a line of red enamel. This line preserved the gold beneath it, so that thin lines of gold can be seen from within the vessel even when the rest of the gold ground has disappeared (fig. 9b).

When the gold and enamels were all in place, the vessel was heated again slowly in the *lehr* before being reattached to the pontil with a gather of molten glass. Such heavy vessels required a relatively large gather of glass which was hard to 'crack off' from the base of the vessel without damaging it, so the bases of enamelled glass vessels are usually quite thick.[8] The glassmaker then returned the lamp to the furnace, turning it constantly, until the enamels had melted and fused with the surface of the glass. He removed it from the furnace and returned it to the *lehr* to cool down slowly.

Tait quotes a description of the process in a fifteenth-century Italian manuscript:

> "To paint glass, that is to say, cups or any other works in glass with *smalti* (enamels) or any colour you please, take the *smalti* you wish to use, and let them be soft and fusible, and pound them upon marble or porphyry in the same way that the goldsmiths do. Then wash the powder and apply it upon your glass as you please and let the colour dry thoroughly; then put the glass upon the rim of the chamber in which glasses are cooled, on the side from which the glasses are taken out cold and gradually introduce it into the chamber towards the fire which comes out of the furnace and take care you do not push too fast lest the heat should split it, and when you see that it is thoroughly heated, take it up with the *pontello* [long rod used by glass makers] and fix it to the *pontello* and put it in the mouth of the furnace, heating it and introducing it gradually. When you see the *smalti* shine and they have flowed well, take the glass out and put it in the chamber to cool, and it is done …"[9]

The second firing to fuse the enamels in the furnace differs sharply from modern practice.[10] Glassmakers now use enamels with a much lower melting point and so are able to fire them, like glazed ceramics, in a kiln. Medieval enamels consisted largely of the same glass as the body of the vessel and became fluid at a similar temperature, so they had to be fired on the pontil in the furnace rather than in a kiln. This risked the vessel softening and losing its shape before all of the enamels had melted and bonded with the surface of the glass.

The enamels on a small vessel with a simple shape, like a beaker, could be heated at the mouth of the furnace (as described in the Italian account quoted above), but large vessels with complex shapes, like mosque lamps, needed to be right inside the furnace chamber because the enamels were on different facets of the vessel, including the lower part of the body which pointed outwards towards the glass-

maker and so away from the heat. Considerable skill and dexterity were required to ensure that all of the enamelled decoration received some direct heat while the vessel was rotated to avoid its shape becoming distorted as the walls of the vessel softened. The glass walls of the lamps are thick to enable them to remain in the furnace for a longer time, but this made the vessel heavy and unwieldy and increased the risk that the weight of one area would pull and distort its shape; indeed, many are slightly askew.[11]

Enamel is pulverised glass coloured by the addition of different agents. These agents affect the temperature at which the glass will melt. Modern analyses have identified the constituents of the enamels used at this period and the temperature at which they would fuse. Red, blue, and white were hard enamels, melting at around the same temperature as the body of the vessel – some had even higher melting points than the glass itself. Yellow and green were soft enamels, melting at a much lower temperature.[12]

Despite the variation in their melting temperatures, the evidence from surviving vessels suggests that the gold and enamels were all fired together. Several objects have enamels which have spattered onto enamels of different colours (the lamp for Karim al-Din has spattered blue spots on the lotus frieze around the upper body, fig. 4).[13] Both skill and experience were required to fire enamels with different melting points simultaneously; too little time, and the hard enamels would remain a dirty grey colour or appear bubbly because the organic matter in the glass had not had sufficient time to burn off; too much time, and the soft enamels 'overcooked' or spattered. The glassmaker also needed to consider the location of the 'hard' and 'soft' enamels in relation to the direct heat of the furnace, and their thickness, both of which affected the length of time they took to fuse.

The series of datable Mamluk mosque lamps allows us to trace the glassmakers' growing confidence in handling enamelled glass and to identify some of the solutions that they found to the difficulties of this process.

1300–20

Before about 1320, lamps are relatively small, ranging in height from 24.7 to 29.6 centimetres, and are almost as wide as they are tall, with a bulbous body, flaring neck, and simple ring foot. They have just three handles, attached to the lamp by giant pads of glass, to ensure that they did not break off when the heavy vessel (made heavier by the oil within) was suspended.

The lamp commissioned by Emir Salar (fig. 2) may be the earliest surviving lamp. It is dedicated to his mausoleum, which was founded in 1303–04, so it dates between the completion of that building and his death in 1310. The mausoleum, a joint one with his friend Sanjar al-Jawli, survives in Cairo.[14] The lamp measures

Figure 2: Lamp made for the mausoleum of Salar 1303–04, gilded and enamelled glass. Ht. 25.5cms.

25.5 by 22.5 centimetres and is made of ribbed glass. The decoration consists of the dedication around the neck and a series of medallions and scrolls on the body between two plaits. The intricate designs are in gold, carefully outlined in red enamel, a reminder that the roots of the industry were in gilded glass vessels. The enamels are limited to areas around the widest part of the body and neck, with nothing on the base, although it was the most visible area when the lamp was suspended. As we saw earlier, it was extremely difficult to fire enamels on this area because it faced out towards the glassmaker and could not be angled directly towards the heat of the furnace. The narrow part of the neck is also undecorated – it was further from the heat and so also difficult to fire. The designs are executed in gold and then 'filled' with enamel, so the gold acts as a buffer between the different colours as if the craftsman was nervous that they might merge. A good range of colour is used (blue, red, white, yellow, green) and the enamels are successfully fired, but a single colour, blue, is dominant, and the 'soft' enamels, green and yellow, are limited to small areas within the plaits.

Figure 3: Lamp made for Sultan Baybars al-Jashnakir 1309–10, gilded and enamelled glass. Ht. 29cms., W. (max) 25.4cms.

A number of unusual features of this lamp – its small size, ribbed glass, unusual layout of the decoration, and extreme caution in the application of the enamels – suggests that it was one of the first enamelled glass mosque lamps. It would be consistent with what we know of Salar's flamboyant personality and interest in fashion that he set a new trend for these lamps in Mamluk buildings.

The lamp made for Sultan Baybars al-Jashnakir, who reigned 1309–10, suggests that the design of lamps evolved fast (fig. 3).[15] It is considerably bigger, measuring 29 by 25.4 centimetres; however, it lists badly to one side, which suggests that the glassmakers were being over-ambitious working at this size.[16] It has features which were to become standard: two large inscriptions, a Koranic verse on the neck, and the dedication on the body. The handles are given a shield-shaped frame, perhaps in imitation of the metal lamps which inspired their form, even though they are utterly unsuited to the shape of the handle, which is broad at the base not the top.[17] The application of enamels is much more ambitious. The enamels in the two large

inscription bands are quite thickly applied; the white is well-fired, but the blue has not bonded properly and several patches are missing. The narrow part of the neck is now lightly enamelled, but the green and yellow enamels have not fired properly and are a dirty grey colour. The base also has some decoration, mostly gold but with thin red enamel lines delineating the vine scroll and small dots of enamel for grapes, which are, however, a greyish colour, as if they have not received enough heat.

1320–30

From around 1320 some mosque lamps were made with a tall, tapering foot (separately applied). Lamps with and without a foot continued to be made throughout the fourteenth century. Both types of lamp replaced the three large padded handles by six formed from a narrower trail of glass (sometimes three if the lamp was small). The height of lamps in this decade increased to between 27.5 and 34 centimetres, regardless whether or not they had a foot; indeed, the footed lamp for Karim al-Din (fig. 4) is the smallest of all at 27.5 centimetres.

The format of two bands of enamelled inscription continued, but more enamels were applied to the difficult areas around the neck and under the base, perhaps encouraged by the desire of the patron to have his blazon on the underside of the lamp where it would be most visible. Gold remained an important element of the design (as well as being used as a ground to the enamels), but it was applied much more loosely in strokes or splodges, the design being delineated with red enamel lines and sometimes a spot of enamel, for example at the centre of a flower. At first, enamels were kept separate, but by the later 1320s different colours were applied touching each other.

During this period glassmakers experimented with ways of introducing new colours into the repertoire. A lamp made for al-Nasir Muhammad (d. 1341) has a coating of green paint within the vessel, which contrasts with the gold and red enamel line drawing on the exterior.[18] Other experiments to amplify the range of colours available include the use of stains, which was especially useful for blazons where particular colours were required. The blazon on the lamp for Husayn ibn Haydar Bay (ca.1319–28) consists of five bars of different colours: silver stain, yellow stain, red enamel, gold, and white enamel (this last has not fused so colour is uncertain).[19]

The lamp made for Karim al-Din's *ribat* (a hospice for Sufis or others) and tomb in Cairo probably dates to the early 1320s, certainly before his death in 1323 as he is named with his titles (fig. 4).[20] It is probably the earliest surviving example of a footed lamp. The predominant colour is blue and it is well fired, as are the small touches of red and green, but the white scrolls behind the inscription on the neck

are a grainy-grey. Colours are still kept separate and the more difficult areas on the underside of the lamp and the foot are only lightly enamelled with red enamel rays on a gilded ground. Designs of flowers, leaves, and rays were freely drawn on top of the gold ground in red enamel. The frieze around the top of the body contains a lotus scroll. This is the earliest example (in any media) known to me of such chinoiserie. Karim al-Din was in charge of the peace negotiations with the Ilkhanids and may well have received or seen diplomatic gifts that could have provided the model for such decoration.[21]

1330–40

By the 1330s lamps were regularly 32 to 36 centimetres high, whether they had a foot or not. It is during this period that half-tones, which involved the mechanical mixing of two colours, first appear: especially pink (red and white), pale blue (blue and white), and pale green (yellow and green). It became popular to place them be-

Figure 4: Lamp made for the *ribat* of Karim al-Din ca. 1300–23, gilded and enamelled glass. Ht. 27.5cms., Diam. (rim) 18cms.

Figure 5: Lamp made for Qawsun al-Saqi ca. 1330, gilded and enamelled glass. Ht. 35.6 cms., Diam. 23.9 cms.

tween their parent colours to give a three-tone graded appearance to the area. This may have been influenced by a similar use of colour in early fourteenth-century Koran manuscripts, such as that commissioned by Baybars al-Jashnakir (d. 1310) and illuminated by Abu Bakr (known as Sandal) between 1304 and 1306.[22] The technique also became popular in manuscript illustrations from the 1330s, such as the Vienna *Maqamat*, dated 1334, and the Bodleian *Maqamat*, dated 1337.[23]

The lamp made for the Emir Qawsun al-Saqi (d. 1342) (fig. 5) was probably destined for his mosque in Cairo, which was built in 1329–30 and was one of the most lavish buildings of the period.[24] It certainly predates 1341, as he is described as being in the service of al-Nasir Muhammad, who died that year. It is one of the largest lamps of the decade, measuring 35.6 by 23.9 centimetres. It has the developed format for mosque lamps, with elegant proportions and six handles. The

titles of the patron are inscribed around the body in blue, with scrolls behind terminating in arabesques in the newly fashionable 'three-tone': white, pink, red, and white, yellow, green. The Verse of Light from Koran 24:25 is inscribed on the neck in gold on a blue ground punctuated by the cup blazon of the patron, cupbearer to the sultan, within a large roundel. Blue dominates, but there is a full range of colours and they are no longer kept separate from each other. The enamels cover more of the lamp surface, including the underside of the body, and are well fired. The gold is now applied as a solid band with red enamel drawn on top. The two bands on the neck contain a bird scroll, an unusual subject for a religious environment and possibly the reason that the drawing is so sketchy.[25] Small roundels containing a gold lotus on a blue enamel ground are repeated around the top of the body of the lamp. This was to become a favourite motif for glassmakers until the end of the century.

1340–50

During the 1340s, lamps continued to grow in size – most are greater than 33 centimetres in height, but they can reach 38.5 centimetres – and enamels now cover much of their surface. The most important development in this decade was the use of lead-rich enamels within the vessel. A circle or band of colour would be painted on the interior of the glass and then gold designs painted on the exterior, the background colour giving the delicate gold designs much greater prominence. This is a significant labour-saving development, much easier than the alternative, painstaking method of applying enamels around intricate gold designs. The technique was soon used regularly on lamps. It involved an understanding of the properties of lead in bringing down the melting point of the enamels sufficiently to allow them to fuse with the glass body, even when they did not receive direct heat from the furnace. None of the internal enamels on complete lamps have been tested for obvious reasons, but analyses of the enamels on broken fragments of glass show that they consist of 35 to 45 percent lead.[26]

The lamp made for Tughaytimur al-Nasiri (d. 748/1347-48) is the earliest datable lamp to have enamels applied within the vessel (fig. 6). He is described in the inscription as *dawadar* of al-Malik al-Salih. Tughaytimur was *dawadar* to al-Malik al-Salih Ismaʿil so the lamp can be attributed to the reign of that sultan (1342–45) and was probably made for Tughaytimur's *khanqah* which was finished in 1344/5.[27] There are six bands of red enamel within the neck, body, and foot, and twelve medallion-shaped areas of green enamel within the lower body. Originally there were designs in gold drawn on top of these colours on the outside of the vessel but they have survived only as a shadow. The dedication on the body has loose leaves behind it instead of an arabesque scroll. Arabesques demanded much

Figure 6: Lamp made for Tughaytimur al-Nasiri, 1342–45, gilded and enamelled glass. Ht. 35.8cms., Diam. (base) 15.7cms.

greater accuracy and were replaced by these leaves (first seen on glass in the 1320s) by the end of the 1340s.

1350–60

The 1350s are dominated by lamps commissioned by two patrons, Sultan Hasan (d. 1361) and Emir Shaykhu (d. 1357).[28] Both groups are spectacular, but the royal commissions for Sultan Hasan are the most ambitious (fig. 7). They were destined for the sultan's enormous mosque-madrasa complex in Cairo, built during his second reign (1354–61) and completed after his death.[29] The footed lamps measure up to 42 centimetres high and those without a foot between 34 and 38 centimetres – so even the smallest is larger than most of the earlier lamps. These are the largest

Figure 7: Lamp made for Sultan Hasan ca. 1361, gilded and enamelled glass. Ht. 38cms., Diam. (rim) 27 cms., (max) 30cms., (base) 13.5 cms.

lamps produced by the Mamluk glassmakers. Immensely heavy (the shorter lamps are more bulbous and so similar in overall bulk and weight), they must have been very awkward to handle on the end of a pontil during the enamelling process, yet they are rarely misshapen. The enamels cover the whole surface of the vessel, even the underside of the body, and are thickly applied, yet they are almost invariably well fused. The designs are varied and often unusual, reflecting the innovative chinoiserie decoration of the building itself. All the colours are used, including black (actually an intense cobalt blue), and various mixes of colours, including the less popular brown (used appropriately for tree trunks). On some of the lamps, spots of colour are applied on top of another colour – a far cry from the careful separation of enamels by gold seen on the first lamps fifty years earlier.[30]

The lamps made for Sultan Hasan's madrasa divide into three groups. The first group has the sultan's name and titles around the body in bold script, Koranic verse

24:35 around the neck, and big roundels with the royal shield within, usually inscribed *'izz li-mawlana 'l-sultan* (Glory to our lord the sultan), without specifying Hasan's name or regnal title. The second group has an almost identical neck, but the titles on the body are replaced by an extraordinary variety of designs: plaited Kufic, palmettes, lotuses and other motifs that had previously been seen as 'fillers' between the roundels on the underside of the lamp. The Gulbenkian lamp, which belongs to this second group, has a complex design of arabesques and Chinese foliage (fig. 7). The third group has the whole lamp covered with these designs; sometimes there is not even a royal blazon. In size, form, technique, and style the lamps in all three groups are very similar and clearly products of the same workshop. Perhaps the last two groups were made shortly after the death of the sultan, when it was inappropriate to invoke glory to the sultan in the usual way. The building was not finished when he died and it is likely that lamps were made towards the end of such a big construction project when there was less possibility of damage and dirt. The first group may have been made just before 1361, the year of the sultan's death, and the other two groups shortly afterwards, so they may all belong to the next decade.

1360–70

The only lamps certainly datable to this decade were made for the tomb of Sultan Shaʿban II (r. 1363–76), which was finished in 1368–9.[31] These are a distinct group and are completely different from the other lamps discussed here. They are relatively small: the footed lamps are 35 or 36 centimetres high, while those without a foot are about 33 centimetres high. Some of them are in a new form: a bowl shape with three suspension handles. The enamel and gilded decoration is very limited. It consists of medallions and cartouches with inscriptions or floral ornament inside, loosely drawn in red enamel with high-lead blue enamel painted inside the vessel to set them off. Clearly these lamps were produced by a different workshop, probably one unused to making large enamelled vessels. It is unclear whether this was an aesthetic choice or because the normal workshop was not available for commissions (perhaps because the craftsmen had been killed by one of the bubonic plagues which recurred in the second half of the fourteenth century).

The gap in production of large enamelled lamps may be an illusion. Few lamps bear the names of Mamluk emirs in the second half of the fourteenth century, but there are many more anonymous lamps which appear to belong to this period. Perhaps emirs were less anxious to have their name inscribed on their lamps – a similar development is seen in inlaid metalwork during this period.

Figure 8: Lamp made for Yalbugha al-Nasiri ca. 1370–75, gilded and enamelled glass. Ht. 33.8 cms. (with modern foot), Diam. (max) 25.8 cms.

1370–80

The lamp made for Yalbugha al-Nasiri al-Ashrafi when he was *amir hajib bi 'l-abwab al-sharifa* (1370–75)[32] is a rare example of a lamp inscribed to an emir in this period (fig. 8).[33] It demonstrates that whatever the reason for the lacuna of the 1360s, in the early 1370s large enamelled lamps were still in production and with no loss of skill, even if the execution is not up to the standards of royal commissions. It is a reasonable size (ca. 33.8 centimetres, including the replaced foot). The enamels are thickly applied on all areas of the lamp and there are lead-rich green and red enamels within the vessel.

a b

Figure 9: Details of the outside (a) and inside (b) of a roundel on the neck of a lamp made for Sultan Barquq ca. 1386, gilded and enamelled glass. Ht. 32.8 cms., Diam (max) 26 cms.

1380–90

The lamps made for Sultan Barquq (r. 1382–99), probably for his funerary complex in Cairo completed in 1386, are worthy successors to those made for Sultan Hasan (figs. 9a and 9b).[34] These footed lamps measure up to 40 centimetres high, only slightly smaller than the largest lamps made for Sultan Hasan. Those without a foot measure 33 to 35 centimetres, which is comparable to the smaller Hasan lamps. They are decorated with enamels all over the body, including the underside, and most have high-lead enamels within the vessel as well. There is one significant development: the use of narrow channels of gold between areas of thickly applied blue enamel, for example in the scroll around the royal blazon (figs. 9a and 9b). Such narrow channels risked flooding when the enamels were heated and so they were usually avoided. On Barquq's lamps it is possible to see the enamels on either side bulging slightly as if held back by an invisible force. It seems likely that the glassmakers evolved a method of mixing something with the gold which repelled the enamels – perhaps an oily or waxy substance which burnt off during the firing process. Other areas of the decoration show glassmakers working at speed, for example the red line drawings on the gold are reduced to circles and dots. It is unlikely that the gold scroll would have been attempted if there were not an easy method to achieve it.

Fifteenth Century

Barquq's lamps mark the final high point before the decline of the enamelled glass industry. Few lamps can be dated to the fifteenth century and they are a sad re-

minder of the achievements of earlier lamps.[35] A variety of causes has been proposed to explain the drop in both quantity and quality of enamelled glass. Timur's invasion of Syria and sack of Damascus in 1401 may have been one, but the economic decline and political chaos of the late fourteenth century were probably the real reasons.

Conclusion

The progressive development of mosque lamps during the fourteenth century suggests a maturing industry which peaked in the middle of the century but showed no sign of decline until the last decade. The gradual increase in size (from ca. 24.7 centimetres up to 42 centimetres in the second half of the fourteenth century) demonstrates that glassmakers were constantly striving to make larger lamps; for royal commissions they were probably working at the very limits of their abilities. There is a measurable growth in confidence in handling enamelled decoration. Small amounts of enamel, carefully separated by gold in limited areas, gradually increase until there are thickly applied enamels of all colours, even layered on top of eachother, covering the entire surface of the lamp by the middle of the century. An important innovation of the 1340s was the introduction of high-lead colours painted inside the vessel. A technique for successfully leaving narrow channels between the enamels without flooding had evolved by the 1380s. Stylistic developments also show an awareness of current trends, notably the introduction of chinoiserie in the 1320s which came to dominate the designs of many lamps by the middle of the century.

So how does this survey of mosque lamps assist with the attribution of the undated secular vessels? This is not the place for a detailed comparison between lamps and vessels, but it would certainly be a productive exercise. I will take just one example, a bottle in the Metropolitan Museum of Art which is usually dated to the thirteenth century (fig. 10).[36] It measures 43.5 centimetres, taller than the tallest mosque lamp (42 centimetres) made for Sultan Hasan ca. 1361, and is unlikely to have been made much earlier. Indeed, the special skill required to handle such large glass vessels makes it likely that they were produced by the same craftsmen and in the same workshops.[37] The sketchy red line drawing on the neck is on top of bands of gold – both features that were introduced in the 1330s. It has a variety of enamel colours, including the three tones (red, pink, white, and blue, pale blue, white on the tail of the phoenix on the neck), which were also not seen on lamps before the 1330s. It has brown and spots of colour on other enamels first seen on the lamps made for Sultan Hasan. The Chinese leaf design on the body is almost identical (without the blue enamel ground) to that on the lamp for Sultan Hasan in the Gulbenkian (fig. 7). The bottle is a closed shape and so could not have enamels

Figure 10: Bottle with horsemen, gilded and enamelled glass. Ht. 43.5 cms.

applied within it. But many open vessels, such as beakers, have bands of lead-rich enamel painted inside, with gold designs on the exterior.[38] As we saw, this technique first appears on mosque lamps in the 1340s and even if the technique were evolved by the beaker makers, such a labour-saving technique would have been copied on lamps very shortly afterwards.

Given that there are no compelling stylistic, documentary, or archaeological reasons to date the secular vessels to the thirteenth century, why not assume the obvious: that the vessels developed in tandem with the lamps and that the most technically sophisticated vessels, such as the pilgrim flask (fig. 1) and the bottle (fig. 10), date from the mid- to late-fourteenth century, when the lamps were also at their most sophisticated?

Illustrations (with image credit)

Figure 1: "Pilgrim bottle," gilded and enamelled glass. Ht. 23 cms, no. OA1869.1-20.3. (Photo courtesy of the British Museum)
Figure 2: Lamp made for the mausoleum of Salar 1303–04, gilded and enamelled glass. Ht. 25.5 cms. Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo, no. 281. (After G. Schmoranz, Old Oriental Gilt and Enamelled Glass Vessels [London, 1899], pl. V.)
Figure 3: Lamp made for Sultan Baybars al-Jashnakir 1309–10, gilded and enamelled glass. Ht. 29 cms., W. (max) 25.4 cms, no. 322–1900. (Photo courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum)
Figure 4: Lamp made for the *ribat* of Karim al-Din ca. 1300–23, gilded and enamelled glass. Ht. 27.5 cms., Diam. (rim) 18 cms, no. 37.614. (Photo courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)
Figure 5: Lamp made for Qawsun al-Saqi ca. 1330, gilded and enamelled glass. Ht. 35.6 cms., Diam. 23.9 cms, no. 17.190.991. (Photo courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)
Figure 6: Lamp made for Tughaytimur al-Nasiri, 1342–45, gilded and enamelled glass. Ht. 35.8 cms., Diam. (base) 15.7 cms, no. 2005. (Photo courtesy of the Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence)
Figure 7: Lamp made for Sultan Hasan ca.1361, gilded and enamelled glass. Ht. 38 cms., Diam. (rim) 27 cms., (max) 30 cms., (base) 13.5 cms, no. 1022. (Photo courtesy of the Gulbenkian Museum, Lisbon)
Figure 8: Lamp made for Yalbugha al-Nasiri ca.1370–75, gilded and enamelled glass. Ht. 33.8 cms. (with modern foot), Diam. (max) 25.8 cms. (Photo courtesy of the Museum of Islamic Art, Doha)
Figure 9: Details of the outside (a) and inside (b) of a roundel on the neck of a lamp made for Sultan Barquq ca.1386, gilded and enamelled glass. Ht. 32.8 cms., diam (max) 26 cms. (Photo courtesy of the Museum of Islamic Art, Doha)
Figure 10: Bottle with horsemen, gilded and enamelled glass. Ht. 43.5 cms, no. 41.150. (Photo courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)

Notes

1 More than 250 lamps have survived and many of them are on display in the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo. This collection was published by Gaston Wiet, *Lampes et bouteilles en verre émaillé*, (Cairo, 1929), 3–5.
2 C.J. Lamm, *Mittelalterliche Gläser und Steinschnittarbeiten aus dem Nahen Osten*, 2 vols., (Berlin, 1929–30) 1: 327–8; and 2: pl. 267, 18; S. Carboni and D. Whitehouse, *Glass of the Sultans*, (London/New York, 2001), no 123, 247–49; Rachel Ward, "Glass and brass: parallels and puzzles," in ed. R. Ward, *Gilded and Enamelled Glass from the Middle East* (London, 1998), 30–31.
3 Elegant misgivings were expressed by P. J. Riis when he explained that he had to use Lamm's chronology for the attribution of enamelled glass found at Hama: "on prenne ses indications

d'années comme des données relatives et non absolues, à moins qu'elles ne se basent sur une inscription historique ou un fait analogue," in P. J. Riis and Vagn Poulsen, *Hama, fouilles et récherches 1931–1938, les vérréries et poteries médiévales*, vol. 4/2, (Copenhagen, 1957), 69.

4 Ward "Glass and brass: parallels and puzzles," 33.

5 Carboni and Whitehouse, *Glass of the Sultans*, 203–207 and cat. nos 113–135; Carboni, *Glass from Islamic Lands, the al-Sabah collection* (London, 2001), 323–325, and cat. nos 85–101; idem, *Mamluk Enamelled and Gilded Glass in the Museum of Islamic Art*, (London, 2003).

6 Carboni, *Glass from Islamic Lands*, 324.

7 For example, the lamp dedicated to the mausoleum of al-Ashraf Khalil (1290–93) which invokes blessing on he who lies inside; stylistically this lamp appears to be mid-fourteenth century: Wiet, *Lampes et bouteilles*, no. 264, and pl. IV. Also the lamp made for the tomb of Aydakin built ca. 1284, which ends 'may God sanctify his soul'; stylistically this lamp appears to date from the 1320s or 1330s (note in particular the leaves which appear in other lamps and also in inlaid metalwork in the 1320s). Carboni and Whitehouse, *Glass of the Sultans*, no. 114 and 228–230.

8 The Cavour Vase has a patched hole in the base caused when the pontil was removed. William Gudenrath in Carboni and Whitehouse, *Glass of the Sultans*, 52.

9 A description of the process in a fifteenth-century manuscript in the library of the monastery of San Salvatore in Bologna, quoted in ed. H. Tait, *Five Thousand Years of Glass*, (London, 1991), 160–61.

10 William Gudenrath, a glassmaker who has researched medieval and earlier glassmaking techniques, was the first to point out this essential difference between modern and medieval enamelling on glass, Tait, *Five Thousand Years*, 235–37, for a series of illustrations on how this was achieved.

11 Gudenrath describes an enamelled candlestick which became crooked during this second firing in Carboni and Whitehouse, *Glass of the Sultans*, 51–52.

12 I. Freestone and C. Stapleton, "Composition and technology of Islamic enamelled glass of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries," in ed. R. Ward, *Gilded and Enamelled Glass*, 122–28.

13 The Cavour Vase has spattered red enamel on both green enamel and gold which is visible in the illustration in Carboni, *Mamluk Enamelled and Gilded Glass*, 19.

14 The lamp was published by Wiet, *Lampes et bouteilles*, no. 281, 24–25 and pl. VII. Salar and the mausoleum are discussed by Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, (London, 2007), 156–61.

15 Baybars' lamp is published in Carboni and Whitehouse, *Glass of the Sultans*, no. 115, 230–32. It was probably destined for his funerary *khanqah* in Cairo, Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 161–66.

16 A lamp made for al-Nasir Muhammad in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, has a kink in the rim where the glass softened during the second firing.

17 An inlaid brass lamp in this form with shield-shaped spaces for handles is published by J.W. Allan, *Metalwork Treasures from the Islamic Courts*, (Qatar/London, 2002), no. 20, 70–71.

18 Location unknown; I know this lamp only from an old photograph.

19 Al-Sabah Collection LNS 5G, published in Carboni, *Glass from Islamic Lands*, no. 99, 360–61.

20 Published by E. Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam. Art of the Mamluks*, (Washington, D. C., 1981), no. 53, 136–37. A second lamp endowed (waqf) for his *ribat* was probably produced in the same workshop as both have six 'upside-down' handles and other similarities. But this second lamp does not give his titles and begs mercy and pardon from God, so may date just after his death, in disgrace, in 1323. Metropolitan Museum of Art 17.190.987, published by Lamm, *Mittelalterliche Gläser*, 1: 435 and 2: pl. 169, 1.

21 Karim al-Din's role in the negotiations and their effect on Mamluk art are discussed in R. Ward, "Mongol mania at the Mamluk court," in ed. R. Hillenbrand, *The Art of the Mongols* (in press).

22 British Library Add 22142. For one of many examples of this use of colour in this Koran manuscript see frontispiece to the seventh volume – best seen in the magnificent digital facsimile edition on the library's website.

23 Richard Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, (Geneva, 1962): Vienna *Maqamat* illustrated on 150–51, Bodleian *Maqamat* illustrated on 152.

24 Published by Carboni and Whitehouse, *Glass of the Sultans*, no 116, 232–34. It is one of two lamps signed by a craftsman whose name has been read as ʿAli ibn Muhammad al-Barmaki. For Qawsun's mosque, see Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 171–72.
25 Recognisable bird friezes recur on other lamps, including the two lamps made for Tuquztimur (d. 1345) in the British Museum: one is illustrated in colour on the front cover of ed. R. Ward, *Gilded and Enamelled Glass*. Later examples become increasingly sketchy.
26 Freestone and Stapleton, "Composition and technology," 123–25.
27 Published by Stefano Carboni in ed. Giovanni Curatola, *Eredità dell'Islam. Arte Islamica in Italia*, (exhibition catalogue, Palazzo Ducale) (Venice, 1993), no. 190, 324–326. A second lamp made for Tughaytimur is the Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo, no. 314, published by G. Wiet, *Lampes et bouteilles*, 70–72 and pl. XIII.
28 Most of Hasan's lamps are in the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo and are published by Wiet, *Lampes et bouteilles*, who also published two of the lamps made for Emir Shaykhu, nos. 328 and 4257, 92–93,138–39, and pls. XX and XXI.
29 For this building see Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 201–13.
30 For a colour illustration of a lamp with spotted enamel, see Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam*, no. 52, 134–35.
31 Several lamps made for Sultan Shaʿban are published by Wiet, *Lampes et bouteilles*, pls. LIX–LXI.
32 Which translates as ʿamir chamberlain at the noble gates'.
33 Published in Carboni, *Mamluk Enamelled and Gilded Glass*, 54–57.
34 This lamp was published in M.Q. Ribeiro and J. Hallett, *Mamluk Glass in the Calouste Gulbenkian Museum* (Lisbon, 1999), no. 7, 118–19. Most of the lamps made for Barquq are in the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo, see Wiet, *Lampes et bouteilles*, pls. LXIII–LXXXVII. For Barquq's funerary complex see Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 225–30.
35 For example, see the lamp made for the madrasa of Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh (1412–21) in Carboni, *Mamluk Enamelled and Gilded Glass*, 66–69.
36 Most recently published in Carboni and Whitehouse, *Glass of the Sultans*, no. 126, 254–57.
37 Three-tiered furnaces with multiple openings were standard in Europe and the Middle East and appear in medieval descriptions and illustrations, but special furnaces may have been constructed for these lamps, which would have taken the entire internal space of the furnace. Fuel was scarce and expensive in Egypt and Syria, so for heat conservation the furnace may have had just one glory hole of the smallest practicable aperture. The size – both height and diameter – of the lamps would have been restricted as much by the dimensions of the furnace and its aperture as by the strength and skill of the glassmaker, which may be the reason that the maximum height of footed and non-footed lamps in any period is so similar.
38 For colour illustration of beakers with high-lead red enamel inside, see Ward, *Gilded and Enamelled Glass*, colour plate L. For illustrations of the fragments painted with high-lead red enamel analysed in Freestone and Stapleton, "Composition and technology," 122–28, see colour plate O in the same volume.

Roland-Pierre Gayraud

Ceramics in the Mamluk Empire: An Overview

By the turn of the fourteenth century the Mamluk Empire had become the major Mediterranean power and Cairo had regained its status as a *megapolis*,[1] which it had held during the Fatimid period. The Mamluk period had a profound and lasting impact on society, to the extent that even the Ottomans, who subdued this empire in 1517, were never able to enforce their cultural model upon it. This applies particularly for Egypt, which is the subject of this paper. The architecture of the capital remained largely faithful to Mamluk style until the nineteenth century. There is a kind of 'national' artistic style that had developed by the end of the thirteenth century and survived through the entire Ottoman period. Moreover, the Mamluk system did not come to a total end with the arrival of the Ottomans in 1517; *mamluk* s continued to be recruited, thus maintaining many of the traditions of the Mamluk sultanate. Even the orientalistic revivals of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries referred back to the Mamluk style. Therefore, it may be said that the term 'Mamluk' is not only a chronological indication but also a cultural trait. Ceramics fit perfectly into this global definition.[2]

When considering the production of ceramics, this 'Mamluk' geo-political entity may be divided into three areas: its centre, Egypt, Syria (*Bilad al-Sham*) and the Western Bank of the Euphrates, more Mesopotamian than actually Syrian. Each of these areas had developed their own handicraft traditions in the centuries preceding the Mamluk era. The famous Fatimid products – lustre decoration, monochrome incised decoration on fritware – disappeared during the Ayyubid transition period, which took place between the late twelfth and the thirteenth centuries. The same may be said about the Euphrates products which reached their peak in the thirteenth century. Only the common vessels show some kind of continuity, mainly because of their utilitarian nature. Their shapes and occasional decoration changed very slowly with the exception of some sudden mutations.

The common pottery varied little, because its specific uses, defined for centuries, did not change. The clay of these ceramics was chosen according to the vessel's intended use; their bodies are mostly alluvial clay (Nile or Euphrates). There were jars of various sizes for storing grains, oil or water, for example. Cooking

wares – pots and pans – are generally made with a red clay body and very often their interior is covered by a layer of lead glaze, which may sometimes extend over the exterior of the rim and handles. In addition, there were other specific types of ceramics such as portable stoves (*kanun*) and the jars (*qadus*) used in waterwheels (*noria*).

Lamps are another specific type of product, but in this field there was little innovation. The traditional shapes continued, such as small triangular pinched dishes, sometimes mounted on a tall cylindrical foot with a round base and a long handle, in the same fashion as those found in North Africa and Andalusia in the same period.

In Egypt, a kind of utility ware had already appeared by the eleventh century. These were cone-shaped bowls with straight flaring walls, in a red fabric, crudely thrown, varying in diameter between ten and thirty centimetres. Their careless craftsmanship suggests that they were rapidly produced, brutally torn from the potter's wheel at the last stage of production.[3] The great quantity of these bowls, found in Mamluk layers in Cairo, as well as in Alexandria, is probably linked to the practice of buying 'street food'. They were probably used by street vendors, who operated a kind of medieval 'take-away', described by Maqrizi and travellers. Many of these coarse vessels were often reused by craftsmen for making mortar and stucco. Jars and jugs continued to develop as two types. One type, in a red fabric, was more often slip-decorated, and sometimes engraved. Two shapes are most commonly found: one ovoid, shaped with a long vertical cylindrical neck; and the other with rounded shoulders, a vertical opening, and a tubular spout on the shoulder. These types reveal a continuity in shape that already existed in the twelfth century.

The Fatimid tradition of jug filters continued into the fourteenth century. The vessels, in a white calcareous fabric varying from a greyish to a greenish hue, always display pierced decorations that functioned as a filter in the jar; the Mamluk filters often display a blazon.[4] Moulded ceramics, using the same type of whitish calcareous paste as the jugs, also have an old tradition (fig. 1). These vessels, with a more or less thin wall, sometimes called 'eggshell', were found in Egypt during the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries, but in Mamluk times they were mainly produced in western Syria, or in the Euphrates region.[5]

The use of glaze does not necessarily turn a ceramic vessel into a sophisticated and expensive product, and one should remember that numerous common types were glazed. They are mainly dishes and bowls or specific shapes such as the cylindrical *albarelli* (pharmacy jars) used for spices and medical products. The fabrics are pale clays, pink or even yellowish. These simple products are generally covered by a monochrome lead glaze, or as in Syria, an alkaline glaze. To make things more complicated, one may find frequent mixtures of lead and alkaline glazes in Egypt. The range of colours is rather classic – green which may vary from a pure green

Figure 1: Syrian moulded pilgrim flask.

to a 'spinach' green, probably depending on the firing conditions. This green was produced by mixing copper oxides with a lead glaze, and turned turquoise when the glaze was predominantly alkaline. Brown was also commonly used, created with iron oxides in the glaze, whereas manganese oxide gave an aubergine colour. Cobalt blue tinted glazing was rare and the white tin glazes practically disappeared in the Mamluk period. This was probably due to the use of artificial white fabrics (fritware) in production from the eleventh century onwards; thus white slips or opaque tin glazes became superfluous.

On the other hand, another tradition survived and was reinforced in Mamluk Egypt, that of antimony-glazed ceramics. This pottery of bright, lemon yellow colour, belongs to the oldest Islamic ceramic traditions that goes back to the very early Abbasid era. It was still quite common in the eleventh century, and very frequent during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, in Alexandria and Fustat. The Mamluk specimens are often decorated with green motifs, frequently in a strip under the rim. The fabric is red clay, and the vessel's body is usually quite heavy, except in some shapes, such as bowls with flaring walls and a ring foot.

Figure 2: Mamluk *sgraffito* fragment from Fustat.

The definition of the technical term *sgraffito*[6] is a delicate matter. In my opinion, the term has to be precisely narrowed down in order not to extend it to all incised ceramic ware. *Sgraffito* ware is a type of incised ceramic, however not all incised ceramic ware necessarily employs the *sgraffito* technique. *Sgraffito* is a ceramic type covered with a slip that consists of a diluted mixture of clay, generally white, which conceals the dark red colour of the body. The paste used is the same as that for most of the everyday wares – alluvial Nile clay. After firing, its body becomes dark red like fired bricks; its texture is coarse, not very hard and friable. This may explain the thickness of the walls of this type of pottery, which gives an impression of massiveness. The decoration was incised with a pointed stylus, which could have a single or a double point, the thickness of which could vary considerably, producing either thick lines or very fine incisions that filled spaces with a multitude of tiny loops (fig. 2). The double-pointed tool allowed the potter to draw parallel lines when the vessel was on the wheel. These incisions were made while the clay was still damp; they were pierced through the layer of slip to allow the dark colour of the body fabric to show through. The glaze later enhanced the darkness of the surface. At this stage, a first firing produced a biscuit. The biscuit was decorated with metallic oxides, such as copper, iron or manganese. Also noticeable is the use of a very thick slip, which enhanced the decorative motifs, particularly the epigraphic decoration. When the decoration was completed, a lead glaze covered these oxides or slips before the vessel was fired a second time. The lead glaze being transparent, the engraved decoration showed through. However, this glaze

was not without colour and the presence of impurities, such as particles of iron oxide, often gave it a yellowish, or toffee colour (figs. 3, 4). This tint darkened the original colour of the fabric, which showed through the engravings and gave the impression of a black drawing. This tradition of *sgraffito* differs from the Fatimid tradition of incised ware on a frit fabric, without any slip, being rather akin to a

Figure 3: Slip-painted base fragment from Fustat.

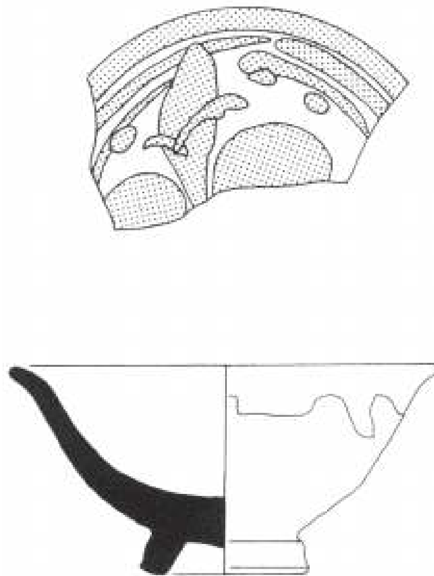

Figure 4: Drawing of a slip-painted bowl fragment from Fustat.

tradition of incised ceramics developed from the eleventh century onwards in the Iranian world, as well as in western Syria and the Byzantine world. Incised ceramics on a slip were produced in Egypt in the tenth century, but as these were inspired by Chinese models they do not constitute the origin of this later Egyptian *sgraffito*.

Rather the Mamluk *sgraffito* shows a relationship with Byzantine *sgraffito*, through shapes, such as the hemispherical bowl on a flaring ring foot, and through some of the decoration such as floral ornamental bands. It is clear, however, that some Byzantine ceramics, particularly twelfth century Cypriot vessels, were inspired by the decorative style of Fatimid lustre ware.

Sgraffito fits into a specific cultural context: the decorative designs have a stylistic vocabulary common to enamelled glass, inlaid metalware, sculptured wood and ivory, stucco decoration, textiles and to miniatures. Their epigraphic decoration occupies a prominent place, usually displayed in large bands filled with elegant *thuluth* script (figs. 5, 6), mostly accompanied by blazons (fig. 7). Some of the inscriptions represent a true identity, others are simply decorative, reminiscent of the designs on some enamelled glass vessels. *Sgraffito* pottery also borrowed the profiles of metal vessels, whether basins with rounded walls or bowls with angularly shaped ones (figs. 8, 9, 10). Dedicatory inscriptions stating that a vessel

Figure 5: Mamluk *sgraffito* bowl section from Tod.

Figure 6: Detail of the inscription.

Figure 7: Drawing of Mamluk *sgraffito* bowl section from Tod.

was made for a specific emir, may be no more than crockery made for the use of his household, which included hundreds of individuals and *mamluk* s.[7] This explains how a rather coarse type of ceramic could bear the name of a prominent and wealthy emir, who would probably be using ceramic ware of far better quality for his own table.

As touched upon above, vendors of street food were often described by travellers as a characteristic feature of Cairene everyday life. Even today, street stalls,

Figure 8: Mamluk *sgraffito* fragment from Fustat.

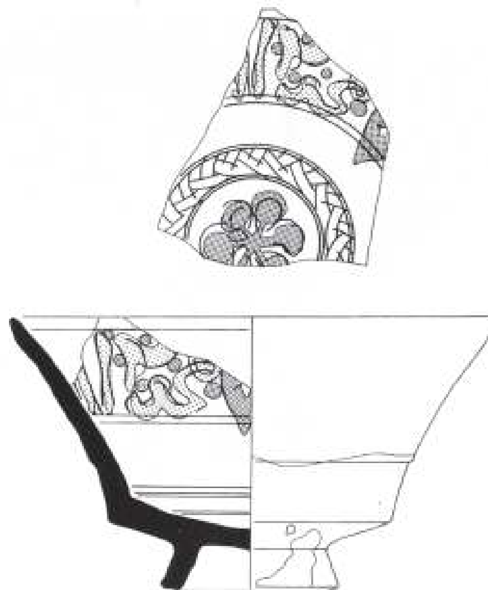

Figure 9: Drawing of Mamluk *sgraffito* bowl section from Fustat.

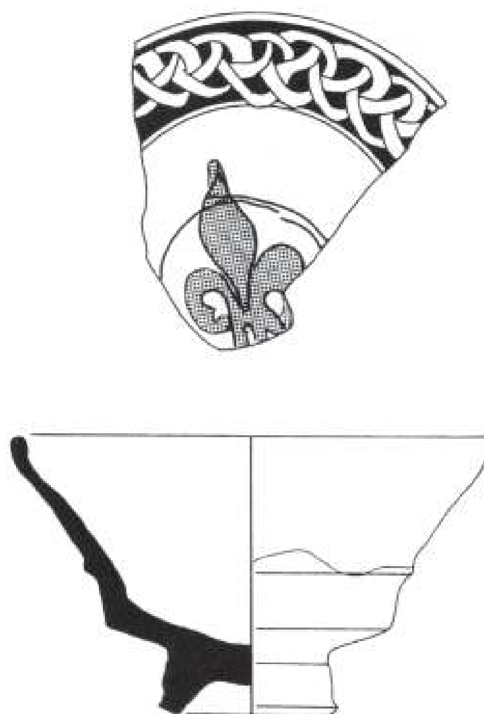

Figure 10: Drawing of Mamluk *sgraffito* bowl section from Fustat.

mobile or fixed, sell bean and lentil dishes to be eaten in the street or taken away. The enormous quantity of hastily turned conical bowls shows the importance of this practice in Mamluk times. They were probably cheap containers, intended for a single use, as were the amphorae, which may have been reused for other purposes. The quantitative importance of these vessels is clearly seen in the material of the Polish excavations at Kaum al-Dikka and those of the Egyptian Antiquities Organisation at Kaum al-Nadura in Alexandria,[8] and in numerous Cairene sites, such as the madrasas of Tatar al-Hijaziyya and al-Nasir Muhammad, and the palace of Bashtak.[9]

We can, therefore, see a similarity between Egyptian Mamluk and Byzantine products of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. However, the situation is totally different with decorated fritware. Underglaze-painted ceramics, generally associated with fritware, are one of the major products of the Mamluk Empire. It is a ceramic made from a totally artificial white fabric, the consistency of which is close to that of sugar. The paste has a high silica (sand) content, which more or less melts when fired at very high temperatures. Complete fusion, which would have created a product very close to porcelain, was never attained. Such artificial fab-

Figure 11: An example of Ghaybi's signature.

rics were already made in the Fatimid period, so were not an innovation here.[10] In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, this type of ceramic was produced around two centres: Cairo and Damascus. We are not able to distinguish the production of Cairo from that of Damascus. This is due to at least two factors. Firstly, the nature of the fabric whose constituent elements do not reveal a geological origin, as is usually the case with clay or calcareous materials. The other factor is the fact that craftsmen and artists seem to have travelled between regions, such as the famous Ghaybi (fig. 11).[11]

This fritware pottery has been called 'Sultanabad type'[12] as some pieces obviously imitated Iranian Ilkhanid models, with a main design on a background of little leaves enhanced by drops of white slip. But this style is only a small share of the range of underglaze-painted ceramics (fig. 12). In fact, one may clearly distinguish two different groups in this production, probably with a chronological difference: a group with blue and black decoration and a group with blue decoration. First of all, some technical aspects have to be clarified. There are many possibilities when it comes to decorating ceramics, but fewer choices when the decoration is to be drawn. One way is to create an opaque background, generally white, to hide the colour of the fabric, which is obtained by adding a slight quantity of tin to a lead glaze; this is what we call a tin glaze. A simple white, yet more opaline glaze, may be obtained by mixing an alkaline glaze with some antimony. The decoration is

Figure 12: Bowl with pseudo-epigraphic and floral decoration, Egypt or Syria, 14th century.

then drawn using oxides on the glaze. Another possibility is to cover the ceramic with a slip to obtain a white background on which the decoration may be drawn or, more frequently, incised. The slip and the decoration are then covered with a glaze that is more or less transparent, depending on the impurities it contains. When it comes to fritware, the solution is quite different. The fabric being white, the oxide decoration is applied directly onto the fabric and then covered by a colourless alkaline glaze. Underglazed-painted ceramics come in a complete range of shapes: platters, bowls, *albarelli*, large basins, goblets, and tiles (fig. 13). This type developed in parallel with *sgraffito* but had a slightly less varied range of shapes. This type of ceramic was more carefully crafted than *sgraffito* in its more sophisticated forms; the *sgraffito* body being heavy and coarse, probably because of the use of alluvial clay, its weak resistance is compensated for by thick walls.

Fritware with a blue and black decoration on white seems to have appeared earlier than the blue on white type. It is not attested with certainty at the end of the thirteenth century but it is present during the whole of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The motifs range from simple geometric or stylised floral designs (fig. 14) to elaborate animal representations such as deer or gazelles (fig. 15). Three colours are mainly used in this style: black (manganese or iron oxides), blue (cobalt oxide) and turquoise (copper oxide).[13] Ceramics with cobalt blue decoration on a white ground were clearly inspired by Chinese products of the Ming era. This influence is obvious in the choice of motifs such fish and birds, even though some of

Figure 13: Tile in blue and black underglaze-painted, Syria, 15th century.

these had been common already long before in Islamic ceramics. Moreover, certain techniques were borrowed from Chinese traditions, such as '*grain de riz*' or 'rice grain' effect[14]

Although *sgraffito* ware is considered as the archetype of Mamluk ceramics, it is not a luxury product, neither is the fritware. There does not seem to have been any prestigious ceramic at this time. Luxury artifacts of the Mamluk period were enamelled decorated glass and silver-inlaid brass objects. It seems that the social status of local pottery was not what it had been in the Fatimid period. There was no longer any equivalent to the splendid lustre-decorated ceramics of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when the most elaborate pieces were designed by painters and calligraphers rather than simple potters, however skilful the latter may have been. In the Mamluk period artists seem to have abandoned the craft of pottery to the simple potter. Even Syrian and Egyptian fritware, however beautiful it might have been, did not reach the previous standard of refinement. It is clear that a turning point was reached in the ceramic production of the Mamluks. At the height of the Mamluk power, before the plague of 1348, Egypt and Syria were the centres of international trade and at the crossroads between East and West. Massive imports

Figure 14: Jar in underglaze-painted blue and black on white, Egypt-Syria, 14th–15th century.

of Chinese celadon ware and porcelain replaced the refined local production and led to its decline. By the end of the fifteenth century no remarkable pottery was being produced in Egypt apart from utilitarian ware; the only glazed vessels of this period were monochrome. High-quality ceramics were being imported at the same time from the Far East, Anatolia and Renaissance Italy and imports from the Iberian peninsula were increasing substantially. With the exception of the eleventh century *cuerda seca* ware, from the early fourteenth century onwards mainly lustre decorated ceramics were imported from Malaga and southern Spain. In the middle of the fourteenth century, they were followed by a large quantity of faience with a green and brown decoration from the Kingdom of Aragon (Catalonia) and the Levant. A large amount of lustre painted ceramics produced in the area of Valencia (Paterna and Manises) were imported until the sixteenth century. From the Italian Peninsula, incised ware of the *graffita padana* type from the Po valley and Tuscan faience from Montelupo were imported from the end of the fifteenth century to the early seventeenth century.

Figure 15: Imitation 'Sultanabad' jar, Egypt-Syria, 14th–15th century.

The decline of pottery due to massive imports, however, did not imply the end of the ceramics industry altogether. It is interesting to note that in the late fifteenth century, underglaze blue and white tiles appear in architectural external decoration, such as the fine ceramic blazons in the name of Sultan Qaytbay and the lintel elements with Chinese vegetal motifs bearing the name of this sultan and that of Sultan Janbalat (r. 1501) now in the Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo.[15] The funerary complex of Sultan al-Ghawri (r. 1510–16) and his minaret of the Azhar mosque, extensively decorated with cobalt blue tile elements, point to a new orientation in late Mamluk ceramic production in Egypt,[16] which continued in the sixteenth century architecture under Ottoman rule.[17]

While Syria maintained the quality of its craftsmanship in pottery manufacturing, this was not the case in Egypt, whose later productions, apart from common ware, have been mentioned here. Massive imports may have hastened the disappearance of quality pottery, although this is probably only one aspect of the problem. Imports of pottery into Islamic Egypt started already much earlier, but never

Figure 16: Imitation celadon albarello, Egypt.

before did they reach the quantities seen from the fifteenth century onwards.[18] From the fourteenth century, European Mediterranean powers intensified their relations with the Middle East, amongst them the Kingdom of Aragon, and the republics of Genoa and Venice. In the last quarter of the fourteenth century[19] and during the entire fifteenth century, lustre ware from the area of Valencia[20] filled the Mamluk markets. By the end of the fifteenth century and during the sixteenth century, northern Italy had taken over, with its *sgraffito* and its polychrome faience.[21] The earliest Chinese imports are already documented in the tenth century. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Chinese celadons were the main items found in the household crockery collections of Cairo and Alexandria. These Chinese imports inspired local imitations in shape, glaze and decoration. From the fourteenth century onwards celadon imitations were so common that they merged into a new style of monochrome green ware (fig. 16). The colour varied between a greyish green to spinach green and the relief decoration (floral scrolls or lotus leaves) tended to disappear. Imports continued in the sixteenth century under Ot-

toman rule with products from Iznik and Kütahya, including tiles for architectural decoration. The import of quality ceramics over a long period must have been instrumental in the decline of Egypt's own potters.

Mamluk ceramics have long been neglected in favour of more prestigious ceramics, such as Fatimid lustre wares, or Raqqa ceramics. There is still much to be done in this field of study, and only stratigraphic excavations will extend our knowledge, in particular when it comes to chronology. The dates available about this material often cover a wide time span, and apart from a few dated examples, no precise dating is possible at this stage. One has to be wary of 'obviously dated motifs', such as the lion of Baybars or specific blazons, which became an integral part of the common potter's repertoire without real heraldic connotations. Looking at the example of the Tod bowl, one can see that it was made for a client of al-Nasir (*al-nasiri).*[22] Supposing, as seems obvious, that it refers to Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad, his reign is long enough for the bowl to have been made in 1295, or 1305, or even in 1341.[23] Thus, a chronology based on fabrics, profiles, and decoration type would be of great benefit.

Illustrations (with image credit)

Figure 1: Syrian moulded pilgrim flask. (Photo courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum)

Figure 2: Mamluk *sgraffito* fragment from Fustat. (Scanlon and Gayraud, photographer AL-Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale [IFAO])

Figure 3: Slip-painted base fragment from Fustat. (Scanlon and Gayraud, photographer AL)

Figure 4: Drawing of a slip-painted bowl fragment from Fustat. (Scanlon and Gayraud)

Figure 5: Mamluk *sgraffito* bowl section from Tod. (IFAO, Gayraud, photographer RPG)

Figure 6: Detail of the inscription. (IFAO, Gayraud, photographer RPG)

Figure 7: Drawing of Mamluk sgraffito bowl section from Tod. (IFAO, Gayraud)

Figure 8: Mamluk *sgraffito* fragment from Fustat. (Scanlon, Gayraud, photographer AL)

Figure 9: Drawing of Mamluk *sgraffito* bowl section from Fustat. (Scanlon, Gayraud)

Figure 10: Drawing of Mamluk *sgraffito* bowl section from Fustat. (Scanlon, Gayraud)

Figure 11: An example of Ghaybi's signature. (Photo courtesy of the Keir Collection, London, photographer Rosalind W. Haddon)

Figure 12: Bowl with pseudo-epigraphic and floral decoration, Egypt or Syria, 14th century. (Photo courtesy of the British Museum)
Figure 13: Tile in blue and black underglaze-painted, Syria, 15th century. (Photo courtesy of the British Museum)
Figure 14: Jar in underglaze-painted blue and black on white, Egypt-Syria, 14th–15th century. (Photo courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum)
Figure 15: Imitation 'Sultanabad' jar, Egypt-Syria, 14th–15th century. (Photo courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum)
Figure 16: Imitation celadon albarello, Egypt. (Photo courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum)

Notes

1 A *megapolis* and not a *megalopolis* – a term proposed by the classicist Claude Nicolet. See the definition given by Thierry Bianquis and Jean-Claude Garcin in ed. J.-C. Garcin, *Grandes villes méditerranéennes du monde musulman médiéval*, (Rome, 2000), 5–11.
2 A general presentation of Mamluk fine wares is given in the catalogue of the exhibition presented at the Smithsonian Institute in 1981: Esin Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam – the Arts of the Mamluks*, (Washington D.C., 1981). It offers excellent illustrations and allows comparisons with metalwork, glass and ceramics.
3 Under the foot of the vessel, one can clearly see the print of the thread used to detach the piece from the potter's wheel. The irregular shape of the bowl shows that the potter pulled it away quite brutally and that he did not bother to reshape it before it dries.
4 Pierre Olmer, *Catalogue général du Musée arabe du Caire: les filtres de gargoulettes*, (Cairo, 1932); George T. Scanlon, *Fustat Expedition Final Report. Vol. 1: Catalogue of Filters*, (Winona Lake, 1986).
5 Jean Sauvaget, *Poteries syro-mésopotamiennes du XIVe siècle*, *Documents d'Etudes Orientales de l'Institut Français de Damas*, (Paris, 1932); P. J. Riis and Vagn Poulsen, *Hama. Fouilles et recherches 1931–1938*, 4/2, *Les verreries et les poteries médiévales* (Copenhagen, 1957); Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam*, 190–191, no. 96–97.
6 The use of the technical term of *sgraffito* is a considered decision, instead of *sgraffiato*, only used in some English language publications. However, Cristina Tonghini prefers the use of the term *grafitta* (Cristina Tonghini, *Qalʿat Jaʿbar Pottery. A Study of a Syrian Fortified Site of the late 11th–14th Centuries*, (Oxford, 1998), 57.
7 On the concept of 'house' (*bayt*) and the links that united the *mamluks* see Donald S. Richards, "Mamluk Amirs and their Families and Households" in eds. Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann, *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society*, (Cambridge, 1998), 32–54; Mathieu Eychenne, "Le *bayt* à l'époque mamelouke. Une entité sociale à revisiter," *Annales Islamologiques* 42 (2008), 275–295.
8 The study of this material was made after a request from Mieczyslaw Rodziewicz at the beginning of the 1980s and was interrupted due to the political course of events in Poland.
9 I am indebted to the late Michael Meinecke and Philipp Speiser for allowing me access to ceramic material from the excavations carried out during the restoration of these Mamluk monuments by the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut and the Supreme Council of Antiquities.
10 These white fabrics already formed the bulk of the incised ceramics under a transparent glaze of George Scanlon's 'FFS type' (*Fustat Fatimid Sgraffiato*); see Wladyslaw Kubiak and George T. Scanlon, "Fustât Expedition: Preliminary Report, 1966," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 10 (1973), 18.

11 Armand Abel, *Gaibî et les grands faïenciers égyptiens d'époque mamelouke*, (Cairo, 1930). It seems probable that a Ghaybi did exist and was at the head of a prosperous atelier. But after examination of the numerous signatures under the foot of this Chinese-inspired ceramic type, it appears that this production originates not from one but from many large ateliers, and that these must have been functioning over a long period. These signatures are the sign not of one artist but of an atelier.

12 This designation has been maintained, although the possibility of this type of ceramic ware having been produced in this city is very slight. I shall not go any further in this discussion.

13 See for example, Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam*, 153–174, nos. 66–83, and the tiles 176–182, nos. 85–91; also Riis and Poulsen, *Hama. Fouilles et recherches*, 214–225, figs. 726–784.

14 Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam*, 169, no. 78. This technique consists of piercing little holes in the wall which are covered by the transparent glaze, thus creating tiny *occuli*.

15 Claude M. Prost, "Les revêtements céramiques dans les monuments musulmans de l'Égypte, " in *Mémoires de l'Institut français d'Archéologie du Caire* 40 (Cairo, 1916), 11ff., pl. IV; Marilyn Jenkins, *Islamic Art in the Kuwait National Museum: the al-Sabah Collection*, (London, 1983), 84.

16 Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, (London, 2007), 297; idem, *The Minarets of Cairo*, (London, 2010), 270ff., 278; Prost, "Les revêtements céramiques," pl. IV/2.

17 The mosques of Sulayman Pasha at the Citadel (1528) and the mausoleum of Shaykh Saʿud, built by same patron, are decorated with monochrome tiles similar to those of al-Ghawri's complex, and probably from the same workshop, and the mausoleum of Emir Sulayman dated 1544 displays fine underglaze painted tiles in the drum and the lintels. Prost, "Les revêtements céramiques," 13–15, pl. XL.

18 Roland-Pierre Gayraud, "Note sur les céramiques médiévales des fouilles de Kôm al-Dikka (Alexandrie),"*Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Egypte* 70 (1984–85), 243–245 ; idem, "Importations de céramiques occidentales dans l'Empire des Mamelouks (résumé)," *III Congresso Internazionale sulla la Ceramica Medievale nel Mediterraneo Occidentale* (Florence, 1986), 611, and Véronique François, *La céramique médiévale à Alexandrie. Contribution à l'histoire économique de la ville*, *Etudes Alexandrines*, 2, (Cairo, IFAO, 1999).

19 Numerous imports from Hafsid Ifriqiya, such as the blue and black decorated ware, should alwo be mentioned.

20 Ceramics originating from Paterna and Manisès.

21 Some beautiful examples may be seen in the Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo and in eds. Mutsuo Kawatoko and Yoko Shindo, *Artifacts of the Islamic Period Excavated in the Rāya/al-Tūr Area, South Sinai, Egypt. Ceramics/Glass/Painted Plaster*, (Tokyo, 2009), col. pl. 23.

22 Christian Décobert and Roland-Pierre Gayraud, "Une céramique d'époque mamelouke trouvée à Tôd," *Annales Islamologiques* 18 (1982), 95–104.

23 Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad reigned over three different periods (1293–1295, 1299–1309 and 1309–1341).

Rosalind A. Wade Haddon

Mongol Influences on Mamluk Ceramics in the Fourteenth Century

The Mongols in their newly acquired territories were quick to absorb and adopt local styles into their artistic canon, and move craftsmen within their empire. The ceramic arts are ignored in the sources, but being made of more robust materials, and unlike glass and metalware unsuitable for recycling, a much larger body of material survives in archaeological contexts. Although the Mamluk world was not subject to the full thrust of Mongol expansion, it did not resist Mongol influences, which are discernible in various artifacts, including ceramics.

Before examining this topic we need to define the Mamluk ceramics under consideration and establish what the Egyptian and Syrian potters were producing prior to the fourteenth century. For example, the diagnostic glazed earthenware *sgraffito* ring-footed bowls and goblets with their slip-painted heraldic blazons and incised decoration, as discussed by Bethany Walker[1] and in this volume by Roland-Pierre Gayraud, certainly come under the umbrella of Byzantine and Frankish influence, and remain outside the scope of this paper. There is no indication that ceramic designs rigidly followed political changes, but it is probable that new rulers introduced luxuries and motifs familiar to them which would have been absorbed gradually into the decorative vocabulary. This contribution discusses the composite-bodied siliceous paste wares, frequently referred to as 'frit-wares' or 'stonepaste wares' in English-language publications. Syrian and Egyptian potters were familiar with this paste and it is generally accepted that it was the Fatimid craftsmen who re-established the technique in eleventh-century Fustat; a little later it was probably introduced to the Syrian workshops from where it travelled to Iran. Arthur Lane saw this as happening in the twelfth century,[2] but James Allan and colleagues, citing the eleventh-century scholar al-Biruni, demonstrated that the technology had reached greater Iran in his lifetime.[3] There is no documentary evidence for how the technology was transferred and diaspora theories abound citing the fall of the Fatimids in the twelfth century, which again is an unacceptable theory considering al-Biruni's treatise. A late twelfth-century work compiled by Nizami demonstrates that the Iranian world was fully conversant with this technology by this period.[4] Archaeologically, it can be demonstrated

Figure 1: Base fragment of an underglaze painted Ayyubid bowl. Islamic Ceramics Museum, Cairo.

that early siliceous paste wares existed in Egypt from the mid-eleventh century,[5] and it is possible that the technology was known in Syria by the latter half of the eleventh century, certainly well before the burning of Fustat in 1168.[6] The earliest dated example comes from Iran for the year 575/1179, a Kashan lustre bottle in the British Museum's collection.[7]

The thirteenth-century archaeological levels in Egypt and Syria are not as clearly defined as is desirable for such a study, but it is possible to indicate the type of wares that were popular. These are styled 'Ayyubid' in publications, and are decorated under a transparent colourless or coloured glaze with figural, calligraphic, floral, or geometric designs. Generally speaking their shapes are either ring-footed bowls with wide flat rims, biconical bowls with straight rims, or large jars.[8] Shape is almost as important as decoration in ceramic studies, and I will demonstrate this later when describing diagnostic distinctions between Iranian and Mamluk products. Many of these pieces have underglaze iron red in their palette, in addition to cobalt blue, manganese black, and occasionally turquoise (fig. 1). Red is never found in Iranian products, except with overglaze enamelling in the polychrome *minai* (overglaze-painted) wares prior to the Mongol invasions and after them on *lajvardina* (or lapis lazuli overglaze decoration in gold leaf, red, white, and black enamels usually on an opaque cobalt blue glaze, sometimes turquoise or white glazes) examples. In Anatolia it is found on enamelled tiles of the same technique. Due to their grouping under the general label 'Ayyubid,' and a lack of

Figure 2: Underglaze-painted stemcup dated Ramadan 674/1276, Iran, V&A.

secure archaeological dating, they are arbitrarily dated pre-1250. However, a comparable example of an Iranian stemcup in the Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A) collection is dated 674/1276 by an inscription encircling the outer rim, indicating that this style of decoration, albeit an Iranian, less well-executed version without the red, continued into the late thirteenth century (fig. 2). When my current work on similar Syrian material from the Aleppo Citadel excavations has been finalised, there should be strong evidence to agree with this later dating. What it will not tell us though is where these polychrome Egypto-Syrian fragments with the iron red were manufactured. In early publications they were said to have been made in Rusafa, just south of Raqqa in northern Syria, a name coined by the Iranian dealer Dikran Kelekian, who discussed them with Charles Vignier, who in turn mentioned them in a report on an exhibition of Oriental art in Paris.[9] Examples of this ware are known from numerous Egyptian sites and are found in most museums' Fustat collections. In Syria they have been found in sound archaeological contexts, with many near complete examples from the Danish excavations at Hama, now on display in the Syrian national museums at Hama and Damascus, as well as the Danish National Museum in Copenhagen, and published in the Danish report.[10] The Aleppo finds are fragmentary, but underglaze-red examples exist,

especially amongst a newly-identified ware published by Julia Gonnella.[11] A considerable number of dishes and bowls were found in a storage context, but several more pieces have come to light in stratified contexts and are currently being processed. Curiously, examples from the whole group are rare on the Damascus Citadel.

When the Mamluks overcame their Ayyubid overlords around 1250, it is conceivable that there were no major changes in ceramic designs until they had consolidated their conquests in Greater Syria. Then, with the increased prosperity and stability of the early fourteenth century, there would have been a greater demand for luxuries, which included tablewares for the merchant classes and religious institutions that were mushrooming in the urban centres. While there was a well-established industry in both Fustat and Damascus, we do know from archaeological evidence that the pottery centres on the Euphrates at Raqqa and Balis/Meskene, which became border posts and buffer zones against the Mongol threat, did not resume, and it is assumed that the artisans moved to Damascus. There is a possibility that Aleppo continued as a manufacturing centre too,[12] and this is currently under investigation. We also have anomalies such as the magnificent base fragment (fig. 3) in the Keir Collection, which is part of a group of figural and geometric bowls whose decoration is much more finely executed, so these could represent

Figure 3: Possible interim style base, Syria or Egypt, Keir Collection, London.

the early Mamluk interim period[13] or they are examples from a particularly high quality earlier workshop.

In a paper given at a 1995 Mongol Art Conference in Edinburgh, Rachel Ward argued convincingly in favour of Mamluk art not being influenced by Ilkhanid decorative themes until after the so-called Treaty of Aleppo was signed between the two powers in 1323.[14] At the same conference, Bernard O'Kane presented a paper on the Ilkhanid vizir, Taj al-Din ʿAlishah's, mosque in Tabriz, as reported on by the Mamluk ambassador Aytamish al-Muhammadi's anonymous secretary or *dawadar*, who was part of the 1322 embassy.[15] The visual impact of this impressive monument, with its towering iwan and minarets, commissioned to outdo the famous Sassanian vault at Ctesiphon, inspired Aytamish to invite the builders to Cairo, which set the precedent for "a short-lived vogue for tile mosaic."[16] But, as Michael Rogers had already discussed in relation to Mamluk dependency on the arts of Iran at this time,[17] there is little evidence for this vogue remaining and citing the ceramic revetment on the minarets of the Mosque of al-Nasir Muhammad on the Cairo Citadel (1318–1335), commented "we find no special resemblance to anything executed in Persia at the time."[18] Other than this physical evidence he goes on to explain that the information comes from Maqrizi, writing a century later. A little later, Meinecke did identify thirteen fourteenth century examples of tile mosaic, indicating more Persian activity than hitherto thought.[19]

It is possible that it was these imported ceramic specialists that inspired the Fustat potters to change their decorative styles, which they adapted, continuing to use their own long-established palettes, to create a fusion of Mamluk–Mongol designs. Robert Irwin suggests that this did not happen until 1328, following Aytamish's 1326 mission and the deaths of the Ilkhanid and Mamluk renegades, Timurtash and Qarasunqur, respectively, and a further exchange of embassies in 1328.[20] He surmises that it was after this that Ilkhanid Iran became a cultural influence on the Sultanate, and, possibly after the death of Abu Saʿid in 1335, more artists were attracted by Mamluk patronage.

However, there is little in the Mamluk ceramic repertoire to indicate this; specific diagnostic shapes are retained, and in archaeological contexts few imports are found. But, if the potters themselves came, one can argue that a prototype would not have been necessary, and they could have adapted to local decorative tastes and culinary usage immediately. It is easy to see that our knowledge is still limited in this field. It is the nineteenth- and twentieth-century dealers who have taken advantage of these gaps in our knowledge and attributed false provenances to certain vessels, either to achieve maximum market gain or to protect their sources from would-be competitors. The free flow of antiquities has created a minefield for both collectors and academics, and it is only with the help of scientific excavations that it is becoming possible to attempt to unravel these mysteries. In the 1990s, it was thought scientific analyses could assist in this quest and petrographic studies of the

physical make up of these siliceous bodies could be the solution. It is certainly helpful in establishing the provenance of clay-bodied wares. One of the principal advocates of this technique, Robert Mason, has communicated verbally that he cannot distinguish categorically between Fustat and Damascus siliceous-bodied products after all.[21] Marilyn Jenkins laid the foundations for this line of investigation in the 1980s and distinguished three different production centres.[22] Scientists still have not ruled out the possibility of being able to distinguish between these pastes and glazes, and as non-intrusive methods become more sophisticated it may still be possible to discern different workshops and pottery production centres.

What is beyond question is the enormous influence that Chinese ceramics had on both Mongol and Mamluk pottery. The American excavations at Fustat illustrate this in the case of the monochrome green celadons, a ware popularly thought to detect poisons in any food contents.[23] I quote here from George Scanlon's summary when assessing Fustat production:

> "No doubt the Chinese originals were on the markets of Cairo sometime after 1200, and were still available in quantity after 1400, to be ousted in favor of the Chinese blue-and-white. Unlike the earlier Northern Celadons, these models were imitated exactly and in bulk (seventy to one by our statistics). The shape, the sheen of the apple to olive-green glazes, the sculpted decorative effects of chrysanthemums, fish, the scalloped-sgraffito linear designs deeply incised – all were faithfully copied by the Cairene potter (abundant wasters prove the capital to have been the site of manufacture)… Further, the Chinese ware and its local imitation have been found throughout Egypt, from Kaum al-Dikka in Alexandria to Aswan, and as far south in Nubia as Wadi-Halfa – a most extraordinary dispersal pattern for an import, greater even than that of Samarra luster wares within the Nile Valley."[24]

Curiously, the picture on the Damascus Citadel is somewhat different,[25] but Aleppo has abundant supplies of both imports and imitations, which John Carswell is preparing for publication, and examples of the genuine product are already on display in the Aleppo Museum. Similarly, in Iran celadons were enormously popular, and imitated. The individuality of the potter or local taste could not be suppressed, however. As stated above by Scanlon, Chinese celadons frequently had moulded motifs applied to the interior, and two fish were a common motif, being a symbol of regeneration, harmony, and connubial bliss,[26] but in the Mongol and Mamluk worlds three or more of a kind was the norm, even in other decorative techniques.[27] Examples of these are an imitation so-called Sultanabad or coloured-ground relief ware bowl from Hama and a non-relief ware version from Aleppo.[28] Unfortunately, we have no indication as to what three of a kind represented in this context.

Apart from Yuka Kadoi's brief survey of the chinoiserie influences on Mongol ceramics,[29] the most recent account on the topic in Iran is an article by Oliver Wat-

son published in the proceedings of a conference held in Los Angeles in 2003.[30] He divided Mongol fineware ceramic production into the following categories: lustre; *lajvardina*; imitation celadon; underglaze-painted wares – subdivided into panel style, polychrome painted, and black under turquoise; Sultanabad or coloured-ground relief wares – subdivided into grey wares and polychrome ones; white wares; and monochrome glazed wares – a group of large jars with moulded decoration, which should more correctly be styled as 'monochrome relief wares.' It is only the underglaze-painted, so-called Sultanabad, and lustred cobalt wares that influenced or were copied by the Mamluk potters. The *lajvardina* technique is unknown in the Mamluk world, despite a skilled knowledge of glass enamelling, yet it was certainly popular in the contemporary Golden Horde centres; curiously cobalt and lustre vessels were seemingly more popular in the Mamluk centres than those of Mongol Iran, and can be seen as a continuation of an existing skill. These decorative differences are extremely useful when defining diagnostic shapes and for tracing trade patterns through the fragmentary remains of individual pieces.

Earlier I suggested that a probable influence on Mamluk ceramic designs came from the employment of tile specialists after the peace treaty with the Mongols sometime between 1323 and 1328. However, with regard to the panel-style category (see Gayraud fig. 14 (V&A 618.1864) for a good example of this type of decoration), there is an *albarello* or pharmacy jar in the Museo di Capodimonte's (Naples) collection dated 717/1317,[31] which could possibly refute this argument. Its Mamluk manufacture is certain, based on its shape – Ilkhanid examples have a more curvaceous bottom section,[32] such as the well-known *lajvardina* example in the Metropolitan Museum of Art's collection.[33] The Mamluk panel style characteristics are these bold circles defined in cobalt blue, and white panels decorated with stippled black dots, palmette motifs partially outlined in blue, and prominent black inscriptions (some legible, others purely decorative) on both closed and open forms (see Gayraud fig. 14). Dividing the space into panels was a common practice in both cultures, even before the Mongol invasions, and it is impossible to tell who influenced whom. The Ashmolean bowl in fig. 4 is much more finely executed and copies the Chinese hemispherical-shaped lotus bowls, the exterior has arcading imitating the lotus petals depicted in relief on the real celadon bowls. It is tempting to say that the finer pieces are Ilkhanid and the coarser ones Mamluk, using Kashan lustre panel style examples as the prototypes for such a theory (fig. 5). I should add that some Kashan lustreware imports have been found at Syrian and Egyptian sites, but they are in earlier contexts. There are some later Mamluk dated underglaze-painted panel style examples, which will be discussed with the imitation Sultanabad style below.

It is the geometric designs that are the most confusing and more difficult to distinguish at first glance. Several of the bowls published in Esin Atıl's landmark exhibition of Mamluk art are now recognised as being Ilkhanid.[34] The five- or six-

Figure 4: An Ilkhanid panel style hemispherical bowl.

Figure 5: An Ilkhanid lustred panel-style hemispherical bowl.

Figure 6: Mamluk underglaze-painted cobalt and black on white bowl.

Figure 7: Geometric underglaze-painted cobalt and blue on white Ilkhanid siliceous paste bowl from Khurasan.

pointed star was possibly talismanic, but also a convenient way of dividing up a circle. The Ilkhanid examples are thought to have been made in Khurasan (fig. 7), and are characterised by cross-hatched blue bands, pseudo-epigraphy, and stippled in black on white grounds on their interiors and continuous S-bands or spirals on the exterior. The glazes on the Mamluk pieces are less well applied to their heavier bodies and frequently have exaggerated drips. The decorative repertoire differs

Figure 8: A diagnostic Ilkhanid T-rim bowl decorated in a typical Ilkhanid design in black under a transparent turquoise alkaline glaze.

too, with shell patterns,[35] central rosettes like those in fig. 6, and a band of angular S-shapes, in this instance sandwiched between two plaited designs. The angular S-shaped bands are characteristically found on Mamluk *sgraffito* goblets and bowls.[36]

Vessels decorated in black under a transparent turquoise glaze had been popular in both cultures prior to the Mongols, and continued to be so. When I interviewed archaeologists in Iran, they told me that they regarded the fine zigzag lines that were used as fillers in both geometric and floral designs as being typically Ilkhanid. The T-rim bowl illustrated (fig. 8) is a diagnostic Iranian shape, so when we have a combination of the two, we are certain that it is an Ilkhanid piece. Archaeologically, we have further proof of this designation, at the fortified Ilkhanid site of Hasanlu, in north-west Iran, where the American excavators found an assemblage of *lajvardina* and black under turquoise wares, with T-rim bowls in both categories.[37] The only T-rim example that I have discovered to date in the Mamluk world is an imported Kashan lustre fragment from Hama.[38] Curiously, although there are many fragments of rather coarser examples of turquoise and black wares found in Mamluk contexts, there are few if any of museum quality, which probably explains why Atıl did not include any in her 1981 exhibition. There is a category of vessels decorated in turquoise and black on white under a clear transparent glaze which is recognised as being typically Mamluk.[39]

Figure 9: A diagnostic Ilkhanid T-rim bowl decorated in slip-relief or coloured ground technique, with the raised decoration in white outlined in black on a grey ground.

Ilkhanid Sultanabad, or slip-relief coloured-ground grey wares (fig. 9), probably had the most influence on one category of Mamluk ceramics. Watson divided this type into polychrome and grey wares, based on Peter Morgan's established terminology.[40] Morgan outlines the use of Chinese symbolic motifs in this context – the mythical phoenix (known as a simurgh in the Iranian world), the lotus, and the dragon – and concludes that the most likely stimulus was Mongol felts and Chinese stonewares manufactured in the Henan and Hebei provinces.[41] Morgan goes on to say that 25,056 families living in Henan were part of Hülegü's appenage, or land holding originally granted to Toluids or Ilkhans in China, whose industrial income Ghazan pursued in 1298, and as late as 1319 apparently 2,519 families living in Henan still belonged to the Ilkhans.[42] Morgan suggested that some potters amongst this group could have been moved to the Mongol capital of Qaraqorum and later to Saray Berke, and on to Sultanabad, knowing that craftsmen in other skills had been. This is an attractive theory, and would certainly account for the affinity between Golden Horde slip-relief wares (fig. 10) and their contemporaneous Ilkhanid products. However, it does not account for the fact that the two powers were constantly scrapping over disputed territories,[43] nor does it explain the basic differences in kiln technology – the West Asian and Mediterranean medieval world uniformly used up-draught kilns and the Chinese world used cross-draught ones; surely there would have been a noticeable technological change if Chinese potters had been introduced to both centres. The Russian excavations at Saray Berke have provided abundant evidence for ceramic production,[44] even if the information is lacking for fourteenth-century Iran. Lane's theory that many of the

Figure 10: A typical Golden Horde 'rosewater bowl' decorated in slip-relief floral designs, with epigraphic panels on the interior alternating with comma-like motifs.

designs were transmitted through textiles remains the most plausible.[45] Morgan demonstrated this through the detail on miniatures in an early fourteenth-century copy of Rashid ad-Din's *History of the World.*[46] As a general rule the Ilkhanid designs are much more rounded, whereas the Mamluk version has a pointed trilobed leaf which also appears in other media; for example, metalware, enamelled glass, and playing cards. Textiles were highly valued tribute gifts and would have been ostentatiously exhibited in princely processions, no doubt inspiring skilled artisans to follow fashionable trends. Note the decorative difference on the two *albarelli* in figs. 11 and 12, which also demonstrate the diagnostic differences in shape between Ilkhanid and Mamluk vessels.

Both types are decorated with references to princely pursuits with animals, hunting birds, Mongol figures on some Ilkhanid pieces, and a richly caparisoned horse on many Mamluk ones, such as the example in figure 13. Perhaps the riderless horse is a reference to a prince or patron, a popular device in Ilkhanid illuminated manuscripts, although in this case there is no sign of a groom.[47] Note the details of the princely blazon and some of the saddlery highlighted in red – this is another distinctive feature of Mamluk relief wares that does not occur in the non-relief version, which is restricted to cobalt blue and black in fourteenth-century examples. There is a group of dated fragments (figs. 14, 15) with the years "forty-four" and "forty-five" written in a cursive Arabic[48] – the seven hundred is

Figure 11: The polychrome slip-relief Ilkhanid albarello.

understood – which correspond to 1344 or 1345. There are examples in both the panel style and non-relief imitation Sultanabad wares, but none in the grey slip-relief with red highlights. These serve to demonstrate how long fashions lasted in ceramic decorative motifs, as well as placing all these wares firmly in the fourteenth century. Morgan proposed that the Ilkhanid version was made until the late fourteenth century.[49] The chronicles tell us nothing about the effects of the Black Death of 1348–49 on the ceramics industry, and the jury is still out as to when the influence of Chinese blue and white began on both the Iranian and Egypto-Syrian potters, which was the next fashionable trend in both areas.

Watson included the monumental monochrome relief ware jars in his list of Mongol products, citing two dated examples in American collections, dated 681/1282 and 683/1284.[50] The lack of archaeological contexts for such a ware, however fragmentary, makes him rather guarded about their reliability. There is one piece with traces of enamelling or *lajvardina* decoration in the Berlin collection, which should allay his fears.[51] In a Mamluk context there are a number of lead-glazed, earthenware moulded cups, with inscribed benedictions, that are found at most

Figure 12: Mamluk imitation example Sultanabad in the al-Sabah Collection, Kuwait.

Figure 13: Mamluk polychrome relief ware, or imitation Sultanabad, with a riderless, richly caparisoned horse – bowl base fragment.

Figures 14 and 15: Two dated fragments.

sites in Greater Syria.[52] Many of them are stem-footed cups, but bear no relation to the monumental Ilkhanid jars. They are thought to have been made in Jerusalem. I was only able to locate one example amongst the British collections.[53]

With the sources silent on most aspects of this craft, we have to rely on observations and archaeology to gain a clearer picture of who influenced whom, how, and when. The enigma of the coloured-ground slip-relief or Sultanabad designs, popular amongst the potters of all three fourteenth-century political centres, could well be the key to the question of who influenced whom. No examples of the Golden Horde material have been found to date in Iranian or Egypto-Syrian contexts, but they have been in the West.[54] Iranian examples are even rare in Mesopotamia, judging by Gerald Reitlinger's sherd collection in the Ashmolean Museum and various excavation reports. Mamluk shapes and designs are more frequently found at Iraqi sites, pointing to trade contacts via the Euphrates corridor. However, there is a sub-group of grey relief wares, purportedly produced in Khurasan and coined 'Bojnurd wares' by the dealers,[55] which reflect another instance of influence from the original prototype. The distribution picture is totally different for Mamluk products, perhaps largely due to Mamluk control of the spice trade through the Karimi merchants.[56] Closed forms are more common, possibly indicating that they were exported as containers rather than empty vessels. The widespread finds of Mamluk drug jars include examples of the non-relief wares,[57] and continued into the fifteenth century with blue and white copies, which even found their way to London.[58] Some were certainly exported in their own right,[59] and their popularity is reflected in their imitations, albeit with different decorative motifs, in the Spanish and Italian potteries from the fifteenth century onwards. The limited vogue for tile revetments in Cairo introduced post 1323 only lasted a couple of decades, but the copying of Sino-Mongol motifs such as the lotus and phoenix continued

well into the fifteenth century. Although tile revetments did return in the fifteenth century, largely in a blue and black on white format, tile mosaic was never popular.

Illustrations (with image credit)

Figure 1: Base fragment of an underglaze painted Ayyubid bowl, Islamic Ceramics Museum no. 5280, Cairo. (Courtesy of the Museum, photo by the author)
Figure 2: Underglaze painted stemcup dated Ramadan 674 AH (1276 AD), Iran, V&A C.53–1952. (Photo courtesy of the V&A Museum)
Figure 3: Possible interim style base, Syria or Egypt, no. 216 in Keir Collection, London. (Photo by the author)
Figure 4: An Ilkhanid panel style hemispherical bowl. (Ashmolean Museum Collection EA 1978.1650, photo by the author)
Figure 5: Ilkhanid lustred panel-style hemispherical bowl. For further details see: http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O85371/bowl. V&A C.1955–1910. (Photo courtesy of the V&A Museum)
Figure 6: Mamluk underglaze-painted cobalt and black on white bowl. (Ashmolean Museum Collection EA1978.1610, photo by the author)
Figure 7: Geometric underglaze-painted cobalt and blue on white Ilkhanid siliceous paste bowl from Khurasan. (Tehran National Museum no. 4457, photo by the author)
Figure 8: A diagnostic Ilkhanid T-rim bowl decorated in a typical Ilkhanid design in black under a transparent turquoise alkaline glaze. V&A 59–1941. (Photo courtesy of the V&A Museum)
Figure 9: A diagnostic Ilkhanid T-rim bowl decorated in slip-relief or coloured ground technique, with the raised decoration in white outlined in black on a grey ground. V&A C.52–1910. (Photo courtesy of the V&A Museum)
Figure 10: A typical Golden Horde 'rosewater bowl' decorated in slip-relief floral designs, with epigraphic panels on the interior alternating with comma-like motifs. (Azov Museum of Local Lore, KP 25355/1 A1-283, photo by the author)
Figure 11: A polychrome slip-relief Ilkhanid albarello. V&A C.219–1912. (Photo courtesy of the V&A Museum)
Figure 12: Mamluk imitation Sultanabad example in the al-Sabah Collection, Kuwait, LNS 187C. (Photo courtesy of the Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyya)
Figure 13: Mamluk polychrome relief ware, or imitation Sultanabad, with a riderless, richly caparisoned horse – bowl base fragment inventory number I. 4930. (Museum für Islamische Kunst – Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, photo courtesy of the museum)
Figures 14 and 15: Two dated fragments. (Gayer Anderson Museum, Cairo, 3310, photo by the author)

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Jon Thompson

Late Mamluk Carpets: Some New Observations

A small group of knotted-pile carpets is recognised on sound evidence to have been produced for the Mamluk elite in the late fifteenth century and for export. There is a current belief that they appeared mysteriously 'out of nowhere' because there seemed to be no precedent for the abrupt appearance of their well-developed technique and mature decorative style. This paper seeks to show that the sudden flowering of carpet-weaving at this time was part of the cultural renaissance that took place during Qaytbay's reign (r. 1468–1496) and can be accounted for by the recruitment of weavers from Turkmen-ruled Iran and Asia Minor, where, it is argued, carpet-weaving was flourishing. Evidence for this is drawn from depictions of carpets of a distinctive type in European paintings, corresponding mentions in written sources, notably Venetian and Florentine inventories, and in the specific details of a few surviving carpets and carpet fragments.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, when the study of carpets was still in its infancy, a distinctive type of carpet was recognised, characterised by a particular style of colouring and certain decorative motifs, including so-called 'umbrella leaves' (fig. 1). Wilhelm von Bode, writing at the turn of the century, aware of the mention of Damascus carpets in Venetian inventories, believed they were made in Damascus.[1] Accordingly, this type of carpet is labelled as "Damascus" in early publications.[2]

In time, scholarly opinion gradually settled on the view that these carpets were Egyptian.[3] Influential in this was a paper by Carl Johan Lamm documenting carpet fragments found at Fustat.[4] In it he identified three groups: fragments from the Abbasid and Fatimid periods; Turkish fragments from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; and two distinctly different fragments that he believed could be Mamluk. Actually, there is a third fragment he did not recognise among those he published, which has an exceptionally interesting border that is not Kufesque, as so many carpet borders are, but has actual letter forms in mirror image.[5]

The key paper from the point of view of the present discussion was published by Kurt Erdmann in 1938.[6] In it he offers a mass of documentary evidence pointing to carpet production in Cairo. Erdmann is usually credited with being the first

Figure 1: Early in the twentieth century carpets having a distinctive décor were recognised as belonging to a separate group. They were thought to have been made in Damascus, which is the attribution given by Wilhelm von Bode in the caption to the illustration of this carpet in *Vorderasiatische Knüpfteppiche aus älterer Zeit*, published in 1901.

to describe these carpets as Mamluk, but I think Lamm deserves equal credit. Further support for Erdmann's ideas came in 1957 with the publication of the catalogue raisonné of the Washington Textile Museum's collection of these carpets and related types. The text is by Ernst Kühnel and the technical analyses by Louisa Bellinger, a distinguished textile technologist.[7] They pointed out that there is a long history of carpet production in Egypt, with archaeological finds that could be confidently dated to the Abbasid and Fatimid periods.[8] The group of carpets that was

now identified as Mamluk they found to be technically distinctive and unlike anything previously known. In their view this was indicative of a new production featuring new craft practices which must have been introduced from outside. They considered the most likely source to have been Iran.

They also found a seamless transition between Mamluk-style carpets and those decorated in the mid-sixteenth-century Ottoman court style, which were technically identical and must have been made in the same workshops. Their conclusion, borne out by other evidence, is that Mamluk-style carpets continued in production until the mid-sixteenth century.

A further outcome of their study was that they were able to separate out from the Mamluk carpets a group of carpets with Mamluk-style décor but differing from the Mamluk examples in terms of wool quality, colour style and weave structure, a key point in the discussion that follows.

Amazing confirmation of the Lamm–Erdmann theory came in 1965 when the Textile Museum in Washington D.C. acquired a fragment of a carpet bearing a well-known Mamluk blazon dating it to the last fifty years of Mamluk rule.[9] The following year the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, acquired a complete carpet in poor condition bearing the same blazon.[10]

These studies and findings have provided the framework for current thinking on fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Egyptian carpets which recognises four categories:

1. Carpets definitively of the Mamluk period, i.e. those bearing blazons, plus others stylistically so similar as to be considered closely related in date.
2. Carpets in the Mamluk style made in Egypt during the period of Ottoman rule during the sixteenth century. These constitute the vast majority and should be called "Mamluk-style," or "post-Mamluk" carpets.
3. Carpets with technical features identical to post-Mamluk carpets, but woven in the decorative style fashionable at the Ottoman court in the mid-sixteenth century – now called Cairene Ottoman carpets.
4. Carpets transitional between the last two, having both Ottoman and Mamluk-style décor.

That might seem an intellectually satisfying classification, but there is one persistent problem that simply will not go away, characterised in the following quote from Esin Atıl's catalogue of her 1981 Mamluk exhibition in Washington:[11]

> "The origin of Mamluk rugs is quite mystifying. In contrast to other Mamluk arts, which during their formative years relied on earlier techniques … there was no precedent of pile weaving which the Mamluks could have inherited, nor any evidence of an extensive rug industry before the end of the fifteenth century. The Mamluk rug appeared in all its glory from the day it was born,

> contradicting all other traditions, which evolve from archaic origins and evolve through experimental stages before reaching maturity."

This, in essence, is a formulation in different words of Kühnel and Bellinger's observation that Mamluk rugs were technically distinctive and unlike anything previously known in Egypt. This paper, however, seeks to re-examine the idea that "there was no precedent of pile weaving which the Mamluks could have inherited."

The clue, I believe, lies in Erdmann's key paper of 1938 in which he makes the following observations (here in translation) referring to carpets listed in late fifteenth-century and early sixteenth-century Venetian inventories:

> "These … mention two groups, which are differentiated as 'tapedi turcheschi' and 'tapedi damaschini'. … The documents … differentiate between two main groups of oriental carpets, the name of one pointing to the Ottoman region and the other – if any provenance is indeed intended – to the Mamluk region. … There is one way to test this. Carpet ownership in Venice, which is documented in inventories, is also mirrored in the paintings of the city. There are numerous depictions of oriental carpets in the frescoes and paintings of the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century masters. Most depict carpets that belong to the 'tapedi turcheschi' group. … In addition, there are a number of recognisable depictions of the unusual and quite anomalous design of the so-called 'Damascus carpets'."[12]

He notes further that the term *tapedi damaschini* disappears from the inventories in the course of the sixteenth century and is replaced by *tapedi cairini*. He expresses puzzlement as to why the word *damaschino* should be used, because he considered it unlikely that Egyptian carpets would have been exported from Damascus. In fairness, he does point out that the word *damaschino* should be treated with care as it sometimes means little more than "work in the oriental style." That said, Erdmann was satisfied that the paintings confirmed his theory that the *tapedi damaschini* of the inventories were referring to carpets from Mamluk Egypt.

Revisiting the paintings listed by Erdmann as having "depictions of the unusual and quite anomalous design of the so-called 'Damascus carpets'," i.e. Mamluk carpets, we find that in several respects his observations support a quite different conclusion. Firstly, none of the earlier paintings he lists (prior to around 1540) depict clear examples of Mamluk carpets. For example, a painting by Marco Marziale in the Museo Correr, entitled *Circumcision*, has no carpet in it, though there is a textile with a Latin inscription in the border, which Ettinghausen thought was probably a Mamluk embroidery with an added inscription.[13] Secondly, some paintings depict carpets that are definitely not Egyptian, or do not correspond to anything known. Thirdly, other paintings clearly depict carpets having features in common with Mamluk carpets that were considered to be Mamluk by Erdmann, but which modern scholarship recognises as belonging to a group of non-Mamluk carpets

Figure 2a and b: The similarity in decorative style between Mamluk carpets (below: MAK Vienna, detail) and a cluster of non-Mamluk carpets (above: Kunstgewerbe Museum, Dresden, detail) has led to confusion between the two, not only in the recent past but also at the time they were being made. In the 1950s differences in colour, technique and wool quality were recognised that now make it easy to tell them apart. Once their distinctive qualities had been established it became possible to distinguish between them by differences in the ensemble of their designs, which can be recognised in depictions of carpets in sixteenth-century paintings.

of uncertain provenance. Surviving examples of carpets belonging to this non-Mamluk group do have a decorative vocabulary similar to Mamluk carpets, but are technically quite distinct, having a different colour style, a different range of dyes, and different wool, which is spun in a different way (the technical details are discussed below). The decorative similarities can be seen in the clustering of small ornaments around a central focus (fig. 2). However, thorough familiarity with the décor of Mamluk and non-Mamluk carpets makes it possible to distinguish differences in the design ensemble between them. These differences in the overall composition make it possible to say with reasonable certainty that the depictions of carpets in paintings prior to 1540, that were identified by Erdmann as Mamluk, actually belong to the non-Mamluk group.

The earliest depiction of a member of this cluster of non-Mamluk carpets is to be seen in a painting by Giovanni Martini da Udine in Udine Cathedral, dated 1501 (fig. 3).[14] It shows a carpet, which, in both overall composition and ornamentation, closely matches a carpet that survives in the Chehel Sotun Palace in Isfahan (fig. 4).[15] The correspondences between them are not merely a matter of resemblance but also of relationship in the form of detail, sufficiently significant to give confidence that this carpet is a fifteenth-century survivor of this non-Mamluk group (fig. 5).

Other surviving carpets have parallels in paintings, though the convergence is not as close as with the previous pair. A carpet in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (fig. 6) has many details in common with a carpet depicted in a painting by Sofonisba Anguissola in the Burghley House Collection, Stamford, Lincolnshire (fig. 7), and a carpet fragment in the Textile Museum, Washington, D.C. (fig. 8) has design features that match the depiction of a carpet in a painting by Francesco Beccaruzzi in the Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence (fig. 9).

The point of noting these relationships is that the carpets depicted in these paintings, which Erdmann reasoned must be the *tapedi damaschini* described in the Venetian inventories and which he was satisfied were Mamluk carpets, actually depict carpets that are entirely distinct from Mamluk carpets and – most importantly – appear as a cohort in European painting *before* Mamluk carpets.

The first paintings in Erdmann's list that actually depict carpets we would recognise now as Mamluk (or rather post-Mamluk) are frescoes dating from the 1540s by Alessandro Bonvicino Moretto in the Palazzo Martinengo Salvadego in Brescia (fig.10). Thereafter, paintings in which recognisable Mamluk-style carpets appear are dated from the mid-sixteenth century to the early seventeenth.[16]

So if the "non-Mamluk" carpets are not what Erdmann thought they were, what are they? Looking first at the Chehel Sotun carpet, various technical and stylistic features definitively rule out the possibility of it belonging to the mainstream of Turkish carpets.[17] The most significant stylistic feature is to be seen in its Kufesque border design, which in both form and detail differs from the borders found in

Figure 3: A painting by Giovanni Martini da Udine in Udine Cathedral, dated 1501. It shows a carpet, which in both overall composition and in details of its ornamentation closely matches a carpet that survives in the Chehel Sotun Palace in Isfahan (see fig. 4).

Turkish carpets. We have a more comprehensive record of the history of Turkish carpets than of all other types, partly because they were exported and have been preserved in Europe from the fifteenth century onwards, and in part because so many have been preserved in Turkish mosques. Numerous early examples of Turkish carpets have Kufesque borders. Of these there is just one fragmentary ex-

Figure 4: A carpet in the Chehel Sotun Palace in Isfahan. Its close relationship to a painting in Udine Cathedral indicates that it almost certainly dates from the fifteenth century. It is clearly not Turkish, nor is it in the late Mamluk style and it does not correspond to anything known of Timurid carpets. A Turkmen provenance is proposed.

ample in the Türk ve Islam Müzesi in Istanbul with a Kufesque border motif that turns neatly through forty-five degrees at the corner, where the side border meets the end border, a feature often called a "corner solution." Such "mitred" corners are simply not a feature of Turkish carpets.[18]

Figure 5: A comparison between details of the Chehel Sotun carpet and the carpet depicted in the Udine Cathedral painting.

In Persian paintings of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries there are innumerable depictions of carpet borders with mitred corners, though not a single example of such a carpet has survived.[19] So universal is this convention in painting that one must assume that this was the norm for Persian carpets in the fifteenth century, and that the lack of known examples is simply that none has survived. It is a remarkable fact that, with the exception of a few scraps, there is extreme reluctance among scholars to date any existing Persian carpet to the fifteenth century, though

Figure 6: This is the best-known and possibly the oldest member of the cluster of non-Mamluk carpets which has some decorative features in common with the earliest Mamluk carpets.

a few candidates have been proposed. The significant feature of the Chehel Sotun carpet is that it does have this distinctly Persian feature in its border design. Could the Chehel Sotun carpet be the first intact fifteenth-century Persian carpet to come to light?[20]

The study of carpets depicted in Timurid painting has been an important source of information on the development of carpet weaving in Timurid Iran;[21] and again

Figure 7: Painting of a Venetian Senator by Sofonisba Anguissola, probably dating from the 1550s. The carpet depicted in the painting has many features in common with the carpet in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (fig. 6).

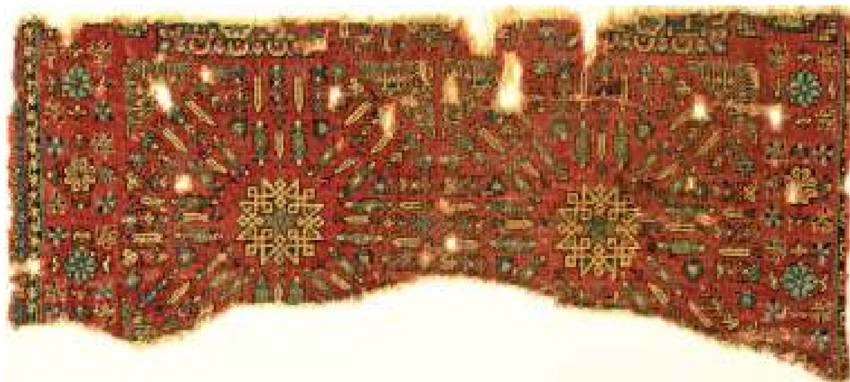

Figure 8: This carpet fragment is a member of the same cluster of non-Mamluk carpets as fig. 6, though probably later in date.

Figure 9: Portrait of an unknown person by Francesco Beccaruzzi, dateable to the first half of the sixteenth century. The depiction of the carpet is somewhat imprecise, nevertheless it is recognisable as belonging to the cluster of non-Mamluk carpets with decorative features in common with Mamluk carpets. It shares some details of its design with known examples, including the fragment in the Textile Museum, Washington (fig 8).

one can say with confidence that this carpet and other members identified as belonging to the same cluster simply do not fit with the evidence of painting as having a Timurid provenance.

A fifteenth-century carpet that is neither Turkish, nor Mamluk, nor Timurid, yet has Persianate features, argues for the possibility that the *tapedi damaschini* could be representatives of a Turkmen carpet-weaving tradition. As a working hypothesis this could make several pieces of the puzzle slot into place. One significant historical point in favour of this proposal is the fact that in 1453 the Venetians lost their access to trading stations on the Black Sea coast. After that the main routes for the trading of Persian silk and other goods westwards from Iran lay through Aleppo and Damascus.[22] This at least could account for the passage of Turkmen

Figure 10: Detail of a fresco, school of Alessandro Bonvicino Moretto. 'Young Ladies of the House of Martinengo' in the Palazzo Martinengo Salvadego, Brescia, dating from the 1540s, which depicts four of typical Mamluk-style carpets of the type produced in Ottoman-ruled Egypt into the mid-sixteenth century. This is one of the earliest depictions of Mamluk-style carpets in European painting.

carpets via Damascus, where the Venetians had established a major *fondaco* because conditions of trade there were favourable and much less restrictive than in other Mamluk cities, such as Alexandria. A Florentine document dated 1466 records the importation of some 200 carpets from Syria.[23]

That carpets were being produced in fifteenth-century Turkmen Iran can hardly be doubted: Josafa Barbaro, visiting the court of Uzun Hasan in 1474, makes mention (in the quaint English translation) of "mervailouse faire" silk carpets. On

another occasion he saw pavilions in which the ground was "covered with most beautiful carpetts", which he greatly admired. He was of the opinion that the carpets of [Mamluk] Cairo and [Ottoman] Bursa compared unfavourably with the carpets he saw.[24] This, incidentally, is the first documented mention of Cairene carpets (as distinct from the presence of carpets in Cairo) in Western literature and it is clear that, whatever they looked like, he did not think much of them.[25] There may be a simple explanation for this.

Qaytbay came to the Mamluk throne in 1468 after a period of prolonged turbulence and economic decline. A combination of good luck and good management enabled him to preside over a well-documented renaissance of the arts, which went hand in hand with an enormous building programme.[26] It is logical, and has long been argued, that the apparent appearance of carpets "out of nowhere" in the late Mamluk period was part of the artistic and cultural renaissance that occurred during Qaytbay's reign. The case being put forward now is that it is time to revise the idea there was "no precedent of pile-weaving which the Mamluks could have inherited," as it is now apparent that there is an older group of "non-Mamluk" carpets that have features in common with Mamluk carpets. It is these carpets that could have provided the, hitherto missing, precedent for the weavers in the court-sponsored carpet workshop, which, it is proposed, Qaytbay established to furnish the many buildings newly constructed and renovated during his reign.

If the previous paragraph seems to contain too many interconnected speculative proposals, it may be useful to examine them in turn. The idea that a new style of carpet-weaving appeared during Qaytbay's reign cannot be supported precisely, but it fits with Kühnel and Bellinger's observation that technically there was no precedent in the archaeological record for the new style of carpet-weaving that appeared some time in the later fifteenth century. That there was a court-sponsored workshop is strongly supported by the existence of three examples of carpets with the same Mamluk blazon dateable to the last fifty years of Mamluk rule. The third proposal, that there was a temporal and artistic relationship between the non-Mamluk and Mamluk carpets, requires further analysis.

The general point that the non-Mamluk carpets appear as a cohort in European painting *before* Mamluk carpets has already been made. Then there is the interesting observation made by Erdmann that archival sources in Venice from the second half of the fifteenth and the first quarter of the sixteenth centuries make frequent mention of carpets as *damaschino* or *alla damaschina* and that this disappears from the documents in the course of the sixteenth century, to be replaced by the designation *cairini*. This observation is fully supported by Marco Spallanzani's documentation of carpets mentioned in Florentine archives.[27] He is certain that the terms *damaschino* or *alla damaschina* (*domaschino* in the Florentine documents) are synonymous. The first Venetian reference to *cairini* I can find is in 1515,[28] and the first Florentine mention is in 1534.[29] This, of course, is not hard

evidence, but it does fit with the sequence of carpet depictions in paintings already outlined, which suggests that *damaschini* refers to non-Mamluk carpets and that when Mamluk carpets came on-stream commercially the designation *cairini* came into use. In some sixteenth-century sources it is clear that the terms are interchangeable, an observation also made by Spallanzani in relation to Florentine sources.[30] Could these two groups of carpets have appeared the same to Venetian and Florentine observers?

In fact, the decorative vocabulary of the two groups is so similar that Erdmann made no distinction between them: it was only when Kühnel and Bellinger characterised their technical differences that the distinctiveness of their design ensemble became apparent. It was this similarity that caused Charles Grant Ellis to coin the unfortunate term "paramamluk"[31] for the non-Mamluk group of carpets, which he saw as somehow derivative of Mamluk carpets – unfortunate because this assumption of his (and the name he gave to them) seems to have paralysed thinking on the subject. Far from being derived from Mamluk carpets, the likelihood is now emerging that they could have served as a resource for the new production. A more appropriate term might have been "pre-Mamluk" carpets. As is so often the case, once the distinction between the two groups had been made, the differences between them now seem so obvious that people are even surprised that no one noticed them before.

Visitors to Cairo before Qaytbay's rule recorded seeing carpets in use, but we do not know if they were imported or locally made.[32] It seems likely that carpets of some sort were being produced in Cairo before 1468 and that Barbaro was familiar with them.[33] The explanation for Barbaro's dismissal of Cairene carpets could be that he visited the court of Uzun Hasan only six years after Qaytbay came to the throne and was unfamiliar with what was being produced in the court workshop that (it is proposed) Qaytbay had recently established.

The next question to address is how and why this similarity in the design vocabulary of the two groups came about. Kühnel and Bellinger argued that the craft practices evident in Mamluk-style carpets were new to Egypt and were most likely introduced from Iran. The arguments on which their hypothesis is based are somewhat arcane. Fundamental is the observation that the primary yarns of the warp threads in the new production are S-spun. S-spinning is a technique indigenous to Egypt and rare elsewhere. It is found in the archaeological record of textile production from the Pharaonic period through the Islamic period, except for a short time during Abbasid rule when Z-spinning appeared briefly and then disappeared again. This was probably associated with an influx of foreign craftsmen. It is significant that *some* pile and weft yarns in Mamluk and Mamluk-style carpets are Z-spun, probably once again indicative of the presence of foreign craftsmen. Kühnel and Bellinger also note that the use of four-ply yarns in the carpets and the use of the Persian knot are not indigenous craft practices.

The simplest explanation for these details is that there was a division of labour in the carpet workshop. Native spinners were producing the primary S-spun warp yarns, whereas the Z-spun yarns and other unusual features were the work of the foreign, most likely Persian, craftsmen. Again, it is a reasonable assumption that Qaytbay would have needed to recruit carpet-weavers from outside Egypt in order to establish a new court workshop, a likely source being Turkmen-ruled regions of Iran and Asia Minor.

Esin Atıl pointed out long ago that the Turkmen style had already appeared in Mamluk painting just before Qaytbay came to the throne, an influence, she suggested, that may have been furthered by the dissolution of Pir Budaq's artistic establishment after his death in 1466, when artists would have been looking for work elsewhere.[34] If it is accepted that the surviving non-Mamluk carpets and those featured in the paintings equate with the *tapedi damaschini*, and if these were indeed the products of Turkmen looms, then everything would fit together.

A minor detail in favour of Turkmen influence in the design of one Mamluk carpet is worthy of mention, if only because an attempt has been made to argue that the form of its border is evidence of Turkish influence.[35] It concerns a unique Mamluk prayer rug in Berlin (fig. 11). Its border features cloud scrolls (or cloud bands), a design found in many Turkish carpets. However, the 'language' of their form and format is quite unlike anything Turkish. First, the cloud scrolls are 'open' and lack the ligature that typically unites their two halves (fig. 13); and secondly the border has neatly mitred corners in the Persian manner.[36] Both features are well seen in an illumination in a manuscript made for Pir Budaq dated 1459 (fig. 12).

The new working hypothesis can be summarised as follows. The many buildings that were either newly constructed or refurbished during the cultural and artistic revival that occurred during Qaytbay's reign called for the establishment of a new facility for the production of carpets to furnish them. Existing facilities were not producing carpets of sufficient quality for the purpose, so craftsmen were recruited from Turkmen-ruled Iran to begin production in a newly-established court-sponsored workshop. The new production employed both local and foreign workers, who introduced craft practices indigenous to Iran. Carpet patterns were initially based on a pre-existing design tradition, which the immigrant craftsmen brought with them. A few examples of this design tradition (or derived directly from it), which, it is proposed, originated in Turkmen Iran, survive, and several are depicted in Italian paintings. These carpets appear to have been imported to Europe via Syria and were called *tapedi damaschini* or *alla damaschina* in both Venetian and Florentine inventories. In the course of the sixteenth century, what began as a court-sponsored production in Cairo expanded into a successful commercial enterprise. Exactly when is not clear, but it is evident that after the Ottoman conquest of Egypt in 1517, factories in Cairo continued to produce carpets in the Mamluk style, though with an increasingly standardised design ensemble

Figure 11: A prayer rug in the Mamluk style. The cloud-scrolls, or cloud-bands, in its inner border are quite unlike those commonly found in Turkish carpets in both form and in the way they are arranged in the Persian manner to turn neatly through forty-five degrees at the corners. They have a parallel in the illumination of a manuscript made for the Qara Qoyunlu prince, Pir Budak, dated 1459 (fig. 13).

and fewer colours. The commercial success of this production is evident in the purchase in 1541 of a magnificent Cairene carpet for use on special occasions by the Scuola Grande di San Rocco in Venice,[37] and the acquisition, between 1560 and 1571, of a very large 'reserve' carpet by Grand Duke Cosimo I de Medici, for

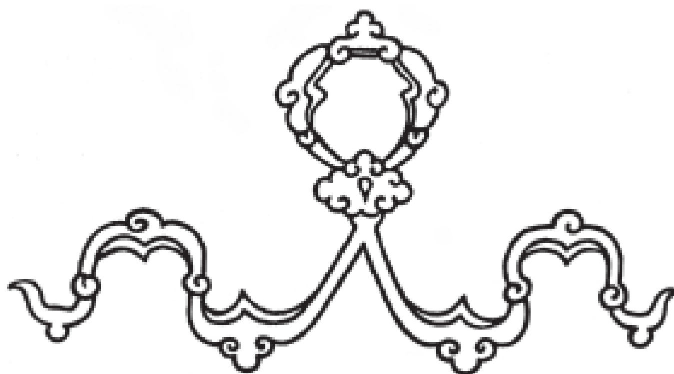

Figure 12: The type of cloud scroll, or cloud-band, commonly found in Turkish carpet borders typically has a ligature uniting its two halves in contrast to those seen in figs. 11 and 13.

use at the grandest events of state.[38] These carpets gradually replaced the *tapedi damaschini* in the international market and initially, because of their similarity to the earlier carpets, people were unable to distinguish between them. After the Ottoman conquest of Egypt in 1517, the factories in Cairo continued to produce carpets broadly in the style of the Mamluk workshops, though with a more standardised design ensemble and fewer colours. These carpets came to be called *tapedi cairini*, and later in the sixteenth century they began to be depicted in European paintings. In the second half of the sixteenth century the decorative vocabulary of this commercially successful production gradually changed to conform to a new decorative style fashionable at the Ottoman court. Such was their quality that the Ottoman court ordered carpets to be made in Cairo in 1551.[39]

There is naturally some 'fall-out' from this fresh look at the 'Mamluk carpet question.' One casualty is Ellis's theory that there were two distinct centres of production, a theory that has exerted a major influence on all writing on the subject in the years since its initial formulation in 1967.[40] He isolated a small group of carpets having "similar details" and set them apart from the main corpus of "Mamluk carpets." The details he brought together were: pile length; the number of passes of weft per row of knots; the colouring; and certain design features – the presence of a plain, undecorated area around a central medallion, the absence or paucity of "umbrella leaves", and the presence of a specific border design. He then proposed that the two groups represent the output from two different centres of production.[41]

Unfortunately, it is not possible to separate the known corpus of carpets into two coherent groupings according to Ellis's criteria. While one can see the general thrust of his argument, some pieces occupy an ambiguous position, which overlaps both categories, and are therefore 'transitional.' A more likely possibility, fitting the observed facts better, is that no clear distinction exists between Ellis's

Figure 13: Illuminated page from the *Divan of Qasim*, dedicated to Pir Budaq, Shiraz, dated 1459. The cloud-scrolls in the inner border, unlike those found in Turkish carpets, have no ligature, are open and arranged in a similar layout those in the prayer rug (fig. 11).

two 'groups' and that the differences he noted are the result of a gradual stylistic evolution that occurred during the period in which carpets, initially woven to meet the needs of the court, developed into a successful commercial production.

According to this interpretation, the multiple wefts, long pile, "unusual" colouring, use of empty space in the field, and stylistic similarity to the *tapedi damaschini* are features of the carpets produced early on in the life of the facility established by Qaytbay.[42] As commercial output developed and the carpets began to acquire

their own distinctive character, their initial similarity to the *tapedi damaschini* diminished: the pile became shorter, the colours fewer, the number of passes of weft per row of knots was standardised, while 'umbrella leaves,' initially few or absent, became a typical feature of carpets produced in the post-Mamluk period, during the first half of the sixteenth century. Surviving examples of this type are relatively numerous and are still called "Mamluk", even though they were produced in Ottoman-ruled Egypt. Although there is no clear dividing line between Mamluk and post-Mamluk carpets, the majority, with their umbrella leaves, few colours and restricted design vocabulary, ought to be called "Mamluk-style" carpets.

It now seems clear that carpet production in the late Mamluk period did not arise *ex nihilo* but was based on a preceding production, the existence of which can be deduced from representations in paintings and the identification of a few rare surviving examples, which are either examples of this production or derive directly from it. Further research may either support or refute the working hypothesis that these are the remnants of a once important production of carpets from the territory ruled by the Turkmens in the fifteenth century.

I conclude with a heartfelt plea that, until the actual provenance of these "pre-Mamluk" carpets is established to the general satisfaction of those interested in this question, they should be referred to as *tapedi damaschini* or Damascus carpets, or, perhaps better, the "early Damascus" group, which corresponds best to what they were called when they were brought to Europe, and the meaningless and misleading term "paramamluk" should be abandoned once and for all.[43]

Illustrations (with image credit)

Figure 1: A typical post-Mamluk carpet published in 1901 as a 'Damascus carpet'.
Figures 2a & b: A comparison of the details of a non-Mamluk with a Mamluk carpet. (Photos May H. Beattie)
Figure 3: A painting in Udine Cathedral dated 1501. (Photo courtesy John Mills)
Figure 4: A carpet in the Chehel Sotun palace, Isfahan. (After Mills 1997)
Figure 5: A detail of the Chehel Sotun carpet compared with a detail of the carpet depicted in the Udine Cathedral painting.
Figure 6: A Carpet in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, Joseph Lees Williams Memorial Collection, 1955–65-2. (Image courtesy of the Philadelphia Museum of Art)
Figure 7: Painting of a Venetian by Sofonisba Anguissola. (Image courtesy of The Burghley House Collection, Stamford, Lincolnshire)
Figure 8: Carpet fragment in The Textile Museum, Washington D.C. (R 34.32.1). (Image courtesy of the Textile Museum)

Figure 9: Portrait of an Unknown Person by Francesco Beccaruzzi. (Image courtesy of the Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence)

Figure 10: Painting by Moretto in the Palazzo Martinengo Salvadego, Brescia. (Fotostudio Rapuzzi, Brescia – private collection)

Figure 11: A Mamluk-style prayer rug the Museum für Islamische Kunst, Berlin, (88.30). (Image courtesey of the Museum für Islamische Kunst)

Figure 12: Drawing of an Ottoman cloud scroll.

Figure 13: Illuminated page from the *Diwan* of Qasim dedicated to Pir Budaq, Shiraz dated 1459, f.2a. (Image courtesy of the Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi, Istanbul no. 1986)

Notes

1 Wilhelm von Bode, *Vorderasiatische Knüpfteppiche aus älterer Zeit*, (Leipzig, n.d. [1901]).

2 Wilhelm Valentiner, *Catalogue of a Loan Exhibition of Early Oriental Rugs*, (New York, 1910), illustrates a typical example. The caption describes it as "Syrian (Damascus) (Egyptian?)." He may have been the first to suggest an Egyptian provenance for these carpets.

3 Friedrich Sarre, "Die ägyptische Herkunft der sogenannten Damaskus-Teppiche," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, New Series 32 (1921), 75–82.

4 Carl Johan Lamm, "The Marby Rug and Some Fragments of Carpets Found in Egypt," *Svenska Orientsällskapets Årsbok* (1937), 51–130, reprinted with colour illustrations as Carl Johan Lamm, *Carpet fragments, The Marby Rug and some Fragments of Carpets Found in Egypt*, Nationalmuseums skriftserie NS7 (Stockholm, 1985).

5 Lamm, *Carpet Fragments*, no. 28, p. 87. The term Kufesque, coined by Miles, see George Miles, "Byzantium and the Arabs: Relations in Crete and the Aegean Area," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 18, (Harvard University Press, 1964), 1–34, is preferred to pseudo-Kufic as a description of a type of carpet border design. For a recent discussion of the term in relation to carpet borders, see Julia Bailey, "Carpets and Kufesque," in eds. Jon Thompson, Daniel Shaffer and Pirjetta Mildh, *Carpets and Textiles in the Iranian World 1400–1700*, (Oxford/Genoa, 2010), 18–29.

6 Kurt Erdmann, "Kairener Teppiche," *Ars Islamica* 5 (1938), 179–206.

7 Ernst Kühnel and Louisa Bellinger, *The Textile Museum. Catalogue Raisonné. Cairene Rugs and Others Technically Related 15th–17th Century*, (Washington D.C., 1957).

8 Particularly important in this respect is a small, cut-loop, piled-carpet with an inscription in Arabic indicating that it was woven in the *tiraz* of Akhmim in the year 203 H (818/819 A.D.). See Ernst Kühnel, "The rug Tiraz of Akhmim," *Workshop Notes, Paper No. 22* (The Textile Museum, Washington D.C., October 1960).

9 Charles Grant Ellis, "Mysteries of the Misplaced Mamluks," *Textile Museum Journal* 2/2 (1967), 2–20.

10 Ibid. A third carpet bearing a Mamluk blazon, as yet unpublished, is in a private collection in Genoa.

11 Esin Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam – Art of the Mamluks*, (Washington D.C., 1981), 226.

12 Erdmann, "Kairener Teppiche," 182.

13 Richard Ettinghausen, "New Light on Early Animal Carpets," in ed. Richard Ettinghausen, *Aus der Welt der islamischen Kunst. Festschrift für Ernst Kühnel zum 75. Geburtstag am 26.10.1957*, (Berlin, 1959), 93–116.

14 First documented by John Mills, "East Mediterranean Carpets in Western Paintings," *Hali* 4/1 (1981): 53–55, and published in colour in John Mills, "The Chihil Sutun 'Para-Mamluk' Prayer Rug," *Hali* 93 (1997), 72–76.

15 Erwin Gans-Ruedin, *Der Persische Teppich*, (Munich, 1978), 144. Also published in English as *The Splendour of Persian Carpets*, (New York, 1978).

16 These paintings are documented by Mills in "East Mediterranean Carpets."
He has kindly supplied the following additional examples (the term Mamluk here refers to Mamluk-style carpets).
Bonifazio Veronese (or de' Pitati): attrib. *Last Supper*, Venice, Chiesa di l' Angelo Raffaele.
The following by Tintoretto or school: *Portrait of a Man in a Pelisse*, 1545, now said to be in Stuttgart, illustrated in b&w in Carlo Bernari and Pierluigi De Vecci, *L'opera completa del Tintoretto*, (Rizzoli, Milan, 1970), no. 65; *Last Supper*, Lucca, Cattedrale; *Last Supper*, Venice, San Giorgio Maggiore. in colour in *L'opera completa*, Plates LX–LXI (only a corner with border shown); *Last Supper*, 1559, Church of St. Francis Xavier, Paris, in Paola Rossi and Rodolfo Pallucchini, *Tintoretto: l'opera completa*, vol. II, *Le opere sacre e profane*, (Electa, Milan, 1990), no. 293, only border visible.
A. Franken the elder: *Last Supper*, ca. 1570, Antwerp, Museum of Fine Arts; illustrated in Onno Ydema, *Carpets in Netherlandish Paintings*, (Woodbridge, 1991), fig. 8. Other examples are given there.
Leandro Bassano: c. 1592–3, *Portrait of a Man with a Statue*, H. M. the Queen; an obscure carpet, possibly Mamluk.
The following by Palma Giovane, all illustrated in b&w in Stefania Mason Rinaldi, *Palma Il Giovane: l'opera completa*, (Milan, 1984): *Samson and Delilah*, c. 1610–15, Rome, Accademia di San Luca; *La Madonna, S. Marco e il doge Antonio Priuli, l'angelo custode e il doge Francesco Contarini*, c. 1625–8, Montegaldella (Padova), Chiesa Parrochiale; *Lucretia and Tarquinius*, c. 1610, Saint Petersburg, Hermitage Museum; *Last Supper*, 1606–10, Venice, Chiesa di San Nicolò dei Tolentini, not certainly Mamluk, seen in 1994 but the painting was very dirty and dark.
Abraham Janssens: *St. Luke Painting the Virgin*, 1605, St Rumbold's Cathedral, South Chapel, Mechelen (Malines), Belgium. (Not seen, information from C. G. Ellis).
There is a possible earlier depiction of a Mamluk carpet with features of the type that most likely dates from the Mamluk period in a painting by Paris Bordone in the Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice: *The Return of the Doge's Ring*, dated 1534 (not listed by Erdmann). For colour images of the set of paintings in Palazzo Martinengo Salvadego see Jon Thompson, *Milestones in the History of Carpets*, (Milan, 2006), 132–33.

17 Although most scholars would be in overall agreement with this statement, the technical aspects are not straightforward. First, the group of non-Mamluk carpets is not technically homogenous. Nine pieces are generally accepted as belonging to the group. These are: 1. Chehel Sotun, Isfahan (Fig. 4); 2. Williams Collection, Philadelphia, 1955–65-2 (Fig. 6); 3. A circular fragment in Kunstgewerbemuseum Dresden, no. 343; 4. A small fragment, Ethnography Museum, Konya; 5. Textile Museum, Washington DC, R34.32.1 (Fig. 8); 6. A fragment in Museum of Islamic Art, Berlin, I 33/60; 7. Museum of Antique Textile Art in Milan, formerly Ellis collection; 8. A fragment, private collection, Genoa; 9. A cut-down carpet sold by Sotheby's, New York, May 1982, lot 295, private collection, Genoa. (All are illustrated in Thompson, *Milestones*). Of these, nos. 5–9 have a Persian knot; nos. 3 and 4 have a Turkish knot; no. 2 has a mixture of Turkish and Persian knots; and no. 1 has been published on one occasion as being woven with a Persian knot and on another as having Turkish knots. Fortunately May Beattie, whose field notes are filed in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, studied the carpet and the major part of her report is appended here:
"Place, Isfahan; location, Talar-i Ashraf, ex Chehel Sotun, 1978; type, eclectic; des[cription], pr[ayer] with Mamluk detail. Face: warp Z2S, good quality nat[ural] ivory ([added comment] clear ivory & very straight like Egyptian wool); wefts, wool, Z, red ox cast; shoots X2; pile, wool poorly combed Z, Z2S; knot, Turkish [uses a clear symbol]; lustre ++; clip 6 close; weave direction, pictorially correct [i.e. begins at visual bottom end of rug]. Back: warp visibility, vetro[?] knot and weft ±; thick[ness], fine; lev[el], dep[ressed]+; weft visibility, odd and even v; regularity mod[erate], [even] more visible [&] beaded than 1st; diam[eter] fine; notes, can only see a v[ery] little; knot count, H 13,12, × V 15 [per inch]. Ends: prox[imal] weave tabby; colour, blue cast[?], red; depth, $^1/4''$ random; dist[al], worn much gone. Sides: cords 2 (each 2 warps plied);

overcast, prob[ably], wool, red. Condition: becoming moth-eaten. Colours 11: ivory, brown, deep red with blue cast, brilliant mid red, pale orange, mid yellow-ochre, mid green, pale blue, dark blue, very dark blue with greenish cast, purple. [Additional comment:] they looked moderately recent [the 2 pieces she saw from the Chehel Sotun] but the exposed ends of the cases were allowing in moths. They were not the same as the TKs [Topkapı Saray's] – the eclectic forgeries(?) must be copies of such pieces."
I think she is referring here to a prayer rug in the Topkapı Saray, 13/2024, see J. M. Rogers, *The Topkapı Saray Museum, Carpets*, translated, edited and expanded from the original Turkish of Hülye Tezcan (New York/Boston, 1987), no. 29. It is clearly a Persian carpet, which has in its design some details in common with the Chehel Sotun prayer rug. It was shown by Nevin Enez, "Dye Research in the Prayer Rugs of the Topkapı Saray Collection," *Oriental Carpet and Textile Studies 4*, (Berkeley, 1993), 191–204, to contain wool dyed with picric acid, a chemical known since 1742, first synthesised in 1771, and used as a dyestuff in 1778 or 1779. It is thus likely to be a nineteenth-century carpet, either copied from, or in the manner of, an earlier lost original. It is interesting that May Beattie did not consider the Chehel Sotun prayer rug to be a copy of this kind, whereas Charles Grant Ellis, "A Soumak Rug in a 15th-Century International Style," *Textile Museum Journal* 1/2 (1963), 3–20, clearly thought it belonged to a cluster of prayer rugs supposedly made in Hereke in the nineteenth century, a theory now discredited.

18 In defence of this statement, there is one other carpet with a true corner solution that is generally classified as Turkish: Vakıflar Carpet Museum, Istanbul, A-344, see Belkis Balpinar and Udo Hirsch, *Carpets of the Vakıflar Museum Istanbul*, (Wesel, 1988), pl. 1, but it has more in common with the "tapedi damaschini" than with Turkish carpets in general, and future scholarship may well come to that view. One other carpet in the same museum, A-217 (Balpinar and Hirsch, *Vakıflar*, pl. 2), has a partial corner solution, that is to say both side and end borders end abruptly and a separate motif is placed in the corner. This is not a true corner solution in the Persian manner. It is also the case that neither this carpet nor its close relative in Cairo fit with the mainstream of Turkish carpets: see Thompson, *Milestones*, 148, where another carpet with a partial corner solution is illustrated on page 145.

19 A recently discovered candidate, considered by some as the sole surviving fifteenth-century Persian carpet with a Kufesque border, is the splendid silk carpet now in the Museum of Islamic Art, Doha: see Jon Thompson, *Silk 13th to 18th centuries. Treasures from the Museum of Islamic Art, Qatar*, National Council for Culture Arts and Heritage (Doha, 2004), 82–85. However, the age and provenance of this carpet require further study in view of the possibility that it could be Indian. See Jon Thompson, "Carpets in the Fifteenth Century," in *Carpets and Textiles in the Iranian World 1400–1700*, 30–57, especially pl. 1 and notes 41 and 62.

20 After this paper was given it was pointed out to me by Michael Rogers that the Chehel Sotun rug has in its design a Mamluk blazon, in the form of a cup – or two cups. I had never even considered this possibility because, as the inscription clearly indicates ("hasten to prayer before it is too late: hasten to forgiveness before death"), it is a prayer rug, and the "cups" occur in the place below the niche where one often finds a mosque lamp. Moreover, the presumed lamp has three motifs in the position where chains used for the lamp's suspension are typically depicted in other prayer rugs. Having given careful consideration to the possibility that this motif could be a blazon, I believe that my initial assumption – that it is a mosque lamp – is the correct one. The reasons are as follows. The design is actually a single motif apparently divided into two parts by a dark line at its mid-diameter, which makes it appear to be two cups, one inverted over the other. It has the typical shape of a mosque lamp with splayed foot, bulbous body and flared conical mouth. Cups, both single and multiple, appear frequently in Mamluk blazons, but, according to Leo Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry*: *A Survey*, (Oxford, 1933), there is no blazon on record which features two cups, one upside down above the other. Furthermore, the cups that feature in Mamluk blazons invariably have an everted rim, and almost invariably have a knop, neither of which is present in the design of the mosque lamp. The division of the dark, eight-pointed star motif present in the centre of the lamp, which is the same as the motif in the centre of the octagon in the lower field, may resemble a cup with an everted rim, but I very much doubt that it was intentional.

21 The primary study of the depiction of carpets in Timurid paintings is Amy Briggs, "Timurid Carpets," *Ars Islamica* 7 (1940), 20–54, and Amy Briggs, "Timurid Carpets II," *Ars Islamica* 11–12 (1946), 146–58.

22 Luca Molà, *The Silk Industry of Renaissance Venice*, (Baltimore, 2000).

23 Marco Spallanzani, *Oriental Rugs in Renaissance Florence*, (Florence, 2007), 101.

24 Josafa Barbaro and Ambrogio Contarini, *Travels to Tana and Persia*, trans. William Thomas, ed. Lord Stanley of Alderley, together with *A Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, trans. and ed. Charles Grey, 2 vols. in 1, (The Hakluyt Society, London, 1873).

25 The mention by Deborah Howard, "Death in Damascus: Venetians in Syria in the Mid-Fifteenth Century," *Muqarnas* 20 (2003), 144–57, of a "tapedo chaierim con i chavi tessudo a la morescha" could be an earlier mention, though this seems unlikely. In a second publication she suggests it may refer to the Karimi guild of merchants, see Francesco Bianchi and Deborah Howard, "Life and Death in Damascus: the material culture of Venetians in the Syrian capital in the mid-fifteenth century," *Studi veneziani*, N.S. 46 (2003), 233–300.

26 Amy Whittier Newhall, *The Patronage of the Mamluk Sultan Qa'it Bay –901/1468–1496*, Ph.D. Dissertation (Harvard University, 1987).

27 Marco Spallanzani, *Oriental Rugs*, 62, table 3.

28 Marino Sanuto, *I Diarii di Marino Sanuto*, Deputazione Veneta di Storia Patria per le Venezie, edited by R. Fulin, F. Stefani, G. Berchet and N. Barozzi (Venice, 1879–1903), details quoted by Michael Rogers in eds. Robert Pinner and Walter Denny, "Carpets in the Mediterranean Countries 1450–1550. Some Historical Observations," *Oriental Carpet and Textile Studies 2*, (London, 1986), 13–18.

29 Marco Spallanzani, *Oriental Rugs*, 68.

30 Rogers, "Carpets in the Mediterranean Countries," 17, notes that Sanuto in 1526 (*Diarii* 42) refers somewhat ambiguously to "uno tapedo a la damaschina, overo caiarin."

31 Ellis, "Mysteries of the Misplaced Mamluks," 12.

32 For example, Frescobaldi's visit in 1384: see eds. and trans. Theophilus Bellorini and Eugene Hoade, *Visit to the Holy Places of Egypt, Sinai, Palestine and Syria in 1384, by Frescobaldi, Gucci and Sigoli*, (Jerusalem, 1948), 149–50.

33 It is entirely likely that carpets were both made and used in Cairo, since the archaeological record indicates that Egypt had been a carpet-producing country over a long period. But, in order to avoid the temptation to imagine what a previous production might have looked like based on what we know of late Mamluk carpets, we have to bear in mind Kühnel and Bellinger's observation that there was no precedent for the type of carpet weaving that appeared in Egypt during the later fifteenth century. Maqrizi's mention of the looting of Emir Qawsun's house in 1341, which refers to carpets probably made in Cairo, has been well discussed by Donald Little, "In Search of Mamluk Carpets," *Hali* 101 (1998), 68–69. It supports the notion that carpets of some kind were being made in Cairo before Qaytbay's time.

34 Esin Atıl, "Mamluk Painting in the Late Fifteenth Century," *Muqarnas* 2 (1982), 159–171; Esin Atıl, *The Age of Suleyman the Magnificent*, (New York, 1987).

35 Carlo Maria Suriano, "A Mamluk Landscape: Carpet Weaving in Egypt and Syria Under Sultan Qaytbay," *Hali* 134 (2004), 94–105.

36 'Open' cloud scrolls do occur in the field design of Turkish carpets and occasionally in the border. For example, Balpinar and Hirsch, *Vakıflar*, A-84, pl. 13 has what Ellis calls "crankshaft cloudbands" in the side borders. Two other carpets in Balpinar and Hirsch, plates 37 and 38 (A-98 & A-222), have borders with open cloud scrolls that are rather unusual in having a small floral form delicately linking their two halves. Their format, however, with lack of corner solution, is typically Turkish. In contrast, the cloud scrolls in the Berlin prayer rug, with their bifid ends, rather uniform thickness, and small, evenly distributed surface sub-scrolls, are rendered with a visual accent that is anything but Turkish.

37 Giovanni Curatola, "Four Carpets in Venice," in eds. Robert Pinner and Walter Denny, *Oriental Carpet and Textile Studies* 2, (London, 1986), 123–130.

38 First published by Alberto Boralevi, "The Discovery of Two Great Carpets: The Cairene Carpets of the Medici," *Hali* 5/3 (1983), 282–283. The details of the Medici inventories from which the date of acquisition can be determined is given in Marco Spallanzani, "Carpets at the Medici Court in the Second Half of the 19th Century," *Islamic Art* 6 (2009), 99–112.

39 Ömer Lüfi Barkan, *Süleymaniye Camii Inşaatı (1555–1557)*, vol. 2, (Ankara, 1979). A translation of the order is published in Jon Thompson, "Early Safavid Carpets and Textiles," in eds. Jon Thompson and Sheila Canby, *Hunt for Paradise: Court Arts of Safavid Iran 1501–1576*, (Milan, 2003), 270–317, n. 70, p. 313.

40 Ellis, "Mysteries of the Misplaced Mamluks".

41 I confess to having contributed a youthful paper to the question of where the supposed two weaving centres were. I no longer subscribe to this theory.

42 Discussing the venerable fragment in the V&A (150–1908) Donald King, in rare opposition to Ellis's theory of two centres of production, made a similar suggestion: Donald King, *The Eastern Carpet in the Western World*, (London, 1983), 60.

43 There is the problem that the term "Damascus carpets" is already used for members of an identifiable group of carpets of uncertain provenance and later date, which are probably direct descendants of the "early Damascus group."

Ellen Kenney

A Mamluk Monument Reconstructed: an Architectural History of the Mosque and Mausoleum of Tankiz al-Nasiri in Damascus

Although Damascus ranked as the 'second city' of the Mamluk sultanate after the capital, Cairo, its role as cultural centre is still emerging. The architectural tradition of Mamluk Damascus was quite distinct from that of Cairo. The preservation history of its architectural legacy from this period is also very different from Cairo's. This paper explores the construction and subsequent history of what was once a major Mamluk monument in Damascus: the congregational mosque complex erected west of the walled city in 1317 by the recently-appointed governor of the Syrian province, Tankiz al-Nasiri. For decades after its construction, this was the largest mosque in the metropolitan area of Damascus, aside from the Umayyad mosque. Today, it has been almost erased from the urban landscape. Damaged and subsequently rebuilt in the course of a rebellion roughly eighty years later, the building underwent a series of renovations and reuses, until around 1950, when – after sustaining damage in a bombardment a few years earlier – it was largely demolished. Using the few remaining building elements of the complex, historical accounts and archival material, this paper reconstructs the original building and traces its post-construction history.

In 1317, the recently-appointed *na'ib* (governor) of the Syrian province, Tankiz al-Nasiri, broke ground for a congregational mosque outside the walled city of Damascus.[1] A year and a half later, the mosque opened for Friday prayer. For more than six centuries, this building withstood the tumultuous history unfolding around it, undergoing a series of renovations and reuses. During unrest in the late fourteenth century, it was damaged and subsequently rebuilt. It was used as a military academy and barracks for nearly a century, beginning around 1832 with the rule of Ibrahim Pasha (d. 1848).[2] In 1932, it was restored and reused as a law school, with newly-designed facilities in the northern part of the building.[3] In 1942, the minaret was restored,[4] but three years later French bombardments damaged the prayer hall, and in 1950 the Awqaf Department decided to remove and replace it with a new building, housing shops at street level and a mosque on the upper floor (fig. 1).[5] The only parts of the historic building preserved were two portals, the minaret, and the founder's mausoleum (fig. 2).

Figure 1: Damascus, mosque of Tankiz during demolition.

Figure 2: Damascus, mosque of Tankiz, view from east.

Although the mosque stood until 1950, a detailed monograph was never published, nor was salvage archaeology conducted in connection with the demolition. However, the Syrian Department of Antiquities created a number of renderings and photographs, and their archives contain a series of letters that document their efforts to prevent the Awqaf Department from tearing the building down. It is

thanks to their documentation, together with a few short notices published by Karl Wulzinger and Carl Watzinger, Jean Sauvaget, and others that the mosque's history can be traced.[6] Obviously, the building that they recorded was already much altered. This paper will review its construction and setting, but will focus on a second stage of patronage: the physical reconstruction campaign undertaken in the late fourteenth century after the damage inflicted in the rebellion of Mintash, permitting closer consideration of the historical narratives related to it, as well as the conventions and idiosyncrasies of those narratives.[7]

The patron of this mosque, Tankiz al-Nasiri, was one of the most important actors during the long, third reign of Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad, which lasted from 1309 until his death in 1341.[8] After thirteen years in al-Nasir Muhammad's service, first in the *khassakiya* (royal guard) and then as an emir-of-ten, Tankiz was rewarded with the governorship of Damascus. He retained this position for twenty-eight years, during which a series of promotions essentially conferred on him control over the entire Bilad al-Sham province. As governor, Tankiz was a prolific builder, erecting all kinds of new foundations and restoring existing ones throughout Syria, both in his own name and in the name of the sultan. The upward trajectory of his career plummeted when al-Nasir Muhammad suddenly turned against him.

The Building Site and Its Significance

Although, at the time of this commission, Tankiz was still a relative neophyte both in the political landscape and in terms of architectural patronage, the scale and the siting of his new mosque complex reveal a high degree of sophistication in urban planning and convey the patron's confident hold on the power and resources at his disposal. This project represents the governor's first major commission since taking office only a few years earlier. While it centred on the construction of a congregational mosque, it actually included much more: an adjoining tomb, which still stands, as well as a palace, a bath establishment, shops, and stables, all of which are lost today. Well before the period of this commission, several congregational mosques had been erected in the extra-mural neighbourhoods of Damascus.[9] What most of them have in common is that their foundations responded to settlement patterns, growing population centres or other location-specific purposes. However, it was not in one of the burgeoning communities north or south of the walled city that Tankiz erected his new mosque, but rather in a sparsely built-up area west of the city walls. By 1317, this zone had emerged as a suburb serving the official needs and the recreational pastimes of the ruling elite. Stretching from the area of the Umayyad mosque, the Citadel, and Dar al-Saʿada at the western side of the walled city, it encompassed a recent market north-west

of the Citadel catering specifically to the military aristocracy, and extended to the great hippodrome (*maydan*) situated between the rivers Barada and Banyas, and al-Qasr al-Ablaq, the royal palace compound erected by al-Zahir Baybars (d. 1277). What stands out in descriptions of this area – before, during, and after this period – is its unparalleled natural beauty, which can only be imagined today: its rivers, gardens, and vistas had been admired for centuries.[10] The topographic prominence of the site, which was visible from Bab al-Nasr in one direction and from the Maydan in the other, is a feature of the mosque noted – literally or figuratively – in almost every description of its location.[11] It was in the midst of this privileged, pastoral setting, that Tankiz established his new complex of buildings.

The Mosque of Tankiz in 1318 and circa 1950: a Reconstruction

No historical inscriptions from the Friday Mosque of Tankiz are published. A number of chronicles refer to its commission in 1317,[12] and trace the construction until its inauguration. However, they provide little architectural detail. Al-ʿUmari, writing in the 1340s, remarks on its decoration.[13] A few decades later, Ibn Habib provides a charming, poetic description of the mosque, referring to its elevated site, fine construction, high columns, great expanse, and beautiful courtyard, through which ran the Banyas river.[14] Other historical descriptions of the building postdate its late fourteenth-century reconstruction, but are still useful for envisioning the monument as Tankiz built it.

Although pioneering in its location, the new building was conservative in design (fig. 3). The floor plan, with its elongated, two-aisle prayer hall flanked by a courtyard, conformed to long-standing traditions of congregational mosque architecture in Syria, and was exceptional only for its size. The façade employed iconic elements of Syrian decoration: yellow and black striped (*ablaq*) stonework that stretched across its entire 94 metres, with a bichrome moulding to emphasise the profiles of two raised rectangular frames (*pishtaq*) surrounding muqarnas portals at either end. Delicate incisions framed smaller openings located within the wall about eight metres from each of the portals.[15] Formerly, both portals led to corridors opening into the prayer hall and communicating with the court beyond. As striking as this façade must have been, however, early sources do not describe it.

The monumental portals are the only element of the façade that survive, although their restored state presents difficulties in interpretation (fig. 4). Wulzinger, writing in the early 1900s, claims that the east portal dates later than the west one, citing a masonry joint.[16] This is not illustrated in his plates, and the joint is not obvious in the earliest photographs, taken around forty years after Wulzinger's survey. According to these photos and the Department of Antiquities' drawings, both entrances were recessed about 1.5 metres, and surmounted by

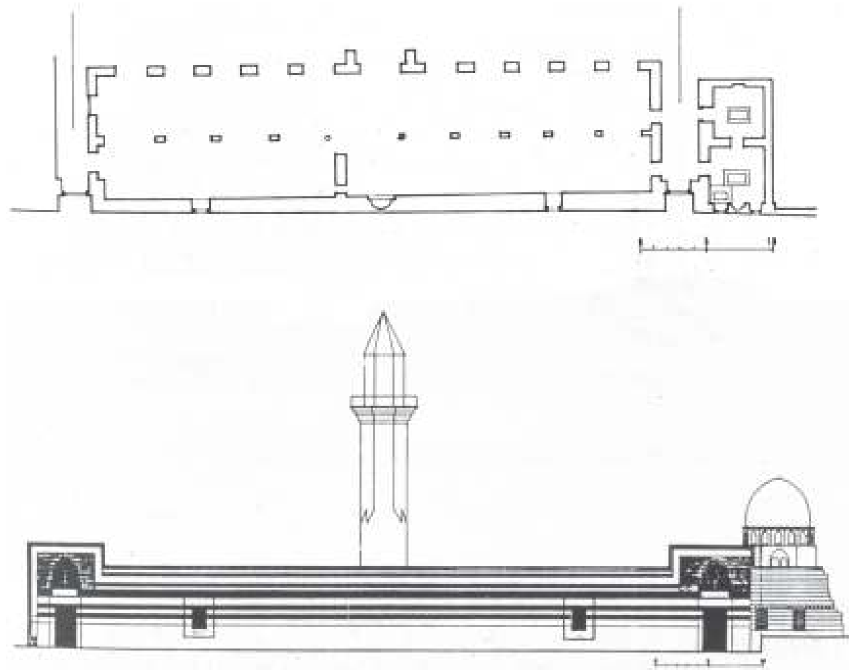

Figure 3: Damascus, mosque of Tankiz, plan and elevation.

broad lintel stones, flat relieving arches, triple muqarnas tiers, and fluted conches – with only slight differences between the two: the voussoir areas (the wedge-like stones forming part of an arch) appear to be treated somewhat differently; the western hood is filled with a double fan conch, while the eastern hood has a triple-fan; and the eastern *pishtaq* surround appears to be slightly wider than the western one. However, around both portal niches, the striped (*ablaq)* masonry of the façade appears to course through up to the level of the springing of the hoods. At that point, inside the band surrounding the *pishtaq* zone, the coursing is distinct from the *ablaq* masonry, on both portals. Around the eastern hood, some facing stones do appear to be lighter than the others. At any rate, although Wulzinger's claim that the two portals are not contemporaneous is reiterated in some later literature on the mosque, it is difficult to substantiate because of subsequent restorations, which culminated in the total reconstruction of the doors in connection with the demolition. In that process, the portals were rebuilt to meet the raised level of the modern street. The multiple fan motif repeated on these two portals appears again on the patron's Jerusalem madrasa portal, as well as on a number of other constructions around this date and later.[17] According to Sauvaget, the portal vaults were once

Figure 4: Damascus, mosque of Tankiz, west portal.

further embellished by images of the patron's blazon, the cup – but these are not preserved today and are not captured in the historic photographs available.[18]

Inside the prayer hall, two antique porphyry columns, with simple stalactite capitals, support the central arch of the arcade dividing the two aisles. Piers support the narrower arches flanking it. Although the main opening of the north wall is placed centrally, on the axis of the mihrab, opposite it and the minaret across the court, the central arch of the interior arcade is slightly off-centre, perhaps designed to frame both the mihrab and the minbar to its right.[19]

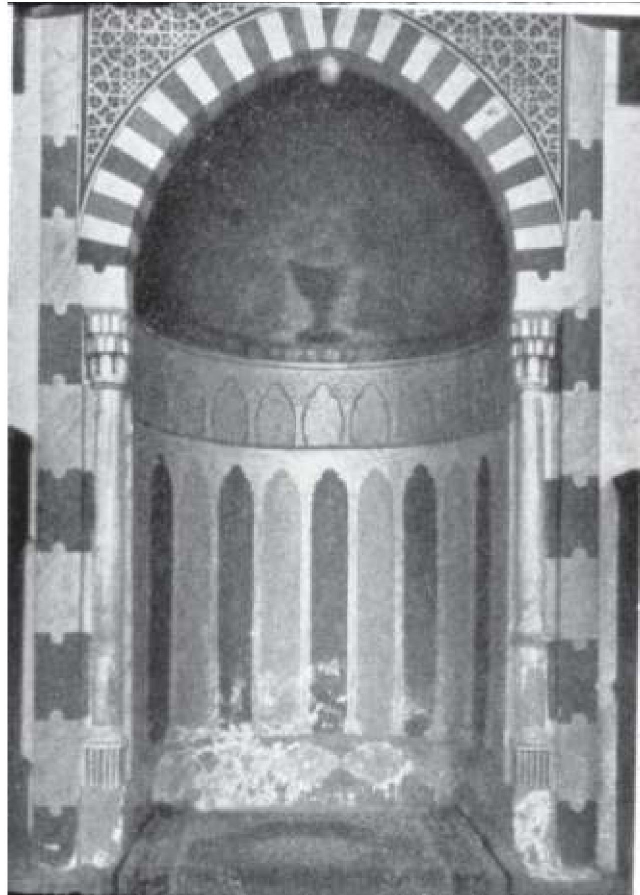

Figure 5: Damascus, mosque of Tankiz, interior, mihrab.

The mihrab, in early photographs, is surrounded by a rectangular joggled border with spandrels of polychrome stone mosaic in a geometric interlace pattern (fig. 5).[20] *Ablaq* voussoirs emphasise the arch, over thin colonettes with simple three-tiered muqarnas capitals. Below the hood runs a band of blind trefoil arches, once filled with a delicate geometric stone mosaic surrounded by intricate arabesque designs in the spandrels.[21] According to descriptions and photographs, the mihrab hood was decorated with gold-ground glass mosaics, depicting a central goblet, with a ringed stem and fluted body, from which sprouts a stalk flanked by swirling, jewelled acanthus leaves.[22] These are the mosaics that, according to al-ʿUmari, had been manufactured at an unspecified date for a restoration of the Umayyad mosque, some of which – he reports – Tankiz had installed in his mosque.

The remainder had been stored in the Umayyad mosque and destroyed in the fire of 1340.[23] As has been argued elsewhere, these mosaics were installed not just as an afterthought connected with the Umayyad mosque restorations, but as a deliberately allusive interpolation of a medium and motifs, meant to evoke an association with that monument.[24]

As for the court, it had already been significantly altered by the time the building was recorded in photographs, but Wulzinger describes it as being lined by arcades and bisected by the waters of the Banyas, just as in Ibn Habib's time.[25] The minaret was located on its north side. Its square base dates to the original construction period, but the upper parts belong to the 1390s rebuilding discussed below.[26] Presumably, its design accorded with local tradition, with an entirely square shaft, comparable to other early Mamluk minarets of Damascus, and the two other minarets connected with Tankiz's patronage that survive.[27]

The mausoleum is the other major element of the complex that survives, adjacent to the eastern entrance. Today it consists of a square, domed structure bordered by the street to the south, the entrance corridor to the west, an open court to the north, and modern buildings to the east. The façade, though contiguous with that of the mosque, is clearly distinguished from it, and is articulated with a string course of joggled *ablaq*, two large grilled windows, and a band of moulding. A fenestrated octagon and a niched upper zone of sixteen sides effect the transition from the square floor plan to the dome. The Department of Antiquities' drawings indicate an octagonal zone above the space to the north of the extant mausoleum, suggesting that formerly a second dome covered that space as well. Both octagonal zones appear to have had the same twin fenestration, alternating with blind niches (fig. 6).[28] Today, the masonry of the west and east façades is obscured, but the west elevation drawing shows two openings let into the north and south chambers. The east elevation drawing shows paired, pointed arched windows at the transition level of both domes, and also reveals the tops of two openings at the ground level, suggesting that this wall was originally freestanding. The masonry of the two building segments seems to course through in the area immediately surrounding the two openings. However, above them, the southern side is filled in with brick, while on the northern side the stone masonry continues for several courses.

So, are the two domes contemporary? While it is possible that the second chamber was attached at a later date, perhaps in the reconstruction campaign discussed below, it is not inconceivable that the two were built together. The similarity of the twin domes is not conclusive, but the continuity of the west wall masonry is more persuasive. Double-domed mausoleums were a well-established feature of Damascus architecture by this period.[29] In addition to single-domed mausoleums expanded to include a later second dome,[30] some mausoleums were conceived with a double-dome from the beginning.[31] Ibn Qadi Shuhba reports that in 1400, Tankiz's great grandson was interred here.[32] Today, there is only one cenotaph in the mau-

Figure 6: Damascus, mausoleum of Tankiz, interior of dome.

soleum, but according to the Department of Antiquities' floor plan, there were two others – one here, and another in the north chamber.

Inside the building, fragments stored in the east niche probably belong to one or both of the two cenotaphs no longer in situ. In the middle of a modern tile pavement is a plinth, on which rests the extant cenotaph. It appears to have been consolidated recently, retaining original materials including slabs of pinkish marble, four corner posts capped with muqarnas niches and small gored domes, and a stone mosaic panel in a design which compares closely to that in the spandrels of the mosque's mihrab.

A good deal of ornament is still preserved on the south wall (fig. 7). The decoration of the mihrab is very like that of the mosque. A similar joggled border encloses spandrels inlaid with interlace, but the elaborate reciprocal design surrounding the hood is considerably more ambitious than the simple *ablaq* voussoirs in the mosque. Here, too, gold-ground glass mosaics line the mihrab hood, and, again, the central motif is a ringed goblet, this time encrusted with mother-of-pearl, from which springs a vegetal stalk flanked by wing-like elements, acanthus branches, and rosettes. Below the hood appears another miniature arcade of trilobed arches, with a dense vegetal design filling their spandrels and a delicate stone mosaic pattern of intersecting circles and stars filling the inter-columnar areas. Vertical panels of white, red and greenish-grey marble line the niche, flanked by a pair of columns. Gold-ground glass mosaic also decorates the hoods of the

Figure 7: Damascus, mausoleum of Tankiz, qibla wall.

two window niches, again portraying ribbed, footed goblets sprouting acanthus vines and rosettes. Over the mihrab, a rectangular panel of gold-ground glass mosaic is inscribed in blue tesserae with the *shahada*.[33] Above this level runs a frieze of marble carved with a delicate vegetal scroll on which traces of gold paint are still visible. In design, medium, and location, it compares closely with the band that decorated the *qibla* wall of the Umayyad mosque.

In the original phase of his mosque and mausoleum in Damascus, Tankiz made very deliberate use of architectural allusion and quotation. This is evident in the siting of the building in an area that had long inspired comparisons with Paradise; perhaps also in the expansive *ablaq* exterior referencing the neighbouring al-Qasr al-Ablaq and conjuring associations of royalty; and in the interior decoration, through the inclusion of glass mosaic and the carved scroll – features directly associated with the Umayyad mosque and its sanctity.[34]

The Mosque of Tankiz Rebuilt: Narrative and Architecture

This allusive approach to the architecture and its decoration is echoed by the manner in which the building is treated in its historical narrative. A number of our sources strove to convey the importance, magnificence or spirit of the Mosque of Tankiz. As Nasser Rabbat has recently elucidated, writers of the Mamluk period

generally did not employ a specialised aesthetic vocabulary to communicate such messages, but they did use a number of other literary devices as 'expressive tools' toward that end.[35] In this case, more than usual, chroniclers insert anecdotes referring to the building. One example, complete with dialogue, tells of the patron visiting the mosque as it was reaching completion. Strolling in the court and admiring its beauty, Tankiz meets an individual whose witticism inspires the governor to hire him as preacher (*khatib*), the person who delivers the sermon, instead of the presumptive recipient of the post, a member of a learned Damascus family.[36] Sometimes, poetry is inserted into the narrative text to further convey the spirit of the mosque. These passages tend to anthropomorphise the building or its site, infusing the narrative with a sense of intimacy or sentimentality. One example occurs in connection with the patron's burial place: following his execution in Alexandria, Tankiz was buried in that city. His daughter (al-Nasir Muhammad's widow) petitioned for her father to be reburied at his madrasa in Jerusalem, but she had to settle for transferring his body to his Damascus mausoleum.[37] Al-Safadi ends this tale with an evocative poem, part of which is quoted in later accounts as well: "In the transfer of Tankiz is a secret/His Lord God wanted it/He brought him towards a land that he loved and that loved him."[38] In an even clearer example of the anthropomorphic treatment of the mosque's architectural narration, a topographer conducts a dialogue with the building itself: "I went to the *jami*ʿ of Tankiz and found it in isolation, alone amidst the gardens: 'Are you alone here?' It responded to me: 'Because of the beauty reunited in me, I am separated from the others.' "[39]

The most dramatic narration of the mosque's history, and one which epitomises this fondness for poetic interpolation and anthropomorphic representation of architecture, is an account of the damage and reconstruction that resulted from the Mintashi rebellion in the late fourteenth century. This rebellion, headed by the emir Timurbugha al-Ashrafi, better known as Mintash, dragged on for more than four years during one of the more tumultuous periods, the intermittent reign of Sultan Barquq (d. 1399). In 1391, Emir Mintash gained control of Damascus and the mosque of Tankiz served as part of the backdrop for the city's recapture by the sultan's supporters. Our main source for this episode is Ibn Sasra, about whom little is known, aside from the fact that he personally witnessed many of these events, and the likelihood that he was descended from a prominent Damascus family of scholars, the Banu Sasra. Thanks to William Brinner's masterful translation, Ibn Sasra's idiosyncratic writing style is easily accessible and his intertextuality can be fully appreciated.[40]

In early June, 1391, Mintash and his supporters took up positions west of the city walls, stationing themselves in the mosque of Tankiz and other sites, using them as bases from which to launch assaults against Barquq's supporters. In response, the loyalists set fires around the occupied buildings, aiming to smoke them out. Unfortunately, these fires grew out of control.[41] Ibn Sasra's detailed narrative

of the battles that raged for the next few weeks includes a lengthy lament about the resulting damage, densely woven with literary and religious references, similes, allusion, and personification: "To Pharaoh the tyrant had not occurred what now befell the mosque of Tankiz and the mosque of Yalbuga. They accused it falsely, although it had not sinned; they threw stones at it, although it had not fornicated." He then proceeds with a quote from a contemporary poem, of which this is part:

> "O what an evil day, which lying in wait, yesterday befell the mosque of Tankiz!/
> After its five and seventy years of invocation, prayers and worshippers/
> And the echoing of 'Praise be God!' from all lungs when the muezzins rose to call to prayer,/
> Fire brands were cast into it, so that they ignited all the woodwork and wood therein./
> Its marble and copper became cracked and fissured like the folds of livers,/
> While the stones of its minaret slowly fell like rocks falling from lofty peaks./
> And the river, once clear, became turbid as though it had never quenched the thirsting./ O, the splendour that was on its Naranj put on garments of mourning in its grief./
> And the exalted tomb [bearing] sorrow because of the crimes which have been committed above it, [is] in ashes./ … /"[42]

The poem ends with a comparison to Judgement Day. Later in the text, Ibn Sasra narrates the building's redemption ten months later in the form of a reconstruction sponsored by none other than the original patron's own grandson, Salah al-Din Muhammad ibn Nasir al-Din Muhammad ibn Tankiz.[43] Salah al-Din served as supervisor (*nazir*) of the institution, according to Ibn Qadi Shuhba.[44] Although Damascus was relatively calm for the time being, the conflict with Mintash festered and other disturbances continued to harass the city's administrators. Most people were not yet ready to invest in reconstruction.[45] Nevertheless, in May 1392, Salah al-Din travelled to Damascus from Cairo, with the express purpose of "rebuilding the mosque of his grandfather and its environs."[46] Ibn Sasra relates the launch of this project and the appreciation that it inspired among the residents of the city. Four months later, he provides a progress report, saying: "Meanwhile, the mosque of Tankiz was speeding to completion, its windows on the Maydan side were finished, and its dome was completed."[47] Among the events of the following year (1392–93), Ibn Sasra itemises the jobs finished by then, including the whitewashing of its walls, the application of its marble revetment, the installation of its gilded *tiraz* (a mural inscription band),[48] the completion of its vestibule (the word *sadda* is used here), the water wheels in its court, and the continuation of work on the minaret. Summing up with a one-line poetic quote, he adds: "I have observed places and found them as wretched as men are wretched – and then made glad."[49]

Two months later, with ceremony and fanfare, Salah al-Din had the liturgical accoutrements transported to the mosque.[50] The mosque reopened for prayer the following Friday in an elaborate inaugural ceremony. "How beautiful are its windows toward the Maydan!" exclaims Ibn Sasra, who then closes this narration with another verse: "Oh that beautiful one among mosques! Men of God have never ceased to fulfil therein precept and tradition./Its enemies had burned it in fire, but through His kindness, it has become today like Paradise."[51]

Ibn Qadi Shuhba reports on these events also, although without nearly as much flair. In his own reportorial style, however, he comments on the loyalists' tactics, remarking that they did not benefit militarily from setting the fires that ultimately proved so destructive.[52] From him, one also gleans some further practical information about the subsequent rebuilding: he reports, for example, that when Salah al-Din came to Damascus he bore a letter from the sultan that instructed the governor to assist him, that he stayed in Damascus for exactly one year to see the project through, that the bulk of the work had taken ten months to do, or seven not including days off, and that when he left for Cairo, there was only some tiling to install, the finishing touches on the minaret and the completion of the bath restorations – all of which were done a few months later.[53] Both sources claim that he paid for the entire restoration from his own funds.

Ibn Sasra's reference to the "*naranj*" (lit.: a citrus fruit) – a term used in other sources to describe the dome of the Umayyad mosque – suggests that originally there may have been an axial dome.[54] In the prayer hall, the renewal project was mainly repair work to the wall treatments, specifically marble panelling, mural inscriptions, and whitewashing of plaster elements. In the court, the gardens were replanted and water wheels re-installed. Ibn Sasra claims that Salah al-Din's works had enlarged the building by one-third, but this is difficult to reconcile with the layout.[55] This might refer to an extension of the mausoleum, as speculated above, or to Salah al-Din's construction of halls (*qaʿa*s) below the minaret, reported by Ibn Qadi Shuhba.[56] There is also the possibility that Ibn Sasra overstated the scale of the enlargement. Another question: could the reference to the restoration of the *sadda*, which Brinner renders as 'vestibule', refer more specifically to a portal? This might explain the masonry break around the eastern portal that was evident to Wulzinger, leading him to claim that it was later than the western one. If so, it was rebuilt as a visual pendant to the western portal.

While the aim of the prayer hall and courtyard restoration seems to have been to return them to their former state, the same cannot be said of the minaret reconstruction (figs. 8, 9). When Salah al-Din rebuilt the upper storeys of his grandfather's minaret, he made them octagonal in section, rather than in the traditional Damascene square plan. The 'façade' of the base, on its south side, would have faced the court.[57] The door lintel bears an inscription, surmounted by bands of bichrome reciprocal inlay, joggled *ablaq* and a moulding.[58] Above these ele-

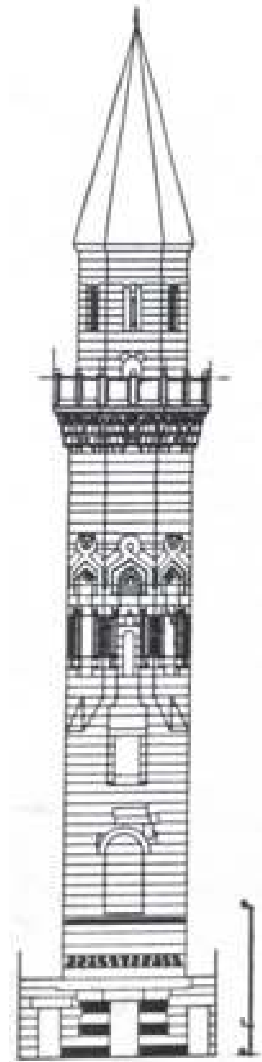

Figure 8: Damascus, mosque of Tankiz, minaret elevation.

ments there is a blind arch and a rectangular opening set within a recessed panel, which carries through to the octagonal section of the shaft. The sides of the octagonal shaft are articulated by niches of two alternating types. One has a polylobed arch, with horizontal fluting in the hood, ribbed colonettes, and small balconies on muqarnas corbels. The other has a keel-arched hood, above a blind ogival arch flanked by twisted colonettes. Between the niches, the edges of the octagonal shaft are accentuated with a carved chevron design. Each of the eight niches has a surround that forms a looped apex, inlaid with the earliest instance of blue faience as an exterior architectural ornament in Damascus.[59] A few courses higher are the remains of an inscription band. Four layers of muqarnas corbelling support the balcony, upon which the French architect Michel Ecochard recreated a pierced stone balustrade.[60] The top storey is also octagonal, with paired windows piercing each side, and a second inscription band running below the Ottoman-era cap.[61] One of the special features of this minaret – unusual or unique in Damascus – is that it had two sets of stairs inside its shaft.[62]

Ecochard claims that the reconstructed minaret was the highest in the city, after those of the Umayyad mosque.[63] It is clear that the minaret would have had an impressive visual impact on the urban landscape. The combination of the octagonal minaret shaft, which was rarely used in Syrian architecture at this point and was unprecedented in Damascus, with Cairo-inspired niche ornamentation, introduced a new 'look' to the skyline. In secondary sources, from Sauvaget onward, this minaret is cited as the first of its kind. In general, it was unusual for Cairene features to make their way into Syrian architecture – one of the remarkable aspects of which is its relative stylistic autonomy from the capital. Typically, even highly positioned patrons commissioning works from Cairo adopted the local style when building in the Syrian provinces. Doris Behrens-Abouseif makes this point amply clear in her recent study of the Mamluk architecture of Cairo with a comparison of two later mausoleums commissioned by the same patron, one in Cairo and the other in Aleppo.[64] To Michael Meinecke, the 'metropolitan' aspects of the minaret restoration at the mosque of Tankiz suggest the assistance of builders from the capital,

Figure 9: Damascus, mosque of Tankiz, minaret from east.

and he noted that – looking forward – this new style would not be adopted in subsequent architectural commissions in Damascus for many decades to come.[65]

The new minaret shaft at the mosque of Tankiz, although ornate for Damascus at the time, was not trendsetting by contemporary Cairo standards. Its profile has more in common with minarets of mid-fourteenth-century Cairo, where with a similar progression of square, to octagonal, to cylindrical, and the combination of keel-arched niches, polylobed arches, striated hoods, and ogival frames are popular. By the 1390s Cairene taste had shifted to shafts which were either entirely octagonal, or composed of a combination of octagonal and cylindrical sections.[66] Thus, from the point of view of stylistic evolution, the new minaret shaft at the mosque of Tankiz comes across either as an outmoded execution of metropolitan

fashion, or a premature experiment in transregional design transfer. While not discounting either explanation, a further dimension could be gained by considering the patronage of the mosque and its reconstruction, as well as its historical context.

Filial Patronage and Affiliation

The long duration of Tankiz's governorship, his bountiful resources, and the power of his position allowed him to leave behind a significant legacy of building works in his name, to construct an enduring image for himself both as a beneficent regional ruler and a pious man, and to establish his progeny in favourable positions. In spite of his dramatic fall from power, Tankiz was remembered by posterity with respect. In Damascus, his rule was cherished as a period of prosperity and peace. Even though much of his property was confiscated upon his arrest, Tankiz had situated his offspring well and they continued to prosper after his death. Through his patronage of *waqf* (religious endowments) foundations, he had guaranteed positions and income for his relations.[67] During his lifetime, one of his daughters married Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad and later gave birth to one of his heirs to the throne. Another daughter married Sultan al-Muzaffar Hajji a few years after her father's death (1346).[68] Three of Tankiz's sons became emirs while he was still alive, and two of them married daughters of al-Nasir Muhammad.[69] Salah al-Din's father, Muhammad, was elevated to a *tablakhana* status (an emir in command of a military band consisting of forty soldiers) in 1346 by his brother in-law, the sultan.[70] Robert Irwin has argued that the popularity of Tankiz generated support for his grandson, Sultan al-Salih Salih, (r. 1351–54) in Syria.[71]

Further study of the descendents of Tankiz might provide insights for the ongoing discussion of *awlad al-nas*, the children of Mamluks and their role in the political and cultural life of the Mamluk period. These sons, being free-born, did not have the same status as their purchased fathers; Ulrich Haarmann has defined this class as "mediators and wanderers between the foreign elite and the local Arabic-speaking population of Egypt and Syria," and Stephan Conermann, in his case-study on *awlad al-nas* as founders of pious endowments, has characterised them as "the cultural interlocutors between barracks and madrasas, polo fields and Sufi convents, between officers and scholars."[72] In this vein, I would like to consider the 'expressive intent' of one *walad al-nas* as an architectural patron. Salah al-Din, in the rivalries that characterised his era, appears to have cast his lot squarely with Sultan Barquq. For example, in 1383, when invited to join an assassination plot against Barquq hatched by a group of emirs, he informed the sultan of the plan, and the coup was averted.[73] Perhaps the Cairo-inspired elements were not an attempt to introduce a new style to the region, but rather were a reference, making a specific point, during a unique moment in history. As Ibn Sasra's account am-

ply demonstrates, this reconstruction project was entwined with the story of the Mintashi rebellion. By rebuilding his grandfather's mosque in its aftermath, Salah al-Din was reconstructing his familial heritage, as well as fulfilling his duty as supervisor. But by designing the towering new structure with forms and ornaments associated with Cairo, he conveyed an allegiance to the sultan and his authority. As Ibn Sasra relates, Salah al-Din gained admiration from the populace, as well as renewed prayers for his grandfather's soul, by undertaking this work. His loyalty to the sultan may have benefited him as well: a couple of years after the renovation, he was elevated to the status of *amir tablakhana*.[74] This interpretation might explain the anomalies in the minaret design outlined above. Perhaps the reason that the Cairene motifs were not immediately adopted in Damascus has to do with a specificity of purpose in their use at this particular time, by this particular patron. Of course, the old-fashioned aspect of the minaret design can be attributed in part to the exigencies of its site, since it was built on a pre-existing square base. Conceivably, this was a deliberately historicising feature, based on the Cairene minarets of Salah al-Din's grandfather's day, rather than his own era, as a reference point. But it may be that the patron inserted the Cairene features as quotations rather than as wholesale stylistic importations, and did so for a specific message, rather than to accessorize the mosque with the latest in Cairo fashion.

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Illustrations (with image credit)

Figure 1: Damascus, mosque of Tankiz during demolition. (After Ecochard, "Travaux," pl. 73)
Figure 2: Damascus, mosque of Tankiz, view from east. (Photo by the author)
Figure 3: Damascus, mosque of Tankiz, plan and elevation. (After Ecochard, "Travaux," figs. 27 and 28)
Figure 4: Damascus, mosque of Tankiz, west portal. (Photo by the author)
Figure 5: Damascus, mosque of Tankiz, interior, mihrab. (After Wulzinger and Watzinger, *Damaskus*, pl. 19b)
Figure 6: Damascus, mausoleum of Tankiz, interior of dome. (Photo by the author)
Figure 7: Damascus, mausoleum of Tankiz, qibla wall. (Photo by the author)

Figure 8: Damascus, mosque of Tankiz, minaret elevation. (After Ecochard, "Travaux," fig. 30)

Figure 9: Damascus, mosque of Tankiz, minaret from east. (Photo courtesy of Anke Scharrahs)

Notes

1 The mosque of Tankiz is located on the avenue that is known today as Nasr Street, opposite the telecommunications building and east of the Hejaz railway station.
2 Muḥammad A. Dahmān, *Wulāt Dimashq fī ʿahd al-mamālīk*, (Damascus, 1981), 168; Akram al-ʿUlabī, *Khiṭaṭ Dimashq*, (Damascus, 1989), 316.
3 In the early 1940s, Muḥammad Asʿad Ṭalas reports that there was no decoration in the prayer hall other than the mihrab and the minbar (in annotations to his edition of Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *Thimār al-maqāṣid fī dhikr al-masājid*, [Beirut, 1943], 202).
4 Qutayba al-Shihābī, *Maʾadhin Dimashq tārīkh wa-ṭirāz*, (Damascus, 1993), 135.
5 Duhmān, *Wulat*, 168; ʿUlabi, *Khitat*, 316.
6 Karl Wulzinger and Carl Watzinger, *Damaskus: Die Islamische Stadt*, (Berlin/Leipzig, 1924), 58; Jean Sauvaget, *Les monuments historiques de Damas*, (Beirut, 1932), 41–42; Dorothée Sack, *Damaskus: Entwicklung und Struktur einer Orientalisch-Islamischen Stadt*, (Mainz, 1989), 29, 32, 39, 102 and 115.
7 The first phase of this building is included in my broader study of the patron's quarter-century of building activity throughout the Syrian province: *Power and Patronage in Medieval Syria: The Architecture and Urban Works of Tankiz al-Nasiri*, (Chicago, 2009), 22–37 and 78–79.
8 His story is narrated in a number of sources. See Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *Kitāb al-wāfī bi'l-wafayāt*, 22 vols., eds. Hellmut Ritter, et al. (Wiesbaden, 1962–present), and Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Beirut, 1973). For discussions of Tankiz's biography, see Kenney, *Power*, 9–13; Stephan Conermann, "Tankiz ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusāmī al-Nāṣirī (d. 740/1340) as seen by his Contemporary al-Safadi (d. 764/1363)," *Mamluk Studies Review* 12/2 (2008), 1–24, and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn. (Leiden, 1954–2005), s.v. "Tankiz"; Michael Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, (London, 1987), 223; Ḥayāt Nāṣir al-Ḥājjī, "al-Amīr Tankiz al-ḥusāmī nā'ib al-Shām fī 'l-fatra 712–741/1312–1340 M," *Dirāsāt fī tārīkh salṭanat al-mamālīk fī Miṣr wa 'l-Shām*, (Kuwait, 1985), 199–283; L. A. Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry*, (Oxford, 1953), 218–19.
9 Three of them were in the north-western suburb of Salihiyya, one serving the suburban area of al-ʿUqayba immediately north of the city walls, one that functioned as a funerary mosque in the cemetery zone just south of the city walls (Bab al-Saghir), and another congregational mosque erected farther south at the Musalla, an open space reserved for major communal prayers.
10 See, for example, Abu ʿl-Baqa ʿAbd Allah al-Badri (trans. Henri Sauvaire), "Description de Damas," *Journal Asiatique* 9, Ser. 7 (1896), 433.
11 Ibn Habib notes that it was "the most elevated *sharaf* in the city" (*Tadhkirat al-nabīh fī ayyām al-Manṣūr wa-banīh*, 3 vols., ed. M. M. Amīn (Cairo, 1986), 2: 89; Jean de Thévenot, a seventeenth-century visitor to Damascus, claims the site had formerly been occupied by the Church of St. Nicolas and that part of the mosque was converted or reused from the church structure (Wulzinger and Watzinger, *Damaskus*, 101). It is possible that Thévenot was influenced by the presence of a cloister-like court and the inclusion of spolia among the building materials, but none of the narratives about the Mosque of Tankiz refer to this church.
12 Ismāʿīl ibn ʿUmar ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa 'l-nihāya fī 'l-tārīkh*, 16 vols., (Cairo, 1932–39), 14: 81.
13 Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*, ed. Aḥmad Zakī Pasha (Cairo, 1924), 193.
14 Ibn Habib, *Tadhkirat al-Nabih*, 2: 89.

15 Talas mentions a marble sundial (*mazwala*) on the façade between the two doors (ʿAbd al-Hadi, *Thimar al-maqasid*, appendix, 202).
16 Wulzinger and Watzinger, *Damaskus*, 58.
17 For a genealogy of such multiple fan portals, see Eva Baer, "Mamluk Art and its Clientele: a Speculation," *Assaph* 8 (2003), 49–70, esp. 57.
18 Sauvaget, *Monuments*, 68–69, no. 41. Here Sauvaget gives no description, but in a note he provided Mayer, he amplifies: "Porte sud de la Mosquée. Peinte sur la voûte (diam. O m., 25 env.) [9 5/6″]. Coupe réservée en blanc sur fond rouge" (Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry*, 223). See also Selim Abdul-Hak, *Aspects de l'ancienne Damas*, (Damascus, n.d.), 106: "The vaults of the two gates show the coat of arms of the founder."
19 In keeping with Syrian tradition, the large minbar to the west of the mihrab is constructed of stone and built into the qibla wall. On the use of stone minbars, see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn. (Leiden, 1954–2005), s.v. "minbar." On the conventions for the minbar in Cairo during this period, see Gloria S. Karnouk, "Form and Ornament of the Cairene Bahri Minbar," *Annales Islamologiques* 17 (1981), 113–40.
20 Compared with other elements of this mihrab, the marble spandrel mosaic appears to be in relatively good condition, and one is inclined to agree with Wulzinger and Watzinger that the frame of the mihrab may be reworked (*Damaskus*, 58); however, see below for a comparison of this pattern with that of the adjacent mausoleum of Tankiz.
21 Below this band, the Department of Antiquities' photographs show the niche is simply plastered, but Wulzinger's earlier photograph shows an elongated arcade of vertical *ablaq* panels with trilobed heads, corresponding to the miniature arcade above. Along the base of the niche there appears to have been a broad horizontal band with a row of polylobed medallions. However, whether these lost motifs were executed in marble or paint is impossible to ascertain from the photograph.
22 Sauvaget indicates that the mosaic had been painted over in parts (*Monuments*, 68–69); see also Talas, *Thimar al-maqasid*, 202. The photographs reveal several patches where the design is altogether lost, but are not clear enough to identify possible areas of in-painting.
23 ʿUmari *Masalik*, 193; see also, K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture* (2 vols, rev. ed. Oxford, 1952–59), 1/1: 237. On one of the subsequent conflagrations, see Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "The Fire of 884/1479 at the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus and an Account of Its Restoration," *Mamluk Studies Review* 8/1 (2004), 279–98.
24 F. Barry Flood, "Umayyad Survivals and Mamluk Revivals: Qalawunid Architecture and the Great Mosque of Damascus," *Muqarnas* 14 (1997), 57–79; Kenney, *Power*, 215–20; idem, "Mixed Metaphors: Iconography and Medium in Mamluk Glass Mosaic Decoration," *Artibus Asiae* 66/2 (2006), 175–200.
25 Wulzinger and Watzinger, *Damaskus*, 58.
26 On the minaret, see Duhman, *Wulat*, 168; Wulzinger and Watzinger, *Damaskus*, 69; Sauvaget, *Monuments*, 69; Michael Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien*, 2 vols. (Gluckstadt, 1992), 1: 189ff; Michel Ecochard, "Travaux de restauration de quelques monuments syriens," *Revue des Etudes Islamiques* 53 (1985), 91ff.
27 The Bab al-Silsila minaret in Jerusalem (1329–30), and the minaret called Mi'dhanat ʿIsa at the Umayyad mosque in Damascus (1340).
28 The mausoleum was repaired during the first half of the last century. For the south dome, these repairs involved the replastering of the surfaces. It may be that the remains of the transition zone of the north dome shown in the drawings were removed during these operations.
29 On the development of various double-domed mausoleum types, see Sabri Jarrar, "Suq al-Maʿrifa: an Ayyubid Hanbalite Shrine in al-Haram al-Sharif," *Muqarnas* 15 (1998), 71–100.
30 For example, the Madrasa Jarkasiyya, founded by 1211 for the emir Fakhr al-Din Jaharkas al-ʿAdili al-Nasiri, was augmented with a second chamber, for a later burial (Ernst Herzfeld, "Damascus: Studies in Architecture," *Ars Islamica* 9 [1942], 50).
31 In Cairo, the twin mausoleums of Salar and Sanjar (1303–4), share a similar disposition along a narrow corridor (Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic Architecture in Cairo. An Introduction*, [Leiden/New York, 1989], 101ff.). In some cases, only one of the two chambers serves a funerary

purpose, while the other functions as a prayer hall or Koran school, as is the case at the funerary *ribat* (Sufi foundation, hospice) that Tankiz erected for his wife several years later (Kenney, *Power*, 61–66). However, there is no evidence that the double-domed mausoleum of Tankiz functioned as a dual-purpose building.

32 Muḥammad ibn Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn ibn Tankiz Taqiyy al-Dīn ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Tā-rī-kh* 4 vols., ed. ʿAdnān Darwīsh, (Damascus, 1977–94), 4: 136.

33 The *shahade* refers to the tenet of Islam that 'there is no deity but God and Muhammad is his Prophet.'

34 Flood, "Umayyad Survivals," 57–79.

35 Nasser Rabbat, "Perception of Architecture in Mamluk Sources," *Mamluk Studies Review* 6 (2002), 155–76.

36 al-ʿIlmawi (Sauvaire, "Description," 11, 237–38).

37 This took place three years after his death (Ibn Kathir, *Bidaya*, 14: 211; Ibn Qadi Shuhba, *Tarikh*, 2: 360; ʿAbd al-Qādir ibn Muḥammad Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris fī tārīikh al-madāris*, 2 vols., ed. Jaʿfar al-Ḥasanī (Cairo, 1948), 2: 238).

38 Ibn Qadi Shuhba, *Tarikh* 2: 360.

39 Sauvaire, "Description," 11: 237 and 293.

40 Muḥammad ibn Muḥ. Ibn Sasra, *A Chronicle of Damascus, 1389–1397*, 2 vols., ed. and trans. William M. Brinner (Berkeley, 1963). William Brinner, "The Banu Sasra: A Study on the Transmission of a Scholarly Tradition," *Studia Islamica* 7 (1960), 167–95. On the Mintashi revolt, see Robert Irwin, "Tribal Feuding and Mamluk Factions in Medieval Syria," in ed. Chase F. Robinson, *Texts, Documents and Artefacts – Islamic Studies in Honour of D. S. Richards*, (Leiden, 2003), 251–64, especially 258–63.

41 Ibn Sasra, *A Chronicle of Damascus*, 114.

42 Ibid., 118.

43 Ibid., 154.

44 It was he who made the appointments of its personnel (Ibn Qadi Shuhba, *Tarikh*, 3: 469).

45 Public confidence was restored only after Mintash's head was paraded around the city on a spear (Ibn Sasra, *A Chronicle of Damascus*, 186–87).

46 Ibid., 154.

47 Ibid., 169.

48 This reading makes more sense in context than Brinner's "embroidered textile," because the other items listed here are either structural or applied architectural decoration, rather than accoutrements – which are listed in the next passage.

49 Ibn Sasra, *A Chronicle of Damascus*, 178.

50 Ibid., "The lamps, trays, chandeliers, reed mats, rugs, and whatever was needed for the mosque. The cymbals were clashed for him, and the people, the caliphal banners, the preacher of the mosque in black vestments, and the muezzins went before him; and the people rejoiced. The number of porters was eighty, with three bands of porters bearing lamps. It was a day witnessed by many, and no one had ever seen anyone of nobler ambition or greater intelligence than he." 179)

51 Ibid., 178–80.

52 Ibn Qadi Shuhba, *Tarikh*, 3: 374.

53 Ibid. 3: 426 and 464. Other details that Ibn Qadi Shuhba mentions are the *rabʿa* (section of the Koran) and other Koran volumes carried in the procession, the reconstruction, plus work on the arcades (*riwaq*s), and the fact that the bath rented for 33 *dirham*s a day.

54 Regarding the use of the term "*naranj*," see Ibn Sasra, *A Chronicle of Damascus*, 118 n. 710; see also Guy Le Strange, *Palestine Under the Moslems: A Description of Syria and the Holy Land from AD 650 to 1500*, (London, 1890), 228; al-Muqaddasi (985) describes the dome of the Umayyad mosque in Damascus as "an orange surmounted by a pomegranate, both being of gold" (cited in K. A. C. Creswell, *A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture*, [rev. ed., Aldershot, 1989], 52). It is conceivable that Ibn Sasra is making an allusion to the Umayyad mosque by using this term: cf. the allusive use of the term *nasr* as discussed in Lorenz Korn, "Moments of Exoticism

in Mamluk Architecture," in ed. A. Hagedorn, *The Phenomenon of "Foreign" in Oriental Art*, (Wiesbaden, 2006), 103–15.

55 Ibn Sasra, *A Chronicle of Damascus*, 1: 178.

56 Ibn Qadi Shuhba, *Tarikh*, 3: 515.

57 This façade was not accessible to me, but is recorded in this photograph and in Ecochard's elevation, "Travaux," 87.

58 I did not gain access to this part of the building, so was unable to document this inscription, which is unpublished. Duhman mentions its presence, and notes that it bears "the name of the builder", *Wulat*, 168.

59 Sauvaget, *Monuments*, 69. He claims that this was the earliest instance of exterior blue faience inlay in Damascus, but here makes no reference to the fact that the upper shaft of the minaret was a later addition.

60 Ecochard, "Travaux," 87–91.

61 The minaret inscriptions are unpublished. Because of the difficulty of photographing the minaret shaft from all angles, I have only been able to document portions of them. The upper inscription bears Koran 3:18, the visible portion running from "*al-mala'ika*" to the "al-" of "*al-ʿaziz.*" The lower inscription bears Kuran 2:255. I am very grateful to Stefan Heidemann for helping me with this reading. For an idea of some of the favoured Koranic passages for minaret inscriptions in Cairo, see Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *The Minarets of Cairo*, (London, 2010), 73–4, 240, 262, 283.

62 The double stair is mentioned in Duhman, *Wulat*, 168, and also in an archived letter from the Department of Antiquities (May 26th 1946, no. 34). It seems that this feature may not have been characteristic in Cairo at this time, because of the four Cairene examples cited by Doris Behrens-Abouseif (Qaytbay's and al-Ghawri's minarets at al-Azhar, at the mosque of Azbak al-Yusufi [1494–5], and the madrasa of Khayrbak [1502–21]), all date much later than this reconstruction (*Minarets*, 51, where she attributes this feature to Anatolian influence; *Cairo of the Mamluks: A History of the Architecture and Its Culture* [Cairo, 2007], 80).

63 Ecochard, "Travaux," 91.

64 Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 67.

65 Meinecke, *Die Mamlukische Architektur*, 1: 189 ff.

66 For example, at the madrasa of Umm al-Sultan Shaʿban, Khawand Baraka (1368–69), the minaret has three courses of octagonal shafts, with its top reconstructed; at the madrasa of Uljay al-Yusufi (1373), the minaret form is octagon–cylinder–octagon, and at the funerary complex of Barquq (1384–86), the form is again octagonal (*Cairo of the Mamluks*, 77–80, and 218–30).

67 The text of Tankiz's foundation in Jerusalem is published in Kāmil al-ʿAsalī, *Wathā'iq maqdisiyya tārīkhiyya maʿa muqaddima ḥawla ba ʿḍ al-maṣādir al-awwaliyya li-tārīkh al-Quds*, (Amman, 1983), 105–24. The provisions of this *waqf* are discussed in Kenney, *Power*, 108.

68 She first married Emir Manjaq (Ahmad ʿAbd al-Raziq, *La femme au temps des Mamlouks en Egypte*, (Cairo, 1973), 283, no. 85).

69 Qutlughmalik first married Emir Ahmad, son of Baktimur al-Saqi (ʿAbd al-Raziq, *La Femme*, 291, no. 130).

70 Heinze Halm, *Ägypten nach den mamlukischen Lehenregistern*, (Wiesbaden, 1979), 169.

71 Robert Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages*: *The Early Mamluk Sultanate, 1250–1382*, (Carbondale, 1986), 139. On the filial relations and affiliation in general during this period, see D. S. Richards, "Mamluk Amirs and Their Families and Households," in eds. Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann, *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society*, (Cambridge, 1998), 32–54.

72 Ulrich Haarmann, "Review: Peter M. Holt, *The Age of the Crusades. The Near East from the Eleventh Century to 1517*, and Robert Irwin, "The Middle East in the Middle Ages," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 32 (1987), 383; Stephan Conermann and Suad Saghbini, "Awlād al-Nās as Founders of Pious Endowments: The Waqfiyah of Yah'ya ibn Tughan al-Hasani of the Year 870/1465," *Mamluk Studies Review* 6 (2002), 25.

73 Ibn Qadi Shuhba, *Tarikh*, 3: 109.

74 Ibid., 4: 541.

Bernard O’Kane

James Wild and the Mosque of Bashtak, Cairo

Cairo is fortunate in that the foundation of the Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l’Art Arabe in 1881 led to the early documentation and preservation of many of Cairo’s most important buildings. Even before their work, however, starting from the famous *Description de l’Egypte*, a number of Europeans had recorded the monuments with varying degrees of enthusiasm, thoroughness, and accuracy, either through drawings (such as Pascal Coste and Jules Bourgoin) or through photography (Francis Frith and Lekegian). This article makes use of unpublished material from one such collection, that of the architect James Wild in the Victoria and Albert Museum, of whom more is said below.

In 1866, Mustafa Fadil, the brother of the Khedive Ismaʿil (d. 1895), the reigning viceroy of Egypt, was exiled to Paris from Istanbul, having been critical of the Ottoman powers who had issued a decree (*firman)* authorizing his brother to restrict the khedival succession to Ismaʿil’s direct descendants (thus eliminating Mustafa Fadil as a candidate).[1] Earlier, in 1851, Mustafa Fadil had acquired two palaces in Cairo at Darb al-Jamamiz, on the edge of Birkat al-Fil, one of which was beside the mosque that the emir Bashtak had built in 1377.[2] Mustafa Fadil’s mother, Ulfat Hanim, was presumably living there in 1863–64 when she, on behalf of her son, with the exception of the portal and its minaret, knocked down the mosque of Bashtak adjacent to the palace and built a new mosque. In addition, she erected a *sabil* (public water dispensary) across the road from the mosque,[3] on the spot where Bashtak had erected a *khanqah* (monastery for Sufis) that was joined to his mosque by means of an elevated passage *(sabat)*. Both Mustafa Fadil and his mother were buried in a tomb that was added to the mosque in 1878.[4]

The nineteenth-century mosque is of no great architectural interest, but the remaining Mamluk portal and minaret have been recognised as outstanding works of architecture. The undulating zone of transition that characterises many stone domes from the period of Faraj ibn Barquq (d. 1412) onwards appears in Cairo for the first time at the base of the minaret. The inscriptions on the minaret begin, surprisingly, not at the front of the mosque, but at the side facing Birkat al-Fil, a suggestion, as Doris Behrens-Abouseif has noted, of the substantial urbanisation

Figure 1: Portal of the mosque of Bashtak.

even of the side away from the street.[5] The portal's dripping muqarnas decoration (fig. 1), leading to a coffered decagonal rosette, ranks it, along with those of its contemporaries at the mosque of Ulmas and the palace of Qawsun, as among the finest examples of Mamluk vaulting.[6]

Fortunately, before its destruction, detailed notes and drawings of many parts of the building were made by the British architect James Wild, who was resident in Cairo from 1842 to 1847. Wild, born in 1814, was an established architect before his arrival in Egypt, having already been responsible for the design of six churches.[7] He had married Isabella Jones, the sister of Owen Jones, author of *The Grammar of Ornament*, in 1841, a year before coming to Egypt as a draughtsman for Karl

Lepsius's Prussian expedition. In Cairo, he and another member of the expedition, the English architect Joseph Bonomi, soon became frequent visitors to the Orientalist Edward Lane and his circle of friends,[8] with Wild presumably acquiring a modicum of Arabic in the process that would have helped him in his visits to the religious monuments. Wild's obituary in *The Art Journal* details the necessarily clandestine nature of these visits; when drawing under an umbrella was insufficient to afford the necessary attention to detail, he noted the objects he wished to copy, "prepared his dampened paper for squeezes, and in the darkness set forth and obtained impressions with… perfect exactness of details."[9] The exactness of detail in some of the drawings may well have come from squeezes, although a more important factor may have been the mosque's location on the then outskirts of Cairo; its isolation would have given Wild an opportunity to work unobserved, or perhaps to be admitted when it was not open to the public, after coming to an arrangement with its custodian. The Victoria and Albert Museum owns forty-seven drawings and around a dozen sketchbooks that Wild made of Islamic architecture in Cairo, donated by Wild's daughter in 1938. Some of them supplied the details for the ornamentation of the Anglican Church of St. George in Alexandria, built in an unusual combination of early Christian and later Islamic styles.[10] Many of the Islamic monuments that he drew are still standing, but fortunately he devoted thirty-two pages of one sketchbook, more than for any other religious building,[11] to the mosque of Bashtak.

Before reviewing the evidence for the original building, I will give a brief account of the founder.[12] Ibn Hajar al-ʿAsqalani begins his account of Bashtak by noting that he was a slender, handsome youth with whom al-Nasir Muhammad (d. 1341) was infatuated. This would certainly explain the preferment under the sultan; in fact, the purchase of Bashtak as a slave in the first place may have been due to his beauty, as al-Nasir Muhammad had asked his merchant, Majd al-Din al-Sallami, to bring him back a *mamluk* who looked like the Ilkhanid ruler Abu Saʿid (d. 1335).[13] Bashtak was a seller of drinks, i.e. a free man rather than a *mamluk*, before he was purchased, so his traditional *mamluk* training was curtailed and he was able to rise quickly through the ranks, becoming emir of one hundred in 1327 and commander of a thousand in 1331.[14]

Ironically, in view of the great rivalry that later developed between them, Bashtak was first put under the tutelage of Emir Qawsun.[15] In 1332, al-Nasir Muhammad arranged the death of the most senior Mamluk emir, Baktamur; Bashtak inherited his land estate (*iqtaʿ*s), as well as his palace, his stables, and his wife, whereas Qawsun only received his armoury (*zardakhana*). This arrangement, which had to be kept secret from Qawsun in order to prevent his envy, was engineered by al-Nasir Muhammad in an effort to prevent Qawsun from becoming too powerful.[16]

By the time al-Nasir Muhammad was on his deathbed in 1341, Bashtak and Qawsun were positioning themselves to succeed him. Bashtak had earlier favoured

the succession of al-Nasir's eldest son, Ahmad, who was in exile at Karak, but on his deathbed al-Nasir Muhammad got Bashtak and Qawsun to agree on a younger son, Abu Bakr, who turned out to be no more than a figurehead. Qawsun moved rapidly: three weeks later he obtained Abu Bakr's permission to arrest Bashtak. Bashtak was sent to Alexandria, where he was put to death. Surprisingly, his body was returned to Cairo and later buried in the complex of Salar and Sanjar in 1347–48.[17]

In 1332, Bashtak had acquired a prime building site in Cairo, the palace of Baktash, north of the old Fatimid palace, and set about destroying it and building himself an even more magnificent dwelling on its site. The part that remains contains one of Cairo's most magnificent reception halls (*qaʿa*), both in terms of size and decoration, and enables us to gauge the quality of his patronage.[18]

Maqrizi gives detailed information on the mosque and *khanqah*, in part based on an earlier account by al-Yusufi:[19]

> "This congregational mosque [*jamiʿ*] is outside Cairo on Qabw al-Kirmani street on Birkat al-Fil. The emir Bashtak founded it and it was finished in Shaʿban 736 [March/April 1336]. Its sermon [*khutba*] was [first] given by Taj al-Din ʿAbd al-Rahim ibn Qadi 'l-Quda Jalal al-Din al-Qazwini on Friday 17th [of that month] [31 March 1336].[20] He also founded opposite it a *khanqah* on the Great Canal, and arranged for a covered passageway (*sabat*) leading from one to the other. A group of Franks and Copts was living in this street who perpetrated abominations, as is their wont. But when the mosque was built and the calls to prayer began to be announced, they were disgusted, and left the area. This is one of the most splendid mosques in the city with respect to its attractiveness, decoration, use of marble, and outstanding beauty."[21]

Regarding the *khanqah*, Maqrizi adds:

> "This *khanqah* is outside Cairo on the eastern bank of the canal, opposite the mosque of Bashtak. The emir Sayf al-Din Bashtak al-Nasiri founded it. Its inauguration was on 1 Dhu'l-Hijja 736 [19th July 1336]. Shihab al-Din Qudsi was appointed as its shaykh, and a number of Sufis were established, who received bread and meat every day. That lasted for some time then was cancelled; and a sum of money was substituted instead. The building is [still] inhabited at present by a group [of Sufis]. Its renowned scholarly shaykh is Badr al-Din Muhammad ibn Ibrahim, known as Badr al-Bashtaki."[22]

The anonymous chronicle edited by K.V. Zetersteen adds that it accommodated fifty Sufis.[23]

The dates given in this account are contradicted by the inscription at the entrance to the minaret, which says that it was started at the beginning of Ramadan 736/13th April 1336 and completed at the end of Rajab in the year 737/4th March 1337.

To what degree can we rely on Wild's drawings for an accurate reconstruction of the mosque? Fortunately, since the original portal and minaret are extant, we can compare his drawing with what remains. As figure 2 shows, his freehand drawing of the extraordinarily complicated muqarnas of the portal is remarkably accurate. The same applies to the minaret; in fact, his drawing, made of course before the Comité was active in restoration, is sufficiently detailed to show that the unusual arrangement of the solid third storey and upper bulb was original, as Doris Behrens-Abouseif had earlier suspected.[24]

By combining several of the pages in the sketchbook, it is possible to reconstruct most of the plan and elevation of the original with some accuracy (figs. 3, 4).[25] It

Figure 2: James Wild, drawing of vault of entrance portal of mosque, notebook 91 A. 78, Prints and Drawings Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, ff. 20b–21a, compared with its extant form.

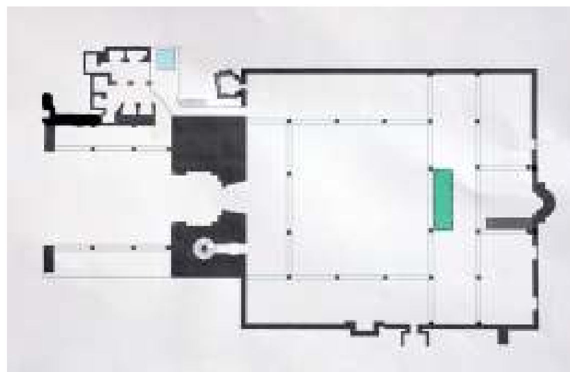

Figure 3: Sketch reconstruction of plan of mosque of Bashtak.

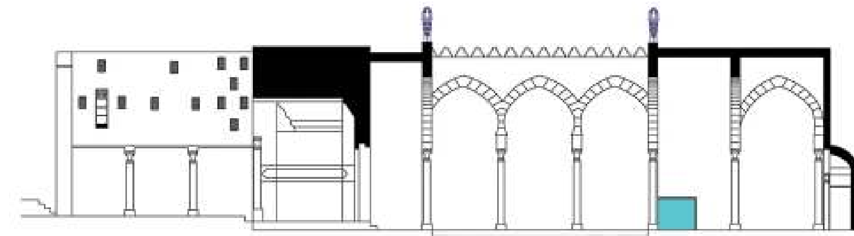

Figure 4: Sketch reconstruction of elevation of mosque of Bashtak.

was, like many others of its time, hypostyle in plan, a matter that we will return to later. There were two bays on the qibla side and one on the remaining three sides. One question that cannot be resolved with certainty from the drawings is whether there was a dome in front of the mihrab. The only reason to suspect that there was one is that this bay is the only one in the qibla area to have arches perpendicular instead of parallel to the qibla. However, the lack of any notation of such a feature in Wild's otherwise fairly comprehensive set of drawings argues against it.

Perhaps the most intriguing feature is the drawing of the *sabat*, the elevated passageway connecting the mosque with the *khanqah*, although this also raises problems. The first is that the structure, when recorded by Wild in the1840s, may not have been complete. As shown, it stops where, today, the street outside begins; across the 6.5-metre distance of the street now is the *sabil* of Ulfat Hanim that was approximately on the site of the *khanqah*.[26] We should, therefore, bear in mind that the original *sabat* was probably longer.

The second problem is that, on Wild's sketch plan, a *sabat* is shown as projecting from both sides of the doorway (fig. 5). The historical sources mentioned above give no indication of a double *sabat* here. Given the dearth of either surviving examples or historical references,[27] it is hard to be sure whether this symmetrical arrangement was as unusual as it seems. The third surprise is the irregular pattern of fenestration (fig. 6). Could this be due, as has been suggested, to a later Ottoman restoration?[28] One might expect symmetry, whether it was a Mamluk or an Ottoman structure. An identical arrangement of fenestration on another *sabat* on the opposite side would have provided one measure of symmetry, of course, but each wall in itself would have remained asymmetrical. The one remaining *sabat* in Cairo, that at the later complex of Qijmas al-Ishaqi, does have irregular fenestration, but it was not wide enough to generate a pattern in any case. From the clusters of windows of the *sabat* depicted in Wild's drawing, it looks as if there were two living units at either end. These were probably in two storeys, comparable to those in other Mamluk religious complexes and apartment buildings (*rab*ʿ), or less likely, could conceivably have been two separate cells on two storeys. In between these clusters there is one group of two windows in a vertical line, and another isolated

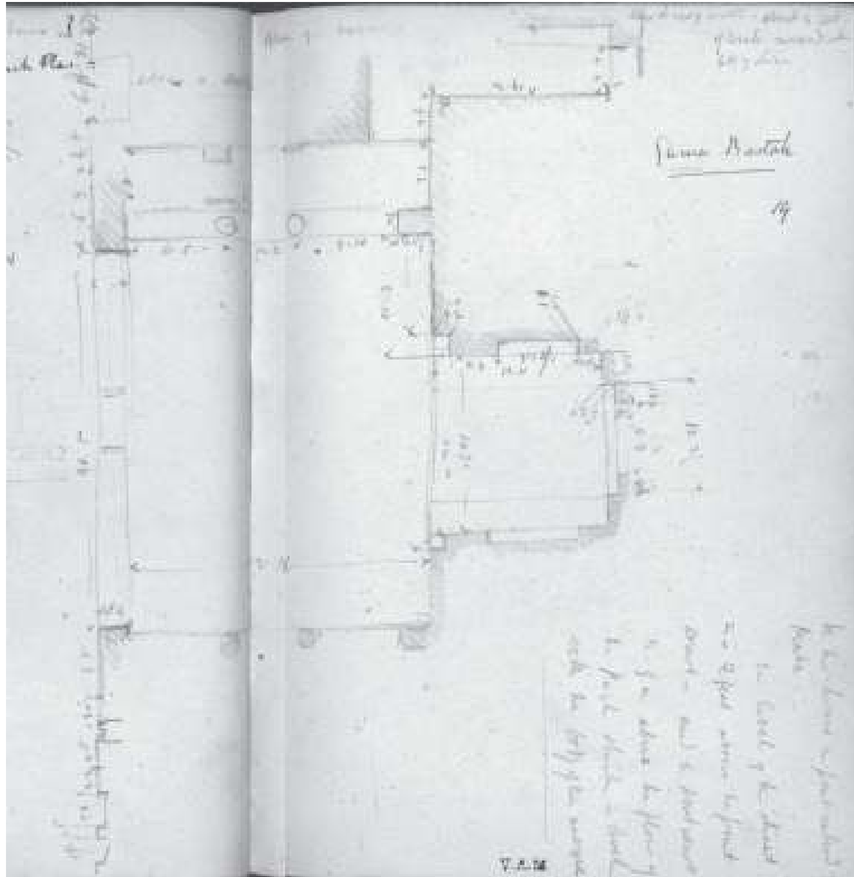

Figure 5: James Wild, plan of forecourt of mosque.

window, perhaps annexes to the previous units or storage rooms. We do not have enough information to be sure of interpreting it accurately, but it suggests that, as usual in Mamluk architecture, as little space as possible was wasted, with the corridor between the mosque and *khanqah* opening on to living or storage units.

Wild's drawing of the interior plan (fig. 7) shows that it was hypostyle, with two bays on the qibla side and one bay on the other three sides. The courtyard was square, with three bays on each side. Two drawings show elevations of these arches (fig. 8); they were bichrome (*ablaq* or *mushahhar*[29]) and horseshoe-shaped. At the top of the courtyard wall were stepped crenellations, and at each corner of the courtyard was a finial, consisting of a miniature fluted dome supported on three tiers of muqarnas, rising from a square base. These are similar (although not identical) to those known from the mosque of al-Nasir Muhammad at the Citadel

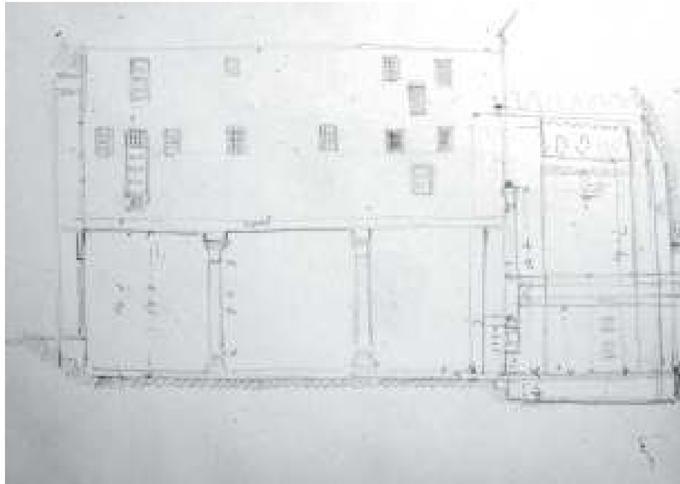

Figure 6: James Wild, elevation of forecourt of mosque.

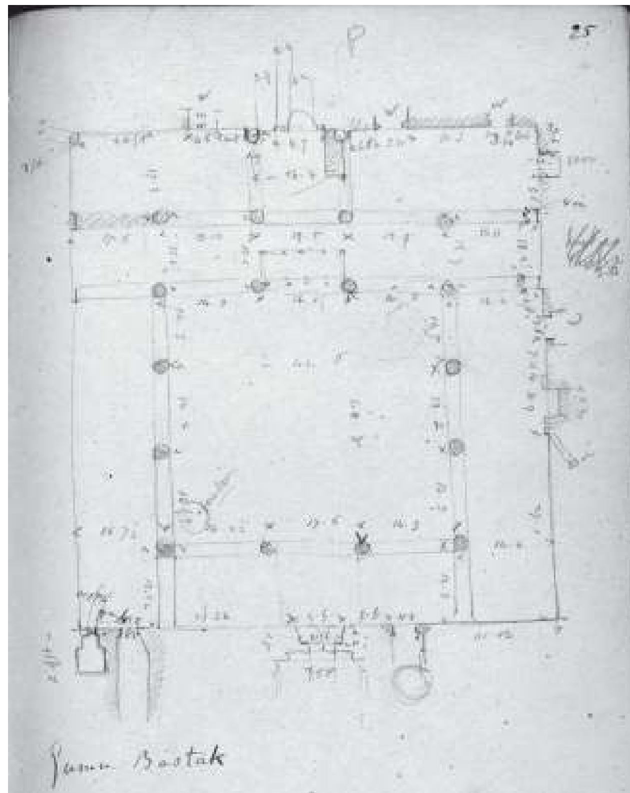

Figure 7: James Wild, plan of interior of mosque.

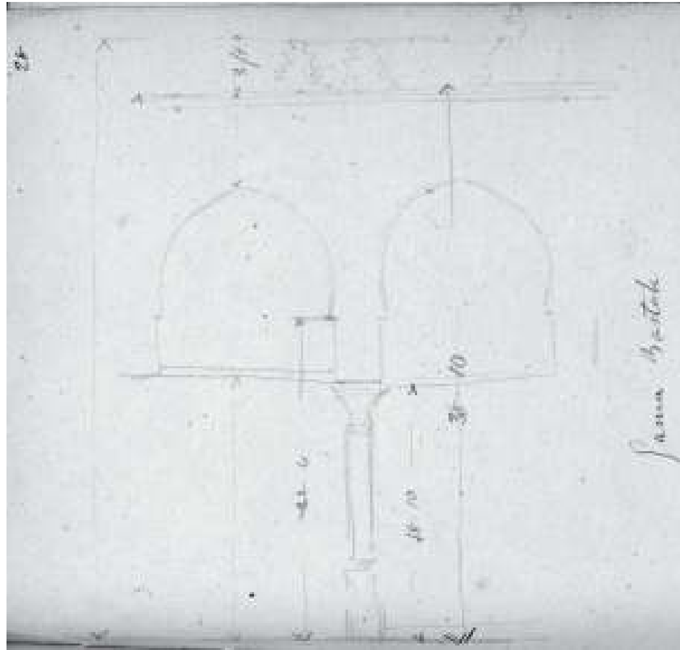

Figure 8: James Wild, elevation of courtyard of mosque.

and that of al-Maridani. The only purpose that has been suggested for them is as bases on which to anchor awnings held by ropes that could have provided shade for the courtyard.[30] However, the lateral stresses caused by such awnings would have been considerable, and since the finials (at Basktak and the other two examples) are not anchored at the base of the wall but rest on top of the crenellations, they are unlikely to have been able to support such stresses. A solely decorative role for them is more likely.

Wild also drew some of the varieties of columns, column bases and capitals to be found around the courtyard,[31] showing that, as was quite normal in the Mamluk period, all of these elements were reused. Wild was evidently very impressed by the decoration of painted wood used on the ceiling, since he devoted many pages of his notebook to it (ff. 29b–34a). One of these is interesting in showing the name ʿAli arranged in a series of triangles, with the word alternately inverted (fig. 9).[32] The *lam* and *ya'* are in the form of straight lines, almost, but not quite, like square Kufic. This is not a common treatment of the word in Cairo, although parallels are to be found at the *zawiya* of Shaykh Zayn al-Din Yusuf (1298),[33] where hexagons in the zone of transition of the domed tomb of the founder each contain three interlocking ʿAlis (fig. 10), and on the painted ceiling of the reception hall (*qaʿa*) of Ahmad Kuhya (before 749/1348–49),[34] also in a hexagonal pattern (figs. 13, 14).

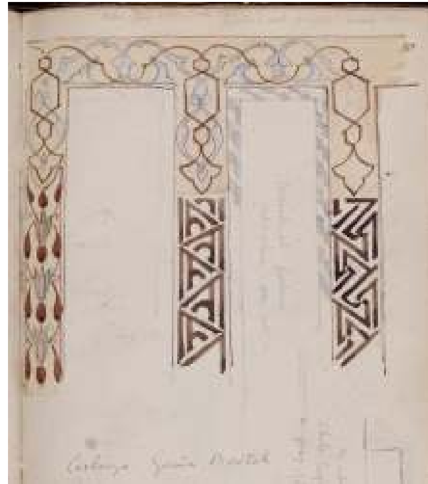

Figure 9: James Wild, detail of painting on ceiling.

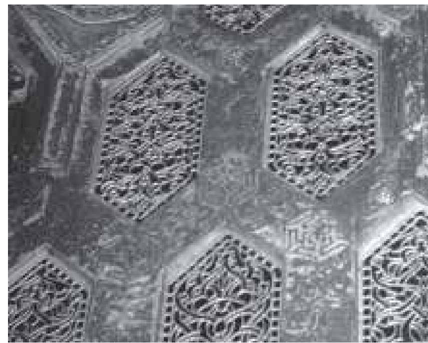

Figure 10: Shrine of Shaykh Zayn al-Din Yusuf Shrine (1298), detail of zone of transition in mausoleum.

There is no evidence that the ʿAdawiyya order of Sufis, to which those in the *zawiya* of Shaykh Zayn al-Din Yusuf belonged, were anything other than Sunni,[35] so this and its other manifestations can merely be seen as reverence for the fourth Sunni caliph.[36]

The details that Wild gave of other motifs range from the expected to the unusual. The overall scheme and many of the details are closely paralleled in the ceiling of the *qaʿa* of Ahmad Kuhya (figs. 13, 14). Both had crossbeams alternating with recessed panels. The initial portion of each crossbeam was decorated with an arabesque pattern at the edges identical to that of the framing beams, an effect that earned Wild's approval: "It is noticeable the manner in which the crossbeams are united with the beams parallel to the wall in [the] ceiling – a certain portion

Figure 11: James Wild, detail of painting on ceiling.

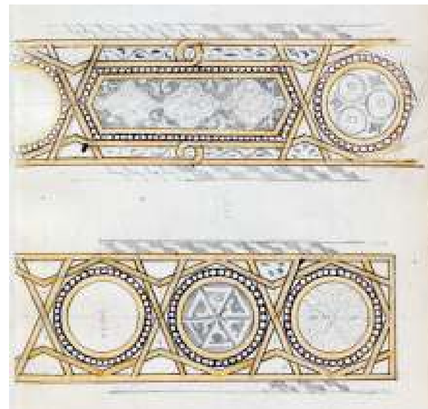

Figure 12: James Wild, detail of painting on ceiling.

of each end – along with the pattern of the wall beam."[37] The remainder of each crossbeam was decorated with a simpler repeating pattern that could be geometric (like the interlocking ʿAlis mentioned above) or vegetal. One of the geometric patterns, a series of interlocking Zs, is present almost identically at both Bashtak and Kuhya (figs. 11, 13). Both also have display cartouches with pointed ends, filled with arabesques. One of Wild's drawings shows a motif that seems to be a simplified version of the Pharaonic lotus (fig. 15). There is also a more colour-

Figure 13: Hall of Ahmad Kuhya (ca. 1325–45), painted wooden ceiling.

Figure 14: Hall of Ahmad Kuhya (ca. 1325–45), detail of painted wooden ceiling.

ful drawing of a shorter, more stylised version of this Pharaonic lotus motif, with the three-pointed flowers depicted in red, green, blue, and black and white, arranged in a pattern of triangles, the alternating placement of which fits perfectly within a narrow border (fig. 11). One might question Wild's accuracy here, since the usual interpretation of ancient Egyptian borrowings in Mamluk art is that they did not occur before their appearance in carpets of the late fifteenth or early six-

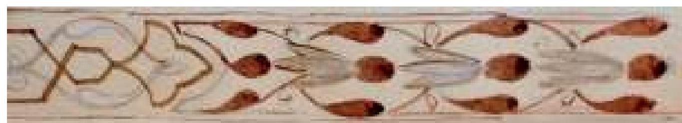

Figure 15: James Wild, from his notebook.

Figure 16: Mosque of Aqsunqur (1346–7), detail of stone minbar.

teenth century. However, we find both these motifs on the Ahmad Kuhya ceiling mentioned above, the longer lotus flowers in the cartouches between the beams, and the shorter three-pointed leaves on one of the connecting beams (fig. 13). The same three-pointed lotus leaves are also found as a fill-in design on one of the three interweaving arabesque patterns on the carved stone balustrade of the minbar of the mosque of Aqsunqur (1346–47, fig. 16).[38]

Another drawing of the ceiling by Wild (fig. 12) shows medallions surrounded by interlacing bands forming octagons. The identical scheme is found again on the ceiling of Ahmad Kuhya (fig. 14), although there the three-*ʿAli* motif replaces the stylised version of the design found at Bashtak.

Next to the ceiling, Wild reserved the largest collection of drawings (ff. 40b–43a) for the *dikka*, a tribune raised upon columns; it is described in waqf documents as *dikkat al-mu'adhdhinin*, indicating that it was use by the muezzin to perform the *iqama*, performed within the mosque. This is not surprising, as it must have been the finest example of its kind in Cairo. Stone *dikka*s are known at the mosques of al-Maridani, Sultan Hasan, and Shaykhu, but only at the latter is the balustrade decorated, with a surrounding inscription, arabesque panels and medallions. At Bashtak the decoration was even more elaborate, with an openwork arabesque all the way around the balustrade, bordered by two different foliate patterns. The narrow sides of the balustrade had a large arabesque pattern in one band (fig. 18); those on the long side were probably in two registers, a smaller arabesque at the bottom and a series of trefoils at the top (fig. 17). Wild's notes to this drawing read, "part

Figure 17: James Wild, detail of *dikka*.

Figure 18: James Wild, detail of *dikka*.

of the balcony of the *dekka*," "broken at the top," and "front red with white lines spandrels green." It is quite possible that the marble or stone was painted to bring out the different patterns, although whether this was the original colour scheme is impossible to determine.[39] The *dikka* was clearly a masterpiece of stone carving, belonging to the Cairene tradition that included the screens of the complex of Salar and Sanjar, the less well-known ones of the courtyard of the mosque of al-Maridani, and the balustrade of the minbar of the mosque of Aqsunqur (fig. 15).

The mosque of Bashtak is one of many hypostyle Friday mosques that were built during the reign of al-Nasir Muhammad. The others include three by al-Nasir Muhammad himself (two, the Jamiʿ Nasiri – also called al-Jamiʿ al-Jadid – north of Fustat[40] and another *jamiʿ* near the shrine of Sayyida Nafisa,[41] have not survived; the third is that at the Citadel), and several by his emirs: Husayn (1319),[42] Qawsun (1329), Ulmas (1329), al-Maridani (1337–39), and one by the chief of his

harem, Sitt Miska (1345). Doris Behrens-Abouseif has estimated the number of new congregational mosques in the period of al-Nasir Muhammad's third reign as around thirty.[43] Commentators have noted that this indicates al-Nasir Muhammad's love of building as well as his concern for urban expansion, and that his concern for building congregational mosques rather than the madrasas of his predecessors may reflect his desire to be seen as a ruler in the caliphal tradition.[44]

Reflecting its location on the outskirts of Cairo and the smaller population to which it would have catered, Bashtak's mosque was one of the smallest of this group. But Maqrizi's description of it as "one of the most splendid mosques in the city with respect to its attractiveness, decoration, use of marble, and outstanding beauty"[45] was not mere hyperbole, as its extant majestic portal and Wild's drawings of the exquisite decoration of its ceiling and *dikka* affirm. It conceded little to its larger rivals in terms of architectural splendour.

Illustrations (with image credit)

Figure 1: Portal of the mosque of Bashtak. (Photo by the author)
Figure 2: James Wild, drawing of vault of entrance portal of mosque, notebook 91 A. 78, Prints and Drawings Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, ff. 20b–21a, compared with its extant form. (Photo by the author)
Figure 3: Sketch reconstruction of plan of mosque of Bashtak. (By the author)
Figure 4: Sketch reconstruction of elevation of mosque of Bashtak. (By the author)
Figure 5: James Wild, plan of forecourt of mosque. (Notebook 91 A. 78, Prints and Drawings Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, ff. 18b–19a)
Figure 6: James Wild, elevation of forecourt of mosque. (Notebook 91 A. 78, Prints and Drawings Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, f. 39b)
Figure 7: James Wild, plan of interior of mosque. (Notebook 91 A. 78, Prints and Drawings Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, f. 25a)
Figure 8: James Wild, elevation of courtyard of mosque. (Notebook 91 A. 78, Prints and Drawings Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, f. 28a)
Figure 9: James Wild, detail of painting on ceiling, notebook 91 A. 78. (Prints and Drawings Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, f. 30a)
Figure 10: Shrine of Shaykh Zayn al-Din Yusuf Shrine (1298), detail of zone of transition in mausoleum. (Photo by the author)
Figure 11: James Wild, detail of painting on ceiling, notebook 91 A. 78. (Prints and Drawings Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, f. Wild 31a)
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Figure 13: Hall of Ahmad Kuhya (ca. 1325–45), painted wooden ceiling. (Photo by the author)

Figure 14: Hall of Ahmad Kuhya (ca. 1325–45), detail of painted wooden ceiling. (Photo by the author)
Figure 15: James Wild, notebook 91 A. 78. (Prints and Drawings Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, f. 29b)
Figure 16: Mosque of Aqsunqur (1346–7), detail of stone minbar. (Photo by the author)
Figure 17: James Wild, detail of *dikka*, notebook 91 A. 78. (Prints and Drawings Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, f. 41a)
Figure 18: James Wild, detail of *dikka*, notebook 91 A. 78. (Prints and Drawings Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, f. 43a)

Notes

1 E. Kuran, "Muṣṭafā Fāḍil Pasha, Mıṣırlı," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn. (Leiden, 1954–2002), s.v.
2 ʿAbd al-Munṣif Sālim Najm, *Quṣūr al-umarāʿ wa 'l-bāshawāt fī madīnat al-Qāhira fī 'l-qarn al-tāsiʿ ʿashar: dirāsa tārīkhiyya wathā'iqiyya*, 2 vols. (Cairo, 2002) 1, 387. For a map showing the relation of the mosque of Bashtak to Birkat al-Fil see M. Georges Salmon, "Etudes sur la topographie du Caire : la Kalʿat al Kabch et la Birkat al-Fîl," *Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie orientale du Caire 7*, (Cairo, 1902), Pl. II. The palaces were later used in the winter of 1867–68 by ʿAli Mubarak as headquarters for his new educational initiative, see Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt*, (UC Press E-Books Collection, 1982–2004): http://publishing.cdlib.org/ucpressebooks/view?docId=ft587006k2&chunk.id=d0e1437&toc.depth=1&toc.id=d0e1437&brand=ucpress, 64.
3 The foundation inscriptions of the mosque and sabil are published in Robert Mantran, "Inscriptions turques ou de l'époque turque," *Annales Islamologiques* 11 (1972), 224–25.
4 Nicholas Warner, *The Monuments of Cairo*, (Cairo, 2005), 182: monuments U68 and U69.
5 Al-Harithy, "Patronage," 231, states that the inscription on the door of the minaret is dated 1326–7, but in fact it says it was begun in April – May 1336 and finished in February – March 1337.
6 Michael Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien (648/1250 bis 923/1517)*, *Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo. Islamische Reihe, 5* Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt*, (UC Press E-Books Collection, 1982–2004), 2 vols. (Glückstadt, 1992), 1: 93, Pl. 56c; Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 86.
7 Helen Dorey, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (online edn., accessed 30th June 2010), s.v. "Wild, James William (1814–1892)."
8 Jason Thompson, *Edward William Lane 1801–1876: The Life of the Pioneering Egyptologist and Orientalist*, (Cairo, 2010), 513.
9 T. P., "The Late Curator of Sir John Soane's Museum," *The Art Journal*, new series (1893), 120–21. The same source also relates how Wild was the first European to enter the Great Mosque of Damascus; even with a decree (*firman*) his command of Arabic language and dress was evidently necessary to do so in safety, ibid., 120.
10 Mark Crinson, "Leading into captivity: James Wild and his work in Egypt," *Georgian Group Journal* 5 (1995), 51–64; idem, *Empire Building: Orientalism and Victorian Architecture*, (London/New York, 1996), 98–123.
11 Most of the sketchbooks are devoted to domestic architecture, where of course he was able to draw at leisure, as opposed to the subterfuge that frequently had to be resorted to when sketching religious monuments.

12 Many primary and secondary sources give both overviews and details: al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa 'l-iʿtibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa 'l-āthār*, ed. Ayman Fu'ād al-Sayyid, 5 volumes, 3: 99–101; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina fī aʿyān al-mi'a al-thāmina*, 3 vols, 3: 477–9; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira fī mulūk miṣr wa 'l-qāhira*, 16 vols., (Cairo, 1963–71), 10: 18–20; Robert Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: The Early Mamluk Sultanate 1250–1382*, (London and Sydney, 1986), 125–26, 189–91; Jo Van Steenbergen, "Mamluk Elite on the Eve of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's Death (1341): A Look Behind the Scenes of Mamluk Politics," *Mamluk Studies Review* 9 (2005), 189–92.

13 Ibn Hajar, *Durar*, 478; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nujum*, 10: 19.

14 Levanoni, *Turning Point*, 35–36.

15 Ibn Hajar, *Durar*, 477.

16 Levanoni, *Turning Point*, 54; Jo Van Steenbergen, "The Amir Qawsun, Statesman or Courtier? (720–41 AH/1320–1341 AD)," in eds. U. Vermeulen and J. Van Steenbergen, *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras*, 3, (Leuven, 2001), 458.

17 al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-sulūk li-maʿrifat duwal al-mulūk*, eds. M. Ziyāda and S. ʿĀshshūr, 4 vols., (Cairo, 1934–72), 2: 748.

18 Jacques Revault and Bernard Maury, *Palais et maisons du Caire*, 2 vols., (Cairo, 1977), 2: 1–20.

19 *Nuzhat al-nāẓir fī sīrat al-Malik al-Nāṣir*, ed. Aḥmad Ḥuṭayṭ (Beirut, 1986), 381–82.

20 According to modern conversion tables this date was a Sunday. This does not imply, however, that Maqrizi was mistaken as conversion tables apply uniform rules to the Islamic year that can differ one or even two days from the correct date based on the appearance of the new moon.

21 Maqrizi, *Khitat*, ed. Sayyid, 4: 236–67.

22 Ibid., 4: 746.

23 K.V. Zetterstéen, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mamlukensultane in den Jahren 690–741 der Higra nach arabischen Handschriften*, (Leiden, 1919), 228.

24 Doris Behrens-Absouseif, *The Minarets of Cairo*, (Cairo, 1985), 82; she notes that Hasan ʿAbd al-Wahhab had claimed that it was restored when the rest of the mosque was demolished and rebuilt by Ulfat Hanim.

25 I am grateful to Rola Haroun for these drawings.

26 Most easily seen in Warner, *The Monuments of Cairo*, sheet 29.

27 M. M. Amin and Laila A. Ibrahim, *Historical Terms in Mamluk Documents (648–923H) (1250–1517)*, (Cairo, 1990), *sabāṭ* – refer to eleven examples, all of which use the term in the singular, 60–61.

28 I am grateful to Doris Behrens-Abouseif for raising this possibility during the symposium.

29 *Ablaq* is alternating black and white, *mushahhar* alternating red and white; for the definition of the latter see Nasser Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo: A New Interpretation of Royal Mamluk Architecture*, (Leiden, 1995), 267. The bichrome arrangement is shown in a drawing on f. 27a, not reproduced here.

30 Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 178.

31 *Notebook* 91 A. 78 (E.3837–1938), ff. 28b, 29a.

32 Wild's notation on the same page reads: "the sides of the beams white Kufic inscriptions on a grey (perhaps blue) ground."

33 The mausoleum is the earliest dated part of the shrine, with other inscriptions indicating that major work took place in 1325 and 1335–36 (Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 149–52). Although the mausoleum could theoretically have been redecorated at those later dates, its exterior wall, dating from the earliest period, is already finely decorated, and the form of the decoration of the mausoleum has nothing that suggests a later date.

34 This monument is usually dated, following its listing in the Comité's *Index of Muhammadan Monuments*, to 1310. However, Meinecke has suggested that the blazon visible in the ceiling was that of Baktut al-Qaramani, whose death in 1348–49 would give a terminus ante quem for the building: *Die mamlukische Architektur*, 2: 210. The detail of the decoration of the ceiling (fig. 12) shows chinoiserie lotus decoration, which did not enter the repertory of motifs in Mamluk art until after peaceful relations were established with the Mongols in the early 1320s: Rachel Ward, "Brass, Gold and Silver from Mamluk Egypt: Metal Vessels for Sultan al-Nasir

Muhammad," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 3rd. series, 14 (2004), 66. The building was converted into a mosque in 1740–41.

35 A.S. Tritton, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., s.v. " ʿAdī b. Musāfir al-Hakkārī."

36 A parallel can be found in the decoration of one of the iwans of the Timurid madrasa at Khargird, which has the names, alone, of Muhammad and ʿAli; Bernard O'Kane, "The Madrasa al-Ghiyāsiyya at Khargird," *Iran* 14 (1976), 90.

37 *Notebook* 91 A. 78, E.3837–1938, f. 32a.

38 I am grateful to Iman Abdulfattah for pointing this out to me.

39 Recent restoration of the complex of Umm al-Sultan Shaʿban, under the supervision of Dina Bakhoum (to whom I am grateful for showing it to me as work was progressing), has shown that the stone carved inscriptions at the top of the courtyard façade and on the interior drums of the mausoleums were painted; it is likely that all stone carved patterns and inscriptions on Cairene monuments were similarly treated.

40 A reconstruction, from the detailed description by Ibn Duqmaq, is given in Victoria Meinecke-Berg, "Quellen zu Topographie und Baugeschichte in Kairo unter Sultan an-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalā'ūn," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Suppl. 3/1 (1977), 541. A translation of the description of Ibn Duqmaq is to be found in Howayda al-Harithy, "Patronage," 226–27.

41 Discussed in ibid., 227.

42 Its original appearance is discussed in Chahinda Karim, "The Mamluk Mosque of Amir Husayn: A Reconstruction," in ed. Bernard O'Kane, *Creswell Photographs Re-examined: New Perspectives on Islamic Architecture*, (Cairo, 2009), 163–85.

43 Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 56.

44 Ibid., 56; al-Harithy, "Patronage," 236.

45 See n. 27 above.

Julien Loiseau

The City of Two Hundred Mosques: Friday Worship and Its Spread in the Monuments of Mamluk Cairo

Islamic Cairo is known for its astonishing number of monuments preserved from the Mamluk period (1250–1517): about 250 buildings of various sizes and functions are still standing today, and, according to documents and historical sources, many more were built and have since disappeared, mainly with the modernisation of the city from the second half of the nineteenth century onwards.[1] Religious monuments, which owe their preservation to the uninterrupted gathering of the faithful and to the durability of pious endowments used to sustain them, form the main part of this legacy. Almost all these buildings are used today for daily prayers and Friday worship and they are fully furnished for this purpose, with loudspeakers for the call to prayer and a minbar, a stone or wooden pulpit from which the Friday sermon is delivered, in fulfilment of community worship.

However, this has not always been the case in the past. Most of the religious foundations of the Mamluk period were first established either as madrasas for the teaching of law or as *khanqah* s or *zawiya* s for the gathering and support of Sufis, emphasising the contributions of their patrons to the reinforcement of Sunni Islam.[2] Moreover, most Islamic cities during the Middle Ages had only one mosque for the gathering of the entire male community on Fridays, apart from several oratories visited daily by the people of the neighbourhood. Since at least the eleventh century, both institutions were clearly distinguished in the vocabulary of texts and inscriptions, the oratories as *masjid* (place of prostration), the Friday mosque as *masjid jamiʿ* (congregational mosque) or simply *jamiʿ*.[3] In the Arabic geography of the imperial age, the presence of a Friday mosque, symbolised by its pulpit (minbar), was one of the main criteria for establishing whether a place was a city or a village.[4] The uniqueness of the Friday mosque within a city was even a requirement of the law (according to the Shafiʿi and, to a lesser extent, to the Maliki schools of law[5]) in order to preserve the cohesion of the community and to avoid division and sectarianism.

In the Mamluk period, however, this changed in Cairo earlier than anywhere else in the Islamic world, with the institution of Friday worship in an increasing number of religious buildings. Some of the largest Islamic cities had more than

one Friday mosque: in Baghdad there were six in the tenth century and eleven at the end of the twelfth century, when the city broke up into quite autonomous neighbourhoods.[6] But in Cairo the phenomenon was on an unprecedented scale with more than 220 mosques opening their doors for Friday worship in 1517 on the eve of the Ottoman conquest.[7] This has already been noted, in numerous publications, by historians studying the form and function of Cairene religious foundations.[8] A comprehensive study of this process, regarding religious practice, pious institutions, and architectural patronage, is still to be done.

"Until the increase in the number of mosques did occur"

The legal requirement of the uniqueness of the Friday mosque in the city was still a current topic in the reflections of fifteenth-century scholars, especially within the Shafiʿi circle, even if (or perhaps because) it was contradicted by the urban reality. Shams al-Din Muhammad al-Sakhawi (d. 1497), a disciple of the great Shafiʿi scholar and chief *qadi* of Egypt, Ibn Hajar al-ʿAsqalani (d. 1449), gave an interesting example of this in his chronicle:

> "Despite the choice of oratories, the Friday worship [*al-jumʿa*] is not attended in Mekka, Medina and Jerusalem except in one place [...]. It is also established that the Friday worship in Misr [al-Fustat] was not attended except in one place in the age of the emirs, of the Fatimid caliphs, and then of the sultans, until the New Mosque (al-Jamiʿ al-Jadid) was built at the limit of Misr on the Nile shore, under the reign of Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad [1310–1341]. During almost 700 years the Friday worship had not been attended except in one place, the Old Mosque (al-Jamiʿ al-ʿAtiq), despite the crowds of people, especially before the foundation of al-Qahira [969], until the increase in the number of mosques did occur."[9]

Writing in the second half of the fifteenth century, Sakhawi identifies the third reign of al-Nasir Muhammad (1310–1341) as the turning point in the history of Friday worship's practice in Cairo. His assumption seems to be confirmed by the urban growth of the city in the first half of the fourteenth century and the development of its outskirts.[10] But one should be cautious before making too strong a connection between the foundation of new Friday mosques and the spatial expansion of the city. Taking a look at the history of Cairo is instructive.

In 1171, acting as the last vizir of the last Fatimid caliph, Saladin abolished the Shiʿi caliphate in Cairo and officially restored Sunni Islam in Egypt. As an implementation of the strict Shafiʿi doctrine, he ordered the closing on Friday of almost all the Friday mosques and the gathering of the faithful in only two places: the Old Mosque (or mosque of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿAs) in Madinat Misr and the mosque of

al-Hakim in the Fatimid city of al-Qahira itself. This choice was mainly due to the space available in the courtyard of the mosque of al-Hakim (990–1013); but, as a consequence, the mosque of al-Azhar (970), which had been the main centre of the Ismaʿili mission during two centuries, was from then on closed for Friday worship.[11] Besides the practical constraints that Saladin's measure imposed on the inhabitants of Cairo, it had a great significance for the religious landscape of the city. In 1171, there were nineteen Friday mosques in Cairo, of which six were located in the walled area of al-Qahira. Most of them had been built in the Fatimid era, in either an urban or funerary context. Loyal to their ancestor, the Ayyubid sultans of Egypt respected Saladin's prohibition, with the sole exception of an old oratory in the Qarafa necropolis, where Sultan al-Kamil Muhammad instituted Friday worship in 1210. Ironically, this new Friday mosque was supposed to serve a shrine where crowds of people used to gather on Friday: that of Imam al-Shafiʿi, the eponymous ancestor of the Shafiʿi school of law.[12]

The advent of the Mamluks in the middle of the thirteenth century brought about not only the formal reopening of the Friday mosques in Cairo (Friday worship was held again at the mosque of al-Azhar for the first time on December 17th 1266), but also an astonishing increase in the number of places of worship. From 20 Friday mosques in 1250, the number had grown to 30 by the end of the thirteenth century, and then to 144 by the beginning of the fifteenth century. Forty places of worship were deserted and left in ruins during the dark years of Sultan al-Nasir Faraj's rule (1399–1412); but there were about 171 Friday mosques in Cairo in the middle of the fifteenth century and no fewer than 221 in 1517, when Selim the First conquered the city. This figure would remain largely unchanged during the Ottoman period, since the French topographers of the *Description de l'Égypte* estimated as 233 the number of Friday mosques in Cairo at the end of the eighteenth century.[13] According to our survey, at least 242 Friday mosques were built in Cairo during the Mamluk period.[14] Indeed a major change did occur, and deserves investigation (figs. 1, 2).

Friday Mosques and Trivialization of Patronage

A profound change occurred during the Mamluk period regarding the social identity of the patrons who established new Friday mosques. Once the monopoly of caliphs and sultans and an attribute of their sovereignty sometimes delegated to vizirs and servants who acted in their name, it eventually became in the fourteenth century a privilege accessible to many others.[15] Officers (either military or civilian), merchants, scholars, Sufi shaykhs, even women of non-royal descent became patrons of Friday mosques in Cairo, including, for instance, two female servants of Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad in 1337 and 1340.[16] A Friday mosque was also estab-

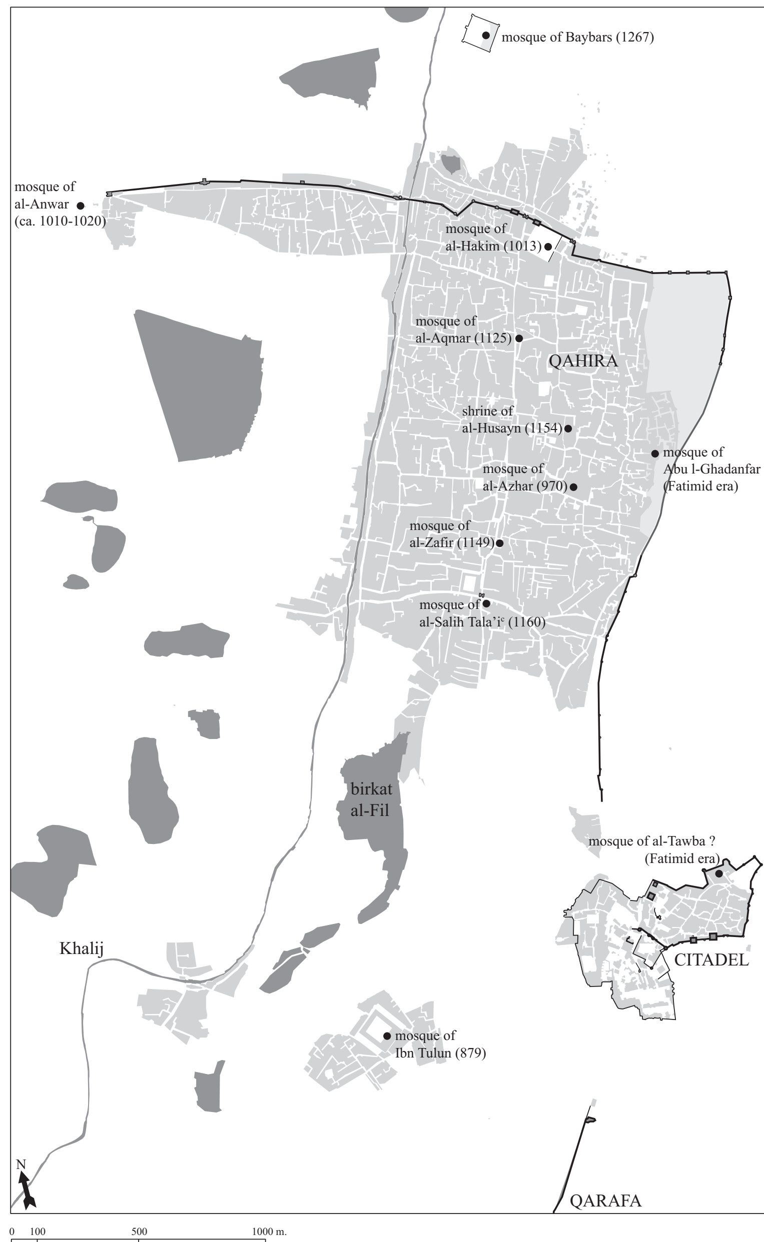

Figure 1: Friday mosques in the city centre of Cairo in 1277 (death of Sultan al-Zahir Baybars).

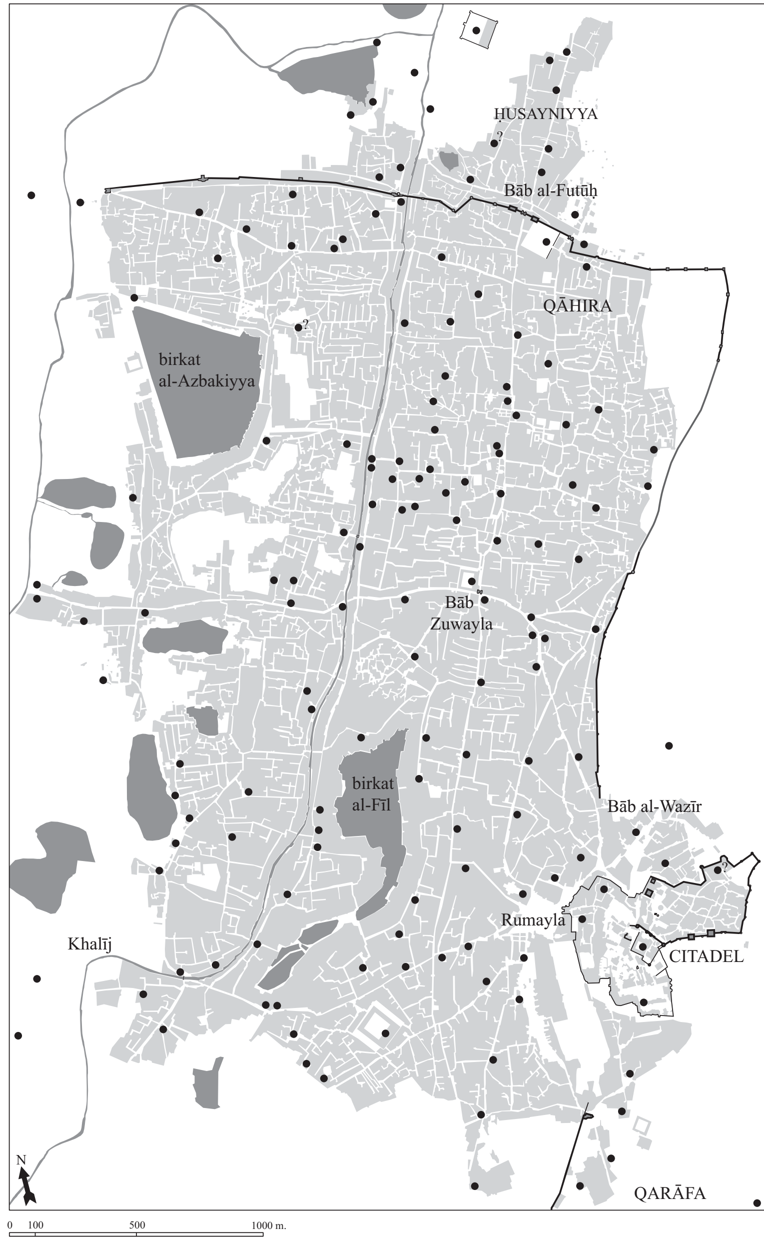

Figure 2: Friday mosques in the city centre of Cairo in 1517 (Ottoman conquest).

lished without any patron, as a result of the people's devotion toward a descendant of the Prophet, Sitt Nusayra, whose putative tomb had been established at the end of the fourteenth century and adorned with a *masjid* where Friday worship also took place.[17]

Nevertheless, an assessment of such a change in the social patterns of patronage is qualified by the difficulty in associating every founder with a specific social profile. Aside from anonymous foundations, a single name is not always enough to ascribe a social identity, especially at a time (the fourteenth century) when military offices were still open to non-Mamluks. Of the 242 Friday mosques that, according to our survey, were built in Cairo during the Mamluk period, the founders of 39 are unidentifiable, because these mosques were named after a place (13 cases), a collective name (two), an architectural layout (two), a propitiatory term (one), or because the name of the patron does not deliver any clue to his social identity (21). Consequently, the less visible categories, the civilians who belonged neither to the religious establishment nor to the sultanic bureaucracy, are obviously underestimated in the following graphs, especially for the years 1300–1379 to which most of the uncertain cases date (figs. 3, 4, 5).

Al-Zahir Baybars (1260–1277) was the last sultan to strictly exercise the monopoly of Friday mosques' foundation in Cairo. In addition to the reopening of al-Azhar for Friday worship in 1266, he built three new mosques on the city outskirts during his rule.[18] On the other hand, a social diversification of mosques' patronage took place for the first time in the last two decades of the thirteenth century[19] and gained ground during the first half of the fourteenth century in the favourable

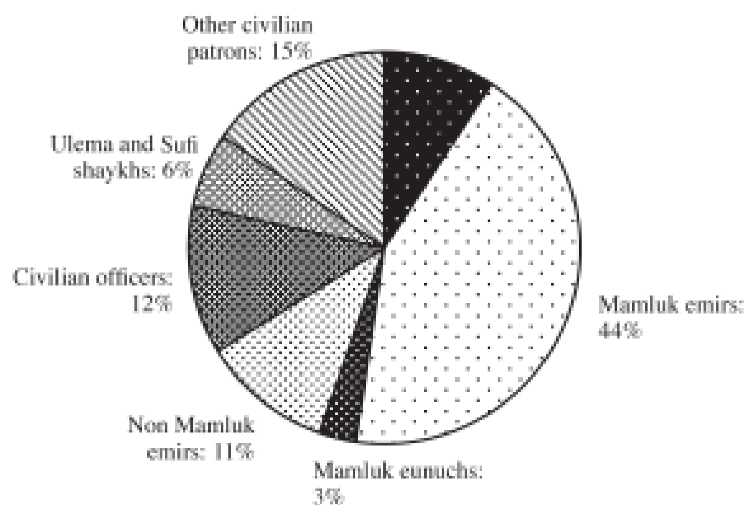

Figure 3: Patrons of Friday mosques in Cairo between 1300 and 1379.

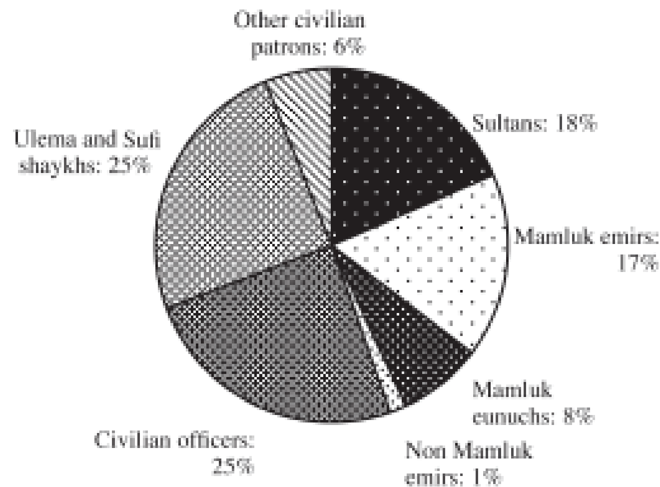

Figure 4: Patrons of Friday mosques in Cairo between 1380 and 1453.

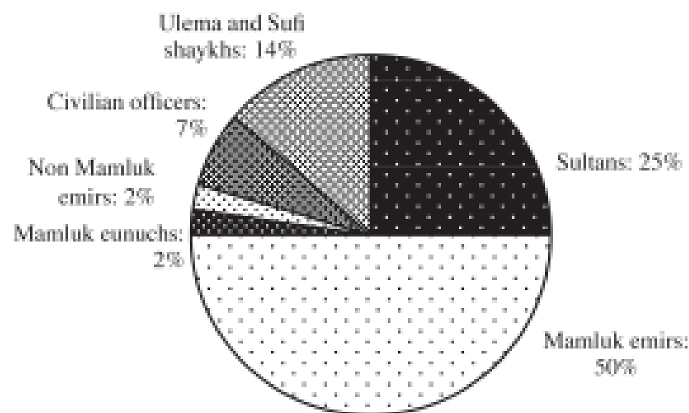

Figure 5: Patrons of Friday mosques in Cairo between 1454 and 1517.

decades of al-Nasir Muhammad's rule. However, the Mamluk sultans remained major patrons and even regained part of their former position at the end of the Mamluk period: nine percent of the new Friday mosques established between 1300 and 1379 (whose founder is known) were of royal foundation; this increased to 18 percent between 1380 and 1453 and to 25 percent in the last six decades before the Ottoman conquest. Beside the sultans, the major fact of the whole period is the near hegemony of Mamluk emirs over the patronage of Friday mosques: they are responsible for more than half of all new foundations between the 1280s and the Ottoman conquest, except for the first half of the fifteenth century, dur-

ing which the ruin and rebuilding of Cairo gave unprecedented opportunities to the civilian officers of the sultan's household. During these decades of political and social upheaval, only 26 percent of new Friday mosques were built by military officers (including eunuchs). As for the civilian officers, their contribution grew from twelve percent between 1300 and 1379 to 25 percent between 1380 and 1453, but fell to seven percent between 1454 and 1517.

The same context of upheaval, ruin and rebuilding was also favourable to the members of the religious establishment, either the ulema (expounders of religious law) or Sufi shaykhs. Patrons of only six percent of the new Friday mosques (whose founder is known) between 1300 and 1379, their share increased to 25 percent between 1380 and 1453, before falling to 14 percent during the last six decades of Mamluk rule. Noticeable, however, is the ulema's lesser contribution by comparison with Sufi shaykhs (respectively, four and eleven new foundations between 1380 and 1453), as if legal scruples (the resiliency of the strict Shafiʿi doctrine) restrained the former from endowing other than madrasas without minbars.

Finally, one should stress the importance of the contribution of the civilian patrons, who belonged neither to the religious establishment nor to the sultanic bureaucracy, during the first eight decades of the fourteenth century. They were in command of at least 15 percent of the new Friday mosques (whose founder is known) founded between 1300 and 1379. But the lack of data about 29 mosques, built at that time mainly in the new urban areas of western Cairo, reduces the share one could impute to them with certainty. On the other hand, the civilian patrons' share fell to six percent between 1380 and 1453 and was reduced to nothing at the end of the Mamluk period. Between 1454 and 1517, the military elite (sultans, emirs, and eunuchs) were in charge of 79 percent of the new Friday mosques. During the last decades of Mamluk rule, aside from five mosques whose founders remain unidentified, as far as I know there was not a single foundation whose patron was neither a member of the ruling elite nor a figure of the religious notability or judiciary.[20] The time of social opportunities in urban patronage, during which a merchant or a craftsman was able to establish a new Friday mosque in Cairo, was over by the second half of the fifteenth century.[21] Oddly enough, the privatisation of land tenure and the popularisation of pious endowments (waqf) that marked the end of the fifteenth century seem to have been paralleled by a social restriction on the patronage of Friday mosques.[22]

Nevertheless, the mosques of the first and last decades of Mamluk rule – i.e., the three mosques of al-Zahir Baybars (1260–1277) and the six of al-Ashraf Qaytbay (1468–1496)[23] – should not overshadow the trivialization of Friday mosques' patronage during the entire Mamluk period. Indeed, on the eve of the Ottoman conquest, Cairo owed a significant number of its places of worship to unassuming and forgotten endowers.

Friday Mosques and the Blurred Intent of Mamluk Architecture

The Mamluk period also witnessed a deep change in the definition of the various religious institutions. Such a process, in which the madrasa emerged as the main institutional and architectural model, has been well studied for Cairo on the basis of waqf documentation and building evidence.[24] But the specific function of Friday worship in this new configuration deserves some more thought. Indeed, Mamluk patrons continued to found new *jamiʿ*s and the preservation of this designation in epigraphy and popular toponymy is not meaningless. But it should be stressed that, for the first time in the history of Cairo, some madrasas, *khanqah*s, *zawiya*s and funerary foundations were endowed with a minbar for Friday worship. The first case is, to my knowledge, the *khanqah* of Emir Baktimur al-Saqi in the Qarafa necropolis in 1326,[25] followed eight years later by the mausoleum of Emir Tashtimur Hummus Akhdar in the northern cemetery.[26] In 1333 Friday worship was also established in a *zawiya* known as Turbat Jawshan, built in the same area at the beginning of the fourteenth century.[27] Friday mosques had existed before in the Cairene necropolis, where pious visits to the saints' tombs (*ziyara*) had a long tradition.[28] However, by bringing together two religious practices clearly distinguished before in the institutional pattern of the Sunni revival – i.e., the fulfilment of a personal obligation (Friday worship) and the performing of Sufi rituals – these institutions were unprecedented. Moreover, this new form was set up in a funerary context, as if the gathering of the faithful on Friday would add to the spiritual reward (*thawab*) of the founder buried inside the complex. In the case of *zawiya*s (and at least twelve of the 67 new Friday mosques built in Cairo in the first half of the fifteenth century were *zawiya*s), the fulfilment of Friday worship near the grave of the shaykh by his followers would also firmly root his pilgrimage (*ziyara*).

Another development occurred around 1360, when two funerary madrasas were established within the city for the teaching of law, the adorning of their founder's grave, and also (for the first time in Cairo) Friday worship. The huge religious complex built behind the Citadel by Sultan Hasan between 1356 and 1362, and endowed with various functions, was so unusual in many respects that it cannot be considered as evidence of a wider trend.[29] On the other hand, the funerary madrasa of princess Tatar al-Hijaziyya, a daughter of Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad, was built on a more common scale in 1360, in the heart of al-Qahira.[30] Indeed, the minbar of the madrasa of Tatar al-Hijaziyya, still preserved in Cairo's Museum of Islamic Art, is one of the first milestones in the process of alteration of the madrasa's legal, spiritual, and architectural significance. From then on, up to the end of the Mamluk rule, most of the new Cairene madrasas built by members of the ruling elite (and to a much lesser extent by members of the religious establishment[31]) would serve also as Friday mosques (fig. 6).

Figure 6: The minbar of the madrasa of princess Tatar al-Hijaziyya (1360) in the Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo.

Such a change had major consequences on the architectural layout of these new Friday mosques. Whether madrasas fulfilling the function of a mosque or mosques fulfilling that of a madrasa, in which the students were also resident Sufis as in a *khanqah*,[32] most of the pious foundations of fifteenth-century Cairo were built according to the plan of a four-iwan madrasa, based on the residential form of the *qaʿa* (the reception hall in Cairene architecture). Courtyard mosques (for instance, the so-called madrasa of Sudun min Zadah, which was also a Friday mosque[33] are conspicuous exceptions. The standardisation of the layout added to the confusion of the institutional pattern inherited from the twelfth-century Sunni revival, the distinction between the various institutions being practically blurred in the fifteenth century.

Even contemporary witnesses were hesitant in identifying the new buildings. The monument built in 1418 by the sultan's majordomo Fakhr al-Din ibn Abi 'l-Faraj was left unfinished when he died and was partly altered during its renovation in the eighteenth century. It still looks like a madrasa, with its central courtyard, four iwans, and the largest proportion of the qibla iwan used as a prayer hall. The foundation was commonly known in the fifteenth century as the madrasa of Ibn Abi 'l-Faraj, but was referred to as the Jamiʿ al-Banat by the end of the eighteenth century, after its renovation. The fifteenth-century founding inscription describes the place as a mausoleum (*turba*). It is referred to as a madrasa in the waqf

deed, but the document preserved today is a copy which summarises the stipulations and does not specify either the recruitment of a preacher or the holding of the Friday worship in the qibla iwan. However, Maqrizi, who witnessed the foundation, described it as a Friday mosque (*jamiʿ*) where lessons of *fiqh* (Islamic law) were also delivered (as in a madrasa). Finally, Sakhawi, who was not lenient toward the infringement of the Shafiʿi doctrine with respect to the uniqueness of the Friday mosque, depicted it as a funerary madrasa but mentioned the name of its preacher, thus adding to the evidence that Friday worship took place within it.[34]

Raising a Minbar, Instituting the *Khutba*

It is not known whether Ibn Abi ʾl-Faraj planned for Friday worship to be held in his madrasa. If it was not the case, then a minbar must have been raised and a preacher recruited by another patron. This practice became very common in Cairo from the first half of the fourteenth century onwards. As far as I know, the first instance dates back to 1313, when the emir Badr al-Din Muhammad al-Mihmandar instituted the *khutba* (literally the Friday sermon, which means in this context the Friday worship itself) in an old *masjid* of the western district of Cairo, from then on known as the Jamiʿ al-Jaki.[35] The year after, Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad instituted Friday worship in the old shrine of Sayyida Nafisa, at the entrance to the Qarafa necropolis.[36]

The number of new places of Friday worship set up in older institutions increased to nine percent of the new Friday mosques established during the first half of the fifteenth century and to ten percent during the last six decades of the Mamluk rule. One of the latest instances was the raising of a minbar by the emir Azbak min Tutukh in 1494 in one of the most prestigious institutions of the city, the old Madrasa al-Mansuriyya, built two centuries earlier by Sultan al-Mansur Qalawun.[37] The restoration of the building, as in the case of the Madrasa al-Mansuriyya, was often the best opportunity to institute Friday worship. Emir Yalbugha al-Salimi did the same thing after the sultan put him in charge of the renovation of the old Fatimid al-Aqmar mosque in 1399[38] (fig. 7).

Yet such an alteration of the function and legal meaning of ancient institutions sometimes raised legal issues. In 1330, Emir Aqqush al-Ashrafi asked for a *fatwa* (legal opinion) before raising a minbar in the Madrasa al-Salihiyya – perhaps a specific case, since the building also housed the court of the four chief judges.[39] A century later, the madrasa established by the *qadi* Muhammad ibn Suwayd, left uncompleted when he died in 1425, was altered to a *jamiʿ* by his son, administrator (*nazir*) of its endowment, who raised a minbar and decided to replace the teacher by a preacher and the students by muezzins. In order to do so, he had to ask for the consent of Sultan al-Ashraf Barsbay himself, with the support of some emirs,

Figure 7: The minbar of the mosque of Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh (1415–20).

before getting a legal validation by the Hanafi judge. In the Hanafi doctrine, the increase in the number of Friday mosques was not illicit, but the alteration of a pious endowment still required a legal decision. In 1441, the decision was temporarily broken by the Shafiʿi judge to whom the case was referred to by the grandsons of the founder, who were in litigation over the administration of the waqf. The minbar was removed on the judge's instructions and put under seal in a boxroom. But three weeks later, Sultan al-Zahir Jaqmaq (r. 1438–53) ordered the resumption of Friday worship in the former madrasa. He had been convinced by one of his courtiers, who reminded him of the decision of Sultan Barsbay, and stressed how accommodating the doctrine of the Hanafi judges was, and how stubborn the Shafi'i counterparts were. He finally emphasised the spiritual reward (*thawab*) that one might expect from instituting Friday worship.[40]

However strong the resilience of the single-mosque doctrine among Shafiʿi ulema, the Mamluk period witnessed a trivialisation of Friday worship that led to the raising of minbars in all kinds of building. When Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh acceded to the throne in 1412, he decided to fit out his former house in Cairo, in the vicinity of the Citadel, as a madrasa which would also be a *khanqah* and a place for Friday worship.[41] Among the few remains of Mamluk residential architecture in Cairo, there is also a former *qaʿa*, the reception hall of Emir Khushqadam al-Lala, which he converted into a Friday mosque in around 1480.[42] As for the former hospital of Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh, completed in 1420, it was also supposed,

Figure 8: Foundation inscription of the minbar endowed by Sultan al-Zahir Jaqmaq (1438–53) to the complex of Sultan al-Zahir Barquq (1386).

according to the waqf deed, to house Friday worship for the patients. But in all likelihood, no patients were accommodated there before the sultan's death, a few months later. However, after having been converted into a guest-house for foreign emissaries, the building was endowed in 1422 with a minbar and became the third Friday mosque of the city, known as a foundation of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh[43] (fig. 8).

Breaking up of the Community or Islamisation of the City?

The increase in the number of Friday mosques could be partly explained by the history of the city: first, in the context of the urbanisation of new areas on the outskirts of Cairo during the first half of the fourteenth century; and secondly, in the context of the growing density of the old districts of the city during the fifteenth century.[44] At the same time, the introduction of Friday worship in several *zawiyas* established in the outlying districts of Cairo might have made the social integration of a newly settled population fleeing from the countryside easier.[45]

But the process goes beyond the history of Cairo. It is also evidence of a deep change in the meaning of Friday worship at the end of the Middle Ages. Cairene believers seem to have been increasingly keen to be physically, socially, and spiritually closer to their own place of worship, as if the Friday mosque had become a

matter of choice.[46] In 1421, the sultan's chief secretary Ibn al-Kuwayz decided to raise a minbar in the old madrasa of Ibn al-Baqri, in the vicinity of the mosque of al-Hakim, for two reasons: the long walk from his house to the mosque of al-Hakim; and his scruple against going to Friday worship on horseback.[47] Indeed, most of the new Friday mosques built during the fifteenth century were close to their patrons' houses, for the convenience of their relatives and followers.[48] But the closeness could be sought for more spiritual reasons. Badr al-Din al-ʿAyni (d. 1451), the famous scholar and courtier of Sultan al-Ashraf Barsbay (r. 1422–38), built his funerary madrasa in the vicinity of the mosque of al-Azhar in 1411. Thirty-two years later, annoyed that he had to pray in al-Azhar, in his opinion a mosque founded by a heretic, the Fatimid caliph al-Mu'izz, he decided to refrain from this sin, and established the *khutba* in his own foundation.[49]

Moreover, some Friday mosques were devoted to specific communities. This was obvious for Sufi affiliations, as in the case of the mosque of the Banu Wafa, established before 1430 in the house where Abu 'l-Qasim Muhammad ibn Wafa used to preach to his followers.[50] There could be no doubt for the latter that they were attending Friday worship near their master. Spiritual affiliation could be reinforced by ethnic affiliation, as in the case of a Friday mosque built in 1323 by Persian Sufis in the Qarafa necropolis, and later pulled down and included in a new mosque by Emir Qawsun.[51] Friday worship in Mamluk Cairo was even adapted to the specific demands of the working and non-working faithful. The *khutba* was thus instituted in a *masjid* within the Khan Masrur, a famous marketplace in the city centre frequented by Syrian merchants.[52] As for the mosque of Saruja, built in the 1330s on the bank of the Nasiri Canal, a neighbourhood almost deserted a century later, it was closed all year except on Fridays during the summer, when Cairene strollers used to enjoy the pleasures of the Nile flood.[53]

The dramatic increase in the number of Friday mosques from 1250 to 1517, from 20 buildings up to at least 221, brings evidence of a growing Islamisation of the urban society and the city landscape of Cairo during the Mamluk period. Indeed, the end of the thirteenth century and the early decades of the fourteenth century witnessed the conversion of many Coptic Christians to Islam.[54] It should be pointed out that the spread of Friday worship in the pious institutions of Cairo began at this time.

The process also reveals new relationships between the inhabitants of a district and the Friday mosque they would gather in. Sufism and the veneration of holy men may have played a major part in this new feature of religious practice, feared by some as a breaking up of the city's Muslim community. This explains the vigorous protestations of the highest legal authority, the Shafiʿi chief *qadi* of Egypt, in 1440, against the institution of Friday worship in the newly built *zawiya* of Shaykh al-Ghamri in the walled area of al-Qahira.[55] Its patron was neither an emir nor a civilian officer and thus was more likely to accede to the *qadi*. But Friday prayers

were still attended in the *zawiya* after the shaykh's death. Henceforth, even if the foundation of a Friday mosque in the fifteenth century still required the formal permission of the sultan, its legal validation had become a matter of routine.[56]

The spread of Friday worship in the pious institutions of Cairo is an important aspect of the legacy of the Mamluks regarding the religious landscape of the city. But it is not the only one. In addition to the minbar, a growing number of Friday mosques in Cairo were also housing, from then on, the grave of a Sufi saint.

Illustrations (with image credit)

Figure 1: Friday mosques in the city centre of Cairo in 1277 (death of Sultan al-Zahir Baybars) (by the author).
Figure 2: Friday mosques in the city centre of Cairo in 1517 (Ottoman conquest) (by the author).
Figure 3: Patrons of Friday mosques in Cairo between 1300 and 1379
Figure 4: Patrons of Friday mosques in Cairo between 1380 and 1453
Figure 5: Patrons of Friday mosques in Cairo between 1454 and 1517
Figure 6: The minbar of the madrasa of princess Tatar al-Hijaziyya (1360) in the Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo. (Photo courtesy A. du Boistesselin)
Figure 7: The minbar of the mosque of Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh (1415–20). (Photo by the author)
Figure 8: Foundation inscription of the minbar endowed by Sultan al-Zahir Jaqmaq (1438–53) to the complex of Sultan al-Zahir Barquq (1386). (Photo by the author)

Notes

1 For an exhaustive assessment of the monuments built in Egypt, Syria, and Hijaz during the Mamluk period, see Michael Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien (648/1250 bis 923/1517)*, 2 vols., (Glückstadt, 1992).
2 Stephen R. Humphreys, "The Expressive Intent of Mamluk Architecture in Cairo: A Preliminary Essay," *Studia Islamica* 35 (1972), 69–119.
3 Max van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum, Égypte*, (Paris, 1903), 1: 65.
4 André Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu du 11e siècle*, 4 vols., (Paris 1967–88), 4: 204–11.
5 Leonor Fernandes, "Mamluk Architecture and the Question of Patronage," *Mamluk Studies Review* 1 (1997), 110–11. For a statement of the Shafiʿi and Maliki stances towards the uniqueness of the Friday mosque by a fifteenth-century scholar, see Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tibr al-masbūk fī dhayl al-sulūk*, eds. Najwā Muṣṭafā Kāmil and Labība Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā, 4 vols., (Cairo, 2000–07), 2: 48–50.

6 Françoise Micheau, "Baghdad in the Abbasid Era: a Cosmopolitan and Multi-Confessional Capital," in eds. Salma K. Jayyusi, Renata Holod, Attilio Petruccioli and André Raymond, *The City in the Islamic World*, 2 vols., (Leiden, 2008), 1: 221–45.

7 For an exhaustive list and map of the Cairene Friday mosques at the end of the Mamluk period, see Julien Loiseau, *Reconstruire la Maison du sultan. Ruine et recomposition de l'ordre urbain au Caire (1350–1450)*, 2 vols., (Cairo, 2010), 2: 519–41, 600–12.

8 Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "Change in Function and Form of Mamluk Religious Institutions," *Annales Islamologiques* 21 (1985): 92–93; idem., *Cairo of the Mamluks. A History of the Architecture and Its Culture*, (Cairo, 2007), 19; Fernandes, "Question of Patronage," 109.

9 Sakhawi, *Tibr*, 1: 50.

10 Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "al-Nasir Muhammad and al-Ashraf Qaytbay – Patrons of Urbanism," in eds. Urbain Vermeulen and Daniel de Smet, *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras*, (Leuven, 1995), 267–84; idem, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 56–57.

11 al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa 'l-iʿtibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa 'l-āthār*, 2 vols., (Būlāq, 1853), 2: 275–76; Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 54.

12 Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 2:296; Doris Behrens-Abouseif also mentions, according to the testimony of Ibn al-Mutawwaj quoted in Maqrizi's *Khitat*, a Friday mosque founded by the Ayyubid sultan al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub (1240–49) within the citadel he built on the island of Rawda and later restored by Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh: *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 54. However, this foundation is not mentioned in the exhaustive list of the Friday mosques of Cairo (founded before the fifteenth century) drawn up by Maqrizi in his *Khitat*. It is likely that the mosque attributed to Sultan al-Salih is the same as that built next to the Nilometer of Rawda by the vizir Badr al-Jamali, at the end of the eleventh century, and also restored later by Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh. Compare Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 2: 245, 297 and Maqrizi, *Kitāb al-sulūk li-maʿrifat duwal al-mulūk*, eds. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Ziyāda and Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ ʿĀshshūr, 4 vols., (Cairo, 1939–73), 4: 534.

13 Edme-François Jomard, "Description de la ville et de la citadelle du Kaire," in *Description de l'Égypte*, second edn., 37 vols. (Paris, 1821–29), 18.2: 121.

14 Loiseau, *Reconstruire la Maison du sultan*, 2: 519–41. Doris Behrens-Abouseif puts forward two figures: about thirty new Friday mosques were built in Cairo during the third reign of al-Nasir Muhammad (1310–41), and no fewer than eighty between 1412 and 1516: Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 56–57.

15 Fernandes, "Question of Patronage," 108–09; Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 22–23.

16 In 1337, Sitt Hadaq, the former nurse (*dada*) of Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad, established a Friday mosque in the vicinity of the Canal (al-Khalij), between Qantarat al-Sibaʿ and Qantarat al-Sadd. Three years later, another female servant of the sultan, Sitt Maska, did the same in the vicinity of Qantarat Aqsunqur, Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 2: 313, 326.

17 Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 2: 245.

18 The mosque of Baybars (Jamiʿ al-Zahir) in Husayniyya, by whose name (Daher) the area is known today, was built in 1267 in the location of the former hippodrome (*maydan*) of Qaraqush. The sultan also ordered the building of a Friday mosque on the Nile shore at Munsha'at al-Maharani in 1270. A third Friday mosque, in Minyat al-Umara', in the northern vicinity of Cairo, is known to be a foundation of Sultan al-Zahir Baybars: Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 2: 130, 298, 299–300; Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur*, 2: 26 (no. 4/104), 35 (no. 4/149), 50 (no. 4/258). Only two of his closest officers also established Friday worship in Cairo under his rule, both in the southern vicinities of the city: Emir Aybak al-Afram, in a *ribat* on the bank of Birkat al-Habash, and the vizir Ibn Hinna in Dayr al-Tin. Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 2: 298, 303, 430; Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur*, 2: 20 (no. 4/74), 42 (no. 4/194); Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 54–55.

19 The first Friday mosque in Cairo whose patron belonged neither to the civil servants of the sultan nor to the military officers was, to my knowledge, the mosque of al-Baqli, established in al-Qubaybat by the shaykh ʿAli al-Baqli, who died in 1297. See Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 2: 245; Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur*, 2: 83–84 (no. 11/3).

20 The mosque established before 1440 in the port district of Bulaq by Ibn al-Sunayti, in all likelihood a merchant who lived in the vicinity and was also the owner of two residential blocks (*rabʿ*) in Bulaq, might have been one the last foundations by a civilian patron in Cairo. It was destroyed during the firestorm of Bulaq in May 1458. See Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 2: 331; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith al-duhūr fī madā ʾl-ayyām wa ʾl-shuhūr*, ed. William Popper (Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1930–42), 314.

21 Compare with Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 23, who sees in "the proliferation of Friday mosques founded by individuals who did not belong to the ruling establishment" evidence of "an increasing social flexibility in the Circassian period."

22 Adam Sabra, "The Rise of a New Class? Land Tenure in Fifteenth-Century Egypt: A Review Article," *Mamluk Studies Review* 8/2 (2004): 203–10.

23 The long reign of al-Ashraf Qaytbay (1468–96) witnessed the foundation by the sultan of six institutions where Friday worship was also held: a funerary madrasa in the *sahra*' (desert) necropolis built between 1470 and 1474; a madrasa on the hill of Qalʿat al-Kabsh in 1475; a *zawiya* north of Cairo near Qanatir al-Awizz in 1491; a Friday mosque outside Bab al-Qarafa at the entrance to the old necropolis in 1495; a Friday mosque in the vicinity of the Citadel near the Guesthouse called Dar al-Diyafa (date of foundation unknown); and a Friday mosque on the west bank of the Nile in al-Duqqa (date of foundation unknown). Apart from these new foundations, the sultan instituted Friday worship in the old Madrasa al-Suyufiyya established by Saladin in 1176–77. See Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmiʿ li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsiʿ*, Maktabat al-Qudsī, 12 vols., (Cairo, 1934–36), 1: 62 and 6: 208–09; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'iʿ al-zuhūr fī waqā'iʿ al-duhūr*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā, 4 vols., (Cairo, second edn., 1982–84), 3: 45, 100, 280–81, 300, 329, 363; Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur*, 2: 399 (no. 42/21), 434 (no. 42/187), 437 (no. 42/204), 442 (no. 42/229).

24 Behrens-Abouseif, "Change in Function and Form," 81, 92–93; idem, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 76; Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur*, 1: 154–64.

25 Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 2:245, 423–25; Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur*, 2:144 (no. 9C/203); May al-Ibrashy, "Cairo's Qarafa as Described in the Ziyara Literature," in eds. Richard McGregor and Adam Sabra, *Le développement du soufisme en Égypte à l'époque mamelouke*, (Cairo, IFAO, 2006), 269–97, no. 178.

26 Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 2: 464 ; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfī wa 'l-mustawfī baʿd al-wāfī*, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, 12 vols., (Cairo, 1956–2005), 6: 394 (no. 1245); Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur*, 2: 167 (no. 9C/328).

27 al-Shujāʿī, *Ta'rīkh al-malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn al-Ṣāliḥī wa awlādihi*, ed. Barbara Schäfer, *Die Chronik ash-Shujāʿī*; Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 2: 245; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Manhal*, 7: 415 (no. 1522). See also Hani Hamza, *The Northern Cemetery of Cairo*, (Cairo, 2001), 24.

28 See on this subject Charles S. Taylor, *In the Vicinity of the Righteous. Ziyara and the Veneration of Muslim Saints in Late Medieval Egypt*.

29 Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 2: 316–17; Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur*, 2: 224–25 (no. 19B/13). See also Howayda N. al-Harithy, *The Waqf Document of Sultan al-Nāṣir Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn for his Complex in al-Rumaila*, (Berlin/Beirut, 2001).

30 Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 2: 382–83 ; Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur*, 2: 231 (no. 19B/48). See also Philipp Speiser, *Die Geschichte der Erhaltung Arabischer Baudenkmäler in Ägypten. Die Restaurierung der Madrasa Tatar al-Ḥijāzīya und des Sabīl-Kuttāb ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān Katkhūdā im Rahmen des Darb-al-Qirmiz-Projektes in Kairo*, (Heidelberg, 2001).

31 Friday worship was, for instance, never instituted during the Mamluk period in the madrasa established in Harat Baha' al-Din by the Shafiʿi *qadi* Siraj al-Din ʿUmar al-Bulqini (d. 1389), who also used to teach in the Madrasat al-Hijaziyya, either by the founder or by any of this famous family of Cairene ulema. See Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 2: 52; Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur*, 2: 278 (no. 24B/1).

32 The support of students who were also supposed to perform Sufi rituals, making the foundation both a madrasa and a *khanqah*, is well attested in pious endowments: Behrens-Abouseif, "Change in Function and Form," 81; idem, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 11; Jonathan Berkey, *The*

Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo. A Social History of Islamic Education, (Princeton, 1992), 56–60.
33 Ibn Taghribirdi, *Manhal*, 6: 144 (no. 1139); Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur*, 2: 299 (no. 26A/20); Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 76.
34 Dar al-Watha'iq, document 12/72 (Amin, Catalogue, no. 78); Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 2: 328; Sakhawi, *Daw'*, 4: 250 (no. 649) and 6:97 (no. 316); van Berchem, *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, 1: 334 (no. 228); Plan particulier du Kaire (*Description de l'Égypte*), section 5, L-9, no. 16 (Gâma' el-Benât); Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur*, 2: 325 (no. 29/39).
35 Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 2: 314.
36 Ibid 2:306; Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur*, 2: 116 (no. 9C/46). See also Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Sakhāwī, *Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb wa bughyat al-ṭullāb fī- 'l-khiṭaṭ wa 'l-mazārāt wa 'l-tarājim wa 'l-biqāʿ al-mubārakāt*, ed. Aḥmad Nasha'at (Cairo, 1937), 136.
37 Ibn Iyas, *Bada'iʿ*: 3: 301; Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur*, 2: 437 (no. 42/205). A first attempt to raise a minbar in the Madrasa al-Mansuriyya took place in 1372–73, but was opposed by Shafiʿi jurists: Fernandes, "Question of Patronage," 110.
38 Maqrizi, *Khitat* 2: 290–93. This was the case, for instance, with the following buildings: the old Fatimid Masjid al-Fila, in the southern outskirts of Cairo, which was renovated and endowed with a minbar by Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad; the Ayyubid Madrasa al-Sahibiyya, restored in 1357 by the state controller (*nazir al-dawla*) Ibn al-Zubayr; the Ayyubid Madrasa al-Sayfiyya, restored before 1468 by the shaykh ʿUthman al-Hattab. See al-Shujaʿi, *Ta'rikh*, 113; Maqrizi, *Khitat* 2: 289–90, 371; Sakhawi, *Tuhfa*, 85–88; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbā' al-haṣr bi-anbā' al-ʿaṣr*, ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 2002), 383–84; Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur*, 2: 192 (no. 9C/444), 227 (no. 19B/24).
39 Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar wa jāmi ʿal-ghurar*, ed. Hans Robert Roemer, *Die Chronik des Ibn ad-Dawādārī*, 9 vols. (Cairo, 1960–74), 9: 389–90; Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 2: 374–75; Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur*, 2: 118 (no. 9C/55).
40 Sakhawi, *Tibr*, 1: 46–48; Fernandes, "Question of Patronage," 110.
41 Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 2: 327.
42 Sakhawi, *Daw'*, 3: 176–77 (no. 682); Ibn Iyas, *Bada'iʿ*, 3: 231; Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur*, 2: 430 (no. 43/163).
43 Wizarat al-Awqaf, doc. 938q. (Amin, *Catalogue*, no. 352), l.83–101; Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 2: 408; Maqrizi, *Suluk*, 4: 610; Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur*, 2: 324 (no. 29/36).
44 Jean-Claude Garcin, "Toponymie et topographie urbaines médiévales à Fustat et au Caire," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 27/2 (1984), 113–55.
45 Behrens-Abouseif, "Change in Function and Form," 92; idem, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 22; Jean-Claude Garcin, "L'insertion sociale de Shaʿrānī dans le milieu cairote (d'après l'analyse des Ṭabaqāt de cet auteur)," in *Colloque international sur l'histoire du Caire* (RDA, no date), 159–68. Idem, "Les soufis dans la ville mamelouke d'Égypte. Histoire du soufisme et histoire globale," in eds. Richard McGregor and Adam Sabra, *Le développement du soufisme en Égypte à l'époque mamelouke*, 26–31.
46 Compare with Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 56–57, where she interprets the same process in terms of the "decentralisation" of the city.
47 Maqrizi, *Khitat* 2: 391; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbā' al-ghumr bi-anbā' al-ʿumr*, ed. Hasan Habashi, 4 vols. (Cairo, 1969–98), 3: 272; Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur*, 2: 331 (no. 30/5).
48 One of the few exceptions is the Friday mosque built in 1427 by Emir Janibak al-Ashrafi in al-Shariʿ al-Aʿzam, about 800 metres from his residence in the Hadarat al-Baqar. Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 2: 331; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Manhal*, 4: 234 (no. 821); Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur*, 2: 344 (no. 33/41). For a listing of Mamluk emirs' residences in Cairo between 1380 and 1453, see Julien Loiseau, *Reconstruire la Maison du sultan*, 2: 575–85.
49 Sakhawi, *Tibr*, 1:121 and 3:145; Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur*, 2: 312 (no. 26B/45).
50 Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 2: 331; Sakhawi, *Daw'*, 11: 275.
51 Shujaʿi, *Ta'rikh*, 116; Maqrizi, *Suluk*, 2: 545; Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur*, 2: 135 (no. 9C/150).

52 Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 2:92.
53 Shujaʿi, *Ta'rikh*, 116–17; Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 2: 315; Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur*, 2: 155–56 (no. 9C/263).
54 Shaun O'Sullivan, "Coptic Conversion and the Islamization of Egypt," *Mamluk Studies Review* 10/2 (2006), 65–79.
55 Sakhawi, *Tibr*, 1, 287–88; Fernandes, "Question of Patronage," 110–11.
56 Sakhawi, *Tibr*, 2: 33.

Iman R. Abdulfattah and Mamdouh Mohamed Sakr

Glass Mosaics in a Royal Mamluk Hall: Context, Content, and Interpretation

From the second half of the thirteenth century to the first half of the fourteenth, a revival of Umayyad decorative elements, such as glass mosaics, resurfaced in Bahri Mamluk architecture. Although glass mosaics were already applied in the earliest history of Mamluk architecture, in the mihrab of the mausoleum of Shajar al-Durr built in 1250, before any Mamluk architectural aesthetic programme had been formulated, scholars, who researched these forms of revival,[1] suggested that Mamluk interest in aspects of Umayyad aesthetics was the expression of an intent by the former slaves to legitimise their rule.[2] The Umayyad 'revival' was expressed mainly in the use of glass mosaics to decorate both religious and secular buildings.[3] At least fifteen Bahri Mamluk monuments in Damascus, Tripoli, Jerusalem, Hebron/al-Khalil and Cairo are known to display this type of decoration. In some cases the glass mosaic decoration was added in the course of restorations carried out by important sultans and emirs.[4] The mosaic programmes commissioned by the Mamluk ruling elite during this period are: 1) the mihrab of the mausoleum of Shajar al-Durr;[5] 2) a frieze at the no longer extant al-Qasr al-Ablaq in Damascus (1266); 3) a frieze and the mihrab of al-Qubba al-Zahiriyya in Damascus (1277–81); 4) the mihrab at the madrasa of Qalawun (1285); 5) a frieze at the no longer extant al-Qubba al-Mansuriyya at the Citadel of Cairo (1286);[6] 6) a *naskhi* inscription band in the mihrab added by Sultan Lajin (d. 1299) at the mosque of Ahmad ibn Tulun (1296); 7) the mihrab at the madrasa of Emir Taybars al-Waziri in the external courtyard (*ziyada*) of al-Azhar mosque (1309); 8) a frieze at the no longer extant al-Qasr al-Ablaq at the Citadel of Cairo (1315);[7] 9) the mihrab at the mosque of Emir Sayf al-Din Tankiz al-Husami al-Nasiri in Damascus (1318); 10) the mihrab at the mosque of ʿIsa ibn ʿUmar al-Burtasi in Tripoli (1324); 11) the mihrab at the madrasa of Emir Sayf al-Din Tankiz al-Husami al-Nasiri in Jerusalem (1328); 12) the fountain basin at the palace of Emir Sayf al-Din Tankiz al-Husami al-Nasiri in Damascus (1328); 13) the mihrab added by Emir Sayf al-Din Tankiz al-Husami al-Nasiri in the shrine of al-Haram al-Ibrahimi al-Khalil in Hebron (1331); 14) the mihrab at the madrasa of Emir Sayf al-Din Aqbugha ʿAbd al-Wahid in the

ziyada of the Azhar mosque (1339); 15) the mihrab at the mosque of Sitt Miska al-Qahramaniya/Sitt Hadaq (1339–40).

The first five examples are all applications to new buildings, while the sixth is an addition to an existing mosque. The overwhelming majority of Mamluk restorations on Umayyad monuments and the remaining new applications all date to the third reign of Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad (1310–41); it should also be noted that four out of five of the buildings' patrons in this last cluster had a direct connection with the sultan.[8] Moreover, most of these documented occurrences of glass mosaic decoration are reserved for mihrab conches, and generally consist of vegetal scrolls stemming from urns or vases, with the exceptional case at the shrine of al-Haram al-Ibrahimi al-Khalil in Hebron, where the mihrab features a geometric composition reminiscent of that presumably added by Salah al-Din at the Aqsa Mosque.[9] On the other hand, al-Qubba al-Zahiriyya in Damascus (1277–81) has the largest existing glass mosaic programme known to date, with tesserae applied to both the mihrab and a frieze above the marble dado. Mosaics decorated other monuments, such as the no longer standing al-Qasr al-Ablaq of Sultan al-Zahir Baybars al-Bunduqdari in Damascus (1266), al-Qubba al-Mansuriyya of Sultan al-Mansur Qalawun built in 1286, and al-Qasr al-Ablaq of Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad at the Citadel of Cairo built in 1315.

In 1985, the Egyptian Antiquities Organisation[10] conducted excavations at the Citadel of Cairo in the area west of the mosque of Muhammad ʿAli (1829–48). During the season, a Bahri Mamluk reception hall (*qaʿa*) was uncovered ten metres below the current ground level, exposed to the elements since the roof had not

Figure 1: Southwest façade of the excavated hall taken from the current ground level.

survived (fig. 1). Remains of marble and stucco decoration were found, in addition to a fountain in the sunken central part of the hall (*durqaʿa*). More interesting are the fragments of a long glass mosaic frieze that once decorated the walls high above the dado. At the time, documentation of and research on these mosaic fragments were not fully carried out, although fortunately a preliminary analysis was later undertaken and subsequently published by Nasser Rabbat.[11] The authors were reintroduced to these mosaics in 2008 by Rabbat when they were removed from the uncovered hall to be cleaned, restored, and documented in full.[12]

History of the Site

The Citadel on the Mountain (*qalʿat al-jabal*), as it is referred to in the sources because of its location on the Muqattam Hill, was founded by Salah al-Din al-Ayyubi (Saladin) in 1176 as a fortification to protect the twin cities of Cairo and Fustat. It also served as the seat of government and preferred residence of the sultanate through the nineteenth century. Early in its history, starting with the Bahri Mamluk period, several construction phases began which changed the function of the Citadel especially in the area of the southern enclosure. Under the rule of the Qalawunids, the southern enclosure witnessed an impressive construction phase that included several religious and secular buildings. Linked to ceremonial, these monumental structures were meant to emphasise courtly patronage and dominate the panorama of the city. The centrepiece of the southern enclosure was al-Iwan al-Kabir, a ceremonial hall where the sultan administered justice, received ambassadors, and carried out other duties of state. Al-Iwan al-Kabir has a long and complicated history: it was first built by Sultan al-Mansur Qalawun (al-Qubba al-Mansuriyya) in 1286; it was rebuilt and restored by his son, Sultan al-Ashraf Khalil in 1293; and it was renovated and rebuilt by Qalawun's younger son, Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad, in 1333, at which time he added columns to support a large wooden dome. Vestiges of al-Iwan al-Kabir were visible well into the nineteenth century, as seen in a drawing by Robert Hay, before it was finally demolished by Muhammad ʿAli Pasha in 1829 to make room for his own mosque[13] Beside al-Iwan al-Kabir was al-Qasr al-Ablaq, a throne hall built by al-Nasir Muhammad and reserved for his daily activities.[14] Although it consisted of a group of palaces, this name was also used for the main palace (*qasr)* in the group, a lesser ceremonial throne hall than al-Iwan al-Kabir. It had a *qaʿa* type plan, in which its larger northwestern iwan overlooked the city, while the smaller southeastern one was connected to al-Iwan al-Kabir by a passage.[15]

The excavation team began its fieldwork in the area known as Sahat al-ʿAlam (fig. 2), based on the documents and maps of the French Expedition that described a number of palaces in this location.[16] In addition to the excavated reception hall,

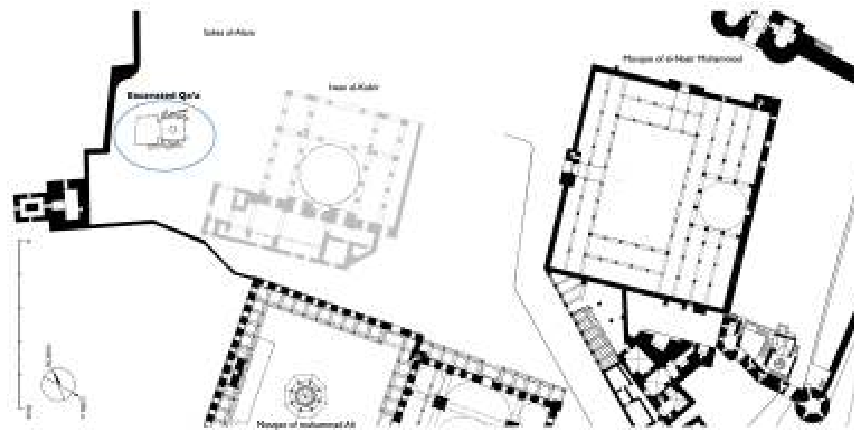

Figure 2: Site plan showing the location of the hall and its relation to the surrounding buildings.

one of the walls of al-Iwan al-Kabir was revealed, as well as four monolithic granite columns with faintly-carved inscriptions bearing honorific titles.[17] Two possible scenarios were proposed based on this evidence, and considering that "al-Ashraf" is inscribed on one of the columns: they may have supported the iwan of al-Ashraf Khalil (1293) and were reused when rebuilt by al-Nasir Muhammad (1333); or, as Rabbat later proposed, they belonged to the Qaʿa Ashrafiyya (1292), another palace in the vicinity.[18]

The hall on the other hand, was identified by the Egyptian Antiquities Organisation excavation team as one of the reception areas belonging to al-Qasr al-Ablaq[19] largely because it corresponds with the documentation of the French Expedition and fits the description left by a few chroniclers. According to the Mamluk historian Ibn Fadl Allah al-ʿUmari (d. 1349), a contemporary of al-Nasir Muhammad and his secretary, al-Qasr al-Ablaq, the ensemble of reception halls (*qaʿa*s), were located near al-Iwan al-Kabir.[20] Looking at a plan of the area (fig. 2), the excavated hall is strategically positioned to the west of al-Iwan al-Kabir and the mosque of al-Nasir Muhammad (1334), with the mosque of Muhammad ʿAli to the south. The entrance to al-Qasr al-Ablaq, perhaps in the area that today corresponds with the access to the Police Museum Terrace (Sahat al-ʿAlam), led to an open space after which was a hall followed by three other *qaʿa*s (*al-qusur al-juwwaniyya* or inner palaces). Al-Qasr al-Ablaq, which according to this description included four halls, overlooked the stables and the hippodrome (*maydan*) located beneath the Citadel. Al-ʿUmari described it thoroughly, saying: "From the entrance of the Palace [al-Qasr al-Ablaq] one passes through corridors to a lofty palace of splendid construction with two iwans, the larger being the northern, which overlooks the stables of the sultan, and from which one can see the horse market, Cairo, and its suburbs

as far as the Nile, and beyond to Giza and its villages. The second or southern iwan has a special door for the exit of the sultan and his court to the Great Iwan (al-Iwan al-Kabir) on the days of the festivals. This palace communicated with three inner palaces (*al-qusur al-juwwaniyya*), of which one is on the same level whereas the other two are reached by a staircase with iron window grilles, whence the view is the same as from the principal palace. In all these palaces are channels for the water brought from the Nile by hydraulic wheels (*dulab*s) turned by oxen. The inner palaces communicate with the harem and the private apartments of the sultan."[21] K. A. C. Creswell also cites eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European travellers whose eyewitness accounts of al-Qasr al-Ablaq are similar to, if not corroborative of, al-ʿUmari's description.[22]

Al-Qasr al-Ablaq was named so by al-Nasir Muhammad because he modelled it after a slightly older palace of the same name commissioned by Sultan al-Zahir Baybars al-Bunduqdari (1266) in Damascus: like its predecessor, the Cairene palace had a striped façade with alternating courses of black and yellow stone. According to Maqrizi, "… He [al-Nasir Muhammad] intended it to rival the palace of al-Zahir Baybars outside of Damascus; he recruited craftsmen from Damascus and called on the craftsmen of Egypt."[23] From this, one can assume that 'Syrian' elements were incorporated into the construction of the palace. Al-Nasir Muhammad also stayed at the palace whenever he visited Damascus, seeing the impressive decoration of Baybars' palace first-hand. One documented visit was in 1312–13, immediately before he built his own palace at the Citadel of Cairo.[24]

Description of the Excavated Reception Hall

What was unearthed in 1985 is a hall (*qaʿa*) with two iwans of unequal size, one on the northwest and another on the southeast side of a slightly lower *durqaʿa* (fig. 3). The larger of the two (northwest) has a width of 16.20 metres, while the smaller (southeast) has a width of ten metres. The *durqaʿa* is almost square, with a length of 14.25 metres and a width of 12.75 metres. Each of the iwans has a ten-metre-wide opening onto the *durqaʿa*, which is accessed from two narrow entrances in its northeastern and southwestern walls. The northeastern one leads to a spiral staircase, which goes to the upper part of the hall, while the southwestern one leads to a corridor that runs parallel to it. The staircases on two levels lead either to the roof or to adjacent spaces that cannot be identified given the current state of the hall's preservation (fig. 1). The corridor and staircases on either side of the *durqaʿa* are an indication that this hall was a part of a larger complex. At the same time, the existing upper courses of the *durqaʿa* walls were built of mud brick, and the structural characteristics of this material make it difficult for ancillary spaces to have been erected above the hall. This encourages the continuation of the excava-

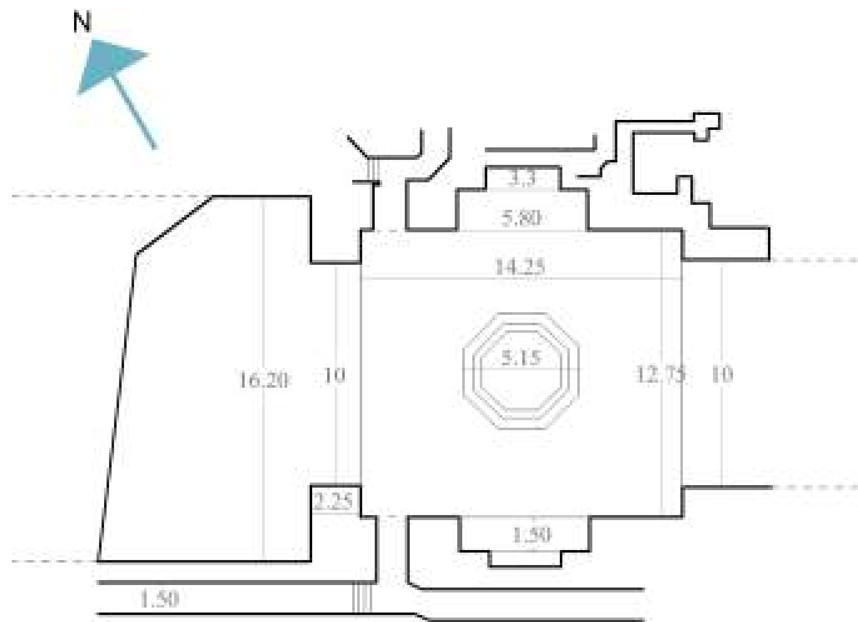

Figure 3: Plan of the excavated hall.

tion work below and around the hall to reveal more information about how it was connected to other structures in the Citadel.

Next to the entrances, there is a 5.80-metre-wide and 1.50-metre-deep recess, which leads to another smaller recess, 3.30 metres wide and 0.80 metres deep. These recesses give a sense of spaciousness and perspective to the two sides of the *durqaʿa*, an architectural treatment that tends to balance the number of openings and recesses within the same space. These recesses, with their slightly higher floors than those of the iwans and the *durqaʿa*, could have been used as extra seating areas. As previously mentioned, the brick base of an octagonal fountain (with a diameter of almost 5.15 metres) was also found in the centre of the *durqaʿa*. Next to the vertical incline of the *durqaʿa*, there is a step leading to the northwest iwan, where sage green, ochre, cream, and white marble strips of different thicknesses can still be seen, which may correspond with the colour arrangement of the 3.20-metre-high dado that once decorated the walls. Although the marble of the dado has not survived, the negative impression that remains in the gypsum mortar indicates that marble strips of different sizes were used to form the composition.[25] On the southwest wall of the hall, however, to the immediate right of the entrance, a very small part of the dado survives in situ. In this section, there is a fragment of thin

black and white marble strips that frame an equally small fragment of white marble with arabesque carving. The evidence suggests that this arrangement formed the lower part of the dado only.

Above the tall dado there is a long void that appears to have held a horizontal marble band (0.80 metres high), followed by an arcade consisting of a series of purple colonettes (possibly made of porphyry) that alternate with trilobed niches filled with geometric compositions made of small pieces of polychrome stone with inlays of mother-of-pearl; this is deduced solely from excavation photographs as only one colonette survives today.[26] This arrangement of colonettes and arched niches is reminiscent of contemporary mihrabs, such as that in the mosque of al-Maridani (1339). Above this were three fragments of glass mosaic scenes on the north and south walls of the hall that formed a band approximately one metre in height. According to al-ʿUmari the interior of al-Qasr al-Ablaq had a marble dado and scenes decorated in a combination of glass tesserae and mother-of-pearl.[27] It is this description, coupled with the existence of a hall in this area, that led the Egyptian Antiquities Organisation to identify it as one of the reception halls belonging to al-Qasr al-Ablaq. Although they evoke a style that is associated with the Umayyads, the scenes – mainly architectural and reminiscent of the Umayyad mosque in Damascus, and, even more, the later al-Qubba al-Zahiriyya – and use of mosaics as a frieze are unusual in Cairo's decorative and artistic repertoire. Surmounting the glass mosaic frieze was yet another broad band, this time probably a wooden inscription band (*tiraz*), judging by the presence of rectangular voids that form a regular pattern that seems to correspond with some type of support system (fig. 4). The treatment and organisation of the interior walls in horizontal registers composed of decoration in different media, with the exception of the mosaic frieze, are common in Mamluk architecture.

Mosaics

The complete decorative mosaic band, of which only three fragments survive today, is located approximately four metres above the ground level of the hall. The most damaged of the three fragments (2.33 × 0.95 metres) was removed from the south corner of the recess in the northeast façade. Not enough of this fragment survives to make a full analysis of the iconography; yet the partial scene shows a building with an arched entrance, on either side of which is a window grille. Above the entrance is a towering structure that has a gabled roof ending with three lobes. No comparable roof covering appears in any of the architectural vignettes of al-Qubba al-Zahiriyya; however, the even earlier mosaics of the Umayyad mosque reveal roof coverings that turn into acanthus leaves, which may have served as the prototype here.[28] On either side of this building is a tree bearing fruit on branches.

Figure 4: Reconstruction of the entrance area in the southwest façade.

Figure 5: Fragment 1, after removal from the south corner of the recess in the northeast façade.

Gold cubes survive on the left side of the fragment, but it is difficult to make out the rest of the scene (fig. 5).

The second partial fragment (1.60 × 0.95 metres) was removed from the southwest wall of the hall. Fortunately, it is in a better state of preservation, although the scene shows a hodgepodge of motifs that are difficult to connect or interpret. Upon closer inspection, the scene shows five steps leading to a white door, behind which is a house with a gabled roof. Popping out, seemingly in an arbitrary manner, are trefoil leaves, to the right of which is a randomly-placed goblet. At the bottom of the scene there are stylised rock formations that can be compared to those depicted in two Mamluk *Kalila wa Dimna* manuscripts dating to the first half of the fourteenth century.[29] When comparing the scene to what was visible in the excavation photographs,[30] a large chunk of the right side of the fragment has fallen since 1985. The photographs show an urn with handles beside the goblet, both of which are resting on a footed table (fig. 6).[31] As has been noted, contemporary manuscript paintings serve as a valuable point of reference, particularly in trying to identify the iconography depicted by the mosaicists. For example, a miniature from the illustrated manuscript of the *Maqamat al-Hariri* showing a drinking scene[32] yields a few interesting observations: the mosaicists were more comfortable reproducing familiar iconography, like the goblet and footed table, rather than motifs foreign to their repertoire, such as the house, which they applied with less precision.

The largest, most impressive and most complete of the three fragments (2.85 × 0.95 metres) was removed from the right corner of the wall above the south side of the *durqaʿa* (fig. 7). It shows (fig. 8) on the far right an unusual two-storey building with a tripartite façade and a gabled roof. On either side of the vertical axis, there is a minaret-like tower with arched windows in the shaft, followed by a balcony topped by a bulbous dome. It is easy, though not necessarily accurate, to assume

Figure 6: Fragment 2, after removal from the southwest façade, wall linking the *durqaʿa* and northwest iwan.

Figure 7: Fragment 3, in situ.

Figure 8: Fragment 3, after removal from above the entrance of the southwest wall.

that this building is meant to represent a mosque. To the left of this is a tall, slender, and sinuous tree, bearing fruits inlaid with mother-of-pearl. This is followed, on the left, by another two-storey building with a symmetrical arrangement and division similar to the first. On the ground level, blowing curtains wrap around a pair of columns that are enclosed by an interesting arched entrance with interlocking green, white, and red stones. Above it is a soaring, tower-like structure with a square window grille at the centre, followed by a balcony and a mother-of-pearl studded finial. On either side of this tower are two smaller towers, each surmounted by a bulbous dome. Unlike the other fragments, a sense of perspective is achieved here by the inclusion of leaves behind the towers to differentiate between the foreground (building) and background (leaves). Next is a large fruit-bearing tree with four branches, which give it a more naturalistic rendering than the first. This is the end of the scene, except for a lone leaf floating at the top left of the frieze. The fact that this leaf is composed of green and yellow tesserae, like those awkwardly placed behind the central building, leads one to assume that perhaps this was meant to represent the background of a third two-storey building, a theory which is strengthened by the traces of a dome still visible. This alternating arrangement of tree and building leads one to speculate whether the rest of this section of the frieze consisted of the same combination.

Although the motifs and composition here are reminiscent of the mosaics in the porticos of the Umayyad mosque, more parallels can be drawn with the frieze at al-Qubba al-Zahiriyya, even though the execution of the Citadel hall fragments is not as refined. The frieze at al-Qubba al-Zahiriyya (fig. 9), the best surviving example of glass mosaics from the Mamluk period, is an important point of reference, both in terms of content and context. In both cases, a building commissioned by a sultan is decorated with a glass mosaic frieze above a marble dado. The similarities are especially noticeable in the combination of trees and buildings (some with a tripartite division) of equal height, where the buildings are particularly odd

Figure 9: Al-Qubba al-Zahiriyya, interior view showing marble dado and mosaic frieze.

in that they cannot be associated with any architectural type in Cairo or Damascus: bulbous domes, gabled roofs, and towers with balconies are foreign to the medieval residential architecture of either city. Interestingly, similar towers with balconies, as found on the third fragment, were painted on one of the famous Baltimore Beakers (no. 47.18) in the collection of the Walters Art Museum; and the combination of a two-storey domed structure with a tripartite division appears on the other (no. 47.17).[33] There is one instance, however, where the mosaicists of the hall copied a very specific iconographic motif: the blowing curtains of the central building. The same representation of a curtain can also be found in al-Qubba al-Zahiriyya's frieze, and the even older mosaic frieze at Sant' Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna showing the palace of Theodoric (ca. 519). Yet, despite all of these borrowings from manuscript paintings and older mosaic programmes, both of which have earlier, non-Mamluk precedents, there is one recognisable Cairene feature in this same fragment: the joggling around the entrance to the central two-storey building duplicates what would have been executed in contemporaneous Bahri Mamluk architecture.[34]

On the technical side, the relative proportion between the trees and buildings is kept at a minimum; in fact, both trees and buildings are shown at the same height, with leaves, branches, and fruits grossly oversized. Colour shading and tonality seem to have been a challenge for the mosaicists; unlike in the older examples of the

Figure 10: Detail of mosaic decoration in the hall.

Umayyad mosque or al-Qubba al-Zahiriyya, colour shading is used in only some of the leaves. Upon further inspection, however, certain interesting details come to light. Despite the simple execution (fig. 10), an assortment of colours was used by the mosaicists that included black, gold, red, green, pale blue, yellow and white. So far, the above mentioned colours have been identified in the three fragments, in addition to glass tesserae, mother-of-pearl and a yellow stone, possibly quartzite, which was cut down and applied in the mosaics, perhaps to add some texture to the scenes. During the removal process, individual cubes and chunks of tesserae were unearthed in the rubble of the fallen southeastern iwan. All of the above-mentioned colours were identified, in addition to blue and turquoise. What is more obvious from the individual pieces and the chunks is that a range of blue and green tesserae was applied by the mosaicists and the tesserae they used varied in size. It is not clear whether the colour range was intentional or came about through an error in the process of manufacturing the mosaics. The lack of uniformity in the size of the tesserae brings to mind a passage from al-ʿUmari's *Masalik*, in which he comments that, "...this kind [of mosaic] does not turn out completely equal to that which was made in olden times, as regards the purity of the colour or beauty of aspect. The difference between the old [Umayyad] and new [Mamluk] consists

of the fact that in the old, the tesserae are uniform and of equal size, whereas in the new they are of varying size."[35]

Reconstruction of the Hall and its Decoration

Using all the collected data, the authors have attempted to reconstruct the decoration in a royal Bahri Mamluk reception hall (fig. 11), and depended on the evidence without imposing assumptions. The existing walls and traces of decoration were the main references in creating a reconstruction. The difference in floor levels of the iwans and the lateral recesses was easily determined based on some of the existing steps (fig. 1). The arrangement of the marble panelling is based on both the traces of divisions left in the mortar and the few fragments found in situ. These traces were invaluable as they supplied specific dimensions, such as those of the rectangular marble panel above the entrance leading to the corridors in the southwest façade of the *durqaʿa* (fig. 4). Equally important was the excavation photograph of the single colonette,[36] which had formed an arcade; again, the presence of traces in the mortar in more than one location along the circumference of the hall walls proved that this arcade was continuous (fig. 4). The thorough inspection and cleaning of the walls exposed a number of smaller mosaic fragments on opposite sides of the *durqaʿa*. The continuity of the mosaic frieze along all the corners and recesses of the hall walls was substantiated by the occurrence of mortar traces

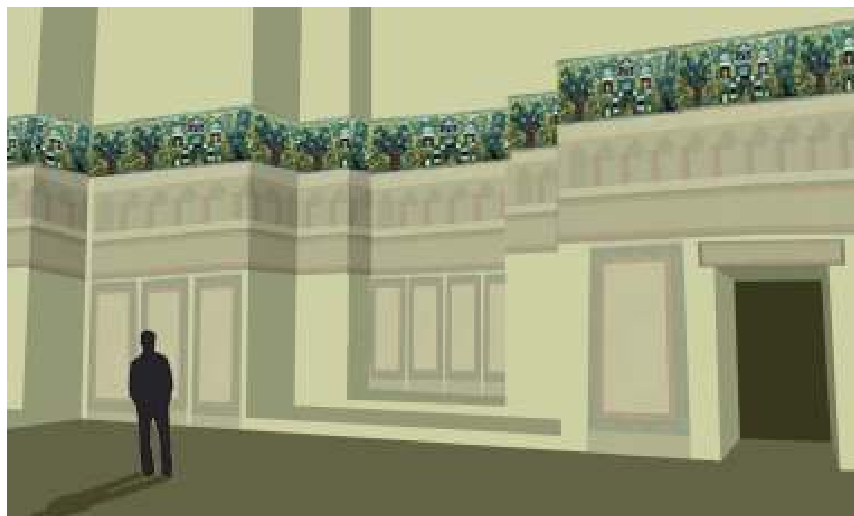

Figure 11: Reconstruction of the southwest façade.

at the same height as the frieze and hundreds of tesserae found within the rubble of the demolished southeastern iwan. Unfortunately, since less than five percent (almost seven metres out of a circumference of 150 metres) has survived, it is very difficult to understand and interpret the frieze based on the remaining fragments, especially when they share very little in common.

The decorative scheme in this hall was the architect's solution to overcoming the monumentality of the space and to creating harmony between its architectural elements and the human scale.[37] The walls of the spaces were divided vertically into two parts: the lower one, which contained the doors and the seating recesses, responded to the human scale by the proportions of its divisions and less decorated surfaces; while the upper part was decorated with large, detailed friezes of different materials that are fully appreciated at a distance because of their scale. Horizontal divisions consisting of undecorated pieces of marble formed transitional areas between the different friezes and united all the elements in one decorative ensemble. The proposed reconstruction (fig. 11) shows the relationship between a viewer, with an average height of 1.75 metres, and the location of the mosaics, at four metres above ground level. The frieze, surrounded by other rich decorative materials and patterns, was meant to be viewed at a certain height, which would have made the technical shortcomings unnoticeable. Such a position enabled the viewer to appreciate the glass mosaic frieze as a part of the whole decorative scheme rather than on its own. Above the mosaic frieze there were rectangular grooves where wooden beams may have been embedded in the walls to support a wooden inscription band; this, however, was not included in the reconstruction, as no traces or fragments remain.

As previously mentioned, some of the upper parts of the southwestern walls of the *durqaʿa* were built of mud brick, while it is clear that some of the mud-brick courses in the northeastern walls were replaced by newer ones during a later restoration. It is evident that the existing mud-brick courses were not the last registers; hence, it is difficult to know the original height of the hall. Also, the absence of grooves for ceiling beams hinders any speculation concerning the roofing system of the *durqaʿa*.

Interpretation

It is apparent that the use of glass mosaics, unlike carved stone, was never a popular decorative technique in Egypt, and it was not until the Bahri Mamluk period that it was introduced with any significance. The trend lasted less than a hundred years; and, with the exception of this hall and two other royal buildings at the Citadel, it was limited to a few mihrabs commissioned by sultans, emirs, and a sultan's nursemaid. Concerning their motifs and iconography, the hall fragments are not related

to any other surviving application of mosaics in the Bahri Mamluk period, with the exception of the frieze in al-Qubba al-Zahiriyya. When sections of the respective friezes are compared, it is striking that the quality and sophistication of the Cairene example do not rank as high. After al-Qubba al-Zahiriyya, the use of glass mosaics gained some popularity, but only on a very restricted surface area (mihrab conches), leaving little room for improvisation. Ultimately, with the Citadel mosaics, one must conclude that the level of craftsmanship executed for a royal hall is a reflection of the mosaicists' lack of experience and familiarity with the technique, as can be seen with other foreign decorative techniques briefly introduced during the period, such as faience tiles.

Through this brief investigation, we have demonstrated that the precise meaning of the mosaics is unclear, largely because the three surviving fragments do not reflect complete scenes, and their location on the frieze in relation to each other renders them difficult to connect. So why were glass mosaics used as a decorative frieze in a hall at the Citadel? The answer lies in the overall context and functionality of a royal hall and its association with ceremonial at the Citadel, the seat of government. The hall was surrounded by other grandiose and visually impressive buildings, all commissioned by important sultans. The rarity of glass mosaics in the post-Umayyad period gave the technique an air of magnificence, all the more so since during the period in question only important buildings or those commissioned by eminent patrons were bestowed with them. Equally unusual is the iconography represented, be it urns sprouting scrolls, or, in the case of the Citadel hall, buildings not reflected on the Cairo skyline. Moreover, the fact that the mosaicists, perhaps craftsmen from Syria, copied motifs from older mosaic programmes, manuscripts, and other media, lent the hall frieze an exotic quality regardless of how these motifs were interpreted. The intention was to impress visitors with a medium that was not only rare in Cairo's artistic traditions, but which also reflected the diverse dimension of Mamluk aesthetics, recalling at the same time the glories of the Umayyad past.

Taking either the Egyptian Antiquities Organisation's or Rabbat's identification of the hall into consideration, it would have been part of the sultan's massive redesign and renovation of the citadel, playing an important role in court ceremonial. Al-Nasir Muhammad, for example, was a prolific builder and patron of architecture, who distinguished himself from his predecessors by significantly altering the shape and visual panorama of the city. His building activity was contagious, and many of his favourite emirs carried out similarly elaborate and massive building programmes – in most cases, these building activities were supported by the sultan. All of these urban changes contributed to Cairo's appeal in the fourteenth century and complemented the sultan's agenda of inspiring awe in residents and visitors alike. Be it in public or in private ceremonial, Cairo in the Qalawunid period, and during al-Nasir Muhammad's third reign in particular, was a city meant

to impress; and the Citadel buildings, specifically those associated with the sultan, succeeded in doing so. In this regard, as the seat of ceremonial, the Citadel "played an essential role as the manifestation of glory and power."[38] Thus, these buildings, the Citadel hall included, should be seen as the embodiment of the patron, here the sultan. As such, the hall represents the only existing part of a royal medieval palace in Cairo. Its grand scale and prominent highly visible location meant that it could have served as a model for the residential architecture of the Bahri Mamluk period.

Illustrations (with image credit)

Figure 1: Southwest façade of the excavated hall taken from the current ground level. (Photo by the authors)
Figure 2: Site plan showing the location of the hall and its relation to the surrounding buildings. (by Nicholas Warner)[39]
Figure 3: Plan of the excavated hall. (By the authors)
Figure 4: Reconstruction of the entrance area in the southwest façade. (By the authors)
Figure 5: Fragment 1, after removal from the south corner of the recess in the northeast façade. (Photo by the authors)
Figure 6: Fragment 2, after removal from the southwest façade, wall linking the *durqaʿa* and northwest iwan. (Photo by the authors)
Figure 7: Fragment 3, in situ. (Photo by the authors)
Figure 8: Fragment 3, after removal from above the entrance of the southwest wall. (Photo by the authors)
Figure 9: Al-Qubba al-Zahiriyya, interior view showing marble dado and mosaic frieze. (Photo Bernard O' Kane)
Figure 10: Detail of mosaic decoration in the hall. (Photo by the authors)
Figure 11: Reconstruction of the southwest façade. (By the authors)

Notes

1 Finbarr Barry Flood, "Umayyad Survivals and Mamluk Revivals: Qalawunid Architecture and the Great Mosque of Damascus," *Muqarnas* 14 (1997), 57–79; and Nasser Rabbat, "The Mosaics of the Qubba al-Zahiriyya in Damascus: A Classical Syrian Medium Acquires a Mamluk Signature," *ARAM* 9–10 (1997–98), 227–39.

2 Bethany J. Waker, "Commemorating the Sacred Space of the Past: The Mamluks and the Umayyad Mosque at Damascus," *Near East Archaeology 67*, 1(2004), 26–39, esp. 28, 33.

3 Several semi-comprehensive lists were published recently: Ellen Kenney, "Mixed Metaphors: Iconography and Medium in Mamluk Glass Mosaic Decoration," *Artibus Asiae* 66/2 (2006), 175–84; Flood, "Umayyad Survivals and Mamluk Revivals," 68–70; Rabbat, "The Mosaics of the

Qubba al-Zahiriyya in Damascus," 227; and Caroline Williams, "The Mosque of Sitt Hadaq," *Muqarnas* 11 (1994), 59–62.

4 Dome of the Rock: Sultan al-Zahir Baybars al-Bunduqdari in 1261, Sultan al-Adil Katbugha (d. 1297) in 1294–96, and Emir Tankiz/Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad in 1318–19; al-Aqsa mosque: Sultan al-Zahir Baybars al-Bunduqdari in 1269 and Emir Tankiz/Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad in 1329; the Umayyad mosque of Damascus: Sultan al-Zahir Baybars al-Bunduqdari in 1269 and Emir Tankiz/Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad in 1328–29.

5 K.A.C. Creswell, *Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, 2 vols., (Oxford 1952–59, repr. New York, 1978), 2: 138; Behrens-Abouseif, "The Lost Minaret of Shajarat ad-Durr at Her Complex in the Cemetery of Sayyida Nafisa," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 39 (1983), 12–14.

6 Rabbat, "The Mosaics of the Qubba al-Zahiriyya in Damascus," 236. Although unconfirmed by historical accounts, Ibn ʿAbd al-Zahir's description of the palace's wall decoration has been interpreted by Rabbat as having been applied in glass mosaics.

7 Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār. mamālik Miṣr wa-al-Shām wa ʾl-Ḥijāz wa ʾl-Yaman*, ed. Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid (Cairo, 1985), 82.

8 Williams, "The Mosque of Sitt Hadaq," 60–61. Emir Sayf al-Din Tankiz al-Husami al-Nasiri was viceroy and governor of Damascus from 1312–40. He married his daughter, Qutlughmalik, to the sultan, and two other daughters to the sultan's sons; Emir Sayf al-Din Aqbugha ʿAbd al-Wahid was promoted from superintendent of construction to commander of the sultan's *mamluk* s, then to supreme majordomo. He was also the brother of Khawand Tughay, Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad's wife; Sitt Miska/Hadaq was the sultan's nursemaid.

9 Myriam Rosen-Ayalon, "A Neglected Group of Mihrabs in Palestine," in ed. M. Sharon, *Studies in Islamic History and Civilization in Honour of Professor David Ayalon*, (Jerusalem, 1986), 554.

10 Initially established in 1859 as the Department of Antiquities, the name of the Department was changed to the Egyptian Antiquities Organisation (EAO) in 1971, and then to the Supreme Council of Antiquities (SCA) in 1994 by Presidential Decree Number 82. (http://www.sca-egypt.org/eng/SCA_History.htm).

11 Nasser Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo: A New Interpretation of Royal Mamluk Architecture* (Leiden, 1995), 161–69; idem, "The Mosaics of the Qubba al-Zahiriyya in Damascus," 232–33.

12 The removed fragments are intended to be displayed in the planned Museum of Historic Cairo in the grounds of al-Azhar Park. This Museum is a joint SCA–Aga Khan Trust for Culture initiative. The authors would like to thank Zahi Hawass, former Secretary General of the Supreme Council of Antiquities, for the permission to publish the mosaics and photos of them.

13 Robert Hay, *Illustrations of Cairo* (London, 1840), plate XIX. See image in Julia Gonnella's paper in this volume, fig. 14.

14 Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "The Citadel of Cairo: Stage for Mamluk Ceremonial," *Annales Islamologiques* 24 (1988), 45.

15 Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo*, 203.

16 Maḥmūd al-Ḥadīdī, "al-Qasr al-Ablaq, qaṣr al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn bi ʾl-qalʿa," *Dirāsāt wa-buḥūth fī ʾl-āthār wa ʾl-ḥaḍāra ʾl-islāmiyya, al-kitāb al-taqḍīrī li ʾl- athārī ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Maḥmūd ʿAbd al-Tawwāb* 1 (Cairo, 2000), 473.

17 *ʿIzz li-mawlānā al-sulṭān / al-aʿẓam al-malik al-ashraf / sulṭān al-islām wa ʾl-muslimīn / ʿazza naṣruhu*, meaning: Glory to our lord the sultan / the most magnificent, the most noble king / the sultan of Islam and the Muslims / may Allah glorify his victories.

18 Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo*, 156.

19 Hadidi, "al-Qasr al-Ablaq," 47. We should also mention that Rabbat, through his comprehensive study on the Citadel, has referred to the same site as al-Qaʿ al-Ashrafiyya (1292). For more on this, see chapters 5–7 in Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo*.

20 al-ʿUmari, *Masalik*, 81.

21 Creswell, *Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, 2: 260. For the original Arabic description, see al-ʿUmari, *Masalik*, 81.

22 Creswell, *Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, 2: 260–61.

23 al-Maqrīzī, Taqiyy al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Kitāb al-sulūk li-maʿrifat duwal al-mulūk,* eds. M. Ziyāda and S. ʿĀshshūr, Cairo 1970–73, 2/1:29.

24 Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo*, 200.

25 According to the excavation report of 1985, the marble cladding was stripped by the Ottoman Sultan Selim I (r. 1512–20) and shipped to Istanbul. See Hadidi, "al-Qasr al-Ablaq," 474, 478.

26 Hadidi, "al-Qasr al-Ablaq," 482; Randa ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Khaṭṭāṭ, *Fusayfisā' al-ʿamā'ir al-islāmiyya bi-mādīnat al-Qāhira fī 'l-ʿaṣr al-ayyūbī wa 'l-mamlūkī wa 'l-ʿuthmānī*, M. A. Thesis, Faculty of Fine Arts, Helwan University (Cairo, 2002) 152, 157.

27 "The façades of all these palaces are built of black and yellow stones, and within are dados of marble and gold mosaics (*fusayfisa*) heightened with mother-of-pearl and colored paste (*maʿjun*) and trophies and different colors. The ceilings are all gilded and painted with lapis lazuli. The light comes through windows filled with colored Cypriot glass resembling necklaces of precious stones. All the floors are paved with marble transported from all the countries of the world, which has no equal." (Creswell, *Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, 2: 260.) For the original Arabic description, see al-ʿUmari, *Masalik*, 82.

28 We would like to thank Bernard O'Kane for drawing our attention to this uncanny similarity. For examples of these late Classical–early Christian derived roof coverings, see Richard Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting* (Cleveland, 1962), 26–27.

29 Ibid., 153–56. Both manuscripts (Pococke 400, folio 99 recto/Bodleian Library, Oxford, and Ms. arabe 3467, folio 78verso/Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris) are attributed to mid-fourteenth-century Syria.

30 Khattat, *Fusayfisa*, 159.

31 The scene was reconstructed using the excavation photographs and individual pieces of tesserae found in the rubble of the *qaʿa*.

32 The Mamluk illustrated manuscript (Ms. Marsh 458, folio 36a) is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford and is dated to 1137. See Oleg Grabar, *The Illustrations of the Maqamat* (Chicago, 1984), 15, 68. Grabar attributes the manuscript to Cairo.

33 Esin Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam – Art of the Mamluks* (Washington, D. C., 1981), 126–27. The beakers are dated to ca. 1260.

34 The joggled arch of the mihrab at the mosque of al-Maridani also displays three colours; and in the Syrian *Kashf al-Asrār* of Ibn Ghānim al-Maqdisī (mid-fourteenth century) in the Library of the Süleymaniye Mosque, there are joggled arches in one of the miniatures (Kala Ismail 565, folio verso 6). See Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, 159.

35 K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 2 vols., (Oxford, 1969), 1: 237.

36 Hadidi, "al-Qasr al-Ablaq," 482; Khattat, *Fusayfisa'*, 152, 157.

37 Hassan Fathi, "The Qaʿa of the Cairene Arab House, Its Development and Some New Usages for Its Design Concepts," *Colloque international sur l'histoire du Caire* (Cairo, 1969), 140.

38 Behrens-Abouseif, "The Citadel of Cairo," 26.

39 Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, 173.

Julia Gonnella

Inside Out: The Mamluk Throne Hall in Aleppo

The Throne Hall on the Aleppo Citadel is the only remaining example of this kind of official Mamluk palatial architecture to have survived to the present day. It was, however, commissioned not by a sultan but by a now little-known officer, Jakam min ʿIwad (d. 1407), who came to power in Northern Syria after Timur's invasion, even proclaiming himself sultan for a very short time. Jakam's unusual massive cuboid structure above the Citadel's entrance, with its magnificent ceremonial window, radically changed the palatial imagery of the citadel, changing its emphasis from the interior of the fortification to its exterior, where the Throne Hall now became the focus of official ceremonial culture. This paper discusses the architectural and restoration history and context of this much neglected building and will relate it to its patron, who obviously commissioned the Throne Hall to demonstrate visually his sovereignty in this important metropolis on the northern border of the Mamluk Empire.

Despite a succession of Mamluk restorations, followed by centuries of decay and a somewhat fanciful restoration in the 1950s, the Mamluk Throne Hall on the Aleppo Citadel is the only one of its kind to have survived above ground and as such it deserves greater attention (fig. 1). One of the reasons it has been ignored is that it does not appear to be a separate building unit: at first glance it seems to belong to the enormous late twelfth-/early thirteenth-century Ayyubid fortification ordered by Saladin's eldest son, al-Malik al-Zahir Ghazi (1172–1216), who made Aleppo a bastion of the Ayyubid empire and turned its fortress into one of the most impressive and dominating urban citadels in the Middle East.[1] However, the Throne Hall was added two hundred years later, in 1406–07. Surprisingly, this important project was initiated not by the Mamluk sultan but by a little known emir called Jakam min ʿIwad (d. 1407) who, in a rather ingenious way, placed a massive cuboid structure on top of the two Ayyubid towers of the entrance block facing out towards the city. Architecturally speaking, this step represents a totally innovative concept, breaking with all the previous imagery of the Citadel. Earlier palaces on the Citadel were situated well inside the medieval fortification, completely hidden from public view.[2] Visitors had a long climb up the steep hill, winding their way

Figure 1: The Citadel of Aleppo and its Mamluk Throne Hall.

through several heavily guarded iron doors, before reaching the royal residence and even there the complicated plan of the palace, with its various courtyards and corridors, would have confused any stranger. In contrast, the Mamluk Throne Hall rises majestically above the city for everyone to see and admire. With the arrival of the Throne Hall, the Citadel's idea of representation had thus changed radically: it was turned inside out.

Whence the Throne Hall

The Throne Hall was built after Timur's (1336–1405) conquest of Aleppo in November 1400. His conquest marked the starting point of his notorious invasion of the Mamluk empire, which he had hoped to occupy easily after the death of his rival, the Mamluk Sultan Barquq (1382–99). With amazing speed, Timur captured all of the major Syrian cities. After the fall of Damascus he returned to Aleppo in the middle of March 1401 and apparently burned both the city and its citadel.[3]

Timur's gruesome invasion and his plundering of the Syrian cities have been described in detail by several eyewitnesses.[4] Aleppo's streets and mosques were apparently filled with dead bodies, and the city stank of corpses. Timur and his troops stayed for a month and then left the city "fallen on its roof, empty of inhab-

itants and every human being, reduced to ruins; the muezzin's call and the prayer services were no longer heard; there was nought there but a desert waste darkened by fire, a lonely solitude where only the owl and the vulture took refuge."[5] Mamluk sources are prone to exaggeration and evidence from the recent excavations on the Citadel suggests that Timur did not totally destroy the city. The excavations exposed a number of Mamluk private houses which were not badly harmed and which continued to be used after the invasion.[6] A recent architectural survey revealed that the Citadel walls show no signs of a complete destruction either.[7] The Mongol invasion 140 years earlier caused much more damage, which is clearly visible both in the excavations and the fortifications. Nevertheless, the archaeological evidence reveals an important change in the Citadel's use after Timur's invasion. Large quantities of gilded and enamelled glass, Chinese porcelain, and fine Mamluk pottery have been found which predate Timur's arrival, whereas finds from the fifteenth century, that is from the post-Timur period, are much lower in both quality and quantity. This archaeological evidence strongly suggests that the importance of the Citadel as a residential complex declined after Timur's invasion and that the Mamluk emirs and their households moved down to the city.

This is surprising because the extensive and immediate restoration work ordered by Jakam min ʿIwad, then the Mamluk governor of Aleppo, must have been intended to enable the Citadel to function as before. Jakam invested enormous energy into repairing the damage inflicted by Timur and his activities are vividly described by the chroniclers Sibt ibn al-ʿAjami (d. 1479) and Ibn Shihna (d. 1485):[8] he not only ordered the rebuilding of the Citadel wall, but he also deepened the moat and had two large defensive towers erected which still dominate the southern and the northern Citadel slopes.[9] In order to do this, he apparently destroyed madrasas and tombs in its vicinity,[10] as well as the last remains of the former city wall, which had originally integrated the Citadel into the urban fortification system but had been damaged during the invasions.

The Throne Hall Jakam commissioned on top of the older Ayyubid entrance block – which apparently had suffered equally at the hands of Timur's troops – became his masterpiece. Sibt ibn al-ʿAjami described the building as the most beautiful pavilion ever seen in an Islamic fortress.[11] Its floors were apparently covered with mosaics, and its windows on all sides gave impressive views of the city.[12] The historians are full of admiration for this energetic governor, who seems to have participated in the construction works in person, carrying heavy stones on his own back and also making the leading judges, the *qadi*s, of the town contribute as well.[13] George Ploix de Rotrou, the head of the French Antiquities Service during the Mandate period, enthusiastically praised these activities of the Mamluk emir in his tourist guide of 1930, describing how "*avec toute l'ardeur de son grand coeur*," Jakam became an example to everyone, mixing with the simple workmen in order to restore the grand fortification to its former glory.[14] But Jakam did not

order the refurbishment of the Citadel for sentimental or even social reasons; on the contrary, the rebuilding programme was an integral part of his power politics, as we shall see.

The Throne Hall was not finished by Jakam. He died in battle in 1407, not long after construction had started. It was Sultan Mu'ayyad Shaykh (1412–21), successor to Sultan al-Nasir Faraj (1399–1412), who completed the *qaʿa* several years later.[15] Historical sources mention that the sultan imported wooden beams from the area around Damascus, since the beams Jakam had ordered from Baalbak were not sufficient to cover the roof.[16] The Throne Hall seems to have remained untouched for around seventy years until Sultan Qaytbay (1416–96) had restorations carried out between 1472 and 1475. This is testified by two inscriptions, one on the inside above the central window, the other on the outside on a panel below the central window, flanked by two cartouches in his name.[17] The outer one mentions that this work was supervised by a certain ʿAla' al-Din from Egypt. A final Mamluk restoration by Sultan al-Ghawri (1501–16) is also documented by an inscription.[18] Obviously the wooden ceiling of the Throne Hall was no longer in good shape and the sultan had it replaced by nine stone domes (*qubba*s) in Muharram 910/July 1508. The famous eighteenth-century engraving by Alexander Drummond gives us a good idea of how impressive these domes must have looked (fig. 2).[19]

Together with many other buildings on the Citadel, the Throne Hall was destroyed in a heavy earthquake in 1822.[20] The domes collapsed and the façade was badly cracked. Old pictures show the Throne Hall without a roof (fig. 3). The Syrian Antiquities Department eventually decided to renovate the building comprehensively in 1950.[21] For this, the entire façade of the building was completely dismantled and then reinstalled layer by layer (fig. 4). The floor was renewed and covered with cement. The roof was rebuilt following a completely new plan, now supported on four pillars with a single central dome. Likewise, the interior was refurbished, with painted wooden ceilings, coloured windows and a polychrome marble floor in the style of nineteenth-century Damascene domestic architecture. Today, the Throne Hall serves as a municipal reception hall. In 2004, air-conditioning was installed at the northern back wall.

The Building

The extent of modern restoration work makes it extremely difficult to reconstruct Jakam's original hall. For any attempt we are reliant on Ernst Herzfeld and Jean Sauvaget, who studied the Throne Hall at the beginning of the twentieth century and provided both plans and elevations of the then very damaged structure (figs. 5, 6, 7).[22] Herzfeld's examinations document how the new Mamluk building was integrated into the Ayyubid fortifications. The two massive Ayyubid entrance

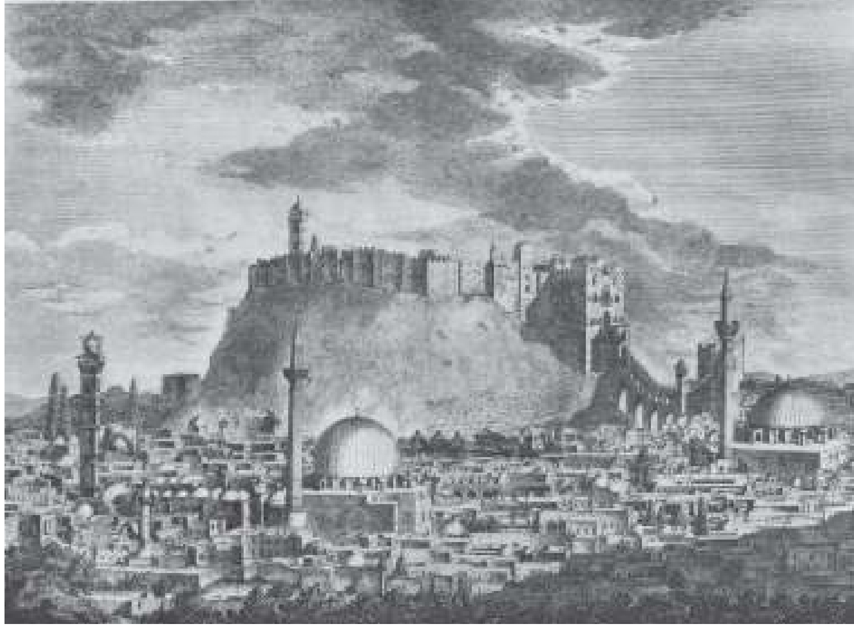

Figure 2: View of the Citadel of Aleppo by Alexander Drummond. Note the domes built by Sultan al-Ghawri on the roof.

Figure 3: The Throne Hall without roof before restorations, 1935–36.

Figure 4: The façade of the Throne Hall dismantled in the course of the restoration work in the early 1950s.

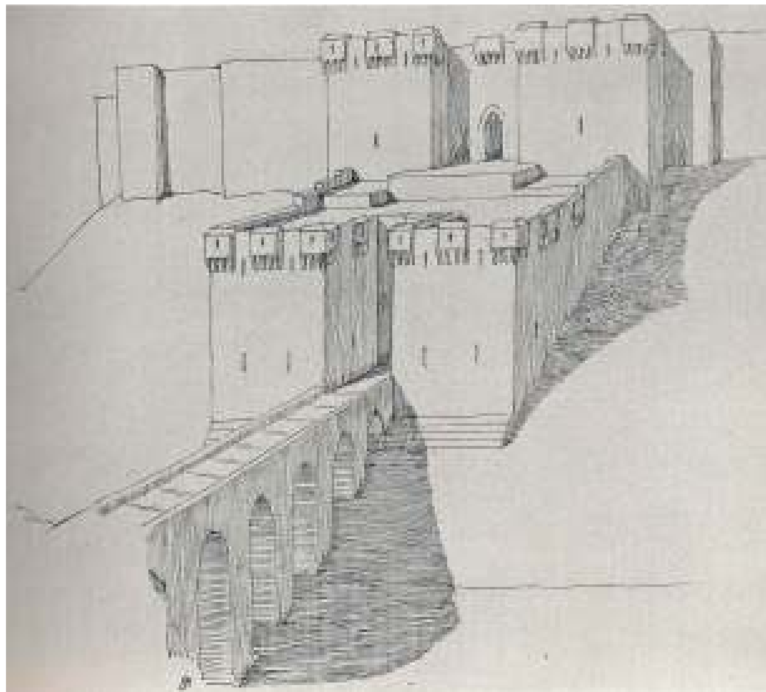

Figure 5: The Ayyubid entrance hall as reconstructed by Ernst Herzfeld.

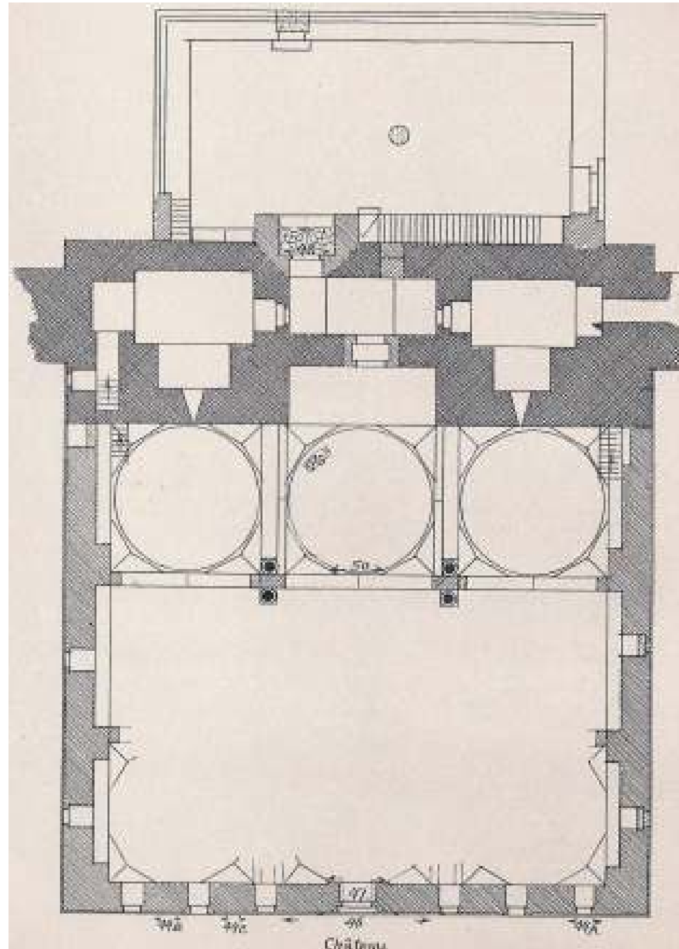

Figure 6: Ernst Herzfeld's ground plan of the the Throne Hall of the Citadel of Aleppo.

towers were covered by vaults, which then served as foundations for the rectangular hall above. The Ayyubid wall was transformed into the southern wall of the new audience chamber. This remains visible, and has even retained its original embrasures, although the central door on Herzfeld's drawing did not belong to the original Ayyubid structure but was added to provide access into the Mamluk building (fig. 5). According to Herzfeld, the wooden beams of the first hall were supported by four central pillars, of which he was still able to document one of the northern two.[23] On old photographs one can only see the late Mamluk arcades, running east to west, which carried the early sixteenth-century domes of Sultan al-Ghawri each flanked by small spolia Byzantine basalt columns (figs. 8, 9).

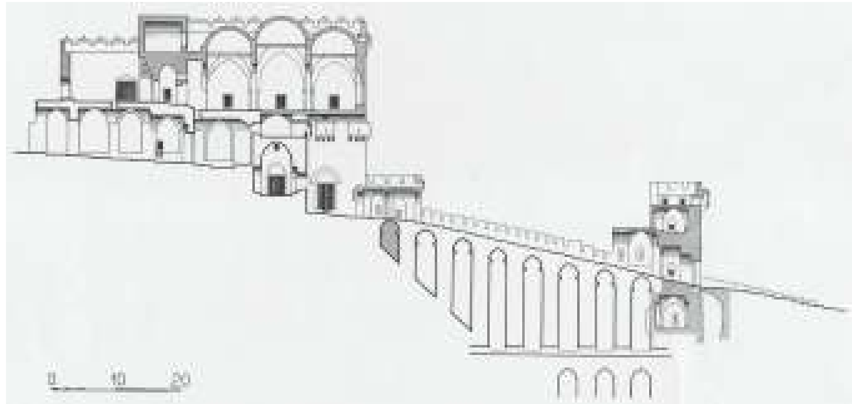

Figure 7: Jean Sauvaget's elevation of the Throne Hall.

Figure 8: Interior of the Throne Hall with early sixteenth-century arcades.

According to Sauvaget's reconstruction, the central row of domes was elevated and thus higher than the northern and southern line (fig. 7). The location of a large iwan (vaulted hall) mentioned in the chronicles, which was obviously used for audiences by the sultan, is unclear. The sources may be referring to the space within the Ayyubid recessed wall.[24] There is no sign of an iwan structure on the southern side of the window, but maybe the iwan was not a distinct architectural unit at all.

Figure 9: Interior of the Throne Hall with Max Freiherr von Oppenheim between the late Mamluk arcades.

Old pictures also record some of the painted fresco decoration of which only very few traces survive today (fig. 10). It includes bands of splendid rosettes as well as large roundels, probably blazons, and some of the columns display a painted zigzag pattern (fig. 9). It is highly likely that the interior decoration belongs to Sultan Ghawri's substantial restoration programme, when the wooden beams of the roof were replaced by domes, in which case the blazons which are visible in the photographs might have contained his name or those of his Citadel governor, Sayf al-Din Abrak al-Ashrafi.

A little courtyard preceding the entrance to the Throne Hall still survives. It has a prominent portal with two benches at each side, decorated with striped masonry (*ablaq*) and a black-and-white stone panel in relief. Even more imposing is the

Figure 10: Former Mamluk painted decoration in the Throne Hall with rosettes and cartouches, probably early sixteenth century.

stalactite-vaulted portal of the Throne Hall itself, again in striped masonry, with a magnificent central decorative medallion, typical of the later fifteenth century (fig. 11). It might have been built on the orders of Sultan Qaytbay, but an inscription plaque mentioning his name has been lost.[25] There are a few further ornaments in the courtyard wall, as well as a large-scale window, or possibly a former door, opening up a splendid view of the interior of the Citadel with both Citadel mosques in sight.

The most striking feature of the Throne Hall, however, is the outer façade, with its eye-catching central ceremonial window set in a rather high, flat, vertical recessed niche with a stalactite cornice on top, framed by a tooth border (fig. 12). It is accentuated by striped masonry and a knotted relief decor and flanked by two small plaited columns. The bronze grille of the window is original and still in situ. There are three further small rectangular windows on either side, as there are around the corner at its eastern and western sides, the central ones again emphasised by striped masonry. The tiny semi-circle machicolations above are purely decorative but remind the viewer that this is fortification architecture. Another, more traditional-looking machicolation (again ornamental) above the ceremonial window features a small central embrasure. Quite a number of small stone ornaments and inscriptions survive between the windows and between the embrasures

Figure 11: Northern portal of the Throne Hall.

Figure 12: The main façade of the Throne Hall with its ceremonial window.

below, amongst them various rosettes, a star, and two remarkable square Kufic inscriptions, one of them containing the *shahada* or Islamic tenet of faith. One inscription discloses the name of the architect (or stonemason), Saʿd.[26]

Michael Meinecke considered the large ceremonial window to belong to the restoration work of Qaytbay in 1470,[27] and the two inscriptions with his name just outside and inside the window seem to suggest this. However, there are several indications that the window is part of the original façade built under Jakam min ʿIwad.[28] Historical photographs do not show any joint signs in the façade which might testify to any later alterations. The small stone ornaments on the façade are typical of the early fifteenth century. Square Kufic inscriptions on the minaret of the Rizk mosque in Hasankeyf, built in 1409, are very similar to those on the Throne Hall and may even have been inspired by them.[29] More importantly, the Citadel adopts and modifies local façade decoration in Aleppo, such as the late fourteenth-century Daraj mosque[30] and especially the Utrush mosque, just below the Citadel, with its elegant high flat window niches topped by stalactite cornices (fig. 13). Admittedly, the windows of the earlier mosques do not have the plaited columns which became so characteristic of buildings in the latter part of the fifteenth century.[31] However, there seems to be no reason why plaited columns should not have developed in the course of such a prestigious building programme. The façade of the Throne Hall must have become a powerful prototype for later local architecture because you see versions of it on a whole variety of building

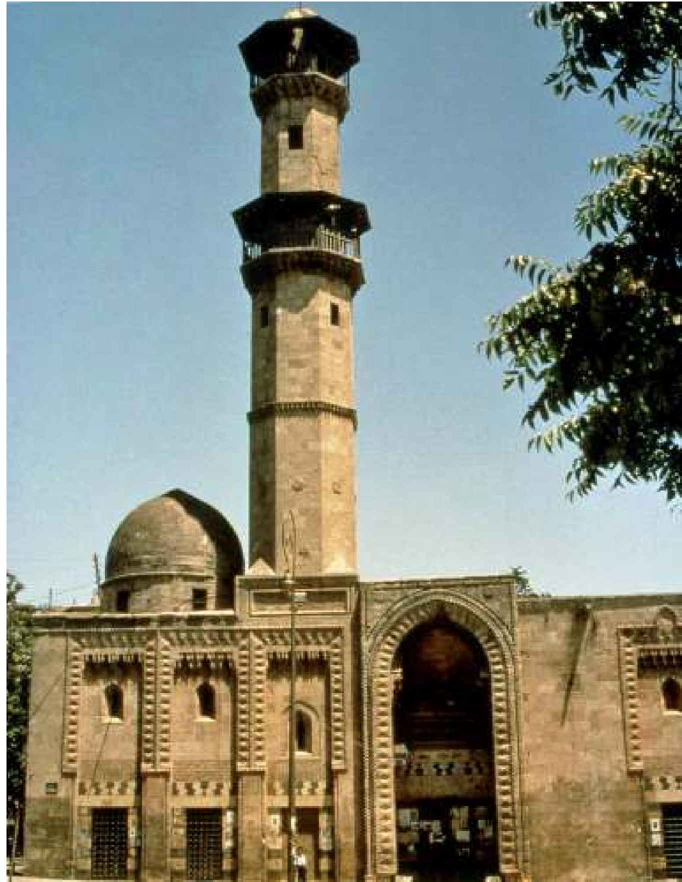

Figure 13: The façade of the Utrush mosque.

types, including tombs, mosques, palaces, and caravanserais;[32] most of these buildings date from the reign of Sultan Qaytbay (r. 1468–96), when Aleppo benefited from an increase in trade which was matched by an increase in building activities. The motif remained popular well into the Ottoman period; however, the Ottoman Madrasa Shaʿbaniyya and the Khan al-Wazir in Aleppo are final witnesses to this remarkably conservative tradition.[33]

Mamluk Throne Halls

Since Doris Behrens-Abouseif and Nasser Rabbat initiated discussion of Mamluk throne halls, the Iwan Kabir (the Great Iwan; fig. 14) on the Cairo Citadel has

Figure 14: The Iwan Kabir depicted by Robert Hay.

been considered as the main inspiration for the Aleppo Throne Hall.[34] The famous Cairene iwan was built in 1333 by Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad (1293–1341) and for a long time functioned as the major royal ceremonial chamber for the Mamluk sultans. It served as a reception hall for ambassadors and guests, as well as the Hall of Justice (Dar al-ᶜAdl) and tribunal. It was also the culmination point of the review parade (*mawkib*) of the Mamluks.[35] Only in the later Mamluk period was the Iwan Kabir replaced by other palaces. It then decayed until it eventually fell victim to a gunpowder explosion in 1828.

Fortunately, this gigantic Throne Hall in Cairo had been comparatively well documented and described before its destruction. It was considered the grandest Mamluk ceremonial hall ever built. Although it was situated in the centre of the fortification, rather than at the entrance, it was, like the Aleppo hall, intended to be admired from the outside: its enormous wooden dome, originally covered with green tiles on its exterior, overlooked the entire Citadel and was visible from a great distance. Apart from its visual prominence, however, there are few similarities to its Aleppan counterpart. Its plan shows a large rectangular hall of 36 by 31 metres, which was open on all sides except the south, which was connected with the palace. Also, the façade arrangement was completely different. The Great Iwan was dominated by arcades with different types of ancient Egyptian granite columns, a broad inscription band and crenellation. The lofty interior was arranged around the domed square, adorned with splendid muqarnas squinches and a lavish gilded

inscription. Nasser Rabbat has related the plan to the ceremonial seating order of the sultan and his emirs during the official Dar al-ʿAdl sessions.[36]

The other important Mamluk palace on the Cairo Citadel, the so-called Qasr or al-Qasr al-Ablaq (the Striped Palace), also destroyed in 1828, cannot be compared with the Aleppo Throne Hall either.[37] Like the Iwan Kabir it had been commissioned by Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad (between 1313 and 1314), but it was intended to be a more private ceremonial hall, restricted to members of the military elite, where the sultan performed administrative and political functions on a more daily basis, although it was also used during the investiture of a new sultan. Literary sources describe the beauty of its interior decoration, which included coloured glass, marble, mosaics of mother-of-pearl, and gilding for the roof. Its outer façade featured black-and-white *ablaq* stripes like the famous al-Qasr al-Ablaq of Sultan Baybars (1260–77) in Damascus, which disappeared long ago.[38]

The Cairene Qasr differs fundamentally from the Aleppo Throne Hall. Its plan is rooted in Cairene residential architecture, based on an iwan on either side of a *durqaʿa*, a central space with a sunken floor, in this case a domed, central chamber of the building. The distinguishing feature of the Cairene Qasr, however, was its lofty elevation and its location close to the Citadel wall. Its height was apparently achieved by an artificial substructure which turned the building into a major landmark to be seen from far away. From the inside, there was a splendid panoramic view right down to the Nile and the Pyramids. It also overlooked the hippodrome and the royal stables beneath the Citadel, where parades, polo games, Friday markets, and prayers would have taken place. Sultan al-Ashraf Shaʿban (1363–77) later added a kind of loggia (*khirja*), from where one could enjoy this splendid view even better.

Visibility played a major role in Cairene ceremonial buildings, but the view down to the city seems to have been equally important. The same is true for Aleppo, where the space in front of the Citadel was likewise used as a ceremonial parade ground and busy Friday marketplace (fig. 15). It was here that the Dar al-ʿAdl, the Hall of Justice, was located and where the governor of Aleppo (like his sultan in Cairo) convened twice a week for jurisdiction and for the administration of the province. Qalqashandi (1355–1418) described the ceremonial procession, which took place on the occasion of such audiences and how the governor rode along a prescribed route, passing his emirs, out of the town and back again to the Citadel.[39]

This reciprocal visibility, the view out of the palace as well as the view of the palace from outside, was part of the standard vocabulary of Islamic palatial architecture from an early period. The Umayyads and Abbasids had reception halls right next to their entrances; the height of the building enabled rulers to present themselves to the public, give audiences, act as judges, and, at the same time, visually manifest their supremacy.[40] The so-called *shubbak*, the ceremonial window, became one of the principal features for focusing visibility and was also well known

Figure 15: View from the Aleppo Citadel to the former Friday Market.

in Egypt. The Fatimid caliph appeared from behind a grilled window or a loggia reserved for him.[41] The Mamluks were also familiar with ceremonial windows, though their most important palace on the citadel, the Iwan Kabir, seems never to have had one. A *shubbak*, however, is reported for the Qasr Ablaq, where the sultan apparently sat in his function as a judge. It is further mentioned for the vizir's palace and the Dar al-Niyaba in Cairo.[42]

Gülrü Necipoglu has differentiated between ceremonial windows which display or even stage the ruler and those which hide him.[43] While Safavid residences, such as the ʿAli Qapu in Isfahan with its grand balcony, liken the palace to a theatre stage, the Mughals displayed their emperors in particular alcoves (*jharoka*) that enhanced their divine aura. The Ottomans, meanwhile, preferred to keep their sultans for themselves and outsiders were rarely admitted to see him. Instead, the sultan participated at audiences, spectacles, and receptions from behind a grilled window. Ceremonial windows, of course, are no Islamic invention. They were also known to the Byzantines and in medieval Italy, where the Doge's Palace in Venice, with its two balconies, one overlooking the sea and the other the Piazza of San Marco, is the most splendid example of its kind. Indeed, it is tempting to relate the Aleppo Throne Hall to its famous Venetian counterpart, which must have impressed many Mamluk ambassadors and traders. With its spectacular cer-

emonial window right in the centre of the façade, it certainly follows the same self-conscious tradition of displaying the ruler majestically to public view.

The Patron

Who was the self-confident patron, Jakam min ʿIwad, who built the Aleppo Throne Hall for himself rather than his master, the Mamluk Sultan al-Nasir Faraj. Jakam's history has been neglected by modern Mamluk historians, but the historical sources reveal that he belonged to a group of Mamluk governors that tried to overthrow the sultan during the unstable period in Syria which followed Timur's invasion. Jakam was the most important of the group because he was able to gain important alliances, notably with the Artuqids, the Mamluks' northern neighbours.[44] The contemporary Egyptian historian Ibn Taghribirdi (1410–70) relates that Jakam was already determined to become sultan by March 1405, but for diplomatic reasons he postponed acting immediately.[45] One year later he was in open rebellion, proclaiming independence in Aleppo and taking over Hama and Damascus.[46] In March 1407, al-Nasir Faraj received a report that his former governor had been made sultan in Aleppo and had taken on the Throne name al-Malik al-ʿAdil Abu 'l-Fath ʿAbdallah Jakam, and that his name was mentioned as sovereign in the Friday sermon (*khutba*) from the Euphrates to Gaza.[47] The chronicler al-Fasi (1373–1429) mentions a Syrian pilgrimage caravan which tried to install the Friday sermon in his name, even in Mecca.[48] In addition, Jakam distributed letters to the inhabitants of Bilad al-Sham prohibiting them to pay land taxes to the sultan in Cairo.[49] The political ambitions of this apparently rather popular governor are, however, clear not only from historical sources. Jakam also had coins struck in his name with the titles of *al-malik* (the king) and *al-sultan* (fig. 16).[50] An inscription now hidden in the lower floor of the southern bastion tower of the Aleppo Citadel also describes him as *al-malik* (fig. 17).[51]

Jakam's career as a sultan was very short-lived. He died in battle against the Turkmens near Mardin on the 17th Dhu-'l-Qaʿda 809/April 25th 1407.[52] His enemies decapitated him and sent his head to Cairo, where Sultan al-Nasir Faraj – no doubt with a sense of relief – had it displayed at the Bab Zuwayla, bands playing music to signal the good news.[53] Jakam's premature death made it unnecessary for the sultan and his army to travel to Syria to do battle with his rebellious governor.

Jakam's ambitious architectural project was unfinished upon his death. However, later sultans decided to finish it and use the prestigious buildings as a Cairene 'dependency'. This was surely connected with the growing economic and political importance of Aleppo. The Throne Hall enabled the Mamluk regime to demonstrate their sovereignty visually in this important metropolis on the northern border of their empire. As mentioned above, the archaeological finds confirm this

Figure 16a, b: *Dirham* in the name of Jakam min ʿIwad, mentioning him as al-Malik al-ʿAdil. Struck in Halab, Ramadan 809/1407.

Figure 17: Inscription in the southern defensive tower of the Aleppo Citadel mentioning Jakam min ʿIwad as al-Malik.

change in the Citadel's function from a residential complex to a building used mainly for show.

The building of the Aleppo Throne Hall was a significant and highly visual part of Jakam min ʿIwad's campaign for power. He did not imitate the Cairene palaces, which he must have known well from his stays in the capital, although he was certainly inspired by their monumentality. Jakam adopted 'the upper floor' and the 'axially set window' – both part of the common vocabulary of palace architecture – but created something completely new. For this he was strongly influ-

enced by the façade decoration of contemporary architecture in Aleppo; indeed, it is highly likely that the Citadel façade was executed by the same workmen who had been working on the Utrush mosque before Timur interrupted their activities. With his new Throne Hall, Jakam introduced a fashion for ceremonial culture in Mamluk Aleppo, adding pomp and glory to the otherwise rather austere traditional northern Syrian town.[54]

In turn, later Syrian architecture in Aleppo reflects the influence of the Throne Hall façade. It can be no coincidence that the fashion for grand windows in Syrian fortifications begins in the fifteenth century: windows grace the various towers of the city walls and citadels, not only in Aleppo[55] itself but also in places such as Gaziantep/Ayntab[56] and Jerusalem.

Illustrations (with image credit)

Figure 1: The Citadel of Aleppo and its Mamluk Throne Hall. (After Sauvaget)[60]

Figure 2: View of the Citadel by Alexander Drummond. Note the domes built by Sultan al-Ghawri on the roof.[61]

Figure 3: The Throne Hall without roof before restorations, 1935–36. (Photo courtesy of the French Department of Antiquities)

Figure 4: The façade of the Throne Hall dismantled in the course of the restoration work in the early 1950s. (Photo courtesy A.M. Schneider, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Istanbul)

Figure 5: The Ayyubid entrance hall as reconstructed by Ernst Herzfeld. (after Herzfeld)[57]

Figure 6: Ernst Herzfeld's ground plan of the Throne Hall of the Citadel of Aleppo. (After Herzfeld)[58]

Figure 7: Jean Sauvaget's elevation of the Throne Hall. (After Sauvaget)[59]

Figure 8: Interior of the Throne Hall with early sixteenth-century arcades. (Photo courtesy Archives of Sal. Oppenheim jr. & Cie., Cologne (HBO), 29/15,2, p. 22a.)

Figure 9: Interior of the Throne Hall with Max Freiherr von Oppenheim between the late Mamluk arcades. (Photo courtesy Archives of Sal. Oppenheim jr. & Cie., Cologne (HBO), 29/15,2, p. 23a.)

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Figure 13: The façade of the Utrush mosque. (Photo by the author)

Figure 14: The Iwan Kabir depicted by Robert Hay.[62]

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Figure 16a, b: *Dirham* in the name of Jakam min ʿIwad, mentioning him as al-Malik al-ʿAdil. Struck in Halab, Ramadan 809/1407. (Photo courtesy Research Centre for Islamic Numismatics, Tübingen, photographer Lutz Ilisch).

Figure 17: Inscription in the southern defensive tower of the Aleppo Citadel mentioning Jakam min ʿIwad as al-Malik. (Photo by the author)

Notes

1 For the Ayyubid citadel of Aleppo, see: Yasser Tabbaa, "Circles of Power: Palace, Citadel, and City in Ayyubid Aleppo," in ed. G. Necipoğlu, *Pre-Modern Islamic Palaces*, (*Ars Orientalis* 23, 1993), 181–200; Yasser Tabbaa, *Constructions of Power and Piety in Medieval Aleppo* (University Park, 1997); and idem, "Defending Ayyubid Aleppo: the Fortifications of al-Zahir Ghazi (1186–1216)," in ed. H. Kennedy, *Muslim Military Architecture in Greater Syria. From the Coming of Islam to the Ottoman Period*, (Leiden/Boston, 2006), 176–83. See also Julia Gonnella, Wahid Khayyata, and Kay Kohlmeyer, *Die Zitadelle von Aleppo* (Münster, 2005) and Julia Gonnella, "The Citadel of Aleppo: Recent Studies," in ed. H. Kennedy, *Muslim Military Architecture in Greater Syria. From the Coming of Islam to the Ottoman Period*, (Leiden/Boston, 2006), 165–75.

2 On the symbolic representation of the Ayyubid palace on the Citadel, see especially Yasser Tabbaa, "Circles of Power."

3 Timur's campaign in Syria has been studied by various scholars; see in particular Walther J. Fischel, *Ibn Khaldun and Tamerlane: Their Historic Meeting in Damascus, 1401 A.D. (803 A.H.): A Study Based on Arabic Manuscripts of Ibn Khaldun's "Autobiography,"* with a Translation into English, and a Commentary (Berkeley, 1952); Bertrando de Mignanelli, "Vita Tamerlani 1416, trans. W. J. Fischel: A New Latin Source on Tamerlane's Conquest of Damascus (1400–1401)," *Oriens* 9 (1956), 201–32; Jean Aubain, "Comment Tamerlan prenait les villes," *Studia Islamica* 19 (1963), 83–122, and Tilman Nagel, *Timur der Eroberer und die islamische Welt im späten Mittelalter*, (Munich, 1993), 325–28. For the numismatic implications of Timur's Damascus siege, see Stefan Heidemann, "Timur's campmint during the siege of Damascus in 803/1401," in eds. Rika Gyselen and Maria Szuppe, *Matériaux pour l'histoire économique du monde iranien (Cahiers de Studia Iranica* 21), (Leuven, 1999), 179–206.

4 Amongst the eyewitnesses of Timur's destruction of Aleppo, see especially Nizam ad-Din Shami, *Zafarnama*, ed. F. Tauer, 1: Text persan du Zafarname (Prague, 1937), 109; and Ibn Taghribirdi, *History of Egypt 1382–1469 A.D. Part II, 1399–1411 A.D.*, trans. William Popper (Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1954), 39, and the second raid, 60.

5 Ibn Taghribirdi, *History of Egypt*, 39.

6 The stratigraphy of the excavations will be published by Kay Kohlmeyer and Muhammad Miftah. Meanwhile, see Gonnella, Khayyata, Kohlmeyer, *Die Zitadelle von Aleppo*, 78–80, and Gonnella, *Citadel of Aleppo*, 172.

7 Ibid., 170 ff., and Julia Gonnella with D. Bodenmüller, Ch. Fuchs, K. Fuld, M. Krämer, A. Pieritz, and S. Sarbandy, "Baugeschichtliche Untersuchungen auf der Aleppiner Zitadelle" in eds. L. Korn, E. Orthmann and Fl. Schwarz, *Die Grenzen der Welt. Arabica et Iranica ad honorem Heinz Gaube*, (Wiesbaden, 2008), 123–37.

8 Sibṭ ibn al-ʿAjāmī, *Kunūz al-dhahab fi ta'rīkh Ḥalab = "Les trésors d'or" de Sibt ibn al-ʿAjami*, trans. J. Sauvaget, Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la ville d'Alep, 2 (Beirut, 1950), 166 ff.; Muḥammad Ibn al-Shiḥna, *al-durr al-muntakhab li tā'rīkh Ḥalab = "Les perles choisies" d' Ibn*

ach-Chihna, trans. J. Sauvaget, Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la ville d'Alep, 1 (Beirut, 1933), 48 ff.

9 Both towers have been comprehensively rebuilt by the emir Sayf al-Din Abrak al-Ashrafi in the reign of Sultan al-Ghawri (1501–16). Jakam's original building can only be traced in the lower section of the southern tower. See Ernst Herzfeld, *Inscriptions et monuments d'Alep, Matériaux pour un corpus inscriptionum arabicarum: Deuxième partie, Syrie du Nord*, 2 vols., (Cairo, 1954–56), 1: 107–110, nos. 53, 55; Jean Sauvaget, *Alep. Essai sur le développement d'une grande ville syrienne des origines au milieu du XIXe siècle*, 2 vols., (Paris, 1941), 168. Michael Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien (648/1250 bis 923/1517)*, 2 vols., (Glückstadt, 1992), 1: 168, 2: 304 ff., cat. 26B/5; 455 ff., cat. 47/28.

10 Ibn al-Shihna, *Les perles choisies*, 49; Sibt ibn al-ʿAjami, *Les trésors d'or*, 166.

11 Ibid., 167.

12 Ibid., see also Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur*, 2: 305, cat. 26B/6.

13 Ibn al-Shihna, *Les perles choisies*, 48.

14 Georges Ploix de Rotrou, *La Citadelle d'Alep et ses alentours. Guide de visiteurs à Alep* Julien Loiseau, *Reconstruire la Maison du sultan. Ruine et recomposition de l'ordre urbain au Caire (1350–1450)*, 2 vols., (Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale [IFAO], Cairo, 2010), (Aleppo, 1930; new edn., Paris, 2001), 57.

15 There are two inscriptions from the Aleppo Citadel mentioning the name of Sultan Mu'ayyad Shaykh. One has been published by Herzfeld (*Inscriptions et monuments d'Alep*, 1: 94 ff., no. 45) and is dated to the end of the month Rajab 820/September 3rd–13th 1417. This inscription has disappeared. Another, undated, inscription is published by Heinz Gaube, *Arabische Inschriften aus Syrien*, (Beirut, 1978), 59, no. 108. Neither were found in situ but the first might have belonged to the former roof of the Throne Hall. Gaube (*Arabische Inschriften*, 58, no. 106) has also published a bronze window grille dated to the year 812 (1409) that is from Mu'ayyad Shaykh's period, but not in situ and again it has been lost. See also Julia Gonnella, *Die Inschriften der Aleppiner Zitadelle*, in preparation, nos. 48, 49 a, b.

16 Ibn al-Shihna, *Les perles choisies*, 49.

17 For the inscription outside below the window, see: Moritz Sobernheim, "Die arabischen Inschriften von Aleppo," *Der Islam* 15 (1926), 187 ff., no. 22 (fig. 2); Herzfeld, *Inscriptions et monuments d'Alep*, 1: 95 ff., no 46 a, b (pl. XXXII a); Gonnella, *Inschriften*, no. 55. For the inscription inside the window see: Sobernheim, *Die arabischen Inschriften*, 190–92, no. 27 (pl. VIII, fig. 1); Herzfeld, *Inscriptions et monuments d'Alep*, 1: 97–99, no. 47 a, b (fig. 38; pl. XLII a); Gonnella, *Inschriften*, no. 56; Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur*, 2: 402, cat. 42/39; 464, cat. 47/70.

18 For al-Ghawri's inscription, see: Sobernheim, *Die arabischen Inschriften*, 189 ff., no. 26; Herzfeld, *Inscriptions et monuments d'Alep*, 1: 101–03, no. 50 (fig. 41; pl. XLII b); Gonnella, *Inschriften*, no. 64; Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur*, 2: 464, cat. 47/70.

19 Alexander Drummond, *Travels through different cities in Germany, Italy, Greece, and several parts of Asia, as far as the banks of the Euphrates: in a series of letters* (London, 1754), pl. VII.

20 The 1822 earthquake in Aleppo was of serious consequence with most inhabitants leaving the Citadel for good. Muḥammad al-Ṭabbākh, *Iʿlām al-nubalā' bi-tā'rikh Ḥalab al-shahbā'*, 2 editions (Aleppo, 1408–09/1988–09), 3:426. Gonnella, Khayyata, Kohlmeyer, *Die Zitadelle von Aleppo*, 26.

21 The restoration of the Throne Hall was supervised by the architect M. Agob Kirchian. The process of the restoration is recorded in ʿAbdallah Hajjar's diploma thesis for the Institute for the History of Arabic Science of the University of Aleppo, written under the supervision of Dr. Mahmoud Heretani: *Tarmīm qāʿat al-ʿarsh fī qalʿat Ḥalab*; Julien Loiseau, *Reconstruire la Maison du sultan. Ruine et recomposition de l'ordre urbain au Caire (1350–1450)*, 2 vols., (Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale [IFAO], Cairo, 2010). (diploma thesis, University of Aleppo, unpublished manuscript 1987–88). For short comments see also Sélim Abdul-Hak and Faisal as-Seirafi, "Chronique des monuments historiques. 4. Le démontage de la façade méridionale de la salle du trône à Alep," *Annales Archéologiques Syriennes*, I, 2 (1951), 258 ff. (French text), 330–32 (Arabic text) ; and Sélim Abdul-Hak, "Chronique des monuments historiques. 4. Les

travaux de restauration dans la citadelle d'Alep," *Annales Archéologiques Syriennes*, 1/2 (1954–55), 221 (French text).
22 Herzfeld, *Inscriptions et monuments d'Alep*, 1, and Sauvaget, *Alep*, pl. LVI.
23 Herzfeld, *Inscriptions et monuments d'Alep*, 1.
24 Sibt ibn al-ʿAjami, *Les trésors d'or*, 167.
25 The portal features an undated inscription praising the beauty of the palace which was dated by Herzfeld into the Ottoman period (*Inscriptions et monuments d'Alep*, 1: 99 ff., no. 48 a; fig. 40, pl. XXXIV a; XL a). Much more likely it belongs to the restoration work of Sultan Qaytbay, whose name was apparently mentioned on the portal in a three-line cartouche which was hardly visible even in Herzfeld's time. The cartouche, however, no longer exists and cannot be identified in historical pictures either. See: Sobernheim, *Die arabischen Inschriften*, 189, no. 24; Herzfeld, *Inscriptions et monuments d'Alep*, 1: 99 ff., no. 48 b, fig. 40, pl. XXXIV a; XL a; Gonnella, *Inschriften*, no. 53.
26 Herzfeld, *Inscriptions et monuments d'Alep*, 1: 94, No. 44 b, c (fig. 36, pl. XXII d); Gonnella, *Inschriften*, No. 45 b. For the signature of the stonemason, see: Sobernheim, *Die arabischen Inschriften*, 188, no. 23; Herzfeld, *Inscriptions et monuments d'Alep*, 1: 93 ff., no. 44 a (pl. XXII d), Gonnella, *Inschriften*, no. 45 a.
27 Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur*, 1: 184 and 2: 402, cat. 42/39.
28 Herzfeld dated the façade to Jakam's original Throne Hall; see Herzfeld, *Inscriptions et monuments d'Alep*, 1: 95f.
29 Peter Schneider, *Die Rizk-Moschee in Hasankeyf. Bauforschung und Baugeschichte* (Istanbul, 2009), 181 ff.
30 Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur*, 2: 297, cat. no. 26A/9.
31 The Utrush mosque was founded in 1409 and finished after a break in 1409–10 by the governor Damurdash al-Muhammadi. See Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur*, 1: 181; 2: 295 ff., 308, cat. 26A/2 and 26B/24.
32 For this façade decoration and the renaissance of the Aleppo building school, see above all Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur*, 1: 183–85. For the late fifteenth-century Mamluk palace in the Khan Qurdbak, see Jean-Claude David, *La Suwaiqat ʿAli à Alep*, (Damascus, 1998), mainly 25–31.
33 The Khan al-Wazir is dated 1682; see Heinz Gaube and Eugen Wirth, *Aleppo. Historische und geographische Beiträge zur baulichen Gestaltung, zur sozialen Organisiation und zur wirtschaftlichen Dynamik einer vorderasiatischen Fernhandelsmetropole* (Wiesbaden, 1984), 366, no. 180; For the Madrasa Shaʿbaniyya (dated 1674–75), see Gaube, Wirth, *Aleppo*, 139, 375, no. 268; Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur*, 1: 210. Meinecke describes how this façade tradition was transferred by Aleppan builders to Anatolian cities such as Adana and Marash.
34 See Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "The Citadel of Cairo: Stage for Mamluk Ceremony," *Annales Islamologiques*, 24 (1988), 25–79, esp. 35–45; Nasser Rabbat, "Mamluk Throne Halls: Qubba or Iwan?" in ed. G. Necipoğlu, *Pre-Modern Islamic Palaces*, 201–18; idem, *The Citadel of Cairo. A New Interpretation of Royal Mamluk Architecture*, (Leiden/New York/Cologne, 1995), especially 243–63. See also K. A. C. Creswell, *Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, 2 vols., (Oxford, 1959), 1: 260–64.
35 Behrens-Abouseif, "The Citadel of Cairo," 36.
36 Rabbat, *Citadel of Cairo*, 252–56.
37 Behrens-Abouseif, "The Citadel of Cairo," 45–51; Rabbat, *Citadel of Cairo*, 199–213.
38 For the Damascene residence of Sultan Baybars, see Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur*, 2: 24 ff., cat. 4/99 with sources.
39 For Qalqashandi's report, see Maurice Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des mamelouks d'après les auteurs arabes. Description géographique, économique et administrative précédée d'une introduction sur l'organisation gouvernementale* (Paris, 1923), 211–14. Qalqashandi explicitly notes the differences to the rituals as observed in Damascus.
40 This topic is discussed in detail by Gülru Necipoğlu, "Framing the Gaze in Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal Palaces," in ed. G. Necipoğlu, *Pre-Modern Islamic Palaces*; also by D. Fairchild Rug-

gles, “The Mirador in Abbasid and Hispano-Umayyad Garden Typology,” *Muqarnas* 7 (1990), 73–82; and for the Mamluks by Behrens-Abouseif, “The Citadel of Cairo,” 72.
41 For the iron grilled window from the Abbasid palace, the Dar al-Khilafa in Baghdad, which was brought to Cairo by the emir al-Basasiri and reinstalled in the Fatimid grand vizir's palace, see Necipoğlu, *Framing the Gaze*, 319 ff., n. 9. 303–42.
42 Behrens-Abouseif, “The Citadel of Cairo,” 72.
43 Necipoğlu, *Framing the Gaze*, 1993.
44 See Lutz Ilisch, *Die Geschichte der Artuqidenherrschaft von Mardin zwischen Mamluken und Mongolen 1260–1410 AD*, (Münster, 1985), 152 ff.
45 Ibn Taghribirdi, *History of Egypt*, 87.
46 Ibid., 128 ff.
47 Ibid., 132.
48 Muḥammad al-Fāsī, *Shifa' al-gharām bi-akhbār al-balad al-ḥarām*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, 2 (Leizpig, 1859). I would like to thank Lutz Ilisch for pointing out this reference to me.
49 Ibn Taghribirdi, *History of Egypt*, 133.
50 Again, I am indebted to Lutz Ilisch for this information. Jakam's coins have not been studied extensively yet. There is only one of his coins published: Ibrahim Artuk, *Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Teşhirdeki Islami Sikkeler Kataloğu*, 1 (Istanbul, 1970), 268, no. 837. The coin was struck in Aleppo, 809/1406. No coins of Jakam have been found in the recent Aleppo excavations. I would also like to thank Lutz Ilisch for allowing me to publish one of Jakam's coins from the Tübingen Research Centre for Islamic Numismatics.
51 For the inscription medallion, see Herzfeld, *Inscriptions et monuments d'Alep*, 1, 93, no. 43; Gonnella, *Inschriften*, no. 46.
52 Ibn Taghribirdi, *History of Egypt*, 135 ff. For the battle, see Ilisch, *Die Geschichte der Artuqidenherrschaft*, 152 ff.
53 Ibn Taghribirdi, *History of Egypt*, 136.
54 For a vivid description of the popularity of Mamluk ceremonial culture, see Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks. A History of the Architecture and its Culture* (London, 2007), 25–33.
55 Large parts of the eastern Aleppo city wall were restored under Sultan Mu'ayyad Shaykh. The undated windows in this city wall probably belong to his building activities. See Herzfeld, *Inscriptions et monuments d'Alep*, 1: 58 ff. See also Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur*, 2: 322, cat. 29/27.
56 The windows in the Gaziantep Citadel probably date to the reign of Sultan Qaytbay who had it substantially restored in 1481–82 after having inspected it personally. Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur*, 2: 423, cat. 42/133.
57 Herzfeld, *Inscriptions et monuments d'Alep*, 1: Pl. XXVII.
58 Ibid., pl. XXVI.
59 Sauvaget, *Alep*, pl. LVI.
60 Ibid., pl. X.
61 Drummond, *Travels*, pl. VII.
62 Hay, *Illustrations*, pl. XIX.

J. M. Rogers

Court Workshops under the Bahri Mamluks

Thanks to the nostalgic antiquarianism of Maqrizi and his sources we are relatively well informed on the Fatimid treasury. In contrast, he largely ignored art for the Mamluk court in favour of a detailed description of the markets of Cairo, the organisation and location of which were familiar to him from the short terms he served as market inspector (*muhtasib*). Could the demand of the Mamluk court have been satisfied by the market – as Doris Behrens-Abouseif has been inclined to suggest with luxury textiles, for which sultans and emirs regularly paid colossal prices on the open market? We know far too little to give a firm answer either way, but the well-developed court workshops of the Circassian Mamluks' contemporaries: the Timurids, the Turkmens and latterly the Ottomans, were the product of similar social and economic conditions; and Mamluk dominance in the diplomacy of the Southern and Eastern Mediterranean, with the need to compete with the diplomatic proprieties of Byzantium and the Renaissance powers of Southern Europe make this rather implausible. There are also surviving objects of superlative quality that a workshop catering for a general public would have found uneconomic to produce. The work of synthesis the history of Mamluk diplomacy still requires is far beyond the scope of the present article, but consideration of this material evidence casts new light on certain aspects of it.

The Mamluks lacked the opportunities for the mass-conscription of skilled labour practised by Tamerlane and his successors, which contributed to the brilliant eclecticism of the International Timurid style of the capitals of the great Islamic empires of the early modern period, and even in the fifteenth century remained largely uninfluenced by it.[1] However, as self-proclaimed successors of the Abbasid Caliphate, the Mamluks enjoyed high prestige among the Muslim states of the Mediterranean and Western and Central Asia; and their close diplomatic contacts with the Northern Mediterranean attracted a wide range of skilled craftsmen from Europe, Anatolia, and Mesopotamia in the aftermath of the Crusades, as well as exotica from the China- and India-trade.

On the occasion of an Abyssinian embassy to Qansuh al-Ghawri (r. 1501–16) in 1516 to negotiate the matter of pilgrimage to the Christian Holy Places, Ibn

Iyas remarked that registers of gifts presented by Abyssinian envoys had been kept from the time of al-Nasir Muhammad (1312–13).[2] This strongly suggests that there was a *Kunstkammer* (Cabinet of Curiosities) or *Schatzkammer* (Treasury) in the Citadel of Cairo, but no inventories of it survive. If it was carried off by Selim I (d. 1520) on his conquest of Egypt, the Topkapı Palace archives contain no detailed record of what was removed; moreover, apart from books and arms and armour,[3] that museum's collections contain relatively little Mamluk material. Its contents at any one time must have been quite miscellaneous, as can be learned from the historian Ibn ʿAbd al-Zahir's list of the gifts presented by an embassy despatched by Baybars (d. 1277) to Berke, Khan of the Golden Horde (d. 1266), on 17 Ramadan 661 (25 July 1263). The most important of them included[4] a Koran manuscript (doubtless a *juz'*) alledgedly written by ʿUthman ibn ʿAffan in a case of red satin embroidered in gold, with a leather binding and doublures of striped silk, in a Koran chest with a silver hasp and silver locks, encrusted in ivory and ebony; prayer-carpets (*namazluqat al-salat*);[5] Indian 'Qaljuri' swords with silver (silver-inlaid?) hilts; Frankish helmets with silver (silver-inlaid?) brims, peaks, or collars (*atwaq*);[6] Venetian (glass?) lanterns in wrappers (*fawanis bunduqiyya bi-aghshiya*); a pair of torch-stands with heavily inlaid bases (*mashaʿil jifta wa qawaʿidha kuft jumla*); horse-trappings of silver and gold; Khwarazmian saddles; crossbows and fine arrows; silver-inlaid candlesticks (*shamʿdanat mutaʿʿama bi 'l-fidda*); parrots; thoroughbreds; Nubian dromedaries; monkeys; giraffes[7] … and "many rare, extraordinary and pretty things, the like of which were not to be found in the treasury of a great king."[8] Ibn ʿAbd al-Zahir's list evidently combined booty (for example, the Frankish objects), loot, precious objects or heirlooms, and imported valuables; but the designation of many of them as treasury objects is plainly appropriate[9] and we may presume that most of these were of Mamluk origin (fig. 1).

The case for court workshops where such objects were produced is quite strong, and not merely to guarantee the quality of workmanship: for ceremonial objects inscribed in the ruler's name, for example, required the close cooperation of court offices like the chancery, from which calligraphers to design their layout were evidently recruited and from which secretaries expert in the minutiae of titulature could, throughout the whole process of their manufacture, control the correctness of the inscriptions. This task could not easily have been have been farmed out among a variety of workshops.

Historically, the acme of the court workshop was the early Medici workshops which have recently been characterised by Richard Goldthwaite in his study of the Florentine Renaissance economy as, in effect, a state enterprise for the production of objects of great luxury and prestige.[10] They essentially involved centralised control, often with capitalisation of precious materials and skilled labour, though, before the time of Jean-Baptiste Colbert, Louis XIV's Controller-General of Finances, and the triumph of mercantilism, they may not often have succeeded in trans-

Figure 1: Inscription in the name of the Sultan al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad, ca. 1438.

forming themselves into actual monopolies. There is no *a priori* reason, however, why their organisation should not have varied, possibly even from craft to craft at a particular court. Moreover, they may not have had a continuous existence, like the court workshop for the manufacture of carpets in Ottoman Turkey documented for some decades from the reign of Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512) onwards, which seems to have been almost entirely inactive.[11] The evidence for the Mamluk period and the degree of centralisation are rather difficult to evaluate. I shall confine myself here to a discussion of virtuosity, which often defines the production of court workshops, not a concept which attracted the attention of the Mamluk historians, but which is evident in a number of famous art-objects, including the two I shall discuss here: the basin in the Louvre in the name of Hugues IV de Lusignan:[12] and the much-worked-over but far from exhausted Baptistère de St. Louis.[13]

Rachel Ward's important study of the latter convincingly places it in a group of basins, predominantly of objects ordered by the sultan (though her assumption that they were all from the same workshop remains to be demonstrated), dating between ca. 1325, the first appearance of the *Schriftwappen* (heraldic inscriptions) of the Mamluk sultan, and ca. 1360. Two of them are in the name of al-Nasir Muhammad (d. 1341); one is for an anonymous emir of al-Malik al-Nasir, who, from its style, must be Sultan Hasan possibly before he came to the throne in 1347; one is in the name of the Rasulid sultan of Yemen, al-Malik al-Mujahid ʿAli (r. 1321–63),

though it is a reworking of an unfinished basin for al-Malik al-Salih, hence either Ismaʿil (r. 1342–45) or Salih (r. 1351–54); and one is an unfinished basin in Jerusalem (see below footnote 20).

Another of the group is the rather under-appreciated basin in the Louvre, an unsigned piece in the name of Hugues IV de Lusignan, King of Cyprus (r. 1324–59).[14] Extensive losses to the inlay have unfortunately distracted attention from its exceptionally fine workmanship, which, though more modest, is in the broad manner of the Baptistère. It bears two conspicuous pointed shields, one engraved with the arms of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and the other with a Maltese Cross, on a ground of inlaid chinoiserie lotuses, opulent foliage, and six-petalled rosettes characteristic of the later reign of al-Nasir Muhammad. Its most striking feature is the *thuluth* inscriptions in six cartouches inside and out, which are plainly the work of a first-class calligrapher.

The French inscription on the rim, (Maltese Cross) TRES HAUT ET PUISSANT ROI HUGUE (sic) DE JHERUSALEM ET DE CHIPRE QUE DIEU MANTEIGNE, like the crosses and arms of Jerusalem, must only have been engraved on its delivery, but the Arabic inscription, which does not correspond at all to al-Qalqashandi's protocol for the titulature of the King of Cyprus, is plainly based upon it. Some elements are a direct, if rather free, translation from the French: *al-aʿla* (= TRES HAUT); *al-rafiʿ al-asna*' (?) (= PUISSANT); and *dama ʿizzuhu* (= QUE DIEU MANTEIGNE). Others are a censored version of it: it accords Hugues made-up titles, not otherwise attested in Mamluk epigraphy, *al-mahall* (instead of the royal title, *al-maqam*, and *al-ʿali li-dawa'ir al-muluk al-faranj*[15] (roughly, "eminent among the princes of the Franks"), and omits the title of his kingdom.

This was plainly deliberate. The secretary who drafted the Arabic inscription was obviously expert in Mamluk chancery titulature, giving Hugues the belittling non-royal formula, *mimma ʿumila bi-rasm* ("made by special decree for"), treating him as a vassal or an emir of the sultan, and composing an inscription which reads superficially well but would have been in Mamluk eyes bogus, conceding nothing that could be politically compromising. Had this been an official in Hugues IV's chancery there would have been no conceivable reason for this prevarication, so it must have been concocted by a secretary in the Mamluk chancery, very probably in the *tarjuman*'s (interpreter's) office, which was traditionally staffed by renegades and converted foreigners. The chancery would also have provided the calligrapher, whose complicated draft also demanded the close supervision of the inlayer. In the circumstances it is reasonable to conclude that a luxury workshop associated with the chancery was accessible, doubtless at a price, to outside commissions, even when the potential for political embarrassment was quite strong.

The virtuoso layout of the Arabic inscriptions (fig. 2), which are identical both inside and out, demands closer examination. Each is divided into six sections, which are exceptionally compact, with the deliberate addition or subtraction of

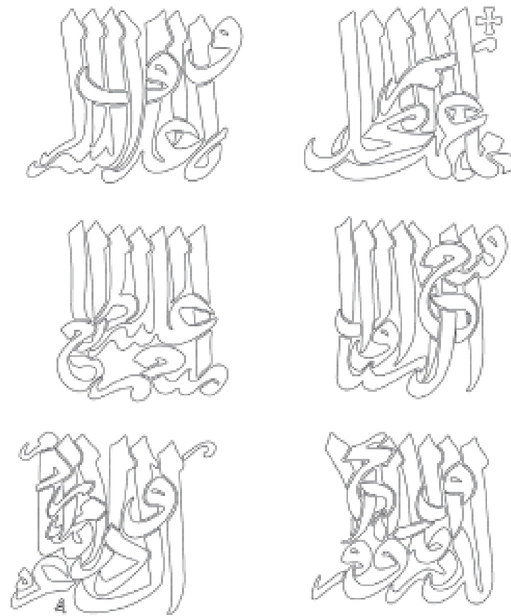

Figure 2: Arabic inscriptions of the basin made for Hugues IV de Lusignan.

Figure 3: Tray in the name of the Rasulid sultan of Yemen, al-Malik al-Mujahid ʿAli.

hastae (ascenders) to balance them,[16] and their legibility takes second place to the show they make. In this they differ markedly from the run of fine inscriptions on Mamluk metalwork, which practically all adopt a horizontal ductus, only departing from this for the sake of conserving space (fig. 3). Here, however, we see phrases composed largely on the resemblance of their letter-forms, which do not just occupy the base line but climb practically all the way up the vertical trellis formed by the ascenders.[17] This layout, though not uncommon in Timurid and early Ottoman epigraphy, is unique in Mamluk calligraphy. Hugues may conceivably have had Arabic secretaries in his chancery but it is not credible that his scribes should have excelled over their Mamluk counterparts. Moreover, it is scarcely co-

Figure 4: Baptistère de St. Louis, general view.

Figure 5: Baptistère de St. Louis, interior detail.

incidental that the basin is engraved with the titles he claimed on his coronation in 1324 as King of Jerusalem at Famagusta,[18] though the Crusader possessions on the mainland had fallen to the Mamluks three decades previously. It must have been ordered to commemorate this, something that, understandably, the Mamluk chancery would never have recognised officially. The commission therefore illustrates the dark side of a great office of state, a readiness to execute works for enemy powers, illustrating the maxim I learned when I lived in Cairo that in diplomacy, having no relations is actually a form of having relations.

The most famous surviving Mamluk virtuoso object is the Baptistère de St. Louis (figs. 4, 5). Its detailed design and layout and its brilliant composition fully justify this description,[19] though, recently at least, its dating, attribution and desig-

nation have been given more attention than its style and subject matter. There is general agreement that it was done from drawings, almost certainly pounced, but was designed in sections,[20] and the extreme precision of the workmanship presupposes very close supervision of its execution. This required a set of pounces, drawn strictly to scale, not only for each of the medallions but also for each of the oblong figural cartouches inside and out, and for the Nilotic scene in the bottom of the basin.[21] Technically, the inlay is quite unlike that of the earlier Mosul school, using macro-mosaic, relatively large sheets of silver, which were more adapted to heavily chased detail, though they were less securely attached and silver losses in places make the imagery difficult to read. Though the treatment is linear, three-dimensionality is conveyed by modelling and the use of hatching, which makes it unique in Mamluk metalwork, and, compared with thirteenth century Islamic metalwork, the field is crammed with detail[22] (fig. 6).

The decoration of the Baptistère inside and out is unlike any Islamic art of the period in its hyper-realism and compression, with figures expressionistically depicted in violent movement and strained poses, graphically enhanced by their tense facial expressions (fig. 7).[23] Most of the warriors in the two battle scenes (which are balanced by episodes of a brutal hunt[24]) are heavily armed but lightly clad and conspicuously lack shields, which in hand-to-hand fighting would have been an essential, but these may have been suppressed for compositional reasons, in order not to conceal too much of the figures. Few of the horses wear armour,[25] and two of them have their heads sharply turned back, as if shying, partially concealing the rider's chest, a means of conveying depth unknown in the Islamic figural art of the time[26] (fig. 8).

As has often been remarked, the decoration uses figures with features of three different racial types, which have been conventionally differentiated as Mongols, Turks and 'Franks'; these last are the hatted or helmeted figures on the exterior with long hair and conspicuously stubbled chins. They are also differentiated by costume, though to say that the distinction was systematic would be to beg the question of who they were meant to be. In any case, some of the costumes seem to have been deliberately chosen for variety, such as the archer in splint armour with his chin obscured by camail (chain mail attached to a visor to protect the neck and chin) who has just pierced the neck of his adversary with an arrow (fig. 9).

The richly dressed standing figures on the exterior, where identifiable, are not domestic servants[27] but bear the attributes of their appointment to a particular court office, though it is unclear why they are not uniformly dressed: the figure with the inscribed dish of the head of the pantry (*hawa'ijkhana*); the royal secretary bearing the pen-box (*dawadar*); the huntsman with a hound carrying a dead crane (*amir shikar*) who is visibly astonished by the attack of its mate (fig. 10); the *saqi* or cup-bearer; various animal-keepers; the falconer; the mace-bearer (*tabardar*); the axe-bearer (*jumaqdar*); a figure with a bundle over his shoulder and two stoles or

Figure 6: Baptistère de St. Louis, rabbit.

girdles on his arm who may perhaps be the keeper of the wardrobe (*jamadar*); the sword-bearer (*silahdar*); and a small boy bearing a single polo stick. The choice of which officials should be represented may have been random, but, extraordinarily, two of the figures, both 'Franks' are shown without attributes and with their hands behind their backs.

Rachel Ward plausibly suggests the influence of the Acre school of Crusader painting in the last decades of the thirteenth century on the 'Frankish' costumes.[28] There is, however, a much closer Western parallel: manuscripts illustrated by the historian Matthew Paris (d. 1259) in the Cistercian abbey of St. Albans. Paris's linear style may derive from Anglo-Saxon manuscript painting but it was also imposed in the reform of ecclesiastical art decreed by St. Bernard of Clairvaux for the Benedictine abbey of Cîteaux.[29] As in the battle- and hunting-scenes on the interior

Figure 7: Baptistère de St. Louis, facial expression.

of the Baptistère, the drama of Paris's illustrations depends upon his modelling and his vivid grouping of the figures. All three of his paintings illustrated here (figs. 11, 12, 13) also depict a falling horse, in the first case more than once, a different pose from the turning horses on the Baptistère, but the tension is similarly striking.

There are, of course, differences: The costume of the 'Franks' has little to do with Matthew Paris's Crusaders, who wear a sort of balaclava helmet of chain mail, not their hats or helmets. The chased detail on their chests suggests that some of them at least are wearing gorgets or breast-plates, with plaques on their thighs suggesting sheet-armour, worn with boots instead of greaves, and a cloak (*pélerine*) over the shoulders falling down behind and fastened at the chest. And all the figures on the exterior frieze, whether turbaned or 'Franks', have haloes, which are totally absent from the Western historical paintings.

Figure 8: Baptistère de St. Louis, turning horse.

There was no established iconographic tradition for Paris's compositions; they seem to have been built up from a pattern-book,[30] similar to the famous manual of Villard de Honnecourt (ca. 1230),[31] which, incidentally, also depicts the 'falling horse' motif (fig. 14). Hugo Buchthal rightly observed that in medieval Western and Byzantine art the need for drawings to which the artist could refer is obvious. These drawings are poorly preserved: they were not works of art in their own right which it would have been worth saving, and, as they were exposed to considerable wear and tear, they would have been discarded once they had served their purpose.[32] Though their movements are difficult to trace, they obviously circulated widely. In the case of the Baptistère, however, random combinations of figures could scarcely have resulted in compositions so similar to those in the Western manuscripts illustrated here, and it is much more probable that complete compo-

Figure 9: Baptistère de St. Louis, warrior in splint armour.

sitions were copied for it. Here, the Benedictine/Cistercian connection is important. Though we know little of their activities in the Latin Kingdom,[33] there were Benedictine houses in both Acre and Jerusalem which, whether or not they painted manuscripts on the spot, would certainly have acquired them from Europe, very probably from France. On the fall of Acre these would certainly have been in circulation and very probably reached the Mamluks, intact or as fragments, without any indication of who had painted them.

The relation of these Benedictine or Cistercian models to Mamluk metalwork remains problematic, however. One plausible connection could have been an itinerant goldsmith. Goldsmiths were highly mobile; they certainly used pattern-books; their work was always in demand; and their skills covered the whole spectrum of specialisation, from design to the polished execution of the finished

Figure 10: Baptistère de St. Louis, huntsman attacked by a crane.

product.[34] And though we have no records of European goldsmiths in thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century Mamluk Cairo we do know of them under the later Mamluk sultans. The probable organisation of the workshop in which the Baptistère was made suggests a parallel with Gothic goldsmiths' workshops. The master of the workshop would have been the designer, who would have employed journeymen craftsmen for the detailed work; but the minute coordination of varied skills and labour-intensive workmanship needed for the Baptistère together rule out the idea of a workshop dependent upon the market. The design would not, of course, have been in Mamluk style: that was the interpretation of Ibn al-Zayn, whose signature is on the Baptistère.

What was the relation of Muhammad ibn al-Zayn, as a Muslim and the son of a Muslim, to the designer? It is significant that he signs himself ʿ*amal*, when

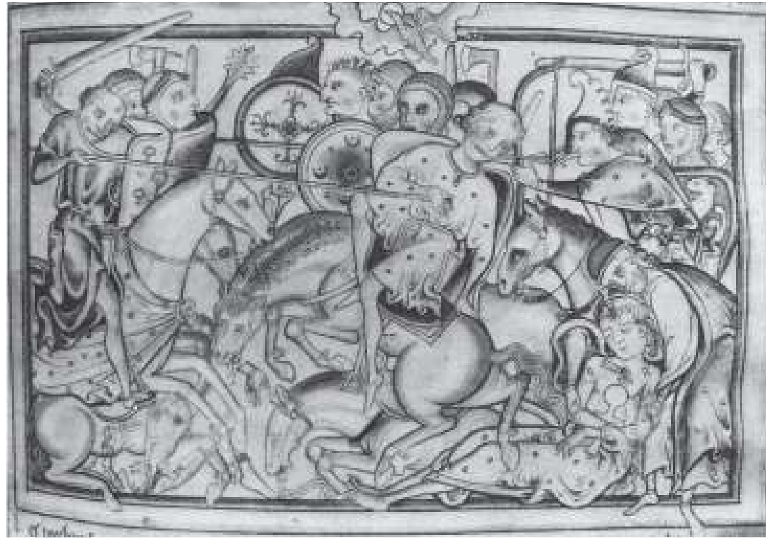

Figure 11: Battle between pagans and Christians, St. Albans ca. 1240, Matthew Paris, Life of St. Alban, Trinity College, Dublin MS 177 (E.1.40), folio 48**.

Figure 12: Battle of Damietta, St. Albans 1253, Matthew Parris, Chronica Majora, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS 16, folio 54b.

the craftsmen of the late avatars of the Mosul workshops generally took care to record both designers (*naqqash*, *sani*ʿ) and executants; this makes him the executant. His dependence upon a designer also shows in the decoration of the Vasselot Bowl, which is a conventional composition of enthroned princes holding glasses, flanked by courtiers bearing the attributes of office, musicians, and dancers, and is

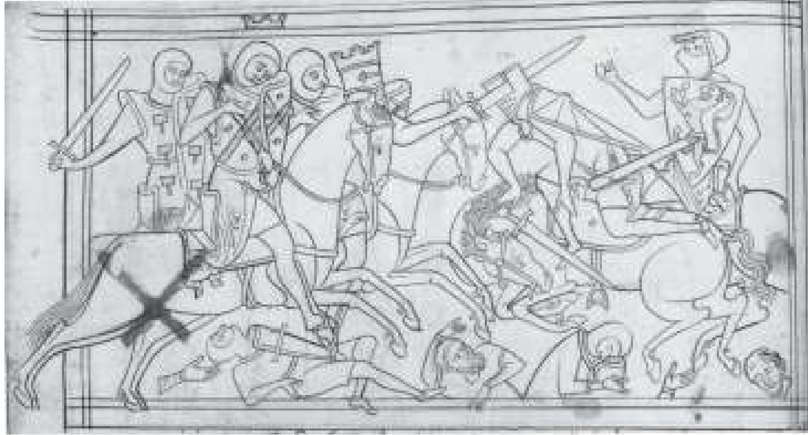

Figure 13: Battle scene, St. Albans 1250s, Matthew Parris, Vita duorum Offarum, British Library, MS Cotton Nero D.1, folio 3b.

Figure 14: Falling horse, ca. 1230, Villard de Honnecourt, Pattern-book,

stylistically so different that had it not been signed would probably not have been ascribed to him.

The Western connection has also raised a red herring. There were close links between manuscript illustration and wall painting in both Byzantine and West-

ern European medieval painting,[35] and Suzanne Lewis points to an actual connection between Matthew Paris's drawings and paintings in Winchester Cathedral.[36] Doris Behrens-Abouseif attempted to do something similar for the Baptistère, based on reports of wall paintings, which may have been interconnected, under the early Bahri Mamluk sultans: thus, Baybars decorated the walls of his audience hall in the Citadel of Cairo with paintings of his emirs in uniform or armour,[37] while Qalawun's audience hall was painted with views of the cities and fortresses he had captured or subdued, and al-Ashraf Khalil depicted his emirs and *khassikiyya* on the walls of the Rafraf pavilion on the Citadel.[38] Friezes of uniformed standing emirs and depictions of the reception of ambassadors, banquets, battles, and hunts are well-documented as suitable subjects for public audience-halls in palaces in many Islamic cultures from Samarra onwards and make it perfectly possible that other Mamluk palaces were decorated in this way, but unfortunately we have no physical evidence to confirm the texts. However, the parallel with Gothic manuscript illustration and wall painting is not exact. Why should wall paintings inspire the decoration of metalwork? Why, if we accept Rachel Ward's dating for the Baptistère, should its decoration have been inspired by paintings executed more than fifty years earlier? And, even if Mamluk iconoclasm is a patchy affair, we have no guarantee that the paintings of Baybars and al-Ashraf Khalil survived so long.

To return to the hyper-realism of the Baptistère: the resemblance of the features of the Turks or Mongols on the Baptistère and the Vasselot Bowl may be significant, since it could have been a characteristic of Ibn al-Zayn's personal style. *Pace* Rachel Ward, this hyper-realism does not derive from manuscript illustration and must be the product of personal observation, which in both Western and Islamic medieval art is a decided novelty – not least because people who went about recording the local types were always in danger of being arrested as spies. It was precisely such 'espionage', however, which was currently being encouraged by the West, particularly the Papacy, with a view to establishing pro-Mongol and anti-Mamluk alliances, through the detailed reports of Franciscan and Dominican missionaries in Central Asia and the Middle East. One such was William of Rubruck,[39] whose account of his journey to the Great Mongol Khan Möngke is full of circumstantial detail, though, irritatingly, he does not describe the facial appearance of the Mongols and Tartars. Yet, although none of the surviving reports from the Franciscans of the Terra Santa for the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries[40] goes into the necessary sort of physical detail for our purposes, their accounts of the costumes of these exotic peoples makes it extremely probable that in other relations their features were also described.

The marked differences of subject matter and approach in the decoration of the Baptistère must therefore be attributed to an outside designer, who must have acquired Benedictine or Cistercian manuscript paintings, the style of which was

then transmuted by Ibn al-Zayn, together with some misunderstood details, in the course of copying the prototype(s). This rather obvious explanation neatly avoids the absurdity of positing a Gothic designer who was simultaneously a master of the Mamluk style.

The present article was inspired by a long-standing conviction that a close reading of even such famous objects as the so-called Baptistère de St. Louis can still pay dividends. The question arises, however, whether any more general conclusions can be drawn from them, though since this was not my intention in discussing the Baptistère they are inevitably rather lame. First, they indicate that there was at least one subsidised court workshop functioning at least in the mid-fourteenth century, and, as with the Lusignan basin, its master craftsmen were accessible to outsiders with the requisite means. One other thing is clear: it cannot have been unique, for French inventories of the period abound in references to obviously hybrid oriental metalwork, glass and even goldsmiths' work which have not survived. As such, it is an outstanding example of the cosmopolitan taste for which Cairo in later centuries was renowned.

Illustrations (with image credit)

Figure 1: Inscription in the name of the Sultan al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad, ca. 1438, Musée du Louvre MI 1062. (After Fossi Todorow 1964)
Figure 2: Arabic inscriptions of the basin made for Hugues IV de Lusignan, Musée du Louvre MAO 101. (After Rice 1956)
Figure 3: Tray in the name of the Rasulid sultan of Yemen, al-Malik al-Mujahid ʿAli, Musée du Louvre MAO 6008. (After van Berchem 1978)
Figure 4: Baptistère de St. Louis – General view. (Courtesy of the Musée du Louvre)
Figure 5: Baptistère de St. Louis – interior – detail. (Courtesy of the Musée du Louvre)
Figure 6: Baptistère de St. Louis – rabbit. (After Rice 1956)
Figure 7: Baptistère de St. Louis – facial expression. (After Rice 1956)
Figure 8: Baptistère de St. Louis – turning horse. (After Rice 1956)
Figure 9: Baptistère de St. Louis – warrior in splint armour. (After Rice 1956)
Figure 10: Baptistère de St. Louis – huntsman attacked by a crane. (After Rice 1956)
Figure 11: Battle between pagans and Christians, St. Albans ca. 1240, Matthew Paris, Life of St. Alban, Trinity College, Dublin MS 177 (E.1.40), folio 48**. (After Alexander, 1992, fig. 182)
Figure 12: Battle of Damietta, St. Albans 1253, Matthew Parris, Chronica Majora, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS 16, folio 54b. (After Alexander, 1992, fig. 183)

Figure 13: Battle scene, St. Albans 1250s, Matthew Parris, Vita duorum Offarum, British Library, MS Cotton Nero D.1, folio 3b. (After Alexander, 1992, fig. 184)
Figure 14: Falling horse, ca. 1230, Villard de Honnecourt, Pattern-book, (Image courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France MS fr. 19093)

Acknowledgement

I am most grateful to my colleague Nahla Nassar, who redrew the inscription of the Lusignan Basin (fig. 2) and gave valuable help on the preparation of the other images.

Notes

1 A conspicuous exception is the impact of Shirazi illumination on Koran manuscripts for the sultans Qaytbay and Qansuh al-Ghawri (cf. Z. Tanındı, "An illuminated manuscript of the wandering scholar Ibn al-Jazari and the wandering illuminations between Tabriz, Shiraz, Herat, Bursa, Edirne and Istanbul in the fifteenth century," in ed. F. Déroche, *Tenth International Congress of Turkish Art*, (Geneva, 1999), 617–55.
2 Ibn Iyas, *Bada'iʿ*, transl. Gaston Wiet, *Journal d'un bourgeois du Caire*, 2 (Paris, 1960), 11.
3 Evidently, the contents of the arsenal at Alexandria, which Selim sacked in 1517 (cf. ibid., 182), but possibly material from the Citadel of Cairo too.
4 F. Sadeque, *Baybars I of Egypt* (Karachi, 1956), 188–90; Arabic text 321–22; D. Nicolle, "The manufacture and importation of military equipment in the Islamic Eastern Mediterranean (10th–14th centuries)," in eds. U. Vermeulen and D. de Smet, *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk eras*, (Leuven, 2007), 3: 139–52.
5 A real linguistic oddity, an Arabic plural of a Turkish translation of a Persian root, and a tautology too.
6 Could these have been the hats worn by the 'Franks' on the Baptistère de St. Louis (see below p. 253)?
7 The birds and animals, which figure even more extravagantly in other relations of Mamluk embassies, suggest that other items in this list were exotica too, though some toponymic *nisba*s could have been craft- or trade-descriptions.
8 The splendour of the gifts is explained by the occasion of the embassy, which was to cement an alliance with Berke Khan against the Ilkhanids. For the diplomatic background, see Marius Canard, "Un traité entre Byzance et l'Egypte au XIIIe siècle et les relations de Michel Paléologue avec les sultans Baibars et Qalâ'ûn," in *Mélanges Gaudefroye-Demombynes*, (Cairo, 1937; Variorum reprint, London, 1973), 197–224.
9 A rare pictorial testimony to such gifts is a sheet of drawings by Pisanello in the Louvre (Maria Fossi Todorow, *I disegni del Pisanello e della sua cerchia*, (Florence, 1964), 80–81, cat. 58, MI 1062, relating to the arrival of John VIII Paleologos at Ferrara in 1438, with a copy of an inscription: *ʿizz li-mawlānā al-sulṭān al-malik al-Mu'ayyad Abu 'l-Naṣr Shaykh ʿazza naṣruh*, one of only three on objects in al-Mu'ayyad's name (fig. 1). Above and below it are friezes, one blank, and one with two six-petalled rosettes and a note in Pisanello's hand that they were in gold on blue. The script is too large to be from a woven silk textile, but it could well have been gold embroidery, perhaps on a saddlecloth.
10 Richard Goldthwaite, *The Economy of Renaissance Florence*, (Baltimore, 2009), 391. Among those scholars who accept their existence, their location in the Mamluk state, whether Cairo, Alexandria, or Damascus, is still a matter of dispute, but the matter in hand is how they organised production, not their geographic location.

11 Bige Çetintürk, "Istanbul'da xvi asır sonuna kadar hassa halı sanatkarları," *Türk san'atı tarihi. Araştırma ve incemeleri* 1 (1963), 715–31.
12 D. S. Rice, "Arabic inscriptions on a brass basin made for Hugh iv de Lusignan," in *Studi Orientalistici in onore de Giorgio Levi della Vida* II, (Rome, 1956), 390–402; R. M. Ward, "Metallarbeiten der Mamluken-Zeit hergestellt für den Export," in eds. Gereon Sievernich & Hendrik Budde, *Europa und der Orient*, (exhibition catalogue), (Berlin, 1989), 202–09, figs. 234–5.
13 D. S. Rice, *Le baptistère de Saint Louis* (Paris, 1951); R. M. Ward, "The 'Baptistère de Saint Louis – A Mamluk basin made for export to Europe," in eds. Charles Burnett and Anna Contadini, *Islam and the Italian Renaissance*, (London, 1999), 113–32.
14 MAO 101. cf. D. S. Rice, "Arabic inscriptions;" R.M. Ward, "Metallarbeiten."
15 *muluk* in the sense of 'princes', I think, not 'kings'.
16 Rice's dismissal of these as a *lapsus calami* on the part of the calligrapher or the inlayer is, I think, untenable.
17 A tray in the Louvre (MAO 6008) in the name of Sayf al-Din al-Malik al-Mujahid ʿAli of Yemen, inlaid in copper and silver (fig. 3), is, admittedly, less linear, and less legible, than the norm, but the ascenders are much taller and slenderer and are still clearly differentiated from the ductus (cf. Max van Berchem, "Notes d'archéologie arabe III. Etude sur les cuivres damasquinés et les verres émaillés. Inscriptions, marques, armoiries," reprinted in *Opera Minora*, (Geneva, 1978), 1042. Moreover, this inscription was too long for the calligrapher to fit into the available space, and he was obliged to add the last two words in a minute, though legible, hand. Since the concoction of even a bogus inscription may have been risky for the secretary or the calligrapher, the almost illegible layout of the inscription of the Lusignan basin may, therefore, also have been deliberate.
18 Sir Harry Luke, "The Kingdom of Cyprus 1291–1369," in ed. K. M. Setton, *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols., (Madison, 1975), 3: 340–60.
19 For reasons to be explained below (p. 259), Ibn al-Zayn's other known work, the Vasselot Bowl in the Louvre, is stylistically rather different.
20 The use of pounces might indicate that it was one of a set, another of which could have been the Jerusalem basin, as Jonathan Bloom ("A Mamluk basin in the L. A. Mayer Memorial Institute," *Islamic Art* 2 (1987), 15–26) supposed. Its slightly different dimensions and the fact that it was abandoned in the course of execution makes that unprovable, and it may well have been a *bozzetto* (trial piece in three dimensions). Given the complexity of the work, it seems more than likely that the design process involved such pieces.
21 Whether the friezes of running animals above and below were also pounced is less clear, though some of the animals seem to be repeats. It would, of course, be a mistake to underestimate the ability of the medieval Islamic craftsman to work freehand.
22 This is not an idle remark. The rabbit (fig. 6), shown, startlingly, in full frontality, is distinctly reminiscent of the crowded Gothic *tapisseries sarrazinoises* of the School of Paris in the late-thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries (cf. Scot McKendrick, "Tapestry," *The Dictionary of Art*, (London, 1996), 30: 312–14). Their decoration is also surmounted by naturalistic flying birds.
23 The similarity of the figures depicted to those on the frontispiece of a copy of the *Maqamat* of al-Hariri dated 22 Rajab AH 734 (29th March AD 1334) in Vienna (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek A.F. 9; Dorothea Duda, *Die illuminierten Handschriften und Inkunabeln der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek. Islamische Handschriften 2/1. Die Handschriften in arabischer Sprache*, (Vienna, 1992), 1: 20–46; 2: fig. 49) with a seated prince with attendants and entertainers has been exaggerated. Their features and the folds of their draperies have some parallels in the Baptistère, but the composition is far less detailed, there is no modelling, and Richard Ettinghausen rightly remarks on its stark rigidity (*Arab Painting* (Geneva, 1962), 147). The expressionism of the Baptistère could not possibly have derived from this source, therefore.
24 Oddly, the cartouches do not alternate but are arranged two by two.
25 *Pace* Rice, neither the horsemen nor the standing figures bear any clearly identifiable blazons on their armour. Bahri Mamluk armour is poorly preserved, but the omission must be deliberate, since, to judge from a chamfron in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Lyon (D377-1) in the name

of Muqbil al-Rumi, the secretary (*dawadar*) of Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh (r. 1412–21)), with a bold composite blazon of a large cup surmounted by a napkin on the nose and on the two earpieces (cf. Michael Meinecke, "Heraldry and Furūsiyya," in ed. David Alexander, *Furusiyya*, (Riyadh, 1996), 1: 152–57), blazons were conspicuously displayed on arms and armour.

26 One of the riders on an exquisitely inlaid inkwell in the Furusiyya Collection (Bashir Muhammad [David Alexander], *The Arts of the Muslim Knight. The Furusiyya Art Foundation Collection* (Milan, 2008), 166–67, cat. 137) is depicted turning back in the saddle, while his horse turns its head to obscure his chest. But the figure is devoid of tension, and the decoration of the Baptistère is compositionally far more assured.

27 Notably, the 'Franks' in the frieze wear the costumes of the heroic figures in two of the roundels which punctuate it, one a dragon-slayer and the other nonchalantly despatching a bear cub.

28 J. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination at Saint-Jean d'Acre 1275–1291*, (Princeton, 1976), passim.

29 J. J. G. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and their Methods of Work* (New Haven/London, 1992), 110–12. St. Bernard's attack on over-luxurious monastic art was prompted as much by a concern for uniformity of practice in Cistercian houses as by austerity, so his prescription of the linear style radically changed manuscript illumination and illustration in Benedictine/Cistercian houses all over Western Europe. The fact that Matthew Paris's manuscripts never left England, therefore, is neither here nor there, though the three-dimensionality of his battle-scenes, their savagery, and stress are intriguingly close to the treatment of those on the Baptistère.

30 cf. Ernst Kitzinger, "The role of miniature painting in mural decoration," in *The Place of Book Illustration in Byzantine Art*, (Princeton, 1974), 93–142, who distinguishes between anthologies of motifs and of stock compositions.

31 BNF fr. 19093. cf. Carl F. Barnes Jr., "Villard de Honnecourt," *The Dictionary of Art*, (London, 1996), 32: 569–71.

32 Hugo Buchthal, *The "Musterbuch" of Wolfenbüttel and its Position in the Art of the 13th Century*, (Vienna, 1979), 13–14, 55, 64–6.

33 J. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, 19, n. 81.

34 This proposal admittedly faces the difficulty that French goldsmiths' work of the period is very poorly preserved (cf. R.W. Lightbown, *Secular Goldsmiths' Work in Medieval France. A History*, (London, 1978), 84. No doubt court workshops or workshops with aristocratic customers employed journeymen skilled in enamelling and engraving, but the masters of these shops must have been accomplished in all the techniques of their craft.

35 For example, Ernst Kitzinger, "The role of miniature painting in mural decoration."

36 Bloom, *Mamluk basin*, 1987, 471–72.

37 Ibn Shaddād, *Tārīkh al-Malik al-Ẓāhir*, ed. Aḥmad Ḥuṭayṭ Cairo, 2009, 340; cf. Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "The Baptistère de St. Louis, a Reinterpretation," *Islamic Art* 3 (1988–89), 3–13; idem, *Cairo of the Mamluks*, (London, 2007), 38.

38 al-Maqrīzī, Taqiyy al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Kitāb al-mawāʿiẓ wa 'l-ʿtibār bi dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa 'l-āthār*, 2 vols., (Būlāq, 1306/1888–9), 2: 212–13.

39 Peter Jackson and David Morgan, eds., *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck. His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke 1253–1255*, (London, 1990).

40 Collected in Girolamo Golubovich OFM, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente Francescano*, 5 vols., (Florence, 1906–27).

Zeren Tanındı

Two Bibliophile Mamluk Emirs: Qansuh the Master of the Stables and Yashbak the Secretary

Among the fascinating collections of Islamic manuscripts from the Islamic world held in the libraries of Istanbul, the Süleymaniye Library houses a *Diwan* of Aşık Pasha written in Turkish and two illuminated copies of it prepared for Mamluk emirs, namely Yashbak and Qansuh. At the same time Aşık Pasha's *Diwan* was copied and illuminated in the same style at the Ottoman court for an unknown patron. This article demonstrates how the elites in two different parts of the Islamic world shared the same literary taste and interests.

The artistic interaction between the Anatolian Emirates, Ottomans, and Mamluks has been briefly discussed by Julian Raby and myself in an earlier publication that focused on the ways in which this interaction influenced the formation of the Ottoman Court style of bookbinding.[1] In this article, I shall introduce the results of my latest research on Ottoman and Mamluk relations in the fifteenth century, focusing on the binders, the illuminators, the scribes, and Turkish literature in the Mamluk courts.

In the fourteenth century, the cities of Damascus, Alexandria, and Cairo were major centres of Mamluk scholarship. During this period, some Anatolian poets and scholars such as Mustafa Darir (d. after 1400) from Erzurum, visited these Mamluk cities. Mustafa Darir first moved from Erzurum to Karaman, from where he travelled to Cairo, and upon the request of Sultan al-Mansur ʿAla' al-Din ʿAli (r. 1377–1381), he wrote the *Siyer-i Nebi*, a life of Muhammad, in Turkish.[2] By 1388, when Darir completed his work, Sultan al-Mansur ʿAla' al-Din ʿAli had been succeeded by Barquq (r. 1382–99), to whom the book was eventually presented.[3] We know that copies of *Siyer-i Nebi* soon spread to Anatolia and to Bursa; one of this copies consisting of six volumes, was owned by Umur Bey (d. 1461), an early fifteenth-century bureaucrat and bibliophile.[4] It is also well known that copies of *Siyer-i Nebi* reached the Ottoman Palace and that in 1595, more than two hundred years after its completion, a celebrated illustrated copy was prepared at the Ottoman court and presented to Sultan Mehmed III (r. 1595–1603).[5]

Another Mamluk scholar with Ottoman connections was Ibn al-Jazari of Damascus (d. 1429), who had studied religious sciences in Cairo between 1367 and

1388, before moving in 1395 to Bursa, via Antalya, after a conflict with the Mamluk administration. There, he was warmly welcomed by Sultan Bayezid I (r. 1389–1402), who appointed him as tutor to his children.[6] At that time the Mamluk aristocracy was also getting interested in the production of illustrated manuscripts with Turkish texts.[7] The works of Tajaddin Ahmedi (d. 1413), a popular author at the Ottoman court in the fifteenth century, who wrote a Turkish *Iskandarname*, a history of Alexander, were in vogue among the Mamluk elite, as attested by an illustrated copy of his *Iskandarname* dedicated to the Mamluk emir Khushqadam ibn ʿAbd Allah in 1467–68. It should also be recalled that the *Shahnama* of Firdawsi was translated into Turkish verse by Sharif between the years 1501 and 1511 for Sultan Qansuh al-Ghawri, who had it illustrated as soon as the translation was completed.[8]

The first Anatolian poet to compose a comprehensive poetical work in Anatolian Turkish was the Sufi Aşık Pasha (d. 1332) of Kirshehir in Central Anatolia.[9] His grandfather, Baba Ilyas, also a Sufi, had migrated from Khorasan,[10] and his father, Muhlis Pasha, an educated intellectual of the period, had lived in Egypt for five years. After completing his education in Kirshehir, Aşık Pasha travelled to Egypt, and visited Jerusalem on his way. Aşık Pasha, who was buried in Kirshehir, was revered after his death as a saint (*evliya*), and his tomb became the shrine of a major cult that developed around his sanctified memory.[11] In 1330, he wrote in Oghuz Turkish the *Garibname* or *Diwan*, which is valued not only for its linguistic quality but also for being the most important *mathnawi*, or Sufi spiritual poem, of the fourteenth century. It is a didactic work on religion and mysticism, which the author himself acknowledged to have compiled with the purpose of educating people. In this work Aşık Pasha defines the main qualities of a ruler such as justice, nobility, bravery, wisdom, and generosity, giving advice to rulers through various stories that provide interesting information about contemporary social and religious life.[12]

The first princely copies of the *Diwan* were produced 130 years after its completion for two Mamluk emirs, Qansuh *amir akhur kabir*, or Master of the Royal Stables, and Yashbak min Mahdi, the *dawadar kabir* or Great Secretary of Sultan al-Ashraf Qaytbay (r. 1468–96).[13] These princely copies are now housed at the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul. Although these works are referred to in the scholarly publications on Turkish literature, they have never been studied in relation to the Islamic art of the book, to their bibliophile Mamluk patrons, or to the Mamluk-Ottoman relationship.

The manuscript copied for Yashbak consists of two volumes (Laleli 1752 M and 1752 M2).[14] They measure 42.5 by 32 centimetres, and the outer covers of the bindings are maroon leather. The centrepiece of the outer cover of the first volume (Laleli 1752 M) is a decorated leather filigree, which is in poor condition. The flap bears a star-shaped medallion, also decorated with filigree leather. This per-

Figure 1: Outer cover. *Diwan* of Aşık Pasha, dated 1477–78.

fectly preserved medallion gives us a hint as to how exquisite the leatherwork of the front and back covers' centrepieces might have been; the doublures' interior of the binding are covered with paper. The second volume's (Laleli 1752 M2) outer cover and flap bear a centrepiece with a pendant, its corner pieces are decorated with arabesque work (fig. 1). The doublures are covered with paper, like those of the first volume. There is evidence that there was a problem with the bindings of the volumes. The filigree of the outer cover must have been exchanged with the doublure of the second volume, or vice versa. If this idea is correct, then one of the volume's original bindings is missing.

Both volumes open with illuminated panels, which state in Arabic that the manuscript was prepared for the library of the emir: *bi-rasm khizanat….Yashbak min Mahdi amir dawadar kabir.* The border of the medallion is inscribed with the

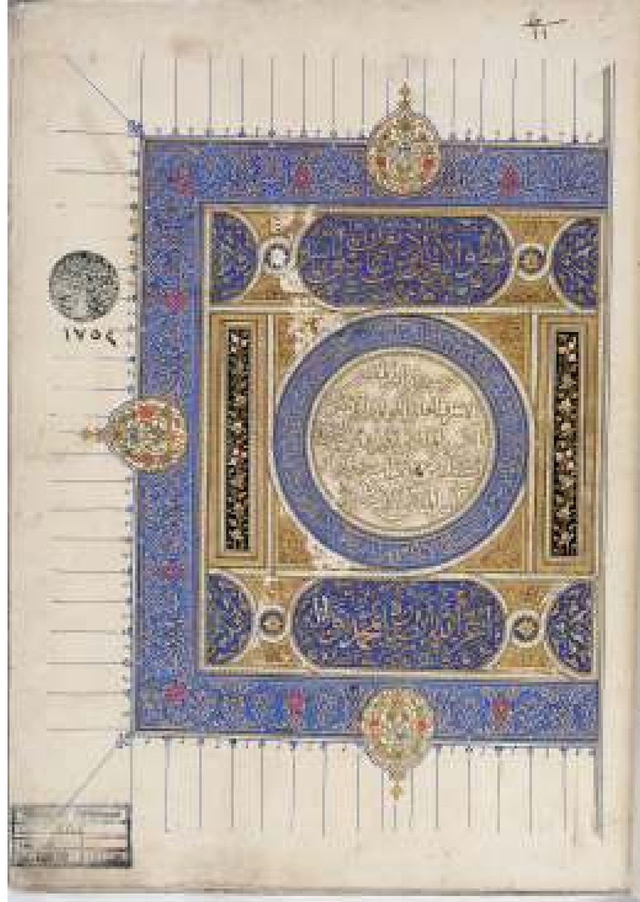

Figure 2: Illuminated frontispiece, dedicated to the emir Yashbak min Mahdi. *Diwan* of Aşık Pasha, Mamluk Syria?, dated 1477–78.

Throne verse from the *Sura* of the Cow (Koran: 2/255). Both inscriptions are written in calligraphic *tawkiʿ* script (fig. 2). The text was copied in rather large *naskhi* script in 1477–78 (Laleli 1752 M2, fol.241b) and begins with an illuminated heading. The scribe and provenance are not indicated in the colophon (fig. 3). Yashbak was a cultured man, and an avid collector of valuable books, who also wrote poems in Turkish;[15] he purchased originals and commissioned copies to be made for him. He was killed in 1481 during a campaign against the Aq Qoyunlus at Urfa.[16] The later Sultan Qansuh al-Ghawri, who composed Turkish poems, dedicated an elegy in Turkish on Yashbak's tragic death.[17]

Figure 3: Colophon page. *Diwan* of Aşık Pasha, Mamluk Syria?, dated 1477–78.

A second copy of Aşık Pasha's *Diwan* is in the Süleymaniye Library. The Library has the first volume of the work (Laleli 1752 M1); the second volume seems to be missing. Because the colophon page seems to have been at the end of the second volume all information on the completion of the manuscript, including the completion date, is unknown. The binding of the first volume is dark brown leather. The centre and corner pieces of the outer cover are filled with arabesque motifs (figs. 4–5), and the same pattern is repeated in the sub-triangle form and corner pieces of the flap. The field between the sub-triangle and corner pieces is filled with a floriated scroll. An inscription on the fore-edge section of the flap gives the title of the book.[18] The doublures are in light brown leather and have a filigree centrepiece set against a gold and blue ground (fig. 6); the one of the flap

Figure 4: Outer cover. *Diwan* of Aşık Pasha, Mamluk Syria?, dated 1477–78.

bears a large roundel with filigree decoration (fig. 7). This volume opens with an illuminated panel, at the centre of which is a roundel containing the dedication to *birasm khizanat.... Qansuh amir akhur kabir*. The dedication is written in gold *tawqi*ᶜ script on a blue and red arabesque background (fig. 8). The Throne verse (Koran: 2/255) is inscribed in gold *tawqi*ᶜ script on a blue background in the border framing the roundel. The large *naskhi* script text begins with an illuminated heading (fig. 9).

More than a dozen emirs named Qansuh are recorded in the second half of the fifteenth century, which makes it difficult to determine who among them commissioned this manuscript around 1477. It would be tempting to attribute the manuscript to Qansuh al-Ghawri, later the sultan (r. 1501–16), who is known for his love of literature and illustrated manuscripts[19] and who also composed a *Diwan* in Turkish.[20] However, Qansuh al-Ghawri did not have the status of emir before 1482 when he was appointed as provincial governor in Upper Egypt, a minor posi-

Figure 5: Fore-edge and outer cover of the flap. *Diwan* of Aşık Pasha, Mamluk Syria?, dated 1477–78.

tion in the court hierarchy,[21] neither is ever mentioned as *amir akhur kabir* or Master of the Royal Stables. Rather the patron of this manuscript is most likely the emir Qansuh Khamsumi'a min Tarabay, who became *amir akhur kabir* in 1481 and held this position until 1496, when he was appointed as *atabak* or Commander of the Army. He began his career in a secretarial role at the court of Sultan Khushqadam (r. 1461–67) before he was recruited by Qaytbay, who appointed him Second Secretary, then Master of the Royal Stables. In the course of a rebellion against Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad (r. 1496–98), the son of Qaytbay, in February 1496, Qansuh was invested sultan with the title al-Ashraf. However, his rule lasted only three days.[22] He was killed in March of the same year. Although so far no information is available about his literary interests, his patronage of books or his interest in the Turkish language, his occupation in secretarial functions, notably as the second *dawadar* of Sultan Qaytbay under the authority of the Great Secretary Yashbak, would have meant that he was associated with cultural activities. Moreover, Qansuh was the brother-in-law of Yashbak, who had married his sister; the two emirs thus shared the same cultural environment and intellectual interests as well as an admiration for Aşık Pasha's work. The fact that Qansuh was *amir akhur kabir* between 1481 and 1496 suggests that the manuscript must have been commissioned during this period.

Figure 6: Doublure of the cover. *Diwan* of Aşık Pasha, Mamluk Syria?, dated 1477–78.

The decoration of the bindings, the large *naskhi* script of the text, and the style and design of the illuminations of these three volumes suggest that they were the product of the same artists of a Mamluk workshop in 1477–78. The all-over illumination design is executed in a manner known as 'delicate' or 'naïve style', which originated during the mid-fourteenth century in Tabriz and Shiraz during the Muzaffarid, Jalayirid, and Timurid periods. This distinctive style of illumination reached from Shiraz to Samarkand, Herat and Mamluk lands, and then to Bursa, Edirne and Istanbul in the fifteenth century. The reverberations and influence of this specific style are seen in the manuscripts made in Istanbul in the sixteenth century.[23] Due to the migration of the artists, there are striking similarities between the illumination patterns executed for Mamluk, Jalayirid, Turkmen, Timurid and Ottoman patrons in the fifteenth century.[24] The styles were carried from one place to another as a result of a dialogue between Muslim cultures. The

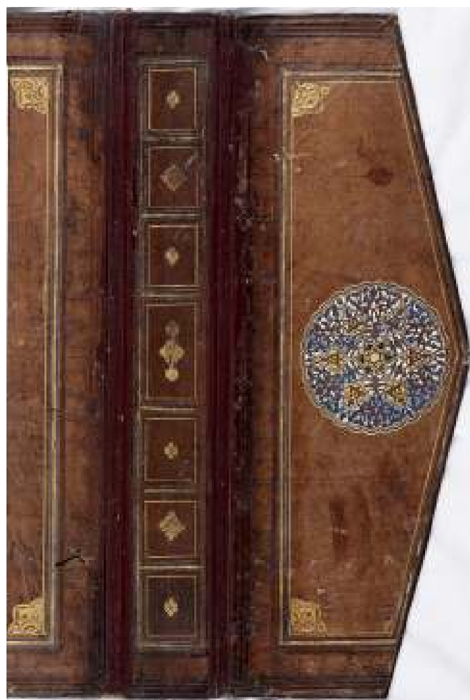

Figure 7: Doublure of the flap. *Diwan* of Aşık Pasha, Mamluk Syria? dated 1477–78.

fifteenth-century illuminated frontispieces draw our attention to how the design patterns travelled from one place to another.[25]

In the last part of this paper, I shall examine some manuscripts and try to explain their relationship to the manuscripts of the two Mamluk patrons, the Great Secretary Yashbak and the Master of the Royal Stables Qansuh. The first manuscript is a *Majmua* in the Süleymaniye Library (Hamidiye 550), which has been studied by literary historians in relation to the texts it includes but has not been examined in terms of its artistic significance.[26] It contains the Turkish works of fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century Anatolian poets. It measures 35.7 by 27 centimetres, its text is written in small *naskhi* script and its binding is not original. Each section of the anthology starts with an illuminated heading, every one designed in a different pattern but in naïve style. The final pages of each section, except the last, are also illuminated. This illuminated manuscript, containing the works of the most important poets of early Turkish literature, would normally have included a dedicatory inscription. This omission and the fact that the binding is not contemporary with the manuscript suggest that the front pages are missing. One of the sections of the *Majmua* is the *Diwan* of Aşık Pasha written in small *naskhi* script in four

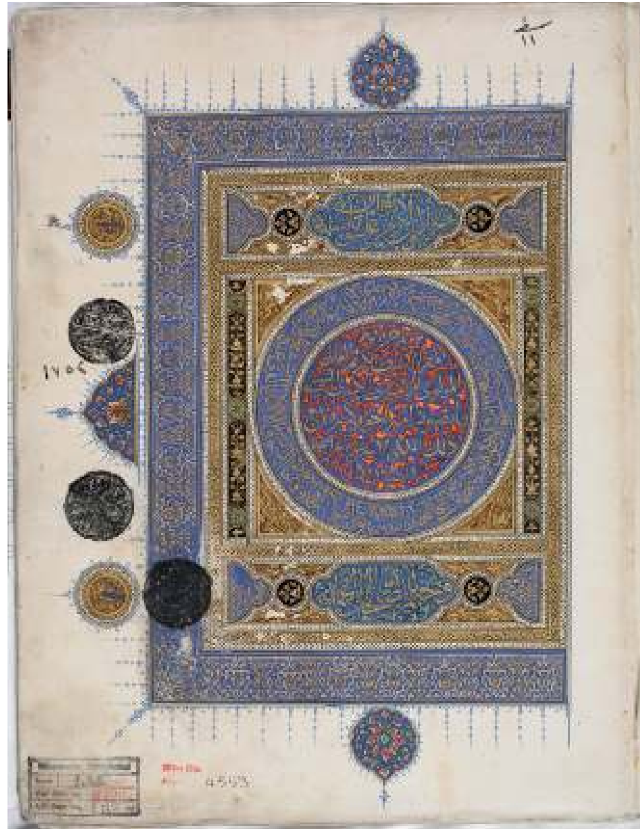

Figure 8: Illuminated frontispiece, dedicated to *amir akhur* Qansuh. *Diwan* of Aşık Pasha, Mamluk Syria? dated 1477–78.

columns (Hamidiye 550, fols. 41b–114a). It starts with an illuminated heading and ends with a splendid illuminated panel. The basic pattern of the illumination is an oval medallion in the centre, accompanied by four-pointed star rosettes. The main field contains a combination of golden floral branches that are symmetrical on the horizontal axis and set against a white background.[27] The illumination style of the *Majmua*, which I define as naive, has similarities with the illumination of the Mamluk emirs' copies of Aşık Pasha's *Diwan* discussed earlier. The name of the scribe of the *Majmua* is given at the end of the "Khosraw and Shirin" section (Hamidiye 550, fol. 183b–226b). He signed his name in *tawqiʿ* script as Shihab al-Din al-Qudsi without giving a date, and wrote in *muhaqqaq* script in the square area, "the book has been completed by the grace of God the grantor," (fig. 10).[28]

Shihab al-Din al-Qudsi copied two medical manuscripts, both of which are in the Süleymaniye Library. One of them is dated 4th Jumada II 862/April 19th 1458

Figure 9: Illuminated heading. *Diwan* of Aşık Pasha, Mamluk Syria? dated 1477–78.

(Fatih 3645. 31.7 × 21.6 centimetres).[29] In the colophon, he states that he was not only the calligrapher, but also the binder and illuminator of the manuscript. The text is written in large *naskhi* script. The leather binding is dark brown and has a very simple, decorated centrepiece. Shihab al-Din al-Qudsi's illumination style is quite plain, and the golden *rumi* s and branches are the dominant decorations.

The second book that Shihab al-Din copied in *naskhi* script in Shawwal 876/March 1472 (Ayasofya 3626. 20.5 × 14 centimetres), was prepared for the treasury of the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II (r. 1444–46; 1451–81).[30] However, in this book he does not introduce himself as the binder and illuminator. In fact, the illuminations and the bindings are much richer than those of the manuscript that he created fourteen years earlier. It is evident from his calligraphy that he was good at writing in *naskhi*, *tawqiʿ*, *thuluth*, and *muhaqqaq* scripts. Although it is not known for whom it was initially prepared, the *Majmua* copied by Shihab al-Din al-Qudsi

Figure 10: Colophon page of Khosraw and Shirin, *Majmua*. Ottoman Istanbul, 1460–72.

can be dated to between 1460 and 1472, when he was actively working for the Ottoman patrons. As we have seen, the calligraphy and the illuminations of the *Majmua* and the medical books copied by Shihab al-Qudsi have similarities with the manuscripts of the emirs Yashbak and Qansuh.

We may then conclude that at some time between 1458 and 1472, the scribe, illuminator, and bookbinder Shihab al-Din al-Qudsi was working in the Ottoman court workshop in 1472 on the *Anthology*, including Aşık Pasha's *Diwan*, and that he copied other manuscripts. A few years later, in 1477–78, two bibliophile Mamluk elites commissioned copies of Aşık Pasha's *Diwan* to be produced with expertly executed bindings, splendid illuminations and written in fine *naskhi* script. Was this common literary taste a coincidence, or can the impact of the wandering

artists be discerned in the development of such common tastes? Is it possible that the scribe Shihab al-Din of Jerusalem, who was skilled in copying Aşık Pasha's *Diwan* in *naskhi* script, was based in Mamluk lands at the end of the 1470s where he penned it for those two emirs? Unfortunately we do not have enough historical data to provide convincing answers to these questions. However, it is worth emphasising that within the same time period, members of the elite in two different parts of the Islamic world shared the same literary taste and an interest in the patronage of the arts of the book.

Illustrations (with image credit)

Figure 1: Outer cover. *Diwan* of Aşık Pasha, dated 1477–78. (Süleymaniye Library, Laleli 1752 M2, photographer Hadiye Cangökçe)
Figure 2: Illuminated frontispiece, dedicated to the emir Yashbak min Mahdi. *Diwan* of Aşık Pasha, Mamluk Syria?, dated 1477–78. (Süleymaniye Library, Laleli 1752 M2, fol.1a, photographer Hadiye Cangökçe)
Figure 3: Colophon page. *Diwan* of Aşık Pasha, Mamluk Syria?, dated 1477–78. (Süleymaniye Library, Laleli 1752 M2, fol. 241b, photographer Hadiye Cangökçe).
Figure 4: Outer cover. *Diwan* of Aşık Pasha, Mamluk Syria?, dated 1477–78. (Süleymaniye Library, Laleli 1752 M 1, photographer Hadiye Cangökçe)
Figure 5: Fore-edge and outer cover of the flap. *Diwan* of Aşık Pasha, Mamluk Syria?, dated 1477–78. (Süleymaniye Library, Laleli 1752 M 1, photographer Hadiye Cangökçe)
Figure 6: Doublure of the cover. *Diwan* of Aşık Pasha, Mamluk Syria?, dated 1477–78. (Süleymaniye Library, Laleli 1752 M 1, photographer Hadiye Cangökçe)
Figure 7: Doublure of the flap. *Diwan* of Aşık Pasha, Mamluk Syria? dated 1477–78. (Süleymaniye Library, Laleli 1752 M 1, photographer Hadiye Cangökçe)
Figure 8: Illuminated frontispiece, dedicated to *amir akhur* Qansuh. *Diwan* of Aşık Pasha, Mamluk Syria? dated 1477–78. (Süleymaniye Library, Laleli 1752 M1, fol. 3a, photographer Hadiye Cangökçe)
Figure 9: Illuminated heading. *Diwan* of Aşık Pasha, Mamluk Syria? dated 1477–78. (Süleymaniye Library, Laleli 1752 M1, fol. 3b, photographer Hadiye Cangökçe)
Figure 10: Colophon page of Khosraw and Shirin, *Majmua*. Ottoman Istanbul, 1460–72. (Süleymaniye Library, Hamidiye 550, fol. 226b, photographer Hadiye Cangökçe)

Notes

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2 Zeren Tanındı, *Siyer-i Nebi. An Illustrated Cycle of the Life of Muhammed and its Place in Islamic Art*, (Istanbul, 1984), 10–12.
3 Şehabeddin Tekindag, *Berkuk Devrinde Memlûk Sultanlıgı*, (Istanbul, 1961).
4 Tim Stanley, "The Books of Umur Bey," in eds. D. Behrens-Abouseif and A. Contadini, *Essays in Honor of J.M.Rogers*, *Muqarnas* 21 (2004), 323–31.
5 Tanındı, *Siyer-i Nebi*, 16–34.
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9 Günay Kut, "Âshık Pasha," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Islam Ansiklopedisi*, 4 (1991), 1–3; Âshık Pasha, *Garib-nâme (tıpkıbasım, karşılaştırmalı metin ve aktarma)*, ed. K. Yavuz, 1–3 (Istanbul, 2000).
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11 Semavi Eyice, " Türbesi," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Ansiklopedisi* 4 (1991), 5.
12 Âshık, *Garib-nâme*, 35–52.
13 Flemming, " Sultan Gavri," 88–89; idem, "Literary Activities," 252; Carl F. Petry, *Protectors or Praetorians? The Last Mamluk Sultans and Egypt's Waning as a Great Power*, (New York, 1994), 17, 47–48; Robert Irwin, "Gunpowder and Firearms in the Mamluk Sultanate Reconsidered," in eds. M. Winter and A. Levanoni, *Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society*, (Leiden/Boston, 2004), 129–30.
14 Yashbak's volumes were published as facsimiles. See footnote no. 9.
15 Flemming, "Sultan Gavri," 89.
16 al-Sakhāwī, Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmiʿ li ahl al-qarn al-tāsiʿ*, 12 vols., (Cairo, 1896), 10: 272–74; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr fī waqāʾiʿ al-duhūr*, ed. M. Muṣṭafā (Wiesbaden/Cairo, 1961–75), 3: 177.
17 Flemming, "Sultan Gavri," 88.
18 The flap design is similar to the binding of a manuscript copied for Qaytbay and dated 1473, showing that it was executed by the same binder (Topkapı Saray Library, A.649/1). Alison Ohta, "Filigree Bindings of the Mamluk Period," *Muqarnas* 21 (2004), 271–73.
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24 Idem, "The Art of the Book. Patrons and Interactions in Erzincan (1365–1410)," *At the Crossroads of Empires: 14th–15th Century Eastern Anatolia. International Conference, Istanbul 4–6 May 2007* (forthcoming).
25 Idem, "Başlangıcından Osmanlıya," 261–64.
26 Gönül Tekin, "Turkish Literature: Thirteenth to Fifteenth Centuries," in eds. H. Inalcık and G. Renda, *Ottoman Civilization 2*, (Istanbul, 2003), 507.
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28 For the scribe, see Raby and Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding*, 61–62, 71.
29 Ibid., 61, 66.
30 Ibid., 62.

Mehmed Baha Tanman

Mamluk Influences on the Architecture of the Anatolian Emirates

The aim of this article is to follow the traces of Mamluk influences on the architecture of the Turkmen emirates (*beylik*) in Anatolia. The majority of the buildings studied are chosen from the southern and western parts of Asia Minor. This preference is due to the existence of many interesting cases in these regions, and the fact the topic has already been covered in the Karamanoğlu Emirate which dominates central Anatolia.[1]

The Emirates Period, which corresponds to the late Middle Ages in Anatolia, took shape in the turbulent period that followed the defeat of the Saljuk army by the Ilkhanids at the battle of Kösedağ in 1243. Anatolia was from then on controlled by Ilkhanid governor-generals, while the Saljuk rulers became 'puppet kings'. Meanwhile, alongside the weakening of the Konya-centred Saljuk administration, the emirs began to act as semi-independent political entities in their territories. The Emirates Period, which also comprises the early Ottoman era, began with the emergence of the Karamanoğlu Emirate in the high Taurus plateau in the mid-thirteenth century, and ended with the annexation of the Ramazanoğlu and Dulkadiroğlu Emirates – vassals of the Mamluk Empire – by the Ottoman territories during the campaign of Selim I in 1517.

The Anatolian peninsula, due to its geographical position, had been for a long while the focus of cultural interactions on both east–west and north–south axes. These interactions undoubtedly continued in as lively a fashion during the Saljuk Period. Moreover, the disintegration of the political unity, in other words the destruction of the Saljuk carapace, made Anatolia more 'permeable' to foreign influences, in political as well as cultural spheres.

For example, as a result of a massive new wave of migration caused by the Ilkhanid invasion, the semi-nomadic Turkmens had settled on the western Anatolian coast, where the Saljuks had not been able to establish a lasting dominance. The emirates founded on the western coastline, such as Teke, Menteşe, Aydın, Saruhan, and Karesi, created their own fleets and began to interfere in the political and commercial life of the Aegean. They were in contact with Venice, which dominated Crete and the Cycladic archipelago, with the Knights of St. John, who were

centred in Rhodes and possessed the Dodecanese, and with the Mamluk Empire, which held the eastern Mediterranean ports.[2]

In the meantime, Bilad al-Sham, or Greater Syria, and part of southern Anatolia were, from the beginning of the Emirates Period, under the dominance of the Mamluk empire. The ancient caravan route connecting Anatolia to the Middle East, with one branch extending to Egypt and the other reaching the southern coast of the Arabian Peninsula, preserved its importance. In addition, this route had increased in prestige amongst Anatolians by also becoming the 'Pilgrimage Road' linking their homeland to the three holy cities dominated by the Mamluks: Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem.

The neighbouring Mamluk empire, the strongest political structure of the Middle East, was seen as the 'big brother', called upon to help on various occasions in this turbulent period in Anatolia. In fact, the Turkmens used to seek refuge in the political power of the sultan of Cairo, sometimes against the Ilkhanids, sometimes against the Venetians or the Knights of St. John, and even during conflicts amongst themselves. All these events presented opportunities to the Mamluks for interfering in Anatolia's political life.[3]

If you take a brief tour of Anatolia, you will come across, for instance in Karaman, a mosque built by Emir Seyfuddin Hacıbeyler (757/1356–57),[4] a deputy (*na'ib*) of the Mamluk sultan,[5] or in Divriği the mausoleum of another Mamluk emir,[6] who was responsible for tax collecting, both strongly indicating this political presence. On the other hand, many Anatolian scholars and Sufis were travelling to the cities under Mamluk domination, such as Aleppo, Damascus, and especially Cairo, in order to study or to meet eminent personalities.

One can thus assume that the Mamluk world was omnipresent in Anatolia during the Emirates Period, and it would be astonishing in such an environment not to encounter its architectural influences, the most imposing building praxis of the Middle East. We propose to examine these influences under two main headings: influences on the architectural building types and plans; and influences on the façade organisation, architectural details, and decorative programme.

Influences on the Architectural Building Types and Plans

The Great Mosque of Manisa, built in 1376–77 by Ishaq Bey, the emir of Saruhan, is one of the great achievements of Anatolian architecture in this period. With its dome dominating the prayer space, it is considered by many specialists to be the precursor of the Üç Şerefeli Mosque in Edirne (1447), the first imperial mosque with a centralised plan, and the archetype of the so-called "classical Ottoman style."[7] Michael Meinecke suggests that the plan of the Great Mosque of Manisa was inspired by Mamluk monuments such as the New Mosque or al-Jamiʿ al-Jadid

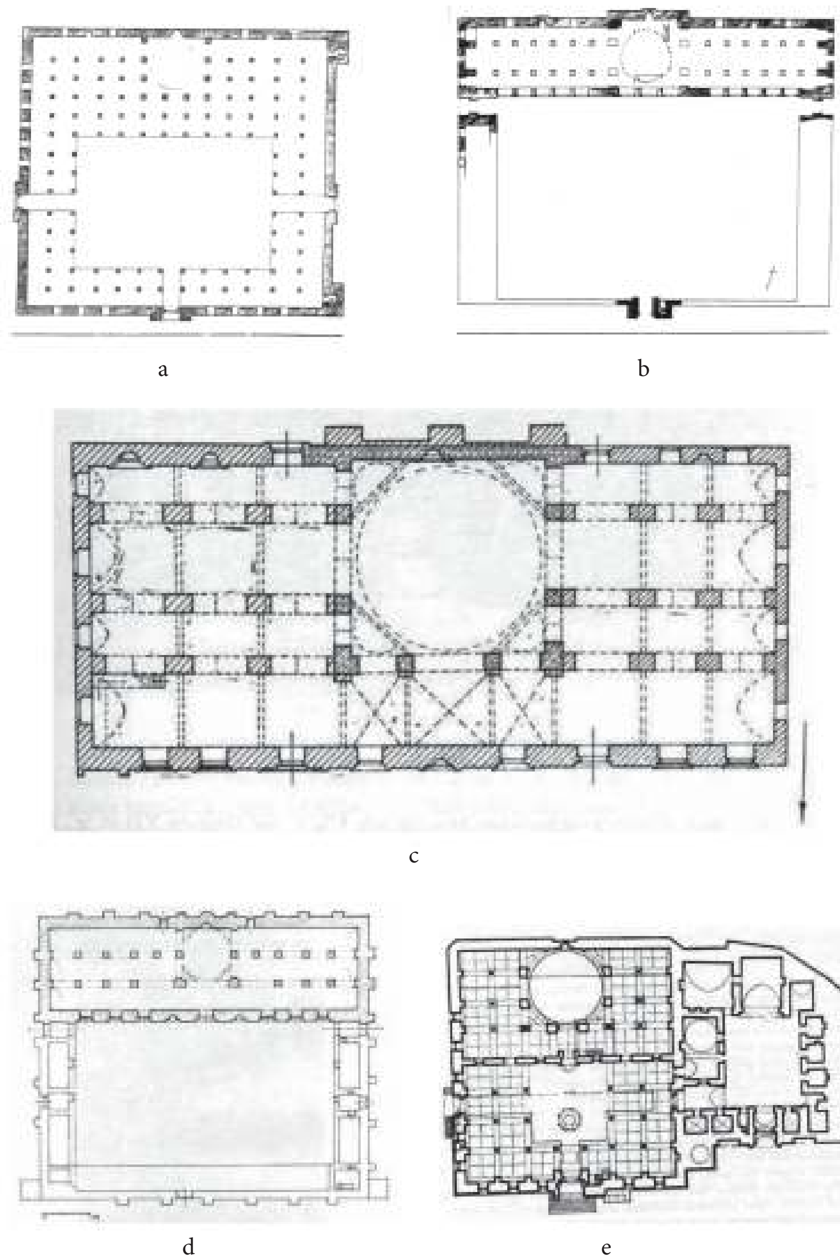

Figure 1: (top to bottom) a. New Mosque (*al-jamiʿ al-jadid*) in Fustat (1311–12), plan; b. Mosque of Yalbugha al-Yahyawi in Damascus (1346–47), plan; c. Great Mosque of Silvan (1152–1157), plan; d. Great Mosque of Dunaysir (1204), plan; e. Great Mosque of Manisa (1376–77), plan.

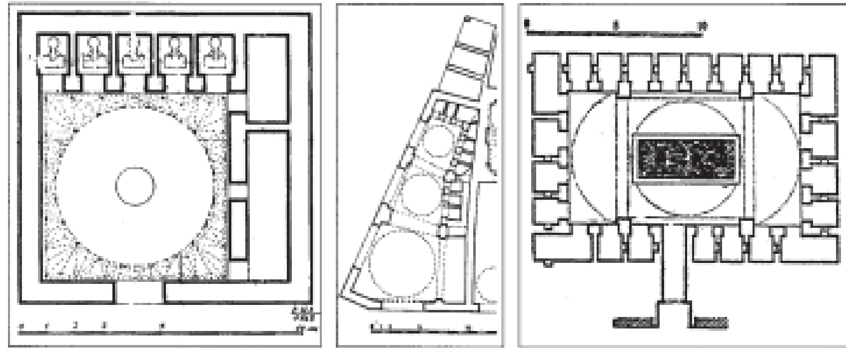

Figure 2: (left to right) Latrines of the Hudavendigar Complex in Bursa (ca. 1366), of the Great Mosque Complex in Bursa (1400), and of Emir Taz in Aleppo (1356–57).

built by Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad north of Fustat (1311–12) or the Mosque of Yalbugha al-Yahyawi in Damascus (1346–47),[8] while Oktay Aslanapa and Godfrey Goodwin prefer to relate its plan to the great mosques of Silvan and Dunaysir, both Artuqid works from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (figs. 1a–e).[9] In fact, it seems that it would be more prudent for the moment to explain the similarities between the mosque architecture of Anatolia, Syria, and Egypt in the light of complicated mutual interactions or parallel developments.

The latrines, designed as independent buildings in the Hudavendigar and the Great Mosque complexes in Bursa, also deserve attention. In the Hudavendigar complex (ca. 1366) the latrines, which also include small bathing units (*gusülhane*), are situated at the northeast corner of the mosque-madrasa. The square-shaped, domed central space is a covered court, around which are aligned five latrines and two bathing units, all vaulted (fig. 2).[10] The latrines of the Great Mosque complex (1400) adjoin the southern wall of the Vaiziye Madrasa, which is at the west side of the mosque. The construction, inserted between the oblique line of the main road at the south and the madrasa, is composed of three trapezoid and domed units of different dimensions, connected by large arches and with nine latrines surrounding them (fig. 2).[11] This type of building is seen neither in pre-Ottoman Turkish architecture nor in the later Ottoman period; however, the only work that could have been the prototype of the latrines in question is the public latrine in the Market of Handkerchiefs, Suq al-Manadil, in Aleppo, founded in 1356–57 by the Mamluk governor Emir Taz al-Nasiri.[12] However, its plan and superstructure, as well as the architectural details, are much more elaborate than the examples in Bursa. Here, too, we see a covered court as a space for interior circulation. The court, containing a rectangular pool in the middle, is crowned by a central dome flanked by two half-domes on each side and surrounded by twenty-three vaulted latrine units (fig. 2).[13]

Influences on the Façade Organisation, Architectural Details, and Decorative Programme

Before examining the Emirates Period examples, I would like to make the point that many influences originating from Ayyubid Syria can be detected within Saljuk architecture of the first half of the thirteenth century. Almost all of these borrowings, concerning the façade design and decoration, were later perpetuated by the Mamluks in the form of a 'Syrian provincial style' and continued to influence Anatolian workshops of the Emirates Period.[14]

It is important to note that these imports were due, often in both periods, to architects of Syrian, mainly Damascene, origin. For instance, the earliest examples of polychrome stone decoration in Anatolia date to the Saljuk period and are seen in the works[15] of the court architect Muhammad ibn Hawlan al-Dimashqi.[16] Traces of the same decorative taste are visible in many Anatolian buildings dating to the Emirates Period, such as the Isa Bey Mosque in Ayasuluk (Selçuk)[17] (1374–75, Aydınoğlu) (fig. 3), the Ilyas Bey Mosque in Balat[18] (1404, Menteşoğlu), and es-

Figure 3: Western façade of the Isa Bey Mosque in Ayasuluk (1375).

Figure 4: Eastern façade of the Great Mosque of Adana (1508–09).

pecially in the Great Mosque of Adana[19] (early sixteenth century, Ramazanoğlu) (fig. 4). There are also traces in some early Ottoman works, such as the Old Mosque in Edirne[20] (1414), the madrasa of Mehmed I in Merzifon[21] (1415), and the Bayezid Pasha mosque in Amasya[22] (1419). The fact that the Isa Bey and Bayezid Pasha mosques, as well as the madrasa of Mehmed I, are designed by architects such as ʿAli ibn Mushaymish al-Dimashqi[23] and Abu Bakr ibn Muhammad al-Dimashqi,[24] both from the Mushaymish family, who worked in Anatolia, clarifies the origin and continuity of the decorative choice in these buildings.

A kind of double arch, without any support in the middle, appears in the Ayyubid architecture of Syria. The existence of this unusual detail can be traced in the same region during the Mamluk period (fig. 5), as well as in Saljuk Anatolia, and then during the Emirates Period. This kind of arch can be detected on the portal of the Ince Minareli Madrasa in Konya[25] (1260–65, Saljuk), incorporated in the very rich geometric and floral decoration. It is more visible on the portal and fountain of the Tol Madrasa in Ermenak[26] (1339, Karamanoğlu), as well as on the windows of the Great Mosque of Elbistan (1501, Dulkadiroğlu) and on the fountain (*sabil*) of the Great Mosque of Adana (fig. 6). It is interesting to witness its rebirth within

Figure 5: Recess of the Mausoleum of Khayrbak in Aleppo (1514).

Figure 6: Northern façade of the Great Mosque of Adana, with the sabil at left and the fountain at right (early sixteenth century).

a certain provincial Ottoman revivalism at the beginning of the twentieth century on the façades of the railway station in Adana.

On the other hand, the double-lobed muqarnas of the funerary complex of Sultan al-Ashraf Inal in Cairo[27] (1453–56), and the *zawiya* (Sufi foundation) of Mustafa Bey in Havza near Amasya[28] (1429, Ottoman), can be interpreted as 'derivations' of these double arches. Although the Anatolian example is a bit earlier, the strange similarity between them and the absence of any Anatolian precursor, suggest a Mamluk inspiration.

Another interesting detail, which had its roots in the early Byzantine architecture of northern Syria, had quite a long life. Mouldings adorned with loops at their extremities were used by the Mamluks and by the Saljuks and the Anatolian Emirates.[29] It is worth noting that this feature might have been imported into Anatolia by Muhammad ibn Hawlan al-Dimashqi. In fact, it appears in Anatolia for the first time on the arch crowning the inscription panel of the Alaeddin Mosque in Konya (1219–20, Saljuk) (fig. 7). Among examples from the Emirates Period we can cite the portal of the Firuz Bey Mosque in Milas[30] (1394, Ottoman-Menteşeoğlu) and the qibla arcade of the Great Mosque of Adana (early sixteenth century) (fig. 8).

One of the earliest examples of the chevron arch decorated with zigzags can be found in the Nilometer in Cairo, which dates from the Abbasid period (861), while the gadroon arch, already seen in the Bab al-Futuh in Cairo, from the Fatimid period (end of eleventh century), has its roots in the Byzantine architecture of Syria. Both arches were widespread in the hybrid 'Crusader-Ayyubid style'[31] of twelfth-century Syria and Palestine, and they survived in Mamluk architecture. The earliest examples of these arches in Anatolia date from the Saljuk period, in the works of Muhammad ibn Hawlan al-Dimashqi, such as the section added to the Alaeddin Mosque in Konya in 1219–20 (fig. 7), and next to this mosque, the so-called 'Incomplete Mausoleum'[32] (1219). The chevron can be seen in the buildings of the Dulkadiroğlu and Ramazanoğlu Emirates, such as the mausoleum of Taş Madrasa in Marash[33] (early sixteenth century, Dulkadiroğlu) (fig. 9) and the fountain of the Great Mosque of Adana (early sixteenth century) (fig. 6), while the gadroon arch appears in the repertory of early Ottoman architecture by the end of the fourteenth century and is mainly used as a relieving arch, for example in some windows of the Great Mosque of Bursa[34] (1400) (fig. 10) and the Mosque of Mehmed I in Dimetoka[35] (1420). Therefore, one can surmise that these design elements entered fourteenth-century Anatolian architecture through the Saljuk tradition, thus preceding the Mamluks. However, the evocative resemblance between the entrance arcade of the *mashhad* (mausoleum) of Abu Hurayra[36] (1274) in the small town of Yubna in Palestine, built by the Mamluks, and the one at the Orhan Mosque in Bursa[37] (1340), proves the vivacity of the cultural interaction within the Palestine–Syria–Anatolia axis during the fourteenth century. In these arcades, be-

Figure 7: Inscription of Alaeddin Mosque in Konya (1219–20).

sides the repetitive use of the same kind of arch, the parallels in their arrangement are obvious: in both examples the chevron arch is placed in the middle, while the gadroon arches are on the sides.[38]

As is the case for most early Ottoman buildings, the architect of the Orhan Mosque is unknown. Its plan derives from the covered-court Saljuk madrasas and *khanqah*s. However, many façade details, such as the alternate use of brick and stone, blind semicircular arches, saw-blade cornices, and circular rosettes, are of Byzantine origin. This suggests that the workers might have been Turks and Greeks.

Figure 8: Detail from the qibla arcade of the Great Mosque of Adana (early sixteenth century).

Moreover, the resemblance between the Orhan Mosque and the *mashhad* of Abu Hurayra is quite striking. It seems very probable that this already multi-ethnic building-yard also embraced, beside the autochthonous (Anatolian) craftsmen, Palestinian masons trained within the Mamluk architectural tradition. The almost total lack of documents from the early Ottoman era prevents elucidation of this matter.

Unlike the details discussed above, some other architectural features detected in the buildings of the Emirates Period are undoubtedly inspired by Mamluk architecture. For instance, the monumental façade design of the Isa Bey Mosque in Ayasuluk (1375–76) (fig. 3), formerly the capital of the Emirate of Aydınoğlu. In particular, the western façade flanked by shops at the lower part and overlooking the former square surrounded by other buildings of the same complex, displays a quite elaborate fenestration composed of lavishly decorated windows placed on vertical axes. The portal is no longer the unique visual focus of an almost blind façade, as in the former Saljuk monuments. The architect ʿAli ibn Mushaymish al-Dimashqi, who applied here a reduced plan of the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus, seems to have preferred a Mamluk-looking main façade, in order to increase the prestige of this princely monument.

Figure 9: Entrance of the mausoleum of the Taş Madrasa in Marash (early sixteenth century).

We can also assume that the recesses crowned with muqarnas and used in some buildings of the Emirates are of Mamluk origin; these recesses are far more common in Cairene than in Syrian Mamluk architecture. Among the Anatolian buildings displaying such recesses are the Isa Bey Mosque in Ayasuluk (1375–76) (fig. 3), the Firuz Bey Mosque in Milas (1394) (fig. 11), the Taş Madrasa in Marash[39] (1501), and the Great Mosque of Adana (early sixteenth century) (fig. 4).

It is also interesting to point out that from the fourteenth century onwards, in some monuments such as the Isa Bey Mosque in Ayasuluk or the Great Mosque of Adana, Mamluk-style muqarnas was preferred to the local Saljuk type. In both examples, the existence of the small muqarnas, and of an arched and fluted panel crowning them, differs from the Saljuk tradition by recalling the Mamluk features.

Figure 10: Windows of the Great Mosque in Bursa (1400).

Finally, I would like to draw attention to the iron window grilles of the Green Mosque in Bursa (1419), which are decorated with inscriptions as well as geometrical and floral motifs encrusted in silver (fig. 12).[40] This technique, applied for the first time in Anatolia, can be found in the grilles of the Jamal al-Din al-Ustadar mosque known by Mahmud al-Kurdi in Cairo (1395).

Besides these examples, which reflect the refined taste of capitals such as Cairo and Bursa, a similar interaction, on a more provincial level, can be observed in the grilles made by a craftsman named Muhammad ibn Mahmud which encircle the cenotaph of Emir Azdamur min Mazid in his mausoleum in al-Ansari near Aleppo[41] (1488), and in the Great Mosque of Marash, built by the emir of Dulkadir, Alauddawla Bozkurt, vassal of Sultan Qansuh al-Ghawri (1501–02).[42] The same provincial taste can be detected on the grilles of the Mosque al-Tawashi in Aleppo[43] (fourteenth century) and on those of the Great Mosque of Adana (early sixteenth century).

In conclusion, the Mamluk contribution to the architecture of the Anatolian emirates has not been studied closely enough until now. It is especially important to note that these influences become particularly strong in the architecture of the Ramazanoğlu and Dulkadiroğlu Emirates, which were not only neighbours of the Mamluk state, but also its vassals.

The two portals of the Great Mosque of Adana are the most striking examples of the impact of political subordination on architecture. The eastern portal, built in

Figure 11: Recess of the Firuz Bey Mosque in Milas (1394).

1508–09 under Mamluk suzerainty, reflects the characteristics of Mamluk architecture, while the western portal, built in 1541 after the annexation of the emirate to the Ottoman Empire, is typically Ottoman. Also worth noting is the fact that Adana is surrounded by a huge alluvial plain, without any stone quarries, so the builders must have had to import a workforce from other regions which had a tradition of stone architecture. The stone cutters of the eastern portal were most probably from Aleppo, while the ones of the western portal from a closer Anatolian town, such as Kayseri or Konya, possessing a long-established tradition of cut-stone architecture.

It is also interesting to observe that these influences have their sources mainly in Syria rather than Cairo, which was the irrefutable centre of Mamluk architec-

Figure 12: Detail from the window grilles of the Green Mosque in Bursa (1419).

ture and displayed almost all its masterpieces. The geographical proximity of Bilad al-Sham with Anatolia is not sufficient to explain this phenomenon in itself. Architects of Syrian origin, whose activities can be traced in Anatolia from the Saljuk era onwards, were without any doubt the precursors of this interaction.

Furthermore, we can follow the tracks of some travelling craftsmen carrying the art of their homeland to distant countries. For example, the wooden minbars in the Great Mosques of Manisa (1376–77, Saruhanoğlu) and Bursa (1399–1400, Ottoman)[44] are signed by the same craftsman, Muhammad ibn Abd al-Aziz ibn al-Daqqi al-ʿAyntabi,[45] who was from Ayntab, which belonged to the Mamluk sultanate.

As discussed above, Mamluk influence is quite limited in the conception of the architectural space. In other words, it is seen mainly in decorative techniques and architectural details.[46] The most important contribution of Mamluk architecture was undoubtedly the monumental façade conception and the elaborate fenestra-

tion applied for the first time in Anatolia in Isa Bey Mosque, and later to be developed in the framework of Ottoman architecture, but without its rich décor.

The details borrowed from Mamluk architecture were adapted to local taste and mostly abandoned by the mid-fifteenth century, coinciding with the administrative unification of Anatolia under the Ottomans and the formation of the classical Ottoman style. The medallion imitating Mamluk royal blazons and containing the name of Sultan Süleyman ibn Selim (the Magnificent), in the Great Mosque of Divriği, is an unexpected survival.

As a result, we can affirm that Anatolian architecture of the Emirates Period – with the exception of the Great Mosque of Adana – was not under the 'trusteeship' of the Mamluk masters. While this local architecture developed independently, it certainly borrowed ideas from its southern neighbour, which were reinterpreted and adapted to suit local practices and taste.

Illustrations (with image credit)

Figure 1: (top to bottom) a. New Mosque (*al-jamiʿ al-jadid*) in Fustat (1311–12), plan (after M. Meinecke); b. Mosque of Yalbugha al-Yahyawi in Damascus (1346–47), plan (after M. Meinecke); c. Great Mosque of Silvan (1152–1157), plan (after O. Aslanapa); d. Great Mosque of Dunaysir (1204), plan (after O. Aslanapa); e. Great Mosque of Manisa (1376–77), plan (after O. Aslanapa)
Figure 2: (left to right) Latrines of the Hudavendigar Complex in Bursa (ca. 1366) (after E. H. Ayverdi); of the Great Mosque Complex in Bursa (1400) (after E. H. Ayverdi); and of Emir Taz in Aleppo (1356–57). (After J. Sauvaget)
Figure 3: Western façade of the Isa Bey Mosque in Ayasuluk (1375). (After M. Kayhan)
Figure 4: Eastern façade of the Great Mosque of Adana (1508–09). (After G. Ramazanoğlu)
Figure 5: Recess of the Mausoleum of Khayrbak in Aleppo (1514). (Photo by the author)
Figure 6: Northern façade of the Great Mosque of Adana, with the sabil at left and the fountain at right (early sixteenth century). (Photo by the author)
Figure 7: Inscription of Alaeddin Mosque in Konya (1219–20). (Photo by the author)
Figure 8: Detail from the qibla arcade of the Great Mosque of Adana (early sixteenth century). (Photo by the author)
Figure 9: Entrance of the mausoleum of the Taş Madrasa in Marash (early sixteenth century). (Photo by the author)
Figure 10: Windows of the Great Mosque in Bursa (1400). (Photo by the author)
Figure 11: Recess of the Firuz Bey Mosque in Milas (1394). (Photo by the author)

Figure 12: Detail from the window grilles of the Green Mosque in Bursa (1419). (Photo by the author)

Notes

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Doris Behrens-Abouseif

Mamluk Perceptions of Foreign Arts

In recent years a number of studies have been dedicated to the notion of frontiers in the pre-modern world, before the concept of statehood was fully crystallised. Among the ideas put forward in some of these debates is the notion that frontiers were not only physical borders, but they could also be, to a great extent, a set of attitudes, relationships, and experiences, in other words a "state of mind."[1] Within the framework of "mental frontiers," the attitude of Mamluk society towards foreign arts, both on the official and unofficial level, is worth exploring. The material evidence of artistic interaction between the Mamluk and other cultures differs from that expressed, or for that matter suppressed, in literary sources. The tensions and ambiguities between the material and literary evidence reveal the mental frontiers.

The term 'foreign' is used here to describe the arts and crafts produced outside Mamluk territory and patronage, i.e. outside the political and geographical boundaries of the Mamluk sultanate, thus including other Muslim countries. The arts of pre-Islamic and other ancient civilisations, which form a distinct subject, cannot be considered here.[2] It should be added that the term 'foreign' here has no precise Mamluk equivalent; rather a variety of Mamluk terms referred to foreign peoples and countries. Islamic countries were often labelled by their ruling dynasties or their capital cities. In general, the term *ʿajam* and *aʿjam* referred to Iran, but could also include Turks from the Iranian world. Ethnic terms were used to describe the Mongols, Turks, Turkmens, Kurds, Circassians, and others. The geographic term *rum,* meaning Rome referred to Byzantium, Anatolia, and Ottoman subjects. Sudan referred to East Africa, and Takrur to West Africa. *Bilad al-gharb* was another term for the Maghrib, also including Muslim Spain. China and India were called by the Arabic geographic equivalents Sin and Hind, as was Ethiopia with Habasha. The chroniclers normally referred to the various nations of Latin Europe with the generic term *faranj*, which literally means Franks; when necessary, in the case of specific political and diplomatic events, the name of the individual state was added. *Faranj* was the political/religious equivalent of 'the Muslim world', which was described as the *muslimun* or *bilad al-islam*. The modern term *ajnabi*, in the sense of foreigner, does not commonly figure in this context in Mamluk sources. The

term *ghuraba'* (sing. *gharib)* is often used to mean strangers, people who are not local. Ibn Iyas uses this term when referring to the groups affected by the plague, alongside male and female slaves and children.[3]

The Mamluk Empire occupied in many respects a central and intermediary position in the Muslim world and its rulers knew how to exploit this privileged position. While standing geographically between two continents, their empire was also at the junction of the Maghrib – with the Mashriq (eastern Muslim world). Facing the Christian Mediterranean, the Mamluks had control of the spice trade between the Far East and Europe as well as a grip over the Christian holy places. In the Muslim world, they enjoyed their triumphs over the Crusaders and the Mongols, and, adorned with the aura of the symbolic Abbasid caliphate in Cairo and the guardianship of the Muslim holy cities, they were able to assume ecumenical authority. The prosperity of Egypt and Syria enabled them to host in their religious foundations scholars from the entire Muslim world and the relative stability of their sultanate attracted refugees from cataclysms elsewhere, such as the Mongol invasion, Timur's raids, the struggles between the Turkmen principalities in Eastern Anatolia and Western Iran, and the eviction of Muslims from Spain. Muslims from east and west came to Egypt, Syria, and the Hejaz to pursue a career in the religious foundations or the state apparatus. Attracted by the lavish urban and artistic patronage of the ruling establishment and the cosmopolitan markets of the great cities, migrants also had a significant presence in Mamluk trades and crafts. The following discussion explores to what extent the worldwide connections of the Mamluk sultanate were reflected in their own arts and, most importantly, in their perception of arts elsewhere. Here again it is important to make a terminological clarification. In the absence of a general theory on the visual arts, Mamluk historians, like other historians in Islamic pre-modern culture, did not use the word 'art' in the modern abstract sense that refers to the visual arts as a whole in a conceptual approach; their statements rather refer either to craftsmanship in general or to specific things or artifacts that were admired, traded, or collected for their beauty or as symbols of social status or political power

Mamluk chronicles are quite informative about events taking place in other parts of the Muslim world, and biographical encyclopaedias dedicate an important share to the Muslim elite from all regions. However, information about craftsmen and artists is known to be scarce. This gap can be partly filled with craftsmen's signatures, such as those that indicate the immigration of metalworkers from Mosul in the fourteenth century and ceramists from Iran in the fifteenth century.[4] Other foreign influences are revealed by the works themselves. Physical and archaeological evidence supported by literary sources indicate that through the fourteenth century and beyond, the Muslim East and the Far East were a major source of inspiration in Mamluk artifacts. The Mongols of Iran, the Ilkhanids, inspired early Mamluk regal art and culture and boosted already existing contacts between China

and the Eastern Mediterranean. Chinese ceramics, lacquer, and silks were valued as symbols of luxury and status throughout Mamluk history; the imitation of Chinese porcelain and the widespread use of chinoiserie in the Mamluk decorative arts are well documented. Although Chinese goods usually came through indirect channels, in 1432 the historian Ibn Hajar reports the arrival of Chinese junks in the Red Sea with goods, which he describes as *tuhaf* (meaning art objects, collectibles and exotica), "beyond description,"[5] Maqrizi and Ibn Taghribirdi, referring to the same episode, mention silk, porcelain, and perfume.[6] Chinese porcelain, excavated in great quantity, is also an item regularly mentioned by the chroniclers in the context of inventories of private treasuries and trousseaux. In spite of the commercial relations and their artistic impact, and even the presence of Mamluk emirs of Chinese origin at the court of al-Nasir Muhammad such as Arghun Shah al-Nasiri (d. 1349),[7] China as a country is not mentioned in Mamluk literature except in a geographical context. There was no Mamluk Ibn Battuta to write about eyewitness experiences abroad. China remained a vague source of beautiful artifacts without a cultural context.

Tuhaf, or exotica, wherever they came from, always had a special status in Arabic literature, including that of the Mamluk period. Maqrizi and Ibn Hajar dedicate a special mention to the automaton sent in 1375 by the Byzantine emperor to Cairo, displaying musicians coming out to signal every hour with a melody.[8] Following an ancient tradition, this kind of clock/automaton was associated in Arabic literature with the marvels of antiquity. Contemporary *tuhaf* were mentioned in the context of diplomatic gifts; Ibn Iyas describes in detail and with fascination a ceremonial silk tent and a painted wooden pavilion sent by the Dhu 'l-Qadir ruler ʿAli Dawlat to Sultan al-Ghawri (r. 1501–16), who was so impressed by their craftsmanship that he ordered their display in the Citadel. He was also informed about their history and documents their origin. They were commissioned by the Aq Qoyunlu ruler Uzun Hasan (r. 1453–78) and came into the possession of the Safavid Shah Ismaʿil (r. 1501–24), who in turn sent them to ʿAli Dawlat.[9]

K. A. C. Creswell, J. M. Rogers, and Michael Meinecke have extensively discussed a number of imported elements in Mamluk architecture.[10] Whereas the patrons and craftsmen were probably aware of the imported elements in the architecture they created, the chroniclers rarely refer to them. In his praise of the mosque of Sultan Hasan, built 1356–63, al-Zahiri reported that craftsmen from all over the world were involved in its construction, without naming any specific country or person.[11] The parallel made by Maqrizi between the monumental vaulted hall (iwan) of this mosque (fig. 1) and the hall of the Sassanian palace of Ctesiphon is less an attribution to Iran or Iraq than to the more global world of antiquity, following a literary trope dealing with the universal wonders of bygone civilisations. When discussing the madrasa of the emir Sarghitmish (1356), Maqrizi mentions its community of *aʿjam*, who might have been Iranians, Turks, or Turkmens, with-

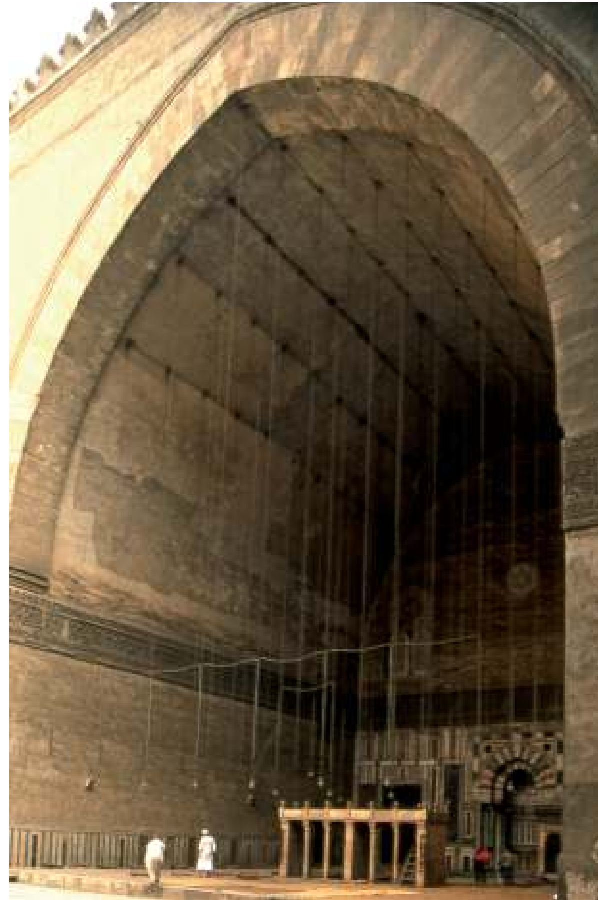

Figure 1: The prayer iwan of the mosque of Sultan Hasan (1356–62).

out noticing the Iranian/Jalayirid influences on the design of its domes[12] (fig. 2) Neither does any Mamluk author comment on the 'exotic' Norman façade of the complex of Sultan Qalawun (r. 1279–90).

Although some historians have qualified the Mamluk-Ilkhanid relations as marked essentially by hostility,[13] other historians and art historians, in particular J. M. Rogers, have rather discerned a Mamluk fascination with the culture and arts of the Mongols.[14] Rogers, who qualifies, perhaps exaggeratedly, the artistic relationship between Mamluks and Ilkhanids as one of "dependence" on the Mamluk side, also points to the fact that political tensions did not prevent trade,[15] which should not be surprising considering that warfare between the Crusaders and the Arabs did not put a stop to commercial relations between them either. Moreover,

Figure 2: The domes of the madrasa of Emir Sarghitmish (1356).

the sultans Baybars (r. 1260–77), Qalawun , and al-Nasir Muhammad and a number of their emirs, were related by marriage to the Mongols of both dynasties of the Golden Horde on the Black Sea and the Volga and the Ilkhanids in Iran. These relations were also largely due to the Mongol refugees who were welcomed by the Mamluk establishment.[16]

An example of the Mamluk fascination with Ilkhanid art is provided in a rare and well-known episode reported by the chronicler al-ʿAyni, who based his information on the earlier chronicle of al-Yusufi. It mentions an anonymous Tabrizi builder, who came to Cairo in the 1320s. He was recruited by the Mamluk emir Aytamish during a diplomatic mission at the Ilkhanid court of Abu Saʿid (r. 1317–35). On this occasion, Aytamish admired the mosque of the vizier ʿAlishah in Tabriz (1312–22), and hired its builder to work in Egypt. This builder, who remained anonymous, erected a minaret, described as monumental and unique, for a *zawiya* (a Sufi foundation or oratory) sponsored by Aytamish in a village belonging to his estate near Tanta in the Egyptian Delta. He also built in Cairo two minarets, no longer extant, for the mosque of the mighty emir Qawsun, which more than three centuries later Evliya Çelebi described as decorated with ceramic.[17] None of these minarets has survived, but evidence of Ilkhanid influence on architectural decoration in Cairo is amply available for this period (figs. 3, 4).[18] The literary account of Aytamish's voyage to Tabriz provides interesting information on yet another level. The historian al-Yusufi, who is the source of al-ʿAyni's account, re-

Figure 3: The mausoleum dome of Emir Aslam al-Silahdar (1344–45) with tile mosaics in the drum.

ported that the emir, while in Tabriz, wrote a description of the mosque of ʿAlishah, which al-Yusufi copied in his chronicle.[19] This text is, indeed, exceptional for its particularly precise description of the mosque, with measurements and other details that are not normally found in Mamluk historical texts. It is not surprising, however, that an emir would be more interested in architecture than a historian. Mamluk patrons are known to have been strongly involved in the design of their monuments, and must have, therefore, architectural acumen. The motivation of al-Yusufi to copy the notes of Aytamish could be due more to the fact that it was authored by an eminent member the Mamluk establishment than to its mere in-

Figure 4: The minarets of the mosque of Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad (1318–35) at the Citadel of Cairo with tile mosaics at their upper parts.

formative or artistic relevance. This exceptional text reveals that Aytamish, himself of Mongol origin, felt great admiration for Ilkhanid achievements. At that time, in the 1320s, Mamluk architecture had not yet revealed its full potential. The visit to Tabriz obviously had an impact on Mamluk architecture, as evidenced in the ceramic decoration of a number of buildings, suggesting that ceramists accompanied the Tabrizi builder.

In the late fifteenth century, another Mamluk envoy visited Tabriz, this time under the rule of the Turkmen Aq Qoyunlu dynasty. Muhammad Ibn Aja, a bureaucrat from Aleppo in the service of the emir Yashbak min Mahdi, the Great

Secretary and General of Sultan Qaytbay (r. 1468–96)[20] visited the court of Uzun Hasan to consolidate the alliance with the Aq Qoyunlu ruler against their common neighbours, the Dhu 'l-Qadir and their Ottoman allies. Qaytbay's forces had captured the Dhu 'l-Qadir ruler Shah Suwar (r. 1466–72) and brought him to Cairo, where he was executed as punishment for his alliance with the Ottomans, who helped him overthrow his brother and rival Shah Budaq (r. 1465–66, 1472–79), an ally of the Mamluks. Suwar's attacks on northern Syria led to a Mamluk reprisal campaign (1471–72), under the leadership of the emir Yashbak. While in northern Syria, Yashbak sent his envoy Ibn Aja to the court of Uzun Hasan in Tabriz. In the account of his mission there,[21] Ibn Aja includes a very short paragraph on Tabriz, which he describes in the following terms:

> "… [It is] magnificent, with many trees and water, exemplary monuments, in particular the mausoleum of Mahmud Ghazan Khan, a descendant of Hulagu, and a famous historical figure. Regarding his mausoleum in Tabriz and the mosque next to it, I have never seen the like of it and its design. It attests to the greatness of the king and the grandeur of his kingdom. As for the mosque and complex founded by the wife of Jahan Shah,[22] the son of Qara Yusuf [(r. c.1390–1420)], in the city, it is highly accomplished and handsome, and cannot be duly appreciated unless it is seen."[23]

The only other reference to architecture by Ibn Aja during his journey from Aleppo to Tabriz dealt with the city of Amid / Diyarbakr, where he spent several days. He found its Artuqid monuments in a ruined condition but still bearing witness to the grandeur of their founders: "The beholder who contemplates these monuments and ruins recognises their grandeur [of the Artuqids], while recalling the words of the poet who said: 'The winds blew over their homes as if they were appointed there'."[24] The notion of architecture being the expression of the greatness of the patron is commonplace in Islamic literature; it is often mentioned in the context of ancient civilisations. Ibn Aja also rightly noted the resemblance of the great mosque of Amid with the Umayyad mosque of Damascus. Ibn Aja's long account of his mission to Tabriz was dedicated in the first place to the diplomatic and theological debates he had had at the court of Uzun Hasan, rather than to aspects of material culture, which is consistent with his background as a man of the pen. During one of his conversations at the court, an Aq Qoyunlu official told Ibn Aja that the Iranians (*aʿjam)* tended to be interested mainly in secular sciences whereas the Arabs were focused almost exclusively on religious sciences. "Arabs" here refers to Mamluk culture rather than to ethnicity. The tone of this statement is not clear from the text, but it may not be speculating too far to assume that it might also have alluded to the visual arts, and the abstinence of the Mamluk sultans, unlike the Aq Qoyunlus, from sponsoring illustrated manuscripts. It is also interesting to note that among the diplomatic gifts Ibn Aja received from Uzun Hasan was

a portrait drawn on a palm leaf; it is not clear whose portrait it was. Perhaps as a reaction to this statement Ibn Aja seems to have felt the need to present his patron, Yashbak, as a man of great culture, not only in the religious sense, praising him to Uzun Hasan as a talented poet in Arabic and Turkish languages.

A more informative account in terms of material culture is provided by an historian of a rather extraordinary background, ʿAbd al-Wahhab ibn ʿArabshah (d. 1450). His description of Timur is a major source of information on this subject. Born in Damascus in 1381, he was deported by Timur at the age of twelve with his parents to Samarkand. There he pursued a scholarly career, travelled extensively and arrived in Edirne, where he worked for ten years for the Ottoman sultan Mehmed I (r. 1413–21).[25] He eventually returned to Syria and lived there for two decades before moving to Cairo in 1449, where he spent the last year of his life. While Ibn ʿArabshah portrays Timur as a tyrant,[26] he provides the reader at the same time with a variety of information on his artistic patronage, conveying a glorious image of his court. For example, he reports on the wall paintings of Timur's palace designed to document the achievements of his entire life, and describes the lavish festivities and ceremonies at the court. He describes Timur's mosque of Samarkand and its reconstruction, and refers to the deportation of craftsmen in the course of Timur's campaigns. Ibn ʿArabshah's account is aimed at transmitting a complex picture of the multiple aspects of Timur's exercise of power, with its combination of tyranny and glory.

Although Mamluk literature has little to offer in terms of travel accounts, historiography provides a wealth of information on the history and current events in other Muslim, even the moste remote, regions. Although Mamluk chroniclers reported with satisfaction and pride the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople, Selim I's (r. 1512–1520) conquest of Egypt was evidently a different case. In the fifth volume of his chronicle, Ibn Iyas describes the invasion of Egypt in horrified terms. Regarding the material damage, he mourns the plunder of Mamluk palaces and the removal of their marbles and expresses his strong dismay at Sultan Selim's order to cut the ceremonial tent of Sultan Qaytbay into pieces and sell it on the market, which he views as ignorance of its value.[27] However, Ibn Iyas had to acknowledge that the textiles dispatched by Sultan Selim for the Kaʿba and the Prophet's tomb in Medina, by which he was assuming one of the prerogatives of the Mamluk sultans, were the most lavish that could ever be made.[28] At the same time in Damascus, the historian Ibn Tulun deplored the replacement of the Mamluk banner made of yellow silk tasselled brocade by the less attractive plain red banner of the Ottoman conquerors.[29] However, he could not conceal his admiration at the sight of Selim's encampment.[30] Ultimately, the pride of Islamic glory prevailed over other regional particularities.

The Mamluk approach to the Christian world was a very different story. European artifacts do not seem to have impressed the Mamluks before the fifteenth

century, although the appearance of the blazon in Mamluk art and material culture seems to be connected to the contacts with the Crusaders, as has been suggested by Meinecke.[31] In the present publication, Rogers suggests a French influence on the iconography of the famous basin known as the Baptistère de St Louis. There are also some European features in early Mamluk architecture that should be attributed to their contacts with the Crusaders. The military confrontations with the Crusaders created a trophy culture manifested in elements and building materials removed from Christian monuments to adorn prominent places in Mamluk buildings. The dome of the mosque of Sultan al-Zahir Baybars was reported to have been built with marble and wood from captured Crusaders' monuments.[32] The Gothic portal of the madrasa begun by Sultan al-ʿAdil Katbugha (r. 1294–96) in 1295 and completed by Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad in 1304 was taken from a Crusader church during the last battle that terminated in 1291 the Crusaders' presence in Palestine (fig. 5).[33] The political significance of these spoils is evident, but when Maqrizi wrote about the Gothic portal, more than a century later, its significance may have been reduced merely to its 'exotic' character, which explains why the historian praised it as one of the most beautiful in the world. Because the symbolic significance of such spoils was based evidently on the common knowledge of their Crusader provenance, European elements in Mamluk architecture that were not advertised as belonging to the Crusaders cannot be interpreted as 'trophy'. The European influence on the façade of the complex of Qalawun built in 1284–85 has not been recorded in any medieval source, although historians report in detail the foundation of this monument and refer to the recruitment of its labour.[34] In this case, aesthetic affinity and stylistic inspiration may have been the sole motivation behind the foreign style rather than a political message. Many of the columns and capitals in Cairo carved in a Gothic style may have been spoils from Crusader monuments for utilitarian purpose, and some others are Mamluk imitations, as the capitals of the engaged columns at the portal of the *khanqah* of al-Muzaffar Baybars al-Jashnakir (1307–10) indicate (fig. 6). This would be consistent with the fact that Egyptian craftsmen, rather than creating new designs for capitals, continued to carve Corinthian capitals through the entire Islamic period. The pair of Gothic slabs displayed at the portal of the mosque of Sultan Hasan (ca. 1356–61) and the Gothic capitals that flank the mihrab of his mosque, are likely to have been merely decorative as the chinoiserie that adorns the same mosque on the portal and the mausoleum walls (fig. 7). These capitals are most probably the work of Mamluk craftsmen: their size, which fits the proportions of the mihrab perfectly, their identical configuration, and their flawless condition suggest that they were custom-made for the mosque. The capitals of the mausoleum mihrab, however, must be original spoils as their imperfect junctions with their respective columns show.

Figure 5: The Gothic portal of the madrasa of Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad (1295–1304) in Cairo.

Unlike Chinese patterns that were transmitted exclusively through portable objects, European influences were transmitted by more direct and personal contacts, through experts, visitors and eyewitnesses on both sides. A Frankish quarter with prisoners of war in Cairo during the reign of al-Nasir Muhammad was associated with construction works.[35] After the sultan's death the community was moved to another quarter south of the mosque of Ibn Tulun. Following the conquest of Cilicia by Sultan Shaʿban (r. 1363–77) in 1375, prisoners of war from Sis were settled

Figure 6: Mamluk capitals in Gothic style at the *khanqah* of al-Muzaffar Baybars (1310).

there, perhaps also their king, Leo VI. In 1382, Sultan Barquq (r. 1382–89; 1390–99) was requested by the Cilicians to select among this community a new king for them.[36] Although Maqrizi and Ibn Hajar associate the inhabitants of this quarter with the manufacture of alcohol (including the newly appointed king!), it cannot be excluded that they also had an impact on other crafts.

In the fifteenth century, the pattern of Mamluk-European relations began to change. Although the reign of Sultan Qaytbay stimulated the export of carpets and metalwork, the export of other luxury artifacts, such as glass and pottery, declined due to increasing Italian competition.[37] Technological progress in Europe made it necessary for the Mamluks in the last quarter of the fifteenth century to hire Europeans to work in different fields, such as the production of cannons,[38] and perhaps also in military architecture.[39] The unusual sight of a windmill in Alexandria, which is reported to have looked like those of Flanders, suggests the involvement of European expertise.[40] A German goldsmith is reported to have worked in Cairo for

Figure 7: Gothic marble slab at the portal of the mosque of Sultan Hasan and chinoiserie carving on the wall to the left.

the court of Qaytbay, and European craftsmanship seems to have been involved in the attempted revival of enamelled glass that can be seen on the only lamp made in this technique bearing the name of Qaytbay.[41] Some exported metal vessels of the Mahmud al-Kurdi style have European shapes, which is an unprecedented feature in this craft.[42] In the late fifteenth century the recruitment of European *mamluk*s is frequently mentioned in European travel accounts and also occasionally in Arabic sources; these men were eventually promoted to high ranks in the aristocracy. The conquest of Cyprus in 1427 brought about recruits for the Mamluk army, some of whom eventually reached a high status in the aristocracy,[43] creating personal ties between the Mamluks and Europe, as exemplified by the case of the Emir Bardabak (d. 1464). He was favoured by Sultan Inal (r. 1453–61), who married him to

his daughter and appointed him second secretary with special authority in diplomatic matters.[44] Qaytbay's own family included converted Christians from Cyprus. A brother of his arrived with two sons in 1495 from Cyprus, where he had lived for thirty years.[45] They were all three circumcised, converted, and appointed as emirs in distinguished positions at the court. The Cypriot cousins shared the fate of al-Nasir Muhammad ibn Qaytbay when he was assassinated in 1498.[46] In spite of these connections, and although it was tributary to the Mamluks and an important centre for East-West trade, Cyprus is mentioned only three times in Ibn Iyas' third volume dedicated to the reign of Qaytbay.

The increasing ties with Latin Europe in the fifteenth century did not introduce any perceptible change in the traditional image of Europe that had taken shape in Mamluk narratives since the Crusades. One aspect of this image is the absence of an image; in contrast with the numerous accounts and descriptions of Mamluk cities by European travellers, pilgrims, merchants, and envoys, Mamluk descriptions of European courts or cities are absent. Qalqashandi's world geography has only one page on Venice.[47] We should assume, however, that Mamluk ambassadors and emissaries, who were sent to Europe, submitted accounts on their return, as well as, perhaps, the merchants who travelled to remote places. If they did, their impressions remained concealed from the wide audience addressed by the chroniclers. One of Qaytbay's architects and contractors, Ibn al-Zaman, was a merchant who had travelled widely and visited the Serbian city Smederovo on the Danube.[48] No account of his travels is known. It should be noted, however, that the view of the *faranj* and the Crusaders did not apply to Byzantium. A description of Constantinople in the late thirteenth century reveals that Mamluk authors viewed Byzantium in a more positive perspective, as did others in the Arab world. The enthusiastic eyewitness report of a Syrian merchant, transmitted by the historian al-Jazari in 1293, is noteworthy for its reference to the contemporary city. This merchant spent twelve years in Constantinople to escape the Mongol raids on his country, and described the city of his time. He moreover described the mosaics of the Hagia Sophia as representing cities and crafts.[49]

Unlike the Ottoman sultans Mehmed the Conqueror (r. 1444–46, 1451–81) and Sulayman the Magnificent (r. 1520–66), who openly advertised affinities to Renaissance material culture to address a European audience whose acknowledgement they sought, the last prominent Mamluk sultans, Qaytbay and al-Ghawri, who were both great and innovative patrons of the arts, oriented their artistic vision exclusively towards traditional Islamic, religious or secular, models. Qaytbay was keen to revive traditional Mamluk crafts that had declined or vanished, probably to boost export, while at the same time cultivating the image of a pious patron whose religious patronage was almost unparalleled in Mamluk history. The reign of al-Ghawri at the beginning of the sixteenth century was more oriented towards secular glory, which was manifested in excessive proportions every time one of the

frequent foreign embassies appeared in Cairo, displaying innovations in the court ceremonial and its paraphernalia. Al-Ghawri's cultural inclinations were strongly inspired by Iran. This would probably explain his idea to clad the dome and the top of the minaret of his religious complex with glazed blue tiles. A most important manifestation of his affinity to Iranian art and culture was his patronage of an illustrated Turkish translation of Firdawsi's *Shahname* that reveals the influence of Shiraz painters.[50] Although this initiative followed traditional Iranian models of artistic patronage, seen in the context of royal Mamluk patronage it was a bold innovation. Zeren Tanındı's article in this publication confirms the affinity of the late Mamluk aristocracy to Turkish and Iranian culture and aesthetics. In spite of the military confrontations with Timur, and later the Ottomans, and the political hostilities with the Safavids, and as demonstrated by Mongol-Mamluk relations, military confrontations with other Muslim states had no bearing on cultural and artistic affinities.

The criteria according to which the Mamluk sultans chose to represent themselves, and according to which the historians assessed them, remained to the end of their history faithful to the initial image that earned them legitimacy at the rise of their sultanate. The eviction of the Mongols and the Crusaders had been the major factors in this legitimacy. Whereas the image of the Mongols was eventually upgraded with their integration into the world of Islam, the image of Latin Europe remained marked by the experience of the Crusades and perpetuated by the repeated Christian raids on Mamluk coastal cities, notably the devastating sack of Alexandria by Pierre de Lusignan of Cyprus in 1365, which remained for a long period deeply carved in the minds of the Mamluk historians, even after it was avenged by the conquest of the island in 1427. The growing maritime threat of the Portuguese around Mamluk territories and its implication on Mamluk economic interests perpetuated the notion of the Crusader threat. Against this political background, the import of European goods and technology, and even the private interaction of individual members of the Mamluk ruling elite with Renaissance Europe, remained confined to an unwritten culture that was not part of the mainstream state of mind of the period.

Illustrations (with image credit)

Figure 1: The prayer iwan of the mosque of Sultan Hasan (1356–62). (Photo Bernard O'Kane)

Figure 2: The domes of the madrasa of Emir Sarghitmish (1356). (Photo by the author)

Figure 3: The mausoleum dome of Emir Aslam al-Silahdar with tile mosaics in the drum. (Photo by the author)

Figure 4: The minarets of the mosque of Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad at the Citadel of Cairo with tile mosaics at their upper parts (1318–35). (Photo Bernard O'Kane)

Figure 5: The Gothic portal of the madrasa of Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad in Cairo (1295–1304).

Figure 6: Mamluk capitals in Gothic style at the *khanqah* of al-Muzaffar Baybars (al-Jashnakir) (1310). (Photo by the author)

Figure 7: Gothic marble slab at the portal of the mosque of Sultan Hasan and chinoiserie carving on the wall to the left. (Photo by the author)

Notes

1 Nora Berend, "Preface," and David Abulafia, "Introduction: Seven Types of Ambiguity, c. 1100 – c.1500," 1–34, both in eds., David Abulafia and Nora Berend, *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices* (Aldershot, 2002), 1–34.

2 Although there is a great deal of literature dealing with this subject, especially regarding ancient Egypt, these texts belong to an older tradition that predates the Mamluk period and, therefore, are not specific to Mamluk attitudes.

3 Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr fī waqāʾiʿ al-duhūr*, ed. M. Muṣṭafā (Wiesbaden/Cairo, 1961–75), 4: 76, 79, 301.

4 D. S. Rice, "Inlaid Brasses from the Workshop of Ahmad al-Dhaki al-Mawsili," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 20 (1957), 283–326; Esin Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam. The Arts of the Mamluks* (Washington D.C., 1981), 51; Edward Gibbs, "Mamluk Ceramics 648–923 A.H./A.D. 1250–1517," *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society (1998–99)* 63 (2000), 19–44.

5 Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-ghumr bi-abnāʿ al-ʿumr*, 9 vols., (Beirut, 1986), 8: 243.

6 al-Maqrīzī, Taqiyy al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Kitāb al-sulūk li-maʿrifat duwal al-mulūk*, ed. M. Ziyāda and S. ʿĀshshūr (Cairo, 1970–73), 4: 872–3; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira fi mulūk miṣr wa ʾl-qāhira*, 16 vols., (Cairo, 1963–71), 14: 362.

7 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfī wa ʾl-mustawfā baʿd al-wāfī*, 12 vols., (Cairo, 1956–2006), 2: 314–19.

8 Maqrizi, *Suluk*, 3: 254; Ibn Hajar, *Inba'*, 1: 156.

9 Ibn Iyas, *Badaʾiʿ*, 4: 252.

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The Mamluk Sultans

Bahri Mamluks (Turks)

			start of reign		end of reign		
title (laqab)	**name (ism)**	**son of (ibn)**	**CE**	**AH**	**CE**	**AH**	**note**
	Shajar al-Durr		May 1250	648	July 1250	648	
al-Muʿizz ʿIzz al-Din	Aybak		July 1250	648	April 1257	655	
al-Mansur Nur al-Din	ʿAli	Aybak	April 1257	655	Nov. 1259	657	
al-Muzaffar Sayf al-Din	Qutuz		Nov. 1259	657	Oct. 1260	658	
al-Zahir Rukn al-Din	Baybars		Oct. 1260	658	July 1277	676	
al-Saʿid Nasir al-Din	Baraka Khan	Baybars	July 1277	676	Aug. 1279	678	
al-ʿAdil Badr al-Din	Salamish	Baybars	Aug. 1279	678	Nov. 1279	678	
al-Mansur Sayf al-Din	Qalawun		Nov. 1279	678	Nov. 1290	689	
al-Ashraf Salah al-Din	Khalil	Qalawun	Nov. 1290	689	Dec. 1293	693	
al-Nasir Nasir al-Din	Muhammad	Qalawun	Dec. 1293	693	Dec. 1294	694	1st reign
al-ʿAdil Zayn al-Din	Katbugha		Dec. 1294	694	Dec. 1296	696	
al-Mansur Husam al-Din	Lajin		Dec. 1296	696	Jan. 1299	698	
al-Nasir Nasir al-Din	Muhammad	Qalawun	Jan. 1299	698	April 1309	708	2nd reign
al-Muzaffar Rukn al-Din	Baybars	Jashnakir	April 1309	708	Feb. 1310	709	
al-Nasir Nasir al-Din	Muhammad	Qalawun	Feb. 1310	709	June 1341	741	3rd reign
al-Mansur Sayf al-Din	Abu Bakr	Muhammad	June 1341	741	Aug. 1341	742	
al-Ashraf ʿAlaʾ al-Din	Kujuk	Muhammad	Aug. 1341	742	Jan. 1342	742	
al-Nasir Shihab al-Din	Ahmad	Muhammad	Jan. 1342	742	June 1342	743	
al-Salih ʿImad al-Din	Ismaʿil	Muhammad	June 1342	743	Aug. 1345	746	
al-Kamil Sayf al-Din	Shaʿban	Muhammad	Aug. 1345	746	Sep. 1346	747	
al-Muzaffar Zayn al-Din	Hajji	Muhammad	Sep. 1346	747	Dec. 1347	748	

Bahri Mamluks (Turks) ***Continued***

			start of reign		end of reign		
title (laqab)	**name (ism)**	**son of (ibn)**	**CE**	**AH**	**CE**	**AH**	**note**
al-Nasir Nasir al-Din	Hasan	Muhammad	Dec. 1347	748	Aug. 1351	752	1st reign
al-Salih Salah al-Din	Salih	Muhammad	Aug. 1351	752	Oct. 1354	755	
al-Nasir Nasir al-Din	Hasan	Muhammad	0ct. 1354	755	March 1361	762	2nd reign
al-Mansur Nasir al-Din	Muhammad	Hajji	March 1361	762	May 1363	764	
al-Ashraf Zayn al-Din	Shaʿban	Husayn	May 1363	764	March 1377	778	
al-Mansur ʿAla' al-Din	ʿAli	Shaʿban	March 1377	778	May 1381	783	
al-Salih Salah al-Din*	Hajji	Shaʿban	May 1381	783	Nov. 1382	784	1st reign
al-Zahir Sayf al-Din	Barquq	Anas	Nov. 1382	784	May 1389	791	1st reign
al-Mansur Salah al-Din*	Hajji	Shaʿban	May 1389	791	Feb. 1390	792	2nd reign

* Same sultan using two different titles.

Burji Mamluks (Circassians)

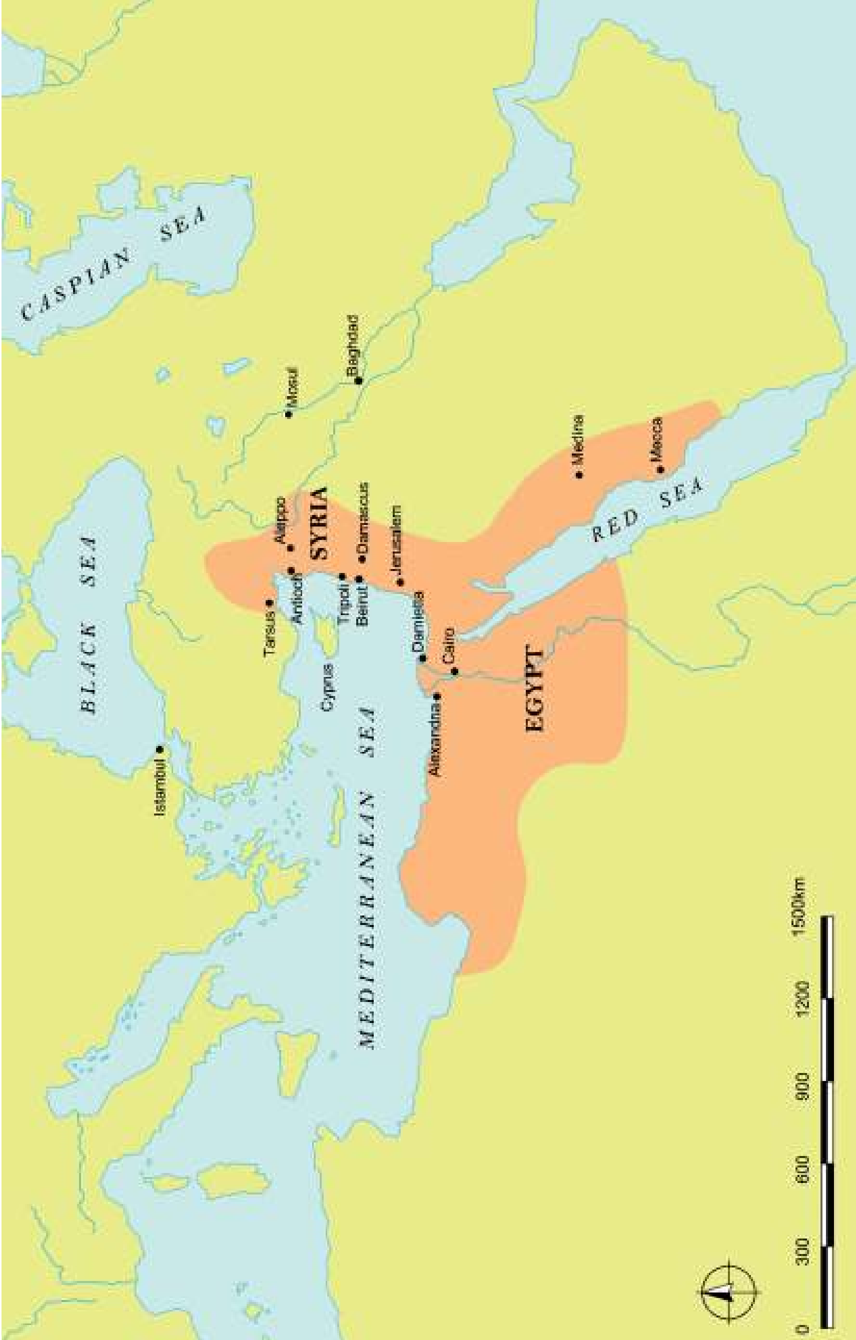
			start of reign		end of reign		
title (laqab)	**name (ism)**	**son of (ibn)**	**CE**	**AH**	**CE**	**AH**	**note**
al-Zahir Sayf al-Din	Barquq	Anas	Feb. 1390	792	June 1399	801	2nd reign
al-Nasir Zayn al-Din	Faraj	Barquq	June 1399	801	Sep. 1405	808	1st reign
al-Mansur ʿIzz al-Din	ʿAbd al-ʿAziz	Barquq	Sep. 1405	808	Nov. 1405	808	
al-Nasir Zayn al-Din	Faraj	Barquq	Nov. 1405	808	May 1412	815	2nd reign
al-Mustaʿin*	ʿAbbas	al-Mutawakkil	May 1412	815	Nov. 1412	815	
al-Mu'ayyad Sayf al-Din	Shaykh		Nov. 1412	815	Jan. 1421	824	
al-Muzaffar	Ahmad	Shaykh	Jan. 1421	824	Aug. 1421	824	
al-Zahir Sayf al-Din	Tatar		Aug. 1421	824	Nov. 1421	824	
al-Salih Nasir al-Din	Muhammad	Tatar	Nov. 1421	824	April 1422	825	
al-Ashraf Sayf al-Din	Barsbay		April 1422	825	June 1438	841	
al-ʿAziz Jamal al-Din	Yusuf	Barsbay	June 1438	841	Sep. 1438	842	
al-Zahir Sayf al-Din	Jaqmaq		Sep. 1438	842	Feb. 1453	857	
al-Mansur Fakhr al-Din	ʿUthman	Jaqmaq	Feb. 1453	857	March 1453	857	
al-Ashraf Sayf al-Din	Inal		March 1453	857	Feb. 1461	865	
al-Muʿayyad	Ahmad	Inal	Feb. 1461	865	June 1461	865	
al-Zahir Sayf al-Din	Khushqadam		June 1461	865	0ct. 1467	872	
al-Zahir	Yilbay		0ct. 1467	872	Dec. 1467	872	
al-Zahir	Timurbugha		Dec. 1467	872	Feb. 1468	872	
al-Ashraf	Qaytbay		Feb. 1468	872	Aug. 1496	901	
al-Nasir	Muhammad	Qaytbay	Aug. 1496	901	0ct. 1498	904	
al-Zahir	Qansuh		Nov. 1498	904	June 1500	905	

Burji Mamluks (Circassians) *Continued*

			start of reign		end of reign		
title (laqab)	**name (ism)**	**son of (ibn)**	**CE**	**AH**	**CE**	**AH**	**note**
al-Ashraf	Janbalat		June 1500	905	Jan. 1501	906	
al-ʿAdil Sayf al-Din	Tumanbay		Jan. 1501	906	April 1501	906	
al-Ashraf	Qansuh		April 1501	906	Aug. 1516	922	al-Ghawri
al-Ashraf	Tumanbay		Aug. 1516	922	April 1517	923	

* Shadow Abbasid caliph appointed as interim sultan.

Map of the Mamluk Empire



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Glossary

ablaq — striped masonry in two or three colours
ʿajam/ājām — foreigners – more specifically from Iran
albarello/albarelli — pharmacy jar/s
amīr ākhūr — master of the stables
amīr shikār — master of the hunt.
amīr ṭablakhāna — emir in charge of a military band with 40 soldiers
atābak — commander of the army
awlād al-nās — children of the Mamluks

beylik — emirates (Turkish)
bunduqdār — master archer

dār al-ʿadl — hall of justice
dawādār — secretary
dikka — bench, tribune for the muezzin in a mosque.
doublure — elaborately decorated leather or textile flyleaf to a manuscript
dūlāb — hydraulic wheel
durqāʿa — central space with a sunken floor in a Cairene reception hall or mosque

evliya — saint (Turkish)

faranj — Franks/Europeans
fatwā — legal opinion
fiqh — religious law
firmān — decree
furūsiyya — equestrian and military exercises
fusayfisā — glass mosaic
gusülhane — bathing units (Turkish)

Ḥadīth	sayings of the Prophet
ḥawā'ijkhāna	royal pantry
iqṭā'	land grant given to mamluks
īwān	hall open on one side facing a courtyard, vaulted or with a flat roof
īwān qiblī	Mecca-oriented iwan.
jamadār	keeper of the wardrobe
jāmi'	congregational mosque, where the Friday sermon is held.
jumaqdār	axe bearer
juz'	section of the Koran
khanqāh	monastry for Sufis
khāssakiyya	chosen mamluks by the sultan for the royal guard
khaṭīb	preacher
khirja	loggia
khuṭba	Friday sermon
kursī	throne, bench in the mosque for Koran readers, table-like piece of furniture to contain a Koran manuscript.
mamlūk	soldier recruited by purchase marquetry (or marqueterie) inlaid veneers fitted together to form a design on woodwork
mashhad	memorial building, mausoleum
masjid	neighbourhood mosque without Friday sermon
mathnawī	Form of Sufi poem
mawkib	procession/review parade
maydān	hippodrome
miḥrāb	prayer niche symbolising the Mecca orientation
minbar	pulpit
muḥtasib	market inspector
muqarnas	previously called stalactite: three-dimensional decoration in the shape of a geometrical construction of small niches
mushahhar	alternating red and white stonework
nā'ib	deputy of the sultan, provincial governor
naqqāsh,	decorator
nāẓir	supervisor/overseer/administrator
nisba	attribute in a person's name referring to a geographic or ethnic origin

pīshtāq	an elevated section of a facade
qāʿda	throne hall, hall, palace.
qāḍī	Islamic judge
qaṣr	palace, castle, elevated structure
qibla	the orientation to Mecca
qimiz	fermented mare's milk beverage
qubba	dome
rank	blazon or heraldic insignia
rabʿa	section of the Koran
ribāṭ	hospice for Sufis or others.
riwāq	arcaded hall in a mosque
sabāṭ	elevated passage
sabīl	charity fountain or public water dispensary
sāqī	cup bearer
shahāda	The tenet of Islam that there is no deity but God and Muhammad is his Prophet.
shubbāk	window
silāḥdār	arms/sword bearer
sūra	chapter division in the Koran
ṭabardār	mace bearer
tarjumān	interpreter
thawāb	spiritual reward
tuḥaf (sing. *tuḥfa*)	art objects, collectibles, exotica
turba	tomb
waqf	endowment, trust
zardakhāna	armoury
zāwiya	small Sufi foundation, oratory
ziyāda	external courtyard around a mosque
ziyāra	visit or pilgrimage

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