AN ENCOUNTER IN GOD'S TIME:
THE AMERICAN MISSION AND KUWAIT

ABRIDGED FROM A LECTURE BY LEWIS R. SCUDDER, JR

Years ago, the London Economist reflected upon what the decade of the 1980's was going to look like. It predicted that the religious mood worldwide would be both conservative and bloody-minded. Now into the zero year of a new millennium and twenty years later, that prediction seems more applicable than when it was first made. Our world is filled with religious uncertainty, anger and aggressiveness. It brims over with anxiety. And anxious people have a way of lashing out without reason or compassion.

"To a child of this unique city's Qiblah quarter and of the American Mission here, this seems both tragic and strange. It seems strange to me because I grew up in an atmosphere that was at once diverse and tolerant. The diversity - the fact that people are different from each other mended into the flavour of living. It is like Kuwait's food with all its subtle and adventurous spicing. I have never tasted anything quite like it anywhere else on God's good earth. For me, Kuwaiti cooking is the eloquent statement of how Kuwait has captured and blended together the best of the many cultures it has known. It is strange how anyone can deny something so good. Fanaticism never found fertile ground in Kuwait.

"I remember too Eid al-Fitr and Christmas. In my mind, these two festivals - one Muslim, the other Christian - will always speak in harmony. They are continuous, the one with the other. Whenever I celebrate one, I celebrate the other. They share a common theme of joy and the end of hunger. In both of them there is a sense of fulfillment, expectations realized and liberation. And they bear a spirit of hope and good humour, expressions of love and respect for all human beings. But what most connects them in my mind is the unique Kuwaiti tradition of "tazawwur", when the people of Kuwait visited each other and showed each other honour. "Eidu-kum Mubarak" and "ayamul-kum saidah". It is a tradition, which had counterparts in other Gulf States and elsewhere, but nowhere was it practiced quite like it was in Kuwait. There was the open door through which people passed in and out and spoke of peace and goodwill. It was (and is) a metaphor for how God chooses to relate to human beings, and how he wants human beings to relate to each other.

"As I recall it, the tradition was that from sunrise to dusk the Kuwaitis came in there hundreds to call on people in the mission. The first to come was always the Ruler, and then in order they came until the sermon was completed by ordinary folk. They began at the home of the pastor (because he was the official religious representative), then they went on to the doctor's home, and then on to the home of Yaqoub Shamas and then the home of Sulayman Siman. That is the sequence they thought to be appropriate.

"I have understood that this tradition began when the first missionaries joined in the established practice of visiting during Eid al-Fitr. The people then asked them, "But, now that you have honoured us by visiting us during our festival, when can we visit you?" It seems the answer given was, "Christmas is the Christian festival that is most appropriate". And it is worth noting that foreign political representatives sat to receive callers on New Year's Day.

"In fact, the missionaries along with the rest of the town's people did visit the households of Kuwait during the three days of Eid al-Fitr. All the people began at sunrise of the first day by calling upon the Ruler and the other men of the Sabah family. Then they scattered to visit the households of the Sharqi quarter. On the Eid's second day, it was the turn of the households of Qiblah. And the third day was set-aside for visits to the folk of Murgab. Coffee flowed in rivers, candy was distributed by the bushel, and perfume sprayed down in showers.

"I remember in particular, when both Eid al-Fitr and Christmas fell on the very same day-the second day of the Id. I remember it because, quite seamlessly, the rhythm of visitation on that occasion continued with the American Mission becoming part of the Qiblah circuit for Eid al-Fitr. The American Mission belonged to Kuwaiti society. The desire of Kuwaitis to preserve the American Mission hospital buildings as a symbol of their own indigenous heritage underscores that fact even though circumstances have changed radically in recent years.

"The mission was first established in the United States in 1889 as the "Arabian Mission". Now, that name cannot be translated literally into Arabic. It makes no sense and creates confusion. It may be best rendered as "al-iradiyah li-l-Arubah." But that too is
awkward and may offend some sensibilities. Keeping this in mind - that the mission did not think of itself as primarily "American" in any but an incidental sense but was given that name - we will proceed. I will bow to the prevailing usage, but in the understanding that when we say "American Mission" the "American" is always understood to be within quotation marks.

"It is appropriate to observe here that, as a human undertaking, the mission was clearly a product of its own time and circumstances. It was born at a time when western Christian self-confidence and optimism was at its zenith. It intended to transform the world so that it should all become Christian... and Protestant Christian at that! It did not see any real impediment to realizing that objective.

"In this prevailing atmosphere the American Mission was conceived and born, and we must be shocked nor allow ourselves to grow angry about the fact that, at least initially, members of the mission shared the general conditioning of all westerners. Nor must we be surprised that it was blatantly evangelistic nor that its members expected to succeed in the endeavour. What we must take note of is that it was an enterprise which saw itself divorced from political objectives, and - more a portent of things to come - that it was launched in God's name.

"The surprise, of course, always belongs to God. Among my favourite passages in the Holy Qur'an is one that is inescapably shocking to Christian spirituality, but is both humorous and wise. It runs, "wa makaru wa makara Allhu, w-Allahu khayr-ul-makirin". [They plotted and God plotted but, among all plotters, God is the best]. Of course, the equivalent aphorism in English is "Man proposes, but god disposes". When human Beings dedicate an action to God, they must not be shocked when God takes over. By mutual consent, after all, it belongs to him. And what emerged from the American Mission enterprises was both less and more than what had been expected. Certainly its shape and content became something unique and different from what its founders sought and hoped for. But it was glorious, nonetheless. And that aspect of "glory" is what points to God's hand in directing what happened.

"Another expression in the holy Qur'an is constantly in my mind: "For people, God is the confier of the similes" (v-Allahu yadru l-anthala li-n-nasi). It comes from the Sura of Light (v.35). That whole verse in the Holy Qur'an is among the most beautiful that has ever been given to human thought. It comes back to me time and again with all its power, with all its profound insight. The light that is God knows no cultural boundaries, no limitation - it is neither of the West nor of the East. In addition, it is full of the fact that, in all things, God has comprehension - wa Allahu bi kulli-shay'in alim.

"The American Mission and its encounter with Kuwaiti society as an event that has taken place in God's light and in his time. The character of any encounter depends greatly upon how it began. And the American mission entered Kuwait, not as an incursion by some sort of secret society, nor through an exercise of power. It belongs to the education of the mission (and of its missionaries) that it was only allowed to enter Kuwait through the front door and at the gracious invitation of the Amir, Sheikh Mubarak the Great.

"The key person in establishing the mission's relationship with the great Sheikh was a quiet and idealistic twenty-seven year old physician named Arthur Bennett who was then posted in Basra. In the character of individuals like Arthur Bennett, it is obvious that the mission never tried to hide its character and from the outset, there was a dialogue both of culture and of faith. The first two characteristics of true dialogue are clarity and honesty. Another characteristic is a good intent. A fourth is mutual respect. These qualities pertained from the outset on both sides. And the fifth quality, mutual trust, came in the course of time.

"The first mission family to settle in Kuwait were Edwin and Eleanor Calverley. He was a clergyman and educator. She was among the first women physicians in the whole Gulf. In his modest school Edwin Calverley educated some young boys who, when they grew up, were to lead Kuwait into the modern era.

"The appointment of an Englishman, Stanley Mylrea, as the first truly permanent male doctor also set at rest some of the political anxieties of the British colonial authorities who kept a close eye on Kuwait. And here it is worth noting that the British looked upon the mission with suspicion. The American character of the mission was, at least at first, a stumbling block to cordial relationships with the British power brokers in the Gulf in the absence of which the mission could not function.

"What becomes clear from the record is that, while the mission had to make gestures to appease the ruling colonial power, they primarily identified with the Arab community they had come to serve and advocated their cause. And, no doubt, this occasioned some ambiguity.

"It was late in the year, 1920, that the Kuwaiti and Ikhwan forces met at Jahra, and the outcome of that
battle did much to shape Kuwait's future, as we all know. The Kuwaiti wounded from that battle were brought by small boat to Kuwait City and taken to the relatively new mission hospital. There Stanley Mylrea and the hospital's small staff tended to them. Miraculously, of the 135 seriously wounded Kuwaiti patriots brought to the mission only four died. From that time on, there was a new understanding between Kuwaiti society and the mission. They would take a hand in the mission. It would become part of their society. Trust was established.

"Historically, the mission received capital grants from the church in America and from generous Christian donors for this sort of thing. In the early 1950's when the mission decided it had to expand its facilities and build something more modern to serve its people in Kuwait, it appealed to that same source and the answer came back that the funds require were simply not available. The members of the mission in Kuwait then sat down and scratched their heads, and the idea emerged, "why not ask the Kuwaitis whether they would like to help?" Within a very short time the money was raised and with funds left over to improve upon the original design. A list of those who contributed would include almost all of Kuwait's traditionally prominent families. I remember my parents and their happy amazement at the generosity of all Kuwaitis. So, when the hospital came to completion, everyone knew it was a product of the participation of the people of Kuwait and their generosity.

"Several years later, the small church building of the mission was stretched beyond its limits. It was already known that capital funds from the United States would not be available. Again, when the people of the mission gathered to talk over this disappointing situation, someone suggested," why not ask the Kuwaitis whether they would like to help?" Many members of Kuwait society gave generously to the mission's church. When the decision had been made in America in 1967 to close the hospital, appeal after appeal was made to save the hospital from closure. Many Kuwaitis came forward to help. A group, let by Mr. Shaykhman al-Farsia, even formed itself as a benevolent society, pledging to endow the hospital.

"After the hospital closed, His Highness Sheikh S'ad, then Minister of Defence, refused even to think about my leaving and asked both of them to serve in Kuwait's military hospital. And that is where they completed their careers and ended their days.

"During the early 1970's there was much debate about what would happen to the hospital buildings and the whole property of the mission. The buildings were then falling into a state of neglect and, since the hospital's closure in 1967, had been misused. It was proposed that the buildings be demolished, but it was not long before there rose a swell of public opinion voiced courageously in Kuwait's free press demanding that the mission hospital buildings be declared historic buildings, part of Kuwait's historical heritage. Now all that remains is for the hospital buildings to be restored and used in some appropriate manner.

"If, on the human level, there were other motivations at work, in the end, the product has transcended those and God has made and the welfare of the mission with Kuwaiti Society took place in the full light of history, and we may analyse it in those terms of we like. But, for those of us who have a spiritual heritage in that experience, there is another dimension. It is an encounter that took place in God's time, and that has been both glorious and healing. We are, all of us, better for it. And may that always be the last and lasting memory of what happened here. This event took place in the light of God, which glows in a crystal niche and is fed by subtle oil that is neither of the East nor of the West. It is a smile... a metaphor of peace... that God himself has coined for the people".
I
n 1598, Shah 'Abbas I (r. 1587-1629) moved his court to Isfahan, in central Iran, and immediately set about transforming this important provincial city into a capital worthy of his newly-strengthened kingdom. The initial buildings were designed to satisfy the needs of a large entourage in the midst of an urban agglomeration. Quarters for the household, for couriers and court receptions, for military personnel, for horses and stables, for civil administrators, and workshops for artists of all kinds were laid out in new buildings in a large garden-zone called the Daulat-Khana, or the House of Government. This was on the western side of the huge, new, main square or maidan, and became the focal point of Safavid Isfahan. The entry to the entire palace-precinct was a brick structure incorporating a smaller Timurid palace. At the adjacent end of the new maidan, the Shah's grand new mosque was to be built and directly across from the gateway, a much smaller mosque was erected in honour of a celebrated cleric who was the father-in-law of the Shah.

The entry-structure itself became known as the 'Ali Qapu, the "high gate[way]" or "lofty port[al]". It has a large open porch three stories high and faces the maidan where the shah could see and be seen. The building houses several audience-chambers at different levels, and many other vaulted rooms and passages that are neutral in both function and decoration. The walls are painted with abstract geometrical and floral designs, organized so as to emphasize the architectonic features of the building. A pair of much smaller rooms in an upper floor look down onto a large interior audience-chamber and were almost certainly intended for musicians—for which reason they have been named "Music Boxes." They are painted with figural compositions, arranged in two tiers to cover the walls from the arched ceiling to the floor where, presumably, the musicians were seated as they performed.

The youth in this better preserved picture (at floor-level) wears an extravagantly large striped turban of many colours and leans on a large bolster; muses on something with a tiny smile playing around his mouth. He sits in the open air beside a blossoming fruit-tree. Apart from the colourful realism of the landscape, nothing else in the style of the painting sets it appreciably apart from myriad other contemporary single-figure paintings on paper. The young man typifies the beautiful beardless youth so frequently encountered in both Persian poetry and Iranian painting. In painting of the Safavid period, the genre of the independent single figure became popular.

Deeper into the garden-zone, behind the lofty gateway of the 'Ali Qapu, other Safavid monarchs built additional palatial structures during the course of the century. Shah 'Abbas II (r. 1642-1660) built a reception-palace known as the Chihil Sutun or "Forty Columns" in the midst of the gardens of the Daulat-Khana. Its many interior rooms are sumptuously deco-

rated primarily with figural paintings.

Ranging from the truly monumental to small images resembling framed pictures hung at eye-level, the two distinctly different styles characterizing the painting of seventeenth century Iran—the traditional and eclectic—are displayed. The traditional style, already seen in the 'Ali Qapu, had developed imperceptibly out of the Qazvin court-style of the later sixteenth century. It was shaped into its distinctive seventeenth-century appearance by the hands of Shah 'Abbas I's court painter named Riza, who later came to be known as Riza-i 'Abbasi-Riza in the service of
"A Prince Hosts an Entertainment in the Countryside" Wall-painting in the "Courty Room" of the Chihil Sutun, Isfahan, Iran, between 1647 and 1660.

Abbas. The eclectic style thus forged is a melange of both imported European influences and contemporary Mughal Indian painting on a native Iranian foundation. Both are found on the miniature as well as on the monumental, and in the buildings of Safavid Isfahan, examples of the latter mode have been most abundantly preserved.

On either side of the formal entry to the Chihil Sutun are small chambers that might have served as anterooms or waiting rooms. Both are richly decorated with figurative compositions adhering to the different themes prevalent in both contemporary literature as well as painting. The room on the right of the entry is devoted to images of courtiers dispersing themselves in the open countryside and is painted entirely in the Riza-i Abbasi-style. A large picture of men and women gathered on a meadow is painted on the short wall opposite the primary entry and dominates the chamber. It shows a seated prince flanked by both standing and seated courtiers. A woman in a tulip-patterned robe, only partly visible under her camel-hair veil, offers refreshment from a long-necked glass bottle. Two women musicians in the left background play tambourines. The setting is a flowering green meadow alongside a rock-nimmed silver stream at the edge of a rocky landscape. The blue sky is streaked with clouds, and a leafy tree, stretching into the pointed arch of the wall, marks the apex of the composition. All the pictorial themes of contemporary painting, whether mural or miniature, are here combined into one large and gracious image (marred only by damage in the area of the prince's face); a princely reception of well-dressed attendants, entertained by music and poetry, in the verdant outdoors.

Mirroring the "Courty Room" on the right of the Chihil Sutun entrance, is the "Literary Room" on the left side. It is similar to the "Courty Room" in both size and the concept of its pictorial decoration. The themes of its pictures are drawn from Persian literature, both classical and contemporary. The drawings are executed both in the traditional Riza manner as well as the new eclectic manner, also found in the principal paintings in the Audience Hall and on the exterior balustrades and terraces.

The paintings in the niches on the longer walls have as their subject images of some of the most celebrated lovers in classical Persian poetry. This room has been much damaged. However, the pictures of Khusraw discovering Shirin bathing in the pool (from Nizami's "Khusraw u Shirin"), and of Zulaykha and her attendants overcome by the beauty of the saintly Yusuf (from Jami's "Yusuf u Zulaykha") have survived in reasonably good condition. At the end of the room, in a position parallel to that of the princely entertainment in the countryside, the penultimate episode from a relatively contemporary poem by an Iranian poet in Mughal Indian service has been painted.

Muhammad Riza ibn Mahmud Khabushan, known by the pen-name of Naur-i, wrote a short masnavi on a Hindu subject before 1604 for prince Danyal, one of Akbar's sons, which is titled "Saz u Gudaz" (Burning and Melting). This short, tragic poem concerns a Hindu couple betrothed since childhood who grow up knowing and loving each other. When, finally, they are about to be married, bricks falling from a building accidentally kill the bridegroom. The bride, while not yet her husband, insists on sacrificing herself and joins him on the funeral pyre despite the efforts of her family and friends to dissuade her. In the foreground of the Chihil Sutun picture, Prince Danyal and his suite surround the bride, and a distressed crowd gathers behind them. A woman at the right of the picture plays a stringed
instrument and, at the rear of the crowd, other musicians sound trumpets and beat tambourines. Behind the hill, at the apex of the composition, a huge fire burns with golden flames.

The Hindu story is treated as a metaphor for a fundamental Sufi theme: the soul burning with desire to be united with God. It may also be seen as a metaphor for the intertwining themes and patterns of Iranian and Indian cultural and political life in the middle of the seventeenth century. The “Suz u Gidaz” painting has also been interpreted as a pictorial metaphor for a significant event in the relationship between Mughal India and Safavid Iran: the retaking of Kandahar by the Safavids early in 1649. This interpretation would see the painting as dating from the same year, although there is an equally strong case for considering all of the Chihil Sutun pictures in their hybrid and eclectic style as being part of a later decorative campaign. Since none of the many painted areas in the Chihil Sutun is dated, and the only precise date—that of 1647 (1057 AH)—is contained within a poem in a decorative inscription on the principal talar of the building, it is impossible to be certain when any of its paintings was actually executed. Yet, all the presently recorded manuscript-copies of Nau’ī’s “Suz u Gidaz”—whether with or without illustrations—appear to date from no earlier than the middle of the century. Only one of them has the date 1657 (1068 AH) inscribed on it, which lends weight to the argument of a later date for this painting.

The magnificent, high-ceilinged, triple-domed Audience Hall of Shah ‘Abbas II’s reception-palace is the location for its largest paintings, which also proclaim the Safavid message to the rest of the Islamic world—or at least to anyone who might have been received in audience there!

Three of these paintings depict receptions given by

Above, “Shah Tahmasp Receives Humayun, Padisah of India” Wall-painting in the Audience Hall of the Chihil Sutun, Isfahan, Iran, between 1647 and 1660.

Below, “The Bride Prepares to Immolate Herself” Wall-painting in the “Literary Room” of the Chihil Sutun, Isfahan, Iran, between 1647 and 1660.
the reigning monarch in honour of a princely visitor from the East, and the fourth shows the founder of the dynasty, Shah Isma'il, in victorious combat against Shaybani Khan the Uzbek, in 1511. Their propagandistic import was surely understood by all the subjects of the Safavid realm. It would also have been clear to visitors from any lands bordering Iran to the east: though the Safavid court was the refuge of fellow Muslim princes in difficulty, non-compliance with the Shah's terms could bring defeat in battle, and even death!

Shah Tahmasp welcomed Humayun of India in the first Safavid capital, Tabriz, in 1541, when the Mughal emperor fled from northwestern India. In the hope of maintaining an Eastern Muslim alliance against the Ottoman Turks, Tahmasp continued to sustain Humayun financially until 1555. The mid-seventeenth century Iranian painting of a court reception given in honour of the cultured Indian prince by the equally cultured Iranian ruler is a stylistic combination of traditional and foreign elements that seem to have made their appearance in Isfahan in the Chihil Sutun. The traditionally Iranian composition of a reception—a wide triangle with the princes at the apex—is the setting for this quite realistic depiction of Indian guests and Iranian courtiers and entertainers. The window at the rear of the composition, with its view of an open landscape, is a classical Iranian pictorial device. However, the treatment of the landscape is very different from the classical one because its components diminish in size, distinctness and colour, becoming realistically "blued" as they "recede" into the background. Tahmasp and his principal courtiers, at the right of the picture, wear the early Safavid turban with its prominent baton; but the less important Iranian attendants wear contemporary mid-seventeenth-century headgear, and their clothing makes no other historical concessions. The Indian turbans worn by the Mughals, at the left of the picture, are an attempt to depict the turban-style of the prior century, and Humayun's courtiers wear the Indian parka, the saah with lavishly decorated ends and Indian backless slippers. Humayun himself wears a fur-trimmed robe of honour—surely a gift from Tahmasp to his exalted guest! It is cut in the seventeenth-century style from fabric showing the seventeenth-century Iranian design of a large pattern on a gold ground.

Even more remarkable, in the context of traditional Iranian seventeenth-century painting, is the manner of representing personages. This also distinguishes "The Bide Prepares to Inmate Herself". In this painting, as also in three of the other programmatic paintings in the Audience-Hall (and on the exterior walls and porches), the figural stance is firm and upright, displaying none of the languid curves and swaying postures so typical of the "Riza-style" of painting. Equally unlike such paintings are the firmly drawn faces and the large, slightly bulbous eyes of most figures, and the degree of personal facial differentiation notable among the different personages. It is as if the eclectic painters of these pictures had abandoned entirely their traditional Iranian figurative conception even though they continued to organize compositions according to the oldest and most classical notions of Iranian composition.
and everything else was surely intended as a portrait-representation of this most influential of Safavid monarchs, the black, flaring moustaches of so many of his courtiers are clearly worn in visual homage to one of the most distinctive features of one of Iran's foremost Shahs, whose usual epithet was "The Great".

Hunting, waging victorious military campaigns, and feasting were three obligations traditionally incumbent upon the oriental prince. It is, thus, no coincidence that these are the subjects painted on the portal of the grand entrance to the new bazaars and other buildings constructed to link Shah Abbas I's grand new maidan in the seventeenth-century Safavid quarter, to the older bazaar-quarter extending from the Selçuk mosque further to the north.

The hunting-scene is at the left of the entrance to the Qaysariyeh. The large battle-scene spreads across the central (and wider) panel and, at the right, is a scene of feasting. The unusual features in these paintings are their free-form conception and the absence of any formal frame that would appear to "contain" them pictorially, as was virtually always the case with seventeenth-century Iranian painting. Instead, all three appear to have been conceived as large, rather meandering compositions with at least five internal levels on which the figures are disposed. Stylistically, the hunting scene and the battle-scene are both painted in the traditional figural mode, with the large, loosely wrapped turbans perfectly seventeenth century in their style. In the hunting-scene, both the figural groupings and the single figures are drawn from a repertoire that stretches far back into Iran's pre-Islamic past.

A final feature of these paintings is their unsuitability to the location in which they appear: such images of princely prerogatives would seem to be more appropriate decoration for a building located within the Dowlat Khana instead of on the portal to the markets through which all the citizens of Isfahan might at some point pass. Even more inappropriate is the fragility of the medium: pigment painted directly on to unprimed plaster. The Bazaar portal faces south, capturing the most intense rays of the summer sun, while rain in autumn and spring is sometimes heavy, and snow is not unknown in the Isfahan winter. That these paintings have survived three centuries and more, and still convey the significance of the formal activities testifying to personal prowess in the hunt, strategic thinking for victory in battle, and princely generosity at leisure, is a remarkable testimony to the means, as well as the princely message, of Safavid painting in seventeenth-century Isfahan.
Title Pages in Arabic Manuscripts

Abridged from a lecture by Jan Just Witkam

Title pages seem so self-evident that hardly any special attention is given to them. They are just there; we turn them over, usually disregarding them, and then start reading our book. That modern title pages are often products of graphic design with an art status of their own is often not realized by the modern reader. In the printed books of today the title page primarily gives the legal status of the book, it mentions the author and title, and most importantly the publisher who has invested in the production and who wishes to make a profit from sales of the book. His and the author's rights are protected by national and international copyright laws, hence the need for clarity. However, this has not always been so. The first simple, label-like, title pages in the western book only appeared about five hundred years ago. Before that, the book started with the beginning of the text, it was as simple as that.

In the Arabic manuscript book, quite different features may be seen from a very early stage of the development of the Islamic book onward. The early title page contains, of course, the basic information, title and author. There exists an extremely old copy of the Gharib al-Hadith by Abu Ubayd (d.837), which is dated 866, and which has just that (MS Leiden Or. 298). It is one of the oldest occurrences of what cannot be characterized otherwise than a proper title page. We must be cautious however, because we see that the manuscript in question has not just one title page, but many of them. In fact, all quires (kumais) of this manuscript have a title page of their own, and these are numbered consecutively. The serial numbering does not indicate the numbers of the volumes of the work but that of the quires. Numerous title pages were created this way in order to cater for a registration of the genealogy of the text (by riwaya or sama‘, meaning written or oral transmission), by which the manuscript would establish its link to the author's copy of that text.

In addition, such title pages could be and were indeed used as a registration sheet for students who had read the text, or at least the text contained in that quire together with their teacher. So, in course of time, such copies would be filled with all sorts of notes stating the names of the students present at the reading session, stating the dates and sometimes the place or places where the book was read, and that was repeated in each and every quire. A combined analysis of such study notes or reading protocols presents us with a vivid insight in the methods of the classical Muslim scholars and their educational practices. These methods can be summarized as follows: a teacher would use an authenticated (by riwaya or sama‘) copy of his textbook in reading sessions with his students, and would then note down their completion of the reading in the manuscript, as a sort of student registration. With such registration, all sorts of details were added, providing us with a lively and humane picture of the conditions of traditional education. These reader's protocols in Arabic manuscripts (qaza‘ al-qira‘a‘) had their heyday in the 12th-14th century, but their origins are much older.

Another type of title page can be found in what can be called books of royal or princely patronage. Their occurrence coincides with the aforementioned type of scholarly and educational title page. Having an important library would enhance someone's status as a literate person and a patron of the arts and sciences. Rich and important people would make foundations from their libraries or might join them to educational institutions that they had founded. Such books were splendidly made in a number of respects, many of which one can observe at the same time. They were written on good, quite heavy and glossy papers of medium to large size, they had excellent, or at least expert, calligraphy frequently executed with the use of gold or coloured inks, and they were contained in a well-made binding. Such volumes, which are not unlike our modern bibliophile editions, could have well drafted illuminations on their title pages.

The illustrators were people who would make, primarily, beautiful copies of the Qur'an. It is their Qur'anic work that would hone their skills by which they could develop their talents. It cannot come, therefore, as a complete surprise that the illuminations, which we see on the title pages of Arabic manuscripts other than the Qur'an would show features similar in shape to those in Qur'anic manuscripts. However, it is evident that the function of such ornamental elements in non-Qur'anic manuscripts is different. Whereas in Qur'ans the illuminated strips were used to differentiate the text of the sun readings from the holy text, no such functions was needed for illuminations on a title-page of a non-Qur'anic manuscript. Yet, the illustrators have in many cases, used precisely such ornamental elements on the title page. One can observe this especially in the beginning of the development of ornamenting the title page.

Again, it is difficult to define an exact period for the ornamentation of the title pages. A beautifully executed set of leaves containing the elements of the title page is
known from a manuscript which was made in Ghazna, in present day Afghanistan (MS Leiden Or. 437), which can be dated at approximately between 1049 and 1052, when it was commissioned by the Ghaznavid Abu Mansur Abd al-Rashid. In a detailed study, S. M. Stern has described the text and outward appearance of this MS (in R., Pinder-Wilson (ed.), "Paintings from Islamic Lands," Oxford 1969 pp. 7-31). That MS, Khulqhi, could be considered as one of the earliest examples of such an illuminated title page. As often, the picture in this MS is not as clear-cut as one would like it to be. A later owner, probably living in the thirteenth century in Homs in Syria, where the MS in the meantime had gone, has drastically changed the first page of the MS, and superimposed his own name on the ex-libris from Ghazna and has covered what he could not use of it with scrolls in red and gold ink. The bibliographical part of the title in this book is spread over the following two pages of the manuscript, giving it an opening that is reminiscent of an illuminated double opening page in a Qur’anic manuscript. It shows that the Qur’anic illumination can never have been far from the mind of those artists who also became engaged in illuminating non-Qur’anic manuscripts. Seen from the other end, it implies that Qur’anic illumination cannot be studied in isolation from the illuminations that we find in non-Qur’anic manuscripts. It should be added, that although the subject matter of the manuscript from Ghazna is Qur’anic, it could hardly be styled as a secular text. The text treats the characteristics of the Hadith of the Prophet Muhammad, a subject that had become, by that time, only second to the Qur’anic itself in holiness.

Though this manuscript from Ghazna shows a very clear example of the illuminated title page, it is mostly because of the sheer lack of manuscripts, let alone illuminated ones, that have survived from the 10th and 11th centuries that we are unable to make remarks of a wider relevance on trends in illumination in this earlier period. Only in the Ayyubid period, and in the ensuing Mamluk era, do we see development in the art of the illuminated title page, a feature that we can observe up to the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. It should be noted that developments in manuscript design and ornamentation in the western part of the Islamic world are here left out of the discussion. The Maghrebi and Andalusian development in the art of the book should be treated from a different angle and perspective.

The elements of the illuminated title page would often be threefold. First there would be the indication of the title of the work, which in traditional Arabic bibliography has always been the most important element of a book plate. This is different from the primacy of the author’s name, which in modern times has become the first element in bibliographical description. Secondly, there would be an indication of the author of the text. And finally, there would be an ornamented space for a royal or princely ex-libris. These three elements are not necessarily present on all illuminated title pages. It may happen that a luxuriously produced manuscript (on which one would assume to find an ornamented title page) has no conspicuous ex-libris. The reasons for its absence could be manifold. Maybe the person who commissioned it never collected the manuscript, or maybe there was another reason, such as dissatisfaction of the patron with about the quality of the work. Sometimes ornamented title pages would only contain the first two elements of title and author. Any prominent owner who later, and in some cases many years later, aquired the fin-

Illuminated title page with an ex-libris of a Mamluk owner of a copy of the Diwan of the Jalaluddin poet al-Hariri, probably dating from the end of the 14th or the beginning of the 15th century (MS Leiden Or. 115).
ished manuscript would have to content himself by adding his name, or that of his library or foundation in a modest way to the title page, lest he should spoil the artistic qualities of that page. It might also happen that a commercial illuminator might leave a space in the illuminated title page, to be completed later, after the conclusion of the sale of the manuscript.

An example for this is the four-volume copy of al-Gawhari’s Sahih (MS Leiden Or. 85). It’s four uniformly executed title pages first give a title on an ornamented strip, with a marginal flourish as is familiar from Qur’anic manuscripts. The text of the title is given in an archaic (the volumes date from 1341 to 1347) Kufic script. Then there is the indication of the author’s name, written on a kidney shaped label, itself an uncommon shape. Finally, on the lower half of the page, there is a large empty frame, which was large enough to contain the names and honours of an important person or a lofty institution. The latter was never filled in, and we can only speculate why it was left blank.

In the context of the illuminated title page, something should be said, but in a very succinct way, about the dedicatory illustrated double pages which one sometimes sees in luxury manuscripts, preceding the text, and seemingly substituting elements of the title page. There are a few very old examples of this in Arabic manuscripts, for example, the Topkapi manuscript of Dioscorides’ De materia medica” (Arabic title “Kitab al Hāshib fi Haydah al ‘Ilaj”). In it, we see the dignified author sitting on a chair, with pupils presenting him a book, probably their copy of his work. This way of presenting the author is, evidently, of classical origin, dating from before the advent of Islam. Yet, such pages have survived, in an Islamic garb, in many, almost exclusively Persian manuscripts.

A very late example of this is the scene in which the Persian poet Hakim I San‘î offers his book to the king of Ghazna (MS Leiden Or. 1651). On the miniature, we see Bahram Shah, the Sultan of Ghazna and the author of the book, Hakim I San‘î. The miniature has far reaching implications. It shows the Sufi, Hakim, offering poetry in praise of a ruler something that would appear to be a contradiction. Courting worldly power is indeed a conflicting issue in the Sufi’s life and work. If we limit ourselves to the present miniature, we see the poet humbly (or not too humbly) offering what seems to be his book, the “Hadiqat al Huqiqa”, to the Sultan. The artist of the miniature, however, has depicted an opened notebook (safina), so it may be possible that the poet offers here one of his poems in praise of the Sultan. Maybe we should not attach too much importance to that incongruity. A double page opens the volume; there is no separate title page in the book. The title and author are first mentioned on the next page, with a calligraphic text inside an ornamented panel.

There is, here, a difference with seemingly similar scenes shown in manuscripts. In the miniature with Hakim I San‘î, the illustration reflects an episode of the life of the author, and summarizes a moral conflict. Should he search for worldly power or should his goal be spiritual wisdom and union with the Creator? The miniature shows the author and his book in a courtly context, in the environment of power. It relates to the contents of the book. With some tenderness, one might say

*The poet Hakim San‘î (d.1100) offering a copy of his hadīqat to Bahram Shah, the Sultan of Ghazna. Double page overture to a Safavid copy of the Hadiqat, dated 1579. The image expresses the moral dilemma of the poet, who wavers between courting worldly power and renouncing the world (MS Leiden Or. 1651).*
that the miniature has come in the place of title and author of the book, an image instead of text, but an image with a reference to the text and identity of the author.

Similar images can also reflect the manuscript's ownership. This can be seen in the Shirazi style manuscript of Firdawsi's Shahnameh (MS Leiden Or. 494). The dedicatory double page in that manuscript dates from 840AH, 1437AD. We are now unable to identify this court and its prince, but for the fifteenth century owner of the MS this may have been less of a mystery. It is certainly not a scene from the Shahnameh. It can, therefore, hardly be anything else than a portrayal of the proud owner, the focal point of reverence. One might put a double page such as this one, on equal footing with a royal ex-libris. Here the message is not given in elaborate calligraphy in an ornamental panel, but by means of a colourful image.

In the purely graphic title page, we have seen that this feature is used in a period of more than one thousand years. It displayed a number of components. The mention of title and author (always in that order) is of all ages - without these elements there is no title page. Other components have also been incorporated such as marks of ownership and readership, these seem, of course, to be of all ages as well. They are hardly ever contemporary to the MS, but they often reveal interesting details on readership, and on how people treat their books. Another feature, that has more to do with the contents of the book, is the complex of information on textual transmission (hikayat) and on readership in an educational environment.

In the ornamental title pages, we meet most of the above features, but there are other elements. First, there is the element of luxury and royal patronage.

This lecture has suggested a link between the illumination in Masafi and the way in which the title page in manuscripts are illuminated. It had pointed out stylistic similarities. Many elements of the Qur'anic ornamentation, especially the strips containing the sura headings, can be found back as elements in ornamented title pages in non-Qur'anic manuscripts. Martin Lings, in his work, "The Qur'anic Art of Calligraphy and Illumination" (London 1976), has first shown us a number of these elements, but he did so almost exclusively in a Qur'anic context, and he has almost always refrained from describing the nature of these ornamental elements. The author has also shown that the Qur'anic ornamental elements are commonly used in non-Qur'anic books as well.

The lecture has also shown that ornamented title pages occur in a relatively shorter period. The oldest one, in the manuscript from Ghanza, dates from about 1050, the latest one shown from about five hundred years later. These limits may be stretched on both sides of the time scale if one works with a larger sample of manuscripts than done by the author. A prominent part of the ornamented title page is the royal ex-libris. The lecturer has drawn attention to a few of these. Some of those mentioned are related, or come from the same source. The lack of a handbook on such ex-libris texts is sad, and as long as such a handbook does not exist, it is extremely complicated to identify the owners or institutions in whose libraries these manuscripts were once proudly incorporated.

Finally, the author has drawn attention at what he would like to call the 'luxury complex'. Many of the manuscripts under review were well written, made of a good quality of paper, provided with ornaments both in the title pages and the texts, occasionally adorned with miniatures as well, and often kept in beautiful bindings or cases. The author's purpose in mentioning this accumulation of beautifying elements is to propagate a holistic approach in the study of the beautiful book. One should not study ornaments, or illustrations for that matter, as separate from the texts. The author further stresses the importance of looking at such luxury books as fully accomplished objects, and to devote attention to all components by which they are distinguished as luxury objects. That, at least, must have been how their former owners have looked at them. A practical consequence of this is that historians of the art of the Islamic book should improve their command of the languages of the texts in these, and other books, and increase their knowledge about booklore. For philologists like the author, it means that they should increase our awareness of the artistic elements in a book that are expressed by a combined language of images, ornaments, bindings and script.

Illuminated title page with ex-libris, probably of Mu'lin al-Din Sulayman, the first ruler of the Pervane dynasty, which ruled in Sineple, Smaza and Janiq in the second half of the 13th century. The manuscript contains Muhiyy al Hikam wa Mahasin al Kallim by Mahshir B. Fajih and is dated 1262 (MS Leiden Or. 515)
In Islamic painting, the primary concern has never really been portraiture. However, the Ottomans were exceptional in that their interest in historiography resulted in the development of sultanic portraiture. Illustrations of historical events brought about a preoccupation with the image of the rulers themselves and the production of the portraits of sultans continued for almost five centuries. Although individual portraits of certain Timurid rulers did exist (singly or in illustrated manuscripts) and more idealized individual or group portraits did appear in Safavid and Mughal courts (especially in the latter), portraiture as a separate genre of painting did not develop in these circles.

In an exhibition organized at the Topkapı Sarayı in June 2000, over 200 portraits of Ottoman sultans were gathered from Turkish and European collections. This was the first exhibition of its kind ever organized. It displayed a variety of portraits of various sultans painted by Turkish and European artists over a span of five hundred years. The result of a research project carried out by nine scholars from different universities in the world, the exhibition and its catalogue have thrown light both upon the distinctive aspects of Ottoman pictorial art as well as on the political and cultural relations between Europeans and the Ottomans.

Imperial portraiture began in the time of Mehmed II (1451-1481) who wished to acquaint the world with his image as a great ruler. He did so by means of commissioning European artists to make painted portraits and portrait medals to thereby immortalize himself as other sovereigns of history had done. The interest he took in European painting was diverse. As governor in Niça, he is thought to have been in contact with the Genoese in Foça and Chios nearby. Ancient coins and medals must have come into his possession then, since sketches of bust portraits found in his childhood notebook indicate his awareness of such images. It is evident that, after he took Istanbul and made it the capital of the Ottoman Empire, he had contacts with foreigners living in the city. Through these contacts, he acquired books in history, geography and medicine as well as maps and sea charts. Albums (in the Topkapı Sarayı) compiled during his reign prove that even engravings by Florentine artists found their way into the Ottoman court. In one of these Topkapı Sarayı albums, there is a portrait labelled "El Gran Turco" which is drawn after a portrait medal of the Byzantine Emperor John VIII Paleologus by the Italian artist Pisanello. It shows the sultan with the fac-
tasures of John VIII but with a fanatic headdress, thus indicating that, as early as the 1460s, imaginary portraits of the new ruler of Constantinople were being produced in Europe.

Mehmed II was aware of the fact that European Renaissance humanists had medallars struck with their own portraits. Therefore, he invited many Italian medallars and artists to his court for this purpose. In 1461, he asked Sigismondo Malatesta, the Lord of Rimini, to send him Matteo de'Pasti, a medallist who had been a student of the Venetian master Pisanello. Malatesta sent Matteo. However, the Pope, being informed of his visit, charged him with espionage and arrested him in Crete. Mehmed then requested the King Ferrante I of Naples to send him another medallist, and thus, Costanzo da Ferrara, a student of Pisanello, came to Istanbul possibly in the mid-1470s. During the years he spent in Istanbul he produced the sultan's portrait medals and several drawings. The medal in the Washington National Gallery is the first and original one, with the sultan's bust carved on one side and his equestrian portrait on the other.

Upon Mehmed II's invitation to the Doge of Venice, Gentile Bellini came in 1479 and stayed for eighteen months, during which time he took several commissions from the sultan. He made portraits of the sultan and painted frescoes on the walls of a pavilion in the Topkapı Sarayı. Although he was not a medallist, Bellini produced a portrait medall of the sultan with a motif of three crowns in the back, possibly symbolizing the three empires he conquered (Greece, Asia and Trebizond). Mehmed II was also aware of the fact that European Renaissance humanists had medallars struck with their own portraits. Thus, the portrait medals of Mehmed II certainly caused the image of the sultan to spread throughout Europe. Bellini also painted the sultan in oil. In this portrait, now in the National Gallery in London, he is shown in a bust and three-quarter profile enclosed in a Renaissance style arch, with a triple-crown motif on either side. Part of the inscription reads 'Victor Orbis' meaning 'the conqueror of the world.' According to a recent interpretation by the Italian scholar Pedani Fabris, the six crowns symbolize the preceding sultans and the one other on the hanging fabric symbolizes the sultan himself. The arch is interpreted as representing the main gate to Topkapı Sarayı, thus indicating the sovereignty of the sultan beyond.

This image was later copied in several engravings.

Gentile Bellini, and his predecessor Costanza da Ferrara, initiated the genre of imperial portraiture at the Ottoman court. This was continued by local artists who succeeded in blending the conventions of miniature painting with European models. Sinan Bey, who is thought to have been trained by an Italian master, was the most important Turkish artist at the sultan's court. He painted the sultan in bust form very much like the Costanza medall (Topkapı Sarayı H.2153, 145v). One other bust in the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi (B.498) is painted by a local artist, also inspired by the portrait medals. Another portrait of the sultan (Topkapı Sarayı H.2153, 10v), attributed to Śibizade Ahmed, is a true combination of European and Timurid models. It shows the sultan seated cross-legged in the eastern fashion, wearing the ulama type of turban (typical of scholars), and smelling a rose in a style reminiscent of the portraits of Timurid or Uzbek monarchs combined with some European techniques such as modelling and shading. In the Ottoman portrait, there is an attempt at individualization in spite of the preset eastern idiom of portraiture in which it is painted. Other portraits and drawings in the palace albums indicate that the Italian artists working for Mehmed II had a great impact on the local artists who tried to blend eastern Timurid traditions with the European norms of painting.

Thus, sultanic portraiture reflected both the eastern Persian and European traditions. A distinctive Ottoman iconography was evolved for sultanic portraiture combining the eastern, mainly Timurid, traditions and European models. Mehmed II's portraits reflecting the different royal traits indicate that they were commissioned to be given as diplomatic gifts to both European and Persian rulers. This iconography stayed with the Ottoman artists, and commonly known physical features of the sultans and their attributes remained almost invariable until the nineteenth century.

By the end of the fifteenth century, portrait series of the Ottoman sultans had begun to be produced in the Ottoman Empire and in Europe. As early as the time of Bayezid II (1481–1512), a scroll with sultan portraits was produced by Felix Petarcius (on a diplomatic mission to the Ottoman Empire in 1495) and dedicated to the Hungarian king. This is the first known series of sultan portraits in Europe. The first eight sultans are in bust form, with Bayezid II portrayed as an archer. Such a series— painted by Nigari, a Turkish artist of the time of Süleyman the Magnificent (1520–
1566)—was possibly given to Virginio Orsini in 1543 by Admiral Hayreddin Barbarossa during his Mediterranean campaign. Subsequently, it found its way to Paolo Giovio, an Italian collector of portraits in Como, who had them copied in oil. Woodcut copies of these oil portraits were made by Tobias Stimmer and were printed in 1575 in Giovio’s biographical book Eloge. These copies became a model not only for many later European portraits of the sultans painted by artists such as Paolo Veronese but also for illustrated biographical histories. It is interesting to note that Ottoman artists also painted European rulers. Nigari, whose series of sultan portraits became a model for European artists, painted François I and Charles V as well, undoubtedly copying engravings that found their way into the Ottoman court.

A very important series of the sultan portraits was produced during the reign of Murad III (1574–1595) by the Ottoman artist Osman Nakkaş, who, in preparing this series, relied both on Ottoman portraits and those painted in Europe in the Veronese school, samples of which were brought from Venice to the Ottoman court. The work, Portrait of Şileyman the Magnificent painted by Osman Nakkaş in the Sema’dîname dated 1579, Topkapı Sarayı Muzesi. H1563, #16r

with a historical text written by the court historiographer Seyyid Lokman and illustrated by the painter Osman, was called “Kıyâfed-i-insâniye fi Şeraâ’llâh-i-Osmâniye,” or “Physiognomy Concerning the Personal Dispositions of the Ottomans”. It contained the portraits of the first twelve sultans. The science of jenar or the science of physiognomy, is an Islamic tradition. Nevertheless, Lokman, in his text, explains how certain facial and body features indicate character. This manuscript is, therefore, the first example of both a visual and verbal description of the sultans in the Islamic tradition in which the western images of the sultan are Islamised. The work, commonly called Şeraâ’llâhname possibly inspired by Giovio’s illustrated book containing sultans portraits rather than the Timurid models (set by Mehmed II’s portrait in which he is seated in three quarter view, leaning against a cushion and smelling a rose, and which is attributed to Şiblizade) in which biographical histories accompany the portraits. Osman seems to have kept in mind previous Ottoman models; the European portraits brought from Venice; consulted Ottoman historical texts; as well as examined the authentic costumes belonging to each sultan kept in the palace. While the Venetian models are bust portraits, and the sultans are shown wearing imaginary costumes, Osman’s sultans are shown wearing more authentic costumes and headdress. In these portraits, Osman created an Ottomanised sultanic image, with hardly any traces of European painting. Each of his images came to be adopted in the subsequent illustrations of Ottoman historical texts.

A second significant manuscript with portraits was Zâhidetî’s Tevarîh, a world history written by Seyyid Lokman for Murad III. It begins with Adam to whose person the images of all Biblical and Qur’anic prophets can be traced, including Prophet Mohammed, the caliphs and all the Islamic rulers that followed, thus linking the Ottoman sultans genealogically to all these. Several illustrated copies of this genealogical work were produced during Murad’s reign. The portraits of the sultans follow the Şeraâ’llâhname models and are painted by Osman and his school.

The third group of manuscripts was produced at the end of the sixteenth century and the tradition of portrait series of the Ottoman sultans—with a short text giving the description of each sultan and their portraits placed in small medallions—continued into the following centuries. Generally called Şeraâ’llâhnames these were also in the form of genealogies in which the Ottoman sultans—just like in the Zâhidetî’s Tevarîh—were linked to the Islamic monarchs of the past as well as the prophets. Some of these manuscripts start with an Arabic text narrating the stories of the prophets to be followed by a Turkish text by Yusuf bin Ahkilalîf covering world history. The sultan’s portraits in these manuscripts were also derived from Osman Nakkaş’s models although those produced in the Baghdad region reflect the style prevalent in that province. Produced in great numbers—some in the Ottoman capital, some in the provinces—Şeraâ’llâhnames are thought to have been executed in the provincial commercial workshops, mostly in Baghdad, at the end of the sixteenth century, and were made to be disseminated among dignitaries and provincial administrators for the purpose of legitimising Sultân Ottoman rule in the Eastern provinces.
It is interesting to note that the Ottoman Sihlenuemess omit to mention contemporary dynasties, such as the Safavids, Uzbekis and the Mughals, no doubt because the House of Osman is expected to be the only legitimate dynasty. These medallioned genealogies had precedents in the Ilkhanid and Timurid periods, as for example in the early Timurid genealogical scroll in the Topkapı Saray Library (H.2152). This only shows that while illustrated Ottoman genealogies were partly of an eastern tradition, a distinctive iconography was evolved especially for sultanic portraiture which combined both the eastern tradition as well as European models. We know that such Sihlenuemess or Sene'tlemess with sultan portraits continued to be made in the following centuries, and were usually kept in the palace treasury to be visited by each ruler upon his enthronement. Therefore, the individualized, rigid, ceremonial pose that began with the painter Osman stayed with the Ottoman artists in the centuries to come even as the commonly known physical features of the sultans and their attributes remained invariable until the nineteenth century.

Portraits of the Ottoman sultans were also produced in Europe, both in series or as single portraits. They were often printed in books about the Ottoman Empire. One of the Ottoman sultans most frequently portrayed was Süleyman, the Magnificent. Although some of his portraits were painted by European artists accompanying European envoys sent to the Ottoman court, even artists who had never visited the Ottoman Empire—such as Albrecht Dürer and Vecellio Tiziano (Titian)—painted the sultan as well. Undoubtedly, these portraits were derived from the more realistic portraits of the sultan, drawn by artists such as Melchior Lorichs who had accompanied ambassador Busbecq to Süleyman’s court in 1559. Many series of sultan portraits were also painted (or printed) in Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Portraits painted by Niccolò Nelli for the family tree produced by the Venetian historian Sansovino are possibly derived from the Giovio models. So are the portraits found on the map of Istanbul drawn by Vavassore in 1560 and copied several times in later years. Oil portraits derived from such series are now found in the museums in Florence, Vienna and Munich.

More variations in sultanic portraiture occur in the sixteenth century with the increase in the number of historical manuscripts produced in the Ottoman court. The sultans commissioned albums with single images in which sultan portraits were also placed. In the late seventeenth century, costume albums with sultan portraits also became popular. These albums contained information about costumes worn in the Empire, and were mostly derived for foreigners as some of them have inscriptions in French, Italian or English. While Osman’s portrait format continued, portraits of the sultans sitting on the throne, standing, or on horseback increased in number. Oil painted portraits of the sultans increased as diplomatic relations brought more European painters to the Ottoman capital.

Imperial portraiture took a new form in the Ottoman Empire of the eighteenth century. This was a period in Ottoman history in which the Empire entered a period of westernisation and modernization that lasted until the twentieth century. Ahmed III (1703-1730) who reigned in the first quarter of the century—commonly known as the Tulip period—established diplomatic and cultural ties with many European countries. An Ottoman artist called Levni started a new era in sultanic portraiture. Levni prepared an album with portraits of the twenty-two Ottoman sultans for Ahmed III, the reigning sultan. In these portraits, for which the artist relied on the models set by Osman in the sixteenth century Senileneme, the sultans are seated in the traditional manner of resting against a cushion. However, the figures have more volume, are more relaxed, and have more realistic expressions on their faces. Certain European elements—such as pulled curtains—appear in Levni’s portraits. Thus, if Osman was the inspiration for the first stage in sultanic portraiture at the Ottoman court, Levni should be considered as initiating the second one. The models set by Levni in this portrait album were used for portraits throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

In the second half of the eighteenth century, new types and media made their appearance. Single portraits of the sultans were now painted in oil on canvas to be hung on the walls. The sultans began to commission both European and local artists to paint their portraits. Although many series of sultan portraits in albums continued to be produced, most of them were painted in oil with the explicit purpose of hanging them on the walls in the palace, or in the residence of palace members. Even oil painted family trees made their appearance. One artist responsible for new techniques and formats of sultanic portraiture was the Armenian painter Rafael, who worked for the Ottoman court and painted several portraits. Most of his portraits show the sultans sitting frontally on throne.
Selim III was the first sultan to commission his portrait to be printed and distributed among Ottoman dignitaries, ambassadors and foreign rulers. The portrait painted by Kostantin Kapudaghi in 1793 was printed in London and distributed on the Sultan’s orders. Documents indicate that his portrait was also presented to Napoleon, with whom Selim III exchanged diplomatic gifts. Selim III then commissioned the same artist, Kapudaghi, to paint twenty-eight Ottoman sultans to be printed in London with the clear intention of propagating the Ottoman dynamic image in Europe. Unfortunately, the project did not materialise until 1815 after Selim’s death. However, a new iconography in sultanic portraiture had already set in.

These portraits are in European style, with the figures standing upright instead of being in the traditional sitting position. Under each sultan, a scene taken from his life is depicted. However, for the facial features and costume details, Kostantin still relied undoubtedly on the Osman and Levin models as well as on the large-sized family trees of the eighteenth century. Thus, he introduced a truly European style of portraiture and this new iconography became widely spread in portrait albums produced in the nineteenth century. Selim also had oil portraits of himself painted by Kostantin. These depict him both in ceremonial attire as well as in private life. Several European artists, such as Duchateau and Appiani, painted him as well.

With Sultan Mahmud II (1808-1839), another era began in Ottoman imperial portraiture with the evolution of a more and more western iconography. Mahmud II was portrayed in Portrait of Selim III, painted by Kostantin Kapudaghi in 1804-6 and engraved in 1813-15 by John Young. A series of portraits of the Emperors of Turkey, printed in London, 1815.

Large-sized genealogical trees began to be produced during the reign of Abdülmecid I (1774-1789), with portraits of the sultans placed in medallions hung from the branches of a tree and the names inscribed above or below the medallions. These trees continued to be produced well into the mid-nineteenth century, indicating that they were commissioned by the sultans to be presented as gifts to dignitaries and foreign ambassadors. While the models for the individual portraits on these trees are taken mainly from Levn’s album, the whole composition is completely western in style. Rafael possibly based this type upon European models of family trees that have been popular in the western world since the middle ages. These trees continued to be produced until the mid-nineteenth century, showing with certainty that the sultans now wished to propagate the Ottoman dynastic image through portraits and family trees painted in the European manner.

The reign of Selim III (1789-1807) was a turning point in sultanic portraiture. The Ottoman Empire now entered a period of enlightened modernisation with a series of reforms leading to the decree of “Tanzimat” in 1839. In this period, imperial portraiture took an even newer form. Starting with Sultan Selim III at the end of the eighteenth century, the sultans became aware of the secular symbolism implicit in portraits conforming to their westernising policies. They now wished to propagate the Ottoman dynastic image through portraits painted in the European manner.
a great reformist as well, and commissioned ivory portrait medallions to be distributed as decorations to high officials or to be presented as gifts to foreign ambassadors and rulers.

There is even record of such a portrait being sent to Prince Metternich of Austria. Ivory medallions signed Marras indicate that he must have been responsible for introducing this type of portraiture, which had been common in Europe for centuries. Mahmud II also commissioned European and local artists to paint his oil portraits in monumental size to be hung in official buildings. These show the sultan standing, or on horseback, wearing the new European-looking uniform and fez (replacing the traditional caftan and turban) introduced in the Empire in 1829. The German-born French artist, H. G. Schlesinger, painted him on horseback leading his army (Topkapı Sarayi 17/110). This heroic image symbolizing the sultan's reforms reflects a strong relationship between royal portraiture and Europe at the time.

Mahmud II's successors continued to commission portraits in monumental size as well as portrait medallions. Several ivory medallion portraits of Abdülmecid (1839-1861) were painted by the French artist Portet who worked for the sultan. Portet may have painted a series of sultan portraits in oil as well. The British artists D. Wilkie and T. Allom also painted the sultan. Two local artists of Armenian origin, Schuh and Recep Manas, painted several portraits of the sultan in ivory and in oil. Some of these oil portraits, executed completely in European iconographic format, were sent to the Ottoman embassies in Europe. A portrait of Abdülmecid and Rubens Manast is now in the Drottningholm Palace in Sweden.

Imperial portraiture in the second half of the nineteenth century continued to display a great variety in technique and iconography. Sultan Abdulaziz (1861-1876) was the first Ottoman sultan to visit foreign countries and he invited many European artists to his court. Painters such as P. D. Guillemer, I. A. Aivazovski and S. Chiebowsky painted large-sized oil portraits of the sultan. European sculptors also worked for him. Abdulaziz was the first Ottoman sultan to have his portrait sculpture done. His bust and equestrian statues were made by C. F. Fuller, a British sculptor. The equestrian statue was not erected in the city but placed in the Beylerbeyi Palace on the Bosporous. His cameo bust also exists as do also the busts of a series of Ottoman sultans carved in ivory. These statues and carvings are the first samples of official sculpture in the Ottoman Empire.

The reign of Abdülmecid II (1876-1909) is significant for imperial portraiture because although not many oil portraits of him were made, he commissioned foreign and Turkish artists to paint portraits of the former sultans and placed them in a museum he established at the Yıldız Sarayı. Artists like H. Bertaux, W. Reuter, and well-known Turkish artists of the time such as Haïl Paşa or Hasan Rıza painted portraits of various sultans, undoubtedly copying from existing portraits. A series of oil portraits painted by them were placed in the Yıldız Sarayı. These indicate Abdülmecid's interest in having the Ottoman dynasty portrayed in European style. His successors continued his interest: Mekmed V (1909-1918) especially was a great patron of the arts and had series of sultan portraits painted in various media such as furniture, porcelain, and embroidery. With photography widely spread in the Ottoman Empire, colour prints of the Ottoman dynasty or single postcards were also made at this time. The sultan's portraits were also produced in European printed books and journals.

A look at the sultan's portrait throughout the centuries shows that the Ottoman sultans wished to propagate the dynamic image through various media. In picturing the House of Osman, the Ottoman artists blended both European and eastern Perio–Turkish traditions. Imperial histories with illustrations of the sultans were produced with the purpose of eulogizing the Ottoman dynasty. However, after the eighteenth century, the concept of imperial portraiture shifted completely away from the eastern concept of the enthroned or seated sultan portrayed in a historical context to the more western single image of the ruler dressed in the contemporary European manner and posing like a European king, thus emphasizing the image of a reformist administration and a modernizing Ottoman state. In other words, royal portraiture in the western sense was used by the later Ottomans for political image making in Europe.

Main source:
Patterns of Islamic Travel
in Amin Maalouf’s Leo the African

ABRIDGED FROM A LECTURE BY ANTHONY JOHAE

Leo the African written in French under the title Léon l’Africain, and first published in 1986, is the second by the Lebanese writer, Amin Maalouf. The novel is divided into four parts: “The Book of Granada”, “The Book of Fez”, “The Book of Cairo” and “The Book of Rome.” This basic structure determines both the chronology of the narrative and the sequence of its varied locations. Each of these parts is further subdivided into unnumbered chapters representing time units of one Islamic year respectively, and collectively spans the period AD 1488 to 1527.

The novel, which is written in the first person, is based on the life of the renowned traveller, Hasan al-Wazzan, otherwise known as Leo Africanus, author of the travel book, Descrittione dell’Africa, now housed in the Vatican Library. Hasan al-Wazzan introduces himself thus:

“I, Hasan the son of Muhammed the weight-master, I, Jean-Leon de Medina, circumcised at the hand of a barber and baptized at the hand of a pope, I am now called the African, but I am not from Africa, nor from Europe, nor from Arabia. I am also called the Granadian, the Fassi, the Zayyati, but I come from no country, from no city, from no tribe. I am the son of the road, my country is the caravan, my life the most unexpected of voyages.”

Hasan’s travels begin with the migration of his family from Granada when he is still a child. With the surrender of the city to Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain in 1492, the Muslims were given three years to choose between submission and exile. Hasan’s father hesitates to leave because he wants to retrieve his concubine, Warda, and his daughter by her, Mariam, who have both been reclaimed by Warda’s brother, a soldier in the occupying army. Like the majority of Muslims in Granada at that time, Muhammed al-Wazzan does eventually leave with his family, including Warda and Mariam, and makes the sea crossing to the Maghrib to the city of Fez.

He has, in fact, undertaken the journey known as hijra, which puts Muslims under an obligation to migrate from places where the practices of their religion are no longer permitted, or are in some way restricted, thus following the example of the Prophet Muhammed, who, with his followers, migrated to Medina in 622 AD to escape persecution from the authorities in Makkah.

In Fez, the boy, Hasan, explores the city with his friend, Harun, and at the same time develops an intense wanderlust, when he imagines travelling with his uncle on a mission to the Grand Turk in Constantinople, a wish that is denied him by his father. However, he does make a further journey with his father. The occasion for this is a tour of the fertile valley surrounding the city of Meknes where Muhammed al-Wazzan, also accompanied by Warda and Mariam has gone in search of land suitable for cultivation. During an overnight stop in a village en route they are threatened by lions, and Muhammed vows that if they survive, they will make a pilgrimage to the village of Taghia to place an offering on a saint’s tomb. Thus it is that a journey, which has begun as an exploratory business trip, is transformed into ziyya, a visit to a shrine, one of the exemplary forms of travel in Muslim culture. But unlike hijra where the traveller enters upon the journey because of an obligation to do so, ziyya is undertaken voluntarily in order to obtain spiritual and even material, blessings; or, as in the case of Hasan’s father, to offer thanks for the deliverance of his womenfolk from the lions.

During his adolescence, Hasan attends the famous madrasah Bu Inanita where he is taught to value scholarship and the literature of numerous disciplines. This prepares him for the journeys he will make having the character of nihla, the motive for which is the search for knowledge, whether for religious or secular reasons. Beside the search for learning, nihla can include missions and embassies, and it is noteworthy that it is on a diplomatic mission that Hasan al-Wazzan makes his first long journey independently of his father. The mission takes him across the Sahara to “the land of the Blacks”. On the way out, the seventeen-year-old Hasan is sent on a separate embassy to a Numidian lord and is presented with a fourteen-year-old slave girl, Hiba, with whom the relationship is consummated on arrival in Timbuktu. Although the mission has been essentially secular in character, by visiting the tombs of saints on his travels, Hasan incorporates the religious function of ziyya into his diplomatic mission.

After his return to Fez, and by a series of unfortunate circumstances surrounding the murder of the man to whom Mariia, his half-sister, is betrothed, Hasan al-Wazzan is banished from Fez. This is a journey which fits into none of the categories thus far considered as characteristic of Muslim travel, for whereas hijra, in particular, is a form of one’s religion resolved on in a spirit of pride so as to avoid the humiliation of the suppression of one’s religion banishment on the other hand, because it is an externally imposed exile, is inherently humiliating because it is appointed as punishment.

In exile, Hasan now makes an even longer journey than his earlier diplomatic mission, travelling across the
Atlas Mountains. Here, except for Hiba, he loses his whole caravan in a snow blizzard, returns Hiba to the tribe where she was originally abducted, and crosses the Sahara to Timbuktu where he witnesses the city burning down. He then joins a caravan of merchants which, following the River Niger, takes him to the town of Gao and hence through a number of African kingdoms. Although Hasan does not give details of what he undertook in these places, it is clear from his account that his main interest lay in the trading prospects that they offered.

It is also likely that, with his intellectual training, he would have wanted to understand the differences between himself and the peoples with whom he was coming into contact: differences of race, language, customs, and tradition, all of which would have made the journey much more than a trading venture. It would have been a learning experience very much in the spirit of travel undertaken by scholars to places within the Islamic community, the effect of which would have been to alter the scholar’s perception of Islam from being a single entity to a more pluralistic view of differing cultures and communities sharing the same religion.

Having arrived in a plague-ridden Cairo, Hasan befriends and then marries, the beautiful Princess Nur, widow of the Amir Ala al-Din, the estranged nephew of the Grand Turk. However, it is not long before Hasan finds himself drawn into the larger political struggle of the Ottoman Empire involving Princess Nur’s baby son, Bayazid, the only remaining heir to the Grand Turk, Salim the Great, who has had the rest of his relations either assassinated or driven into exile. In order to protect Bayazid from the Sultan’s agents, Hasan and the Princess Nur embark on a ship sailing from Alexandria to Thlemcin. Although this journey is imposed on him as a term of banishment, it takes on all the characteristics of a voluntary journey undertaken in the adventurous spirit of riha.

Hasan does not remain for long in Fez, preferring to move to Tunis with his family. This attempt at settling down is very quickly frustrated by a request made by the corsair, Barbarossa, for Hasan to travel as an ambassador, but of taking Cairo instead, he heads for Cairo to warn of the impending invasion. From there he travels with Nur and Bayazid, to Makkah. In this way, he is able to fulfill one of the five pillars of his faith, a journey that is known as hjaj in Islam.

In Makkah, Hasan al-Wazzan’s sense of identity with the Islamic community is reinforced by his commitment to the hjaj; it is an experience which, when it is being lived out, overcomes all differences of race, tribe, class, and nation because of the mingling of the many peoples of Islam from widely diffused areas in the one city of Makkah. Of course, it is also the case that once the hjaj has been completed, the traveller turns his face in the direction of home and is immediately reminded of the differences that separate him from other Muslims.

After a short stay in Medina, Hasan and his family start the journey home to Tunis. On the way, however, Hasan is abducted by a band of Sicilian sailors who take him to Rome where he is handed over as a gift to the Pontiff, Pope Leo X. Hasan is made to serve in the papal court as an advisor to the Papal Sec in its relations with the Grand Turk. He is also required to teach Arabic and Islamic culture, while at the same time himself learning Latin, Hebrew, and Turkish. Indeed, Hasan, soon begins to feel so comfortable in the atmosphere of learning which surrounds the papal court, to such an extent that one could say that his state of bondage is rapidly transformed into a scholarly sojourn.

It is in Rome, too, that he starts work on his travel book Descrittione dell’Africa, besides undergoing involuntary baptism on which occasion he is given the name of Jean-Léon de Medici. Later, he marries Judith whose Jewish family had migrated from Granada to the Maghrib.

It can be seen how Hasan al-Wazzan’s eight-years in Italy, which began ignominiously in a state of slavery, are transformed into what is effectively a journey in search of knowledge (riha); For, once given his freedom, the characteristic thought that comes into Hasan’s mind is that he can again continue his travels. But he is not straight away to become a traveller in the literal sense, although he does make visits to the cities of Bologna and Florence; rather, he is to complete the writing of his Descrittione dell’Africa and is to begin the planning of his next (ad)venture – his autobiography – before setting sail for Tunis.
Three Figural Velvets
from Safavid Iran

Abridged from a lecture by Mary McWilliams

In the early 1920s, three spectacular velvets woven in Safavid Iran (1501 – 1722) appeared on the international art market. Each of the three different patterns (figures 1–3) depicts comely youths standing in a flowering landscape. The figures are splendidly dressed and bejewelled, and hold various props. These three patterns each survived in several different fragments, which by now have been absorbed into private and public collections in North America, Europe, and the Middle East.

As these velvets, and many other silks attest, the Safavid presidency over one of history’s most brilliant periods for silk weaving. For about a century, roughly from 1550 to 1650, the luxury weave of choice for the Safavid court was velvet. Safavid velvets were extraordinary for the beauty of their patterns, the unusually large number of colours randomly distributed throughout the pattern, and the extravagant use of gold and silver threads.

Superbly drawn and designed, these three velvets are magnificently woven with up to eighteen different colours in the pile. The random distribution of many colours in the pile was achieved by a labour-intensive technique known as “pile warp substitution” that is almost unique to Safavid velvets. In modern terminology, these are “cut, voided velvets” the pile loops are all cut to form a deep surface pile, and the areas left void of pile are entirely covered with shimmering metallic wefts. Radiant gold wefts fill the background of the design. Silver wefts appear in two guises—woven flat for a smooth shining surface, and brought to the surface in twisted loops to create areas of sparkling, three-dimensional texture.

The figures in these three velvets range from about 57 to 67 centimetres in height, a scale that is unusually large even for luxurious Safavid silks. The technical repeat units for each of these velvets, that is, the repeatable section of the pattern that had to be programmed into the draw loom, is extremely large, requiring an extensive and time-consuming loom tie up. Enormously costly to produce, the velvets in figures 1 to 3 can only have been woven for the very highest level of court patronage.

These three velvets are linked not only by similar subject matter and superlative quality, but by an intriguing provenance as well: before appearing on the art market, they had reportedly been in the State Treasury of Jaipur, in Rajasthan, India. Jaipur replaced Amber as the capital city of the powerful Kachchhwa clan in 1728, some three quarters of a century after these velvets were woven. The Kachchhwa of Amber and later Jaipur were one of the most powerful and prosperous Rajput clans in India.

A warrior class of Hindus, Rajputs held numerous petty kingdoms in the central and northern regions of India, including the Punjab Hills and Rajasthan. Over the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the invading Mughals conquered the Rajput kingdoms. Allowed for the most part to practice Hinduism, the chivalrous Rajputs served their Muslim overlords brilliantly, particularly in military matters. The Kachchhwa clan developed remarkably close ties to the Mughal rulers and held high offices. The mother of the fourth Mughal sultan Jahangir was a Kachchhwa princess.

Because of their Rajput provenance, the three velvets that are the focus of this brief article will be referred to anachronistically as the “Jaipur Velvets.” Ranking among the finest velvets ever woven, the Jaipur velvets offer a tantalizing glimpse of artistic interaction between three distinct cultures: Safavid Iran, Europe, and Rajput India.

Before examining the questions of how and why these velvets might have travelled from Safavid Iran to Jaipur, it is important to place them in their original Iranian context, establish their time and place of manufacture, and suggest how their imagery might have been understood by contemporaries. As with almost all Safavid silks, determining a date and place for the manufacture of the Jaipur velvets is no simple task. Inscriptions bearing such information are almost non-existent in Safavid silk weaving. The third velvet is the most unusual in featuring a woven inscription that identifies either its designer or weaver as “Saifi”. At present, however, next to nothing is known about this individual. The Jaipur velvets can be assigned to mid-seventeenth century Isfahan, then the capital of the
The Safavid dynasty, through the use of historical texts and by comparison with dated or datable wall paintings or manuscript and album paintings of the Isfahan school.

Contemporary historical sources identify Isfahan, the capital city of the Safavids in the seventeenth century, as one of the most important centres for the weaving of velvet. The best European source for this period is the Frenchman Sir John Chardin, who arrived in Iran in 1666. In his systematic study of the industries of Isfahan, Chardin noted with particular admiration the "Machmely-Zelahfe, or Gold Velvets," undoubtedly describing those velvets with backgrounds of shining metallic wefts.

Among the most sumptuous fabrics woven in Isfahan were the "coule veloue", by which term Chardin was probably referring to velvets with brocaded silver loops such as those in figures 2 and 3. Thus, Chardin’s report indicates that cut, voided velvets with brocaded silver loops were being woven in Isfahan as late as the 1660s.

Additional support for placing the Jaipur velvets in Isfahan in the middle years of the seventeenth century comes through comparison with figures in the paintings of the Isfahan school. In terms of pose, costume elements and attributes, close correspondences for the figures in the first two velvets can be found in the wall paintings of the Chihil Sutun, a royal garden pavilion in Isfahan that was created for Shah ‘Abbas II (r. 1642–66). For example, the third woman from the right in the second velvet (fig. 2), who holds a large bowl under one arm and a European-inspired pitcher in her outstretched hand, finds a near twin in a figure appearing in a pastoral painting in this pavilion. Recent scholarship has established that the extensive and eclectic program of wall paintings in the Chihil Sutun should be dated to 1647 or later. Although the charming young man in figure 1, with his crisscrossed arms, inclined head, fur-lined hat and elegantly draped shawl, is also paralleled in figures from the Chihil Sutun, he defies narrow dating. Similar figures appear in numerous Isfahan paintings dated or datable to the 1620s–50s.

Promising stylistic and thematic comparisons with the figures in the second and third velvets can be found in the album paintings of the 1640s–50s by artists known to have been active in Isfahan. One example is a painting attributed to A‘zal al-Husaini which features a male figure holding a spear and a greyhound on a leash. In stance and the twisted positioning of his arms, this figure exactly matches the huntress who appears second from the right in the second velvet. The woven and painted hounds spring in identical fashion. As a second example, a lovely woman, closely related in pose and costume to the figure in the third velvet, is found in a painting by Mu’in Musavvir, one of the most prolific artists of the Isfahan school. Mu’in’s painting can be dated to around 1648 because of its inclusion in a dated manuscript.

Thus, through the use of contemporary sources and stylistic comparisons with paintings, the Jaipur velvets can reasonably be attributed to Isfahan around the middle of the seventeenth century. These years coincide with the reign of Shah ‘Abbas II, one of the more capable of the Safavid rulers and an enthusiastic patron of the arts.
Since the production of these three velvets consumed extravagant amounts of labour and costly materials, one must ask what their patterns might have communicated to those sufficiently privileged to have enjoyed them. The image of a beautiful youth, male or female, holding an object of sensual delight, be it a floral spray, musical instrument, fruit, or wine, was a coded image for Safavid viewers. In mystical poetry, the beautiful youth as well as the object in the hand would have been understood as an object of physical or earthly beauty that could serve to inspire the spiritual love of God. The lover's yearning for the beloved—the latter represented by the fetching youths in these velvets—was a metaphor for the soul's yearning for union with the Divine.

Two of the women in these velvets (figures 2 and 3) wear small conical hats that suggest a variant on this theme. Trimmed with braid and adorned with beads and feathers, these hats seem to be a miniaturized and dandified version of the traditional woollen cap worn by dervishes. Certainly, the elegant ladies in the velvets are not meant to represent actual suits. It is more likely that the hats are another reference to the mystical notion that an object of earthly beauty is capable of inspiring the love of the Divine.

This interpretation has been suggested for the numerous Persian single-page paintings of handsome, beardless youths, and occasionally young women, wearing conical hats. A beautiful youth in the guise of a mystic whose grace and refinement serve as a means to spiritual, but probably also earthly love, became a standard poetic image.

Images of opulently attired women in a setting filled with fantastic blossoms would have been familiar to seventeenth-century Safavid courtiers through numerous media. This subject matter would have brought to mind a number of overlapping iconographic traditions from Persian poetry that link gardens, lovers, wine, and paradise.

With feathered headdresses, rich clothing, and pitchers of cool drinks, the ladies in the velvets offer multiple interpretations. Persian poets frequently compare the charms of an earthly garden to the delights of paradise. Among the pleasures of the heavenly gardens described in the Qur'an are the hours. These lovely maidens are promised as celestial companions to those who have led a virtuous life on earth. The Qur'an describes hours as purified wives, wide-eyed and amorous, who reside in cool pavilions.

The Qur'an's brief description of hours found elaboration in later literature. The concept of hours developed along two paths, one stressing a spiritual interpretation, and the other emphasizing the sensual side—the physical beauty of the hours, their jewels and rich clothing, and the cool drinks they dispense. Close examination reveals that, as originally woven, the woman in the third velvet held a ewer and cup, rather than the small pots with flowers that appear now.

While depictions of actual hours are rare in Persian painting, there is a wide range of imagery that scholars have construed to represent them, based on the common poetic device of comparing a beautiful woman to a houri. For example, a woman may be said to be of the race of hours, or beautiful women of the court in the garden of the ruler might be compared to hours in the garden of paradise.

The velvet in figure 2 offers another avenue of interpretation that requires an understanding of European source material, in this case, emblem literature. Highly popular throughout Europe in the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries, emblem books usually feature a collection of images, each accompanied by a proverb or motto and an epigrammatic text.

The contraposto stance of the women in the second velvet and their various quasi-classical costume elements find parallels in allegorical figures illustrating such popular works of emblem literature as Cesare Ripa's Iconologia, which appeared in numerous languages over the seventeenth century. However, when the individual figures in the velvet are analysed and compared with standard emblem literature, they appear to be more than mere copying of motifs or postures. Rather, they appear to reveal an original and informed handling of the iconographic elements. When the velvet's four figures are examined against the backdrop of European emblem literature, they create a complex allegory of love based on conventional imagery from hunting, falconry, wine drinking, and agriculture.

With space to analyse only one example, we turn to the small dog, springing at a second dog perched on a flowering plant. In European emblem literature, fighting dogs serve as an image of the jealous lover who will tolerate no rival for his beloved's affection. The smaller dog in the velvet shields a bone under his front paws. In a Dutch emblem of 1644 by Albert Flamen, Cupid tosses bones to an almost identical dog. The superscript for this emblem reveals that "Gifts Conquer 2."
Love.” Images of dogs appear frequently in European emblem literature, often with reference to affairs of the heart. With no similar tradition linking dogs and love in Persian art and poetry, the dogs’ presence in this velvet suggests a borrowing from European sources.

At least one Dutch artist familiar with emblem literature enjoyed royal favour in Isfahan, serving as court painter to the Shah from 1652–55. Named Phillips Angel, he was a rather third-rate artist by European standards, best remembered in his native Holland for a little pamphlet he published in Leiden in 1642. Titled “Praise of the Art of Painting”, the pamphlet is illustrated with an allegorical figure representing the ‘Art of Painting in Holland’, and the text demonstrates his knowledge of emblem literature. There is no way at present to link Angells specifically to the design of this velvet; yet the creation of its eclectic iconographic program coincides approximately with his presence in Isfahan. As such, the velvet opens a window onto the cultural milieu and artistic exchanges that were possible in the Isfahan of Shah ‘Abbas II.

If the imagery in the second velvet suggests an acquaintance with European source material, then in the third velvet points in quite the opposite direction, that is, to a discussion of Eastern themes. As originally woven in Iran, the third velvet suggested the popular notions of earthly beauty as a vehicle for the mystical love of God, the parallel intoxications of body and spirit, and may also have reminded viewers of hours in the garden of paradise. After it came into Indian hands, however, the velvet was changed in cosmetic but significant ways.

The velvet’s new owner had certain motifs “erased” by having the woven silk yarns pulled out, and had new motifs embroidered over the original fabric. Through embroidery, the face of the figure gained a bindu, a nose ring, and a tilak. The bindu, or dot on her forehead, and nose ring are forms of adornment intended to enhance a woman’s beauty in Hindu culture. The two vertical lines on either side of the bindu, however, probably represent a tilak—a more specific kind of marking usually found on the arms or face. This particular form, two vertical lines that converge at the bottom, is sometimes used as a mark of Vaishnavism, or worship of the Hindu god Vishnu.

Jaipur was an important centre for Vaishnavism in northern India and contained numerous temples devoted to each of the four sects. Most of the Kachhwa rulers of Jaipur were Vaishnavites. Vaishnavism had special significance in Rajasthan and the region contains many sites associated with the god. Near Jaipur is the area of Vrindavan where Krishna, one of the most popular incarnations of Vishnu, spent his boyhood raised by a family of cow herders. During his adolescence, Krishna had various episodes of joyful dancing and sport with the milkmaids, or gopis. Known as the Krishna-lila, these youthful aspects of the Krishna legend inspired countless poems, paintings, murals, and temple wall hangings in Rajasthan.

Returning to the embroidered transformations, small rounded vessels filled with leaves and flowers have replaced the wine bottle and cup originally held by the figure. Close examination reveals that the figure originally held a European-style stemmed goblet in her forward hand, and a long-necked ewer in her backward hand. As now embroidered, the two vessels in the velvet call to mind the small round pots often filled with leaves and flowers known as purnaghat, or vessels of plenty. Ancient auspicious symbols in India, these vessels suggest fertility and springtime, and appear in Hindu depictions of weddings.

A few inches of silk floss have transported this vel-
vet far from the Safavid court in Isfahan. The embroidered blouse and nose ring enhance the figure’s beauty according to Indian taste and the tilak marks her as a Vaishnavite. Although Hinduism does not prohibit the consumption of alcohol, the wine vessels have been transformed into pots containing plants, perhaps a reference to springtime and fertility. While fertility plays a significant role in Hindu imagery, it is rarely suggested in depictions of Muslim women, and would have been discordant with the concept of purity.

Hindi poetry provides a variety of female roles that might account for the alterations in the velvet. The figure may have been transformed into a goji, one of the milkmaids who sported with the youthful Krishna. The vernacular poetry that grew up in connection with the Krishna-likes inspired countless representations of gojis. Less specifically, the figure in the velvet may have been viewed as a nayika (heroine) or perhaps a sakhi (a nayika’s female attendant). Representing the idealized female lover in an almost infinite number of classifications, nayikas are featured in many Hindu devotional and popular texts.

Parallel to the development of hours in Persian art and poetry, the concept of gojis and nayikas are generalized and popularized beyond their roles in specific texts. Thus, a popular genre developed in Rajasthani painting, and to a lesser extent in provincial Mughal painting, in which a wide range of images of beautiful women with wine, flowers, or musical instruments would be construed either as gojis, those passionate and devoted companions of Krishna’s youth, or as nayikas, idealized Hindu heroines and personifications of female beauty. It is probably in this broadly generalized context that we should view the transformation of the third Jaipur velvet.

Since the paths by which these Safavid velvets could have come to rest in the treasury of a Rajput prince would merit an entire article, this brief essay will only sketch general outlines. With no evidence yet for direct exchanges between Safavid Iran and the Rajput rulers in Jaipur, it is likely that the velvets came to Jaipur indirectly, having first been in the possession of one of the Muslim dynasties in India: either the Mughals in the north, or the rulers of Golconda or Bijapur in the south.

The Mughals and the Safavids were neighbouring great powers and had a long record of active political relations. Each realized the strength and importance of the other, recognized the value of mutual friendship, and gave precedence to each other’s ambassadors over all other envoys. Along with the embassies, lavish gifts were frequently exchanged between the two dynasties, particularly on the occasion of the accession of a new ruler.

The boundary between the Mughal and Safavid empires fluctuated as largely to conflict over a fortress atop a rocky promontory in the city of Kandahar. A constant point of contention in Safavid-Mughal relations, Kandahar changed hands at least nine times in the years 1522–1738.

In the Deccan, Safavid and Mughal interests also collided in a conflict both political and sectarian. The ruling dynasties in Bijapur and Golconda were often adherents of the Shi’ite sect of Islam, which aligned them with the Safavids against the Sunni Mughals. Although later to arrive in India, the Mughals never recognized the Muslim rulers in the Deccan as independent, and from the 1580s onward, sought to incorporate their kingdoms into the Mughal Empire.

The Muslim rulers in the Deccan saw in the Safavids the nearest great power that could counter the constant Mughal pressure on them. At least nominally, the Deccan rulers recognized the suzerainty of Iran. Over the course of the seventeenth century, relations between Bijapur, Golconda, and Iran were strengthened and intensified through exchanges of envoys and letters. After many lengthy and destructive military campaigns, the Mughals succeeded in conquering the rival sultanates in the Deccan in the late 1680s, although at terrible cost to both sides. Chief among the military leaders for the Mughals were the Rajputs from the Kachhwaha clan of Jaipur.

Persian velvets were highly prized in India. Mughal court paintings from the 1630s–40s provide ample pictorial evidence for Mughal consumption of the easily recognizable Safavid figural velvets. Political relations between the two empires were relatively amicable during these decades, with a strong ruler on the Mughal throne (Shah Jahan, r. 1627–58) and a weak one in Iran (Shah Safi I, r. 1629–42). With the Mughal capture of Kandahar in 1638, the enjoyment of Safavid luxuries may have seemed a politically appropriate indulgence. Under ‘Abbás II, however, the Safavids recaptured the fort in 1649. Over the next four years, Shah Jahan tried three times to recapture the fort. His repeated failures created a bitter enmity from which Safavid-Mughal relations never fully recovered. I have yet to find representations of Safavid figural velvets in Mughal paintings from the second half of the seventeenth century.

Many Safavid velvets arrived in India as gifts or through trade. The Safavid shahs were extravagant in giving out luxury textiles, robes of honour, and carpets as diplomatic gifts. The extremely high quality of the Jaipur velvets, however, makes it unlikely that they could have been acquired through commercial trade. They must have been a diplomatic gift from one ruler to another. But from whom and to whom?

If, as suggested above, the manufacture of these velvets can be dated to the years around 1650, then the most probable opportunity for a diplomatic gift of this magnitude would be in 1660. In that year, ‘Abbás II sent a congratulatory embassy to Aurangzeb (r. 1658–1707), acknowledging his accession of two years earlier. As was customary on these occasions, the shah sent numerous costly gifts intended to reflect the wealth and power of his own state.

Sending textiles to India either as gifts or as objects of commerce may seem superfluous, for India’s heritage of textile traditions is as ancient as it is splendid. In the seventeenth century, Indian weavers were producing silks fabrics of extraordinary sophistication and refinement, including colourful velvets. However, with extremely rare exceptions, these velvets did not carry figural designs.
It may well be that the figural art in vogue at the Mughal court during these years did not translate well into velvet. During the heroic years of velvet weaving in Iran, e.g., about 1550–1650, Mughal painting was working toward greater naturalism, psychological expression, modelled colour, and greater depth of pictorial space, none of which could benefit from the limitations of warps and wefts. In contrast, traditional Persian painting with its rhythmic line, areas of bright, unmodulated colour, shallow space, and a delight in surface pattern translated beautifully into weaving.

That Safavid velvets were appreciated and welcomed at the Mughal court does not, however, explain their presence in Jaipur. The most probable path from the Mughal court to Jaipur is again through gift, but this time from the Mughal emperor to a Rajput vassal. By way of precedent, Prince Salim (the future Jahangir, r. 1605–27) presented a robe made from a Safavid figural silk to the Rajput prince Raj Singhji in 1596. In his memoirs, Jahangir described another episode in which he hoped to tame the wild nature of a Rajput prince from Mewar with exotic and opulent gifts.

As splendid as they are, it is possible that by the second half of the seventeenth century, the Jaipur velvets did not suit Mughal taste. It may be that their exuberant depictions of beautiful youths displeased Aurangzib, whose taste in art and other matters grew increasingly puritanical. Perhaps the whimsical and eclectic blending of European elements in these velvets appeared passe at the court, for Mughal art had passed beyond its flirtation with European borrowings some fifty years earlier.

Another possible path from Isfahan to Jaipur would be via the Deccan. Safavid art and culture were intensely appreciated in Bijapur and Golconda, and the velvets would have been a coveted possession. No suitably momentous occasion for the transfer of these velvets suggests itself, however, among the known letters and embassies exchanged between the Safavid and Deccan courts during the seventeenth century.

Nevertheless, had the Jaipur velvets had found their way into the Deccan, the Mughal campaigns to conquer Bijapur and Golconda would have afforded many opportunities for the velvets to change hands either through tribute or the looting of the Deccan royal treasuries. As noted above, the Kachhwahas of Jaipur played a major role in the Deccan campaigns, which unfolded over several decades.

Future research may yet clarify the route by which the Jaipur velvets travelled from Isfahan to Rajasthan. Until that time, these splendid works of art will retain an air of mystery, hinting at but not fully revealing their past. Their intriguing blend of Muslim, Hindu, and European imagery confirms that luxury textiles, being both highly prized and highly portable, have historically served as an important channel by which artistic motifs and ideas traversed borders. In their present state, the Jaipur velvets suggest the rich artistic exchanges that took place between Iran, Europe, and India in the second half of the seventeenth century, articulating a few phrases of a long-forgotten cross-cultural dialogue.
AN EXAMPLE OF MASS SEDENTARISM:
THE CANAANITES IN BYBLOS IN THE
4TH MILLENNIUM BC.

ABRIDGED FROM A LECTURE BY HARETH BOUSTANY

One of the most important steps in human's history was undoubtedly sedentarism: moving from a natural rock shelter to a dwelling place built by human hands. This was the real starting-point of architecture and consequently urbanism. It was also the point at which the family unit began to be defined, for when humans lived in large groups within grottos and prehistoric caves, there was a great deal of promiscuity which must have stood in the way of the development of the family unit. This development only became possible when humans lived in relatively small groups within the confines of manmade shelters.

History and Archaeology

One of the oldest cultural centres is the site of Jbeil-Byblos on the east of the Mediterranean, 40 kilometres north of Beirut. It is located on a rocky hill, overlooking the sea, in an area that was later to be called the "Land of Canaan." Indeed, the archaeological excavations undertaken on this site during the last hundred years have proved that humans have inhabited this since the sixth millennium BC.

The inhabitants of Jbeil in the Neolithic age, 8000 years ago, were among the first humans to move from caves, grottos and plains to individual dwellings. In time, they built houses and graves; the house for the living and the grave as a resting place for the dead, thus establishing the stable foundations of the city and rightfully earning the immortal name of Canaan.

Groups of these houses or huts were made of clay covered with carefully smoothed lime. Low walls were made of hewn stones, while straight or curved wooden latches rested on these walls, shaping the framework of the roofing made of branches or hide. Thus, the rounded uncellular dwelling was born.

The well or drinkable water source had not yet become the centre of conglomeration. It was most certainly an important gathering point, but the coast man's interest probably lay in the little fishing port out of which he made his living. The transformation took place later: when the discovery of agriculture urged the small population of Jbeil to move east and south of the site in the fourth millennium BC. The city's occupants sketched the outlines of urban planning, showing, for the first time, their preference for the point of water source instead of the port. Public buildings and dwellings were arranged in a star-shaped plan around the well; streets radiated from the central place, the largest and most important still being the one leading to the port, the second vital attraction for the inhabitants.

The Canaanites arrived in the fourth millennium BC and settled down among the original inhabitants. Through a complex process of cultural exchange, the two groups succeeded in reinventing such eternal concepts as life, death, and life after death as well as the metropolis, the necropolis, and the acropolis.

Town planning began with the house unit, for what is urbanism if not a huge domestic organization? The round uncellular dwelling gradually gave way to larger houses with rectangular and sometimes apsidal shapes. Their walls were built from hewn stones that were extracted from local quarries instead of being gathered on the spot. Their floors were made of clay, sometimes of gravel or a coarse pavement made of small flat stones. Some of the larger houses had internal partitions, specifying various domestic functions. Nearby woods supplied strong tree trunks that were raised in the centre of the floor on stone bases and used to support the beam from which descended the two slopes of the roof made of mat, branches or hides. These houses were gathered in big enclosures.

By the end of the fourth millennium and the beginning of the third, the whole mound had been covered with construction, leaving only relatively narrow streets for circulation. Houses assumed a definite rectangular shape and increased in size and complexity, often containing several rooms under ceilings supported by several poles, most typically two rows of three pillars on each side and a seventh in the middle. This is the seven-pilledared house mentioned in the Bible and described by historians and philosophers. Districts take shape, connected by streets according to an urban plan that was to last for centuries.

By the beginning of the third millennium BC, Jbeil definitely and totally took on a Semitic character, its original inhabitants having completely vanished. This period saw the strengthening of the three parameters of civilization: the metropolis, the necropolis, and the acropolis. Architectural gains and urban components obtained during the previous era became clearer and more important. Houses increased in size and solidity, but remained otherwise unchanged. Colossal temples were built in the acropolis. Trading with Egypt brought creature comforts and luxury goods, promoting the welfare of the urban dwellers.

Religion

The necropolis, the city of the dead, took on a commanding place in the city, undoubtedly promoted by the increasing belief in life after death and the veneration of ancestors. The dead were prepared to undertake a new
life: food and weapons were laid beside them in order to help them endure their journey towards the new life. The soul was considered eternal and, as such, deified with all other souls gathered to glorify God's huge invisible soul.

This great God was as yet unknown to the ancient Canaanites, but they foresaw His presence. To honour Him, they selected a hill overlooking the city where they arranged a shrine or small temple that they named in their language "Beit-Il", or the house of God. This god Il, whose impalpable presence was revered by the Canaanites, became the god of all incomprehensible natural phenomena—rainfall, drought, life, and death—forces that they could not master and whose regularity subjugated them.

The subdivision of the divine power of "Il" into several "sub-gods" occurred only later, when the Canaanites felt importance of the natural elements that gave rhythm to their life. But instead of multiplying the number of gods systematically, they relieved Il of his heavy duties by subdividing him into several segments, giving an attribute to each function. Thus, "Il" was the only proper name for the one great God, whereas the names of minor gods were related to a place or function, although all were thought of as emanations from the one god "Il".

The first was Ba'el, the lord. Ba'el Shamin was the lord of heaven; Ba'el Shafon was the lord of the north. Ba'el Hammon was assimilated with Il. He has been identified with the solar god of Carthage whose worship was inspired from the sun of Phoenicia. Il Elyon was the "High above", also called "olam", i.e. eternal or everlasting time, the eternal sun, giving birth to day and night, and ruling time.

Melkart is Tyre's Ba'el. This appellation means Malek Qart, the king of the city; Anat, Ba'el's companion, and Ashitash share the sovereignty over Bybios. Whereas the most ancient text of Canaanite mythology found in Ugarr points out that god creates men by coupling with his female counterpart, it becomes clear that the Canaanites believed that god was androgynous and contained both sexes, male and female. This is why cosmogony is absent from ancient Canaanite texts. For them, God has given birth to man as a part of himself, and did not create him out of earth as described in the Bible. However, the most fascinating aspect of the god Il was undoubtedly the personality of the young god Adon, a god of incomparable beauty who formed a loving union with his sister Ashitash (evidence of androgyony).

While hunting the wild boar near Afqa in the mountains above Bybios, Adon was killed by the boar and lay in his blood for three days. When Ashitash found him, she cried so much over his body that she brought him back to life.

This myth, full of symbolism (the soul's life after death, the cycle of a plant's renewal, symbol of every revival), gave humans the hope of an after life that still lingers on nowadays. The Egyptians first adopted this myth as the myth of Osiris and Isis, before travelling all over the Mediterranean cities, reaching Greece through Kadmos. The French historian and archaeologist Robert Largemant says: "The god who dies and revives was a gift from the Phoenicians to Greece... and that was an extremely precious gift! His worship, alive in all Mediterranean cities and ports, has paved the way for monotheism!".

Material Life

Three central features—materialism, rationalism and spiritualism—which distinguish it from all other urban civilizations, characterized the ever-expanding city of Jbeil. This was not a civilization of domineering god-kings like the Pharaohs, or of tyrants like in Assyria and Babylon, nor of invaders like the Huns and Mongols. It's God was a father-figure, good and popular, and made for a peaceful civilization.

Jbeil's main impact in the material world was in the art of building, the foundation of every civilization. We have already seen its builders creating large dwelling with towering roofs supported on seven pillars, a house-type that spread all along the Levant and reached as far as Carthage. Thus, when in the tenth century BC, Solomon the Wise planned to raise a dwelling to the Almighty, he turned to the Canaanite architect Hir'am-Abi of Tyre. Moreover, when the author of Proverbs needed a comparison for the solidity of the monument of wisdom, he chose to refer to the seven essential pillars of an original Canaanite house of Jbeil-Byblos. And when the author of the Psalms wished for an eloquent analogy for the solid pillar in every construction and every institution deemed to be permanent throughout the ages, he only saw the cornerstone in the "Canaanite house" well known for its solidity, its strength, and its endurance (Psalms, 17: 22-23). The same metaphor was used by Jesus Christ when he compared himself with the cornerstone: "the stone rejected by the builders became the chief cornerstone" (Matthew, 21: 42), thus pointing out the strength and solidity of this stone as well as its strange faculty of bringing peace and redemption to those who, full of faith and confidence, seek refuge in it and a harsh judgment day and ill fate to those who oppose this stone.

More recently, when Paul Valery, the famous French author and philosopher, was looking for a title for his book on the fundamentals of beauty, his thoughts immediately went to the Canaanite architect Eupalinos to put the finishing touch on his important book. Echoing the ancient words of Eupalinos, Paul Valery writes: "I want my temple to move people like a loved being does."

Just as the building concepts of Eupalinos became the alphabet of Greek architecture, so also did the building blocks of the mind of Kadmos enter the Greek language. It is no wonder, then, that harmony is the foundation of Greek art, and the foundation of every construction, whether it is material or cerebral. This is so to such an extent that Plato compelled his audiences at his philosophical reunions to first master architecture. No wonder also that we have made material this authentic construction and this architecture in all our installations to this day; in all our arts and ancient industries; in our gigantic walls that keep away waves and invaders; in our temples and fortresses in fertile plains and mountain passes; particularly in the designs of Baalbeck; in the standing stones of Um al-Awamid; and in the statues of Carthage and Elche.
A Brief Survey of Traditional Learning in Sudan

Abridged from a Lecture by Abdullah El-Tayib

Traditional learning in the Sudan was based on the Khalwah (the Qur'an school). The period of the Funj Kingdom of Sennar (1503-1821 AD) witnessed the growth of the influence of the "Khalwah Fuqara" (plural of "jiki" and "faqir", meaning Khalwah masters). The Khalwah was important in the development of an Islamic feeling of nationhood. This feeling was rooted in the cooperation and mutual confidence between the Maks (Princes) and the Mamluks, their Vice-Regents, who were the secular chiefs, as well as a loose but holding alliance that existed between the various Muslim tribes of Nubians, Arabs, and Bia who lived on the banks of the river Nile and the Sukki coast of the Red Sea. The Kings of Sennar, ruling from the left bank of the Blue Nile (about 400 kilometers south of Khartoum) and the Abdallah, his Vice-Regents, who lived in Qurri, just south of the Sabaluga Gorge (6th cataract), on the right bank of the Nile (about 40 kilometers north of Khartoum) were generally considered masters of all the land between the Abyssinian border in the south east, Sukki on the Red Sea Coast, Aswan in Upper Egypt and Darfur in the Western Sudan. However, they were not direct overlords wielding authority from centralized institutions.

The Khalwah Sheikhs, in their scattered villages spread across Sudan, exercised religious as well as a measure of temporal authority on the local population based on the belief in their "barakah" handed down from generation to generation in certain families. The Fuqara and their pupils and students in the Khalwah were voluntarily supported by the local people, from whom they received gifts of grain, livestock and money for the upkeep of the Khalwah and its guests. The "Maks", Mamluks, and Funj Kings sent gifts to the Fuqara and Khalwahs, bestowing upon them good portions of fertile land for cultivation in the Nile area and in the wadis.

The Islam that was spread by the "Khalwah" and the "fuqara" as well as the deference shown towards their learning and "barakah" by the common people was based on the Sunni teachings of the Maliki school coupled with the Sufi fusion of "Shariah" (law) and the "haqiqah" (spiritual reality) in the disciplines branching from the "tarikahs" of Sheikh Abd al-Qadir al-Jayyani and Sheikh Abu'l Hasan al-Shadali.

This system of religious and secular intertribal cooperation of the Funj period, based on negotiations and peaceful settling of quarrels by the "barakah" of the "fuqara" was severely shaken—and almost finally destroyed—by a succession of four centralized political governments. First, there was the invasion of the Sudan by Muhammad Ali Pasha's son and Viceroy, Isma'il Pasha in 1821. He used a mercenary army equipped with fire-arms and coerced the population with harsh punishment and cruel torture, and also introduced the rack and the gallow into the Sudan for the first time. This regime continued from 1821 until it was overthrown by the revolt of the Mahdi (1881-1885). General Gordon was the last "Hakim Dar" (Governer-General) of the Sudan appointed by the Khedive of Egypt. He was killed by the Mahdis in January 1885 and thus ended the al-Turkiyya rule of Muhammad 'Ali Pasha.

The Mahdi died soon after his victory and was succeeded by the strong-handed administration of the Khalifa Abdullah that was in turn overthrown by Lord Kitchener in 1898. This was followed by the period of the condominium, colonial rule dominated by the British that lasted until December 1955. This period left a lasting influence because of the modernization ushered in by the British rulers, and their system of education that began with the establishment of the Gordon Memorial College and was completed by the University of Khartoum and other modern institutions of secular education. Since Independence (1st January 1956), the fluctuations of democratically elected governments and military juntas have attempted to continue the modernization that started during colonial rule.

Nevertheless, the Khalwahs still survive and perform many of their religious, educational, medical, psychiatric and social functions. This may be seen in the Khalwahs of Umm Dubban and Abu Groar near Khartoum, within Khartoum and Omdurman, in Kadabas west of the town of Berber in the north, in many other places in the Gezira as well as in the east and west of Sudan. Though all of these have partly modernized, they still retain in essence the old spiritual, communal and rural element.
Library Gifts

Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah has benefited from a seasonal deluge of gifts - in the form of books for the library. Our many friends across the world have made these thoughtful gestures, which are truly appreciated. Their kind consideration for the restoration and improvement of the library will be of benefit to many scholars, now and in the years to come.

From the Benaki Museum
- Benaki Museum: Athens, 2001

From Mme. Layla al-Mussawi
- Intaglio and Rings: Greek Etruscan and Eastern by John Boardman, London 1975

From Mr. Michael McKinnon
- The Brocade and Gold from the Silk Road: In Commemoration of the 30th Anniversary of the Normalization of Diplomatic Relations between Japan and China, Tokyo 2002
- Connaissance des Arts, Special issue on the Miho Museum

From Ms. Sarah Kuehn
- Treasures of Ancient Bactria, Miho Museum, Tokyo 2002

From Mrs. Manjch Bayani
- The Sultan’s Seraglio: An Intimate Portrait of Life at the Ottoman Court by Ottoaviano Bon London 1996
- Iranian Pottery: A Historical Background by M. Y. Kiani, Tehran 2001

From the Musée National des Antiquités, Algerie
- L’Art Islamique
- Collections Ethnographiques. Musée Ethnographiques et de Préhistoire du Bardo, Paris 1997
- À la Rencontre de la Poterie Modelée en Algerie, Alger 1997

From Mrs. Lieve Vandenbuleke
- Metalwork from the Hellenized East, The J. Paul Getty Museum by Michael Pfrommer, California 1993
- Treasures of Medicis, by Anna Maria Massinelli & Filippo Tucena, The Valdome Press New York, 1992

From Dr. Jochen Sokoly
- A History of Board Games other than Chess By H. J. R. Murray, Oxford 1951

From Mr. Ronald Otsuka
- Denver Art Museum: The First Hundred Years, Denver Art Museum
- Art & Home: Dutch Interiors in the Age of Rembrandt by Mariet Westermann.

From Mr. Heiner Rodel
- IFLA - Past, Present and Future International Federation of Landscape Architects, H. Rodel, G. L. Anagnostopoulos, M. F. Downing, H. Dorn

From Mr. Taleb al-Baghlî
- The Food Culture of the Ottoman Palace by Gerry Oberlig – Grace Martin Smith...The Society of Friends of Topkapı Palace, 2001
- The Ottomans: A brief history of a World Empire. 200th Anniversary of the Ottoman Cultural & Scientific Heritage. By Assoc. Prof. Dr. Mehmet Oz. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey, 2000

From Dr. Stefano Bianca
- Gardens of Delight: The Great Islamic Gardens by Christa von Hantelmann, Dieter Zoern, Dumont Monte
- Modernity and Community: Architecture in the Islamic World, by Kenneth Frampton, Charles Correa, David Robson, Thames and Hudson Ltd.
- Urban Form in the Arab World by Stefano Bianca, Thames & Hudson.

From H. E. Mr. Wojciech Bozek
- The Flemish Arrases, Royal Castles in Cracow by Prof. Dr. Jerzy Szabłowski and Dr. Anna Mięgę-Biowski; Arkady Publishers 1996.

From Mr. Ibrahim Abdullah al-Mansour
- Glass of the Sultans, by Stefano Carboli and David Whitehouse MMA

From H.E. Mr. William A. Rush
- The Adventures of Ibn Battuta by Ross E. Dunn. Published by the Library of Congress California
- The Amazing Adventures of Ibn Battuta, by Noura Durkee.
- The Lives of the prophets, by Leila Azzam. Published by Walden Litho.
- Ramadan by Shubah Hamid Ghazi. Published by the Library of Congress 1996
- 1951-2001 AMIDEAST's half century. Bridging Cultures, Building
Understanding.

• Arab World Mosaic: A Curriculum Supplement for Elementary Teachers. Published by the Access Cultural Arts Program, USA
• Young Voices from the Arab World: The Lives and Times of Five Teenagers.

From Mr. Sayed Mohamad Albukhary
• Islamic Art of Indiaby Dr. Nasim Akhtar et al.
Published by Islamic Arts Museum Malaysia 2002

From American Museum of Natural History
• The Natural History of Pearls

From Dr. Louise Mackie
• When Silk was Gold, James V. Y. Watt, Anne E. Wardwell
• Circles of Reflection - The Carter Collection of Chinese Bronze Mirrors, Ju-His Chou
• Masterworks of Asian Art, Michael R. Cunningham, Stanislaw J. Czuma, Anne E. Wardwell and J. Keith Wilson
• Monks & Merchants - Silk Road Treasures from Northeast China, Annette L. Juliano & Judith A. Lerner
• Venice, Dürer and The Oriental Mode, Julian Raby
• Architecture, Ceremonial and Power, Gulru Necipoğlu

From Ms. Helen Curry
• The Cleveland Museum of Art, Masterpieces from East & West

From Prof. John Carswell.
• Westward from Mongolia: New Research in the Taklamakan
• The Oriental Ceramic Society - China and Islam in the Maldiv Islands
• The Oriental Ceramic Society - The Third George De Manase Memorial lecture
• Blue & White - Chinese Porcelain Around the World, John Carswell

From Mr. Sebastian Ghandchi
• HALI - The International Magazine of Fine Carpets & Textiles

From Mr. Azra J. Ahmed
• Contemporary Art in Bangladesh,

Syed Manzoorul Islam and Azra J. Ahmed

From Dr. Ernest J. Grube
• Islamic Art V - January 2002, Ernest J. Grube, Eleanor Sims

From Ms. Katie Marsh
• Ming Ceramics in The British Museum, Catalogue of Late Yuan & Ming

From Dr. Doris Behrens-Abouseif
• The Cairo Heritage - Essays in Honor of Laila Ali Ibrahim
• Beauty in Arabic Culture

From Mr. Marcel Kupershoek
• Arabic of the Bedouins, Marcel Kupershoek

From Dr. B. J. Slot
• Beelden Van De Orients - Pictures of the Orient
• Lale Ile Bashdi - It Began with the Tulip

From Prof. Dr. Semra Ögel
• Sanat Tarihı Defterleri 1 Istanbul 1996
• Sanat Tarihı Defterleri 2 Istanbul 1998
• Sanat Tarihı Defterleri 3 Istanbul 1999
• Sanat Tarihı Defterleri 4 Istanbul 2000
• Sanat Tarihı Defterleri 5 Istanbul 2001
• Sanat Tarihı Defterleri 6 Istanbul 2002 - Art Historical Note Books

From Ms. Buthaina Quraibì
• Femmes Culture et Creative en Tunisie, Sophie Ferchou

From Prof. Dr. Nurhan Atasoy
• IPEK Imperial Ottoman Silks & Velvets, Nurhan Atasoy, Walter B. Denny, Louise W. Mackie, Hülya Tezcan

From Dr. Suha Ozkan
• Modernity and Community: Architecture in the Islamic World, Kenneth Frampton, Charles Correa, David Robson

From Dr. Stefano Bianca
• Sustainable and Landscape Design in Arid Climates (The Aga Khan Trust for Culture – A Symposium)
• Modernity and Community: Architecture in the Islamic World, Kenneth Frampton, Charles Correa, David Robson
• Urban Form in the Arab World- Past & Present, Stefano Bianca
• Gardens of Delight - The Great Islamic Gardens, Christa van Hantelmann, Dieter Zocher

Historic Cities Support Programme Brochures
• Karimabad and Baltit Project Development
• The Azhar Park Project in Cairo and the Conservation and Revitalisation of Darb Al-Ahmar
• Zanzibar Stone Town Projects, The Aga Khan Trust for Culture
• A Brief Account of Project Activities in Syria, The Aga Khan Trust for Culture

From Mr. M. H. Buxtorf
• Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig - Die Ägyptische Abteilung, André Wiese, Silvia Winterhalter

From H.E. Mr. Alvaro Fernandez Villaverde de Silva
• The Royal Palaces of Spain, Text by Juan A. Hernandez, Photographs by Humberto Rivas

From Mr. Sayed Mohamad al-Bukhary
• Islamic Art of India, Dr. Nasim Akhtar et al.
• Islamic Arts of the Museum of Malaysia-Volune 1

From Mr. Moussa Zemouli
• Serie Blanche Jelil Jelleti
• The Tassili of the Ajer
• Tunisie Jelleti Jelleti

From H.E. Mr. Grégoire Vardakis
• A Portrait of Brussels

From Dr. Essa Amin
• Forty-One Years in India - Vols. I & II, Field Marshal Lord Roberts
• Dilmun - Journal of the Bahrain Historical Archaeological Society (5 copies)
• Cultural Programme 2001-2002, (Catalogues 7 copies)

From Mr. Hamid Shuaib
• Wildflowers of Kuwait, Linda Shuaib