CHAPTER THREE

Qur’āns in Cairo, 1304–30

The first group, consisting of eleven Qur’ān manuscripts, which date from 1304 to 1330, is one of the most interesting we shall study. It supplies us with a great deal of information, and helps us to understand the development of Mamlūk Qur’ān production in the fourteenth century. It affords us a rare opportunity to trace in detail the development of a recognizable style of manuscript illumination, and to examine the activities of the master-painter Şandal, his apprentices, colleagues and contemporaries, from the time they began to produce the Qur’ān for Baybars al-Jāshnagīr to the last traces of their work in 1330.

The Qur’ān of Baybars al-Jāshnagīr and Related Works

This manuscript is unquestionably the most important, being not only the earliest dated Mamlūk Qur’ān but also one of the great masterpieces of Islamic calligraphy and illumination (Cat.1). It is copied in amīrī, or seventh division, the least popular of all the divisions of the Qur’ān, and as far as we are aware is the only Mamlūk Qur’ān to have been produced in this way. Its format, 48 x 32 cm, is somewhat larger than the other manuscripts in this group. At the end of each amīrī, or seventh division, there is a colophon by the calligrapher which indicates the circumstances of commissioning. With slight modifications from one to another, this reads: “This noble amīrī and its companion-volumes were copied at the command of the noble abode, the high, the lord, the amīr, Rukn al-Dīn, waṭādār [wastād al-dār], God make him victorious. Copied by [his] Muḥammad ibn al-Wahhāb, thanking God, exalted be He...” It has long been accepted that this Rukn al-Dīn was Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-Jāshnagīr, an official of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, who was appointed waṭādār or major-domo in 1299 during the second reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, and who was later to

Fig. 15 (Cat. 1). Qur’ān of Baybars al-Jāshnagīr, Cairo 1304-6, colophon of volume 7, folio 166v.

The colophon states that the volume, together with its companion-volumes, was commissioned by Baybars, here described as waṭād al-dār, i.e. waṭādār, major-domo, and copied by Muḥammad ibn al-Wahhāb. The date 704/1304-5 is given, recording the completion of the text. Illumination would have continued for somewhat longer. The illumination in this volume is the work of Şandal.
rule as al-Muẓaffar Baybars (1309-10). During the years in which the Qur'an was copied, Baybars is also spoken of as atābak al-jayṣh, commander-in-chief. The original attribution to Baybars was made in the old British Museum Catalogue Codicum Orientalium, and there can be little doubt that this is correct.9

The large size of the Qur'an and the fact that it is written in multiple parts indicate that it was not intended for personal use but as an endowment to a mosque or religious institution. (It is thought that there is no endowment certificate because the volumes were rebound at some stage.) Baybars was associated with two important religious monuments. In 1303 he restored the minarets of the Mosque of al-Ḥākim after the earthquake of the previous year, and it is possible that the Qur'an was intended to grace this building, for it appears to have spent some time there in later years. However, it is far more likely that the Qur'an was destined for the new khānqāh which Baybars began to build in the Darb al-Asfar.12 Ibn Iyās, in a rare and, for a manuscript, unusually full account, confirms this: "The year 705 [1305-06]. In that year the atābak Baybars al-Jāḥiṣmāqīr began to build his khānqāh which is in the square of Bāb al-Ṭābī opposite Darb al-Asfar. It is said that when the building was completed, Shaykh Sharaf al-Dīn ibn al-Walīd wrote a copy of the Qur'an in seven parts for the atābak Baybars. It was written on paper of Baghdad size, in astābār script.13 It is said that Baybars spent 1,600 dinars on these volumes so that they could be written in gold. It was placed in the khānqāh and is one of the beauties of the age."

There is no doubt that this is an account of the British Library manuscript—all the details tally. This is not the only mention of the manuscript: both al-Ṣafadī, writing in the fourteenth century, and Ibn Ḥajar, writing in the fifteenth, refer to it, but seem to contradict the sixteenth-century author Ibn Iyās, for both say that the Qur'an was in their day in the mosque of al-Ḥākim—al-Ṣafadī mentions seeing it there, while Ibn Ḥajar says: "Baybars then bequeathed it to his library in the mosque of al-Ḥākim."

The khānqāh was begun in 1305-06 according to Ibn Iyās, or in 1306-07 according to Maqrīzī and completed in 1309.14 However, the text of the Qur'an was copied out by 1305-06 and probably completed by the illuminators in the following year. Thus the manuscript must have existed for several years before the building was in a fit state to receive it. It could have remained with the craftsmen who produced it, or it could have been stored by Baybars. It would have been quite in order for the manuscript to have gone to the mosque of al-Ḥākim in the intervening period, where no wāfīyyah would need have been attached. It may then have remained in the mosque and become its property when the bequest to the khānqāh did not take effect. Alternatively, it could have been placed in the khānqāh, as Ibn Iyās says, and then have returned to the mosque of al-Ḥākim in 1310 when, following the execution of Baybars, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ordered the closure of the khānqāh and the confiscation of its endowments.15

The Calligrapher

Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Sharaf ibn Yūsuf al-Kārīb al-Zar'i al-Maqrī, called "Ibn al-Walīd", was one of the outstanding calligraphers of the first part of the fourteenth century, and one of the few whose biography we know in detail, for beside recorded scraps,16 both al-Ṣafadī17 and Ibn Ḥajar14 give full accounts of him. Ibn al-Walīd was born in Damascus in 1249-50, and as an adult travelled to Baalbek and then to Baghdad, where he studied under Yaqtī and others.18 He then went to Cairo where he was kāḥil al-shari'ah in the mosque of al-Ḥākim. He entered the service of Baybars and made a copy of the Qur'an for him, which, together with its illumination by the master Šandāl, was considered one of the most wonderful works of art seen in Cairo. Apart from his skill with the pen, he was also a good linguist, and this should have stood him good stead in the chancellery of Baybars, but he was lazy and negligent, and this caused him to be severely reprimanded by the secretary of the chancellery.19 His moral character was strongly suspect, and among those who spoke ill of him was his own brother 'Ala' al-Dīn. He is even said to have written a copy of the Qur'an with an unorthodox medium.20 But such was his skill as a calligrapher that a Qur'an by him without illumination or binding would sell for 1,000 dinars. Indeed, he used to buy copies produced by his pupils in imitation of his hand for 400 dinars, sign them himself and then re-sell them for 1,000. When Baybars gave him 1,600 dinars to produce the Qur'an for
his khānqāh, he kept most of it and used only 400 dinars. Fortunately, he seems to have got on well with the amir, who greatly admired his calligraphy, and when Baybars was told of the embezzlement he merely said: "When will there be anyone else who could write a Qurʾān like that?"

Ibn al-Walīd was familiar with all the styles of calligraphy and no one according to al-Ṣafadī wrote naškh, rayhān and muḥāqqaq better than he. He composed poetry, and wrote a commentary on Rāʾilat ibn al-Banūwāh, the famous treatise on calligraphy by the great Baghdadi master. He is thus described by his biographers as well-informed, elegant and courageous, a good linguist and an outstanding calligrapher. Although he died in 1311 in Cairo at the relatively advanced age of sixty-one, his only indubitable work to survive is the Qurʾān of Baybars.

The manuscript was copied by Ibn al-Walīd over a period of at least a year. Sabt 1 is dated December 1304, while Sabt 7 is dated some time in 1305 or 1306. The parts are of equal length which implies that the calligrapher was able to copy five of the seven in under a year, each one probably taking about eight weeks, which means that the Qurʾān was probably begun in August or September of 1304. Each page contains six lines of text, and this is a most unusual feature, since almost every other Mamlūk Qurʾān—and indeed all Qurʾāns except the earlier kufic ones—is copied in odd numbers of lines. But most curious of all is the actual script Ibn al-Walīd uses. It is a large gold ṭublīb-type, outlined in black. In Ibn Iyās's description of the Qurʾān the script is called ašīʿār, and in al-Ṣafadī's, ṭublīb-ašīʿār, which seems more correct. Ašīʿār is sometimes considered a specific type of script midway between ṭublīb and muḥāqqaq, but the name may refer to the hair-like strokes around the script, since ašīʿār-taʾšīʿ in Arabic and Persian usage is derived from ašīʿār, plural of šuṭṭar, "a hair." There is no mystery, however, about the source of Ibn al-Walīd's choice; the script employed was that normally used in Cairo at this time for writing Qurʾān sīnrah headings. Why did the calligrapher choose to employ this unusual script which was never again used for a Qurʾān? One might have expected him to use muḥāqqaq, like the calligraphers in the time of Sultan Shāhīn. But although muḥāqqaq was the commonest script employed in the production of royal Qurʾāns in Baghdad and Mosul, it was not under the Mamlūks. The earliest Mamlūk Qurʾān in a clearly recognizable muḥāqqaq is dated 1320 (Cat. 9), and even this is a far cry from the superb muḥāqqaq-jalal of the 1360s and 1370s. Furthermore, one must ask whether large-format multi-part Qurʾāns, like the Il-Khwānīd royal Qurʾāns, were found in Egypt at this time. The answer seems to be that they were not. At least, we cannot point to any in the twenty years following the production of Baybars' Qurʾān, and nothing survives from the period before it. If there were no tradition of this type of Qurʾān under the Mamlūks, would there have been a traditional script that would automatically have been used? The answer, surviving manuscripts persuade us, is that there was not. Most Qurʾāns that we know from this period are in naškh or a ṭublīb-type, but not muḥāqqaq or rayhān. As far as the latter is concerned, it is quite clear that the Mamlūks found it unattractive. Despite the existence of the fine Qurʾān sent to Cairo in the 1320s and copied for the Il-Khwānīd Sultan ʿAlāʾ ad-Din in 1313 (Cat. 43), there is hardly a single example of a Mamlūk Qurʾān in ṭublīb. It seems clear that, as in other areas of Mamlūk life, there were fashions in calligraphy, and at this time the graceful ṭublīb and the wonderful classical muḥāqqaq of the Qurʾān copied in Mosul for ʿAlāʾ ad-Din in the first decade of the century (Cat. 42), were simply not fashionable in Cairo.

We can perhaps see more evidence of this in the second manuscript on our list (Cat. 2), because this makes use of another strange hand, perhaps that of the chanceller, jāmāt. It appears also to have been multi-part, and to follow an unusual three-line division of the text on each page. Each sīnrah is introduced by the script employed for the text of the Baybars Qurʾān. Surviving decoration consists only of marginal ornaments, but these are identical to those in the Baybars Qurʾān. This suggests that we have here another manuscript produced by the same artists; it is thus probably the only other example of a Qurʾān in the hand of Ibn al-Walīd, and was perhaps executed between 1306 and 1311, the year Ibn al-Walīd died.

The Illuminators

The artists who worked on this Qurʾān for Baybars—Muḥammad ibn Muḥādīr Abū Bakr, known as Ṣandāl, and Aydughdhi ibn ʿAbdallāh al-Badrī—may have been specially assembled by Ibn al-Walīd for the occasion. At any rate there are quite noticeable
differences between their styles of painting. The overall design of each volume, however, is the same. This suggests a master plan which was almost certainly laid down by Şandal, since in all the accounts of the Baybars Qur’an he is the only painter mentioned. al-Şafi’i comments: "...then the famous Şandal illuminated it and painted it."²² He was doubtless a well-known illuminator and almost certainly the director of the painting side of the project. The other members of the team were an established painter, Muḥammad ibn Muḥādir, and a man of lesser rank, Aydughdi ibn ‘Abdallāh, who was, as we shall show, the pupil or apprentice of Şandal.

The manuscript bears the signatures of the three artists. The first volume carries the name of Muḥammad ibn Muḥādir; the third and fifth are signed by Şandal, and the last by Aydughdi ibn ‘Abdallāh. This last inscription has caused some confusion, since it appears, as we shall see below, to claim that Aydughdi illuminated all seven parts. Yet three of the parts are signed by other painters, and their individual styles are so distinct that even the seventh part bearing Aydughdi’s inscription can be seen to be the work of Şandal. Our interpretation of this inscription is that Aydughdi did not illuminate the volume in the accepted sense of tādhkār (which initially meant “gilding” but later came to mean illuminating in general),²³ but that he performed some secondary task. The word he uses in the inscription is the much less usual tāzmik, which can also mean “gilding”. In any event his contribution is undetectable: he may have painted-in or outlined work done by others.

**Muḥammad ibn Muḥādir**

Muḥammad ibn Muḥādir was responsible for the illumination in the first volume. This we know without doubt from his inscription on the final folio, where he bears a signature in the right-hand margin we read: “Illuminated by Muḥammad ibn Muḥādir, may God pardon him.” Volumes 2, 4 and 6 do not bear the signature of the illuminator. Nevertheless, there seems little doubt that they also are the work of Muḥammad ibn Muḥādir. Although there are some stylistic differences between Volumes 1, 2, 4 and 6, these are not enough to indicate the existence of an unknown painter. In any case, the absence of a signature is not very important here, since the styles of Şandal and Ibīn Muḥādir are quite distinct from one another.

The allocation of volumes must have been decided as soon as the calligrapher began his work, as follows:

1. Muḥammad ibn Muḥādir (signed)/Aydughdi ibn ‘Abdallāh
2. Muḥammad ibn Muḥādir/Aydughdi ibn ‘Abdallāh
3. Şandal (signed)/Aydughdi ibn ‘Abdallāh
4. Muḥammad ibn Muḥādir/Aydughdi ibn ‘Abdallāh
5. Şandal (signed)/Aydughdi ibn ‘Abdallāh
6. Muḥammad ibn Muḥādir/Aydughdi ibn ‘Abdallāh
7. Şandal/Aydughdi ibn ‘Abdallāh (signed).

The frontpiece of Volume 1 shows some of the simplest illumination of the entire manuscript, where the text is written over a ground of interlace consisting of triangles with red, gold and blue dots at the corners. The same is true of the opening pages of text and the final illuminated colophon page. Above and below are narrow panels with gold palmettes, with details articulated in black or red and with red centres on blue. All panels are surrounded by gold strapwork which is of a different type on the first and last folios. In the margins are gold medallions and in the centre a lobed hasp with palmette decoration or an arabesque scroll. Marginal ornaments in the main body of the text consist of the words
the wide bands of strapwork, which in the case of Volume 4 include the earliest Mamluk example of a technique that did not become popular for several decades—the introduction of coloured squares—is the outer border of alternating palmettes. These are in gold, unarticulated, with unmodelled tear-drops. What is of great interest is that these borders extend around all sides of the two separate halves of the frontispiece. Normally in Mamluk Qur'ans the inner margin was left blank. As we shall see, this technique of surrounding borders on all four sides is entirely typical of contemporary B-Khānîd work, as are the hexagons and octagons so favoured by Muhammad ibn Muhâdîr. It can be clearly demonstrated, then, that much of the repertoire of this artist derives from Baghdadi work. In other words, B-Khānîd influence becomes apparent in Mamluk illumination earlier than the date that is traditionally ascribed, namely 1326, when Qâyûtî's Qur'ān was endowed to the mausoleum of Baktîmûr al-Sâfî.24

The design used at the beginning of Volume 2 is a curious combination of those used in Volumes 1, 4 and 6. It is almost as if the artist had set out to combine their salient features into one design. The layout of the frontispiece consists of a central square panel with rectangular panels bearing inscriptions above and below. Around these are palmette borders with strapwork squares at the corners. The central panel is composed of another star-and-cross pattern which has been "exploded" in a most original fashion. Into this are set, first, a large octagon which on each half bears the volume number, and then four smaller octagons which surround the main one. The eight small octagons bear a tiny linked hexagon pattern which is used in the decoration of Volume 6.
All inscriptions are laid out in fine gold arabesque scrolls with a tear-drop motif similar to those used in the decoration of the frontispiece of Volume 1, but the details are articulated in black. The kufic inscriptions in the panels above and below consist of al-Mā‘ūdīhah (V, 100-1), which appear only rarely in this kind of usage. They differ from those of the frontispiece to the first volume, the vertical strokes being much thinner and reaching almost to the top of the panel. Like all inscription areas in the first volume, these are decorated with a tiny white treble-dot motif.

Decoration of the opening pages of text in all four volumes ascribed to Muhammad ibn Mubādīr is similar, consisting of tight geometrical patterns which are often reminiscent of those found on metalwork. Frequently, the same decoration is used for the colophon pages. For example, in Volume 1 we find strapwork triangles with dots at the corners in both the opening and closing pages. In the opening pages of Volume 2 there is a swastika and eight-pointed star pattern, whereas on the closing page there are inverted interlinked "Y" shapes. In Volume 4 the design of the opening pages consists of inverted interlinked "Y" shapes, while the closing page design is a linked diamond pattern with treble-dot motif. Finally, in Volume 6 we find linked hexagons on both the opening and closing pages. Such repetitions are not found in the volumes illuminated by Sandal.

We are fortunate in possessing another Qur'an illuminated by Muhammad ibn Mubādīr (Cat. 4). Although it bears no signature, it is in exactly the same style as the four volumes of the Baybars Qur'an. The manuscript is written in a most distinctive cursive style of naḥk, with fifteen lines to the page. Although it is in generally fine condition, it has suffered some mutilation. The right-hand half of the double frontispiece is missing, the colophon after Sura at al-Nas has been painted over, though it can still be read with difficulty, and the sūrah heading of al-Nas has been cut out and replaced by that of al-Kahf. This has removed a section from the centre of the original finispece, which we suggest contained the name of the illuminator which, along with that of the scribe, someone wanted to erase.

By holding the page up to a strong light it is possible to read the name of the scribe: Muhammad ibn 'Abdallāh ibn Aḥmad al-Anṣārī al-Khazrajī. He copied a Qur'an in 1307-08, a tiny fragment of which has survived by being bound with a later Iranian Qur'an (Cat. 3). The fragment consists of the double frontispiece with the colophon of the calligrapher on the final verso side. Also surviving is Sura at al-Nas, which gives another example of the magnificent calligraphy of al-Khazrajī. The illumination in this manuscript appears, however, to be related to the work of Sandāl rather than Muhammad ibn Mubādīr.

Returning to the Chester Beatty Qur'an (Cat. 4), there are four areas of illumination: the opening frontispiece; the opening pages of text, and two double-page finispeces. The first of the finispeces uses a design identical to that used by Muhammad ibn Mubādīr for the frontispiece of Volume 6 in the Baybars Qur'an, although the colour scheme is different. The second is composed of an eight-lobed medallion "inlaid" into a bed of interlinked Y-shapes. These are identical to those appearing in Volume 4 of the Baybars Qur'an. The corners however are cut across in the manner that we see in some Il-Khāned Qur'ans. The opening page of illumination is made up of a central panel with four rectangular panels on each side. Those at the top and bottom bear Qur'ānic āyāt in white kufic (al-jāḥiyyah, XLV, 1; al-Bayānīh, XC VIII, 1). Those at the sides contain trees of gold palmettes. In the central panel is a perfect piece of infinite pattern made up of twelve-armed star-polygons, whose outer limbs join to form squares between the polygons. In the centre of each square is the familiar octagon of which Ibn Mubādīr is so fond. Apart from these, we can find numerous examples of details identical to those in the four Baybars volumes illustrated by Muhammad ibn Mubādīr, showing, without doubt, that he must be the artist of the Chester Beatty Qur'an.

The Chester Beatty Library also possesses a work on the properties of precious stones,
before the completion of Baybars’ Qur’ān. Some clues are given in Coptic Bibles, one of which, in the British Library is dated 1289. The opening pages of this copy of the four gospels are illuminated in a purely non-representational fashion after the pattern of Islamic manuscripts. Christian manuscript illuminators occasionally copied Islamic patterns and designs, incorporating them into the decorative scheme of Bibles and other religious works. There are, therefore, parallels between this Coptic work and that of Ibn Mubādir. Yet when we come to look in the following chapter at the Qur’ān produced in Baghdad and Mosul, we find very definite similarities with Ibn Mubādir’s painting.

Whatever the origins of Ibn Mubādir’s style, it does not seem to have endured in Egypt. There is no dated example later than 1306, and we cannot detect any sign of it in other documented manuscripts between then and 1330. Yet Ibn Mubādir was probably living in Cairo as early as 1298, and if he was not already in the service of Baybars, he very likely joined the Qur’ān project at the invitation of Ibn al-Wahhāb who was the director. The execution of Baybars in 1310, followed by the death of Ibn al-Wahhāb in the following year, probably mean that the team of illuminators broke up, indeed, it had probably disbanded upon the completion of the seven-part Qur’ān. As nothing comparable to this manuscript was attempted in Cairo until the time of Sultan Sha’bān ibn Ḥusayn (1363–76), Ibn Mubādir must surely have gone to work elsewhere.

**Abū Bakr, known as Ṣandal**

Ṣandal appears to have been the master-illuminator of the Qur’ān, even though he worked on fewer parts than Ibn Mubādir. That he occupied a senior position is attested not only by references to him in Wajīb bi’l-Wafāyāt of al-Ṣafādī but by further mentions of him, quoted below. It is quite possible that Ṣandal was a eunuch, since names like “Ṣandal” (Sandalwood) and “Ḳaṭīr” (Camphor) were often associated with eunuchs. Furthermore, Abū Bakr is not given a full name—that is, his father’s name is not mentioned, as was the custom in the case of a slave.

Ṣandal’s signature is found on Volumes 3 and 5. In the former it occurs in the marginal medallions of the colophon page, just as Muhammad ibn Mubādir’s does in Volume 1. On the final page of Volume 3 we read: “illumination by Ṣandal.” The final volume is not signed by Ṣandal, but is illuminated in exactly the same manner as the other two. Contrary to what is often supposed, illumination is as individual an art as representational painting. It is only the lack of identifiable examples over a period of time that makes us think of illuminators as anonymous and self-effacing. The work of Ṣandal, contrasted with that of his colleague Muhammad ibn Mubādir, provides an excellent example of the individuality of illuminators.

The frontispieces produced by Ṣandal all take the same form: a central polygon which repeats itself in the four corners of either a square or a rectangular panel, with or without accompanying inscriptions. Unlike the volumes illuminated by Ibn Mubādir, the colophon pages in those by Ṣandal are not simply repeats of the opening folio. In the centre of each right-hand margin is a large decorated hasp with a single lobe and semi-circles at the base.
Volume 3 contains the artist’s signature. Volume 7 part of a palmette, while Volume 5 contains an unusual heavily-modelled palmette. Rather similar hasps appear on the opening pages of Volume 3. Nothing quite like them is found in contemporary Mamluk work, though related devices do occur in Il-Khānīd manuscripts. Khamsah and ‘astārah signs in the margins throughout the volume illuminated by Sandal are standardized. Both are written in gold kalīc over a spray of foliage: the former on a blue ground, the latter on red. Khamsah always has a cone-shaped point at the top in gold, ‘astārah has a blue circular border.

In the Chester Beatty Library is another Qur‘ān illuminated by Sandal (Cat. 3). It is a single volume in a fine naskh hand, thirteen lines to the page, with an illuminated frontispiece and opening and closing pages. In its original state it probably had an illuminated finispage, but the pages immediately following Sūrat al-Nūr are now missing. We do not know the name of the patron, the date, or the name of the scribe, but at the bottom of the opening pages of text we find in gold letters, “Illuminated by Abū Bakr, known as ‘Sandal.” Even without this, there could be little doubt that the manuscript is the work of Sandal. The style of illumination is identical to that of the Baybars Qur‘ān. The design of the opening double frontispiece is the same as that in Volume 7 of the latter manuscript, although the trellis lacks the heavy dividing lines. The geometric shapes that make up the interstices are self-contained, but fit into one another, rather like the pieces of a jigsaw puzzle. The same method is used in Sandal’s frontispiece to Volume 3 of the Baybars Qur‘ān. The fillers of the interstices consist of the same unusual “pelvic palmettes” found in that volume. The outer borders of alternating palmettes are similar, though not identical, to those in the Sandal volumes of the Baybars Qur‘ān. In the centre of the trellis we find the star-polygon bearing verse 42 from Fustat (XII). This verse is rarely used by other Qur‘ān illuminators, but appears to have been popular with Sandal and his associates.

Right
Fig. 24 (Cat. 1). Qur‘ān of Baybars al-Jalānqūr, volume 16, folio 8v. Sūrah LXVI, Fatirūn (Honoring Forbidden), ‘ayād 12; Sūrah LXXVII, Al-Mamlīk (Dominion), ‘ayāhs 1-2.

The text of the Qur‘ān is in naskh-asbīr, i.e. gold thuluth outlined in black, and is the only Mamluk example of its type, though this script was commonly used for the titles of sūras in Cairo Qur‘āns. Not only is the script unusual, but the six-line division of the text is unique. Qur‘āns in the Mamluk period were always written out in odd numbers of lines. Diacriticals, now black, were originally silver. The “eyes” of the looped letters were filled in with black, while the vowels were usually in translucent red gold. Other orthographic signs differ in colour from one volume to another. The ni`ah titles are in the same script as the text, in red-gold.

Overleaf
Figs. 25 (Cat. 1). Qur‘ān of Baybars al-Jalānqūr, frontispiece of volume 7, folios 19-20.

A splendid example of the work of Sandal, the master-painter of the project. The title in white thuluth gives the number of the sūrah (seventh part), indicating that it is the final volume. The trellis design is one favoured by Sandal and his associates and there are several examples in other manuscripts they produced. The design of all these motifs is much freer and less tightly controlled than in the later frontispieces of the period of Sultan Shams al-Dīn (1361-76), with which they have something in common. The elaborate outer border with its alternating palmettes on a finely hatched red ground, is typical of Sandal and extends around three sides of each central rectangle, unlike those of his fellow-artist Ibn Mulqīdīr, who decorated all four sides.
Fig. 26 (Cat. 1). Qur’ān of Baybars al-Jāḥnagīr, opening page of text to volume 4, folio 2v. Sūrah XIV, Ibrahim (Abraham), āyāt 27-8.
All opening pages of text to each volume are designed in the same way, but decorative details vary considerably. Muhammad ibn Muhādīr, the artist of this section, surrounds the text with gold-edged cloud-shapes, a practice also followed by Sādāl. However, the text is written over a ground of inverted Y-shapes, whereas Sādāl never uses geometric pattern as a background.

Fig. 27 (Cat. 1). Qur’ān of Baybars al-Jāḥnagīr, opening page of volume 5, folio 2v. Sūrah XXIII, Al-Mūminūn (The Believers), āyāt 53–5.
One of three volumes illuminated by Sādāl, the remaining four being the work of Muhammad ibn Muhādīr. As far as we know this is the earliest multi-part Mamlūk Qur’ān and the only copy in seven parts.

Fig. 28 (Cat. 4). One of the second pair of finials, folio 29v.
The eight-lobed roundel is set by the artists into a bed of inverted Y-shapes which are identical to those employed by him in the decoration of volume 4 of the Baybars Qur’ān (Cat. 1). The corners are cut across in a manner that we find in some Il-Khānīd illuminated pages.
Fig. 29 (Cat. 4). Opening page of illumination by Muhammad ibn Mub'idir, Cairo, c. 1306–70, folio 1r. The central panel is composed of repeating twelve-armed star-polygons whose limbs interlock to form squares, in the centre of which are the octagons so favoured by this painter. Above and below are panels bearing Sūrah XLV, Al-Jāhiyyah (Bowling the Knees), iyāk 3 and Sūrah XCIII, Bayanah (Clear Evidence), iyāk 1.

Fig. 30 (Cat. 4). Left-hand half of the first pair of finials, folio 297r. The design is identical to that used by Ibn Mub'idir for the sixth volume of the Baybars Qur'an (Fig. 21), though with a slightly different colour scheme. Although the manuscript is not signed by the illuminator, this composition is so idiosyncratic, with its combination of unrelated elements, that it can hardly be by anyone else. The kufic inscription is damaged and illegible.

Fig. 31 (Cat. 3). Folio 235v. An illuminated page bearing Sūrah CXIV, Al-Nār (Mankind), in the central panel.

There was obviously a companion page bearing the colophon and almost certainly a double finialpiece, but these have been removed. Script and decoration follow the opening pages of text in most respects. However, the horizontal strokes of several letters in the text are artificially lengthened, a technique used in other Ma'mūlik manuscripts for the shorter final sūrahs. Around the central panel are four curious composite-blossom motifs which also occur in the Baybars Qur'an.

Overleaf

Fig. 32 (Cat. 3). Double frontispiece, folios 2r–2v. The work of Sandal. The central star-polygons bear Sūrah XI, Paglilat, iyāk 42. The portion which is written here in white muhaqqaq is found in several manuscripts associated with Sandal and his pupils, though it was rarely used by other scribes. The trellis is identical to that used by Sandal in volume 7 of the Baybars Qur'an, Fig. 15, while the peculiar “pelvic” palmettes in the interstices are found in the frontispiece of the third volume of the Baybars Qur'an. Also typical of Sandal’s work in the Baybars Qur’an is the way the border palmettes culminate in a central point which extends into the vertical margins. On one occasion in the Baybars Qur’an, he conceals his signature there.
Fig. 33 (Cat. 3). Illuminated page of text, folio 3r, Surah II, al-Baqarah (The Cow), Ayahs 1-5. The text is copied out in good Mamlûk naskh, most frequently employed for Qur'ans produced in Cairo and Damascus during the first quarter of the 14th century. The colophon is missing, but this page and the one opposite bear an inscription to the effect that the illumination is by Abû Bâkî, known as Sandal, part of which can be seen, written in gold under the text of al-Baqarah. The details of the page can all be paralleled in the work by the same painter in the Baybars Qur’an (Cat. 1).

At the top and bottom are panels with inscriptions in white kufic giving the title of the sûrah, verse-count and place of revelation. Once kufic was no longer used to copy the sacred text, artists could design such inscriptions in virtually any way they pleased, as long as legibility was retained. Thus, the kufic of Sandal’s inscriptions differs from that of his contemporaries, and from later Mamlûk kufic.

Right
Fig. 34 (Cat. 6). Right frontispiece, Cairo, 1313. The work of Aydughî ibn ‘Abdallîh al-Badî, the former pupil of Sandal and ‘Alî ibn Muhammad al-Rashîd, probably his assistant. The influence of Sandal can be seen in many details, although the design of the central panel is not found in his extant works. It does, however, occur in contemporary Mamlûk and Baghdadî Qur’ans, Fig. 39. In the central star-polygon is the familiar portion of Surah XLI, Jülűs, Ayah 42, which we associate with Aydughî’s master.

Overleaf
Fig. 35 (Cat. 6). Colophon pages. This Qur’an is comparatively rich in documentary information. The central circular panels contain the certificate of commissioning, stating the Qur’an to have been made for the treasury/library (âlîzânuh) of al-Nâzir Muhammad, ruler of Egypt and Syria from 1304 until 1346, in 715/1313. In the panels above and below is the signature of the copyist, Shaddî ibn Muhammad (1282-1342), whose work we know in Aya Sophia 4823, now in the Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul, and the Academy of Sciences, Leningrad, 9469.
Fig. 36 (Cat. 6). Illuminated page of text. Sūrat al-Fatīha (The Dawn).

The text, copied by Shāhī ibn Muhammad, is in Manāli khīnūdī, gold text outlined in black and reminiscent stylistically of that of Muhammad ibn 'Abdullāh al-Khāṣṣāštī. Illumination is by Aydūqabī and his assistant, ‘Ali ibn Muhammad. The signature of the latter is found at the base of the two hasps on each page in minute inscriptions.

Fig. 37 (Cat. 6). Illuminated page of text. Sūrat al-‘Alaq, Al-‘Aqīqah.

Illuminated by ‘Aydûqabī ibn ‘Abdullāh al-Badrī, who records his work in two tiny inscriptions at the base of the central hasp-shapes in the vertical margins. ‘Aydûqabī mentions that he was taught by the master (mu’allim) Sandal, who appears to have been still alive at this time, 1313.

Fig. 38 (Cat. 6). Right-hand finispece.

This page and its companion opposite are of considerable importance for understanding the relationship between Il-Khālid and Manālik manuscript illumination. This is the earliest recorded example of a twelve-armed polygon pattern, where the polygon is surrounded by narrow panels ending in hexagons. It is extensively used in later Manālik Qur’āns from the time of Sultan Sha’bān (1369-70) and in the famous Il-Khālid Qur’ān brought to Cairo in the 1320s (Cat. 45), which is often stated to have had such an influence on subsequent Manālik Qur’ān illumination. This frontispiece shows that the design was in use long before the arrival of Cat. 45 in Cairo.
Two other Qur'ans which can be directly connected with him use it on their frontispieces. The verses are in a white suhilh-type script over scrolls decorated with coloured tear-drops.

Perhaps most interesting of all is the design of the trellis, which occurs first in Volume 3 of the Baybars Qur'an. We next find it in a Qur'an in the Keir Collection which we can associate with the circle of Şand'al, which is dated 1330 (Cat. 12), and then in several other Qur'ans down to the 1370s. The opening pages of text in the Qur'an are written over arabesque scrolls typical of Şand'al on a ground of fine red hatching. Here, as in the Baybars Qur'an, the hatching does not reach the edge of the panel but is separated by a white line. In Ibn Mubâdâr's pages the geometric decorations on the text pages go right up to the edge of the central area. Above and below are panels bearing inscriptions in the same squat kafîc that appears in the Şand'al volumes of the Baybars Qur'an. These give the titles and verse-counts of the opening sûratuh. The words are treated according to a system of proportion, the principles of which are not entirely clear. One of the words in the top right-hand panel could not be fitted in and is written in gold naskh below, while the final line seems to have been abbreviated. Exactly the same feature occurs in the later work of Aydughdhi. The final page of text bearing Sūrat al-Nâr is illuminated in a manner similar to the opening ones, except for the use of a band of gold strapwork instead of a plain band. Surrounding the text are four curious composite blossom motifs rather like those we have come across in volumes illuminated by Şand'al for Baybars. They are heavily modelled and have a definite organic appearance. Within the text of the Qur'an, khamash and 'uṣrânah signs are identical to those in the third, fifth, and seventh volumes of the Baybars Qur'an.

A second manuscript in which we can detect the hand of Şand'al is the Qur'an now divided between Dublin and Berlin (Cat. 5). Unfortunately, in its present state the only decoration left is that of the marginal ornaments. Those in Chester Beatty Library correspond exactly to those in the known work of Şand'al. This manuscript, we would suggest, is also the work of Ibn al-Wâhid and Şand'al, and was produced for an unknown patron between the completion of the Baybars Qur'an and the calligrapher's death in 1311.

**Aydughdhi ibn 'Abdallâh al-Badri**

We have more information about Aydughdhi than we do about the other artists in the team, for we can trace his work and associates from 1304 down to 1320. The first reference to his work is in 1304, but he may have worked earlier than this. He was active in Cairo and in Syria, and his work is characterized by a love of intricate patterns and a high degree of craftsmanship. His style is closely related to that of 'Abdallâh al-Udlâlî, and he was one of the most important artists of the period. His work is characterized by a high degree of craftsmanship and a love of intricate patterns.
on of both gold and ink on a manuscript; but the previous use of the words ḍḥḥbaha and ḫḥhba seems to suggest some different operation. In the case of Aydughdhi, Dr. Rieu seems to think that it may refer to the delicate outlining of the characters, but this would more probably be termed ḵṭẖbḥ. Perhaps Ḿmmk意义上 meant the laying on of the colours, as distinguished from ṭddḥḥ b or gilding. 34"

In medieval Islamic manuscripts the usual technique for decorating is ṭddḥḥ b or ḍḥḥbaha, which meant literally "gilding", which dates from the time when only gold was used. Other terms are occasionally employed. In a Qur’an in the Chester Beatty Library we find the word ḥḏḥn, from the root ḥdḥ meaning "to anoint, to oil". In a manuscript in the Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi (Cat.6) we find the expression ṣḏḥn (perhaps ḥḏḥn). Both of these are unusual, though they may have been common enough in the spoken language of medieval painters. In al-Safadi’s account of the work of Ṣandal on the Baybars Qur’an, the terms ḍḥḥbaha and Ḿmmk意义上 are used together, one after the other, perhaps describing different sequential tasks. The fullest investigation of the word Ḿmmk意义上 seems to be in Quarrémère’s Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks, where he quotes from a work on Ḵẖẖ b chancellery procedure explaining how letters were to be set out. “After the formula ‘in the name of Allah’ and a line from the ḫḥhba, one began with the ṭyḥhd, which was outlined in encrusted gold, ḍẖḥb Ḿmmk意义上, which contained, like all ṭyḥhd, the titles of our sultan.” 35 And in a footnote on Ḿmmk意义上 he comments: "The verb Ḿmmk意义上 means to impregnate, to encrust. One finds in the work, from which I here given an extract, ṭkḥḥ b Ḽ l-ḥḥb Ḽ l-ḥḥ b Ḽ l-qalam al-muḥḥqaq qa Ḿmmk意义上 b Ḽ l-saḥwād, ‘written in gold or with a fine-cut calamus impregnated in black...’ In Fāḥḥā b al-Khulafā’, Ḿmmk意义上 Ḽ l- ḍẖḥb, ‘it was encrusted with gold’. In Manhal al-Sāf, wa mā taqṭẖḏ tukḥẖ ṭẖẖ b la ṭẖẖ b tāḥḏīḥī miḥẖ b ‘I don’t think anyone could outline a similar hand, or imitate his encrustation’. “

It is difficult to see any interpretation of the verb Ḿmmk意义上 other than “to paint” in some manner. As far as we can tell, there are only two functions that Aydughdhi could have performed on all seven volumes without his contributions being immediately obvious. It could have been the outlining of the letters, as Rieu suggested, or it could have been the painting of the gold or the colours. The first seems unlikely, since even such a slothful calligrapher, as Ibn al-Walḥīb appears to have been, would hardly have entrusted so important a part of the work to someone else. The lines around the letters are there to delineate the characters, and the calligrapher would surely have wanted to do this himself. Secondly, in al-Safadi’s account both Ibn al-Walḥīb and Ṣandal are mentioned, but it is with the latter that the word tāḥḏīḥī is associated, as a function connected with the painter rather than the calligrapher. We therefore incline to think that Aydughdhi must have been responsible for painting-in either the gold or the polychrome areas, and that these were decorated where required by the other painters. This would explain why in some cases details on the gold borders seem to have been only partially filled in, or are left out altogether. This secondary role for Aydughdhi need not be contradicted by his imposing inscription in the seventh volume.
There are three other manuscripts extant which include contributions by Aydugdu, or are works for which he was entirely responsible. The first is the Qur’an in the Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi (Cat.6). This is copied in fine gold format with solid gold i̇lah titles that correspond to that of al-Khazrajî (Cat.4 & 5) but outlined in black. Gold i̇lah i̇lah titles are written over gold scrolls in blue panels with gold borders. There is a fine double-frontispiece and finisipiece, and the opening and closing pages of text are fully illuminated. Between the final pages of text and the finisipiece is a double opening which contains, facing each other, an elaborate colophon and certificate of commissioning. The latter shows that the Qur’an was made for al-Nâṣir Muhammed: “For the treasury, [of] the high, the lordly of the Sultan al-Malik al-Nâṣir. May God prolong its days and unfurl its banners in the East and West, exalt its power and make the kings of the Earth obey His limitless authority. Amen.” Opposite we read in a circular panel which mirrors in every detail the first: “The copying of this manuscript was completed on yuvm al-sha̲hī̲lī̲h Ramadān 713 [the last Tuesday of the month of December 1313].”

If the manuscript had been destined for a mosque, it could have been the Jami’ al-Jadîd, which was begun at the order of al-Nâṣir Muhammed in May 1311 and completed in June 1312. Alternatively, it could have been made for the mosque of Mashhad al-Naṣifī, which opened in May 1314, that is only a few months after the completion of the Qur’an. As there is no waqfyya we cannot say positively.

Of considerable interest to us here is the colophon giving the name of the scribe: “This noble copy of the Qur’an, may God enoble and exalt it, was completed at the hands of the poor slave, yearning for the pardon and forgiveness of his Lord, Shâdîh ibn Muhammed ibn Shâdîh ibn Da’ud ibn Isis ibn Abii Bakr ibn Ayyûb.” It is written in large letters in the rectangular panels below the circular inscriptions. The copyist was no ordinary scribe, but a man of noble lineage and blood, for when a scribe of noble descent copied a manuscript his genealogy was given in full. This shows that the scribe was a minor Ayyûbî Prince of the house of al-Adî, the great-grandson of al-Nâṣir Da’ud ruler of Karak (d.1258) and grandson of al-Zâhir Shâdîh (d.1282-83). Nothing seems to be known of his father Muhammed, and the only reference to Shâdîh is found in Ibn Hajar, who simply says that he was born in 1282-83 and died suddenly in 1341-42. Unfortunately, we do not know whether Shâdîh ibn Muhammed was living in Cairo or somewhere in Syria at the time the manuscript was completed, though the former seems more likely.

On the opening and closing pages of text, at the base of the hasps in the outer borders, there is a series of minute inscriptions recording the names of the two artists who illuminated the Qur’an. On the opening pages we read: “These opening and closing pages are the work of the poor slave, meekly for the mercy of God, praised be He, yearning for the forgiveness of his Lord, Aydugdu who ‘Abdallâh al-Badrî, taught by the master Shâdîl, God forgive them.” This is a particularly important inscription, since it describes the relationship between Aydugdu and Shâdîl. Although the word nashīʿ o nushīʿ is perhaps a little unusual, the only interpretation that we can put upon it, if Shâdîl is described as muʿallīm, “master”, is that Aydugdu was brought up or taught by him. If we look at other records of the relationship between master and pupil, for example in metalwork, and particularly that of the Mosul craftsmen, we find that it is always the pupil or apprentice who mentions the master, never the other way round.44

The Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi Qur’an (Cat.6) was produced some ten years after we first see Shâdîl and Aydugdu working together. The fact that Aydugdu refers to his old master means either that the relationship between them was still close, or that Shâdîl was famous, perhaps both. Another point worthy of note is that Shâdîl must still have been alive at this time, since Aydugdu employs the ritualistic formula ‘afîlāh ‘an-hamah, “God forgive them”, rather than râhimuhu Allâh, “God have mercy upon him”, which would certainly have been used had he not been alive. On the closing pages of text in exactly the same spot we find another inscription: “In the name of God the Compassionate the Merciful. This noble copy of the Qur’an was painted by the least slave of God, praised be He, ‘Abi ibn Muhammed al-Râsîm, known as al-Aʿsâr (the left-handed), God forgive them.” Quite probably the painter who wrote this was acting in a junior capacity to Aydugdu, since he states that he was responsible for tazmîk rather than tadhâhib, and describes himself as râsâm rather than muddâhabîh, while Aydugdu, in a manuscript executed in the previous year, does use that term. We would suggest that on this occasion Aydugdu was a full muddâhabîh working with an assistant, or apprentice, of his own. It is interesting that among these manuscripts we have already met several different terms for artists, which seem to indicate a hierarchy. The muʿallīm was the master, below him came the muddâhabîh, and then perhaps came the muẓamûnîk and the râsâm.

The illuminated frontispieces and finisipieces are superb examples of their kind. Each consists of a star-polygon repeated in the four corners. The design of the frontispiece consists of shapes which fit together to form the pattern, the interstices of which are filled with “pelvic palettes” and arabesque scrolls, decorated with tear-drops, all after the manner of Shâdîl. In the centre of the page, on a blue ground over free-flowing arabesques, is Fuṣûl, XLI, 41-4, as we see in the Chester Beatty Qur’an illuminated by Shâdîl (Cat.3). The design used by Aydugdu on this occasion is not one that we find in the work of Shâdîl. It does, however, occur in several other manuscripts. It appears in two Mamlûk Qur’ans: one dated 1314 (Cat.8), and another produced in the 1340s (Tiem 34.4), and in an extremely important İli-Khânîd Qur’an made in Baghdad during the first decade of the fourteenth century (Cat.39).

However, there are other links with Shâdîl’s work. The fillers in the interstices and the palette border are all painted over grounds of fine red or black hatchings. In the outer border of the Chester Beatty Qur’an (Cat.3) both Aydugdu and Shâdîl employ a large tri-lobed motif with crossed arms. The pallettes swell up in the centre of the outer margin to form a hasp, here and in all the compositions signed by these two artists. In the finisipiece the design of the trellis is bordered above and below by panels of luqâf inscription over arabesque scrolls. All the characteristics of the frontispiece are found here. Once again the design of the finisipiece trellis is of some importance. It is made up of a twelve-armed star-polygon in the centre which is repeated in the four corners. The five
polygons are separated by long narrow panels which end in hexagons. This is the earliest recorded use of this pattern in a fourteenth-century Qur’an. In later years it often appears. We find it used in Mamlûk Qur’ans produced in the 1350s and 1360s (Cat. 25 & 29), as well as in the famous Qur’an made for ʿAlaʾ ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz in Hamdān between 1313 and 1314 which was then brought to Cairo in the 1320s (Cat. 43). The design and detail of the opening pages of text in the 1313 Qur’an (Cat. 6) are virtually identical with those of the Chester Beatty Qur’an illuminated by ʿAbd al-Qadir ibn ʿAbd al-Qadir al-S̱ādāṭ (Cat. 3). Aydughdī, however, employs both here and elsewhere a ʿāṣif script in which the verticals lack the spike, something ʿSandāl never does. In ʿSandāl’s work the scrolls which underlie the text are rather more carefully worked out. But, by and large, Aydughdī follows in the tradition of his master. That this was a particular tradition and not a general Mamlûk convention can be seen by comparing this with other contemporary manuscripts, to be discussed later.

Another inscription appears on the final folio, consisting of two short certificates which declare that the Qur’an is without error, and records the pointing of the manuscript. A calligrapher would not have been expected to be an authority on grammar, and so a completed Qur’an would have to be examined to make sure that it was perfect. This must have been done to all Qur’ans, although we very seldom have any written evidence of it. Again, it is assumed that the calligrapher was responsible for pointing the āyāt, but we know from inscriptions in a number of Qur’ans that this was not always so.52

There are two sets of vowels in the manuscript: one in gold, probably written in by the calligrapher ʿAbd al-Qadir ibn Muhammad, and a second complementary group in blue. These are probably the work of the pointer. The two certificates read: *This Noble Qur’an has been examined from start to finish and found to be free of grammatical mistakes and errors, and deemed unblemished by flaws and imperfections. Signed: Muhammad al-Sarrāj al-Muqīt.* This Noble Qur’an has been vocalized by the slave neccy of God, praised be He, Khālid ibn Muhammad al-Balānī.*

The two remaining works illuminated by Aydughdī are copies of the collection of *Insha*‘, the correspondence of al-Nāṣir Dāʾūd, the Ayyūbīd ruler who succeeded his father as Prince of Damascus in 1226, but was ejected by a coalition of his uncles in 1229.48 In compensation for losing Damascus al-Nāṣir Dāʾūd was installed in Karak, where he remained until 1249. He was considered a master of the chancery epistolary style, and in 1271-72 his son al-Amīn al-Hasan collected some of his correspondence, and put it together with an historical commentary. It is this work *al-Fawā'id al-Jalīlyah*, that was copied and illuminated by Aydughdī in 1312.49 The manuscript, which is in the British Library, consists of 93 folios of fine black *naskh* with gold headings, though is not complete. Fortunately the colophon page survives, and this tells us: *The copying and illumination of this manuscript were completed at the hands of the poor slave, neccy for the mercy of God, praised be He, Aydughdī ibn Abūdallāh al-Muḍbahhī, at the end of Shabīn 712 [December 1312]." This is the first recorded occasion on which the artist calls himself muḍbahhī, so he probably attained this status some time between 1306 and 1312. It is also important that the work being copied and illuminated is *al-Fawā'id al-Jalīlyah*, containing the writings of the great-grandfather of Shāhdī ibn Muḥammad, the calligrapher of Cat.6. This can be no coincidence. Aydughdī must have been working for, or with, Shāhdī.

The other manuscript in Istanbul is a complete version of *al-Fawā'id al-Jalīlyah*, containing 143 folios.50 It is signed by Shāhdī ibn Muḥammad ibn Shāhdī, copyist of the 1313 Qur’an, and is dated 1320. According to a fine inscription on the final illuminated pages, it was copied for the library of “Sultan Imād”. In 1320, the most likely person this could be is the famous historian and lesser Ayyūbīd ruler of Hamā, al-Ṣāḥib al-Muʾayyid ‘Imād al-Dīn Abūl-Fīḍaʾ Ismāʿīl (1310-31), usually known simply as Abūl-Fīḍaʾ.51 As an historian, *al-Fawā'id al-Jalīlyah* is exactly the kind of work Abūl-Fīḍaʾ would have wanted.

Although this copy is not, as far as we know, signed by Aydughdī, the illuminated pages are unmistakably his.52 They are laid out in exactly the same manner as those in the earlier copy, and the arabesque scrolls which underlie the text are identical to those employed in his known work. Both stylistic and strong circumstantial evidence indicate that this is the work of Aydughdī, continuing his association with Shāhdī ibn Muḥammad at the court of his kinsman Abūl-Fīḍaʾ in Hamā.53

The style of Aydughdī is essentially that of his master ʿSandāl. We can see exactly the same decorative repertoire in use, with compositions of a similar design: almost identical, though rather simplified, fillers in the central trellises; extensive use of finely-hatched grounds; palmette borders of the same type, gold with tear-drop motifs coming to an extension in the central margin, and ʿāṣif of a very similar type on arabesque scrolls. The arabesque scrolls, though not quite so animated as those of ʿSandāl, are of the same knobbled bulbous type. There is also the use of the same Qur’ānic āyāt for decorative purposes, almost as if they were being used as a ‘trade-mark’ of the group. There are a number of minor details, including some trellis designs that do not appear in the work of ʿSandāl, and these would probably tell us more if we had further examples of ʿSandāl’s work.

What other examples are there of this style? At least two other Qur’ans can be said to follow in this tradition. The first was sold some years ago by Christies (Cat. 7) and its present whereabouts are unknown. The reproduction in the sale catalogue shows several of the features we have connected with Aydughdī and ʿSandāl. The second is in the Keir Collection (Cat. 12), a single-volume Qur’an copied in 1329-30 by Muḥammad ibn Bilbik al-Muhsīnī al-Nāṣiri, for the library of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. Although the illuminated pages differ slightly from those of the earlier ʿSandāl/Aydughdī Qur’ans, the absence of marginal hāsps and medallions may be attributed to a change in taste: we see the same features in other contemporary manuscripts. The similarities between this manuscript and the earlier ones (Cat. 3 & 6) are striking. The trellis design of the central panel of the opening pages is the same as that used by ʿSandāl on two occasions. In the central star-polygon we find *Fajrīt*, XLI, 41-2, which occurs only in the work of ʿSandāl and Aydughdī. The fillers in the geometric interstices derive from those of the early period, though they are of inferior quality. The border of alternating palmettes corresponds almost exactly to that used by Aydughdī around the fini-piece of the 1313 Qur’an (Cat. 6). The design of the border has been trimmed by the artists on two sides, as if he had made an error.
or could not adapt it to fit. The layout and decoration of the opening pages of text are very close to those of the earlier manuscripts (Cat.3 & 6); even the wording of the kufic inscription is the same: muṣallat madinatyyah. The arabesque scrolls under the text are of the type directly associated with Sandal and Aydughdi. This manuscript is probably not a late work of either, but may be by some other artist who worked with them, or was copying their style. Whichever it may have been, this is the last manuscript that we can associate directly with the style of Sandal.

There are several other Qur’ans that can be tentatively associated with him, however. One in Cairo (Cat.14), though not of the same quality as the earlier Qur’ans illuminated by Sandal and Aydughdi, has all the essential features of the group. The central trellis design is the same as that used by Sandal in Volume 5 of the Baybars Qur’an; the star-polygon bears Fāṣilat, XLI, 41–2; and similar scrolls are used in the interstices of the trellis. In the body of the text the script is a bold thulth with khamal and ‘ahsah signs identical to those in the work of Sandal. Sūrah headings are in large gold thulth-adl‘ar as in the Baybars Qur’an and Cat.2. Other manuscripts which may have some connection with these are Cat.11, dated 1328–29, with a waqffiyah bequeathing it to the mosque in the citadel, and a Qur’an sold by Christie in 1970, whose present whereabouts are unknown (Cat.19).

33. 32

Other Traditions in this Period

The tradition of Sandal is not the only one we can study. In the Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi there is a complete single-volume Qur’an with fifteen lines to the page, copied in good black naskh (Cat.8). The colophon is in a gold square at the end of Sūrat al-Nāfi‘ and reads: ‘The copying of this Noble Qur’an was completed, may God send back its blessing on the one who commissioned it, on 13 Raḥ’ī 1314 [29 June 1314] in the script of ‘Ali ibn Abi Sālim. At the end of the manuscript is another inscription which gives the name of the illuminator and binder of the Qur’an: ‘Illuminated and bound by the poor slave needy for the help of God, praised be He, ‘Abdallāh al-Safawi al-Halabi.’

Throughout the text each sūrah is introduced by a title in gold thulth. The opening sūrahs are introduced in exactly the same way, being entirely undifferentiated from the rest of the manuscript. This method was used in Iran and the Maghreb, but is rare in Mamluk Qur’ans. Were it not for the certificate of commissioning we might not ascribe this manuscript to Egypt. This appears on the final pages and reads: ‘God is the Eftector of righteousness. This Noble Qur’an was written for the library [khuṭbānah] of the noble lord,
In the surviving areas of illumination this manuscript has some interesting parallels with the 1314 Qur'an (Cat.8). Neither employs palmettes borders, while the beginning of the text in each half has lines of arabesque scrolls between the ۶۸۷۱ over a red hatched ground. This may be a characteristic of Syrian manuscripts at this time, since there is nothing like it in either contemporary Il-Khanid or Egyptian Mamluk Qur'ans. We feel this is the work of a Syrian artist employed in Cairo, perhaps in the same studio as Shâdîh and Aydughdhi, and that it was commissioned by the Sultan for the same location as the 1313 Qur'an (Cat.6).

Another Qur'an worthy of comment is in the Chester Beatty Library (Cat.9), dated August 1320. This has many of the characteristics of the Şandal group but is rather larger, 48 x 36 cm, as opposed to 33 x 25 cm, in the case of the Chester Beatty Qur'an illuminated by Şandal (Cat.3). The script in Cat.9 looks much more like mudhâqqâq than anything else we have seen in the first two decades of the fourteenth century. Its place of origin and relation to earlier manuscripts are unknown; it tells us nothing but its date.

It is quite apparent that the Baybars Qur'an differed significantly from all other Mamluk Qur'ans produced between 1300 and 1320 in size, script and format. To find parallels for the Baybars Qur'an we have to turn to the imperial manuscripts produced in Il-Khanid Iraq and Iran in the same period.

the Sultan, the high, the just, al-Malik al-Nâşir Muhammad, Sultan of Islam and the Muslims, partner of the Commander of the Faithful, may God make his reign eternal and make the Qur'an, his iman, his heaven and his intercessor. May the angels, ever in His presence, be his helpers and supporters and may eternal paradise be his refuge and abode. Amen, O Lord of the worlds. This is written in fine gold thuluth on a ground of red hatchings. Between the lines are gold arabesques with large fully-formed leaves. Similar white ones and a multiple black triple-dot motif are scattered between script and scrolls. There is an outer border of white strapwork and in the centre of each margin a single medallion with a palette.

This Qur'an appears to have little in common with the manuscripts previously described. As the illuminator’s nishâh is al-Ḥalabi, “of Aleppo”, it may indicate a Syrian origin, or the work of a Syrian living in Cairo. Qur'ans from Syria in this period are extremely rare, but the Chester Beatty Library is fortunate in possessing one from that area which has a colophon giving it an exact location. The manuscript is in two separate parts bound as one (Cat.10). The beginning and end are missing, but at the end of the first half we read: “Written by Ibrâhim ibn ‘Alî ibn Sânî al-Mulk, thanking God, praised be