Major Corporate and Personal Sponsors
of
Friends of Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah

BENEFACTOR

Arabian Oil Company, Ltd.
Kuwait Projects Co. (Holding)
ExxonMobil
Burgan Bank

DONOR

Amas Group
Balasem
British Petroleum
Kuwait Airways
KMEFIC
KPTC
Kuwait Santa Fe
Kuwait Shell Limited
MTC
Al Sayer Group
Parsons Brinkerhoff

THALES
Thales International

PATRON

Paula al-Sabah
Suleiman Hamed al-Kazi
Adel Musaed al-Zerallah al-Kharaji
Donna Sultan

SPONSOR

Cindy Abdulrah
Mohammed B. Saleh Rada
titat al-Sabah
Mohammed Zafir Ali
Manira al-Khuwaizi
Mustafa J. Beidas
The journal Hadeeth ad-Dar of Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah (DAI) is intended to share the wealth and beauty of Islamic culture contained within the extensive and comprehensive al-Sabah collection of Islamic art and the variety of scholarly and artistic activities associated with the collection.

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

DAI has sponsored archaeological excavations in Bahnam, Upper Egypt that date to the Fatimid period. Before the Invasion of 1991, the school of art associated with the DAI promoted skills in the study of the varied artistic genres that are represented in the collection. At present, our annual lecture series has been revived and is a focal point for historians and other specialists in the field. It features talks by prominent international scholars on various topics of Islamic art, archaeology and architecture.

### CONTENTS

**Countess Patricia Jellicoe**  
Author, lecturer and consultant.  
Mughal Gardens and Architecture  
Lecture delivered 21st February 2000  
---  
**Dr. Sheila R. Canby**  
Assistant Keeper, British Museum.  
Gardens in Persian Manuscripts  
Lecture delivered 5th February 2001  
---  
**Dr. Leonid R. Sykiainen**  
Senior Researcher, the Institute of State and Law, Russian Academy of Sciences.  
Islamic Sharia as a Part of World Legal Culture  
Lecture delivered 18th March 2002  
---  
**Dr. Elizabeth Lambourn**  
Research Assistant for South East Asian studies at SOAS, University of London.  
From Gujarat to Sumatra and Java: A Group of 15th century Islamic Graves in Indonesia  
Lecture delivered 28th February 2000  
---  
**Dr. Roberta Giunta**  
Epigraphist of the Italian Archaeological Mission in Yemen.  
The Funerary Inscriptions of Ghazni  
Lecture delivered 30th October 2000  
---  
**Dr. Duncan Haldane**  
Director of the Library, The Institute of Islamic Studies, London.  
Some Treasures from the Library of the Institute of  
Islamic Studies, London  
Lecture delivered 3rd April 2000  
---  
**Dr. Essa M. Amin**  
President of The Bahrain History and Archaeology Society.  
The History of the East India Company  
Lecture delivered 29th October 2001  
---  
**Dr. Maria Vittoria Fontana**  
Lecturer/Researcher in Islamic Archaeology and History of Art, Istituto Universitario Orientale, Naples.  
Islamic References in Italian Art  
Lecture delivered 26th April 1999  
---

### The Journal of Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah  
**Issue 16**

**On the cover:**  
a section of  
*LNS 10 R*  
Woven Floral  
Carpet depicting a *chalab biya*, Iranian world, 11th c. AH / 17th c. AD.

---

This publication is sponsored in part by contributions provided by **Burgan Bank**

---

The journal Hadeeth al-Dar of the Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah (DAI) is published quarterly.  
The articles, views and opinions expressed do not necessarily reflect the policy of Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah (DAI).

Complimentary subscriptions are available upon written request.

Printed in Kuwait
Mughal Gardens and Architecture

Abridged from a lecture by Patricia Jellicoe

The finest age of Mughal gardens and architecture lay between AD 1525 with the first Mughal Emperor Babur's conquest of Hindustan and the deposition of Shah Jehan, his great great grandson, in AD 1658. The inspiration for the Mughal garden is the sixth century BC Achaemenid Persian Padâdastra, created by Cyrus the Great. Persian cultural influence descended throughout its once vast empire down the succeeding Greek, Arab and Mongol centuries to the Timurid period and its capital at Samarkand.

Timur's descendant, Babur, five generations later described "the garland of gardens" surrounding Samarkand, and despite the long years alternating between conqueror and fugitive, he remained imbued with Persian tradition in his love of art and gardens. His vivid and touching journal describes, between battles, the beauty of flowering fields, and his creation of the Bagh-i Wafa, The Garden of Fidelity, near Kabul, his capital. A Mughal miniature c.1590 shows it as the classic Chahar Bagh, "the Garden of Four", surrounded by the pomegranate and orange trees he planted around the central pool. From India later, he sent trees and shrubs back to the Bagh-i Wafa, which remained his favourite garden and where, eventually, he was buried.

The Chahar Bagh, or Garden of Four, is the basis of all Persian garden design. The conception of this division into four is an ancient one: Arama, the Hindu "Paradise of Restfulness", was four-fold, and in describing the Garden of Paradise, the Book of Genesis says: "And a river went out of Eden to water the garden; and from thence it was parted and became into four heads".

Both Eden (šādān) and Paradise (fīnāwān) are referred to in the Qur'an as idealised gardens, and to the Muslim believer, paradise is a garden.

The cross, formed by the intersection of the water channels, has been the symbol of the meeting of humanity and God, in many religions - while water itself, is the source and symbol of life.

A more complex symbol, much used by the Mughal, is the Octagon. Evolved from the squaring of the circle, it symbolises the reconciliation of the material side of man, represented by the square, with the circle of eternity, a Muslim symbol decorating many Mughal buildings. The number eight represents the eight divisions of the Qur'an, gardens are often sub-divided into eight parts; flower-like eight lobed, carved pools and octagonal pavilions are to be found in most Mughal gardens, while the eight pointed star is featured on decorative tiled walls and on the inner ceilings of buildings and belvederes.

Babur and his followers found India with its dust-laden winds, hot and humid, and he felt the need to create a new environment. Water was to play an important part, whether in the garden, in pools, channels and fountains, or indoors in baths.

At Agra, he found the eastern bank across the river Jumna repellant, but it was on this unfavourable site that he created a series of magical Mughal gardens. The Ram Bagh (originally Aram Bagh or Garden of Rest) was probably the first and for his daughters Dehara and Zahrâ he created the Zahara Bagh next to the Ram Bagh.

While the planting at Ram Bagh has been much altered, the structures remain. The water supply was superbly engineered into the site. Persian gardens depended upon underground water channels or qanats, an Achaemenian invention: here, water would have been brought from a well by a canal built on arches to allow irrigation of the ground at a lower level. The narrow watercourses bisecting the gardens were lined with dressed stones and trees were planted at intervals in small, square openings along the channels.

Gulbadan, Babur's most loved, "rose-body" daughter, described a royal entertainment such as one for the birth of his son, Humayun: "There was a raised platform on a pleasant spot and a pavilion of red cloth with a lining of Gujarati brocade and six canopies of silk and brocade, each of different colours, and a square enclosed of cloth and painted poles". In India, the chabutra or raised stone platform, often in the centre of a tank or water channel, would have been covered with a rich carpet and shared with a canopy of brocaded silk, from which the Emperor could enjoy the spectacle of spring blossom on the fruit trees; apple, orange, quince, pomegranate or fig, the fragrance of jasmine and the favourite rose and narcissi bordering the paths. In the gardens, there would be octagonal pools and pavilions, while behind was the Zentral with its private garden, various buildings and the Hot Bath.

Humayun, Babur's son and successor in 1530, though brave and cultivated, lost almost all of Babur's empire, addicted as he was to opium and long bouts of indolence and feasting, ritual and astrology. He returned, however, from refuge at the Persian Court bringing with him Persian painters and reconquered Delhi, only to die in an accident six months later in 1556, leaving Akbar, born to his teen-aged beloved wife Hamida, who had walked and ridden with him on all his desperate campaigns. His tomb was completed near Delhi in 1573 by
A garden scene showing Babur celebrating the birth of his son, Humayun in Char-bagh, Kabul, he sits on a raised terrace beneath a canopy with attendants and courtiers around him, before him next to a fountain musicians play and girls dance, grooms and further attendants wait outside the gardens walls. From a Bahornama LNS 102 MS.
his widow Hadji Begam. Of the many splendid Garden Tombs of the Mughal period, Humayun's is one of the first and is the earliest Mughal garden plan known to survive without alteration. Gardens were a feature of Muslim art and all who could had pleasant gardens, of which one would be chosen as a last resting place. This particularly Mongol tradition was followed by all the great Mughal Emperors. All wealth to the Emperor on death, so nobles as well as royals spent with abandon during their lifetime, vying with each other in magnificence. At death, the central pavilion emerged as a Mausoleum, while the gardens were given into the care of holy men and the fruit from orchards sold to support their upkeep. This may be why these Garden Tombs have survived, while hundreds of pleasure gardens have disappeared.

Humayun's imposing Mausoleum was a turning point in India's mausoleums with its synthesis of Persian and Indian traditions internally, and externally with the Central Asian double dome allied to Indian chhatris, or roof pavilions. It is the forerunner of a later recurrent theme in its red sandstone and dressings of white marble. Another important innovation is its central position in the garden, typical of the Persian Chahar Bagh, Garden of Four, here subdivided by minor causeways into thirty-two smaller plots. The causeways have narrow water channels in the centre, ancestors of the broad canals characteristic of the later Mughal gardens. Shallow tanks centre the crossings of these causeways and scalloped red sandstone in the water channels mark the fall in ground levels.

Akbar, forceful and strong from the age of thirteen when he inherited the Mughal title, combined statesmanship with a religious and racial tolerance earlier unknown. Except for Chitori, where he fought and vanquished the final Rajput stronghold, he pursued a policy of conciliation, welcoming Hindus into his service and marrying first Jodh Bai, a Rajput princess of Amber, Jaipur, after a succession of Royal wives in political marriages. During the forty-nine years of his reign, his empire grew to reach across more than half of India.

Kashmir has been added after a year of compromise and final battle. He was delighted with its verdant beauty and though he only visited it three times, called it his 'private garden', creating Har Parbat and Nasim Bagh there, now disappeared. Kashmir proved indeed to be the "Jewel in the Crown." The reflective and cool beauty of its backdrop of hills rising dramatically from the shores of Lake Dal brought repose and relaxation from the heat of India and there are many traces of old Mughal gardens, a count in Jahangir's time showed over seven hundred.

Akbar, builder rather than gardener, built the great Fort at Agra, whose vast walls remain intact, though much of the Fort was altered by his grandson Shah Jahan. Akbar's true memorial is the city of Fatehpur Sikri, built at the shrine of Sheikh Salim Chisti, who foretold the birth of his three sons and where Prince Salim, later the Emperor Jahangir, was born. With an artificial lake to the northwest and a complex system of reservoirs and Persian water wheels, it is still a mystery why Fatehpur Sikri was abandoned supposedly for lack of water. Of red sandstone, architecturally it is a mixture of Muslim and Hindu, with the latter's tetraste construction evident in the great pillars. Behind the Victory Gate and among the buildings, the inner walls of many exquisitely carved, are the palaces of Jodh Bai and Maryam, the towering open storeys of the Panch Mahal, the Diwan-i Khas, or "Hall of Private Audience", with its huge, carved central pillar of which Akbar sat listening to the Jesuits and others in religious dialogue, the vast statues and courtyard, and the Turkish Sultan's Palace with its sweetwater tank and dais, site for the evening's entertainment.

Shah Jahan when young had travelled with his father, Jahangir, as the latter had done with Akbar, and both had contributed to Shalamar and Verma. Shah Jahan's son, Dara Shikoh, in turn, is remembered by two gardens in Kashmir. Inheriting his grandfather's love of nature, he is even remembered for the superb collection of Mughal flower paintings which he presented to his wife and cousin, Princess Nadira, known as the Dana Shikoh Album.

Shah Jahan created Cheshma Shahi, "The Royal Spring, by Lake Dal in Kashmir, now much extended and restored. Small and strongly axial, its famed spring bubbled up through a lotus basin, now vanished, on the floor of the upper pavilion, from where the water was led down by a small cascade and canal into a wide, rectangular tank with a single jet. Reflected in its waters was a second Pavilion standing on a splendid twenty foot high retaining wall, from the centre of which a second and very long cascade (chadar) dropped sharply down to feed another water garden at the lower level. More interested in buildings and urban planning, Shah Jahan reaffirmed Persian influence but allied to it an increasing use of white marble together with the Indian tradition in building, to be seen in the Forts at Agra and Lahore, the Red Fort and the Jama Masjid in Delhi. Shahjahanabad, named after its builder was perhaps the finest of the succession of cities which have been built at Delhi.

The Red Fort in Delhi, begun in 1639, took some nine years to complete; its vast red walls remain impressive though the element of water is sadly lacking, as witnessed by an evocative description left by Bernier; "There almost no Chamber but it hath at its Door a Storehouse of running water, that 'tis full of Partens, pleasant Walks, shady Places, Rivulets, Fountain, Jets of Water, Grotta's great Coves against the heat of the day; and great Terrasses raised high, and very airy to sleep upon in the cool; in a word you know not there what 'tis to be hot."

Two major gardens form one grand design: the Hayat Baksh, "the Life-Giving Garden" and the Mahabat Bagh or Moonlight Garden, and though the latter no longer exists, much of the Hayat Baksh remains. A water garden, its central pavilion stood in a pool full of fountains from which four canals terminated at the south and north in small water pavilions; the Sawan and the Bhabon, names linked to the months of July and August, when the ladies sat in the pavilion of the month to enjoy the prevailing breeze. Along the terrace to the river was a water parterre terminating in the beautiful little Shah-Burj pavilion, with its own fountain and water chutes. The extraordinary opulence which earned the Western
world’s awe of “The Great Mughal” can be imagined by this description: “Each of the canals had three rows of fountains and the central canal had forty-nine fountains inside and a hundred and twelve on the four sides, each one plated with silver. Waterfalls fell from the pavilions and in the Chini Kanaaz, the octagonal niches below them, gold and silver pots with silver covers were placed by day, and candles glittered at night. Carried throughout these gardens enclosed by rows of cypresses, was the fragrance of the myriad flowerbeds”.

As many as six to thirteen visits are variously said to have been made by Jahangir and Nur Jahan to Kashmir. The Jesuit Fr. Joseph de Castro complained of the terrors and privations of this long and difficult journey, involving at times their passage over cloud mountain passes — while Jahangir wrote only the beauties of nature and his love of waterfalls, even travelling to Afghanistan to visit Badur’s gardens. Sometimes accompanied by five hundred elephants according to Sir Thomas Roe, Mughal state visits were usually preceded en route by large camps prepared as a city of tents laid out in strict order of precedence.

The approach to Kashmir’s gardens is at its most beautiful by water over Lake Dal. The choice of site for Shahzada Bagh was Jahangir’s, with Shah Jahan, when still a young prince, joining him in the design. Known then as Farah Baksh, “The Beautifier of Joy”, the name Shalimar Bagh, “Abode of Love”, is said to date from the sixteenth century. Amid its all-pervading peace and calm, one senses Nur Jahan’s influence in the refinement of detail and proportion. The design is simple: a small river is diverted into a broad, shallow canal leading to the wide, rectangular basin in which the main pavilion, the Black Marble Pavilion is set, surrounded on all sides by rows of fountains in the basin’s waters. The Gaur Pavilion is the central point which draws the garden together and from which the four vistas open. Below in the design broadens and the changes in level are a little sharper, until it reaches the Diwan-i Am, “The Hall of Public Audience”, in which the Emperor sat on his black marble throne above the water, which had been led through the building to fall in a small cascade into the lowest pool. Another black marble throne, above the Diwan-i Am and below the Black Marble Pavilion, is in the open and centered in a pool by the cascade in the garden of the Diwan-i Khas — the Hall of Private Audience, which it probably once formed. Above in the Zemina garden is the Black Marble Pavilion, behind and above which is a cascade of two ledges with a sharper drop as levels in order to force the water up through the large number of jets in the tank surrounding the Marble Pavilion. Under each of these two levels are double rows of Chini Kanaaz or “pigeon holes”, in which lamps were placed in the evenings to glimmer behind the cascading sheers of water. The Black Marble Pavilion, built in 1630 after his accession by Shah Jahan when he extended the design to the north, is possibly the finest example of a Mughal Baradari, although much altered since. While the grapes, apples, almonds, and peaches no longer fill the gardens, the sheer quality of Shalimar is the result of the two Emperor’s finest gifts — Jahangir’s flair for site and Shah Jahan’s magnificence in building. No wonder then, as at the Red Fort in Delhi, the same Persian quotation appears at Shalimar: “If there be a paradise on the face of the earth, it is here, it is here, it is here”.

Achabal is the site of an ancient and sacred spring and a place of pilgrimage for centuries. Both Mughals and Kashmiris attached great importance to the excellence of the water, as Turkish people do today. Here, the ice-cold spring and the growing lamps of the Chini Kanaaz shimmering behind the cascades in the evening’s darkness. Below lie wide pools with lively fountains, an island pavilion set within them and below again, the water flows under a large pavilion and down the length of the garden to fall, undiminished, over the final change of level. On either side water ripples and dances down two chadars into long canals under huge trees. One of the most enchanting features of Mughal gardens are these carved marble and stone chadars, over whose honeycombed or fish-scaled chutes the water ripples, softly murmuring and glinting in the sunlight as it tumbles. Sadly most of the Mughal pavilions have now disappeared with the apples, pears, apricots and cherries of which Bernier wrote in 1665 describing Achabal, once known as Begumabad after Nur Jahan, whose creation it was.

Jahangir and Nur Jahan are said to have loved Vernag above all other places; Jahangir’s wish was to be buried there. Like Achabal, Vernag is a sacred spring — “nag” being Hindi for a snake and snake worship an ancient religion in Kashmir. Though most of the Mughal buildings have long gone, the site is of a special beauty in its simplicity and contrasting light. The darkness under the low-arched entrance opens onto a sunlit, blue-green, deep octagonal pool in which the darting flashes of golden fish play as in Jahangir’s day. (Nur Jahan is said to have hung inscribed golden rings on the noses of the larger fish, while Jahangir is reputed to have hung pearls on Wali Bagh’s fish!) Behind the complex of domes and niches around the tank rise hillsides of dark deodars. To the north, the main canal, a thousand feet long by some twelve feet wide, with a smaller canal forming a cross axis, pours into the river Jhelum from its surrounding meadows and poplar trees.

Nishat Bagh, “Garden of Gladness”, is the largest and most spectacular of Kashmir’s gardens. One of the non-Royal gardens, it belonged possibly to Nur Jahan’s brother, Asaf Khan, Comptroller to Jahangir and father
of Mumtaz Mahal, Shah Jahan’s adored wife. The garden is seen at its best in the autumn when the red and gold of the trees and the translucent quality of the lake appear against the blue mountains behind. Approaching by boat, one glides under an arched bridge to an inner lake, on whose far side is a pavilion mirrored in its waters, while above it stretches a stupendous garden. Once there were twelve terraces, one for each sign of the Zodiac. (Terraces are a feature of many Mughal gardens, reminiscent perhaps of the famed Hanging Gardens of Babylon, a series of tree-lined terraces, created in the seventh century BC by Nebuchadnezzar to ease the homesickness of his Medean wife, Amytis.) With no need for the protocol of a Royal garden, Nishat Bagh is divided into two gardens only, the Pleasure Garden and the Zenana Terrace. One of the garden’s finest features is the twenty foot high retaining wall running the whole width of the Zenana Terrace under immensely tall chinar trees; while from the three storied Gazebos at each corner, the ladies could look beyond the garden over terraced fields and popular groves towards the waters of Lake Dal. The main feature of the garden is the great thirteen foot wide central watercourse, treated as a series of canals, each dropping with a cascade to the terrace below. Fountain jets mark the centre of the water channel; descending steps on either side marking the terrace levels, while reflecting pools add to the beauty of the design. A special feature of Nishat are a number of stone and marble thrones set in the water channels. What more idyllic way for the Mughal Emperor and his ladies to pass the evening, cooled and soothed after the day’s heat by the lapping waters surrounding them, reclining in brocaded tresses on soft carpets and silken cushions, served on gold and silver and from jade cups, the jewels on their diaphanously gauzed breasts shimmering and glittering like fireflies.

Nur Jahan’s father, Mirza Ghiyas Beg, rose from being a Persian refugee in Kandahar to become Prime Minister; he and his son and daughter, Asaf Khan and Nur Jahan, were the real power in India and it is to them India owes the enchanted gardens of Kashmir and the Taj Mahal, crowning glory of Mughal India.

The small but exquisite mausoleum of Itimad-ud-Daulah, Nur Jahan’s memorial to her father and mother, is near Babur’s gardens on the River Jamna at Agra. From its central platform four raised causeways lead outwards, forming the Chaar Bagh garden design. Underground channel supplied the water canal of these causeways and on either side of the straight path from the main Gateway were orchards, regularly planted in the parterres. The four red sandstone Gateways enclosing the garden provide a perfect foil for the white marble Mausoleum. Designed on the model of a dwelling house, the roof terrace of its square chamber is surmounted at each corner by four chhatis on octagonal columns, while a central pavilion, whose finely carved, latticed marble screens (jalis) shed a diffused and patterned light over the interior, houses the simple tombs of yellow marble. Though strongly Persian in its delicacy and feeling, Itimad-ud-Daulah brought perfection a technique used earlier in the temples of Rajasthan: pietra dura, an elaborately inlay on its white marble surfaces of semi-precious stones—lapiz, onyx, jasper, topaz and cornelian—in altering geometric and floral designs. Heraldic Shah Jahan’s white marble buildings and the famed pietra dura of the Taj Mahal’s floral friezes, Itimad-ud-Daulah brought colour and richness to enhance nature’s bounty and is held by many to be India’s most perfect small jewel.

Shah Jahan’s tomb at Shadnagar near Lahore in her former pleasure garden, the Bagh-i Dilkusha, was designed by Nur Jahan and its marble cenotaph is one of the finest in India with a frieze of cyclamen and tulips in semi-precious stones in memory of his love of Kashmir. The long, low, arced building with four octagonal minarets at each corner, once had a central roof pavilion, now destroyed.

The enclosure, on a huge scale, lies below with fine, interlocking patterns of raised causeways, canals and tanks, in which the traditional brick of Lahore has been beautifully laid in geometrical pattern. Nearby is Asaf Khan’s tomb, built by his son-in-law, Shah Jahan, and not far is the simple tomb of Nur Jahan, made of pure white marble enclosing the cenotaph which is placed exactly above the actual tomb. From the surrounding cloisters and innumerable chhatris there are distant views over the wide plain. The garden plan is divided symmetrically by the central Mausoleum into the classic four-fold Chahar Bagh, and from its platform four wide, raised causeways lead to four gateways with entry only by the South Gate. Four tanks set in the central platform supplied water to the narrow tunnels down the causeways, and a second tank breaks the perspective in each causeway. The garden was originally thickly planted with cypress, pine, plane and palm trees, sadly now, its water channels are dry, as in so many gardens.

Babar inherited Fathiana at eleven, Akbar, his grandson inherited the throne at thirteen, but Prince Salim, the eldest of his three sons, only became the Emperor Jahangir when he was thirty-six, perhaps explaining his dual character. Violent tempered, at times in revolt against his father, he was to become the supreme creator of the garden art of Kashmir. He inherited Babur’s passion for flowers and plants and love of nature, and his memoirs of some eighteen years trace his developing skill as a garden maker and plantsman, while his patronage of the painter Mansur has left to us Mansur’s exquisite miniatures of birds and flowers. Jahangir fell in love with Kashmir on his first visit in company with his father, and was later often heard to say he “would rather lose all his Empire than Kashmir”.

Jahangir’s love for his Persian wife, Mihrunissa, daughter of exiles in Kandahar, was overpowering and a pretext found for the murder of her husband, he later married her, though at thirty-six, women in India were considered already old! Even amongst these Royal women, who from their palaces directed businesses and owned ships and merchandise, she was distinguished by her character and courage. She designed brocades, silks and jewels, wrote poems in Persian and shot tigers through the screens of her howdah on an elephant’s back. Elevated to the title of Nur Jahan “Light of the
World" she shared almost every attribute of Royal power with Jahangir, who, like all his family, was addicted to drink and opium. With her Persian heritage she influenced Mughal India's architecture, and was the driving force behind the incredible number of palaces, pavilions, tombs, and gardens on which they embarked together. Jahangir's love for Kashmir and his talent for the potential of a site has bequeathed to us the famed gardens of Achabal, Vermag and Nishat Bagh in Kashmir. Wazir Bagh in Rawalpindi, Khusru Bagh in Allahabad and the Lake Palaces of Udaipur. His son, the later Shah Jahan, joined him in the finest and most mature of his achievements, the Shahmar Bagh in Kashmir. His brother-in-law Anas Khan was involved in Nishat Bagh, while NurJahan created the small jewel of Itumad-ud-Daulah and its garden at Agra as a memorial to both her parents, and the Bagh-i Dilkhsha for the Emperor to appear on the
terrace above.

Here in the Diwan-i Khas or Hall of Private Audience, stood the Peacock Throne - the most splendid of thirteen thrones! Is it any wonder that the same Persian invocation appears here as at Shahmar Bagh, Agra, replacing them by a series of beautiful marble palaces and mosques. The two principal gardens are the Machhi Bhavan - or Fish Palace, named for its sacred fish - and the Anguri Bagh, the Garden of Grapes. The white marble domes of Motijasid mosque can be seen from the pilared domes of the Machhi Bhavan, many of whose marble fountains and tanks were carried off in the 18th c. by the Jains for the gardens at Deeg.

The Anguri Bagh was the zenana where Jahanara remained with her father, Shah Jahan, during his imprisonment by his son, Aurangzeb. In Khaz Mahal, or Private Reflection, is isolated in a raised marble tank at the centre of the four parterres. The Anguri Bagh may derive its name from the decorative vine leaf pattern found on nearby pavilions. Tavernier, the French jeweller, however, tells of a Portico that Shah Jehan had a design to have adorned all over with a kind of lattice work of Emeralds and Rubies, "...green grapes and the lattice, nay,... however, he continues, "this design which made such a noise in the World and required more Riches than all the World could afford to perfect, remains unfinished there being only three stocks of a Vine in Gold with their leaves .... And emerald, ... with Emeralds, Rubies, and Granates wrought into the chape of Grapes...."

The Taj Mahal, created by Shah Jahan and famed throughout the world in photographs is more lovely than ever imagined. The perfection of the Mausoleum is of otherworld beauty amid its emerald green gardens. Legend has it that Mumtaz Mahal herself had chosen the site as the result of a dream. His best-loved wife with whom he shared all the secrets of State, Mumtaz Mahal accompanied Shah Jahan on all his expeditions and travels and died after the birth of her fourteenth child. Her body was brought back to Agra and laid to rest in these gardens during the twenty-two years it took until 1654 to complete the mausoleum. Shah Jahan's memorial to her. Some twenty thousand workmen were employed, and many names have been suggested as designers and craftsmen at the Taj Mahal - Verenoo, the Venetian goldsmith, the silversmith. Austin of Bordeaux and the Persians Ustad Ahmad and Ustad Itimad among them.

The garden is a classical Chahar Bagh, or Garden of Four, but the Mausoleum is placed not in the centre, but at the end of the garden on a raised platform and framed by four minarets to form the climax of the whole design. The restoration and replanting, initiated by Lord Curzon in 1903, with the original avenue of cypress trees forcing the perspective towards the tomb, has meant that much of the rest of the garden layout goes unseen. It was almost certainly planted with blossoming fruit trees between the cypress, symbols of immortality and regeneration, with shaded walks under taller trees at either side, while many parterres were described by Bernard as full of flowers. The white marble museum is flanked on either side by two red sandstone buildings, a mosque and an assembly hall. The retaining walls and the flagged paths of the garden are also in shades of red. Behind the Mausoleum, four smaller octagonal pavilions mark the corners of the terrace platform which lies across and halfway down the deep retaining wall as it plunges down to the wide sweep of the river Jumna, across which a black marble mausoleum was to have been built by Shah Jahan for himself.

At the centre of the garden is a large raised tank, at its corners the carved Mughal flower-like lobed surrounds, reflecting in a mirror image the Mausoleum. From the tank, on the cross axes to the long central canal and terminating each alley are two smaller red sandstone pavilions. To the south is the great red sandstone Gateway with its exterior or cloisters from which the poor were admitted three times a week during the rainy season to receive the Emperor's charity.

The Taj Mahal combines in perfect harmony the great building traditions of Central Asia, Persia and India: its double dome, its tall iwans and the inlay, combines many details that are of infinite subtlety. The ripple design on the tomb's platform is symbolic of the water in which it would normally have been set. The inscription around the central arch of the tomb is graduated so that the effect of perspective is offset, the letters reading from below as though of equal size. The semi-precious stones around the base of the dome, fortunately inaccessible to marauders, glitter as each stone catches the changing sunlight. Below, as though ribboning the building, is the carved marble frieze of Kashmir's flowers, so loved by all the Mughals.

In India's silk-sof evening light, the exquisite building seems to float, the culmination of the poetic homage of a man to his beloved.
A side from visiting a Persian garden itself, one of the best introductions to the form and function of Persian gardens is through manuscript illustration. Although nothing can duplicate the aromas and sounds of a beautiful garden, at least one can imagine what they might have been by looking at a Persian miniature in which the setting is a garden. Yet, before considering the gardens, one must be aware of the climatic conditions, historical antecedents and cultural factors that determined how Persian gardens of the Islamic era developed.

The terrain of Iran consists of a vast central desert ringed on all sides by mountains. Except in the north along the Caspian Sea, where the climate is semi-tropical, the average amount of rainfall is 25-35 cm. a year. Because of this arid climate, Persians as early as the sixth century BC had devised a system of channeling water for the purposes of irrigation and distribution to the population. In order to take advantage of mountain streams, the early Persians dug underground channels called qanats that led from the bases of snow-covered mountains to villages as much as a few kilometres away. The qanat lines, which supply a more or less constant amount of water throughout the year are constructed at the level of the water table and punctuated about every fifty metres by vertical shafts for easy access. The water flows into a collecting tank and from there is directed to myriad agricultural and residential uses. Most likely, the need to conserve water led to the establishment of irrigation canals patterned in a grid. The same principle applied in the design of gardens associated with palaces. As early as the sixth century BC Cyrus the Great’s palace at Pasargadae (fig. 1) consisted of private and public buildings with porches facing onto gardens with pools linked by stone watercourses. Although the layout of the garden/palace complex changed over the centuries, the idea of buildings with porches or open-air viewing platforms set in gardens of symmetrically arranged, rectangular plots intersected by watercourses remained a constant in Persian garden design.

In the millennium that separated the development of the qanat system and the arrival of Islam in Iran, the relationship of palaces and pleasure pavilions to well-watered gardens took firm root. Thus, the verses of the Qur’an which refer to the gardens of paradise must have struck a familiar chord with early Persian converts to Islam. Gardens are mentioned over a hundred and thirty times in the Qur’an, usually in the context of Paradise and often in contrast to the fiery wasteland of Hell.

One section of the Qur’an (55:45-76), punctuated by the question “O which of your Lord’s bounties will you and you deny?”, describes the gardens that await the god-fearing. They will be “abounding in branches... therein two fountains of running water... therein every fruit two kinds... reclining on couches lined with brocade, the fruits of the garden nigh to gather... therein maidens restraining their glances, untouched before them by any man or jinn... lovely as nibles... green, green pastures... therein two fountains of gushing water... therein fruits, and palm-trees, and pomegranates... therein maidens good and comely... hours, closeted in cool pavilions... untouched before them by any man or jinn... reclining upon green cushions and lovely drogquets”. The double mention of two gardens may imply four gardens or the classic format of the Persian garden, the chahar bagh, literally four gardens, but actually a rectangular garden divided into four by the watercourses that intersect it and meet in the middle.

With no illustrated Persian manuscripts from the early Islamic period, we are unable to judge what, if any, the first impact of Qur’anic descriptions was on the design of Persian gardens. Certainly, the poetry of Iran repeatedly treats gardens as a metaphor for Paradise. By the fourteenth century, the period in which the classical style of Persian painting was established, the Qur’anic descriptions of Paradise would have been common knowledge, part of every Muslim’s education. Thus, when sultans and feudal lords commissioned the building of great gardens and palaces, their ideas were presumably conditioned by the practical considerations of irrigation and climate on the one hand and the Islamic imagery of Paradise on the other. Interestingly, the Qur’an emphasizes rivers of water and other delicious substances and trees that provide fruit or shade but not flowers, which figure so largely in Persian poetry and painting.

Because Persian artists chose to depict most scenes
adorn the space before the iwan, or large arched chamber in which the Khosrau sits. The mechanics of the garden are evident and the stream and the mountain from which it flows are visible in the background. Presumably, the water would have fed through a pipe into the fountain and then out the spout into the foreground stream. A fine plane tree stands in the garden along with various species of iris, violets, and flowering bushes and trees. The two cypresses poking out behind the iwan may refer to Khosrau, since handsome young men are often likened to cypresses in Persian poetry. Even here the artist, Mirza 'Ali, has depicted the sharp contrast between the area of greenery watered by the stream and the arid mountains beyond where the stream does not reach.

Another page from the 1539-43 Khamseh exhibits a variation on the theme of palace garden (fig. 4). The subject of the painting concerns the rivalry of two court doctors. One offered the other a deadly pill and he swallowed it but immediately rendered it harmless by taking a powerful antidote. He then picked a rose and breathed a spell on it before handing it to his rival to smell. As soon as the rival sniffed it, he collapsed dead, killed by the power of fear. The architecture in this garden consists of a simple, probably portable pavilion in which the prince is seated. The paved area contains two pools in which ducks swim and fruits float. Watercourses connect the pools, as they would do in an actual sixteenth centu-

Fig. 3

from a bird's eye view rather than in one-point perspective, we do not find representations of complete gardens. Instead, artists concentrated on the most important elements of the setting, namely those that support the narrative and enhance the mood of the scene. One often-repeated composition in Persian painting includes a wooden fence or high wall enclosing a palace and its verdant garden with leafy trees in full flower, irrigated by a watercourse edged with flowers (fig. 2). In contrast to the protected, cool, colourful garden within the walls or behind the fence, the terrain outside is sandy and hilly. The stream that feeds the watercourses crosses the background or foreground and trees such as cypress or palm grow next to it. In a schematic way, such scenes present the palace with an inner wall and imply both the garden outside the palace walls and the desert beyond the garden wall. Often the outer gardens were very extensive; in fact, one of the builders of Timur’s palace, the Ag Saray at Shahri-Yar, lost his horse in the palace garden and finally found it again after looking for six months. Thus, in addition to gardens with neatly squared beds and straight-sided watercourses, meadows with streams were also enclosed by garden walls.

Because large royal gardens contained numerous palaces and other buildings, certain areas were designed as public spaces while others were reserved for the sultan and his family. The painting of ‘Khosrau listening to Bard piercing the lute’ from the Khamseh of Nizami of 1529-43 (fig. 3) depicts a royal entertainment in such a setting. Here, a magnificent polylobed pool and fountain
beloved, Shirin (fig. 5). Since his arrival, he had been showered with food, drink and entertainment. In addition to the trees, flowers, and streams associated with garden spots, the inclusion of two tents and an awning suggest that this is more than a picnic.

A description by Sharaf al-Din 'Ali Yazdi of a famous wedding feast in 1404 near Samarkand demonstrates the extent to which a miniature such as this one was based on actual events and practices. “Tents with silken poles were pitched in which more carpets were woven with gold than could be reckoned. All the curtains were of Sinjhari silk, all the carpets were broads and perfect in every respect. For the royal residence four sarapardas (enclosures) the plateau enclosing were set up, and a two-hundred-headed tent totally decorated in gold and jewels, raised its head beyond the Pleiades. From horizon to horizon beneath the blue sphere were sarapardas, awnings and tents, tents in height level with the celestial sphere, the poles of these tents of pure silver. The farshars spread a hundred types of carpet, and the ground became as glorious as the divine throne.” Although the scale of Timur’s tent encampment is by no means matched in the Khamsheh illustration, the type of tent in which Khusrav sits may be an audience hall and the door to the tent next to it appears to be adorned with jewels or at least mother of pearl. The figures and tent on the horizon imply that the encampment extended into the distance beyond the frame of the painting.

The types of gardens and garden architecture commissioned in the fourteenth century by Timur were consciously copied by his later Timurid descendants. Their Safavid successors, some of whom were great builders of gardens and garden pavilions, adopted the ideas of the Timurids and imposed their own style on them. Even in the 19th century the chahar bagh plan endured, as the Bagh-i Fin near Kashan attests. Here, at the site of a garden first enjoyed by the Safavid Shah Ismail in 1504, the Qajar Shah, Fath 'Ali Shah reconstructed the Safavid garden pavilions in the early 19th century. As Donald Wilber has noted, the Bagh-i Fin epitomizes the Persian garden: “Where all is dry and severe outside the walls, within in water flows copiously, flowers and trees thrive, and the sound of water, cool breezes, and light and colour reflected in dark garden pools soothe the visitor and bring him peace.”

Fig. 5
Islamic Shariah as a Part of World Legal Culture
Abridged from a Lecture by Leonid R. Sykiainen

In Islamic tradition, the term Shariah is used to describe the path ordained by Allah for the faithful. The general meaning of this notion becomes clearer in the light of the fact that its root "sha'-a-r" is found in the Qur'an in the sense of to "legitimate" or to "decree" something as being binding. So, the sources of the Shariah are the Qur'an and the Sunna—a collection of deeds and sayings of the Prophet Muhammad (Hadith) that embody the divine revelation. At the same time, the general descriptions of the Shariah as an aggregate of the precepts established by Allah and transmitted to people via the Prophet has become established in the Islamic legal thought.

Shariah: Religion, Ethics and Law

The Shariah has never been confined to religious questions. It attaches no less importance to everyday matters, the way the Muslims behave in respect to each other, to authority and to people of other faiths. According to the prevalent view, the Shariah comprises three main parts: religious dogmas, Islamic ethics and the so-called "practical norms". The latter are further divided into worship instructions and norms regulating all other aspects of Muslims' conduct and their everyday relationships.

The normative side of the Shariah is made up of several varieties of provisions. The first is comprised of the Qur'an and the Sunna tenets that have a clear sense and provide for definite rules. They include all the concrete religious cult norms, but there are very few precise rules concerning person-to-person relations.

The second part of the Qur'an and the Sunna provisions have different implications, and suggest general boundaries and guidelines instead of prescribing precise rules of conduct. The main peculiarity of this group of the Shariah norms lies in the fact that different schools of the Muslim legal thought interpret it dissimilarly.

Closely linked with the normative tenets of the Shariah are the so-called "roots of the fiqh". (Fiqh stands both for a doctrine of Islamic Law and its norm) that serve as sources of Islamic rules of conduct. Some of them—the Qur'an and the Sunna—are regarded as expressing the divine revelation by themselves, whereas others are thought to be rational by their character. The Islamic Shariah is absolutely unthinkable without these rational modes of assessing human behaviour.

The search for rules of conduct based on rational reasoning is called jihād. The vast majority of norms regulating human everyday relations are formed on this basis. The essence of jihād lies precisely in finding the legal answer to a problem that has no ready solutions that would correspond with the Shariah. Muslims jurists believe that mujahids do not create new norms but "derive" solutions that are contained in the Shariah from the start—in its general principles and postulates.

The mentioned objectives and guidelines of the Shariah reside as it were between religious moral and law. They indicate that the Shariah is not only a religious phenomenon but also a flexible system of down-to-earth norms. In solving purely secular problems, the Shariah religious and ethical principles interact with legal principles whose analysis is especially important in defining the legal side of the Shariah which is regarded as Islamic Law in proper.

Peculiarities of Islamic Legal Culture

The role of the legal interpreter of the Shariah has been played by Islamic Law doctrine (fiqh), and it is most graphic in the general principles of law formulated in the Middle Ages. Their prestige was strikingly revealed by the official inclusion of ninety-nine of them in the so-called 'Majallah', the code of Islamic legal rules on matters of civil law and procedure promulgated by the Ottoman Empire in 1869–76.

Let us cite just some of the legal principles of the Shariah, many of which reflect and translate its religious and ethical directives into the legal language. For example, the feature of the Shariah inclination not to burden people with excessively rigid obligations finds expression in such legal principles as "difficulty entails facilitation", or "necessity makes permissible what has been prohibited". A number of principles indicate the desire to rule out damage or lighten it if possible: "damage should be made up for", "damage cannot be made up by doing harm", "it is permissible to do partial harm so as to avoid total harm", "of two evils the smaller one is to be chosen", "prevention of harm is more preferred that any gain". The attention paid to protecting individual interests and rights, especially property, as one of the values protected by the Shariah, underlies the principle: "An order to take charge of someone else's property is invalid", "no one has a right to take charge of some other person's property without permission from the latter", "no one can appropriate the property of another person with no legal cause".

The Qur'anic idea of justice is spelled out in the legal principles which, in effect, validate the presumption of innocence: "The initial thing is a presumption of the absence of property obligations", "the burden of proof would rest upon the plaintiff whereas it is sufficient for the defendant to take an oath". The legal nature of the Shariah can be observed in those principles that reflect the dependence of assessments of a person's conduct upon his inner motives: "Deeds are assessed by the objectives they pursue", "The content of deals and contracts does not depend on words, it is rather determined by the objectives pursued in"
The Shariah Contribution to Legal Culture

It is well known, that the Muslims were transmitters of classical philosophy to the West, made invaluable contribution to the development of astronomy and mathematics and were skilled surgeons and seafarers. It should also be added that they were prominent lawyers, whose contribution to the world legal thought can hardly be underestimated.

Law is an important part of the culture of any society. The higher prestige of law and the more active its role is in life of the society, the higher the cultural level of the latter.

The Islamic legal system is a universal comprehensive system of social and normative regulations, where the law is indissolubly connected with religion and morality. At the same time, the legal side of the Shariah represents an independent legal system, which owes its establishment and evolution to the Islamic jurisprudence.

Secondly, it is known that the Islamic law enriched the European law with the concepts, definite norms and institutions, which also confirms the status of the Shariah as a part of the world legal culture. Finally, it is worth pointing out the unique contribution of the Shariah in the world legal development as interaction of the Islamic law with the European legal culture, which was typical of both the past epochs and the modern times. Such experience makes it possible to use the achievements of the Islamic Law in non-Muslim countries like Russia for solving the problem of the Muslims and the society as a whole.

Interaction between Islamic and European Legal Cultures

The Islamic law is one of the main legal systems of the modern world. It has a number of peculiarities that differ it from other legal cultures. At the same time, its common principles and the majority of its concrete norms are similar to fundamental ideas and particular provisions of other legal systems. It was always typical of the Shariah history to closely cooperate with other legal cultures. Perception by many Islamic countries in the nineteenth century of European legal models was prepared by the foregoing history of the Muslim world legal development and was explained, to the greatest extent, by the peculiarities of Muslim law itself, that, on the one hand, it was open to foreign experience, and on the other hand, it was able to enrich other legal cultures.

The Islamic and European legal cultures interact more intensively in the modern legal systems of the Muslim countries. This interaction accounts for the main peculiarities of the so-called modern Islamic law.

The Significance of Islamic Legal Culture for Russia

Forms and conditions of the interaction and co-existence of the Islamic and European legal cultures acquire not only a theoretical, but also a practical meaning for a number of non-Muslim countries, where during the centuries the Muslim minority has been living. Russia is one of them. In Muslim countries the main problem is to admit perception of the European law, whereas in Russia, on the contrary, the question is in the possible use of the Muslim law heritage within the framework of the European legal tradition.

Taking it into account, study of the Muslim countries' experience in the area of the Islamic and European legal cultures cooperation, is of great interest to Russia.

Of course, the use of the Muslim legal culture in non-Muslim society means, first of all, acquaintance with its achievements. In this respect, a unique project, implemented in Russia three years ago - publication of the Anthology of "World Legal Thought" in five volumes - is of a great scientific and cultural importance. The first volume of this work comprises a special section devoted to the Muslim legal thought. For the first time it includes Hadiths of the legal nature in the Russian language, general principles of fiqh, and a famous letter of Caliph Omar on justice.

Working on these materials, I was staggered not by the differences between the legal ideas of various regions, civilizations, cultures, people and religions, but by their similarity and community of their principal approaches. Various legal cultures, going by their own ways, often came to solutions that differed in the form, but coincided in the content. All of them contributed to the common world legal culture. The contribution of the Islamic Shariah was very significant.

The Role of Islamic Legal Culture for Dialogue between Civilizations

The value of the Muslim legal culture was not limited to exclusively legal questions. It can and must play an important positive role in addressing more general, even global issues. In particular, the legal achievements of the Shariah can help to launch a constructive dialogue between the Islamic world and the West, their cooperation in solving such complex issues as globalization, human rights, and even struggle with extremism and international terrorism. The language of law is universal in the present-day world. That is why the modern Muslim legal thought should take a more active part in development of the contemporary civilization. But to study this culture to the extent that would correspond to the nature of the Islamic Shariah - is a great art, that should be considered as an important component of the entire Islamic art and whole Islamic culture.
FROM GUJARAT TO SUMATRA AND JAVA:  
A GROUP OF 15TH CENTURY  
ISLAMIC GRAVES IN INDONESIA

ABRIDGED FROM A LECTURE BY ELIZABETH LAMBOURN

Historians of Islamic art have long faced the problem of defining the limits of their subject. Collections of Islamic art, courses and research on Islamic art already work within an enormous geographical area, that between Spain, in the west, and India or Afghanistan, in the east. Yet it is common knowledge that Indonesia is the world’s largest Muslim nation, and Muslim communities still exist in parts of Vietnam and eastern China. Today’s lecture presents a group of magnificent 9th century A.H./15th century AD marble graves that are found around the village of Kota Karang on the north-east coast of Sumatra and at Gresik in eastern Java.

Islamic cemeteries of north-east Sumatra

The present village of Kota Karang is built on the site of the capital of one of the earliest Muslim Sultanates in South-East Asia, the Sultanate of Samudera-Pasai. Although nothing remains of this port’s many buildings, its vast cemeteries have survived almost intact. Current estimates suggest that as many as four hundred inscribed and decorated graves, and many more plain examples, survive there. The graves are an important resource for the history and material culture of this early Sultanate, since we have otherwise no reliable written histories.

Amongst the many graves in these cemeteries, one group stands out. Carved from a fine cream marble that has been polished to an almost translucent finish; they are generally monumental graves, consisting of a cenotaph on a raised plinth with a full headstone and footstone at either end. Their headstones are decorated with ornate calligraphy and fine panels of Kufic script, they have magnificent floral footstones and sometimes equally ornate lids. These graves literally outshine the smaller and simpler sandstone graves of local manufacture around them. Together they record deaths over a forty year period, between 809/1406 and 851/1447-8.

The identification of a Gujarat origin

The first clue to the identity of these graves came in 1912 when the Dutch scholar Jean-Pierre Moquette published a seminal article which argued that one of the Pasai graves—that of a daughter of Sultan Zayn al-Abidin of Pasai who died in 831/1428 (Fig. 2) — had been imported to South-East Asia from the port of Cambay in Gujarat. That monument and the grave of 'Umar al-Kazzaruni of Cambay, Gujarat are so similar that Moquette had little difficulty demonstrating the common origin of the two. Both graves are cenotaph graves consisting of a large rectangular cenotaph, fronted by a headstone slab. Both are finely carved in a creamy white marble that has been polished to an almost translucent finish. The principal decoration of the headstones is calligraphic, both carry a variety of Qur’anic verses and the epitaph proper, inscribed in a refined and somewhat spidery script of nastik and arranged in cartouches. The headstones are particularly distinctive because of a large and complex Kufic bismillah; with interlace and floral terminals (Fig. 5).

If this stylistic evidence was not strong enough, Moquette proved that the actual marble of the Pasai grave had been imported from western India. Many elements of the Pasai grave have preserved traces of earlier carving on their reverses which may all be paralleled in western Indian temple carvings. Probably the finest example, published as a plate in Moquette’s article, is the traces of a temple threshold on the reserve of the headstone. Such thresholds are typical of western India temples of the 9th to 11th centuries AD. Furthermore, the white marble from which both graves are carved is characteristic of western Indian sculpture and architecture, being quarried in northern Gujarat and Rajasthan.

Moquette’s arguments were severely limited by the material available to him in 1912. Pre-Mughal material in India was, and still is, patchily published and at the time of writing his article al-Kazzaruni’s grave was the only grave from Cambay to have been published with photographic illustrations and drawings. Though Moquette’s stylistic
nullish was correct, he had no idea of the wider context of marble carving at Cambay. In the decades since Moquettes's publication the corpus of Cambay marble carving has been better published and researched. I personally spent three years researching the traditions of marble carving for Muslim patrons at Cambay for my doctoral dissertation. The grave of al-Kaseruni belongs to a large group of marble carving produced at Cambay over a period of some seven centuries—from the early 13th to the 20th century AD. We now have a clearer picture of the marble carving produced at the port, its stylistic development and the market for which it was produced. Commissions consisted of grave memorials, such as head and footstone pairs and larger cenotaph graves, as well as architectural carvings such as mihrabs and doorways. The patrons were prominent local merchants, religious dignitaries and local administrators. A variety of building foundation inscriptions and land grants were also produced.

Expanding the Cambay corpus

Building on Moquettes's example and the new data about Islamic marble carving at Cambay it is possible to establish a clear Cambay provenance for another eleven marble graves at Pasi, as well as for the three central graves at the shrine of Malik Ibrahim at Gresik in Java. Although the two graves are identical, they fall into several clear categories.

Many gravestones carry further variations around the distinctive Kufic bismillah already seen in the headstone of al-

Fig. 1. Map showing southern Asia from Gujarat to Java.
Fig. 2. Kota Karang grave "X", Grave of a daughter of Sultan Zayn al-Abidin (d. AH 831 / AD 1428) Kota Karang, north-east Sumatra. (Or. 23,481, Leiden University Library, Legatum Wornerianum. The Netherlands).
Kazaruni. Others follow a quite different design, replacing the Kufic bismillah with an ornate lamp motif carved in a rich, rounded relief. Whilst lamp motifs are commonly found in Islamic art at this period, especially on tombstones, the Cambay motif is unique distinctive in having two split-plinths placed at either side of the niche.

The Cambay material in Indonesia is especially important because, in many instances, this material has survived better than in Gujarat, and provides more examples of more complete graves than Cambay. For example, although we only have one intact cenotaph lid surviving at Cambay, many examples have survived in Indonesia. Perhaps some of the most amazing survivals, are the large floral footstones that have only survived in Indonesia (Fig. 4).

Though no footstones of this design have survived at Cambay in Gujarat, the designs are distinctive to western India. Echoes of these designs can be found in contemporary Jain painting for example on a Victory banner (Jayamitra Yantra) from western India painted in 1504 Vikram Samvat, equivalent to AD 1447, and held in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Even closer tree designs occur on block printed cottons from western India, certain examples on which have recently been carbon dated to the early 15th century AD.

The export market for Cambay marble carving

From one perspective the Indonesian material is important because it fills out major gaps in the Cambay carving that has survived in Gujarat. It expands the repertory of grave types, decoration and programs of Qur’anic inscriptions produced. But it is also extremely important because it is not in Cambay. These graves are clearly imported graves and graves that were originally commissioned by patrons in South Asia in the 15th century AD, as such they can tell us a great deal about the tastes and culture links of Samudra-Pasai during the 15th century.

There is so far no evidence to suggest that any of these graves were imported by Muslims from western India, let alone Cambay, for reasons of cultural affiliation. Their importation appears to be linked in part to the limitations of local stone carving traditions since the few early gravestones that have survived in this region are small and carved from a rather coarse local sandstone. By contrast, the Cambay gravestones are amongst the finest monumental graves produced anywhere in western India at this period, and they outshine any other groups known so far from the coasts of India and Sri Lanka, or even China.

Certain aspects of the gravestones may also have aroused particular interest in Sumatra. The footstone designs often bear strong parallels in contemporary western Indian textiles, textiles that were much in demand in South Asia and often took on ceremonial and symbolic associations once they reached this area. White marble graves may also have been particularly desirable because of their very colour and the translucent quality of the finest carving. Many Islamic texts recount how the graves of especially blessed persons emanate light, whereas the graves of those who committed evil deeds are reported to turn black or billow forth black smoke. In sunlight these marble graves almost glow from within (Figs. 2 and 4).
Fig. 4. Floral marble headstone carving for Muslim patrons at Cambay and overseas (14th - 15th centuries AD)
Fig. 5. Headstone of 'Umar al-Kazaruni (d. AH 734 / AD 1333), Kazaruni tomb complex, Cambay, Gujarat.

(Photograph: Elizabeth Lambourn).
Importing gravestones from abroad was certainly not unique to the court of Samudera-Pasai. A number of Muslim gravestones manufactured on the coast of eastern China have been found in Brunei and many locally manufactured gravestones were shipped from Sumatra to Malaysia and parts of Java. The choice of Cambay gravestones may therefore reflect current fashions at the court of Samudera-Pasai and/or the wishes of contacts with that port. Later sources, notably the Portuguese accounts, stress the dominance of Gujaratis, both Hindus and Muslim, in the trade of this area.

Another important reason for the choice of Cambay gravestones, and one that has only recently come to light, is that Cambay workshops had a long tradition of exporting their carving around the Indian Ocean, and had built up a good experience of this by the 15th century. Cambay carvings have been found all along the western coast of India, as far south as Madya in Kerala, as well as on the east coast of China. Further examples of Cambay carving have also been found in present-day Tanzania, at Mogadishu, at Mombasa in the Arabian peninsula, and at Lar in southern Iran.

The presence of these gravestones in Indonesia is therefore not unusual. However, the number of pieces is. The three northern Sumatran examples constitute the single largest group of Cambay carving outside Cambay and illustrates the growing cultural and commercial links between the two areas.

Cultural interactions between Cambay and Indonesia

Previous research into the Cambay graves found in Indonesia has always maintained that these graves are luxury imports that were exported ready-made—that is to say as finished products—from Cambay. The implications of this are that they do not provide much evidence for any complex cultural interactions between the two areas. But new evidence from the graves suggests quite the opposite. Cambay marble carvings may even have travelled to north Sumatra to finish and install these carvings.

Consistent with other findings, many of the graves that arrived in Indonesia were not finished. The sides of many cenotaphs and many bases had been shaped but lack their Qur'anic inscriptions and decoration. Since the patrons in South East Asian were clearly not interested in inscriptions, we have to notice this, have to look for other explanations for this phenomenon. Probably the best explanation for this unfinished carving is that Cambay carvers worked in two phases, executing the basic shaping and inscriptions of the marble in Cambay and finishing the finer details of the tombstone in Indonesia. This procedure would minimize the risk of any damage to the grave itself. It also increased the value of the stone for the patrons, who were willing to pay more for a finished work.

Another issue to consider is that of the assembly of the graves. The larger cenotaph gravestones found at Pasai and Gresik are extremely complex to assemble and require large and deep foundations to support their weight, especially in the wet climate of South-East Asia. Could large, complex monuments such as these really have been shipped off to Pasai as finished pieces without even sending at least an experienced mason to assemble them? To send ready-made gravestones to Indonesia without a craftsman to assemble them would have been like sending a 1000 piece jigsaw puzzle without the picture on the box.

All these factors combine to suggest that Cambay carves traveled to Indonesia, to assemble the monuments and very probably to complete the finer carving too. (Fig. 3). Unfortunately, for the moment we have no signatures of Cambay craftsmen in Indonesia and no textual references to this type of practice to prove this theory conclusively. Further research may perhaps be able to solve this puzzle.

Evidence for a complex and intimate interaction between the two areas is also visible in certain more unusual graves in north Sumatra. Three graves, all of the same distinctive white marble, display a mixture of Cambay and non-Cambay features. All are executed in the same technique and to the same standard as the other Cambay graves, all employ the familiar style of calligraphy, and many use familiar minor decorative motifs such as interlace bands. But the form of the tombs is not found in Cambay or anywhere else in India.

Probably, the best example of this interaction are two large royal cenotaphs, one of which records a death in 851/1447–8. The actual cenotaph design is still of a Cambay type and can be compared with the undated panels of a cenotaph still in that town. However, the head-and-footstones introduce a new form, generally known as a deer-arch or kala-munga. The form does not occur in Cambay carving in India but does appear prominently in the sculpture and temple decoration of Indonesia, and in Javanese-Malay funerary art. Gravestones of this shape were commonly used for Muslim gravestones in eastern Java during the 9th and 15th centuries. This extraordinary mixture of western India materials, Cambay form and decoration with South-East Asian forms suggests that some extremely sophisticated interactions took place in north Sumatra at this period.

We do not yet know enough about the working practices of the period to establish whether interactions of this depth were possible via written correspondence and drawings, or are the result of a Cambay craftsman in Indonesia actually seeing these new forms and integrating them into the graves he was carving. Whatever the answer these examples illustrate the complexity of research remaining to be carried out even on such a small group as these fourteen graves.

Conclusion

Much more research remains to be carried out on the fascinating cemeteries of north-east Sumatra, many epitaphs remain to be read, many designs to be studied and traced. The cemeteries preserve a plethora of early types, many never seen before and such a task is by no means easy. The results however would shed important light on early Islamic culture in Indonesia.
THE FUNERARY INSCRIPTIONS OF GHAZNĪ

ABRIDGED FROM A LECTURE BY ROBERTA GIUNTA

From 1957 to 1966 the Italian Archaeological Mission at Ghaznī uncovered many tombs scattered over the several small cemeteries and ziyarats, mostly located in the east of the citadel. The white marble monuments constitute a conspicuous group of individual tombs that give evidence of uninterrupted evolution from the beginning of the Ghaznavid period, in the construction of tombs and the related inscriptions. The tombs consist of two or more superimposed and scaled-down architectural elements forming a truncated pyramid. None of the tombs have headstones although, in some cases, a tall wooden stick, fixed into the ground, shows the position of the head of the deceased. Each tomb is composed of a basement and a crested top element connected by one or more intermediate elements whose form and arrangement changed during the ages.

The tombs of the Ghaznavid period are generally without cenotaphs, they present low basements surmounted by prismatic elements, a rich variety of stepped socles and crested top elements. In contrast, the funerary architecture of the Ghūrid period is distinguished by high cenotaphs, while the prismatic elements changed in height, width and length and the stepped socles disappeared. Since the 9th c. AH / 15th c. AD, tombs became simpler and the intermediate elements progressively disappeared. The Funerary architecture of Ghaznī has no close parallels with that of the other regions of the Islamic world. It is noteworthy, however, that pictures of similar tombs may be found in some 7th c. AH / 13th c. AD manuscripts.

The inscriptions, carved in relief, generally occupy the four sides of each element of the tomb. The epitaphs follow a standard scheme, which changes according to the dynasties. During the Ghaznavid period the most complete formula includes the bismillah, the sahada (both often repeated on more than one element of a single tomb), the expression qabr... ("This is the tomb of..."), the name of the deceased together with his genealogy and titles (generally carved on the crested top element), the date of death, some Qur’anic verses (often interrupted because of the lack of space), and invocations for the deceased. During the Ghūrid period, the name of the deceased is omitted and the shahada occupies the two longitudinal faces of the top element. The Aya al-Kursi (Qur’an II, 255) enjoyed great favour and was often repeated on the elements of the tomb. In late tombs, the epitaphs generally contain the name of the deceased and some Qur’anic verses. It is noteworthy that the majority of Ghaznī tombs are dateless, but they may be dated by comparison with those bearing dates or clear attributions.

The tombs are of great interest both for their structure and for their ornamental and epigraphic features. Under the Ghaznavids, kufic reached very elaborated forms acquiring a high decorative character. Four types of kufic were adopted: simple kufic – with some decorative devices such as the end of the 4th c. AH / 10th c. AD. Square kufic since the 5th c. AH / 11th c. AD. Bordered kufic in which the letters are often prolonged and generate two half palmettos or half leaves since the mid-5th c. AH / 11th c. AD and foliated kufic, whose angular letters bear leaves, scrolls and half palmettos since the beginning of the 6th c. AH / 12th c. AD. Many ornamental elements are freely inserted in the spaces above or beside the letters. Sometimes, scrolling leaves glide among the letters in the background of the epigraphic field. It may seem surprising that the use of kufic is not documented in the funerary inscriptions of the Ghūrid period.

Since the first half of the 5th c. AH / 11th c. AD the Ghaznavids also used cursive script for funerary epigraphy as in one of the twenty-four inscriptions carved on the tomb of Mahmud (d. 421 AH / 1030 AD) (Figs 1 & 4) and in that of an unknown person who died in 447 AH / 1055 AD. Both inscriptions contain six lines framed by a trilobed arch. These two inscriptions, together with another one carved on marble from the Ghaznavid mosque at Raja Fira in the Swat Valley, NWFP, Pakistan, and dated 440 AH /1048-49 AD, are probably the earliest monumental cursive inscriptions in the Islamic world.

Fig. 1. Ghūrid period tomb (see fig. 4). Southern side showing the beginning of the bismillah on the middle prismatic element.
Fig. 2. Tomb of Mahmud (d. AH 421 / AD 1030). Triangular upper element, unique to Ghazni, though popular in Anatolia, Syria and India.

Fig. 3. Tomb of Mahmud (d. AH 421 / AD 1030). Trilobed arch on the eastern and most distinctive side of the upper element showing inscription.

Fig. 4. Ghurid period tomb showing the two stepped socle, prismatic element and upper, crested element with the sahada. The inscriptions are in simple Kufic with some floral upper decoration.
Established in 1979, the Library is the leading resource centre for Ismaili studies. The Library's role is to develop and make available, to scholars and students within and outside the Institute, a central archive of Ismaili manuscripts and printed texts and to support the activities and programs of the Institute. It also has a conservation and archival role that includes a specific curatorial function. The Library is engaged in developing and implementing a number of activities and projects.

In its archival role, the Library seeks to preserve historical as well as contemporary documents and literary sources of Ismaili communities. The identification and acquisition of original Ismaili manuscripts is, therefore, one of the main responsibilities of the Library. It also systematically acquires photocopies and microfilms of Ismaili manuscripts held in various personal and institutional collections.

The Library has also acquired a majority of the books, articles, and other materials printed to date on Ismaili subjects. In collaboration with the Institute's Department of Academic Research and Publications, the Library has the long-term objective of gathering and preserving the oral history as well as visual records of Ismailis residing in different parts of the world. The cataloguing system used is a modified version of the Library of Congress Cataloguing System and follows the Anglo-American rules for cataloguing. A descriptive catalogue of Ismaili manuscripts on a multimedia platform that would provide visual access is a long-term project of the library and an automated library system was introduced at the end of 1999.

The Collections

The Library’s unique collection of Ismaili materials, which is amongst the largest in the Western world, consists of manuscripts, printed items and unpublished theses. Besides its Ismaili holdings, the Library has a core collection in Islamic studies comprising about 16,000 items. Whereas the Ismaili holdings provided a specialized focus, the general Islamic collection, which does not aim to match (in size or range) similar holdings found in larger academic institutions in London, has been planned based on need, reflecting the academic and other activities of the Institute.

To provide for the on-going education programmes and research activities of the Institute, the Library has developed a core collection of printed reference works, periodicals, texts, and studies on aspects of Islamic works and Sufism.

There is an emphasis on Islam and modernism, sociological and anthropological approaches to Islam, and studies that deal with intellectual and moral challenges facing Muslims. There is less emphasis on contemporary political and economic aspects of the Middle East. The printed collection of Ismaili materials comprises nearly 1000 volumes of texts and monographs, as well as offprint and photocopies of over 650 articles. The materials in this collection are in Arabic, Persian, Gujarati, Urdu, English, French, German, Italian, Russian, as well as in Khojki script.

Gathered over 60 years, the Ismaili manuscript materials comprise the largest part of the collection. There are over 150 manuscripts in Arabic, Persian, Gujarati and the Khojki script. More than two-thirds of the collection comprises work by Ismaili writers. This makes the collection unique in the western world and an indispensable source of material for scholars and students interested in Ismaili studies.

The Ismaili manuscripts may be divided as follows: 747 in Arabic, 109 in Persian, 202 in Gujarati/Khojki. Totally 1058 Arabic Ismaili manuscripts include numerous examples of the writings of prominent Fatimid authors such as: Al Qadi al Nu’man, Jafar b. Nasir al-Yamani, Abu Ya’qub al-Sijistani, Harid al-Din al-Kirmani, Al-Mu’ayyad fi al-Din al-Shirazi, as well as Yamani authors of the post-Fatimid period such as: Hatim b. Ibrahim al-Hamidi, Idris Imaad al-Din. Amongst the oldest manuscripts in this category are a copy of the fourth volume of the Majalis of al Mu’ayyad dated 997/1589 and a late 13th century copy, probably
from Syria of the Rasa’il Ilkhwan al-Safii’.

Three catalogues describing the Arabic manuscripts have been published. The Persian Ismaili manuscripts comprise the works of Nasir-i Khurshid, Nizâri texts of the post Alamut period as well as the small selection of 20th century imans of Sultan Muhammad Shah sent to the Ismaili communities of Iran and Badakhshan.

The Gujarati and Khojki manuscripts comprise a rich collection of the religious literature of the Indian subcontinent communities. The general (non-Ismaili) manuscript collection consists of 486 volumes, of which 209 are in Arabic and 170 Persian. These cover a variety of subjects including commentaries on the Qur’an, jurisprudence, theology, philosophy, history, biography, logic, poetry, grammar, medicine and alchemy. Among the most important Persian manuscripts is one of the earliest extant copies, dated 697/1297 of the Tarîkh-i Jahan-gushây by the historian ‘Alâ Malik Juwawî. This copy was written only sixteen years after the death of the author.

The late Zahid Ali of Nizam College, Hyderabad was one of a small group of Indian Ismailis who, together with Vladimir Ivanov played a decisive role in developing modern Ismaili studies. In 1997 the Library received a gift from the faculty of the late Zahid Ali comprising of 225 manuscripts dating from the 8th to the 20th centuries. All except three are written by Ismaili authors of the Fatimid and post-Fatimid period and all are in Arabic except for one in Persian and two in Gujarati.

Since 1997, the Library has been collecting rare books that are of relevance to Ismaili studies as well as manuscripts of aesthetic as well as textual interest. Over the past few years, the Library has also acquired some significant artifacts relating to Ismaili history, thus enhancing its role as a rich resource for anyone interested in Ismaili and other branches of Ismaili studies.
In 1600 Queen Elizabeth chartered the company of “Governors and Company Merchants of London trading into the East Indies”. In 1709 it merged with another company trading to the East to form “The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies”. Legally this remained the official company name until 1879 but the Charter Act of 1833 referred to the company as the East India Company. This term was used in Acts of Parliament, documents and contracts. The East India Company was also called the “The Honourable Company”. John Company, another appellation, possibly derived from “Jehan” or “Jehangir”, or simply the Company.

The first voyage of the company set out in February 1601 under Captain James Lancaster. His flagship was the ‘Dragon’, the other vessels the ‘Hector’, the ‘Susan’ and the ‘Ascension’. The fleet carried $28,472 worth of bullion for purchase and goods worth a further $6,860 including wrought iron, crockery, pistols and spectacles. Lancaster knew enough about scurvy to take lemon juice on board (2 spoons daily), but captains of the other ships took the decision not to adopt these precautions. In June 1602 the fleet arrived at Aceh in Sumatra. The Sultan welcomed the English, however, they found that the Dutch had seized the initiative. The Dutch East India Company had raised a start up capital of $540,000 against the English company’s mere $68,373.

Thwarted in legitimate trade, Lancaster reverted to piracy and managed to seize a large cargo of pepper and Indian cotton from a Portuguese ship. He also started participating in local Indian Ocean trade in piece goods (cotton and printed textiles produced in South India and sold in Java and Sumatra).

Lancaster was unable to purchase pepper at Aceh but was able to set up a trading factory (combination of fort and a warehouse) at Bantam on Java. After a hair-raising voyage back, Lancaster finally returned to England and a knighthood. His main disappointment was the pepper he brought back in high expectation of making a good profit. Unfortunately for him James I had also captured a Carrack full of pepper so the London market was glutted and the price fell dramatically. The investors were paid off in sacks of pepper instead of cash.

Pepper at least was to remain one of the staples of East India Company’s spice trading right through to the 19th century and the factories in Bantam in Java and later Bencoolen in Sumatra provided an uninterrupted supply. The Company was finally able to gain ready access to some of the spices that had thus far proved elusive only when it started to trade with South India and Ceylon, the source of cinnamon. After the company’s failure in the Spice Islands it quickly began to think of ways of making the most of its charter. It was known that there was a substantial existing commerce between Surat in Gujarat (Western India), all along the coast of the Arabian Sea to the Red Sea.

On 31st December 1606 the company’s board of directors discussed the possibility of obtaining letters of introduction from James I to the then Turkish governor of Aden. The third voyage under William Keeling was ordered to call on the region’s second in command, William Hawkins who was valued for his fluent Turkish. Keeling left for Bantam while Hawkins left for Surat in the ‘Hector’. Anchoring in a tidal creek down stream from the town Hawkins quickly discovered the twin obstacles to trade, the corruption of the Mughal officials in charge and the Portuguese. Although Portugal was in theory at peace with England, the Portuguese scuttled any plans that the company might have had, by capturing two boats along with their crews and taking them off to Goa. The ‘Hector’ departed to Bantam leaving Hawkins and his loyal friend William Finch at Surat. Hawkins hired a bodyguard of Pathans and leaving Finch to look after their goods in Surat headed off to Agra, capital of the Moghul Empire where he impressed the Emperor Jehangir with his fluent Turkish and seemingly unlimited capacity for drink. Hawkins soon became a court favourite, Jehangir finding him an Armenian wife and giving him command of a troop of 400 cavalry with the title of Khan and a huge salary. Hawkins however failed to extract firm trading concessions from Jehangir and died on the voyage home. In 1615, James I sent Sir Thomas Roe to the court of Jehangir on a mission to improve trade relations. Roe left three years later not having achieved the monopoly rights he sought, however he did obtain a general permission to trade. Roe also advised the Company’s directors that “War and traffic are incompatible”, drawing attention to the confrontation between the British and the Portuguese in Surat and Southern India. Gradually the British eclipsed the Portuguese and over the years they saw a massive expansion of their trading operations in India. Numerous trading posts were established along the east and west coasts of India, and considerable English communities developed around the three presidency towns of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. In 1717, the
Company achieved its hitherto most notable success when it received a firman or royal dictate from the Mughal Emperor exempting the Company from the payment of custom duties in Bengal.

In January 1618 an English prisoner in Bantam wrote: "We were twelve of us in a dungeon where they piist and shut us up our heads and in this manner we lay until we were torn one by one from top to toe like lepers having nothing to eat but dry rice and stinking dirty water". John Jourdain of Mocha was killed by a Dutch marksman off the Malay Peninsula while he was the commander of the English fleet to the Spice Islands. The Dutch East India Company though it recognised the company's presence on its fringes, had no intention of giving any ground to the Spice Islands, the Dutch had already seized the Portuguese forts at Gorée and Terango the company in fact was spice producing more than trading because of the Dutch presence in the area. The relation between the Dutch and English in the Spice Islands was that of constant friction and attrition.

In 1667 the English Ambassador in Spain wrote to his government in England that the losses incurred in the East Indies by the allied nations at the hands of the English were of such character to have inflicted "in those islands a wound almost insupportable". From 1667 to 1667 the Dutch and English fleets were constantly fighting and there passed without any material change in the situation that in 1669 when Sir Thomas Dale with a considerable English fleet won a victory over the Dutch. He was one of the most experienced commanders of the company at the time and was sent from India to Bantam charged with the special duty of protecting English shipping and interests from attacks by the Dutch. From 1666 to 1667, the Company had by ruthless force been praised down the Spice Islands and soon lost its toehold in the islands (Jakarta) leaving only factories at Macassar and Ternate.

The small island of Paulorun was used as pawn in peace negotiations between the Dutch and the English and was eventually handed back to the crown in 1665. Banda was eventually ceded to the Dutch under the Treaty of Breda 1667, and the English factory in Bantam island in return for a small island off the Americans called New Amsterdam. The Dutch thought they had the better of the deal at the time, but the inhabitants of present day Manhattan might disagree.

The company saw the rise of its fortunes, and its transformation from a trading venture to a ruling enterprise, when one of its military officials, Robert Clive, annihilated the forces of the Nawab of Bengal, Siraj Ud Daulah at the Battle of Plassey in 1757. A few years later the company acquired the right to collect revenues on behalf of the Mughal Emperor, but the initial years of its administration where calamitous for the people of Bengal. The Company's servants were largely a rapacious and greedy, class of people who lived off the plunder of Bengal and its former rich province in a state of utter destitution.

The famine of 1769-70, which the Company's policies for nothing to alleviate, may have taken the lives of as many as a third of the population. The Company, despite the increase in trade and the revenues coming in from other sources, found itself burdened with massive military expenditure, and its destruction seemed imminent. State intervention put the ailing company back on its feet, and Lord North's India Bill, also known as the Regulating Act of 1773, provided for greater parliamentary control over the affairs of the company, besides placing India under the rule of a Governor-General.

The first Governor General of India was Warren Hastings. Under his dispensation, the expansion of British rule in India was pursued vigorously, and the British sought to master indigenous systems of knowledge. Hastings remained in India until 1784 and was succeeded by Cornwallis, who initiated the Permanent Settlement, whereby an agreement in perpetuity was reached with zamindars or landlords for the collection of revenue. For the next fifty years, the British were engaged in attempts to eliminate Indian rivals and it is under the administration of Wellesley that British territorial expansion was achieved with ruthless efficiency. Major victories were achieved against Tipu Sultan of Mysore and the Marathas, and finally the subjugation and conquest of the Sikhs in a series of Anglo-Sikh Wars led to British occupation over the entirety of India. In some places, the British practiced indirect rule, placing a Resident at the court of the native ruler who was allowed sovereignty in domestic matters. Lord Dalhousie's notorious doctrine of lapse whereby a native state became part of British India if there was no male heir at the death of the ruler, was one of the principal
means by which native states were annexed. Frequently however, the annexation, such as that of Awadh (Oudh) in 1856, was justified on the grounds that the native prince was of evil disposition and indifferent to the welfare of his subjects. The annexation of native states, harsh revenue policies, and the plight of the Indian peasantry all contributed to the Mutiny of 1857. John Stuart Mill dissolved the East India Company under the India Act of 1858 despite a valiant defence of its purported achievements. This saw the end of the company as an active entity but the winding up process was not finally accomplished until 1874 when its last charter expired.

Coffee and tea

The East India Company like the English themselves has an indelible association with tea, however, at the start of the seventeenth century the company was more concerned with coffee and by the end of century coffee was being consumed in England far more widely. Only after 1750 did the Company and the country become obsessed with tea.

In 1579 the Company received intelligence about the potential commercial significance of coffee. As yet unknown to Europe it was aware from the maps and information provided by Richard Hakluyt (The cartographer) that it would only be obtained from the Turkish port of Mocha at the Southern end of the Red Sea in Arabia Felix. The ‘Ascension’ had called at Mocha with John Jourdain aboard. After travelling through the mountains with their coffee plantations he recorded his appraisal of the cultivation and drinking of coffee and the observation that coffee is a great merchandise for “it is carried to grand Cairo other places of Turkey and the Indies’. He obtained permission from the Pasha at Sana’a to trade from Mocha. In the next voyage the directors diverted three ships to Mocha in command Sir Henry Middleton. Middleton’s arrival to Mocha in October 1609 ended in confrontation between him and a Turkish official and was taken captive, clapped in irons and sent to Sana’a. He was made to promise not to interfere in the Mocha trade. Middleton subsequently managed to escape with his fleet to Surat after being brought back to Mocha. From Surat he returned to Mocha to wreak his revenge by confiscating the goods of fifteen Gujarati trading ships.
waiting to enter port. It took the negotiating skills of Sir Thomas Roe to re-establish good relations with the Mughal court.

The company was soon engaged in the coffee trade with an agent in Mocha in 1619. It is worth noting that in the eighteenth century the enterprise Dutch coffee plants from Arabia to their possessions in the East Indies establishing substantial coffee plantation there. Since then, the coffee trade became one of the company’s primary activities.

John Saris was commissioned to take a ship from the English voyage (the ‘Clove’) and proceed from Bantam to Japan with the aim of establishing a factory. In 1613 he returned to Hirado. Adams accompanied Saris to Edo (Tokyo). Saris left in the same year in the ‘Clove’ leaving Adams and Mr Cocks in charge of the English factory in Hirado. It was two years later in 1615 that the use of the word ‘tea’ was first recorded in English.

An English factor Mr. Weggaham addressed his friend Mr. Eaton in 1614, asking to buy a ‘Pot of best chaw’ of tea sent from China, said to be the place where tea was grown for the Shogun.

Tea was not the initial target of the company’s trade with China but it rapidly assumed enormous significance from the eighteenth century onwards by far outstripping the most important item of trade. China had taken over as a source of various exotic and luxurious goods since ancient times and the East India Company was the only one to start trading there. The Company’s first ship in 1637 was followed up later by Commander John Weddell. Neither visit was a great success. The Japanese Emperor eventually opened his ports to foreign trade in 1685 and the Company’s first trading post was at Hakata. With the expansion of the tea trade in the late eighteenth century, Canton proved more suitable to meet the requirements.

The three principal centres of the Company’s trade in administration in India Bombay, Madras and Calcutta were known as the Presidencies. Each presidency had a governor, but after the arrival of Warren Hastings, the Fort William, Calcutta) presidency took precedence and Hastings became the Governor General in 1774.

Madras

Ceded by treaty in 1639, Madras was the first permanent foothold that the Company gained on the sub continent. It had few natural advantages apart from its location, reasonably healthy climate and its relation with the Bay of Bengal was easy. Although it was a vital sea link with England, it was a Presidency looking for a port, for its landing facilities were rudimentary to non-existent.

Madras was the Company’s first fortified settlement in India. The construction of Fort St. George began in 1640 and continued on and off for 150 years. It housed all the administrative and military necessities. At first the Indian quarter was called the Black Town. Eventually as the city expanded, Black Town became a desirable location for white business. From Madras the Company made its significant move to become a territorial power. The French East India Company down the coast at Pondicherry was initially purely a trading rival but under the leadership of the Governor Dupleix, it had started to forge strategic alliances with local potentates in an attempt to gain control of the Carnatic coast and ousted the English. However, Mohamad Ali Wallahjah, a claimant to the throne of Arcot, Ruler of Carnatic Province, allied himself with the company against the French and their client the Nizam of Hyderabad. Mohamad Ali seized Trichinopoly a key fortress in the South where he was besieged by the French and their allies.

Robert Clive, then a young and ambitious writer in the company’s Madras service had requested a move to the military, and with Major Stringer Lawrence together successfully defeated the French forces at Arcot and ended their ambitions in the Carnatic. Madras lost its pre-eminent status to Calcutta after the battle of Plassey in 1757.

Bombay

Charles II had acquired Bombay, along with the habit of drinking tea, by marrying Catherine of Braganza and the company was delighted when the king ceased it to them in 1668 for an annual rent of £10.

Of the three Presidencies, Bombay had the best harbour, a beautiful bay or Bom Bahia. Bombay was wholly under the Company’s control. This led to most of the English decamping from Surat who were soon joined by the wealthy Gujaratis and Parsee merchant communities. Nonetheless, Bombay remained the least important of the three Presidencies until its boom came at the end of the 19th century after the company had left.

Calcutta

Jof Charnock, the Company’s most experienced factor in Bengal in 1690, founded Calcutta, Bengal having become increasingly important to the Company’s trade. Several factories had been established there since 1640 including one at Hooghly just north of Calcutta. In his war with the Mughals, Charnock evacuated Hooghly and set up camp near the village of Kalighat. At this location Calcutta was established and work began on Fort
William in 1697 becoming the largest and the most impregnable of the Company’s buildings in India.

The Company in the Gulf

When Richard Steele and a companion John Crowther were on route to Europe through Persia from India in 1615, Sir Robert Shirley procured a cordial reception for him from Shah ‘Abbas who readily granted a firman for trading purposes. It was not however, until 1617 when the East India Company sent out Edward Cammock as a factor to develop the Persian Trade that any practical steps were taken to turn to account the favourable impression that the Shah, through the influence of Shirley had formed of the English. Shah ‘Abbas granted the English full freedom of trade and contracted to deliver to them 1,000 to 3,000 bales of silk annually at a price of 6 shillings to 6 shillings and 6 pence per pound. In 1618 the English merchants scored a further success when the Shah agreed not to export any silk to Spain or Portugal or to Europe via Turkey. In addition, the Shah promised to supply the English East India Company merchants with a quantity of silk every year at a given rate. This could be shipped from Jask free of duty.

At the close of 1621 five ships from the English fleet arrived in the Gulf under the joint command of Captains Blyth and Nedell. At the time the Persians had besieged Hormuz. Several confrontations between the Portuguese and the British took place.

Shah ‘Abbas was trying through his firmans to get the British support against the Portuguese monopoly of trade and to re-establish his authority on Hormuz, Qishm, Gambroon and Bahrain. Portugal did not intend to surrender the monopoly of the Gulf and Indian Ocean Trade without a fight. In June 1620 a strong Portuguese naval squadron under the command of Ruy Freyre de Andrade appeared off Hormuz.

However, in February 1622, Shah ‘Abbas’s forces captured the Fort of Hormuz with the assistance of the British fleet, an action precipitating the end of Portuguese domination in the area.

* * *

From the first day the company documented its progress, failures, adventures and successes. The Company’s eminent personnel from botanists, cartographers, artists, factors and fleet commanders gave us enough material that we can carefully use in writing our own contemporary history. It is in fact not only our history, but that of many various countries in the East.

BIBLIOGRAPHY


“British interests in the Persian Gulf”, A. Amir Ayn


ISLAMIC REFERENCES IN ITALIAN ART

ABRIDGED FROM A LECTURE BY MARIA VITTORIA FONTANA

The lecture begins with the establishment of two fundamental concepts. Firstly, that there were at least three different phases, both chronological and geographical, in the influence of Islamic Art on the arts of the Italian peninsula.

1. During the medieval period, from at least the 11th century onward, Italian art was “influenced” by Islamic art practiced in Sicily and Southern Italy.

2. Between the 15th and the 17th centuries Italian art turned to Islam for inspiration, using Islamic prototypes as models. Its influence then spread from the south towards Central and Northern Italy.

3. From the 18th century onwards, when Italian art truly "imitates", or makes "annotated copies", of Muslim origins, all over Italy, in the wake of a vogue from Transalpine Europe (Fontana 1993).

The second concept regards the transposition of a medium, such as the use of decorative Islamic designs on fabric. Imported material from the Islamic world both influenced and inspired the design of Italian textiles used in the manufacture of clothing, curtains and the rich coverings used to drape thrones and palace furniture. As a result, Islamic designs also appear in paintings, where they were inadvertently reproduced as decorative incidental detail. Similarly, ornamental motifs, especially epigraphic motifs, inspired the decoration of manuscripts, ceramic objects and architectural decoration.

In southern Italy during the 12th -14th centuries, particularly in Basilicata-Apulia and Calabria, the spread of Byzantine art was an important factor in the promotion of decorative Islamic designs which were frequently used in wall paintings and architecture. Of great interest are the decorative patterns found in Greek churches, where Islamic-inspired decoration in the form of bands of pseudo-epigraphic motifs are found. Composed of letters of the Arabic alphabet, these inscriptions are generally used as framing elements. (Orlandos 1962; Miles 1964a, e, 1964b; Grabar 1971; Ettinghausen 1976; Branch 1990).

Such pseudo-epigraphic motifs also occur in wall paintings. Indeed, those from the late 12th century and early 13th century, in the Churches of S. Maria le Cento (Lecce) and S. Maria d’Anglona (Matera), are comparable to the paintings in the Church of the Episkopi in Mani (Greece). Those from the 13th century occur in the Church of S. Pietro in Otranto, in the church of S. Marco in Masafrà (Taranto), in S. Vito Martirio in Gravina di Puglia (now in the local Pomastric Museum) and, lastly, in S. Giovanni in Montemorone in Matera.1 There is also a 14th century example in the Church of S. Restituta in Campania, under the Cathedral of Naples (Fontana 1999).2

Pseudo-epigraphic motifs also occur in stucco and terracotta tiles with relief ornamentation. The 12th century stucco panels in S. Maria in Terreti can be precisely compared to a marble slab from the Church of the Episkopi at Volo, Greece, as well as to terracotta tiles in S. Maria d’Anglona. It is interesting to note that parallel to Byzantine prototypes, pseudo-Kufic characters taken from churches are used in some paintings in a descriptive fashion. These designs can be seen in the borders of tiles — clothing or scarves — and on leather shields. The narrative function of such Arabic lettering can be observed from the end of the 13th century onwards, occurring both in the large pictorial cycle of frescoes by Deodato Orlando in the Church of S. Piero a Grado, near Pisa, and by Giotto, in the upper basilica of S. Francesco in Assisi. Similar epigraphy is attributed to Francesco Traini (or, more probably, to Buonamico Bufalìna in...
Padua and Florence. Further examples can be seen in the Camposanto in Pisa and among the works of Alessio di Andrea in the Cathedral of Pistoia.

Inscriptions in Arabic lettering on the window-frames of the Basilica of Assisi, attributed to mid 13th century German workmanship, would seem to prove that the lettering is exclusively decorative in function. As in the case of frescos, window-frames also display the narrative use of pseudo-Kufic characters as can be seen in the Cathedral of Siena, in the Coronation of Mary (early 14th century).  

Floor mosaics form an integral part of buildings and, although in some churches the Byzantine influence is predominant as in Apulia, this influence occurs with less frequency in Calabria. In the Church of S.Maria del Póitre, in Rossano Calabro (1101-1105), and in Apulia, as well as in the Cathedrals of Taranto (1160), Otranto (1165) and Brindisi (mid 12th century), it is possible to find horizontal or circular bands with pseudo-Kufic script. In Rossano e Taranto the script is the foliated type, while that of Otranto is much more “cursive” and is flanked by medallions of real or fantastic animals. In Apulia, however, the medallions are decorated with narrative scenes. The mosaics framing the floor of the apse

--

1A splendid exception is in the Cappella degli Scrovegni, where bands of pseudo-inscriptions frame the circular medallions of the minor tondi of the vault depicting Malachi, Isaiah, Daniel, and Baruch, according to a format common to many Muslim artistic products. In architectural decoration they reach a very high level in medieval Spain, of which we may recall the example of a ceiling from the 13th century in the monastery of Las Huelgas in Burgos.
2In this case, as in many other paintings on wood from the period, the bands with pseudo-Kufic inscriptions are on the coverings for thrones, as in many Persian miniatures, especially from the 14th and 15th centuries. Pseudo-Kufic motifs are depicted in the glass windows of many European cathedrals, from England to Germany to France; a comprehensive list is supplied by Eisemann 1953.

Fresco from the crypt of S. Mare, Massafra showing lam-alif repeated characters (photo M. V. Fontana)

Lam-alif repeated characters drawn from the crypt of S. Mare, Massafra – see photograph above (M. V. Fontana)
in the Basilica of S. Nicola in Bari (1105-1123) and that in Brindisi are different, having a double motif of interlaced 'lam-ali' that is repeated endlessly and as a mirror image.

Other pseudo-Kufic ornamentation can be seen in the architectural decoration of the exteriors of monasteries. The perforated stone portal of the Cathedral of Tarsus (c. 1175) has an appearance of chiaroscuro, while "applied" decoration can be seen in the bronze medallions that decorate a panel on the door to the mausoleum of Bohemund, Prince of Antioch, at Canosa (1111). The dome of S. Maria in Cellis at Carsoli (1132) and S. Pietro in Abico Fucense (12th century) in Abruzzo (both preserved in the Museo Nazionale degli Abruzzi in Aquila) are wooden with pseudo-cipigraphic motifs of Islamic inspiration. They assume vegetal forms, as do a certain number of ampous from the same region.

Central and Northern Italian architecture recalls many exceptional examples of domes with intersecting arches. The grandeur of the Piedmontese Church of Sillano in Casale Monferrato (first half of the 12th century) is more reminiscent of the architecture of Armenia than that of Andalusia and North Africa. Although the decorative motif of intersecting arches, which originated in Spain and North Africa, became widespread in both Italy and Southern Italy, it developed in different ways according to the area. This decorative feature can be found in 12th century Tuscany; in the apse of the small Church of Lano, as well in the Pieve of Sillano and the Abbey of S. Rabano (Salviati 1991, Pl. I-III). It can also be seen further north in the Church of SS. Nazario and Celso in Montechiaro d'asti. (12th century, probably of Lombard tradition; see Scerrato 1979, caption figs. 649-650 p. 556)

Some decorative elements of the churches of Sardinia are worth noting, such as those of S. Pietro of Sorres (1170-1230) which is distinguished by double lancet windows with horseshoe arches. Other churches worthy of mention are S. Maria di Boncardo and S. Pantaleo of Dolfanova, both of which are enriched by hanging polylobed arches, which are either smooth or engraved. (see Cagliari 1991, p. 43 and illus.)

Parts of the façades of palaces dating from the 12th century, reflected in the Grand Canal in Venice, display a particular eclecticism, illustrating the creative influence of Byzantine and Islamic art on the Venetian masters. Marble decoration and inlay of Fatimid-Egyptian influence, enhance the façade of S. Michele in Foro (first half of the 13th century) in Lucca. In Feltre (Belluno), the stone capitals of the small apsidal loggia in the Church of SS. Vittore and Corona are "nielloed" with two types of foliated pseudo-Kufic script. This dates from early 13th century and compares favourably to a corbel from the Kotholikon of Hosios Loukas, Greece. Almost unique in Italy are floors inlaid with zoomorphic motifs within circular medallions. These floors, dating from the first decade of the 13th century can be seen in the Baptistery of Florence and in S. Miniato al Monte. Decorated with roundels, the pattern and ornamentation of the floors are typical of Islamic textiles of Byzantine-Iranian origin. [3]
**BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES**


Ernauhausen, R. (1976) "Kufesque in Byzantine Greece, the Latin West and the Muslim World", in A Colloquium in Memory of George Carpenter Miles (1904-1975), New York, pp. 28-47.


Miles, G.C. (1964a) "Byzantium and the Arabic Relations in Crete and the Aegean Area", Dumbarton Oaks Papers, 18, pp. 3-32.

Miles, G.C. (1964b) "Classifications of Islamic Elements in Byzantine Architectural Ornament in Greece", in Actes du XII Congrès International d'Études Byzantines (Ochrida 1961), Belgrade, pp. 281-287.


