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The magazine Hadeth al-Dar of Dar al-ATHAR al-Islamiyyah (DAI) is intended to share the wealth and beauty of Islamic culture contained within the extensive and comprehensive al-Sabah collection of Islamic art and the variety of scholarly and artistic activities associated with the collection.

The collection itself, ranging from early Islam to the 18th century, is organized according to both historical period and geographical region, and the reference library and the publications of the Dar are closely related to the collection.

The Dar has sponsored archaeological excavations in Bahna, Upper Egypt that date to the Fatimid period and, before the invasion, the art school associated with the Dar promoted skills in the various artistic genres that are represented in the collection. At present, our annual lecture series has been revived and is a focal point for historians and other specialists, featuring talks by prominent international scholars on various topics of Islamic art, archaeology and architecture.
Medieval Islamic Jades

Pre-Timūrid Islamic Jades

Manuel Keene

Up to the time of the first presentation of this lecture, the conventional and prevailing notion among specialists in the field of Islamic art history was that:

1) jade carving has a very special status within the art of hardstone carving, the (usually unspoken) notion being that there are technical (and indeed it seems, something in the way of mysterious) barriers between the carving of, say, rock crystal or the cryptocrystalline quartzes (such as agate) and that of jade;

2) jade carving was not practiced in the earlier medieval Islamic world, nor indeed in ancient times in the part of the world which became predominantly Islamic;

3) the art of jade carving is represented in the Islamic world only by a small number of objects attributable to the Timūrid period (15th century); perhaps a few of the Safavid period (16th-17th centuries); a considerable number of the Ottoman period (16th-19th centuries); and a quite sizeable number of the Mughal period (17th-19th centuries).
The material presented extensively in lectures by the present author first, before the Islamic Art Circle, London, on 22nd April, 1998, and subsequently in the Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah lecture series on 30th November, 1998, and on a more limited scope here, flies full in the face of the above-outlined notions, and shows that jade usage, in the sense in which we usually understand it, has a solidly documented history in the Near East and Central Asia which stretches back for at least 3,500 years—and very probably a history going back more than half as far. I have further shown that this Near Eastern and Central Asian usage can be seen, if somewhat spottily, to continue up through the Sasanian and into the Islamic era; from early Islamic times, the number of identified extant objects increases very greatly.

Actually, while on the staff of the Islamic department of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, in the mid-1970s, I had discovered a jade belt fitting among the uncatalogued small finds from the Metropolitan’s excavations at Nishapur in eastern Iran (excavations carried out in the 1930s). This seems to have been the first reported recognition of an Islamic, pre-15th century jade piece, and I told various colleagues about the discovery. I published it in 1982, showing it (as well as an identical companion piece I had observed in the Tehran Bazaar in 1978) to be early Islamic, from about the tenth century, and pointed out that they antedated by five hundred years the earliest previously known groups of Islamic jades (Islamic Jewelry in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, catalogue published by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1982, cat. no. 12).

During approximately the past decade, the al-Sabah Collection has built up a very large corpus of jades of the medieval Islamic period, practically all from the eastern Iranian world. This constitutes, to my knowledge, the only such collection in the world. There are as well in the Collection jades from the same regions which appear to be of Neolithic date, and others ranging forward from such early times and spanning right up through the seventeenth century, with the overwhelming preponderance of the material belonging to the periods pre-dating the 15th century. I have put forward certain hypotheses about the main centres of jade-working in the medieval Islamic world, foremost among which I would suggest to have been Balkh. This has in part been done on the basis of abundant indications that the east Iranian world was in early medieval times home to a prolific and sophisticated lapidary industry (very persuasive in the form of the material excavated at Nishapur—see especially my “The Lapidary Arts in Islam: An Underappreciated Tradition”, in Expedition, vol. 24, no. 1, Fall, 1981). Of course general art-historical and stylistic considerations played a major role in my conclusions; and additionally, there are strong and extensive indications connected with provenance and consistent patterns of putative origin for material in the art market.

An often curiously and even sometimes astonishingly striking aspect of these jades consists of the ways in which they parallel those of the Chinese world, and many problems remain with respect to working out the various relationships, mechanisms and directions of transmission involved.

We in the field of Islamic art history are often accustomed to think of Chinese influence as a phenomenon episodic, somehow rare and largely confined to the medium of ceramics up to the later 13th to earlier 14th centuries, in the bloom of the Mongol-Islamic school of art. When we consider the evidence of the jade industry, however (and this will probably turn out to be paralleled when, for example, a better picture is developed of the textile industry), the story emerges that in some parts of the east Iranian world at least, Chinese influence is something which has made itself felt on a repeated basis since before the time of Christ. But just as this rich, enormously productive and highly creative area of the Islamic world (i.e., the east Iranian region) had its own indigenous traditions of ceramic making, it appears clear that it also had a pre-his-
toric and most likely unbroken tradition of the working of jade, a hardy native rootstock onto which, for example, some of China's developed varieties could be grafted, to flourish for greater or lesser periods of time, and with greater or lesser degrees of artistic success. And of course, as we know in the case of other media, not all the influence traveled in the far East-to-West Asian direction.

The first piece illustrated here (fig. 1) represents a class of object which turns up in sizable numbers in the east Iranian world, although the published and well-placed material is from China. In the period concerned, a fashion in sword furniture prevailed Asia-wide, and elements of the style were present in the Roman Empire beyond the confines of Asia. The features of this configuration include: the hanging of a straight sword from the belt in vertical orientation, by means of a slotted `slide', usually of hardstone, which was mortised into the upper part of the scabbard; and pommel and quillons of specific types, also in stone, classically jade. These quillons (or guards, between the grip and the blade) characteristically have a slot through which the sword's tang extends upward as an extension of the blade, and a central notch at the top, into which the grip nests.

The T-configuration belt fitting (fig. 2) is of the same general type as that from the Nishapur excavations (see above), although it is of a more elaborate and overtly 'artistic' outline. The form is one which allows the suspension from the belt of straps, which typically have further fittings attached to them, and may carry a warrior's `necessaries', such as small pouches, etc. This and numerous other types of jade fittings of the period, as well as related examples from China, have pairs of small holes drilled diagonally into the back, which meet to give an internal passage for wires and/or threads, to secure the fitting to the belt or strap.

In the two square fittings slotted for straps crossing at 90° (figs. 3 & 4), one has unequivocal integral visual evidence of their medieval Islamic origin: the kufic inscription on the metal example ties them both down, and the identity of form ties them together as closely as could ever be hoped for. The pieces are not unique; several other copper-alloy pieces of the type are in the Collection, as well as numerous jade pieces sharing features with the white one seen here.

The keyhole-shaped fitting (fig. 5) is, on the other hand, unique in my experience up to this point. But its analogies with the architecture of Sestán (in present-day Iran and Afghanistan are so numerous and so striking that one is left with a strong sense of certainty of the attribution. Not only is the keyhole-shaped outline paralleled in a great many windows and niches in the architecture in question, but one will see immediately that the interior forms include as well a rendition of the colomette, which is a very persistent feature of such openings in the architectural façades concerned.

While the pair of fittings in figs. 3 and 4 could be earlier than the attribution here given, there can be little room for contention that the pierced pale green ("off-white") jade crescent fitting (fig. 6) belongs to other than the "Khanid" period, when the descendants of Chinggis Khan ruled the eastern Islamic world. Not only do the vegetal forms derive from earlier Chinese ornament, but the composition seen here is particularly close to those of the well-documented art of the Golden Horde Mongols, who ruled in southern Russia in the period.

The two hololithic jade finger rings (figs. 7 & 8), like the fittings in figs. 3 and 4, announce their medieval Islamic context in every particular. Their forms, through analogy with an extensive corpus of metal examples, are alone enough to show their proper art-historical placement. This, coupled with the incuse decoration on their bezel tops (for the production seal impressions), distinguish them as important documents in the story of medieval Islamic jades.

The form of the ring, as well as the style and character of the lion's representation on the first of these is typical of the east Iranian world in the period to which it is here attributed. The same is true of the style of the early cursive (naskho) script on the second ring: also characteristic of the period are the holes drilled through the bezel and shoulders of this ring, which were for the attachment of gold decorative plaques.

The discovery of the domical piece (fig. 9) with engraved image of a lion was exciting, if puzzling. Not only is the overall form typically Chinese, but much of the decoration consists of the characteristically Chinese fungi. However, the most striking image (for which a contoured solid surface was left, in distinction from the generally
of the types which were imitated in medieval European chess pieces, a symptom of the westward movement from India, through Iran and the Islamic world, to Europe.

The prejudices through which jade objects have up until now been viewed were largely responsible for the repeated mis-attribution of the jade cup (figs. 11 & 12), when it appeared at auction in London. Not only has there been the prevailing assumption that jade was not carved before the 15th century (as I have summarized in the early part of this article), but the obvious fact that this piece had been inlaid redoubled the opinion of experts and learned persons that it should belong to the 16th century. And certain elements of the character of the arabesque on the piece have descendants in the ornament of Ottoman Turkey, which sealed the case for most. However, as I showed in the lectures listed herein, the arabesques which are really close to this are to be encountered in the material produced in the 12th and early 13th century in the eastern Iranian world. Only a tiny bit of the gold inlay survives, but it conclusively shows that all these deep grooves were formerly inlaid with gold, which was intentionally removed in ancient times. Thus, the piece is not only the earliest established Islamic jade vessel, but the earliest known example of inlaid jade, an art which was taken to unique heights in the 16th to 17th centuries, particularly in India.
Epilogue

As a matter of keeping the record straight, I have confined the above to material presented in the lectures referred to, despite the fact that in the intervening three years many important, exciting and instructive pieces have been acquired by the Collection which could further amplify the picture. We intend to publish in the near future an entire and richly illustrated volume on this and related material, which has already been in process for some time.

Photomicrographic detail (35x) of the cup LNS 240 HS, seen overall in fig. 11, showing a tiny remaining bit of the gold inlay which once filled the lines of the decoration.
Colonial Architecture in the Islamic World

Attilio Petruccioli

Former colonies often ponder on their post-colonial identity, a painful investigation that exposes raw emotions and evokes the perennial problems between Islam and the West. In facing the economically and militarily superior culture of the West, Muslim intellectuals have had to choose between integration into a largely western construction or passive resistance that may result in social and economic marginalization. Those who have opted for integration were perhaps the first to shed their national costumes and adopt western styles of dress.

And only a little later, some of these people abandoned their traditional houses and adopted western-style residences, beginning an irreversible conversion to western architecture and urbanism. In countries like Algeria or India, which have faced a long colonial occupation, these polarities are more complex, characterized as they are by osmosis between the two entities and by an interesting process of reverse appropriation, such that the local inhabitants lay claim to the hybrid colonial architecture that was created in their midst.
In this paper I would like to propose a structural reading of this process of osmosis, interaction and appropriation. Two examples of residential types will suffice to illustrate this problem: the typical Muslim Indian courtyard house and the colonial bungalow in India. Viewed abstractly, the former is a solid surrounding a void; the latter is a void surrounded by a solid. One could immediately say that the former is traditional and the latter is colonial, were it not for the fact that the bungalow actually refers to the Mughal baradari, whose perimeter is enclosed by a verandah intended to keep out the sun and increase air circulation. A somewhat less obvious level of interaction can be seen in the 19th century residential architecture of Algiers, which seem to be entirely based on contemporary Parisian models, such as those provided by Rondellet and Daly. But a deeper reading reveals a structural modularity, based on a span of less than three meters, which must be a legacy of the local construction tradition.

Colonial residential architecture in Islamic countries presents us with two interesting phenomena that pertain to the practices of European architects working in those regions. First, many of these architects were impelled by the colors, lights, and volumes of Oriental landscapes to move beyond the confines of their Continental academic constraints. Some, including the Italian architects Di Fausto, Raya, Peligrini, and Mario Rossi, did their best work in Libya and Egypt, freely adopting local vernacular and historical architectural forms. Although the names of these architects do not appear in the Eurocentric books on modern architecture, there is little question that their creative designs owed a great deal to local tradition.

Second, some European architects working in the southern and eastern Mediterranean rejected the mainstream of European modernism, led by Le Corbusier, and developed an alternative route for their design methodology. Generally, shunning the northern tensile-wood model in favor of the plastic-masonry models of the Mediterranean world, they have been for that reason opposed by the Dutch, German, and northern French members of the Modern Movement. Ironically, these Greek, Italian, Spanish, and southern French architects were able to retrieve their Mediterranean roots away from their homeland in Africa and the Levant. The French Jacques Marnay, for example, relied on his thorough knowledge of the traditional architecture of Morocco and Tunisia for his creation of a new architectural language, whose masterpiece is the College of Carthage near Tunis.

But the unparalleled stars in this arena were the two French architects Fernand Pouillon and Albert Laprade. Both were active in North Africa — Pouillon in Algeria before and even after independence and Laprade in Morocco, mainly in the 1920s. Pouillon left three residential quarters in Algiers for a total of more than 15,000 French and Arab inhabitants. These buildings are not only among the best examples of low cost housing, but they also show a rare ability to play with different natural morphologies, creating urban spaces that reproduce the same impressions of density, hierarchy, variation of scale, and alternation of light and shade that characterize the medina. Furthermore, his use of huge blocks (1x1x1 m) of bearing stone lends to his architecture its plastic Mediterranean materiality and sustainability. In his masterpiece, Climat de France, Pouillon brilliantly combined continuous semi-introverted spaces with a gigantic colonnaded square, which grants poor people their right to their own monuments.

Laprade worked for the French Protectorate of Morocco, whose political ideology aimed toward integration. He took integration to mean a combination of the modern requirements dictated by climate and sanitation and design elements that directly express Moroccan traditional architecture. His "Quartier des Bien Aous" in Casablanca has a geometric plan with fairly wide streets but with houses centered around courtyards, creating exterior spaces with similar hierarchies and skies.

The tradition of the modern European house does exist in Islamic countries, and it should be preserved and even adapted to the requirements of present societies. Putting aside the polarized opinions on preservation versus innovation, it should be noted that the residence, unlike the monument, cannot live on memory alone but must incorporate the process of change that produced it in the first place. In other words, traditional architecture should be respected and reused, not as individual houses with numerous architectural details, but as a type existing within a continuum of structural change. Type has been defined as "the organic sum of all the characters of the buildings with a limited territory and in a given time," which suggests that it is a structure that can more easily be retrieved and recontextualized than moved to an alien location. It can withstand
temporal but not geographic dislocation.

Applying a typological approach to the residential architecture will reduce the artificial opposition between European and Islamic residential types. In fact, one could argue typologically that the densification of an individual house type leads to the apartment house type. Although the creation of the apartment building is generally attributed to Baroque Italy, it was, I believe, equally the end result of the densification of the patio house, a process that first occurred during the Roman Empire and one that is now taking place in the Islamic medina.

In conclusion, I would like to restate my original hypothesis that the European house built in Islamic countries is now part of the cultural patrimony of those countries. It should, therefore, be the object of careful preservation and reuse, a process that must rest on an analytical reading of the typological process. This is the only guarantee of a serious architectural project, resembling a man with head in the clouds of the future and feet firmly rooted in the cultural tradition of the past.
Some 670 years ago, and more precisely in the early winter of 1331 (731 A.H.), a small party of men and women, are riding through a violent snow storm in the hills of northwestern Turkey-Anatolia. The leader of the group is Abu Abdullah Ibn Battuta, a Muslim legal scholar of Moroccan origin, who is on his way to the coast of the Black Sea. The travelers have been deserted by their guide, and left in the heavy snow, Ibn Battuta goes ahead to a Sufi khanqa, or lodge to try and find help, worried of not being understood since he doesn’t speak Turkish. There, a member of the community came forward and, speaking Arabic, Ibn Battuta’s native language. This man turns out to be an acquaintance of Ibn Battuta, and helps him rescue the other travelers.

His meeting with an acquaintance some several thousands miles away from home, is one of the fascinating aspects of Ibn Battuta’s travel over 29 years through more than 30 countries, where he keeps running into old acquaintances and friends. Once in Southern China, he met a man named al-Bushri, who it turns out had known him previously in India. This man was a scholar and a merchant, and he had come where Ibn Battuta grew up. As Ibn Battuta tells us in Rihla: …when we conversed after our formal greetings it occurred to me that I knew him. I looked at him for a long time. He said: “I see you looking at me as though you knew me.” I said: “Which country are you from?” He said: “From Ceuta.” I said: “I am from Tangier.” He greeted me again and wept and I wept too. I said: “Have you been to India?” He said: “Yes, I have been to the capital Delhi.” When he said that to me I remembered him and said: “Are you al-Bushri?” He said: “Yes.”

Nowadays, with all the new technological advances in travel, hopping into an acquaintance in an airport is not as surprising as it was six and half centuries ago, the world’s population was much less and cities were widely spread. What more, the speed of travel was limited to the speed of horses or sailing ships, a matter which would lead us to strongly assume that people at that time were less likely to venture outside their homes, even less outside their own countries.

However, the fourteenth century world was a much more mobile one than we usually imagine. Caravan routes and sea lanes were busy with travelers moving back and forth across the Eastern Hemisphere. Muslims, in particular, were the most prominent travelers. They were to be seen from Spain and Mali to Central Asia and Southern China. To use the American expression, Muslims were “all over the place”. Because of the dominating Muslim civilization in the central part of the Eastern Hemisphere, Muslim merchants carried the greater part of the Hemisphere’s international trade. Others traveled as diplomats, imperial messengers, wandering Sufis, pilgrims, or cultured scholars in search of books and famous teachers.

Ibn Battuta’s Rihla shows more dramatically than any other document the territorial range and cosmopolitanism
of Islam as a religious and cultural system, especially in the period 1000-1500 AD (AH 390-905). Ibn Battuta traveled over 73,000 miles, almost always between one Muslim community and another. In these cities and towns, he shared language, religious faith, social values, and cultural understandings with fellow Muslims, whatever their origin or color. He saw himself as a citizen, not of a particular country (a modern idea), but of Dar al-Islam, a network of interconnected cities and towns spanning the Hemisphere.

Ibn Battuta's full name was Abu Abdallah Muhammad Ibn `Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ibrahim al-Lawai al-Tanjii. The name al-Lawai signifies that his family was of Berber origin. But we have no evidence that Ibn Battuta spoke a Berber language. Rather in his speech, dress and culture he was a sophisticated, city-dwelling Arab. He came from a family of jurists, and clearly received a sound, basic education in the religious sciences and the Maliki system of legal interpretation, the dominant law "school" in North Africa.

He left home aged 21 to make the Holy Pilgrimage to Mecca, a long journey but nothing unusual for a young legal scholar. But why did he travel so much and for so long? I think we can find five distinct but interrelated motives for his travels.

First, he traveled to make the Hajj, which he did at least five times. Mecca became the hub of his travels. Much of the time he was traveling either towards Mecca or away from it. Second, he traveled as an 'alim, a man of knowledge. As an educated gentleman he traveled to pursue studies in the religious and legal sciences. He studied briefly with teachers in Damascus, and almost certainly in Mecca. We must not, however, think of him as a brilliant and educated scholar. He never stayed in one place long enough to undertake extensive study, but did visit many colleges in many different cities to meet and converse with local scholars. Third, he traveled as a devotee of Sufism, the mystical dimension of Islam. In the fourteenth century Sufi ideas and practices were becoming well-established in the Maghrib. Ibn Battuta journeyed to several places specifically to visit a Sufi master, for the baraka he might bestow on pious Muslims. Fourth, he traveled to gain employment and rewards in the service of Muslim rulers. Finally, he visited some places just because they were there to be seen. He seems to have wanted to make as complete a tour of the Muslim world as he could.

Kuwait did not exist as a city in Ibn Battuta's time. However, he visited Basra and Al-Bahrain in 1327, and al-Qatif a few years later on his way from the Gulf to Mecca. On his way home from China in 1347, he passed through Hormuz and Shiraz heading for Damascus. So he crossed the Gulf region at least three times.

The extent and complexity of his travels raises the question of what kind of world this was that enabled him to range so far and wide in relative safety, sometimes with little money in his purse! The second quarter of the century was the twilight of the Age of the Mongols. This was the extraordinary period of about a century and a half when Mongol kings - the great conqueror Chingis Khan, then his sons and grandsons - ruled a huge part of Eurasia. At least in the earlier part of Ibn Battuta's travels, there were four Mongol khanates, each a sprawling empire in its own right. The rulers of these khanates of China, Chagatai (Inner Asia), Kipchak (the Golden Horde), and Persia/Iraq (the Ilkhanate) protected long-distance trade routes and encouraged merchants of all faiths and nations to use them.

Strong, extensive, commercially-minded states were the rule in the early fourteenth century across much of the Eastern Hemisphere. These included, in addition to the Mongol states, the Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt and Syria, the Delhi Sultanate of northern India, and the Mali empire in West Africa. All these promoted international trade on the caravan routes and sea lanes they controlled. In regions where no large kingdoms dominated, merchants moved freely from port to port and town to town with little hindrance except from bandits, pirates, bad weather, and disease. So the first half of the fourteenth century was a favorable time for an adventurous Muslim like Ibn Battuta to do a grand tour of Eurasia and Africa. The second half was not nearly so favorable. It started with the Black Death and was a time of trouble and turmoil all across the Hemisphere. If Ibn Battuta had been born a half-century later, he might not have traveled at all. Another quality to the world in which he lived helps explain the pattern and motives of his travels. An American scholar, John Obert Voll, has described Dar al-Islam as a world-system of cultural and social communication (Islam as a Special World-System, Journal of World
History, 4 (Fall 1993): 213-226.) It was a dynamic, coherent system of cultural interchange with profound meaning for Eurasia and Africa in the pre-modern centuries. Voll sees this world-system as "a shared discourse", a complex set of cultural symbols, rules, and patterns of expectation. Through them, Muslims exchanged ideas, did business, and co-operated in a wide variety of practical endeavors.

Muslim civilization was also a social network, involving intense interactions, often across huge distances, among peoples of diverse ethnic identity. The Islamic world-system existed because Muslims - merchants, diplomats, soldiers, or scholars like ibn Battuta - were constantly circulating in it, setting up new lines of cultural communication and tightening already existing ones. The remarkable growth of Islam in these centuries was not only a phenomenon of religious conversion. It was also a social movement that involved the travel and migration of individuals whose literacy, skill, or holiness was needed out on the frontiers where Islamization of society was taking place.

It is often said that the people mainly responsible for spreading Islam beyond the central lands were military conquerors and merchants. But whenever a group of Muslims settled in an alien place, they aimed to conform their lives as best they could under the circumstances to the Shari'a, the Sacred Law. The new community needed to build Muslim institutions of law, worship, and education. And this required literate religious and intellectual cadres. These educated specialists laid the foundations of Islamic civilization in new areas. Moreover, in places where Muslims achieved political power there was even greater demand for educated personnel to supervise mosques, schools, courts, ministries, and for skilled builders and artisans to create public monuments.

These skilled and educated people mostly had to be recruited from larger cities of the central lands - Cairo, Damascus, Tunis, Fes, or the cities of Khorasan and Transoxiana. The rulers of new Muslim states in places like Anatolia, India, or West Africa knew the great political value of attracting jurists, professors, poets, calligraphers, and descendants of the Prophet (Peace be upon him), from the great cities of the center. These educated immigrants served to legitimize the status of rulers on the frontier as proper Muslim princes. Ibn Battuta's Riha includes several chapters on the nearly eight years he spent in India. The ruler at the time was Muhammad ibn Tughluq, the Turkish-speaking Sultan of Delhi - a pious Muslim, very learned, but quite erratic and unpredictable in his behavior. According to Ibn Battuta, Ibn Tughluq did not trust Muslims of Indian descent, and so strove to attract to his royal court Arabic- or Farsi-speaking lawyers and administrators from abroad.

Ibn Battuta arrived in India via Transoxiana and Afghanistan probably in 1334 (AH 734). He was soon introduced at court and got a position as a qadi, or judge, of Delhi. We conclude that the job was something of a sinecure. Ibn Battuta was a Maliki scholar in a country where the Hanafi school was practised. Also, he was not fluent in Farsi, the language of the bureaucracy and law courts. He had Farsi-speaking assistants who apparently did most of his work for him.

Later, he was administrator of a royal tomb, which was also a center of charity. In these jobs, he got - at least for a time - very rich. In 1341 (AH 742) Muhammad ibn Tughluq even appointed him envoy to the Mongol emperor of China. As the Riha tells us, this mission never reached its destination because most ships assigned to the expedition went down in a storm off the southern coast of India.

After his official expedition collapsed, Ibn Battuta went by his own initiative to the Maldives Islands, another region where Islam had been established recently. The queen there, with the support of her chief minister, welcomed educated scholars who could lend their royal court prestige and distinction. When the chief minister found out that Ibn Battuta was visiting and had been a judge in Delhi, he literally forced him to take the post of chief qadi. Ibn Battuta quickly warmed to that job, and was zealous in enforcing the Sharia. He tried to oblige Muslim women of the islands to dress more modestly than they were used to. He tells us, however, that he did not have much success in getting his judgements carried out.

In the Maldives he played the part of the frontier adventurer more audaciously than before. He became involved in a plot to overthrow the queen and install himself and others as new rulers. The conspiracy never came to anything, but it shows to what extent he was a man of ambition, not just a humble scholar.

When educated Muslims arrived in a place for the first time looking for employment, they naturally tried to find entrees to elite political and scholarly families. Marriage was a very important institution in forming alliances between powerful local families and educated immigrants from the central lands or the Maghribi. Ibn Battuta contracted at least nine marriages in his travels. In every case he made a social or political connection useful to himself.

In the Delhi Sultanate he married a woman who was the daughter and sister of high government officials. In the Maldives he reports a total of six marriages, mostly with
Ibn Battuta was a remarkable historical figure because of the sheer energy of his travels and because he took pains to compile a book about them. But his career was not unique. On the contrary, he fits a common social type among the educated class. He wonderfully illustrates the fact that Muslim civilization worked as an eminently international system of social links and cultural communication, extending across the Eastern Hemisphere. In the early fourteenth century the Persian scholar Rashid al-Din wrote what must be considered the first genuine world history: it encompassed the entire Hemisphere from the Europe of the Franks eastward to China. Educated Muslims of that time possessed a more expansive consciousness of the Eastern Hemisphere as a whole than any other group. However, to understand this and grasp the significance of Ibn Battuta's travels, we cannot just take a North African, Arab, or Middle Eastern perspective. We must see the entire landmass of Eurasia and Africa together as a single place in which events, like the travels of the Moroccan journeyman, took place.

Ibn Battuta returned to Morocco late in 1349, having survived the Black Death, which was raging around the rim of the Mediterranean. He visited the royal capital of Fez, but did not stay long. He spent a short time in Granada, and traveled in his homeland for a time. Then, in the autumn of 1351, he set out on his last great journey: eighty days across the most fearsome wilderness on Earth - the Sahara Desert. Ibn Battuta's descriptions of many places he visited are precious historical documents. Among the most precious is his description of the empire of Mali, which covered a huge part of the grasslands of West Africa. His is the only eyewitness account that we have of Mali at its imperial zenith.

Ibn Battuta returned to Fez in 1354. Sultan Abu T'nan, the Marrinid ruler of Morocco, heard about him and commanded him to set down an account of his travels. He did this with the assistance of a young literary scholar, Ibn Juzayy, whose job was to take dictation from Ibn Battuta or perhaps work from rough draft. We have no evidence that Ibn Battuta arrived home with any notes. In Ibn Juzayy's own words, his job was to report the traveler faithfully, also "giving care to the pruning and polishing of its language and applying himself to its clarification and adaptation to the taste of readers." In other words, Ibn Juzayy was to be a good editor for a man who had no advanced training in Arabic grammar or literary style. It is important to understand that Ibn Battuta's Rihla is not a diary or journal composed along the road. It is a work of literature belonging to the genre, particularly well developed in North Africa, called rihla - with a small "r" - or book of travels centered on pilgrimage to the Holy Cities.

We know almost nothing about Ibn Battuta after the Rihla was finished. He apparently became a judge in a Moroccan town. The biographical notice of him says that he died in 704 AH - 1306 or 1307. By tradition his remains rest in Tangier. The Rihla circulated among educated people in North Africa and eventually West Africa and Egypt up to modern times. In the mid-19th century, French scholars obtained copies of it in Algeria. They prepared a printed Arabic text with a French translation, and Ibn Battuta began to assume his world-wide historical reputation as a journeyman and, "a geographer in spite of himself." Some have referred to Ibn Battuta as "the Marco Polo of Islam." I would prefer to call Marco Polo "the Ibn Battuta of Europe."

politically important families. He knew that a well-made marriage was a potential source of power. He says in the Rihla, "After I had become allied by marriage to these persons, the chief minister and the people stood in awe of me." Perhaps because of the difficulties and unsuitability of traveling long distances with wives, he ultimately divorced them all and returned to Morocco a single man.

In terms of the quality of his own learning, Ibn Battuta was probably typical of the educated frontierman. He certainly had a strong "undergraduate education" before he left Tangier. He had also the social status of a learned gentleman, the refined manners, dress, standards of hygiene, and vocabulary that manifested that status. But there is no evidence that he was a legal or religious scholar of unusual attainments. The Rihla offers no evidence that he ever undertook the long years of study to master the body of Maliki law books and other standard texts.

We have some very brief comments about Ibn Battuta in a 15th century collection of biographies, whose assessment of his scholarship is not enthusiastic. The compiler quotes the famous scholar of Granada Ibn al-Khatib that Ibn Battuta "had a modest share of the sciences". Another is more blunt: Ibn Battuta did not have "too much of what it takes."

Ibn Battuta, then, was almost certainly an indifferent scholar who could never have gotten a prestigious civil or religious post in Cairo, Damascus, or Fez. But it is also men like Ibn Battuta - lacking advanced scholarship but culturally sophisticated, socially ambitious, and, certainly in his case, charming - who accounted for a large proportion of the educated people who gravitated out to the Islamic frontiers. For example, the foreign born officials who served in the Delhi Sultanate were as a group undistinguished scholars best known for their worldliness, intellectual mediocrity, and ambition.
English-German Rivalry in the Gulf
Before the First World War

Frauke Heard-Bey

By August 1914 when war broke out in Europe, the Gulf region had become an area of British political domination, although, as a legacy of her liberal policies, the principle of free trade for all nations was still upheld by the government in London. This domination was not being contested by the government in Berlin, but in the words of the German Chancellor and previous Foreign Minister Count von Buelow, "we do not want to put anyone in the shade, but we also want a place in the sun". Germany had by then outgrown Bismarck's Euro-centric political emphasis. German traders, bankers, engineers and military advisers had gone to the far corners of the world. A small number had responded to the challenge of doing business in the Gulf. Since the turn of the century, however, it often appeared to them that the obstacles they encountered there were deliberately put up by 'the English' against Germans. In the files of the German diplomatic and consular representations in Asia the word 'British' was not as current as 'English' during the time before the First World War, even when referring to their British diplomatic colleagues.
Situated in the heart of Europe and without natural boundaries, Germany's history in recent times has been ruled by her relationship with her immediate neighbours, and was influenced by the other powers of that continent. The unification of Germany in 1871 was not merely a matter of constitutionally re-arranging the relationships between the politicians and potentates. It was the apotheosis of what most people in these 4 kingdoms, 18 other states and 3 free cities had hoped and even fought for throughout the previous century. Much untapped vigor could now unfold in this new German Empire, and its hitherto fragmented economy was fast catching up with the industrialization of other nations, namely Great Britain. As a consequence of Nasser al-Din Shah's visit to Berlin in 1873, the first exchange of ambassadors between Germany and Persia took place in 1885.

By that date, the first English trading post and political representation in the Gulf had already been in existence for a century and a decade — established in Bushahr in 1763 by the East India Company. This trading post signaled the consolidation of the interest, which the English East India Company had had in the Gulf since its inception in 1600. Initially the English, just like the Portuguese and the Dutch before them, were hoping for trade with Persia. At the beginning of the 19th century, the strategic importance of the Gulf itself came into focus — being situated astride the sea route to the Indian heart of the growing British Empire and also providing access to the speedier and safer overland route through Mesopotamia. Because the latter route was threatened by inter-Arab warfare, which occasionally split over into skirmishes with English shipping, the Company engaged in several naval campaigns. They led in 1820 to the first treaty with 11 Rulers on the Arab coast of the lower Gulf including Bahrain. In this and many subsequent treaties the Company and later the British Crown assumed the position of arbiter in all matters concerning the Gulf and its shores while pledging to watch over the peace.

The affairs of the Arab littoral of the Gulf were the exclusive concern of the Political Residency in Bushahr, which already in the 1830s had seven English staff and various Indian administrative and military personnel. Native Agents were stationed in Bahrain, Sharjah and Lingah, quite apart from the diplomatic presence already established in Muscat at the time. Three ships of the Indian — and later of the Royal - Navy were usually at the disposal of the Residency to enforce the powerful hold which the government of India was exerting over the Gulf on behalf of the British Empire by the beginning of the 20th century. The threat of British interest in the region had by then changed from safeguarding the approach routes to maintaining and augmenting the political domination over the region. In the 1890s most of the Arab Rulers were made to agree "not to enter into any Agreement or correspondence with any Power other than the British government" and not to part with any piece of their territory. These 'Exclusive Agreements' meant that none of the European powers which were suspected of wanting to establish coastal stations or obtain commercial or mining concessions could effectively pursue these interests.

This special position of Britain was justified in a confidential memorandum printed in 1906 by the Foreign Office. It recognized that 'Exception has not infrequently been taken to the position of Great Britain in the Persian Gulf upon the ground that, without a shadow of right, she has constituted herself the general arbiter and guardian of that part of the world'. It sums up the right to a special position stating that "not without the expenditure of many millions of money and the sacrifice of many valuable lives", Britain has "kept, in strange ports, an open door through which traders of every nation might have as free access... as her own!"

This role played by the English in keeping the Gulf region as safe and open a place to trade in as India itself was gratefully recognized by the new German government at the time when German individuals and companies began to look for markets beyond Europe, imbued with the prevailing spirit of new economic freedom at home, they were often remarkably successful in their business abroad, even though they had initially minimal support from diplomatic or consular missions, compared to subjects of established colonial powers. In 1895 the first German consulate was established in Baghdad. The only other German diplomatic representation to be established in the Gulf region before the First World War was, since 1897, a vice-consulate in Bushahr, the harbour on the Persian coast, from where the British role in the Gulf had been coordinated for over a century.

Also in 1897, the first German company, that of the general trader Robert Woenckhaus from Hamburg, extended its presence from Zanzibar to Lingah on the Persian shore of the Gulf. The company then opened an office in Bahrain in 1901, and by 1905 also in Bushahr and Bandar Abbas.
Woerkhaus's activities, mainly buying up the shells discarded by the pearl fishing industry in Bahrain, did not interfere with British Indian trade - on the contrary: more trading activities meant more business for the established British shipping lines.

The next German business venture, the Baghdad Railway, had quite different dimensions. The idea of extending the existing or planned rail network of the Ottoman Empire eastwards was by no means only a German one. Count Kapnist, the cousin of the Russian ambassador to Vienna, was discussing in 1896 with British financiers and the Foreign Office the possibility of building a railway from Tripoli in Lebanon via Baghdad, Najaf and Basra to Kuwait. Several people in the government of India were even hoping to reinforce the link between various parts of the British Empire with a railway from Port Said via the Persian shore of the Gulf to India. But the most persistent planner of railways in Turkey was the Sultan, Abd al-Hamid II. He had already asked for plans in the 1870s and, avoiding more French involvement in Ottoman finances, approached the Deutsche Bank in 1888. The director, Georg Siemens, was extremely reluctant to engage in this venture for two reasons: The bank was already reeling under the disastrous venture of financing the Northern Pacific Railway in the US, and he feared the diplomatic entanglement which a project of this magnitude was bound to provoke in an area of high international tension in particular between Britain and France in and beyond the Mediterranean and on the Balkan side, where Russia and Austria were waiting to divide the spoils, if Turkey finally were to collapse. Influence in Turkey seemed vital to both Britain and Russia in their age-old contest over Persia.

The German government of the time, while not wanting to stand squarely in the way of such ventures, was well aware of these risks. The Chancellor Bismarck, who contrary to popular belief had no lasting colonial or extra-European ambitions for Germany, told the Deutsche Bank in September 1888: "The dangers inherent in this project for German capital will be exclusively the risk of the companies, and they should not count on protection by the German State if such risky projects abroad go wrong". The Deutsche Bank, together with French and other German participation, reluctantly founded the Anatolian Railway Company. By 1893 the line to Ankara was completed and other lines were planned, but the bank continued to balk at the Sultan's desire to build a railway to Baghdad.

However, no such caution troubled the new German leadership by 1898, when Kaiser Wilhelm II visited Turkey for the second time and enthusiastically supported by the new German ambassador to Istanbul, Count Marshall von Bieberstein, who pushed Georg Siemens into signing the "Baghdad Convention" in December 1899, which was followed in 1903 by the final concession for the construction and management of the Baghdad Railway. The bank was successful in involving several London banks, with the agreement of the British government. But when this became public, there was such an outcry in the press and the House of Commons against this German attempt to undermine the British position on the world markets that the English banks had to abandon this project.

The Baghdad Railway touched several other English raw nerves. The German/French company wanted to extend the line to the head of the Gulf to make it commercially more viable. Kuwait became for a time the first choice as a terminal. This prospect alarmed the authorities in India. Malcolm Meade, the Resident in Bushahr and Lord Curzon, Viceroy since 1898, began to fight a battle on several fronts in order to prevent Kuwait from being economically colonized by German interests, when in their view all it needed was to try to convince Sheikh Mubarak, the Ruler of Kuwait, to accept the protection of the British crown formally. However, as seen from London, publicly declaring Kuwait a British protectorate would certainly have provoked an incident with Turkey, because Sheikh Mubarak had been conferred the Turkish title of Qaima, the Prime Minister in London reluctantly only went as far as allowing in 1899 an "Exclusive Agreement" similar to the ones concluded with Muscat in 1891 and preferred it to be kept secret if at all possible. In the event, Sheikh Mubarak disregarded the clause about abstaining from receiving foreign visitors, and an engineer of the Baghdad Railway Company, Stemreich, visited Kuwait in January 1900.

London also did not want to antagonize Berlin over this matter, because Britain needed all the European sup-
port she could muster while fighting the Boer War in South Africa. Equally, the Foreign Ministry in Berlin - unlike the German press and the Kaiser - consistently advocated German moderation in all areas where vital British interests might be hurt by too adventurous German economic expansion. At the same time no such moderation can be found in the diplomatic files of the German representatives. In particular the German Consul in Baghdad from 1900 to 1908, Richarz, is very critical of the manifestations of "English" ambitions to dominate all aspects of life in the Gulf, including foreign trade. The same stance could be heard in the dispatches from Bushahr.

Another "incident" in the German-English relationship in the Gulf again demonstrates the wide diversion of views of the same matter as held in London and Calcutta on the one hand and in Berlin and Bushahr on the other: In 1899 Albert Ballin, the director of the Hamburg-Amerika Line (Hapag), considered introducing a service to the Gulf in view of the projected terminal of the Baghdad Railway, but then decided that for the time being it was too difficult to break into the English and British-Indian monopoly for the carrying trade from Europe. When eventually in the summer of 1906 the Hapag ship 'Candida' arrived in Basra and competed for freight and freight rates set in, the British-Indian officials, in particular the Resident in Bushahr from 1904 to 1913 Percy Cox, began a vigorous campaign against German economic activities in the Gulf. At the same time the press in England vociferously accused the German government of subsidizing the Hapag line and its agent in the Gulf Wolkenhau in order to undermine the British position in the area. Such antagonism was further fed by a rumor, which originated in the British Embassy in Istanbul, that the German Admiralty was trying to obtain from Turkey a coal station on the Qatari Island of Halul.

The expansion of Wolkenhaus' activities into Basra in 1905, attempts to gain a foothold in Kuwait, and the profitable co-operation with the all powerful Muin al-Tujjar in Muhamma and on the Karun river, contributed further to the unease of English officials and businessmen alike. In 1904 Wolkenhau entered into a contract with a merchant from Lingha called Hassan and a group of local shareholders including the son of the British Residency Agent in Sharjah to buy and market abroad the red oxide which they mined on Abu Musa.

This island's income was at the time the personal property of Shaikh Salim, the uncle of Shaikh Saqr, the Ruler of Sharjah. Because sovereignty over the island and therefore the validity of this mining concession were in dispute, Cox and his superiors in Calcutta felt justified to protest against this further German incursion into the economic activities in the Gulf. They again warned London of this new danger of the possible establishment of a German coaling station on Abu Musa. Eventually the green light was given for the Ruler of Sharjah to issue an ultimatum, drafted in the Residency in Bushahr, for Hassan and Wolkenhau to evacuate the island. On 22 October 1907 HMS Lepwing with the Deputy Political Resident on board towed several dhows of the Ruler of Sharjah to Abu Musa. All the workers were taken off the island and the boat with Wolkenhaus' representative on board came under fire from the local dhows.

Wolkenhau protested via the German Consulate in Bushahr and put in a claim for the financial losses. The case was an embarrassment for the government in London, because it had become obvious that the Indian authorities had panicked and acted in a manner which was incompatible with London's liberal foreign and trade principles, at a time when the British government was at pains to prevent adverse public opinion from forcing her hand in her decidedly pro-German policy. At the outbreak of the war Wolkenhaus' claims were still not settled.

A review of the relevant sources shows a remarkable identity of view and opinions of English and German actors on the scene in the Gulf and in India: Both sides are progressively more distrustful of each other and ready to misinterpret any and every move of the other side. A parallel deterioration of trust can be observed when reading the manifestations of public opinion in the British and German press and other publications. Yet, a study of the official correspondence in Berlin and London usually reveals restraint and the urge to rein in the actors on the fringe. At the centre of power the decision makers were aware that the ever more precarious balance of political trust between European powers should not be allowed to be upset by some event or controversy on the periphery.
Beauty is Dangerous to your Health

The Role of Illustrations in Medieval Arabic Manuscripts

George Saliba

With such an intriguing title Prof. George Saliba began his talk by revealing the intricacy of medieval scientific treaties that could indeed be dangerous to our health.

He displayed some illustrated scientific manuscripts to discuss how one can easily be misled by the inaccurate information that is pertained in them, particularly in the illustrations. How those manuscripts were produced. The lecturer gives examples of the process of making a scientific manuscript. First it is the author who writes the text which will be illustrated at a later stage in most cases. The author would normally leave a space on the page for the illustrator’s work, bearing in mind the proximity of the text to the illustration so it makes it more coherent. The text is usually copied many times by yet another hand or even many different hands or hence mistakes occur. The lecturer emphasizes the fact that from his long experience in this field of knowledge he has only come once against a manuscript that was authored and illustrated by the same person, as mentioned in the colophon. In the case of the thousands of other known manuscripts, it is usually signed by the copyists. It is inevitable to make mistakes whilst copying a manuscript, therefore, every single copied manuscript has mistakes which, in some way, makes it a new fresh work. This tradition of copying original work could create a problem in dating manuscripts and illustration according to the date in the colophon. No one can pass a concrete judgment on the date of the manuscript and illustration unless an analysis of the colour pigments is done. Prof. Saliba gives an example
of Mu'ayyad al-Din al-Urdi (d.1266) of Damascus who tries to pose himself as an illustrator. He was successful in depicting the movement of the sun, but failed to illustrate accurately the movement of other planets. He admittedly wrote on the margin near the illustration that “This is wrong”.

Another example demonstrating the division of work is in the Bodleian Library, where the copyist deliberately leaves a space for the illustrator to fill in his drawing. There is however exception to this norm, e.g. another copy of the same manuscript in Mashhad seems to have been copied and illustrated almost concurrently. This practice of writing of the text and illustrating it is evidently two independent activities at two different periods of time in some cases. Therefore, it is important to be cautious in dating manuscripts and illustration according to the date of the copy of the manuscript.

The discrepancy in time, between the copyist and the illustrator or their incompetence are not the only reasons for the confusion between text and illustration. The usage of two different colours of ink adds to the problem. The text is usually written in black ink, whereas the illustrations, chapter headings and important notes are in red. The writer has to work with two pens in two different colours, this obviously creates some difficulty in many cases particularly when the writer has to finish the text in black before he allows the illustrator to use the red pen for the other parts. This cooperation between the copyist and illustrator did not always produce the best results. Another example supporting this fact can be found in the case of the written text around illustrations. The illustration is first constructed then filled by the text in a rather cosmetic treatment. Best examples are to be seen in LNS 30 MS. The cooperation between the copyist and the illustrator again fails to give a fruitful effect. Nowadays, our understanding of scientific texts depends almost entirely on illustrations.

The text of Qutb-ud-din Shirazi on astronomy needed many years to be illustrated. It was only in 1966 when Edward Kennedy, illustrated it. This is a clear case where the author, in fear of making mistakes by copyists, attempts to make his text void of illustrations but extremely comprehensible in order to avoid any mistakes by illustrators. The author in fact, paints a mental picture to replace illustrations, particularly in texts on geometry. Hence illustrations become of lesser importance.

In other cases the illustrator attempts highlighting some features in the text in such an exaggerating way that the emphasis falls on the shape of a specific part of the plant, e.g. Dioscorides’s Kitab al-Hasha'ish, rather than equally important parts of the plant (see Illustration).

The lecturer also raises the question of the intention of the illustrator. In Margamat al-Hariri, which is basically a grammatical gymnastics of people who enjoy the joy of the language invented by lexicographers, we find the text repeating the story of Abu-Zaid when he assumes himself as an astrologer. The illustrator’s imagination goes beyond that to represent Aristotle in an Abbasid milieu carrying an astrolabe.

The lecturer gives an example of how a scientific text can be so instructive that it does not need any illustration as in the case of Abdullah al-Sufi in his book ‘al-Kawakib al-Thabitah’. The illustrations which we find in his book serve another function. Although the text needed no illustration, the illustrator managed to find a relationship between the stars in a constellation and depicting them in a visual representation of hypothetical animals. He can only do that because the text is highly detailed.

“Dioscorides’s Materia Medica”, its translation of Greek science into Arabic. There are two traditions for Dioscorides work, illustrated manuscripts. In the former the illustration takes prominence over the text, in many cases it even eliminates whole paragraphs in order to give room for illustration, e.g. in his work Dioscorides mentions the side effects of some medication, such paragraphs are entirely cancelled and replaced by illustration. This is how beauty becomes dangerous to health.

In astronomy another problem arises in the method of depiction of certain presentation of the earth and stars. To visualize the situation where a ball has to go through a skewer to represent the dynamic motion is indeed very difficult. The movement of the planet mercury, based on text by al-Shirazi manuscript produced in Iran in 1600C by Shamuddin al-Kharki is a good example of how the illustrator succeeded in showing the movement of the upper planet derived from the text but not from the illustration of earlier copies. The lecturer concludes that the copyist and the illustrator alike were limited by many factors as displayed in his lecture. “We are fortunate, nowadays, with the help of audiovisual and modern technology to achieve more accurate depiction of the scientific texts.” Prof. Saliba asserts.
Iranian Caravanserais during the Islamic Period

Mohammad Yousef Kiani

One of the most important building types in Iran is the caravanserai, which has been erected all over the Iranian plateau since early times. The history of trade and travel in Iran goes back to remote antiquity, and the camel caravan has served for centuries as the main method of transport. Because of its unique geographical location between East and West, Iran has long recognized the importance of trade routes, gradually developing a network of roads equipped with rest-stops, which are called caravanserais in Persian and khans or ribats in Turkish and Arabic. Motivated by a strong central government, caravanserais were built in great numbers during the Islamic period, promoting trade and providing the traveler with food, shelter and companionship.
History of the Caravanserai

Caravanserais were known as early as the Achaemenid dynasty (7th-3rd c. BC), when they were described by the Greek historian Herodotus. He wrote of 111 caravanserais over a distance of 2,500 between Sardis in Anatolia and Susa in southwestern Iran, a journey of about three months. Under the succeeding Parthian and Sassanian dynasties, caravanserais continued to be built with Iran and central Asia in order to accommodate trade along the important Silk route, stretching from China to the Mediterranean. The fall of the Sassanian empire and the rise of Islam in the early seventh century witnessed a great decline in trade and the building of caravanserais, a situation that continued until the rise of the Seljuqs in the eleventh century.

Seljuqs and their various successors built many caravanserais, mainly located in Khurasan and Afghanistan. This continued until the Mongol invasion of 1220s, when Iran was devastated and its trade disrupted for more than half a century. By the end of the thirteenth century, however, peace prevailed and overland trade with China was restored and even expanded: silk and porcelain were imported while metal ores, arms, bronze goods and skins were exported. The center of this trade was Sultaniyeh in northwest Iran, a new city founded by the Ilkhanid emperor Oljeitu.

Trade once again declined with the end of the Ilkhanids, and this trend continued under the succeeding dynasty of the Timurids, who reigned over parts of Iran and Central Asia in the 15th century. The Safavids, however, reversed this trend, and greatly encouraged overland trade with China as well as pilgrimage to the holy Shi'ite sites of Qum and Mashhad in eastern Iran. They built many caravanserais along these routes, numbering more than 1000 caravanserais, according to the French traveler Chardin.

Typology and Architecture of the Caravanserai

Although most caravanserais were courtyard-centered structures with iwans, there are variations within this type and also entirely different types, with which we will begin.

These are: 1. Mountain caravanserais and 2. Coastal caravanserais, two types whose form was largely determined by the extreme climatic conditions in which they existed, cold in the first and hot and humid in the second. In order to provide warmth and shelter from snow and storms, type 1 rarely had a courtyard, was completely roofed-in, sometimes half-buried in the earth, and was almost entirely made of stone. Most were located in the mountain passes of the Azerbaijan province. Type 2 also lacked a courtyard but was built out of flimsier materials.
with no defensive aspects. Its main portal faced the prevailing cooling winds.

3. Caravanserais with a Central Courtyard and 2 or 4 Iwans

By far the most common caravanserai consists of one, more rarely two, courtyards whose interiors are dominated by two or four symmetrically disposed iwans, a plan type with an ancient history in Iran and one that was used in Islam for numerous functions, including mosque, madrasa, hospital, and caravanserai. One of the earliest and most interesting caravanserais of this type is Robat-e Sharaf, large complex built in the middle of the 12th century on the road between Nishapur and Merv. Covering a total area of 4,863 sq. m., it consists of two large four-iwan courtyards, the earlier of which is a square 31.5 m. per side, and the slightly later one is a rectangle measuring 32.4 x 16.5 m. The complex exhibits a fortified exterior with six towers disposed on either side of the two monumental portals and at the rear of the complex. There are two mosques in the building, located to the left of the portals leading to the two courtyards. The complex also contained living spaces, stables, a kitchen, a mill, water facilities, and several wells and
reservoirs. The building, particularly the mosques, was rather lavishly decorated with decorative brickwork and carved stucco.

A typical example of a later caravanserai of the four-iwan type is the Ahwaz caravanserai, built under the Safavids 40 km. East of Semnan on the main Khurasan route. This is a huge brick-built square caravanserai centered around a rectangular courtyard (32 X 40 m.) with four iwans. The monumental entrance leads to a domed vestibule that opens onto a courtyard with four tall iwans flanked by arcades that shelter 24 chambers behind which are stables. An inscription located above the entrance states that the building was erected during the time of Shah Sulayman in 907/1695 to serve pilgrims on their way to the shrine of Imam Reza in Mashhad.

4. Octagonal and Circular Caravanserais

Octagonal caravanserais seem to have been first built by the Safavids and are not known outside Iran. Only three have survived, all located on the road between Isfahan and Shiraz. Despite their original external form, octagonal caravanserais conform internally to the four-iwan plan, presenting a variation on the original form. The caravanserai of Amín-Abad, located between Shahreza and Abadeh, is an octagon with eight corner towers entered through a single monumental portal that lead to a long vestibule. The courtyard is a large octagon with four orthogonal iwans flanked by 26 chambers and four stables. Each room is so designed as to have access to both the arcades in front of it and the stable behind it. This caravanserai has often been visited and described by western travelers, including Tavernier in 1665 and Lord Curzon in 1815.

Only one circular caravanserai has survived, the Robat-Zayn al-Din, located on the Yazd-Kerman road. The circular exterior is fortified by five towers and entered through a single southern portal. This entrance leads first to an open octagonal vestibule with two octagonal rooms that were intended for guards. These rooms lead to the stables. The central courtyard is dodecagonal, a shape that may recall the number of the 12 Imams, just like the five exterior towers may allude to the close family of the Prophet. Opposite the portal is the most important part of the building, a large iwan that opens onto a big Shah Neshin or Royal Hall. This hall was made to receive kings and important guests, and was once lavishly decorated with faience mosaic, now all vanished.

Although now largely forgotten and neglected, caravanserais once linked trade routes and provided the weary traveler with shelter and basic comforts. Very few are still in use today, though not for their original function. Rather, they serve as day markets for the surrounding villages.
The door of Sultan Barquq in Kuwait

Geza Fehervari
A few years ago the Tareq Rajab Museum has acquired a large "bronze" door. The door, which measures 380 x 225 cm and weighs two tons, bears a historical inscription. The inscription is written in two parts across the two wings on top and below. It starts at the lower part and then continues on top. Below it reads: "Glory to our Lord, The Sultan, the King al-Zahir, Sword of the Universe and the Faith, Abu Sa'id Barquq, Sultan of Islam and the Muslims, provide," then it continues on top: "of the orphans and the destitute and supporter of the warriors and it was completed in the month of Rab`i `ul- Awwal, in the year seven hundred and eighty-eight of the hijra. The date is equivalent to April, 1386.

This door had an interesting history and it took more than eighteen months to unravel its true story.

The door was first mentioned in 1892 when the Egyptian government made preparations for the pavilion of the Chicago World Fair that was organized in 1893 for the 400th anniversary of the discovery of America. At that time a metal worker of the name of Ali Shiyashi came forward and offered a large bronze door for sale which, he claimed, was made by him for the World Fair.

His price, however, was very high and the organizing committee declined its purchase. Eventually he sold the door to an Egyptian antique dealer who had a gallery on Mouskeet street in Cairo. It was seen there by a famous Arabist and epigraphist Max Van Berchem, who published the inscription in his Corpus. (Paris, 1903, no.197, pp. 304-5) Van Berchem's reading, however, differed in two places from the Kuwaiti door inscription.

In 1903 the door, which is now in Kuwait, was purchased by an American gentleman who took it to New York, where it was on exhibition. Then, in 1909 the same door was published by a Professor Goethal, an Arabist, who added a postscript, quoting a letter which was sent to him by Miksa Herz, who at that time was the chief architect of the Conservation Committee of Egypt and founding director of the Musee lart arabe, now the Islamic Art Museum in Cairo. In that letter Herz stated that the door was not original, but the work of the metal worker, whose name is mentioned above. Much earlier Herz addressed a letter to famous Hungarian Arabist and Islamic Goldzither and expressed the same view and said that he was shocked that van Berchem could accept the originality of the door which was made "in front of my eyes by a botcher". The question of course arises whether van Berchem saw and published the same door which is now in Kuwait?

The door previously was thought to have been made of bronze, with brass and silver inlaid decoration, covering the wooden panels. Later chemical analysis were carried out by Dr. Peter Northover in Oxford, who established that in fact it is not bronze, but brass.

Upon close examination of the door one can discover two distinct, easily recognizable periods on it: the earlier and original decorative two distinct, easily recognizable periods on it: the earlier and original decorative elements were fixed on the covering brass panels by nails, while the restorations and the substitutes of some of the missing elements by screws.

The chemical analysis has also established that the decorative elements were made of early brass, but some of the silver inlay and patina ob the restored elements were modern. Further examinations also confirmed that the composition of the nails is also old.

Sultan Barquq was the first ruler of the Burji Mamluks and reigned over Egypt and Syria, with a brief interruption, between 1382 and 1398. He was a prolific builder and one of his most important and still standing buildings is his Mosque-Madrassa, which is the Copper workers' district in Cairo. It still retains its original "bronze" door which is closely related to the one in Kuwait. Professor Michael Rogers in an article on "The Stones of Barquq" (Apollo, vol.C III, 1976) refers to that door and also mentions two other possible examples, i.e. "copies" which he suggested, may have been made before 1900.

In May 1998 the writer, in the company of Mr. Tareq Rajab, discovered one of these two copies. It is at the entrance to the house of Mounaf Palace on Rhoda Island in Cairo. It was built for Muhammad Ali, then crown prince of Egypt at the beginning of this century. The door's inscription is a eulogy to Muhammad Ali and makes it clear that was made for him.

So far, at the time of writing, the second copy, which according to Michael Rogers is somewhere in Beirut, has not been located. By comparing the copy of the Mounaf Palace door to the one in Kuwait, one can immediately recognize the great difference in quality between the two. Although the Palace door in Cairo is a fine work, but still inferior in quality, size and decorative details to that in Kuwait. Accordingly, the door in the Tareq Rajab Museum is original. However, there was still a major question, that remained unanswered: where was this door originally?

It is well-known from historical records, that Barquq apart from his mosques-madrassa, also intended to build an impressive mausoleum for himself and for his family. For this purpose he set aside 80.000 dinars. Construction began during his life time, but the building was completed only after his death by his two sons Faraj and Abdalaziz in 1411. The building, which was also used as a Khazah or "monastery", fell into ruins and by early 19th century it was completely abandoned.

Its main original door was missing. When it the late 1880 and early 90s Pasha, as chief architect of the Conservation Committee ordered that most of the original bronze doors in Cairo should be removed from the building to the musee lart arabe, he replaced them with replicas, all made of brass. Since the original door of Barquq's mausoleum was missing, it was replaced by a simple, undecorated wooden door. When we visited this mausoleum in March, 1997 and in May 1998, we measured the opening and it matched that of the door in Kuwait.

Finally, another question which still had to be answered: namely the slight difference between the inscriptions of the Mosque-Madrassa and the mausoleum? On the Mosque-Madrassa door, referring to Sultan Barquq it says: kenz al-ghusat, "treasure for the warriors", while on the Kuwaiti door it is: nusaf al-ghusat, "supporter of the warriors". Perhaps because the living Sultan was a "treasure" for the warriors, but after his death could only be a spiritual "supporter".

Of course there is another question here: why do both doors bear the same date? Most likely because the Sultan ordered the two doors at the same time and his sons, after their father's death had no wish to alter it.
Adab standing Trial - Whose norms should rule society?

The Case of al-Hariri’s “al-Maqamah al-Ramliyah”

Professor Angelika Neuwirth

Emil Habibi, one of the most outstanding authors in modern Arabic literature died at Haifa on May 8th, 1996. Appraisals of his work by fellow writers and critics have been published in several cultural periodicals, [see particularly Elias Khoury in: al-Tariq 55.2 (1996), 152-156.]. He may justly be credited with having dedicated a life-long attention to the shadowy zones existing between truth and deception, reality and fiction. His picaresque novel al-Mutasha’il (Pessoptimist) is particularly characterized by an extraordinary awareness of the role played by language and particular semiological substructures of everyday speech in the processes of constructing and upholding of a collective identity.

Habibi often goes back to older texts in his attempt to unmask the most blatant mythifications, false norms that - though resulting from historical processes - unduly claim ‘natural validity’. His novel al-Mutashi’il, which voices a strong opposition to the ‘mytho-maniac’ discourse going on in his country, is extraordinarily rich in intertextual reminiscences.

A particularly subtle intertextual device connects al-Mutashi’il with the great picaresque tradition of classical Arabic literature. The novel draws for one of its crucial scenes on a structural matrix borrowed from one of its most famous generic predecessors, al-Hariri’s maq.m.m.; the presentation of deceptive truth followed by anagogonosis and debate.

Habibi would hardly have found a more adequate
about the legitimacy of play based on fiction, deception, the "forensic maqamah" (Hariri has staged several other maqamah in the framework of a tribunal), thus, deserves particular interest within the corpus as a whole.

Al-Maqamah al-Ramliyah
The Drama as a Rogue's Play
The Woman's Reposte

Let us now turn to the Ramlkah as an example of such a "forensic maqamah". There appears before the judge of Ramkah an old man in shabby guise together with a beautiful young woman also clad in rags. Together they stage a topsy-turvy world in which woman dominates man verbally, "forbids him to bark": She unveils shamelessly to anticipate his attempt to speak up first with a forceful flow of words of her own. Her speech, consisting of seven poetic verses - making up her great entrance - is not without sophistication: She claims against her husband that he has neglected his martial duties. The claim is presented in a much exaggerated and at the same time disguised form, since she projects the offence, the missed intercourse, from her body onto the cosmic centre of the world, the Ka'ba. It is the rite of the Ka'ba that her husband has been neglecting for a long time:

(O Qadi of Ramkah, in whose hands there is for us the date or else the hot cinder-coal / to thee complain I of my mate's cruelty, who pays his pilgrimage but once in a while).

Nothing less than a ritual omission that threatens world order itself is at stake. Although her complex metaphor of the various pilgrimage performances allude to sexual acts, yet her speech, over the first four verses, has no explicit mention of the female body thus giving the claim a touch of an enigma [Though it is in no way infrequent that a woman in Arabic Literature is compared to the Ka'ba for her centrality in her adorer's mind, the euphemism 'pilgrimage' for the male role in the sexual act goes much further]. All the more daring is the reference to the authority of the renowned early Islamic jurist Abu Yusuf, whose recommendations as to the ritual performance of the "Haaj" are used frivolously as evidence for the meritoriousness of frequent intercourse:

(What is his devotion has come to end, and eased his back is after his pebble-throw / he followed Abu Yusuf's wise rule and went to join the lesser with the chief pilgrimage).

The female body, thus, is perceived as a cosmically relevant surface on which the juridical rulings of the classical legal scholar are projected, a treatment of the body which deserves to be called 'grotesque' in the Bakhtinian sense. It is only in the second part of her speech dedicated to her expired patience that the woman speaks in her own right as 'I' and threatens - in case of a non-satisfactory solution of the problem - to strip herself of all decency, i.e. to rebel openly against social norms and give herself up to the rival par excellence of her legitimate partners, this himself:

(Or bid him show me henceforth sweet kindness, or make him drink the bitter draught of divorce / before I put from me the last shred of shame, obsessed to old Abu Murrah's best).

The Man's Reposte

The old man strikes back with a rhetorically no less refined reponse. As the woman before he refers to both juridical and social issues constructing a reality that is diametrically opposed to the normal. His house - he claims - has been turned from a home into a waste land (qaqir), the body of his wife is bare of the conventional signs of social esteem, i.e. jewellery:

(No abode am I empty, as undecorated her neck you see by shell or gold ornament).

In spite of his legal right to till his field guaranteed by an explicit Qur'inic ruling [nisa'ukum harthun lakum] still he cannot afford progeny:

(And not from grudge held I aloof from my field, only from fear to see the seed spring in halm).

His abstinence - he claims - is in glaring contradiction to his personal faith, since in matters of love he is along the same line with the Banu 'Udhr, known for their passion. And what is more - the offence - he claims - is a different one: It should read: robbery (ibizaz) of possessions, stripping of his wife's body and devastation of his house, committed not by him but by a third person, that is "al-dahr", fate, time.

(But Fortune's ritual freak has come over us, ruthlessly robbing us of both pearl and bead).

The Verdict

The judge, impressed by the argument admonishes the woman and agrees that the man is right. The woman is left speechless, she shows regret, complaints about having suffered public exposure in vain:

(Alas, is there concealment after appeal, and remains to us a seal upon any secret? There is neither of us, but says that which is true and tears the veil of modesty in speaking out. So would God that we had been visited with dumbness and not repaired to the judge).

She then covers herself anew bashfully with her veil: thumma ilaffat bi-wishihahia / wa-tabakat li-fidihahia. (Thereupon she covered herself with her kerchief, and pretended to weep at her exposure). The judge joins in the man's complaint against fate, al-dahr, and alleviates their hardships by a generous gift whereupon they part peacefully from the stage.

The Drama as a Case
The Anagoros

The qadi's admiration soon turns into curiosity; he feels he should know more about them:

(After they had gone, and their persons were at a distance, the Kadi began to praise their cultured minds, and to ask: "Is there anyone who knows them?")

Thereupon follows the anticipated anagoros, the revealing of the deception brought about by the qadi's entourage. The qadi as the victim feels duped. The fictitious case thus turns into a genuine case, i.e. the post-drama demanded by the maqamah's structure, where now the qadi has to negotiate the offence of deception through the practising of subversive adab. A messenger is sent out to bring the offenders back to court. But too late: He has found the couple preparing their escape. The sending out of the messenger to allure the couple is styled after the Quranic dispatching of "iblis" to seduce mankind with false promises, compare "qum fa-ruddahum, thumma arsidhum, wa-zigidhum," The old man has, however, left a message to submit to the qadi presenting his defense in written form.
The Apology of the “Adib”

He hands over to the messenger a poem which contains - again - a plaidoyer for play, for fiction. Within the debate which has now widened into a conflict of norms, Abu Zayd in his authentical role as an “adib”, as the spokesman of the norms of adab, confronts the qadi as the spokesman of legal norms. First he pays back the qadi's generosity with an advice clad into a gnome, a hikmah: Never regret a good deed:

/Ruwaydaka la tu'qib jamilaka bi-l-adha/ (Eh, gently, let not bounty be followed by injury). Material gain and prestigious praise are not available at the same time: i.e. else both thy wealth and fame alike will be lost and gone).

But, since the case is - apart from the issue of the particular deceptive play - about the legitimacy of fiction in general, he reminds the qadi that fictitious speech to gain material support, to win someone as a patron, is no innovation, no bid'ah:

(And by not into passion if a beggar exaggerates, for he is by no means the first to polish and gloss his speech)

The qadi has simply served as a patron. The most striking argument however that the offender puts forward to support his poetical anti-norm is his playful re-interpretation of the juridical concept of taqdid, emulation, through which he is able to turn the painful and humiliating experience of deception into something agreeable, even into a meritious act in religious terms: the qadi, he argues frivolously, has done well to emulate his great precursor, the jurist Abu Musa, al-Ash'ari, whose fame is due to his having been fatedly deceived as Ali ibn Abi Talib's spokesman during the tribunal held to decide about Ali's and Mansoura's right to the caliphate.

(And if some deceit of mine is taken by thee amiss, remember, Abu Musa before thee has been deceived).

The Verdict

The qadi is captivated anew and proves again - this time intentionally - a patron by procuring the couple through a riding messenger with a generous gift. He openly declares his confirmation of membership to the world of fictitious play: Fare speedily like one who turns neither right nor left, until thou seest the Shuykh and the wench / and moist their hands with this gift, and show to them how fair I am to be beguiled by the literature.

This spontaneously playful abduction of the official spokesman of public norms from his judicial office and thus the elevation of the adib to the rank of a competent authority, a guarantor of new norms, moves the ra'ii to utter a justified superlative judgment:

(iQuoth the narrator: Now in all my wanderings abroad, I never saw a sight as wonderful as this nor heard I the like of it from anyone who roved about and roamed through the lands).

- The maqamah as a Communication on Diverse Levels
- TheInterior Level: Interaction between Abu Zayd and his Co-Actors
- TheParticular Aesthetics Dominating the Play
- Grotesque, Carnivalesque, suspense and sensuality.
- The Intermediate Level of Communication: Abu Zayd as Stage Director; the Coding of his Message through Symbols through two axes:
  - The Poet and Society - a Quarreling Couple?
  - The Poet and the-dahr - a Mysterified Pair of Rivals?

The Exterior Level of Communication

There is - after the qadi and the listeners - still a third jury awaiting al-Hariri: the readers. The author of the maqamat, Abu Muhammad al-Qasim al-Hariri - not being a freelance adib, but a writer committed to diverse discourses of norms, cannot for his part fade out the crucial corrective injected into the conception of reality since the Quranic event: the awareness of man's accountability for his acts. Al-Hariri has therefore, inserted a cautela into the maqamat, the archetype of trial underlying its very structure. The adib thus indirectly confers on his ra'ii the role of a disciple who is dismissed by his master, but who leaves enriched in knowledge, capable to tell the story, to carry on narrating fascinating events.

The artistic merit of turning the dialectics between these two antipodes, both immanent in Arab culture, into a unique aesthetical enjoyment, a mut'aah, belongs to the medieval author al-Hariri. It is the moral and intellectual merit of the modern writer Emil Habibi, to have courageously rebelled against the political abuse of both these narratives-divine covenant and human heroism - in the two respective ideologies of his homeland, occupied Palestine.
The Seasonal rains have been plentiful the last few years in Kuwait. Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah has also enjoyed a similar deluge in the form of gifts for the library. Our many friends have made these thoughtful gestures, and they are truly appreciated. Their kind consideration for the restoration and improvement of the library will be of benefit to many scholars, now and in future.
paradigm than al-Hariri’s maq.mah for the intricate relationship between anagnorisis and debate about truth and deception, their intricate relationship and the artist’s efficiency in disinterring them. Abdellatifah Khilfo (Les Scènes Paris 1963) has drawn attention to the diverse patterns of debate essential for the maq.mah genre. In this paper, I will try to extend Khilfo’s approach somewhat further by throwing light on one particular debate that in my view underlies the structure of the maq.mah as an archetypal ‘subject’. Khilfo has taken the maq.mah to be a narrative text - thus blocking the insight into one of the most important traits of its structure: the alternating of text and metatext - of drama and ‘metadrama’. The maq.mah, to me, is less a narrative than a dramatic text. It consists much more of dramatic rôles than of description, consistently developing around some central rôles of its protagonist(s) - which, through their poetical shape, emerge like great arias in an opera from their sajî context (particularly artistic character of the maq.mah style consisting of sajî and poetry). Even the narrative parts of the maq.mah are concerned with making the dramatic visible - focusing on the body language of the actors, their gestures, tone and appearance. The drama of the maq.mah is inserted into the framework of narrative passages presented by a narrator, a r.wi, who is, however, no distant witness, but may take part in the dramatic action and, above all, who contributes substantially to the acceptance of the drama by the listeners.

Structure Drama and Epilogue

The r.wi (narrator) al-Hariri b. Humam in each single maq.mah reports an event focusing on one and the same protagonist, Abu Zayd al-Sarurji, whom he encounters in diverse places on his journeys. Abu Zayd is found staging a drama engaging in it a group of persons present on the spot. Chenou: Dramatiches Studien, 94, has noticed a similarity between the maq.mah and the so-called ‘Invisible Theatre’, as currently practiced in Latin America. Each time, Abu Zayd, in the guise of a new identity, succeeds by his rhetorical virtuosity in overcoming his unsuspecting co-actors and extracting money from them. Recognized toward the end of the play by the r.wi and dropped into a ‘post-drama’, an epilogue, he is obliged to render account for his deceptive play - a duty he often fulfills in poetical form as it oral or written. The parting of the r.wi marks the end of the maq.mah.

Drama and post-drama, thus, are the two main structural elements of Hariri’s maq.mah situated around the axis of the anagnorisis. Khilfo’s analysis of the maq.mah into eight stages of development following Vladimir Propp’s morphology of the fairy tale blurs the particularly tense relation between the two main parts which dialectically relate to one another. Drama and post-drama are staged - in terms of dramatic theory - on different levels of communication. Let us consider the play staged by the protagonist with his co-actors as the nucleus of the maq.mah which takes place on the internal level of communication limited to the actors themselves. Then we should consider the narrative report and all those ‘epic’ elements meant to communicate the drama to the listeners, as belonging to an intermediate level of communication occupied by the narrator, i.e. the r.wi, and the listeners - or should one say the virtual spectators? It can hardly be overlooked that he acts as a kind of ‘reporter’ of the play, makes it visible to the listeners, the virtual spectators. Only subsequently, in the epilogue, does he change his role to that of a judge whereby he saves the listeners the task of re-establishing the ‘correct world’ which has been distorted by the deceptive play. This procedure is reiterated in almost every maq.mah and it creates an overall pattern of alternating transgression and reenactment for the maq.mah corpus as a whole. This corpus, of course, is no more the r.wi’s but the author’s work, who addresses - on the external level of communication - the readers, whom he owes more than an occasional justification, whom he owes, indeed, a denouncement.

This pattern of alternating transgression and admonition, which has to my knowledge not yet been given due attention, might be identified as a ‘historical archetype’ according to the definition proposed by Harold Fisch. The trial as such is certainly an archetype - since to quote Fisch - ‘the sense of our being tested or tried is a universal way we have of arranging our experiences’, or - to quote Maud Bodkin -

we are confronted with the bare form of an emotional situation realizable in any period of history or prehistory, and multiplied beyond actual occasions, infinitely, in dreams.

But it is more it is a historical archetype - insofar as the concept that every transgression is necessarily followed by a judicial intervention attests a thinking in terms of a covenant. The essence of this covenant - to quote Fisch again -

is the memory of an encounter in which responsibilities are undertaken and promises exchanged which remain potentially present and will one day reassert themselves.

The pattern of alternating transgression and trial is - since the event of the Qur’ān - once and for all tied to the expectation of a final reckoning, as indeed mirrored in the denunciation of the last maq.mah of the corpus. It is an archetype apt to attest the inner conflicts of a society and its norms as we shall see.

The Protagonist and the Rawi

It is true that the result of the trial of single maq.mah can be anticipated: the r.wi functioning as judge is closely related to the offender in spirit, he is an alter ego of his, he belongs like Abu Zayd to those intellectuals who take interest not so much in film, secure and established knowledge, but rather in the ‘jafl’i’, strange, miraculous, a-normal phenomena. He follows the sophisticated, well-versed men in the ways of the world, who rely on their own experience rather than on pious transmission, who thus have replaced the ‘Rihāsh ilī talab al-‘ilm’ with its subversive counterpart, the ‘sāiri al-ri’āk al-urūdah’:

(i) had gathered it from men of experiences, that travel is a mirror of marvels, wherefore I ceased not crossing every desert, and braving every danger, so that I might bring into my reach everything wonderful.

It is obvious that such a person figuring as judge cannot give a convincing verdict on the offence of Abu Zayd’s using ‘adad outside the realm conceded to it by societal norms. Things are different when, instead of the offender’s alter ego, a genuine judge, a q.d.i., is involved, i.e. when the play is staged in a law court. Then the debate of the epilogue is exposed to a kind of microscopical magnification: once the spokesman of norms himself is implied, it is no longer the individual act of deception that is tried, but rather the legitimacy of Abu Zayd’s practise as a whole advocating instead of the ideal of al-mu‘arif, of norm-abiding traditional behaviour, rather the anti-norm, the ideal of al-dajjal, the extraordinary. As a maq.mah about the maq.mah, i.e.