

Abstract art and communication in 'Mamluk' architecture

Continuation of Volume I

By Jane Jakeman

Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of
Oxford

1993

ABBREVIATIONS

AL-BUKHĀRĪ + Comms. Muhammad ibn Isma‘īl al-Bukhārī [Corpus of traditions with marginalia by al-Sindī and al-Qastallanī. No t.p.], Cairo, 1894.

AL-AZMEH. A. Al-Azmeh, *Arabic thought and Islamic societies*, London, etc., 1986.

AL-GHAZĀLĪ, Mishkāt. Abū Hāmid al-Ghazālī, *Mishkāt al-anwār*, ed. A.‘Afīfī, Cairo, 1964.

ALLAN, Aron. J.W. Allan, *Metalwork of the Islamic world, the Aron collection*, London, 1986.

ALLAN, Nuhad es-Said. J.W. Allan, *Islamic metalwork, the Nuhad es-Said collection*, [London], 1982.

ALLAN, Sha‘bān, Barqūq. J. W. Allan, ‘Sha‘bān, Barqūq and the decline of the Mamluk metalworking industry,’ *Muqarnas*, II, 1984, pp. 85-94.

ANNALES ISL. Annales islamologiques.

ARNOLD. T. W. Arnold, *Painting in Islam, a study of the place of pictorial art in Muslim culture*, Oxford, 1928.

A.S.A.E. Annales du Service des antiquités de l’Égypte.

ASTOR. R. Astor, *The sources of Mamluk painting*, [M.Phil.thesis] Oxford, 1981.

ATIL, Renaissance. E. Atil, *Renaissance of Islam, Art of the Mamluks*, Washington, D.C., 1981.

AYALON, Plague. D. Ayalon, ‘The plague and its effects upon the Mamluk army,’ *J.R.A.S.*, 1946, pp. 67-73.

Abbreviations

- AYALON, Structure.* D. Ayalon, 'Studies on the structure of the Mamluk Army,' B.S.O.A.S., vol 15, 1953, pp. 203-228, 448-476, vol. 16, 1954, pp. 57-90.
- BALDICK.* J. Baldick, *Mystical Islam, an introduction to Sufism*, London, 1989.
- BERKEY.* J. Berkey, *The transmission of knowledge in medieval Cairo*, Princeton, 1992.
- BIE.* Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien.
- BIFAO.* Bulletin de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- BLOOM, Ph.D. thesis.* J. Bloom, *Meaning in Early Fāṭimid Architecture: Islamic Art in North Africa and Egypt in the Fourth Century (Tenth Century A.D.)*, [Ph.D.thesis] Harvard University, 1980.
- BLOOM, The mosque of Baybars.* J. Bloom, 'The mosque of Baybars al-Bunduqdari in Cairo,' *Ann. Isl.*, tom. xix, 1983, pp. 45-78.
- BOD.* Oxford, Bodleian Library.
- CdE.* Chronique d'Égypte.
- C.I.A.* M. van Berchem et al., *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicum*, Cairo, 1894-1965.
- C.I.A. ALEPPO.* E. Herzfeld, *Matériaux pour un corpus inscriptionum arabicum* [pt. II], *Syrie du nord, Inscriptions et Monuments d'Alep*, I-II. Le Caire, 1954-56.
- COMITÉ.* Comité de conservation des monuments de l'art arabe, *Rapports, Exercices*, Cairo 1882-1951.
- CONTADINI, Manāfi'.* A. Contadini, *The kitāb Manāfi' al-ḥayawān in the Escorial Library*, *Islamic Art*, III, 1988-9, pp. 33-52, figs. 1-17.

Abbreviations

- CORBIN, Man of Light.* H. Corbin, *The Man of Light in Iranian Sufism*, Boulder/London, 1978.
- CORBIN, Archange.* H. Corbin, *L'archange empourpré*, [Paris] 1976.
- CRES.ARCH.* Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Creswell photographic archive.
- DAIK.* Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Kairo.
- DE JONG, Bektashis.* F. De Jong, 'The iconography of Bektashism: a survey of themes and symbolism in clerical costume, liturgical objects and pictorial art,' *Manuscripts of the Middle East*, vol. 4, 1989, pp. 7-29.
- DODD, Image.* E.Dodd, *The image of the word*, 2 vols., vol. 2 with E. Khairallah. Beirut, 1981.
- DOLS.* M. Dols, *The Black Death in the Middle East*, Princeton, 1977.
- DUBLIN, C.B.* Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.
- DZIERZYKRAY-ROGALSKI.* T. Dzierzyk-ray-Rogalski, J. Kania, M. al-Minabbawi, 'The investigations of burial crypts in the mausoleum of Princess Tatar al-Higāziyya in Cairo', *Annales islamologiques*, 23, 1987, pp.72-85, pl.XXI-XXV.
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- E.M.A.* K.A.C. Creswell, *A short account of early Muslim architecture, revised and supplemented by J.W. Allan*, Cairo, 1989.
- ETT., A.P.* R. Ettinghausen, *Arab painting*, N.Y., 1977.
- FAKHRY.* M. Fakhry. *A history of Islamic philosophy*, N. Y./ London, 1970.
- FARAJ.* S. Lamei Mostafa, 'The Cairene sabil, form and meaning,' *Muqarnas*, 6, 1989, pp.33-42.[Reproduces part of the endowment deed of the sabil founded by Faraj near Bāb Zuwaīla.]

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- FERNANDES, Three foundations.* L. Fernandes, 'Three Sufi foundations in a fifteenth century waqfiyya,' *Ann. Isl.*, tom. xvii, 1981.
- FS. RICKE.* *Aufsätze zum 70. Geburtstag von Herbert Ricke.* Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde, 12, herausg. vom Schweizerischen Institut für ägyptische Bauforschung und Altertumskunde in Kairo, 1971.
- GAIRDNER.* *Al-Ghazzali's Mishkat al-anwar, a translation by W.H.T. Gairdner*, Lahore, 1952.
- GAUTHIER, LdR.* H. Gauthier, *Le Livre des Rois d'Égypte.* Mémoires ... de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, xvii-xxi, 1907-17.
- GRABAR, Reflections.* O. Grabar, 'Reflections on Mamluk Art,' *Muqarnas*, 2, 1984, pp. 1-12.
- GRABAR, Formation.* O. Grabar, *The formation of Islamic art*, New Haven and London, 1987.
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- HALDANE.* D. Haldane, *Mamluk painting*, Warminster, 1978.
- HUGHES, Shock.* R. Hughes, *The shock of the new*, London, 1991.
- IBN KHALDUN, Quat.* *Prolgomènes d'Ebn Khaldoun.* Texte arabe publié d'après les manuscrits de la bibliothèque impériale par M.[E.] Quatremère. Paris, 1858.

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I.J.M. E. S., International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies.

ITTIG, Bowl. A. Ittig, 'A talismanic bowl,' Annales isl., XVIII, 1982, pp. 79-94, pl. I-VI.

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J.A.O.S. Journal of the American Oriental Society.

J.E.S.H.O. Journal of economic and social history of the Orient.

J. Pales. Or. Soc. Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society.

J.R.A.S. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

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MAQ. BROADH., Al-Maqrīzī, Aḥmad b. 'Alī, *History of the Ayyubid Sultans of Egypt*, ed. & transl. R.K.C. Broadhurst, Boston, 1980.

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- MAMLUK JERUSALEM**, Burgoyne, M. H. *Mamluk Jerusalem, an architectural study with historical research by D.S. Richards*, Jerusalem, 1987.
- MDAIK**. Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts in Kairo, 1971.
- MISSION**. Mission archéologique française, *Mémoires*, Paris, 1-, 1889-.
- MUFAZZAL**, *Moufazzal ibn Abil-Fazail, Histoire des Sultans mamlouks*, Texte arabe publié et traduit en français par E. Blochet, Paris, 1912.
- MŪSLĪM**, *comm al-Nāwawī, Irshād al-sārī ilā sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī [with on the upper portion of the margin al-Saḥīḥ of Muslim b. al-Hajjāj and on the lower portion al-Minhāj fī sharḥ Muslim b. al Hajjāj by al-Nawawī.]*, 6th ed., Bulaq, 1897-8.
- PELLA**, *Pella in Jordan*, 2, by A. W. McNicoll, P.C.Edwards, J. Hanbury-Tenison *et al.*, Sydney, 1992.
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WIET, G.P.N., G Wiet, 'La grande peste noire en Syrie et en Egypte,' *Études d'Orientalisme, Mémorial Lévi-Provençal*, I, Paris, 1962, pp. 367-84.

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ZÄS. Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde.

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LONDON, Victorian and Albert Museum, Searight Collection.

" " " " " Cairo notebooks of James Wild.

OXFORD, Ashmolean Museum, Dept. of Eastern Art, Creswell Archive.

" " " Griffith Institute, topographical records.

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Abū Bakr b. 'Alī ibn Wahshiyya. *Al-filākh an-Nabatiya*

PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale.

Muḥammad b. Umail b. 'Alīb. Umail at-Tamīmī. *Al-Mā' al-waraqī wal-ard an-Najmiya*, ar. 2610, formerly fonds Colbert; [ed. al-Jildakī] ar. 2611.

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I am extremely grateful to the Bibliothèque Nationale for permitting me to see this record.

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NOTES

1. Massignon perceived an influence of theology : 'Le sujet en architecture, ce sont des formes géométriques, mais des formes géométriques ouvertes. Il y a là exactement, la figuration sensible de la théorie de théologie dogmatique que tous les théologiens musulmans ont soutenues dès le début, à savoir que les figures et les formes n'existent pas, et sont incessamment recréés par Dieu.' ('Les méthodes de réalisation artistique des peuples de l'Islam,' p. 149; *Syria*, II, 1921, pp. 47-53 and 149-160.) Unfortunately this interesting suggestion is not followed up; presumably, Massignon had in mind Mu'tazilite and Ash'arite thought, but gives the impression he felt such precepts to be influential from the beginning of Islam.

2. Hughes, *Shock*, 1980 ed., p. 406.

3. See, for example, his claims for the universal nature of symbols, in T. Burckhardt, *Art of Islam*, London, 1976, p. 93 and *passim*.

4. A. Contadini, 'The *Kitāb Manāfi' al-Hayawān* in the Escorial Library,' *Islamic Art*, III, 1988-9, pp. 33-52, figs. 1-17.

5. I.R. Netton, *Allah transcendent*, London, 1989, p. 236.

6. M. Baxendall, *Patterns of intention*, New Haven and London, 1985, p. 103.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*

Notes

9. E.H. Gombrich, 'Aims and limits of iconology' in *Symbolic images*, Oxford, 1985, p. 6.
10. P. Mondrian, *Plastic art and pure plastic art*, 1937, p. 357, p. 362, in Chipp, H.B., *Theories of modern art*, Berkeley, 1968.
11. Hughes, *Shock*, p. 207.
12. e.g. R. Hillenbrand, 'The symbolism of the rayed nimbus in early Islamic art,' in *Cosmos*, 2, 1986, pp. 1-52.
13. E. Dodd, *The image of the word*, vol.I, and, with E. Khairallah, vol.II, Beirut, 1981, and see also a recent article by F.B. Flood, 'The Iconography of Light in the Monuments of Mamluk Cairo', *Cosmos*, pp. 169-193.
14. O. von Simson, *The Gothic cathedral*, London, 1956, p. vii.
15. C. Rudolph, *Artistic change at S. Denis*, Princeton, 1990, pp. 7-8.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 61-2.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 33.
18. P. Crone, and M. Cook, *Hagarism*, Cambridge, etc., 1977, pp. 21-7.
19. *Ibid.*
20. J. Bloom, *Minaret, symbol of Islam*, Oxford, 1989 (*Oxford studies in Islamic art*, VII).
21. The publication of Oleg Grabar's *The mediation of ornament* came so recently

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that I was unable to include a discussion of it in this section. It is 'an attempt to deal with the procedures of the history of art without calling into play theories, methods and paradigms developed in other fields allegedly rich in methodological concerns.' To this end, Prof. Grabar sets up his own definitions of a basic critical vocabulary. His definition of 'sign', is 'that which denotes something and can usually be demonstrated to be correctly or falsely identified or understood.' His working definition of 'symbol' is 'a term that connotes meanings that are often tied to a time, a place, or a category of patronage, even possibly a single individual, and that are not necessarily acceptable to all.' (*Preface*, xxiv.)

22. T. Burckhardt, *Art of Islam, language and meaning*, London, 1976, p. 77.

23. M. Foucault has discussed the hermeneutic approach in European thought, culminating in the view of Paracelsus that 'the face of the world is covered with blazons, ciphers and obscure words' (*The order of things*, London, 1970, p. 27).

This tradition seeks some point of similitude between the object and the concept which it signifies, since god has marked his creation for recognition so that, in Foucault's words: 'To search for a meaning is to bring to light a resemblance' (*ibid.*, p. 29).

24. *Mishkāt*, p. 69 and see Gairdner, pp. 129-130.

25. On **وضع** and the symbol in Arabic thought, see al-Azmeh's chapter on signification, pp. 107-145, and esp. pp. 134-5.

22. A. Daoulatli, 'Le mihrab: signe ou symbole?', p. 77, in *Le mihrab dans*

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l'architecture et la religion musulmane. Actes du colloque international tenu à Paris en mai 1980, publiés et pourvus d'une étude d'introduction générale par Alexandre Papadopoulo, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1988, pp. 76-82.

27. Al-Azmeh, pp. 123-35.

28. S.H. Nasr, *An introduction to Islamic cosmological doctrines*, [U.K.], 1978, p. 10.

29. *E.I.* I, s.v. *tashbīh*, by R. Strohmann.

30. Grabar, *Formation*, chapter 3, 'The symbolic appropriation of the land,' pp. 43-71, revised ed., New Haven and London, 1987.

31. 'Islam and image,' *H.R.*, 3, 1964, pp. 220-60.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 222.

33. J. Bloom, *Minaret, symbol of Islam*, O.S.I.A, VII, Oxford, 1989.

34. *Images of paradise in Islamic art*, ed. by S. S. Blair and J. M. Bloom, with contributions by A. K. Reinhart, G. R. Garthwaite, W. B. Denny. Hanover, N. H., 1991.

35. A succinct review of modern linguistic work and a bibliography is provided in T. Hawkes, *Structuralism and semiotics*, London, 1991. See his chapter 'A science of signs,' pp. 123-50. The work of T. Todorov may be particularly interesting to Islamicists as one of his seminal studies was on the *Thousand and one nights*. On the symbol, he gives a brief history of interpretations in *Theories of the symbol*,

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transl. C. Porter, Oxford, 1982. The classic discussions of the symbol in western iconography are in the work of E.H. Gombrich, *Symbol and image, studies in the art of the Renaissance*, Oxford, 1985.

36. Bod. MS. Pococke 400, f. 79v.

37. Described in A.F.L. Beeston, 'An Arab hermetic manuscript,' *B.L.R.*, VII, 1935, pp. 11-23.

38. Ibn Khaldūn, ed. Quatremère, iii, p. 130, line 9.

39. Bod. MS. Arab d. 21, f. 47v.

40. W. Kandinsky, *Concerning the spiritual in art*, trans. M.T.H. Sadler, N.Y., 1977, pp. 29-30.

41. *Mondrian*, trans. M. Seuphor, N.Y., n.d., p. 350

42. For *rūh*, see al-Bukharī + comms., marginalia p. 28, line 27. 'Things not alive,' in Muslim, comm. al-Nawāwī, p. 398, line 5.

43. Paris, Musée de l'institut du monde arabe, [catal.], Paris 1987, p. 90.

44. *O.E.D.*, 'geometric' = 'geometrical', as in 'geometrical tracery,' tracery in which the openings are of geometrical form, circles, trefoils, etc.

45. *Partisan Review*, May-June 1941, p. 72.

46. *E.I.* II, s.v. 'Djihād,' by E. Tyan.

47. V. Danner, *Ibn 'Atā'illāh's sufi aphorisms*, Leiden, 1973, p.33.

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48. Trimingham, p. 1.
49. Winter, p. 25.
50. Baldick, p. 3.
51. Petry, p. 270.
52. Ibid., p. 271.
53. Berkey, pp. 56-7.
54. Maq., Ziada, II, pp. 28-9.
55. *M.A.E.* II, p. 219.
56. Popper, I, pp. 194-5.
57. F. De Jong, 'The iconography of Bektashism: a survey of themes and symbolism in clerical costume, liturgical objects and pictorial art,' *Manuscripts of the Middle East*, vol. 4, 1989, pp.7-29.
58. F. De Jong, 'The Takiya of 'Abd Allah at Maghawin in Cairo,' *Turkica*, XIII, 1981, pp. 242-60.
59. A. Melikian-Chirvani, 'The lights of Sufi shrines,' *Islamic Art*, II, 1987, pp. 117-36, figs. 1-21; D.E. Klimburg-Salter, 'A Sufi theme in Persian painting, the Diwan of Sultan Ahmed Gala'ir in the Freer gallery of Art, Washington D.C.,' *K.O.*, XI, 1976-7, pp. 43-84; L. Golombek, 'The cult of saints and shrine architecture in the fourteenth century' (Festschrift Miles).

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60. Petry, p. 270.
61. H. Ziai, *Knowledge and illumination*, Atlanta, 1990.
62. Ibid., p. 33.
63. *E.I.* II, 'Kuṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzi,' by E. Wiedemann.
64. For the life and work of al-Shādhili, see E. Jurji, *Illumination in Islamic mysticism*, Princeton, 1938.
65. Ed. and transl. by E. Blochet as *Histoire des sultans mamlouks*, Paris, 1912 (Patrologia Orientalia, tom. XII, fasc. 3).
66. Ibid, pp. 455-462.
67. Bloom, *The mosque of Baybars*, p. 57.
68. Maq. *Khīṭaṭ*, II, pp. 299-300; *M.A.E.* II, p. 155.
69. The implication is that Baybars rated the camels' kneeling-ground as more important than the mosque. But it is worth noting that Ibn Taimyya specifically includes a kneeling-ground for camels in a list of sites where God has forbidden prayer. (H.Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrines ... de Takī-d-Dīn Aḥmad b. Taimīya*, p.326.) The theologian may have relied here on earlier authorities who also influenced Baybars to a decision based on religious rather than personal motives.
70. Bloom, *The mosque of Baybars*, pp. 45-78, see esp. pp. 68-9.
71. P. Thorau, *The lion of Egypt*, transl. P. M. Holt, Longman, 1992.

* Please
see note
opposite .

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72. Maq. Ziada, I, 638-9.
73. Makdisi, *Colleges*, p. 38.
74. Wiet, *Grande Peste*, p. 378.
75. *C.I.A. Egypt*, II, p. 236. The architectural inscriptions are given in this volume, numbered as follows: The sabīl, no. 155; the mosque, nos. 156-7; the khānqāh, nos. 158-159.
76. *Illumination in Islamic mysticism*, tr. E.J. Jurji, Princeton, 1938, p.79.
77. Ibid.
78. *C.I.A., Egypt, II*, p. 239-40.
79. *Marble in Antiquity, Collected papers of J.B. Ward-Perkins*, ed. H. Dodge and B. Ward-Perkins, London, 1992, p. 158.
80. Ibid, pl. II.
81. Stricker, B. 'Le naos vert de Memphis,' *ASAE*, 39, p. 217.
82. 'The other great mosk [in Alexandria] is called of St. Athanasius, doubtless, as Pococke observed, from having succeeded to a church of that name. It is from this that the sarcophagus, called the "tomb of Alexander," was taken, which is now in the British Museum.' Wilkinson, J., *Modern Egypt and Thebes*, London, 1843, p. 168.

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83. R. Ainslie and L. Mayer, *Views in Egypt ... with historical observations*, 1805 p. 26.
84. See Burgoyne, pp. 223-236 for details both of the founder and the building.
85. Van Berchem, *C.I.A., Aleppo*, I, p. 269. These miḥrābs will be further discussed in relation to groupings of miḥrābs in Cairo.
86. Ibid, pp. 308-316.
87. D. Behrens-Abouseif, 'The citadel of Cairo: stage for mamluk ceremonial,' *Ann. isl.*, XXIV, 1988, pp. 24-79. The references to the decoration of the Citadel which follow are based on this article.
88. Petry, p. 270.
89. 'Ibn Taimīya a Ṣūfī of the Qādiriya order.' *American Journal of Arabic Studies*, I, 1973, pp. 118-129.
90. Popper, I, (events of 1384) p. 12.
91. Ibid., I, (necrologies of 1387), pp. 58-9.
92. Trimmingham, p.9.
93. Fernandes, *Khānqāh*, p. 2.
94. J.A. Williams, 'The Khanqāh of Siryaqūs: A Mamluk Royal Religious Foundation,' *In quest of an Islamic humanism, Studies in memory of Mohamed al-Nowaihi*, ed. A.H. Green, Cairo, 1984, pp. 110-119.

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95. Petry, p. 341.
96. Petry, p. 311, table II.
97. Popper, III, (events of 1419), pp. 64-5.
98. Trimingham, pp. 69-71.
99. Popper, I, (events of 1399) p. 171.
100. Popper, II (events of 1412), p. 186.
101. Popper, III (events of 1416), pp. 37-8.
102. Popper, III (events of 1419; 1420), pp. 64-7; 77-8.
103. F. Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs: their history and doctrines*, Cambridge &, 1990, pp. 137-138.
104. *Al-Mustazhiri*, as the work is called because it was commissioned by the 'Abbasid caliph al-Mustazhir.
105. Ettinghausen, R. *Al-Ghazzālī on beauty*, in *Islamic art and archaeology, Collected papers of Richard Ettinghausen*, ed. M. Rosen-Ayalon, Berlin, 1984, pp. 16-21. A difficulty in discussing this paper arises since Ettinghausen only had available a German translation of the Persian text, and the relevant passages are not contained in the Arabic versions. 'Beauty' is left as a vague and undefined term in English. Ettinghausen notes that al-Ghazālī equates beauty with perfect appropriateness, 'characteristic perfection,' and that two approaches to art are revealed, those of the outer and of the inner eye.

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106. Daftary, pp. 395-6.

107. Ibid., p. 89; p. 139 and L. Massignon, *La Revelation d'Hermes Trismegiste. I: L'Astrologie et les sciences occultes*. Paris, 1989, pp. 385-6; p. 398.

108. J. Bloom, 'The Mosque of al-Hakim in Cairo,' *Muqarnas*, I, 1983, pp. 15-36.

109. Trimingham, pp. 11-12.

110. Ibn Arabī, Austin transl., p. 125; Arabic text, Afīfī, pp. 102-3.

111. Melikian-Chirvani, 'The light of Sufi shrines,' *Islamic Art*, II, 1987, pp. 117-36.

112. Gairdner, pp. 122-6, and *Mishkāt*, pp. 65-7.

113. Gairdner, pp. 122-3; Arabic text (from 'Afīfī, p. 65):

اعلم^(٢) أن العالم عالمان : روحاني وجسماني : وإن شئت قلت : حسي وعقلي ؛ وإن شئت علوي وسفلي . والكل متقارب ، وإنما تختلف باختلاف الاعتبارات^(٤) : فإذا اعتبرتهما في أنفسهما قلت جسماني وروحاني ، وإن اعتبرتهما بالإضافة إلى العين المدركة لهما قلت حسي وعقلي . وإن اعتبرتهما بالإضافة أحدهما إلى الآخر قلت علوي وسفلي . وربما سميت أحدهما عالم الملك والشهادة والآخر عالم الغيب والملكوت .

114. *E.I.* II, ~~2777~~ s.v. 'Ālam, by Tj. de Boer, L. Gardet .

115. A. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being*, Cambridge and London, 1964. See especially Lovejoy's chapter, 'The Genesis of the idea in Greek philosophy.'

116. R. Austin, *The bezels of wisdom*, London, p. 49.

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117. V. Danner, *Ibn 'Atāi'illāh's sufi aphorisms*, Leiden, 1973, pp. 42-4.
118. H. Corbin, *A.E.* [Paris] 1976, p. 22.
119. H. Corbin, *Spiritual body and celestial earth*, Princeton, ^{1977,} p. 130.
120. *Ibid.*, pp. 144-7.
121. *E.I.* II, ~~1977~~ s.v. 'Ālam.
122. Al-Azmeh, p. 71.
123. H. Corbin, *Spiritual body and celestial earth*, pp. 144-6.
124. H. & W., I, p. 100.
125. L. Aly Ibrahim, 'Four Cairene mihrabs and their dating,' *K.O.*, VII, 1970-71, pp. 30-9.
126. *M.A.E.* II, pl. 111.
127. *M.A.E.*, II, pl. 109d and p. 276.
128. Rogers, 'Evidence,' p. 387.
129. Ahmed Abd Ar-Raziq, 'Trois fondations féminines dans l'Égypte mamlouke,' *Rev. des études islamiques*, 41, 1973, pp. 96-106.
130. M. Meinecke, 'Die Moschee des Amirs Aqsunqur,' *MDAIK*, 29, 1973.
131. My translation from G. Wiet, 'L'Exposition d'art persan a Londres,' *Syria*, 13, 1932, p. 201; *Maq. Khitāṭ* II, p. 318.

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132. Maq., Broadhurst, (1171), p.
133. E. Dodd, 'On a bronze rabbit from Fatimid Egypt,' *K.O.*, VIII, 1972, pp. 60-76.
134. *M.A.E.* II, p. 138.
135. M. Meinecke, 'Die mamlukischen Fayencemosaikdekorationen: eine Werkstätte aus Tabrīz in Kairo (1330-1350),' *K.O.*, XI, 1976-77, pp. 86-145.
136. 'On a bronze rabbit from Fatimid Egypt,' *K.O.*, VIII, 1972, pp. 60-76.
137. M. Keene, *Geometric art in Islam*, M.A. thesis, A.U.C., 1971.
138. *Ibid.*, pp. 184-7.
139. Haldane, p. 13.
140. *Ett.*, *A.P.*, p. 184.
141. *Ett.* *A.P.*, p. 184.
142. 'The illustrated *Maqāmāt* of the thirteenth-century: the bourgeoisie and the arts,' in *The Islamic city, a colloquium*, Oxford, Near Eastern history group, University of Pennsylvania Near East Center, ed. A. Hourani and S.M. Stern, Oxford and Pennsylvania, 1970, p. 222.
143. Allan, *Aron*, pp. 51-6.
144. Allan, J.W., *Sha'bān, Barqūq, and the Decline of the Mamluk Metalworking Industry*, *Muqarnas*, 2, 1984, pp. 85-94.

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145. G. Karnouk, 'Form and ornament of the Cairene Bahri minbar,' *Ann. isl.*, vol. XVII, 1981, pp. 113-32, plates I-VI.
146. Muslim, com. al-Nawawī, p. 398, marginalia, line 5.
147. *E.I.* I, s.v. 'Ṣūra,' by A.J. Wensinck.
148. Muslim, comm. al-Nawawī, marginalia, line 13, and p. 403, marginalia, line 28.
149. Al-Bukhārī + Comms., p. 28, marginalia, line 27.
150. *Ibid.*, marginalia, lines 24-5.
151. *E.I.I*, s.v. ṣūra, by A.J. Wensinck.
152. Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrines... de Takī-d-Dīn Ḥamad b. Taimīya*, pp. 326-8.
153. *Ibid.*, p. 477; p. 496.
154. S. Stich, *Anxious visions, surrealist art*, Berkeley/ N.Y., 1990, p. 29.
155. *Ibid.*, p. 108; p. 122.
156. 'Pollock and the age of anxiety, World War II and the age of modernism.' Programme for Channel 4 television, 1991.
157. M. Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death*, Princeton, 1951, pp. 73-6.
158. Dols, p. 267.

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159. H.& W., I, p. 36.
160. Rosenthal, I, p. 64.
161. Wiet, *Grande peste*, 370-80.
162. Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' az-zuhūr*, Bulaq, I, pp. 191-2.
163. Wiet, *Grande peste*, p. 376.
164. al-Bukhārī, *Les traditions islamiques*, transl. Houdas, Paris, 1914, IV, p. 61.
165. Wiet, *Grande peste*, p. 376.
166. Dols, p. 216.
167. Wiet, *Grande peste*, p. 380.
168. Allan, 'Sha'bān, Barqūq,' pp. 85-94.
169. Dols, p. 270.
170. Ayalon, *Plague*, p. 68.
171. Dols, p. 270.
172. Popper, II (events of 1411), p. 179.
173. Dols, pp. 84-121.
174. *E.I.* I, s.v. 'Shāhid' by W. Bjorkman.
175. Dols, p. 163.

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176. Dols, p. 130.

177. Dols, *ibid.*

178. H.& W., I, p. 181.

179. Ittig, *Bowl*, p. 83.

180. Dols, p. 125.

181. Baldick, p. 3.

182. Dols, pp. 246-53.

183. Popper, III (entries for 1418-19), pp. 64-6.

184. J. Chelhod, *Le sacrifice chez les arabes*, Paris, 1955.

185. Bloom, Ph.D. thesis.

186. F. Daftary, *op.cit.*, p.72.

187. Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *An introduction to Islamic cosmological doctrines*, 1964, pp. 66-8.

188. For the influence of Suhrawardī on the Shādhili order, which was founded in the thirteenth century, see Jurji's preface to *Illumination in Islamic mysticism*, esp. p. 15.

189. *E.I.* I, s.v. 'Kutb al-Dīn,' by E. Wiedemann.

190. H. Corbin, *Spiritual body*, p. 128.

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191. Corbin, *Spiritual body*, p. 145.
192. E. Jabra Jurji, *Illumination in Islamic mysticism*, Princeton, 1938, p. 66.
193. Ibid, p. 86.
194. Ibid, pp. 77-8.
195. De Jong, *Bektashis*, p. 9.
196. R. Hillenbrand, 'The symbolism of the rayed nimbus in early Islamic art,' *Cosmos*, vol. 2, 1986, pp. 1-52, pls. I-IV, p. 26.
197. O. Grabar, *The Alhambra*.
198. N. Ardalan and L. Bakhtiar, *The sense of unity: the sufi tradition in Persian architecture*, Chicago, 1971.
199. H. Corbin, *A. E.*, pp. 397-8.
200. There is some supportive evidence for this interpretation in the Bodleian MS of the *Kitāb al-Bulhān*, where in the depiction of the fourth clime, that of the sun, an identical design occurs just below the roof of a building, but it must be pointed out that the MS is probably Jalairid and post-dates the building in Cairo by a century.
201. H. Corbin, *A. E.*, pp. 220-64. The original is in Persian.
202. Ibid, pp. 238-9, 'Le bruissement des ailes de Gabriel.'
203. Jurji, pp. 77-82 ('The fourteenth article').

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204. S.B. Blier, *The anatomy of architecture*, Cambridge, 1987. I am indebted to Edward Thomas for this reference.
205. H. Corbin, *A. E.*, pp. 174, 225.
206. H. Corbin, *A. E.*, p. 196.
207. F. Daftary, *op. cit.*, pp. 386-7.
208. Ewert, *II, Qairawān*, pp. 31-33, 125-7; Abb. 20, 24. The table of colours of different types of marble is *Farbtafel I*.
209. *Ibid.*, and see also Baldick, pp. 79-95.
210. H. Corbin, *M. L.*, pp. 77-9.
211. *Ibid.*, p. 107.
212. *Ibid.*, p. 131.
213. Baldick, pp. 79-80.
214. Winter, p. 192.
215. C.J. Jung includes Khidr as an archetype in *Collected Works*, ed. H. Read, 2nd. ed., vol. 9, *The archetypes and the collective unconscious*, London, 1959, pp. 135-147.
216. E.I. 2, s.v. *lawn*, by A. Morabia.
217. De Jong, *Bektashis*, p.13.

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218. Fernandes, *Khānqāh*, pp. 81, 90.
219. Popper, III (events of 1416), p. 41.
220. Fernandes, *Khānqāh*, p. 2.
221. J.M. Rogers, 'Waqf and patronage in Seljuk Anatolia; the epigraphic evidence,' *Anatolian Studies*, 26, 1976, pp. 69-104.
222. S. Lamei Mostafa, 'The Cairene sabil,' form and meaning. *Muqarnas*, 6, 1989, pp. 33-42.
223. Published in the edition of L. A. Mayer, London, 1938. ("Q.B.")
224. J. A. Williams, 'The khānqāh of Siryāqūs, a mamluk royal religious foundation,' *In quest of an Islamic humanism in memory of Mohammed al-Nowaihi*, ed. A. H. Green, Cairo, 1984, p. 112.
225. Q.B., p. 10, line 7.
226. Q.B., p.6, lines 20-25.
227. Ibid.
228. Ibid., p. 12, lines 15-20.
229. B. Bruun, *Common birds of Egypt*, Cairo, 1985, gives Arabic and English names. Lane's *Lexicon* gives early examples of use.
230. Faraj, clause 111.
231. Q.B., p. 12, lines 15-20.

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232. Faraj, cl. 111.

233. e.g. Q.B. p. 6, line 16; p. 10, line 14; p. 11, line 1.

234. e.g. Q.B. p. 10, line 7; p.11, lines 15-16.

235. Q.B., p.10, line 22.

236. Makdisi, *Colleges*, pp. 75-78.

237. Contadini, *Manāfi'*, p. 43.

238. R. Milstein, *Studies in memory of Gaston Wiet*, ed. M. Rosen-Ayalon, Jerusalem, 1977, pp. 357-369, pls. XXII-XXIV.

239. *Ibid.*, p. 368.

240. *K.O.*, XI, 1976-77, pp. 42-84.

241. Al-Azmeh, p. 135.

242. Hughes, *Shock*, pp. 32-4.

243. [Lecture]

244. Atil, *Renaissance*, p. 251.

245. Haldane, p. 14.

246. Astor, pp. 10, 16.

247. Contadini, *Manāfi'*, p. 44.

248. *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

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249. Ibid., p. 26.
250. Rosenthal, II, p. 276.
251. C. Toll, ed., *Die beiden Edelmetalle Gold und Silber*, Uppsala, 1968, p.99 (= f.13b) of Arabic text.
252. De Jong, pp. 15-16.
253. M. Berthelot, *La chimie au moyen age. Tom III, L'alchimie arabe*, Paris, 1893, p. 79.
254. Kraus's views, as recorded in MS. notes, have been summarised by P. Lory, *Alchimie et mystique en terre d'Islam*, n.p., 1989, pp. 155-62.
255. Al-Azmeh, p. 17.
256. Fakhry, pp. 236-41.
257. E.J. Jurji, *Illumination in Islamic mysticism*, Princeton, 1938, p. 11.
258. Kraus, II, pp. 429-33.
259. E.J. Holmyard, 'Maslama al-Majrīṭī and the Rutbatu'l-Hakīm,' *Isis*, VI, 1924, pp. 293-305, p. 301. Holmyard is not certain of the authorship of this work, but he used as his main source a text of 1306-9, which brings it into our period.
260. De Jong, p. 9.
261. *E.I.II*, s.v. 'Dhahab,' by A.S. Ehrenkreutz.
262. Allan, *Sha'bān, Barqūq ...*, pp.89-91.

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263. Contadini, *Manāfi*, p. 44.
264. The most recent study is M. Burgoyne's 'The gates of the Haram al-Sharīf,' Oxford Studies in Islamic Art, IX, [pt.1] 1992, pp. 105-124.
265. L.Golombek and D. Wilbur: The Timurid architecture of Iran and Turan, I, pp. 5-7.
266. Maq. Quat., I, p. 205.
267. Runciman, S., *A History of the Crusades*, London, 1955, vol.III, p. 421; *M.A.E.*, II, p. 235.
268. *MAE* II, p. 191.
269. Maq. Bouriant, pp. 610-611.
270. The entrance to a treasure-trove was to be ^{found} ~~find~~ near the mihrab of the Rashida mosque built by al-Hākim, Kamal, op. cit., II, p.4. Al-Hakim had rendered harmless the protective charm inscribed on a guardian table in a cave in the Mokattam, Kamal, op.cit., II, p.18.
271. Maq., Bouriant, *Description topographique et historique de l'Egypte*, Memoires, XVII, p. 112.
272. Beeston, A.F.L., 'An Arabic hermetic manuscript,' *Bodleian Library Record*, VII, 1935, pp.11-23, pl. I-III.
273. Ibid, pp. 14-15.

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274. Haarmann, U., 'Regional sentiment in medieval Islamic Egypt,' *B.S.O.A.S.*, 43, 1980, pp. 55-66, p. 62.
275. Stricker, B. H., 'Le naos vert de Memphis', *ASAE* 39, p.215-220 and pl. XXX-XXXI, p. 217, quoting al-Qashqandi.
276. Maq. Ravaisse, pp. 463-465.
277. Maq. Bouriant, pp. 85-116.
278. Cook, M., 'Pharaonic history in modern Egypt,' *Studia Islamica*, lvii, 1983, pp. 67-103.
279. Articles by Haarmann on this topic include:, 'Regional sentiment in medieval Islamic Egypt,' *B.S.O.A.S.*, 43, 1980, pp. 54-66; 'In quest of the spectacular, noble and learned visitors to the Pyramids around 1200 A.D., ' [in] *Islamic studies presented to C.J. Adams*, ed. W.B. Hallaq and D.P. Little, Leiden, etc., 1991; a fuller list is cited in the bibliography.
280. Haarmann, Festschrift Adams, pp. 57-8.
281. Haarman, 'Regional interest ...', p. 58.
282. Haarmann, Festschrift Adams, p. 66.
283. *E.I.I* s.v. Hirmis.
284. See M. Cook, 'Pharaonic History in Medieval Egypt,' *Studia Islamica*, lvii, 1983, pp. 96-7; L. Massignon, *La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*, Paris, 1989, I,

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pp. 384-5; the standard works on the Sabaeans would appear to be still those of D. Chwolsson in the last century.

285. Massignon, *op. cit.*, p. 384-6.

286. R. Netton, *Muslim Neoplatonists*, London, 1982.

287. Kamal, p.18.

288. L. Massignon, *op. cit.*, p. 398.

289. Maqrīzī, Bouriant, p.332.

290. Cook, M., 'Pharaonic history in medieval Egypt,' *Studia Islamica*, lvii, 1983, pp.67-103, pp. 96-7.

291. Blochet, E., 'Peintures de manuscrits arabes à types byzantins', *Revue archéologique*, pp.215-6 [14th. century ms. in H. Sophia]

292. Boas, G., *The hieroglyphics of Horapollo*, Bollingen ser. xxiii, New York, 1950, p. 22.)

293. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

294. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

295. F. Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic tradition*, Chicago, 1964.

296. J. Robinson, *A life of Picasso*, vol. I, 1881-1906, London, 1991, pp. 274-5.

297. In relation to the modern history of Hermeticism, I am indebted also to Robert

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Irwin's mention in a lecture of the influence of the Hermetic tradition on André Breton.

298. *The eastern key, Kitāb al-ifādah wa'l i'tibār* of 'Abd al-Latif al-Baghdadi, tr. K.H. Zand and J.A. and I.E. Videan, London, 1964, p. 139.

299. Corbin, H., *The man of light*, transl. N. Pearson, Boulder and London, 1978, pp. 80-81.

300. Hammer, J., *Ancient alphabets and hieroglyphic characters explained...by Ahmad bin Abubekr bin Wahshih*; London, 1806, cited hereafter as Hammer Purgstall. The quotation is from p. 16 of the English text, which is from p.81 of the Arabic text.

301. I am indebted to Jaromir Malek for this observation and for examining Ibn Wahshiyya's hieroglyphs.

302. Ibn Khaldūn, trans. Rosenthal, II, p. 226.

303. The identification was confirmed by Mr. D. Richards in conversation: I am most grateful to him.

304. Hammer Purgstall, Eng. text p. 54, Arabic text p. 135.

305. Blochet, E., 'Etudes sur le gnosticisme musulmane,'[fifth article in this series] *Rivista degli studi orientali*, VI, 1914-15, pp 56-62.

306. Rosenberg, H., *Getting inside the canvas and other essays*, in *Abstract*

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expressionism, a critical record, ed. D. and C. Shapiro, Cambridge, 1990, pp. 76-81.

307. Ruska, *Tabula Smaragdina*, pp. 106-154.

308. Ruska, J., 'Studien zu Muhammad ibn 'Umaïl al-Tamīmī's Kitāb al-Mā' al-Waraqī wa'l-ard an-Najmīyah', *Isis*, 24, 1936, pp. 310-342, p. 311. See also Ruska's detailed account of the 'emerald tablet' in *Tabula Smaragdina*, Heidelberg, 1926.

309. Burckhardt, T., *Alchemy*, , London, 1967, pp.196-7.

310. *E.I.* II, s.v. 'Lawh,' by A.J.Wensinck, C. E. Bosworth.

311. *E.I.*, I, , s.v. 'Lawh' by A.J. Wensinck.

312. H.R. Roemer, *Die Chronik des Ibn al-Dawādārī*, IX, 1960, p. 383, line 2.

The text is given in appendix 2.

313. H. Corbin, *A.E.*, p. 233.

314. *Ibid.*, pp. 392-3.

315. Jurji, p. 114.

316. V. Danner, *Ibn Aṭā'illāh's sufi aphorisms*, Leiden, 1973, p.25.

317. The Elizabethan alchemist, John Dee, possessed a black mirror, which passed into the possession of Horace Walpole. This was used for scrying, or seeing visions.

In 1871, Richard Burton was said to have been 'scryed' while on his travels in

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Arabia, by one F. Hockley. Hockley gave Burton a black mirror. R. Deacon, *John Dee*, London, 1968, pp.117-9. Wilkinson referred to the practice of seeing visions in a circle of ink in the palm of the hand (*Modern Egypt and Thebes*, 1843, I, pp. 218-220.)

318. Stapleton, *Three treatises ...*, p. 118

319. Faris, B., 'Figures magiques', *Aus der Welt der Islamische Kunst, Festschrift für E. Kühnel*, Berlin, 1959, pp. 154-162.

320. Stapleton, pp. 119-20.

321. *Ibid.*, 121-122.

322. Meinecke-Berg, V., *Spolien*, pp. 139-40.

323. e.g. Haarmann, U., 'Die Sphinx, synkretische Volksreligiosität im spatmittelalterlichen islamischen Aegypten', *Saeculum*, 29, 1978, pp.367-384.

324. Mayer, Qait Bey, p. 10, lines 10-15 (occurs twice).

325. Gairdner, pp. 129-30, *Mishkāt* p.69.

326. *Inscr. of Aleppo, Textes*, p. 209, and notes on pp. 198-90.

327. *op. cit.* p. 189.

328. Hillenbrand, R., 'The Symbolism of the Rayed Nimbus in Early Islamic Art,' *Cosmos*, 2, 1988, pp. 1-29. Hillenbrand's arguments do not separate out the star,

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the disc and the half-disc and assume that all can be interpreted as signifying the ruler and/or the divinity.

329. Flood, F., *The Iconography of Light in the Monuments of Mamluk Cairo, Cosmos*, pp. 169-193.

330. Burgoyne, pl.45.14.

331. Rosenthal, III, 166.

332. Dols, pp. 121-40.

333. Ittig, *Bowl*, pp. 86-7.

334. Al-Azmeh, pp. 71-3.

335. Ittig, *Bowl*, p. 94.

336. Personal communication, for which I am most grateful.

337. Ittig, *Bowls*.

338. Gairdner, pp. 107-8, *Mishkāt*, pp. 57-8.

339. Al-Azmeh, p. 72.

340. H.L. Roe, *The Bahri mamluk monumental entrances of Cairo: survey and analysis of 'intra muros' portals, 1250-1382*. M.A. thesis, A.U.C., 1979. I am most grateful for having been permitted to consult this work.

341. *Ibid.*, pp. 166-8, 188-90.

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342. *Ibid.*, p. 155.

343. Comité, *Exercice* 1893, p. 113. The best source for pre-restoration conditions would be the unpublished papers of the Comité, including Herz's full reports. I have been unable to trace these documents, if they were preserved; they are not in the I.F.A.O. Herz himself also seems to have disappeared at the start of the First World War. He does not appear in European biographical dictionaries; Mr. Howard Colvin does not know of him (personal communication).

344. *Description*, [texte] Tom. XV, pp. 166-8.

345. At a conference in Cairo in 1993. (Information kindly given to me by Dr. Jeremy Johns.)

346. M. Meinecke, 'Das Mausoleum des Qala'un in Kairo,' *M.D.A.I.K.*, 27, 1971, pp. 47-80, Taf. I-XII, pp. 55-6.

347. *Ibid.*, p. 69.

348. *Inscr. d'Alep*, I, pp. 258-9. Creswell noted six marble-panelled mihrabs in Aleppo between 1168/9-1237/8, *M.A.E.*, II, p. 103.

349. Herzfeld.

350. Burgoyne, p. 314.

351. Burgoyne, p. 235.

352. H. Glass, *Cosmati*. I am grateful to Dr. Jeremy Johns for mentioning this.

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353. L. Aly Ibrahim, 'Four Cairene mihrabs and their dating,' *K. O.*, 1970-71, pp. 30-9, p. 31-2.
354. *Ibid.*, pp. 51-3.
355. P. 58.
356. Comité, 1890, p. 103, and see S. Lameh Mostafa, *Kloster and Mausoleum des Farag ibn Barquq in Kairo*, D.A.I.K., Islamische Reihe, Bd. 2, Glückstadt, 1968, for detailed notes of the reconstruction work on the Faraj-Barquq madrasa in the Qarāfa. Lamei Mostafa covers the reconstructions in detail, listing the work under each section of the building.
357. Comité, 1892-4, pp. 60-3, pls. II,III, plans VII, VIII. Parker, Sabin and Williams, in *Islamic Monuments in Cairo*, 1981, p. 85, say that the inserts of the minbar were all missing, but the report of the Comité specifically mentions that it is 'en bon état' (p. 62).
358. Rogers, J.M. 'The state and the arts in Ottoman Turkey', *I.J.M.E.S.*, 14, 1982, Pt.I, , pp. 71-86; Pt. 2, pp. 283-313. The discussion of possible shortage of marble in Cairo is in Pt.1, p. 73.
359. Popper, III, p. 41 (Events of 1416).
360. Dodge, H., *Marble in Antiquity*, London, 1992, p. 158.
361. *E.I.I*, s.v. *Djafr*, by D.B. Macdonald.
362. Rosenthal, III, 171-227.

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363. Most recently by Annemarie Schimmel in *The mystery of number*, New York, Oxford, 1993.
364. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
365. *Ibid.*, p.18.
366. Trimmingham, p. 153.
367. Ittig, *Bowl*, p. 83.
368. Dols, pp. 125-36.
369. E.I. 2, s.v. *'Ilm al-Hissab*, by A.I. Sabra.
370. Al-Azmeh, p. 70.
371. Ibn ʿArabi, Austin transl. op.cit., p. 122; Arabic text, ed. Afifi, p. 100.
372. E.J. Holmyard, 'Maslama al-Majriti and the Rutbatu'l-Hakim,' *Isis*, VI, 1924, pp. 293-305, p. 299.
373. James, p. 66.
374. Jurji, p. 86.
375. E.Dodd,
376. C.Williams.
377. Hawkes, pp. 123-150.
378. *K.O.*, VIII, 1972, pp. 60-76,

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379. Gairdner, p 135.
380. *Persian lustre ware*, p. 149
381. *J.S.A.H.*, XLV, Dec., 1986, p. 389
382. 'Cult of 'Alīd saints' I, p.46, *Muqarnas*, I, pp. 37-51.
383. p. 116.
384. *Muqarnas*, I, pp. 15-36.
385. Haldane, p. 13.
386. *Ibid.*, pp. 13-18.
387. J.M. Rogers, *Evidence*.
388. *C.I.A.*, 251-73, nos. 167-72.
389. J.A. Williams, 'Urbanization and Monument Construction in Mamluk Cairo,' *Muqarnas*, II, 1984, pp. 33-45, footnote 20.
390. Popper, V, pp. 31, 80, 124, 128, 135, 138, 140-2, 145.
391. Al-Azmeh, *Ibn Khaldūn, an Essay in Re-interpretation*, London, Totowa, 1982, p. 12.
392. *Pella*, 2, pp. 225-6.
393. D. Ayalon, *L'esclavage du Mamelouk*, Oriental notes and studies published by the Israel Oriental Society, no. 1, Jerusalem, 1951, p. 13.

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394. Berkey, p. 11.
395. Geniza, Index, s.v. Books.
396. U. Haarmann, 'Turkish legends in the popular history of medieval Egypt,' *Proceedings of the sixth international congress of Arabic and islamic studies, Stockholm, 1972*, Leiden, 1975, pp. 000.
397. D. Ayalon, in *Gunpowder, Firearms in the Mamluk kingdom*, London, 1956, pp. 9-44, discusses terminology of firearms, all derivations being Arabic or Greek; none appears to be Turkic.
398. Astor, p. 81.
399. Lapidus, *Cities*, pp. 79-81.
400. See Makdisi, esp.pp. 38-41, for a discussion of these restrictions.
401. *E.I.* I, s.v. 'Wakf,' by W. Heffening.
402. Irwin, p.42 and passim.
403. Maq. Broadh., p. 135.
404. Maq. Quat. I (3), p.164.
405. Irwin, pp. 88-9.
406. Rabie, pp. 26-31.
407. *Ibid.*, pp. 71-2.

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408. Popper, III, pp. 13-81.
409. Esin Atil has commented on the frequency of this theme in the illustrations of the Bodleian MS., which shows 7 examples (from a total of 77 illustrations) of the king sitting on his throne conversing with a philosopher. This total does not include the scenes showing animal parallels. See E. Atil, *Fables from a fourteenth-century Arabic manuscript*, Washington, 1981, pp. 72-3.
410. For a resumé of dynastic and non-dynastic interpretations of a civil war, see A. Goodman, *The wars of the roses*, London, 1981, esp. his introduction, pp.3-7.
411. Humphreys, 'The expressive intent of the mamluk architecture of Cairo,' *Studia Islamica*, 55, 1972, pp. 69-119.
412. Fernandes, *Khānqāh*, pp. 1-2 esp., and 'Three sufi foundations in a fifteenth century waqfiyya,' *Ann. Isl.*, tom XVII, 1981, pp. 141-56 and plates A, B.
413. G. Makdisi, *The rise of colleges*, Edinburgh, 1981, p. 38.
414. Fernandes, 'Some aspects,' *Ann. Isl.*, 19, 1983, pp. 4-17.
415. *C.I.A.*, I, 253, note 3.
416. Makdisi, *Colleges*, p. 300.
417. *Ibid.*, p. 302.
418. Berkey, p.12.

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419. For a critique of intentionalism as a process in art criticism, see C. Wimsatt and M. Beardsley, 'The intentional fallacy, *Sewanne Review*, 54, 1946.

420. See Whitley Davis' discussion of Wittgenstein's theories in H. Morphy, ed., *Animals into art*, London, 1989, *Finding symbols in history*, pp. 179-87.

421. H. Morphy, *op cit.*, p. 8.