About the journal

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 organised 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 Bahasa, Upper Egypt that date to the Fatimid period. We are also involved in the Rayy excavation at al-Tur, in Sinai Peninsula in Egypt. 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, history archaeology and architecture.

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Dish
Frit body, painted in black under a turquoise glaze
Iran (Kubachi ware, probably Tabriz (1600 c.)
Height: 5.5 cm Diameter: 33.5 cm
LNS 1084 C
High Spouts and Birds Heads

Lecture by: Professor Géza Fehérvári
Presented in English
30th October 2006

During the 11th to the end of the 13th or early 14th centuries, Islamic potters and metalworkers of Khorasan and Central Asia produced several types of ewers. Some of these had high spouts or a bird’s head. The tradition of shaping the top of such vessels with high spouts or birds’ heads can be traced back to the 1st millennium BC. Excavations in Iran at Marlik Tepeh, Khurvin and Tepeh Sialk, brought to light hundreds of such pottery vessels. The excavators explained that the potters of the period tried to copy nature. They shaped their vessels, which were all hand-made, based on what they saw around them. Whether these ornithomorphic characters had any special symbolic meanings or not is difficult to say. Nevertheless, this tradition continued right up to the early Islamic period.

The Tareq Rajab Museum possesses several such early Islamic pottery ewers which were made with high spouts. Most of them were painted in black and curiously, inside the high spout there is always the figure of a snake and a fish depicted in black. Both were fertility symbols (fig. 1). The body of these vessels is always spherical and, as a rule, is always richly decorated with black paintings depicting birds, animals or simple scrollwork. These pottery vessels were most likely made somewhere in Central Asia and may be dated between the 9th to 11th centuries.

By the 12th century, pottery manufacture went through an almost revolutionary change in the Islamic world. Instead of red or white earthenware, the potters used the re-invented faience or fritware or, as it is called now “stone-paste”, a mixture of ground quartz, some clay and glaze. Instead of the earlier lead glaze, alkaline glaze was applied which adhered far better to the body of these vessels and could be decorated in several different ways. The high-spouted or bird headed ewer type has not only survived, but was produced in several refined varieties. Some may be simple, coated only with a monochrome colourless glaze, a type which is known as “Selçuk white” ware; others were coated with monochrome, turquoise, green or blue glaze (fig. 2). The more refined and sophisticated vessels were painted in lustre (fig. 3) or in polychrome. The latter is known as the minal or enamelled ware, depicting figural decorations, which were painted over the glaze (fig. 4). The last examples that survived were made in the so-called “Sultanabad” style, painted in blue, black and green under a transparent glaze (fig. 5).

In metalwork, the high spouted ewers appeared during the 11th and early 12th centuries. It is interesting to note that most of these metal ewers were discovered in Afghanistan and their decoration indicates the town of

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Ghazni as a possible provenance. These high spouted metal ewers were all made in cast bronze and display engraved, incised, or frequently copper inlaid decoration. Just like the related pottery vessels, they have spherical bodies, cylindrical neck and high spouts in the shape of birds' heads. Almost all of them were provided with free-moving rings on the sides and front of the necks, most likely for the chain to which originally the lid may have been attached (fig. 6). Unfortunately none of the surviving examples retained its lid.

Several of these metal ewers were signed by the maker, like one of the ewers in the Tareq Rajab Museum carries the name of the metalworker Firouz, inlaid in copper in a horizontal panel below the spout (fig. 7). An extremely richly decorated ewer, in a private collection in Europe bears the signature of a certain 'Ali al-Ghaznavi. It doesn't necessarily mean that this ewer was made in Ghazni, but it definitely indicates that this metalworker and his family come from that town. It is beyond any doubt that Ghazni was one of the major metalworking centres during that period. The town, however, was destroyed by the Ghurids in 1150 and as a result it ceased to be a metalworking centre.

A closely related but somewhat different type of ewer with a spherical but fluted body was introduced probably towards the second half of the 12th century. Several of these types survive. Almost all of them have sixteen flutes and every three are rounded, while the fourth flute is angular (fig. 8). These flutes may be decorated by scrollwork or epigraphic panels that are mainly benedictory, wishing the owner of the vessel well. One of the most beautiful examples of these fluted high-spouted ewers in the Tareq Rajab Museum has extensive silver inlaid decoration (fig. 9). The silver inlay presents clusters of dots, which is one of the hallmarks of Khorasan, and the so-called "Solomon's seal", also known as the "Buddhist eternal knot". More remarkable is the decoration on the shoulder, which is a pseudo-animated inscription. (fig. 10)

Animated inscription, e.g. inscriptions in the shape of human or animals figures were introduced towards the second half of the 12th century at Herat. One of the earliest examples is on the famous so-called "Bobinski bucket" in the Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, dated 559AH/AD1163. By the middle of the 13th century, the animated script went out of fashion and the latest known example is on the socket and neck of a Mamluk candlestick from the end of the 13th century. The Tareq Rajab Museum's ewer is certainly earlier and because of the style of its decoration, may be dated to the mid-13th century.

Figure 1: Ewer, unglossed, with block painted decoration. Central Asia, 9th-10th century. Ht. 27.5cm. CER-1211-TSR.
Figure 2: Ewer, fine ware, coated with monochrome turquoise glaze. Iran, 12th century. Ht. 33cm. CER-230-TSR.
Figure 3: Ewer with a bird's head, painted in lustre. Iran, early 13th century. Ht. 25cm. CER-1575-TSR.
Figure 4: Ewer with a bird's head, polychrome painted. so-called minai ware. Iran, early 13th century. Ht. 27cm. CER-461-TSR.
Figure 5: Ewer with a bird's head, so-called "Sulaimanid ware". Iran, late 13th or early 14th century. Ht. 23cm. CER-2433-TSR.
Figure 6: Ewer with high spout, cast bronze, with engraved and punched decoration. Iran, 11th or 12th century. Ht. 30cm. MET-86-TSR.
Figure 7: Ewer with high spout, cast bronze, with engraved and copper inlaid decoration, giving the name of its maker, a certain Firuz. Iran, 11th or 12th century. Ht. 24.8cm. MET-1014-TSR.
Figure 8: Ewer, cast bronze with high spout and fluted body. Iran, 12th century. Ht. 28cm. MET-183-TSR.
Figure 9: Ewer with high spout and extensive silver inlaid decoration. Iran, mid-13th century. Ht. 34.7cm. MET-2482-TSR.
Figure 10: Detail of the previous ewer, showing the pseudo-animated inscription on the shoulder. MET-2482-TSR.
The Pilgrimage to Makkah and Medina under the Ottomans

Lecture by: Prof. J. M. Rogers
Presented in English
6th November 2006

The major monuments of Makkah and Medina have undergone radical changes, not to speak of destruction, over the past 200 years. This makes their maintenance and repairs by the Ottoman authorities and their views on the organization of the Pilgrimage, preserved in the Turkish archives, essential documents for their history.

The Protectorate over the Holy Places of Islam, which the Mamluks had exercised since the mid-13th century, came, by the 15th century, to generate considerable resentment among the Muslim states of the Near East. A significant feature of the Ottoman Sultan Selim I's conquest of Egypt and Syria in 1516-17 was his proclamation as Khadim al-Haramayn al-Sharifayn. His 'conquest' of the Hijaz in 1517 AD was peaceful since the Sharifs, out of fear of Portuguese expansion in the Red Sea, willingly recognised Ottoman authority. The building projects of successive Ottoman Sultans at Makkah and Medina, not to mention their massive subventions in both bullion and provisions to their population and to the Sharifs, were a justification of their rule against the unwillingness of the ulama of Egypt and Syria to accept it. These amounted to between one half and two thirds.

Professor Michael Rogers is a highly recognized author on the subject of architecture and decorative art of Islam. His latest book, Sinan, is part of the Makers of Islamic Civilisation series published by OUP. Professor Rogers was the premier holder of the Nasser D. Khalili Chair of Islamic Art and Archaeology at the School of Oriental and African Studies. Prior to taking the Khalili chair, he was the Deputy Keeper in the Department of Oriental Antiquities in the British Museum and an Associate Professor of Islamic Arts and Architecture at the American University in Cairo.
of their campaign budget, but throughout the 16th and 17th centuries the question of cutting them never seems to have arisen.

Whereas, for the Mamluks the Hijaz was easily accessible by land or a short sea voyage, for the Ottomans it was a remote province, which called upon all their abilities to organize complex operations from far away. This must explain, inter alia, the importance of Egypt in the organization of the Pilgrimage.

There was a total lack of suitable building materials and a constant dearth of labour; fuel was so scarce that iron could not be forged on the spot and even nails had to be imported ready made. Timber came from as far away as Kaffa in the Crimea or from North-West Anatolia, and the supply was constantly affected by campaign demand, notably between 1570 and 1573, with the need to rebuild the fleet after Lepanto and the conquest of Cyprus. Iron came from Samokov in Bulgaria but was similarly in short supply, and the same was the case with lead, which was even more of a strategic material. Local labour was always in short supply, partly because wages remained low and partly because of the authorities’ practice of recruiting labour by conscription, though the fact that employment at the Haramayn could be combined with the Pilgrimage might have been a draw. One further result of this inaccessibility was that building costs on the spot regularly exceeded estimates.

The difficulties of organizing the Pilgrimage were also immense. Local resources were totally inadequate to cope with the seasonal influx of pilgrims, or even to support a resident population without hardship for the rest of the year. The Sharifs of Makkah had no standing army so that each Pilgrimage, despite all the measures taken to prevent pilgrims from Safavid Iran and other inveterate enemies of the Ottomans from coming into contact with the local population, any seditious uprisings were impossible to control. The Pilgrimage routes were all across stretches of desert roamed by tribes of potentially hostile Bedouin, who had to be bought off each year. There was consequently a pressing need for armed troops, and even artillery, to protect the merchants, pilgrims and administrators and to guard the enormous sums of bullion needed for subventions to the Bedouin and as aims and stipends for the resident population of the Haramayn. Finance was, indeed, a permanent nightmare; notably, the income in silver from the enormous awqaf established all over the Ottoman empire in favour of the inhabitants of Makkah and Medina had to be centrally collected and changed into gold for dispatch with the annual caravan, for silver was not accepted as currency in the Hijaz.

Though other parts of the Haram at Makkah and the shrines it contained had been subject to quite radical alterations and restorations during the 12th century, the Ka‘bah had been sacrosanct since al-‘Umayr’s reconstruction of it in 693 AD. This made any intervention a matter of fierce discussion. In 1553 Suleyman the Magnificent repaired the terrace of the Ka‘bah in the face of protests by the ulama that his action would only have been justified if it had totally collapsed. On this occasion its water-spout, the Mizab al-Rahmah, was first covered with silver-gilt plaques, but later a spout of pure gold was sent and the plaques were taken back to Istanbul ‘for barakah’. Such restorations naturally brought with them auxiliary improvements of the water supply, public hygiene, traffic policing, and the provision and planning of transport, which affected not merely the Haram but the whole of the city and also affected the Ka‘bah itself.

The Court Architect (mi‘mar) in Istanbul seems to have been only occasionally involved in building works at the Haramayn. Sinan, for example, does not seem to have been involved at all, though he made the Pilgrimage in 1584 and on that occasion may have informally reported the already perilous state of the Ka‘bah. The autonomy of the Haramayn in this respect may not be so surprising when we consider that quite a lot of architectural enterprise under the Ottomans was outside the Court Architect's scope. Siege engineering, for example, and the independent position of the mi‘mar of Egypt may have made it appear more rational that works there should be directed, as well as supplied, from Cairo.
Exceptionally, an architect, Mehmed (who may or may not have been the Court Architect of Ahmad I) generally known by his title, 'Mehmed Agha', was sent from Istanbul in 1574. His mission was curiously unnecessary, for the vaulting of the courtyard arcades of the Haram (the original proposal of 400-500 vaults was reduced, perhaps for reasons of cost, to a mere 152) was a simple operation. The work was completed and the substitution of marble paving of the courtyard for the traditional pebble floor agreed in 1576.

Sinan's successor–but–three, Mehmed Agha, was also involved with preparing braces for the Ka'bah in 1610 and gave a public demonstration of them before the Sultan, but he does not appear to have been among the group of craftsmen subsequently sent with the braces, together with a new gold casing for the Mizab al-Rahmah. His biographer, Jafar Efendi's description of the 1611 Ka'bah project leaves it unclear exactly what the braces were, and the fact that a public demonstration was required indicates that some explanation was necessary. They had to be inconspicuous, so as not to alter its external appearance or hamper the movement of pilgrims, which suggests that they were tie–beams, though given the rotten state of the timbers, these may well have made matters even worse.

Things came to a head in 1630, when a major flash flood filled the courtyard of the Haram with mud, almost half way up the Ka'bah. When it was, with some difficulty, cleared away it was clear that the structure was in a desperate state and that radical intervention was required. An immediate report was sent to the Pasha of Egypt in Cairo and the authorities in Istanbul were informed. Ridiwan Beg, the chief of the Circassian Mamluk faction, was dispatched to oversee the works. Though only the masons had the expertise to judge the stability of the walls and the roof timbers and he was essentially an administrator, he had evidently decided on the complete reconstruction of the shrine. Accordingly he set about obtaining fatwas covering each stage of the works from all the four Chief Qadis of Makkah. He apparently rebuilt it exactly as it was, or if he did make alterations the contemporary historian, Suheyli Efendi, who describes the works in detail, took care to gloss them over.

The works were punctuated by successive distributions of robes of honour, by the Sharif and by Ridiwan Beg himself, to a wide range of Makkah notables, and to the surveyors and, unprecedentedly, the builders. On the completion of the work, two inscriptions in gold and lapis lazuli were erected in conspicuous positions, naming not only the ruling Sultan, Murad IV but Murad III and Ahmed I, together with an inscription commemorating all the rulers who had contributed to the fabric of the Haram throughout its history. Legibility was evidently a prime consideration, for the inscription commemorating the work of 1576 composed in Istanbul was passed to the qadis of Makkah and Jeddah with instructions to find someone who was not only an elegant calligrapher but who could write legibly as well.

One conspicuous exception to the general failure in Islamic societies to cultivate the genre of autobiography
(at least until the early modern period) is journals relating the events and sights of the Pilgrimage, which go back at least to Nasir-i Khusrav's detailed account in the mid 11th century AD. Of course, they are perhaps not so much an exception as all that, for their purpose is topographical, rather than psychological, to describe the shrines and ritual in detail as a guide to their readers. This was all the more necessary in the face of the increasing bureaucratisation of the Pilgrimage, the intolerance of rival warring empires with designs on the Middle East in the wake of the destruction of the Abbasid Caliphate.

The visual and psychological effects of the constant building works upon the pilgrims are difficult to gauge, but they were obviously influential far beyond the Hijaz. Their fame was spread by illustrated works of Ottoman piety like Mehmed Yemini's Kitab i Fada'il-i Makkah-i Mu'azzamah, and the very popular Futuh al-Haramayn by Muhyi Lari (1506), dedicated, to Muzaffar ibn Mahmudshah, the ruler of Gujarat, which went through numerous copies in the 16th and 17th centuries, and by scrolls, in part mechanically reproduced, attesting Pilgrimage by proxy.

Incidentally, these document considerable changes in popular piety and practice of which the Ottoman authorities, like the Wahhabis after them, were frequently suspicious. The authorities attempted to regulate, doubtless over the stigma of bid'ah (heretical innovation), by prescribing acceptable behavior at the Harem in minute detail. It is interesting, however, that in a number of documented cases, the 'ulama showed some appreciation of practical necessity.

The guide books for pilgrims were fairly selective in the sites they described, and it would be a serious anachronism to see them as prototypes for the Rough Guides. Evliya Celebi, apart, they generally confine themselves to the monuments which are obligatory and ignore the recent works and the monuments one might describe as 'optional'. Thus, Muhyi Lari ignores the foundations of Qaytbay and Qansuh al-Ghawri, while the Ottoman guides ignore the works of Seljuk and Selim II at the Ka'bah. Evliya Celebi, moreover, in contrast to his detailed description of the Mosque of the Prophet at Medina, gives merely a cursory account of the Haram at Makkah.

In addition to the annual gift of the kiswa, the hizam and the sitarah woven in Cairo and sent annually with the Egyptian caravan to the Ka'bah, the Ottoman Sultans dispatched a set of precious hangings for it, woven in Istanbul or Bursa as a gift on their accession, as well as textiles for the Prophet's tomb at Medina, though these appear to have been occasional, not annual. In addition, with the annual pilgrim caravan from Istanbul they also sent a camel bearing their 'regalia', a selection of sacred relics of the Prophet (including his mantle Hirka-i Sadaq), his toothbrush (miswaq), his sandals and his washpot. These had, of course, been removed from the Haramayn by Selim I and were presumably displayed before the pilgrims for their veneration.

Though the Ottoman writers on the Pilgrimage tell little of the ritual that evolved for this, the physical description of the Prophet Muhammad (hilive-i sherefe) in the Khalili Collection depicts the most famous relics of him. These relics are evidence of the lively cult of relics in the Classical Age of the Ottoman empire.

**Figure 1:** The Haram al-Sharif at Jerusalem, section from a scroll attesting the proxy pilgrimage of Prince Mehmed, son of Suleyman the Magnificent. AH 951 (AD 1544-5), Istanbul, Topkapı Saray Library H. 1812

**Figure 2:** The Ka'bah, section from a scroll attesting proxy pilgrimage of Maimunah bint Muhammad al-Zardali. AH 836 (AD 1432), London, British Library, Add. 27566

**Figure 3:** The Mosque of the Prophet at Medina, section from a scroll attesting the proxy pilgrimage of Prince Mehmed, son of Suleyman the Magnificent. AH 951 (AD 1544-5), Istanbul, Topkapı Saray Library H. 1812

**Figure 4:** Physical description of the Prophet Muhammad (hilive-i sherefe), depicting his most famous relics. Ottoman Turkey, 19th century. London, the Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, Cat. 441
A Silver Legend:
The Story of the Maria Theresa Thaler

Lecture by: Mrs. Clara Semple
Presented in English
13th November 2006

The Maria Theresa thaler or dollar is one of the world’s most remarkable and enduring coins. The handsome silver coin bearing the effigy of a voluptuous Austrian Queen circulated for over two hundred years throughout the Arabian peninsula as well as Ethiopia and other parts of Africa. It became a legend in its time, not only as a medium of exchange but also as an ornament and as a source of silver in the making of jewellery.

What took this particular silver coin to those far off lands of which the Empress herself knew little? The trade in coffee from Arabia and Ethiopia created the demand for a reliable silver coin. Although barter was the traditional method of exchange, there were certain goods which could only be bought with silver coins. By the eighteenth century coffee as a drink was all the rage in Europe and the Austrians were happy to export their distinctive coin as payment. Although other coins such as the Spanish dollar and the Turkish mejid were circulating at the time they proved less reliable than the Maria Theresa thaler as their silver content was frequently lowered. The Austrian mint meanwhile was careful to foster trust in their coin by strictly maintaining its high silver content.

The much sought after Maria Theresa thalers were dispatched from the ports of Trieste and Leghorn and reached the Red Sea via Egypt. Others were carried overland via Basra to the Arabian Gulf. The Red Sea ports of Mocha and Jeddah were busy entrepots for all the luxury goods from India and Africa. Coffee, slaves, gold and ostrich feathers arrived on shows from Massawa to be exchanged for Maria Theresa thalers; cloves and more slaves arrived from Zanzibar. Many thalers were carried on to India where silver was also in great demand.

For over two centuries, millions of them were traded through Arabia and Africa, in countries which at that time had no currency of their own. By the twentieth century it had become an economic necessity in many countries and was so popular that it proved difficult to

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remove it from circulation, despite the advent of national currencies.

The Empress Maria Theresa ruled over the vast Austrian lands from 1740 to 1780. She inherited the throne on the sudden death of her father Charles VI when she was only twenty three and was the first female Habsburg to rule. Although it was a daunting inheritance for one so young, she went on to become one of the most enlightened rulers of the eighteenth century and instituted many reforms during her reign, most notably in education, the army, and for the peasantry.

As a young queen she was beautiful, intelligent and energetic. She married her childhood sweetheart Frances Stephan, who became the elected Holy Roman Emperor, and they produced sixteen children, the youngest daughter being Marie Antoinette, later Queen of France.

Normally on the death of a ruler the coins of their reign are discontinued and taken out of circulation; however by the time Maria Theresa died in 1780 demand for her coin in Arabia and Ethiopia was growing so fast that her son and heir Joseph agreed it should be restruck with the date frozen at 1780. This is why most of the Maria Theresa thalers one comes across bear that date, leading one to think that they were all made in that year and making it difficult to ascertain their age or where they were minted. These so called "1780 restrikes" have provided coin collectors and Maria Theresa thaler enthusiasts with plenty of scope for study.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the coins were cut by hand in different mints of the Empire and as a result small variations or irregularities occurred in the engraving. With careful study this can reveal where or when that particular coin was made.

During the mid twentieth century the Maria Theresa thaler was, for political reasons, struck in Rome, London, Birmingham, Bombay, Paris, Brussels, Utrecht and other mints. While these coins are deemed unofficial in the sense that they did not emanate from official Austrian mints they are nevertheless, in the main, well made copies with the correct silver content. Naturally there are variations between the products of the different mints and a number of numismatists and enthusiastic collectors have devoted themselves to the study of these restrikes and rare examples are known to fetch high prices in the salerooms.

Considered by many to be the most beautiful coin in the world, the Maria Theresa thaler is exquisitely designed and engraved. Inscribed in Latin around the imperial profile are the titles of the ruler: MARIA THERESIA, D.GR. IMP. H.II. BO. REG. (by the Grace of God Roman Empress, Queen of Hungary and Bohemia)

On the reverse is the legend ARCHID. AUST. DUX. BURG.CO. TYR. Archduchess of Austria, Duchess
of Burgundy, Countess of Tyrol. 1780) followed by a satire and after that, the date 1780. In the centre is the imperial double headed eagle supporting the crown of the Holy Roman Emperor and on its breast a shield bearing the quartered Habsburg arms with the smaller crowns of Bohemia and Hungary.

A unique and distinctive feature of the Maria Theresa thaler is the outer edge inscription in Latin, which was the motto of the Empress - JUSTITIA ET CLEMENTIA (Justice and Clemency). This decorative edge was one of the main reasons for its popularity, as it not only made it difficult to forge but it also prevented it being clipped, a common practice where slivers of silver are shaved from the edge of the coin. [Diameter: 39.5mm, Weight: 28.0668 gr, Fine weight: 23.3890 gr, silver content: 833.3 Ag]

The word thaler became a generic name for a large silver coin. In the 16th century the Counts of Schlick, noblemen and landowners in Bohemia, began to exploit a rich vein of silver which they had discovered on their land in the little valley of St. Joachimsthal. They were given the right to mint coins and these large silver coins became known as St. Joachimsthalers, which were later abbreviated to thalers. In Dutch they were pronounced doalders, in Scandinavian dalers and the Anglicised version was the dollar.

As an instrument of trade, the value of the Maria Theresa thaler lay in its silver content. As can be imagined this, at times, brought its own disadvantages especially when the price of silver fluctuated. In the late nineteenth century it became quite a problem when the price of silver dropped dramatically and traders lost all their profits. At the same time this situation encouraged speculation and considerable profits could be made for those willing to take risks.

Some merchants did this on a large scale, going as far as shipping Maria Theresa thalers back to England to be sold there when the price of silver was high. Exchange rates varied according to supply and demand and times of year when there might be a scarcity. Hoarding on a great scale took place, sometimes by rulers who stored them in underground chambers which were guarded day and night. Others simply hid them in mud brick walls or floors of houses to be brought forth in time of need.

In some countries, in order to give added authenticity and make it legal tender as a currency, the Maria Theresa thaler was given an extra stamp of authority. For example, when the coin was used in Portuguese colonies such as Mozambique and the Azores it was counterstamped with the royal crown. Counterstamps also exist for the Al Qa‘i dynasty in the Hadramaut, as well as Hejaz and Nejd in Arabic. An example of a Maria Theresa thaler exists with a rare counterstamp in the form of a "tughra" or cypher of the Ottoman Sultan Murad indicating that the Ottomans were obliged to accept the Maria Theresa thaler as currency; much as they disliked using it.

These counterstamps are problematic and many are thought to be forgeries. Collectors pay high prices for them and this demand has led to a profitable business in forgeries. In the Yemen where silver currency was scarce, the Maria Theresa thaler was used as a base for striking its own currency. Examples of these can be found, where the attempted overstrike displays traces of the Maria Theresa thaler beneath it.

The history of the Maria Theresa thaler is rich in anecdotes, many of which come from explorers and travellers who were obliged to pay their way with this legendary coin. Rosita Forbes, an intrepid English writer, who travelled in the mid-twentieth century through Ethiopia, remarked that the Maria Theresa thaler was not unlike a "silver passport" which helped smooth her passage and was useful to bribe her way out of difficult situations. Many of these travellers remark that the Maria Theresa thaler was indispensable and a plentiful supply was a vital necessity.

At the same time it was important to ensure the money was safely guarded because it was an obvious target for robbers. Sir Richard Burton who went on a pilgrimage to Makkah disguised as a Muslim was concerned about security, keeping his cash carefully stowed in boxes and giving advice to fellow travellers about not attracting attention to them by shaking them about revealing their contents. On the other hand, a more recent explorer, Wilfred Thesiger, who crossed the Empty Quarter of Arabia by camel with a few trusted companions, took with him several thousand Maria Theresa thalers which were stowed in saddlebags. Thesiger declared that these precious coins were safer in those bags than in his bank and he never in all his travels lost one coin.

Other travellers didn't fare as well and at least one adventurous female was murdered for her large quantities of Maria Theresa thalers. But mostly travellers just complained about having to carry such heavy loads of silver on long journeys. Furthermore, counting out large quantities was very tedious especially if each coin was held up to scrutiny, a frequent occurrence in remote parts where traders were terrified of accepting fake coins.

The Maria Theresa thaler played a hugely important role in the traditional jewellery of the countries in which it circulated and this was certainly one of the major reasons for its phenomenal popularity. Jewellery was very
much bound up with the ceremonies of birth and marriage which dominate those societies and it was always more than simply decorative. The economic role of the coin was significant as it normally formed part of the dowry given by the bridegroom to the bride. It also provided a form of security for her in case of widowhood or divorce. Jewellery was usually a wife's only form of wealth, so it was crucial she should acquire as much of it as possible.

The Maria Theresa thaler was also considered to have amuletic properties and was worn as protection, particularly by children, from Yemen to Ethiopia. In the Sudan women might wear one on their forehead as a protection against the evil eye. The Maria Theresa thaler is considered to be an aid to fertility amongst the Rashaida, a nomadic camel owning tribe living in the eastern Sudan, who have their origins in Arabia and who are well known for wearing prodigious quantities of silver jewellery. It was also thought to have healing powers and, when applied directly onto a scorpion bite, would relieve the pain of the sting. In Ethiopia the use of the Maria Theresa thaler was widespread and when it wasn't being worn as an ornament it was melted down by silversmiths to be made into jewellery. Over the years millions of them disappeared in this way and it is still being used as a source of silver for making jewellery.

During the two hundred years or more that the Maria Theresa thaler circulated it got embroiled in all sorts of intrigues, conspiracies, clandestine missions, ransom payments, political events and even major wars. One such intrigue is reported in Mohammed Assad's book Road to Mecca.

In the summer of 1929 Faisal al Dowish, the renegade leader of the Ikhwan, was in revolt against King Abdul Aziz in northern Nejd. The King was concerned with the supplies of arms and ammunition which Dowish had at his disposal and sent Assad secretly to spy on him. Mohammed Assad reported that large amounts of mint new Maria Theresa thaler in the bazaars of Kuwait were traceable to Dowish and the men around him. How these coins reached Dowish is something of a mystery, although Assad insinuates they were being supplied by the British Government (this hardly accords with British policy at the time). Interestingly, the records of the Vienna Mint show a considerable increase in production during these years.

When the Italian Government was planning the invasion of Ethiopia in 1935 they desperately needed Maria Theresa thaler to pay their way in that country, where it was the only currency accepted. Mussolini, with help from Hitler, pressed the Austrians to hand over the dies for making the Maria Theresa thaler to the Italians. In the next three years, the mint in Rome produced eighteen million of them. This action had direct repercussions for the British whose supply of thalers was now jeopardised, adversely affecting their commercial undertakings in Arabia.

In 1940 the British Government needed a ready supply of Maria Theresa thaler to finance their military operations in Ethiopia. After several high level meetings they decided that there was nothing to stop them minting their own Maria Theresa thalers. Sir Robert Johnson, the deputy Master of the Royal Mint, agreed as long as the legal position was established beyond any doubt. Law Officers of the Crown were consulted and they decided, rather bluntly, that as "the coin bore a portrait of a two hundred year old monarch of a state that no longer existed and was of a denomination long superseded, Maria Theresa thaler were simple metallic discs with a design, despite the custom of referring to them as money." They wasted no time in making almost perfect copies and between 1936 and 1941, London minted 15 million of them. The British army was thus assured of a ready supply to be used in their counter invasion of Ethiopia and ensured a successful outcome of the mission.

Although no longer a legal currency, the Vienna Mint is still producing the famous and much admired coin, of which they are justifiably proud. Approximately ten thousand a year are produced, depending on worldwide demand by collectors. With the exception of a few intervals during the twentieth century, the Maria Theresa thaler has been minted continuously since the death of the Empress in 1780. It is estimated that an astonishing 400 million have been struck to date.
Imperial Influences:
on the Architecture of the Great Arab Cities
in the Ottoman Empire (XVI – XVIII Centuries)

Lecture by: Prof. André Raymond
Presented in English
27th November 2006

The Ottoman era in Arab countries has generally been subject to derogatory assessments. Its worst deficiencies, it was supposed, were those which concern intellectual and artistic domains. The great scholar E. Pauty, who has done so much to rediscover Ottoman architecture in Cairo in the thirties, feels obliged to apologize for such a curiosity: "One must admit that a sort of discredit attends this art considered as not being very local and as being of questionable aesthetic attractiveness".

That is changing. With its considerable duration (three or four centuries according to the provinces), the period of the Ottomans is now accepted as an integrant part of the history of the countries which were subjected to their domination and their legacy, in the domain of the "Beaux Arts", is now duly recognized.

The mosques built in an "Ottoman-like" style in the great Arab cities (which were the capitals of provinces of the Ottoman Empire) are, at the same time, important monuments and relatively scarce in number if we consider the buildings which still exist: not more than sixteen from Algiers to Baghdad.

The Khusrawiya Mosque (figure 1) was built in Aleppo by Khusu Pacha between 1537 - 1546 maybe with the cooperation of the great architect Sinan, then at the beginning of his career. Its portico (five domes) extended before the prayer hall would later be repeated, by Sinan himself, in other monuments.

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Aleppo by Khusu Pacha between 1537 - 1546 maybe with the cooperation of the great architect Sinan, then at the beginning of his career. Its portico (five domes) extended before the prayer hall would later be repeated, by Sinan himself, in other monuments.

The main peculiarities of the style brought to perfection by Sinan (1492 – 1588, active from 1538 to 1588) appear in perfect clarity in one of his innumerable constructions in Istanbul and in the main cities of the empire, the Sulaymaniyya mosque erected in Istanbul, in 1550 - 1558:

- Square organisation of the prayer hall, which is covered by a great central dome, and a combination of semi-domes and smaller cupolas, with a possible great complexity.
- Frequent opening of the prayer hall by a portico onto a square rectangular, cloister-like courtyard, surrounded by dome covered arcades.
- Tall and slender pencil-like minaret, whose cylindrical shaft is adorned with circular balconies carried on mullars vaultings and bordered by elongated, conical, roofs, a very peculiar device which left little room for variations. The multiplication of these characteristic minarets punctuate the skyline of Istanbul and other Ottoman cities in an unforgettable manner and gives

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a distinctive character to all the cities where the Ottomans ruled anywhere at any time.

The ‘Adliyya Mosque, in Aleppo, built by Muhammad Pacha (1555), belongs to a type closely related to the Khusrawiyya, but with a double portico. This is an original device that had been used by Sinan in the Iskâle Jami of Uskudar a few years earlier (1548).

The mosque of Sinan Pacha in Bülâ (northern “avant-port” of Cairo on the Nile) (1571) evinces an Ottoman plan with a large portico developed on three sides. However, its façade is profoundly influenced by the great Mamluk traditions.

The two nearly contemporaneous mosques of Murad and Darwish Pacha, built by two governors of Damascus outside the walls in 1572 and 1574, combine an Ottoman plan (with domes) with facades of typical Syrian style. The Muradiyyah has a Mamluk minaret.

The mosque of Sinan Pasha in Damascus (1590) seems to belong to the Tokat type (1573) but its minaret, covered with green tiles, is quite original. The façade, like that of the mosques of 1572 and 1574, is treated in a strongly Mamluk architectural and decorative manner.

Built in Cairo in 1610 by Uthman Agha al Sa‘ada (chief of the imperial harem) in the name of his mistress, the princess Safiya, wife of Murad III and mother of Muhammad III, the mosque of Malik Safiya is the most royal and the most purely Ottoman of all the Cairo mosques. Its high semicircular staircase reminds us of the rectangular steps of Yeni Valide in Istanbul (before 1605) who had the same patronage, which explains the similarity.

In 1660 on the initiative of the odjaq (janissary militia) of Algiers, the al-Jadid Mosque (“mosque of the Fishery”) was built. It has an “Ottoman” air (central dome and four corner domes) and the minaret has a definitely Maghrebian look.

There is no question about the origins of the plan of the mosque built in Tunis by Muhammad Bey in 1697. The arrangement of the central dome, four half domes and four smaller corner domes, is that of the Sultan Ahmad Mosque in Istanbul (1610) on a much reduced scale. But the enveloping portico is obviously “Tunisian”. The mosque was not achieved by its patron, and in particular, no minaret was built.

The ‘Uthmaniyya Madrasa, built in Aleppo in 1730, by ‘Uthman Pasha al Duraki, is a monument of pure Ottoman style (including its minaret). But the two iwan (large rooms) opened onto the courtyard by great arch on both sides of the portico are reminiscent of local architectural traditions.

The Qaymariyya Mosque was built in 1743 in Damascus by Fathi Efendi, a treasury-keeper (daftardar) who belonged to a family of local notables. It is a perfect example of a monument with a wholly Ottoman plan, but with a decoration deeply influenced by Syromamluk traditions (use of coloured stones).

This list is naturally not complete; some monuments were built which later disappeared. But their number is probably not considerable and would not much modify our bilan.

Our first remark is that these Ottoman monuments represent only a small part of the religious monuments built in these cities during the three centuries of Ottoman presence: in Cairo, four mosques out of 77 built during that period; in Aleppo, four out of 30 overall. But they are monuments of prestige and amplitude if we compare them to the often modest importance of the “local-style” mosques. This scarcity is not surprising in itself. Although, from a political point of view, the Turks represented the dominant element in the empire, they had a deep respect for the Arab language and culture (closely connected with the Muslim religion) and there never was anywhere, and at any time, an idea of “cultural colonialism” on their part, in the Arab provinces of the Empire.

As much as their relatively limited number, the chronological spacing and the geographical distribution of these Ottoman architectural creations seems to be significant. Of the 16 monuments mentioned earlier, 10 date from the XVIIth century and three from each of the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries.

As for the location, there is an obvious contrast between the Bilad al-Sham, with 10 monuments, Egypt with 4, and the Maghrib only 2. The building of “Ottoman” mosques is obviously lined with the proximity to the centre of power, and, no doubt, with the vigour of the Ottoman presence: hence the strong presence of Syria, and particularly Aleppo, in the list. The faraway Maghrib was little affected by that building movement (2 monuments).

Iraq is surprisingly absent from this tableau. It may be explained by the fact that the territory was long disputed between the Ottomans and the Safavids, and that the Ottoman power was definitively consolidated there only in the second half of the seventeenth century.

We have already hinted to the fact that building mosques in an imperial style derived more from political motivations than from what could have been the adoption of cultural traditions of the conquerors by the conquered; their building was meant to remind the people of these Arab provinces that they belonged to
a vast empire under the authority of the Sultan and his local representatives, the Pashas.

In Damascus, the “imperial” monuments were built in a zone located outside the walls, to the west of the city, an area which was concerned by the activity of the pilgrimage (Haj) of which Damascus was a rallying point. The buildings thus reminded those traveling for Haj that the Sultan was the protector and organizer of the pilgrimage which developed so much in the Ottoman period.

In Cairo some of the mosques were also built at strategic places. The mosque of Sulayman Pashat built in the janissary part of the Citadel, stronghold of imperial power (and residence of the Pasha), overlooked the city and was opposite to the madrasa of Sultan Hasan which, in a way symbolized the defeated Mamluk rule. The Sinan mosque in Bulaq was a visible sign of the Ottoman presence for the visitors who normally arrived in Cairo by boat.

In the later times, when the authority of the Sublime Porte weakened, political motivations are even more explicit and the buildings concerned can often be interpreted as reassertion of allegiance by nearly autonomous local authorities. The al-Jadid Mosque of Algiers was built in 1660 on the orders of the odjaq (militia), shortly after the “revolution” of 1659, which had enabled the militia to deprive the Ottoman pasha of all his powers. The building of a monument in “imperial” style could be considered as a sort of monumental reaffirmation of Ottoman sovereignty in Algiers at a time when the assumption of supreme power by the officers of the odjaq could have been interpreted as meaning a political separation from the Sublime Porte.

In Tunis, the Sidi Mehrez Mosque was built by Muhammad Bey whose authority had been confirmed by the Sultan in 1691, when the Sublime Porte, as a token of its satisfaction for his government of Tunis, had sent him a second tail (tugh), an honorary distinction which marked in the Ottoman administrative hierarchy, the promotion to the rank of sandjaq bey. The erection of a mosque in a very characteristic Ottoman architecture, just at the northern gate of the city (inside Bab Suwayqa) between 1692 and 1796 was tantamount to a reaffirmation of Ottoman suzerainty over Tunis.

One can interpret the construction, in Cairo by Muhammad Bey Abu Dahhab in 1774, of a pastiche of the Bulaq Mosque of Sinan Pasha in the same way. Though Muhammad Bey probably sought total control over Egypt, he was prepared to acknowledge his formal submission to the Sultan. The construction of a mosque of “Ottoman” style on a prestigious site (just in front of al-Azhar, in the very middle of the Qasaba, the main avenue of Cairo), was like a visual reassertion of his loyalty toward the Sultan. The style of the mosque therefore had a political significance which was perfectly understood by the representatives of the Ottoman government, by the officials of the state, but also, no doubt, by the Egyptian population.

While making an inventory of the great religious monuments built in the “imperial” style in the Arab provinces, we note that some of them seemed to evince a direct influence of specific buildings erected in Istanbul or in provincial cities. Such influences are likely, but it is not easy to determine the manner in which they diffused and reached Arab cities. As is generally the rule for Islamic religious monuments, we ignore the precise modalities of their building, and particularly the identity of the builders.

According to a deeply rooted tradition, the famous architect Sinan (1489 – 1588) played a part in the building of several monuments of Aleppo (Khusrawiya, Adillya) and Damascus (Takiyya). (figure 2) It is true that Sinan participated in the Sultanian Expedition of 1533 – 1536 against Iraq. His stay in Aleppo during the winter season of 1533 – 1534 is thus certain. At that time, Khusru Pasha was still in Aleppo and he could have met the architect, but the building of the Khusrawiya did not actually begin before 1537. It would then be necessary to suppose that Sinan's contribution to the building consisted in the sending of plans or in delegating one of his assistants to oversee the building. Of course that is not at all impossible.

Participation of Sinan seems much more problematic in the case of Adillya Mosque (1555) and of the Takiyya in Damascus. The importance of the works attributed to Sinan (477 monuments according to some sources) is such that it is not easy to ascertain the reality of such intervention. He could have, in this case also, exerted a kind of supervision of the work from Istanbul.

Even in cases when a direct link can be established between a monument built in the central lands and another one in an Arab provincial city, it is not possible to speak of a complete copy. The Yeni Valide Mosque in Istanbul (1605) and the Malika Safiya Mosque in Cairo (1610) had the same patroness, the Princess Safiya, spouse and mother of two sultans. The Valide Princess was represented in Cairo by a wakil who played an important part in the building of the Malika Safiya mosque; he even tried to attribute to himself the paternity of the construction. Hence some similarity in the plans of both monuments, and a strong reminiscence in Malika Safiya of the huge staircases of Yen Valide mosque.

Thus these monuments are not mere duplicates of a precise building in the central lands. They belong to types that had already been experimented elsewhere, usually in Istanbul or in the provincial cities of Anatolia.
They were in keeping with a tradition of essential characteristics which were already firmly fixed in the second third of the fifteenth century. It would be more appropriate to say that these provincial monuments conform to a kind of "standard" Ottoman plan, according to an architectural "vulgate" which embodies some general characteristics of this vocabulary.

Their originality is limited but they produce an impression which, for instance, allows the Turkish traveller Evliya Chelebi of the second half of the 17th century to speak of a "rum tarsi" when he describes some of these monuments in the great cities he visits in the Arab Near East. Some architectural features, constantly repeated, are sufficient to evoke the "Ottoman character" of the buildings. These include the presence of a portico leading to the entrance; the existence of a minaret unmistakably "Ottoman"; a low hemispheric dome covering the prayer hall. These main elements which are visible from the outside produce a visual effect which distinguishes them from their equivalent in any other architectural style.

Generally these monuments are of modest dimensions if compared with the imposing architectural complexes built in Istanbul during the same period. This difference of scale is obvious when we consider mosques which have counterparts in Istanbul: the Safiya Mosque in Cairo and Yen Valide in Istanbul; or Muhammad Bey Mosque (figure 3) in Tunis and Sultan Ahmad.

The first (and main) explanation lies in the limited means of their patrons, often the province governors, who had a short period of stay in their province, and who could not think of leaving a monumental memory which could emulate the imperial realizations in the capital (an ambition anyway which would probably have raised some discomfort in Istanbul). The sovereigns could drain all the resources of the state for their construction; this was not true of the rulers of Ottoman provinces. Although generally of a moderate amount, the tributes (jizya) which were levied for the Imperial treasury deprived the Pashas of a substantial part of their financial resources. Michael Rogers gives this concern for economy as the main reason for the success that the public fountains (sabil) had in Cairo during the Ottoman era, since building that type of monument of modest dimensions, made it possible for patrons to realize a pious work and to leave a lasting mark in the urban landscape at relatively little cost.
It is also probable that technical reasons account for both the small number of monuments and their limited size. In these great Arab cities, economic development had so increased the congestion in the urban centres that there was hardly any room left for new creations of great dimensions. This factor was to work specially against the building of edifices in the "Ottoman" fashion, with their strongly rectangular shape, which could not develop properly except on fairly vast sites, inside regular plots of land.

If the building of complete monuments has been rather exceptional on the whole, some components of the Ottoman architecture and décor have been "naturalised" and largely used in the Arab counties that is the case of the "Ottoman" minaret, and of the ceramic décor.

The fairly widespread adoption of the "Ottoman" minaret and its propagation, finally gave the panoramas of Arab cities one of their most characteristic aspects. The skyline of Aleppo is one of the best examples of omnipresence of these minarets. One would certainly like to know the reasons (aesthetic, cultural and even psychological) for this tremendous success. It is striking to notice that some of the great mosques of Cairo, built in a "Neo Mamluk" style, have Ottoman minarets, including the mosques of Mahmud Pasha (1568), and Messiah Pasha (1575), built by two governors of Egypt, in the sixteen century.

The second area in which national architecture borrowed from the Ottoman repertory, is that of decoration, with the use of ceramics that were directly imported from Turkey or manufactured locally in imitation of Turkish production. It would be easy to give numerous examples of utilization which was common in the great Arab cities. I will mainly mention Tunis, where outside influences combined with local traditions, among which it would be necessary to recall a rich Andalusian legacy.

In Cairo, ceramic decoration (figure 4) was abundantly used in the public fountains (sabil), in small panels on the façade, or, more extensively, on the walls of the water distribution rooms (as in the sabil of Abd al Rahman Katkhuda, 1744).

But the most famous example is that of the mosque of Qaṣr Qayrawan, a Mamluk monument (1347) which was extensively restored by Ibrahim Agha, a leading Emir of the janissaries, in 1652. On this occasion the wall of the qibla was entirely covered with tiles of second-rate value imported from Damascus. In the same monument, the tomb of the Emir is also adorned with ceramic decoration of a much higher quality.

In such monuments typical of the Ottoman taste, one is struck by the builders' tendency to incorporate details attesting to the vitality of local traditions and by the ability of the native architects and craftsmen to fit them into a different architectural context. We may suppose that local architects and decorators, trained in local building traditions, were at ease in reproducing the decoration developed in the monuments which were imitated in the provinces. But we may also suggest that, addressing a public familiar with an art which had become traditional (for instance the Mamluk art in Egypt), these artisans thought it interesting to please that public with reminiscences of an art considered as local, we could say "national". In most of the buildings we have mentioned earlier, these local traditions appear in more or less discreet touches.

In this way we find facades entirely treated in "national" style in the mosques of Damascus (Darwish and Qaymariyya Mosques). In the mosques of Sinan Pasha in Bulaq the lower part of the dome (of Ottoman style) has two rows of windows, the upper one in the shape of lobed arches which are common of Fatimid monuments (Doris B. A. Seif) The enveloping portico around the prayer hall of the Muhammad Mosque in Tunis is a feature which was inherited from the Hafsid period and is found in all the mosques built during the Muradite period (XVIth century). Minarets built in the local tradition adorn the Ottoman.
mosques of al-Jadid in Algiers (Maghribian square minaret) and Muhammad Bey Abu Dhahab (figure 5) in Cairo.

At a lesser scale the building of portals in the Mamluk tradition, in Aleppo (mosques Khusruwiyya, ‘Adliyya Bahramiya), and in Cairo (Sulayman Pacha (Figure 6). Muhammad Bey) and of iwan in the Syrian fashion of the Uthmaniyya Madrasa bear testimony for the permanence of local taste even in monuments inspired by the most official architecture. The persistence of regional styles in "Ottoman buildings" during these three centuries of Ottoman rule is a phenomenon which not less impressive than the unending flow of constructions in the local tradition.

Conclusions
In an architectural production which remained considerable in the Arab provinces of the Ottoman empire, the part of Ottoman style monuments was relatively modest in number, but it produced some mosques of high quality and important signification. Although they belong to a provincial category which cannot be compared with the great realizations which adorn the capital, these mosques in Imperial style are relatively ambitious in their conception and decoration compared with the monuments in local traditional style. These constructions, in most cases express, in a very ostentatious way, the insertion of the provinces in the framework of the empire, and they must be evaluated from a political angel.

This “Ottoman legacy” is also visible in architectural realizations (minarets) and in décor innovations (use of ceramics) which deeply and durably influenced the local aesthetic. The naturalization of these Ottoman elements is an impressive cultural phenomenon, largely spread in the provinces. In this way an Ottoman touch is visible in the urban décor of most great Arab cities and one must thus consider that Ottoman style is not a negligible component.
Meeting of East and West Asia:
Seen from the Istanbul Album Paintings

Lecture by: Dr. Toh Sugimura
Presented in English
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The collections in the Topkapi Palace (Sarayi) Museum in Istanbul include the all kinds of artefacts collected by successive Ottoman sultans. These include the arts and crafts of the East Asia, such as Chinese and Japanese porcelains, Persian, Turkish and Chinese paintings, drawings and European engravings, and draw our attention to East-West cultural exchange. In this discussion two themes we find in the albums of the Topkapi Palace Museum are examined.

The album in the Islamic world is called ‘muraqqa’ in Arabic, meaning literally ‘patch work’ or ‘miscellany’, and in Persian ‘jong’, literally meaning ‘ship’. These so called albums are bound editions of paintings, drawings and calligraphy, or a combination of these. There are two types of album in the Islamic world: the one is ‘scrapbook’ album, in which dissimilar paintings, calligraphies and designs are pasted at random, the second is the planned album, in which painting and calligraphy are arranged in order.

While in East Asia the format of album goes back to as early as the 9th century, the earliest surviving example in the Islamic world is the early 15th century album in the Topkapi Palace Museum in Istanbul. Examples of the ‘scrapbook’ type are found in the Topkapi Palace Museum.

Of the forty-five albums in the Topkapi Palace Museum, four albums are of particular importance with respect to East-West cultural relations. They are known by various names, such as Fatih (conqueror) Albums, Sarayi Albums or Istanbul Albums; they are registered as Hazine (meaning ‘treasury’, hereafter abbreviated to H.) 2152, 2153, 2154 and 2160 respectively.

Albums H.2153 and 2160 contain some 678 paintings including fragments, though the size of paintings varies. For instance, the dimensions of Album H.2153 are 50.2 x 33.8cm and consists of 199 folios (pages). Some of the paintings seem to have been either assembled in early 16th century in Iran (Tabriz) and then brought to Istanbul or assembled in Turkey.

These albums contain a few Chinese original paintings and drawings, a wood-block print, a number of copies of Chinese paintings and drawings and calligraphic works of Islam. The latter is also of importance, since these include a considerable number of historical documents which made the album paintings possible to be dated or datable.

These albums also contain numerous designs. In this sense the Istanbul Albums may have served as pattern books. Some of the drawings reveal a series of pin-holes along the outlines of motifs. Such a pounce or stencil technique made mass-production possible.

One of the most interesting aspects of the Istanbul Album paintings is the influence of East Asia. This group of paintings includes such diverse themes as “flower and bird,” landscape, Buddhist-Taoist images, fabulous creatures like Chinese dragons, phoenix, and qilin, falcon-falconers and literary themes like procession scenes.

Falconry in the Istanbul Albums

Due to their being highly valued in court circles of both the East and the West, falcons were presented as gifts and mementos of royal favour. Historical sources from the 1400s record the practice of giving falcons

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as royal gifts. Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo (d.1412), the envoy of King Henry III of Castile, and Léon, to the Timurid court, brought a few white falcons as gifts to Timur (c.1330 - 1405). Moreover, the Timurid history by 'Abd al-Razzaq Samarkand (1413 - 82) records the gift of falcons in 1417 from Ming emperor Yongle (r.1403 - 24) to Shahrukh (r.1409 - 47).

There is only one painting which reveals the falconers in the hilly landscape (H.2160, fol.86a). This composition of a party of hunters with falcons disappearing behind a hill is a typical composition found in Yuan paintings.

The four Istanbul Albums contain a few portrayals of mounted falconers. For instance, one of the paintings shows a young falconer on a trotting white horse in motion (H.2153, fol.6b). He holds a gyrfalcon on his gloved left hand. His lavishly decorated saddle and saddle pad, harness, sword, garment, all bespeak his high social status; his multiple belts, boots, and the brand on the haunch of his mount suggest his Central Asian derivation.

Another mounted falconer (H.2153, fol.5a) is shown in a static pose at ease unlike the previous falconer. His costume and equipment are entirely different from the Central Asian falconer. He holds a falcon with a distinctive red hood in his gloved right hand. He does not carry a bow and arrow, but his thumb ring suggests that he is a Persian warrior and his green robe and blue saddle with loud patterns indicate his noble status. In addition to the falconers' portrayals shown in this article, the Istanbul Albums contain a few sketchy studies of a noble, sitting on a stool and holding a falcon on his right hand.

The Istanbul Albums include the portraits of four white gyrfalcons (H.2153, fol.47a, 17b, 2154, 18a, 119b), a goshawk (H.2153, fol.98a) and a golden eagle (H.2153, fol.109a). Each bird stands on a different type of perch. One of the four paintings of the white gyrfalcons is the portrait inscribed with the name of Bi hazad, one of the most celebrated Persian painters, in the frieze on the top of the painting, though its authenticity is still controversial.

Unlike the other portraits of gyrfalcon in the Istanbul Albums, the second painting (H.2153, fol.47a) of the gyrfalcon, it is shown in frontal view, twisting its head to the left while it perches on a typical stand topped by a red cushion. Attached to one side of this cushion is a metal hook in the form of a gargoyl e, on which is hung a ring. There is a green leash and jess decorated with jade beads. The leash hangs from the hook and is attached to the bird's foot. The luxurious stand with gorgeous decoration reflects its domestication in court. The gargoyle, by the way, has been known in China since ancient times.

The third image (H.2154, fol.17b) is a large white gyrfalcon, shown almost in profile, perching on a cushion covered with a blue cloth, perhaps batik (hand print fabric) with floral motifs. The composition must not be original since its head and tail partly stick out of the picture frame. The high degree of realism and exquisite representation of fierce stare, sharp beak and claw, pimple of foot, shaded feathers lead us to the attribution to a Chinese painter.

The Istanbul Albums include only one portrait of a goshawk with a hood standing on one foot on a cushion-like perch (H.2153, fol.98a). The goshawk wears a red hood, a jingle and a red string tied to perch. The red hood is just like the one on the white gyrfalcon which is held by a mounted falconer (H.2153, fol.5a). The red stand, which appears slightly distorted, has no equivalent in any known Islamic paintings. This portrait is probably a study by an inexperienced local painter who was not familiar with the type of the perch normally used.

The particular type of perch of this goshawk is associated with that of the gyrfalcon on a "Pillow-like Perch of Song China (960 - 1279)". In fact this elaborately rendered portrait of a white gyrfalcon is not painting, but embroidery that is now in the National Palace Museum, Taipei. At a glance, this Chinese cushion appears to be a ceramic pillow, but its upper part must be covered with soft fabric that is easily grasped by bird's claws. This embroidery is one of the oldest examples of a portrait of a falcon on perch.

Falconry in Japan goes back as early as 6th century and has continued up to the modern age. It has been popular among the imperial household, court nobles and feudal lords.

A number of the paintings of the gyrfalcons and goshawks on a perch are now in the various Japanese museum collections and Buddhist temples. The number of such paintings indicates that the falcons were often regarded as pets within high society. The portraits of a single falcon and a group of falcons on perch were painted on folding screens during the 16th-17th century. A profile of a 'Gyrfalcon on a Perch' in a Japanese private collection includes an interesting type of perch that is similar to the perches in the portraits of white gyrfalcons in the Istanbul Albums. This luxurious type of perch consists of a shaft with a cushion on its top.

With respect to this point, two more portraits should be mentioned for comparison. One is a portrait of a goshawk by I Am, a 16th century Korean painter, now in a Japanese private collection. Another magnificent portrait depicts a 'Goshawk Standing on a Perch' that is attributed to Xu Ze (14th century), a Chinese painter, now in the Fine Arts Museum in Boston. The common feature of these three paintings is the shaft type of
perch. The upper part of the metal shaft is magnificently designed with a handle and a ring with the gorgon-like mask's teeth. These features are very close to those in the Istanbul portraits. This particular type of perch was without doubt widely used in East Asia.

The "golden eagle" is a huge brown eagle with the tawny feathers at the crown and nape that are particularly conspicuous in sunlight. This is the reason it is named "golden eagle" (Qqāb-e talāī in Persian). The young eagles have splashes of white on the wings and tails. The crest of the Istanbul golden eagle (figure 1) is adorned in a loud reddish colour, while its feathers are painted in a schematic way. The horizontal bar is lacquered red and equipped with metal rings, to which the bird is tied by a greenish string, similar to that on the previous gyrfalcon. The lacquered bar in red is very Chinese and Japanese. On the whole, the technique and style of this portrait indicates that this work was not painted from life, but copied from other paintings.

A hanging-scroll painting, now in a Japanese collection, of a golden eagle that was painted by a Chinese painter, Xu Ze, shows several features shared with the Istanbul eagle. For instance, the posture of the bird turning its head to the left, the type of the horizontal bar and the green jess are all similar to its Istanbul counterpart. On the other hand, its sober colour contrasts with that of the Istanbul eagle. The source of the Istanbul golden eagle must be something like this Chinese painting.

Seeking the possible source of inspiration of these portraits of falcons and eagle on perch we must look for a different cultural milieu, one lying outside the world of Islam. The golden eagle has long been admired in Europe, while its use for falconry was exclusive to kings in medieval period.

Conversely, considerable numbers of Chinese paintings represent the hawk in flight or in the nature, such as 'a hawk on pine tree' in various collections in the world. The extant portraits of falcons, however, are quite limited in number, though numerous examples are found in Japan. The latter are mostly by Japanese painters and are now in Japanese museums and Buddhist temples. The diversity of their falcon species, postures and the types of perches are outstanding. These portraits, however, could not have been the models of the Istanbul portraits (1400 - 1500), because most of the Japanese portraits were painted in the 16th century.

As far as the Istanbul portraits of falcons are concerned, some of their models must have been Chinese paintings. Several of the seven portraits of falcons and an eagle in the Istanbul Albums are Chinese originals of the Song and Yuan periods—namely from the 12th - 14th century. Others are copies of those in the Istanbul portraits or based on works in other collections by local (Persian or Central Asian) painters. Others could have been accompanied the gifts of falcons carried by the Chinese missions to the Timurid and Turkman courts. Exactly when, where and how these were painted, however, has not been determined.

Two Procession Scenes

The two procession scenes possibly of a wedding, in the Istanbul Albums raise interesting
Figure 2: Procession Scene I

Figure 3: Procession Scene II
problems with respect to East-West cultural relations. Since these paintings, particularly the Procession Scene I, are unusually wide (85.9cm) in contrast to the traditional Islamic manuscript paintings, there may have been an experimental borrowing of the East Asian hand-scroll format. The horizontal composition is appropriate to the progress of time and spatial movement for literary and historical subject matter with narrative content.

Although the Muslims had never accepted this alien art format, preferring their traditional book format, the wide compositions of the Istanbul album paintings must have been influenced by the East Asian hand scroll format. Also, in Islamic manuscript paintings the major figure tends to be a male, often a ruler or hero, whereas in these two paintings ladies on horseback seem to be the heroines of the story.

In front of Procession Scene I, (figure 2) two girls are dancing in swirling movements, as if they anticipate a celebration in association with the heroine. Although it is the 19th century work, an interesting Chinese wood-block print, two Central Asian looking men dancing joyfully at the head of a procession of the Chinese court lady who was forcefully taken by the Mongolians.

The procession of our painting is a night scene, as suggested by the stars and crescent in the sky and torches, candles and lanterns as well. The heroine’s elegant and fancy cloak is painted with a gold design and her crown indicates her high status. The lady on horseback covers her mouth with the fur collar of her garment, perhaps because of a sand storm or due to grief or shyness. Her tall escorts have a characteristic physiognomy (moustache, beard, high nose, and deep eye sockets) that indicates their Turkic origin. The Inner Asiatic or Central Asiatic features are obvious in fur caps, horse brand on the white horse’s haunch, multiple-belts, tassels on the horse harness.

In this painting there are two ethnic groups; two Persian or Chinese ladies and the several Turks escorting these ladies. Under such circumstances we are led to a hypothesis that the Istanbul Procession Scene I may be associated with the Chinese court lady Wan Chao-Chun on her wedding procession to Mongolia. A Chinese hand-scroll of the 14th century represents the lady Wan on horseback; she makes a similar gesture covering her mouth in the blowing cold wind.

Men and women of various ages and costumes engage in different activities that are somewhat ambiguous in this painting. In the foreground, a lady on a mule is about to fall down and is assisted by an escort. She is followed by a fancy cart which is loaded with various gold vessels and Chinese porcelain or their imitations. The items on the cart could be a sort of dowry. Such a delicate cart, however, is not suitable for the wilds. The objects, however, may be regarded as a sort of repousoir. The Chinese blue-and-white porcelains convey the message to the viewer of this painting that the painter of this procession scene intended it to be closely related to a Chinese story.

The major figure and the setting of the scene remind us of the Chinese popular tragedies, such as the ancient epic “Eighteen Songs of Foreign Flute” in which an abducted noble lady from China married a nomad chieftain. After twelve years life in an isolated tent in Inner Asia, she was allowed to go home, leaving her children behind. A number of the elements in Procession Scene II, (figure 3) such as the heroine who is about to fall off her mule because of sorrow, two Turkic men with fur-trimmed hats who peer into the fenced structure with a black canopy and a standard with a yak’s or horse-tail on the upper left corner all remind us of the procession scenes in the wilds and the nomad camping site that are also represented in the “Eighteen Songs of Foreign Flute”.

In spite of these similarities, the Istanbul Procession scene is also associated with a poem entitled “Eight Drunken Immortals”, composed by the Tang poet Du Fu. One of the illustrations of this theme seen in modern painting shows the heavily drunken poet He Zhizhang, one of the eight well known Chinese poets, about to fall down from a mule, being assisted by his page. This falling figure, though of a different gender, is similar to that of the lady on mule-back in the Istanbul Procession Scene II. The painter of the Istanbul Procession Scene II must have used the Chinese paintings as a model of various composition and iconographies. This may explain pastiche quality that is observed throughout the Istanbul Album paintings.

In conclusion the roots of the Istanbul Procession Scenes may be traced to Chinese classics. The second interpretation, then, holds that the wedding processions depict either the Chinese noble woman who was abducted and taken to Inner Asia or a court lady sent by the emperor of China in a marriage of convenience to secure peace with the Northern or Central Asians. With regard to the portraits of falcons in the Istanbul Albums, on the other hand, while some of these are Chinese originals and some are the copies of Chinese originals, others may be copies of no longer extant paintings by the local painters. As to the question of when and where the paintings were produced, it may be assumed that the portraits of falcons and the procession scenes in the Istanbul Albums were executed between 1400 and 1500, primarily in ateliers of the Timurid court at Samarkand or Herat, or at the court ateliers of Tabriz under the Aqoyunlu Turcomans.
Middle East Collections in the United States

Lecture: By Dr. David Hirsch
Presented in English
19th December 2006

While many libraries in the US have had Arabic and other Middle Eastern languages in their collections since the 17th century, i.e. Harvard had Arabic books as early as the 1650’s and the Library of Congress in the early 1800’s, there was really not much serious collecting of Arabic books in US libraries until much later.

In 1896 Arabic was taught in about 15 universities in the US, including Princeton, University of Pennsylvania, University of Michigan, University of Minnesota, and Harvard, but it was really part of a Semitic philology program rather than an independent discipline.

After World War I, things began to change and Near Eastern Studies began to appear as a major subject of teaching and research. A few important landmarks in the history of Near Eastern Studies in the US were the founding of the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago in 1919, the establishment of a chair in Islamic Art at the same university in 1934, and the establishment of the first chair in Arabic language at Harvard University in 1936.

In 1951 there were only two universities offering graduate level studies in Arabic in the US: the University of Pennsylvania and Princeton University. Five others were offering some courses in Arabic: Chicago, Harvard, Penn, Princeton and Dropsie College, a small school in Philadelphia specializing in Semitic Studies. In 1958 the US government enacted the National Defense Education Act whose purpose was to encourage interest in the study of foreign languages.

The major growth of the field of Middle Eastern Studies and in the related library collections has occurred since World War II, with the greatest expansion in the late 1950’s, 1960’s and 1970’s. It was at this time that many universities attempted to purchase private collections, including important manuscript collections.

The Near Eastern Manuscript collection held by UCLA’s Department of Special Collections comprises ten thousand volumes that range in date from the late 14th to the 20th centuries. This expansive collection covers a plethora of genres and subject matters, including history, poetry, theology, medicine, and astronomy. The titles are primarily in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish, with a number of Armenian and Syriac texts. The UCLA library recently held an exhibit intended to highlight these remarkable holdings and also to rouse curiosity and promote research interest.

Funding from the US Department of Education currently provides from $125,000 to $1 million annually for 120 area studies centres. Area studies include Slavic and Eastern European Studies, Latin American Studies, South Asian Studies, Southeast Asian Studies, African Studies and, of course, Middle Eastern Studies. The centres also receive funding to do outreach programmes for elementary and secondary school teachers, providing them with resources to teach about the Middle East and Islam.

UCLA, for instance, receives $1 million annually for the Middle East Center alone. Sixty percent of this amount goes towards fellowships for 21 students studying Middle Eastern languages, primarily Arabic, as part of their graduate work. The other forty percent

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goes towards programs, conferences, some support for the library, lectures, etc.

The Middle East Librarians Association (MELA) is an organization of librarians specializing in the Middle East, working primarily at university libraries but including some who work at the Library of Congress and public libraries such as New York Public Library and Los Angeles Public Library. We meet annually in conjunction with the Middle East Studies Association. We discuss issues of mutual concern such as cataloging and collection development, as well as larger issues such as the situation of libraries in Iraq and Bosnia and Herzegovina. With regard to Iraq, we established a Committee on Iraqi Libraries which hopes to be involved in any coordinated effort to rebuild Iraqi libraries.

The Middle East Studies Association (MESA), established in 1966, is the umbrella organization for over 2,600 students, professors and librarians involved in the study of the Middle East. It also serves as the umbrella organization for over 36 affiliated associations such as the Middle East Librarians Association, TSA, AATA, AATT, AMEWS, Iranian Studies Association, Sudan Studies Association, Society for Arab Gulf Studies, AYIS, and the Armenian Studies Association. Most of these societies produce their own publications and are open to anyone for membership.

Almost all libraries have online catalogues listing book and journal holdings, known as Individual Online Public Access Catalogs (OPACS). More and more libraries are able to display Arabic characters in their OPACs, and this is expected to increase during the next few years.

All major libraries contribute records to at least two major bibliographic databases, OCLC and RLIN. Both of these systems have offered Chinese and Japanese for many years and both have now developed Arabic script, first RLIN and more recently OCLC. 12 libraries catalogue in Arabic script on RLIN and five on OCLC.

All academic libraries in the United States use Library of Congress (LC) Classification with the exception of the University of Wisconsin, which currently uses Dewey but is planning to change. All, without exception, use LC subject headings. The Library of Congress develops classification schedules, supervises authority control, establishes subject headings, etc.

While many libraries began collecting Middle Eastern language materials as early as the 18th century, for most the major period of growth began in the late 1950s and 1960s. All the major Middle Eastern collections in the United States, with the exception of the University of Nebraska, place the greatest emphasis on Arabic. Some libraries have strong Persian and Turkish collections; some also collect in other languages such as Kurdish, Armenian, and the Central Asian languages. Of course, libraries also collect materials relating to the Middle East in western languages, primarily English, German and French and, to a lesser extent, in Russian, Dutch and Italian.

The Library of Congress has field offices in many parts of the world, such as Cairo and Islamabad. These field offices supervise representatives in every country in the region. The offices are responsible for collecting books, periodicals (including journals, newsletters, newspapers, CD-ROMs, music, maps, posters, films, etc., primarily for the Library of Congress. Other institutions, both in the United States and overseas, may choose to participate in these acquisition programs at different levels, for different subject areas, and different countries.

For example, a library might want to collect all books on Egyptian history, but only a few books on Algerian history. Or collect everything published in Jordan but only a sampling of books published in Bahrain. This is usually based on the needs of the academic program and faculty research, so the librarian would inform the Library of Congress of their specific requirements.

In addition to the Library of Congress there are many commercial vendors which are able to supply libraries with publications from Egypt, Syria, Jordan, West Bank, Morocco, Tunisia, and Iran. UCLA is also well served by a Kuwaiti book vendor, Mr. Yahya al-Rubeian, in addition to certain organizations such as the Kuwait Writers Union and the Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah, which kindly send us their journals on a gratis basis.

Acquiring books from the other Arabian Gulf States including the Sultanate of Oman, Yemen, Mauritania, Sudan, Algeria, Libya, and, of course, Iraq has proven to be more difficult. Not many vendors are able to supply materials from these countries. Sometimes we are able to obtain materials by means of gift and exchange; exchange is often the only means of obtaining publications from many universities in the Middle East. Most American Middle East librarians make at least occasional acquisitions trips to the Middle East, during which they meet with vendors and exchange partners, visit publishers, and sometimes attend book fairs. In general, book fairs are not a primary source of acquisitions but they do provide bibliographers with an opportunity to examine new publications of many publishers in one location at the same time.

Mainstream publications from the major cities in Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, Jordan and increasingly Saudi Arabia, are not that difficult to obtain, but a recent acquisitions trip to Yemen yielded 700 titles of which ninety percent were not held in any US library, including the Library of Congress. A trip to Azerbaijan in 2003 yielded similar results. There is friendly competition among the Middle East librarians at the state institutions.
such as UCLA and Ohio State and wealthier institutions such as Harvard.

There is increasing interest in the publications of Middle Eastern Diaspora communities in the US, Europe, Australia and Latin America. These are publications which frequently fall through the cracks and go unnoticed. There is much interest in this area at UCLA and the university has hosted a series of lectures on Middle Eastern émigrés in Europe during the last academic year.

While the traditional collecting areas have been Arabic language including everything from grammar and dialects, classical and modern literature, history, geography, political science, folklore, anthropology and education, there is growing interest in publications relating to the environment, women’s issues, public health, contemporary art and architecture, and desert agriculture. Children’s literature and textbooks are also being collected now. These collecting practices reflect the changing study programs at US universities as well as the changing research interests of faculty members.

With the ever-increasing number of electronic resources available on the web, libraries have begun to catalogue websites. At UCLA we have catalogued websites such as the UAE site al-Waraq and Fatwa online and the UAE Cultural Foundation’s al-Mawsu’ah al-shi’iyyah. Due to budgetary problems, many libraries are no longer able to subscribe to many printed newspapers, so we have created links to the websites for the newspapers. Some projects are currently being developed to archive websites. As you know, some websites can disappear very quickly and some have research value. We would have liked to archive some Iraqi government sites but were unable to do so due to lack of server space and inadequate web archiving technology.

Major university libraries may employ one or more specialist Middle East librarians to perform selection, specialized reference and cataloguing duties. Most have good knowledge of one or more Middle Eastern languages and are involved in several cooperative projects.

One such project is MEMP. This group consists of 23 member institutions which cooperatively purchase microfilms or actually produce microfilms of newspapers or periodicals which have not been previously microfilmed. This group has microfilmed many rare Sudanese, Algerian and Yemeni newspapers, in addition to collections of Iranian opposition pamphlets. We have recently completed a project to film 20 years of the Arab American newspaper, al-Sameer, which was edited by the Mahjar author, Ila Abu Madi.

Another cooperative project is OACIS, which was organized by Yale University. This project will serve as a union catalogue of Middle Eastern Serials held in US libraries. It is possible to search the database by title and place of publication in English, Arabic and French. This ambitious project also plans to include participants from the Middle East in the future.

You are probably all interested to know who is funding Middle East Studies programmes and Middle East acquisitions in the United States. UCLA is a state university, but only receives twenty-one percent of its funding from the state of California. The rest comes from endowments at the university, contributions of individuals and companies, and grants from various organizations, government and private.

There are approximately 20 federally funded Middle East Centres in the US but there are now courses related to the Middle East and Islam in almost every major university. Since 9/11 many universities which did not have programs in this area have rushed to add positions in Middle Eastern history and Islam as well as Arabic. The number of fellowships provided by the federal government for the study of Middle Eastern languages has nearly doubled since 9/11. We all receive some funding directly from our libraries. Some additional funding is usually provided by our universities’ Centers for Middle Eastern Studies.

In addition to government funding, many individuals have chosen to donate funds for the establishment of new programmes in Islamic Studies at universities. Stanford University received $2.5 million dollars from each of two private sources (total $5 million) for the establishment of a new program in Islamic Studies. The library currently has two professional librarians working with Arabic materials and another may be added to work on Persian. Harvard and Columbia Universities each received gifts of $1.5 million from an alumnus to offer courses in Arabic. The alumnus donated the money because he “wanted to provide a wider and better understanding of Middle Eastern Cultures”.

I would like to mention a recent study by the Modern Language Association, which showed a ninety-two percent increase in the number of university students studying Arabic between 1998 and 2002. That is a greater increase than any other language experienced, except for American Sign Language. In terms of actual numbers, there were 5,505 students in the US studying Arabic in 1998 and 10,596 in 2002. Many small colleges are now offering Arabic.

In the early years our programs consisted largely of language study, classical literature, Quranic Studies including tafsir, and Islamic Art and Architecture. The field of Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies has broadened considerably and now includes subjects as varies as music, environmental studies, numismatics, family planning, public health, film, theatre and television.
Arabic language classes used to rely almost entirely on textbooks and newspaper readings. Commercial and documentary films, videos, and television programs are now regularly used to enhance the students' learning experience.

Some areas that used to be excluded from our acquisitions programs have now become important due to changing interests of faculty and graduate students. I have found that the majority of our faculty members have a much stronger interest in Egypt and the Levant and to a lesser extent, North Africa. Traditionally there has been less interest in the Gulf. Most of our Arab faculty are originally from Egypt and the Levant and westerners generally had more opportunities to study in those areas than in the Gulf. This has begun to change and we have graduate students and faculty studying in the Gulf States and in Yemen. There are now a few professors and students studying in Oman and the United Arab Emirates.

Volumes about the Middle East and Africa were among the books making up one of the first major purchases by the Library of Congress, the 1815 acquisition of Thomas Jefferson’s library, the subject and linguistic range of which greatly influenced future library acquisition policies. Although sporadic receipts of publications from or about the region were reported in various annual reports of the Librarian of Congress over the years, systematic acquisition efforts for publications from this part of the world were limited before World War II. Yet today the African and Middle Eastern Division is recognized as a major world resource centre for the Middle East, the Caucasus, Central Asia, and Africa.

The Near East and Hebraic sections have custody of materials in many formats in the non-Roman-alphabet languages of the region, which together number more than half a million volumes. Materials in more than forty languages are held by the Near East Section, the major holdings of which are in Arabic (the largest language group represented, with approximately 130,000 volumes), Persian, Turkish, non-Cyrillic Central Asian languages, Armenian, and Georgian.

Libraries, large and small, academic and public, rely on the Library of Congress for cataloguing copy. As you can well understand, in an online environment it is quick and easy to download a cataloguing record from this central national source.

The Library of Congress carries out its mission as a National Library. Historically, the Library of Congress was legislated as a library to serve the Congress, but currently the Congressional Research Service is but one of the departments at the Library of Congress. Every library and librarian in the nation, it is fair to say, relies on and is connected in their work and professional activities in some way to the Library of Congress. In the field of Middle Eastern studies, the Library of Congress is a comprehensive and core resource that is unequalled in size and depth within academic collections such as Princeton, Yale, Harvard or UCLA.

Middle East librarians in the United States can now choose from a much larger and wider range of publications than was available fifteen or twenty years ago. Many countries have experienced a publication explosion – not only in print, but also in electronic, digital and multimedia formats, all of which libraries are now expected to acquire. Unfortunately, budgets have generally not kept up with this rate of increase, or even with the rate of inflation.

On a positive note, communication with vendors has become easier with the advent of fax, email, mobile phones and "Messenger" chat programs. However, for the same reason library users, with access to these same tools are now more savvy and demanding, and are more aware of new publications. Librarians can be assured only that they will be living in interesting times as they seek to maintain their balance atop this tidal wave of information.

Building quality Middle Eastern collections challenges librarians to create commercial avenues for obtaining materials, and promotes creative and innovative acquisition strategies using electronic communication to establish contacts, enhance networking, and facilitate on-site acquisitions. So you can see that library acquisitions and collection development are the combined result of faculty input and librarian initiative.

(Editors' Note: The speaker concluded with an overview of the holdings in the following libraries, library organizations and special collections:

- Berkeley
- Berkeley Special Collection
- Columbia
- Harvard
- Nebraska (Afghan Collection)
- New York Public Library
- NYU Afghan Digital Library
- Ohio State University
- Princeton
- Queens Borough Public Library
- UCLA Library
- University of Michigan
- University of Texas-Austin
- University of Washington [Special Collection]
- Yale)
World history and culture have been formed and developed by exchanges between peoples and cultures. In particular, exchanges between the worlds of the Indian Ocean, the South China Sea and the Mediterranean generated any number of cultural waves and, in the process, the different ecosystems and products complemented each other. The Silk Road is symbolic of the exchanges between the East and the West, but East-West maritime relations, in other words, the Ceramic Road, or the Silk Road by the sea route, is extremely important.

A very great difference exists between the sea route and the land route. An overwhelmingly larger number of commodities regularly came and went by way of the sea route. Culture, techniques, and information were exchanged through goods and the people moving those goods. The sea route is unpredictable and often merchants and sailors had to stay in one place for a long time to load and unload large cargoes and wait for favourable winds and tides. Such long stays were significant in cultural exchanges.

Using ships as a common means of transportation led to various similar business systems in different areas. For example, we found, from the documents left by a shipping agent of the 19th century in al-Tur; that the profit-share ratio was same as that of a shipping agent dealing in rice in the north of Japan toward the end of the Edo period (19th century). Muslim merchants were actively involved and peaceful port cities without fortifications developed in the Indian Ocean, the Gulf and the Red Sea areas before the time of Vasco da Gama.

The Red Sea is an important connection between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean worlds. The goods characteristic of the trade through the Red Sea are frankincense in ancient times,

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pepper in the middle ages, and coffee in modern times. It is known for the luxurious goods which passed through it.

It is also famous for its dangerous navigation, partly due to its coral reefs. Sailing ships used the south-western monsoon in the summer and the north-eastern monsoon in the winter. The sea, which extends for 2300 km, is divided by climate into northern and southern haives. The north is strongly affected by the Mediterranean climate where the wind blows chiefly from the north throughout the year. The south is affected by a monsoon, so the wind blows from the south to the north from January until March.

Many important ports grew up along the Red Sea. In the south, which was called the "Sea of Habash," were the historical port cities of Barbara, Zayla'ı, Dahab, and Badi'; and in the north, which was called the "Sea of Quzum," were Aydhab, Jeddah, Qutayr, al-Jar, Yanbu, Ayla, Rayda and Quzum, named here from south to north. Ibn Hawqal, who died about 980, recorded nearly all of the above-mentioned ports.

Let's turn to the sites of our surveys in the Sinai Peninsula. The Raya(al-Tur area is located in the south-western part of the peninsula. There was a trilateral complex: the port city as an out port for the Monastery of Mt. Sinai and its inhabitants; the Monastery of Mt. Sinai located 50 km northeast of the port city and its monks; and the Bedouins who acted as the carriers on the routes between the monastery and the port city and their dwelling places, the wadis.

The history of the Red Sea area can be divided into several periods. All relate to al-Fustat, then a commercial centre.

The first period is from the 7th to the 8th century. The Islamic army, led by Amr b. al-As, conquered Egypt. Amr first collected various commodities, including taxes in kind, at al-Fustat, making the Nile a distribution channel. In other words, he reorganised the trade route in Egypt. After that he dug the Khalij al-Mu'minan Canal which connected the Nile with the Red Sea. Then the north Red Sea route was established which joined al-Fustat with al-Jar, an out port of al-Madina. Many rock inscriptions dated to the 1st and 2nd centuries in the year of the Hegira, were left on this route between the Red Sea and al-Madina.

Amen-em-het III of the 12th dynasty dug the Canal here for the first time. After that, Necho, Darius I, Ptolemy II, Trajan, and Hadrian dug it again and again as the need arose. Amr also dug this canal, as it constantly silted up.

The route starts from al-Fustat situated in the south of Cairo, passing to the south of Qaṣr al-Qaita, Lake Timsin and Lake Bitter which are now part of the Suez Canal, and leads to Suez and then enters the Red Sea. It is thought that the ancient tributary stream of the Nile was used.

Surveys and studies of rock inscriptions are very effective ways of knowing about the land network which is vitally linked to the sea network. We conducted the first stage of rock inscription surveys in the Najran and al-Madina areas in Saudi Arabia from 2001 until 2003. As a result, we registered 511 Arabic inscriptions on the
al Medina/Yanbu al-Jar route. We also registered 90 inscriptions in the Najran area. Many of these inscriptions are in Kufic script. They are dated from the 2nd century in the year of the Hegira.

Among them was an inscription by a woman named 'Atiq bint Ziyad. An inscription written by a woman is extremely unusual. It was inscribed in 170 A.H. and registered at the Furaysh area which is located several tens of kilometres west of al-Madina.

The second period is from the 8th until the 10th century. It was then that the network within the Arab-Islamic world developed. The international trade by the Siraf merchants evolved in the Gulf. A lot of rock inscriptions were inscribed on Jabal Naqus in the Sinai Peninsula at this time. The inscribed nisba attached to a person's name illustrates the spread of the trade network in the Islamic world. The excavated objects of this period in the Raya and the al-Jar sites show the spread of these exchanges.

The Raya site is a port city located in the southwest part of the Sinai Peninsula. It lies at the southernmost end of present al-Tur city in south Sinai. A large amount of lustre-painted pottery made in Iraq and glassware characteristic of the 9th to 10th centuries have been unearthed, which represents the exchanges in the Islamic world at that time. Above all, the glass beaker with the decoration of pseudo-letters, supposedly made in the latter half of the 10th century, suggests a relationship with Nishapur.

As mentioned above, Jabal Naqus is located about 15 km north of al-Tur city. This mountain is also known for its musical sand. The largest group of rock inscriptions in Egypt is clustered on the side of the mountain.

There are many nisbas attached to the inscribers' names. Nisba are regional names, such as Farsi and Magribi, or tribenames, such as Qurasi and Machizumi, or important city names of the Islamic world, such as Fustat, Aswani, Makki, Sirafi, Himsi and Kazwani. Above all, Sirafi is an important nisba which indicates that the inscriber's native place is the same as the Siraf merchants who were famous leading traders on the Gulf route. This route was a prime one in the East-West maritime relations of this time.

I myself discovered the inscription by Abu Mughayra b. Muhammad b. Abi Mughayra at Rughayb located several tens of kilometres northwest of al-Madina. Dr. Sa'd al-Rashid of Saudi Arabia had registered an inscription by the same person at Ruwawa about 40 km south of al-Madina.

Next is the important transitional stage. It is the period centring on the 11th and 12th centuries. The main route in these East-West maritime relations shifted from the Gulf route to the Red Sea route. Due to the unsettled political situation in and around Baghdad, which began to rise around the 10th century, and the natural disasters of storms and earthquakes, which frequently occurred in the Gulf area from the end of the 10th to the 11th century, the centre of trade moved to South Arabia and the Red Sea area.

It is an extremely important fact that in 969, the Fatimid dynasty, with a stable economic strength by seizing the Sahara gold route, conquered Egypt. The excavated objects in the Raya and al-Tur sites clearly indicate the fact that international trade suddenly developed after this period. It is also evident from the characteristics of the objects excavated in Fustat since 1911.

Meanwhile, this period was also the time of the Crusades. They started in the latter half of the 11th century and soon created a kingdom in Jerusalem. They waited for a chance to expand into the Red Sea and dispatched their armies again and again. The reorganization of the ports along the Red Sea probably advanced under these influences. Al-Jar, that had once been an important port, was abandoned and was replaced by Yanbu.'

The abandonment of the Badi port and the transition from Raya to al-Tur al-Kilani occurred almost at the same time. An extraordinary transitional time in the history of the Red Sea had really arrived. In this period, Yue celadon was brought from China far away. Indian dyed textiles and a Song copper coin were also carried along.

Al-Jar is known as the first port of the Islamic period. Muslims, who had been dispatched to Habasha in order to search for a place for the hegira, returned there when they knew the capital of the Islamic community had been established at al-Madina. This port came to be known as the Egyptian granary immediately after that, because goods from Egypt were unloaded there. According to written information, Caliph 'Umar himself went to al-Jar from al-Madina and welcomed the ship when General 'Amr sent grain from Egypt to al-Madina.
Our surface collection yielded Yue celadon of the first half of the 10th century and white porcelain of the 10th to 11th centuries. We also found Indian indigo-dyeing textiles of the 10th to 11th centuries in the Raya site. We discovered one Song coin in 'Aydhab minted at the end of the 10th century. We believe that this is the first Song coin found in the Red Sea area.

As I have already mentioned, these shifts from al-Jar to Yanbu' from Badi', to Sawakin or 'Aydhab, and from Raya to al-Tur al-Kilani occurred around the 11th or 12th centuries. The third stage is the period from the 13th to the 16th century. Muslim commerce was the most prosperous in this period. Pax Mongolica, the peaceful time created by the Mongols, formed the first part of this period. The whole Islamic world was most affluent and various excellent forms of culture, arts and philosophies were current. Muslim merchants managed world commerce.

The Gulf route, which had been in decline, became active again. It can also be said that this was the time when the two streams of the Red Sea route and the Gulf route connected the East with the West and the North with the South and the cultural exchanges were the most consequential. It goes without saying that the travels of Marco Polo were impossible without these networks. The 25-years of great travels by Ibn Battuta are also evidence that the Islamic network was spread all over the world. The lengthy expedition by Zheng He of the Ming dynasty was made in this period, so we can understand that the world then extended from China to the Middle East and East Africa. In this way, the network of exchanges over the Red Sea area reached its peak at this time.

The Karimi merchants of the Red Sea, dealing mainly in the spice trade, were then very successful. The al-Tur documents with dates of the latter part of the 1400s verify the broad realities of this trade network. Chinese ware, south east Asian ware, and glazed pottery from the Mediterranean world have been unearthed in al-Tur. The pepper and incense trades were thriving business. It is a fact that paper with a European watermark was used for the al-Tur documents.

Under these circumstances the goods that are closely related to everyday life and the techniques for making them were closely interlinked. Neville Chittick, who was a leading scholar in East African archaeology, devoted his attention to the black on yellow ware, which is the characteristic artefact of the Islamic cities in East Africa in the 14th century. Examples were unearthed in various sites of south Arabia and the Red Sea coastal area, such as Balid in Oman and Zabid in Yemen. Probably the technique had been adopted for making the yellow glazed pottery which was excavated in al-Fustat.

The 'Aydhab site functioned as an important port in this period. From our survey in 1990, traces of buildings are clearly seen in a wide area. In those days many ships were unloaded at 'Aydhab, caravans were formed and Aswan was reached after a 15-day trip.

Another important port city in the same period was Qusayr. It was the port of Myos Hormos in the Ptolemaic dynasty. Cargo unloaded there was carried in several days to Qus on the bank of the Nile. This Wadi Hammamat route was used by the expedition sent by Queen Hatshepsut to Punt and continued to be very significant from ancient times. Numerous inscriptions and rock arts of every period were left on the rock surfaces in Fawakhir, a halfway point on this route. These include graffiti of many ships.

We can understand that powerful merchants lived in al-Fustat, Qus, Qift, Aswan and so forth, and they were in charge of world trade. After this, the al-Tur port in the Sinai Peninsula became important because of the policies of the Mamluk dynasty.

Egypt suffered pestilence from 1347 to 1349.
that took a heavy toll on lives and created chaos in Egyptian society. Climatic changes prior to the plague caused a great migration of the Beja and the other tribes who played important roles in the activities of the trade route which connected the Red Sea with the Nile. The route was completely destroyed. During this time the Mamluk moved into the Red Sea in earnest.

According to al-Qalqashandi Salah al-Din 'Arram, who was the Grand Chamberlain, Hajib al-Hujjab reorganized the al-Tur port and ordered all the ships to visit there in 1378. This caused the decline of the 'Ayhab and Qusayr ports and made the al-Tur port the centre of the Red Sea trade.

The Raya/al-Tur area became famous for early Christian monasticism, in an area once called Raithou. The Abu Auwayra rock cells and the Monastery of Wadi al-Tur were built. The Monastery of Mt. Sinai stands to the east about 50 km, and it is now known by the name of the Monastery of St. Catherine.

The Monastery of Wadi al-Tur covers an area 90 m x 50 m. It is provided with about 100 cells, a main church, a refectory, a well, water supply systems, a kiln and ovens. The al-Tur al-Kilani site is in the northern reach of the al-Tur inlet, 5 km south of the Monastery of Wadi al-Tur. A large number of al-Tur documents have been found in this site. For example, they discovered a document (TM-133) which describes the transport from Dui in the Gujarat region of India to 'Adan, Sabid and Bayt al-Fakih in Yemen. Another example is a letter announcing the arrival of pepper (TM-1120), written in 1490. The names of commodities and personal names are written in Arabic and the quantities are in Coptic numerals. Finally, a document which is supposed to have been written in the 15th century (TM-1163) was discovered. It is a record of various commodities from the Indian Ocean such as pepper, cloves, cinnamon, aloe, nutmeg, frankincense and myrrh.

We conducted excavations at the al-Fustat site from 1978 to 1985 and in 1999 and 2000. In addition, from 1995 until now, we have been handling the general cataloguing project with the Supreme Council of Antiquities of Egypt. The first volume, which is on Chinese ware, will be published in 2006.

The first Chinese ware which was brought to the Middle East was the white porcelain of the Tang Dynasty and the Changsha yellow glazed porcelain. This white porcelain of the Tang Dynasty played a significant role in the development of Islamic glazed pottery. Inspired by this, the technique was devised to cover the reddish brown or yellow clay of the Middle East with white glaze by using lead, tin, quartz and bubble, and so made the white glazed pottery. In this context, the luster-stain technique, which was originally invented for glass decoration in the latter half of the 8th century, was applied to the white glazed pottery and in this way brought distinguished luster pottery into being.

Yue celadon was produced in quantity in the transitional stage, when the main trade route shifted from the Gulf to the Red Sea, and was the first Chinese ware to reach Egypt by the Red Sea route. A considerable amount of Yue celadon has accumulated in the al-Fustat magazine. Although this Yue is called 'celadon,' it is not only blue, but includes many colors, such as brown and green. Also, some of them have very fine decoration such as hairline engraving.

After the 13th century, Long-quan celadon increased dramatically in the Red Sea. This extremely high-quality celadon consists of whitish clay with a bluish-green or bluish glaze. These types of celadon were adapted to Islamic glazed pottery in about the 12th century, and many imitations were produced.

So the imitation of Chinese celadons, which are a high percentage in Islamic glazed pottery, need not now be regarded as only imitations, but recognized as one of the large groups of Islamic glazed pottery in their own right. This shows how deeply the Chinese technical tradition had penetrated into Egypt.

After the 14th century, many Ming and Ching blue-and-white and polychrome wares were brought to the Red Sea. Also in the 15th and 16th centuries a lot of Southeast Asian celadon and blue-and-white wares were introduced. After the 16th century, blue and white and Chinese polychrome wares took on a major significance in coffee drinking. In this way, by looking at the stream of Chinese ceramics, we become aware of its inseparable relationship with the daily life of Egypt and the Red Sea region. By seeing these activities in the context of material culture, another aspect of the history of cultural exchange is now being revealed.
Western European interest in the Qur'an, the Holy Book of the Muslims, began as early as the 12th century AD when a first translation was made at the instigation of Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, while visiting Spain during the years 1141/43. The translator was Robert of Ketton, a very learned Englishman.

Ketton was primarily interested in Arab mathematics and he translated the book on Algebra of Muhammad ibn Musa al-Khwarizmi (first half of 9th century AD) into Latin. Robert's Latin translation of the Qur'an is a quite inexact paraphrase; it was made with the help of a Spanish Muslim who gave him several hints concerning the traditional understanding of difficult Qur'anic passages.

A second complete translation was made some seventy years later by Marc of Toledo. His work was a thorough effort in translating the literal meaning of the holy text. But Marc's text did not find the necessary circulation as did Robert's translation. Despite its striking deficiencies, it was printed exactly four hundred years later in the city of Basle (Switzerland) in the printing house of Johannes Oporinus. Its publication aroused a heated debate about the question whether it should be allowed, in a Christian city, to distribute the religious ideas of the Turkish enemy. Accordingly, there was considerable resistance from members of the Basle Council at that time which led to the interruption of the printing process. Only after the reformer Martin Luther himself had interceded, the edition was released and the Latin Qur'an could appear.

This first complete edition of the Qur'an in Latin turned out to be highly successful. In 1550, only seven years later, it had to be reprinted - in a somewhat expanded and amended form. On the basis of this Latin text an Italian translation was made, which appeared in Venice in 1547, and from the Italian text a German translation, which was edited in Nuremberg in 1616. Finally in 1641 a Dutch version was fabricated on the basis of the German text. So one can say that the translation of Robert of Ketton had an important historical influence lasting more than half a millennium, specifically on account of the two printed editions from 1543 and 1550.

While the first printed version of a Latin translation of the Qur'an quite manifestly stemmed from a thirst for knowledge of the Qur'an as the fundamental book of teaching on the "Turk's religion" - as Islam was then called, this is by no means the reason for the first purely Arabic printed version, although it appeared, surprisingly enough, before the aforementioned translation. In several books one still comes across the hypothesis that the [Arabic] Qur’an was printed in Venice but that the whole edition was burned on the Pope's orders. If this had in fact been so, then it would certainly have been raised in the Basle debate of a translation of the Qur'an; but that was not the case. The discussion on the “Venetian Qur'an”, as it was known, was rendered complicated by the fact that for a long time it seemed as though no single copy of the edition had survived. However, one copy was eventually discovered and has been described by various commentators.

What were the reasons behind the printed edition and why did it disappear almost completely? If we consider that at the beginning of the 16th century there were very few scholars in Europe who were
more or less cognizant of Arabic, then it seems fairly improbable that book printers as successful as Paganini and Alessandro Paganini in Venice would have wanted to print such an elaborate work for such a limited circle of potential clients. Much more credence should be lent to the suggestion put forward by Angelo Nuovo and so carefully documented, namely that the Qur'an was intended for export to the Ottoman Empire. We can conclude from the fact that this Qur'an was the last work printed by Alessandro Paganini and that the undertaking ended disastrously for him. However, there is no evidence at all that the Pope had this Arabic Qur'an burned. What is much more probable is that nearly all the copies were transported to Turkey and destroyed there, surely first and foremost because of the evident errors of the Arabic text. Nevertheless, one copy survived, that of the Scholar Teseo Ambrogio degli Albonesi from Padova (1469 - 1540), which was recently rediscovered by the previously mentioned Italian researcher, Angela Nuovo.

Another European scholar must have possessed a copy of the Venetian Qur'an. That was the French Guillaume Postel (1510 - 1581), the writer of the first Arabic Grammar. He had endeavoured to obtain the type used in the Venetian Qur'an for his own Arabic grammar which appeared about 1538, but he did not succeed. So he used in his Grammar a highly clumsy wood-cut type in his presentation of Sura 1 “al-Fatiha”.

During the 17th century many attempts were made to print the Qur'an in its original language, but this was a project which did not succeed until the closing decade, namely in 1694 and 1698. Until that point only individual suras or parts of the Qur'an were printed, in various locations, as separately published works. The most important of these partial printings was published in 1617 by the Dutch scholar Thomas Erpenius who taught Arabic (and other Semitic languages) in the University of Leiden. The published text was Sura 12, “Yusuf”, and the title announced “The story of the Patriarch Joseph, from the Qur'an, in Arabic”. This little book (figure 2) contained the Arabic text, a Latin interlinear version, and a second freer rendering (printed in the margin). This presentation of the contents reveals the didactic thrust behind Erpenius’ work. For in the framework of academic studies, above all the so-called “Holy Philology”, as a linguistic auxiliary science for theology, there was evidently now a sufficiently high demand for Arabic texts, too. In this context, the Qur'an was virtually obligatory as the starting point for studying Arabic.
17th century it was a centre of the study of "Biblical languages", and the Arabic, as Semitic language and cognate with Hebrew, was among them. One of the profassors was Theodor Hackspan (1607-1659) who published in 1656 a grammatical outline of Arabic which consisted entirely of Qur'anic texts. Titled "The faith and the laws of Muhammad", the booklet (figure 3) shows the highly characteristic Altdorf Arabic type and Hackspan's method of presenting the Arabic text together with an interlinear translation.

Sometimes, Arabic types were not available, and therefore Hebrew types were used to display Arabic. This is the case in a booklet published by Matthew Frederic Beck (1649 - 1701), a scholar from Augsburg, containing text and translation of Suras 30 and 48, "The Byzantines" and "The Victory". (figure 4) In other cases, due to the lack of movable types rather unwieldy woodcut types of Arabic had to be used as was the case with some booklets edited by John Zechendorf from Zwicau (1580 - 1662).

As already indicated, European Qur'an philology reached a first pinnacle in the last decade of the 17th century, when, quite unrelated to each other, two complete Arabic editions of the Qur'an came out in quick succession – one in 1694 in Hamburg, containing the Arabic text only, the other in Padua containing the Arabic text along with a Latin translation, commentary and refutation.

Let us turn to the Qur'an printing of Hamburg. In the catalogue of the Leipzig Book Fair of 1692 we find the announcement of an "Alcoranus", or the "Teachings of the Prophet Muhammed presented in 114 Suras or chapters on the basis of the best exemplars, above all according to an excellent manuscript complete with Arabic Masoretic annotations and compared with the comprehensive commentary by Gielaloddin, edited with great precision and prepared in Arabic by Dr. Abraham Hincelmann. In addition, it features a Latin translation of the most important and difficult chapters..." (figure 5)

The book announced in the catalogue in these terms did not appear until two years later, namely in 1694, under a somewhat altered title and without a translation. (figure 6) The editor was Abraham Hincelmann (1652 - 1695), at the time head pastor of the Ste. Catherine Church in Hamburg. His outstanding proficiency as an Orientalist, the foundations of which he had laid when studying in Wittenberg in 1668-1672, are shown in the long Latin preface, in which he offers an exhaustive account of the value concerning oneself with Arabic literature, and above all emphasizes the
project – the bilingual Qur’an edition of the Italian priest Ludovico Marracci (1612 – 1700). In the opinion of the important French theologian Richard Simon (1638 – 1712), the work “cannot be praised enough”. As early as 1691 Marracci published a four volume refutation of the Qur’an, known as Prodromus (i.e., “forrerunner”), with which Hinckelmann incidentally was familiar. (figure 7) Prodromus included an introduction to the Qur’an and also contained numerous passages from the Qur’an in Arabic.

Unlike Prodromus, however, the great Qur’an edition was published at the Press of the Padua Seminary. It had been founded in 1684 by Cardinal Gregorio Barbarigo and had at its disposal numerous oriental fonts, including five in Arabic of superior quality. Unlike Hinckelmann’s, Marracci’s Arabic text is of great clarity, yet even Marracci does not reproduce with any exactitude all the peculiarities of the Qur’anic orthography, and he also does not follow a single traditional reading. Above all, he does not present the Arabic text as a continuous sequence, but in sections,

As well as the Latin title page, the work also bears an Arabic title, cut in a highly expressive style in wood. The Arabic types used by Hinckelmann, of unknown origin, are somewhat clumsy, but definitely legible. A curious idiosyncrasy is the fact that Hinckelmann begins the printed text of the Qur’an with the Christian invocation “In the Name of Jesus Christ” (I.N.J.C. = In nomine Jesu Christi).

As far as I can say at present, the Arabic text does not exclusively follow a particular reading (arab. qira’a) and the particularities of the Qur’an orthography are reproduced only in a very imperfect form. It is not surprising that the text is not free of errors and that the list of errata appended does not include all the actual errors. The numbering of verses does not accord fully with any one of the known Islamic numbering systems. The verse numbers are always placed at the beginning of the respective verse, unlike the Islamic practice, where the figures are placed at the end.

Hinckelmann’s work was surpassed only four years after its publication by another, monumental
variety of Arabic authors, in Arabic and in Latin, as well as concluding with a refutation from the standpoint of Catholic Church doctrine.

Marracci, a Professor of Arabic at the Vatican university “Sapienza” in Rome from 1656, had already played an important part in the publication of a monumental Bible in Arabic. His annotations to the Qur'an especially show him to have a very good knowledge of the Arabic language and of Arabic literature. The impressive folio volume had a relatively small distribution, probably because of their high price. Richard Simon, mentioned above, bemoaned the fact that this edition of the Qur'an was so scarce. The Latin translation was published separately in 1721 by Christian Reineciuss (1668 - 1752) in Leipzig.

A magnificent body of work was left by the Silesian Orientalist Andreas Acoulthus (1654 - 1704), who planned a polyglot Qur'an, probably taking as his model polyglot Bible editions. This was to be in Arabic, Persian and Turkish, the three main Islamic languages. Of this Tetraplata Alcorania (i.e., "Threefold Qur'an") only a sample edition has been preserved: Specimen Alcorani Quadrilinguis (Berlin 1701).

On the second page it contains the Arabic, Persian and Turkish texts in three adjacent columns, ordered from right to left. (Figure 8) Opposite, on page three, there are likewise three columns, which each contains the exact Latin version of these three texts. This procedure is very sensible, as the Persian and Turkish translations paraprase the brief Arabic original in sharply different ways. So the European reader who is not competent in Arabic or Persian or Turkish can see what interpretations the Qur'an text allows and the degree to which it is susceptible to explanation. In the light of the fact that complete Persian and Turkish versions of the Qur'an were not printed until the 19th century, as far as I know Acoulthus' text is the oldest example of a printed Persian/Turkish text of the Qur'an. The same typeface is used for all three languages (with the exception of the special Persian and Turkish letters) and is very legible.

There were no real advances in Arabic studies during the 18th century, as the approach taken was always too closely bound up with Christian theology. The best proof of this is the fact that so important an Arabic scholar as Johann Jacob Reiske (1716 - 1774), a solitary genius and friend of Lessing, was not able to find a position commensurate with his standing. The development of Arabic book printing also stagnated. As far as printed versions of the Qur'an were concerned, people were happy to rely on the two existing editions of Hinckelmann and Marracci. Only towards the end of the 18th century was the Qur'an printed again - now for Muslim readers for whom the existing European printed versions were useless.

According to the peace treaty of Küçük Kaynarca which marked the end of the Russian-Turkish war of 1768 - 1764, numerous former Turkish territories were ceded to Russia. In the context of her religious policy, which was firmly indebted to the enlightenment, the Empress Catharina II had the Qur'an printed for her numerous new Muslim subjects. In 1786 - 87, in St. Petersburg the German-born book-printer Schnoor established, at imperial expense, a "Tatar and Arabic Typographical establishment" - mainly, of course, to be able to print administrative texts, as well as school books in Turkish, Tatar, Persian and Arabic. A local scholar named Mullah Osman Ismail was responsible for producing the type. Through the agency of the physician and author John George Zimmermann (1728 - 1795), a friend of Catharina II, a copy of the Qur'an found its way into the Göttingen library.

The then Director of the Library, philologist Christian Gottlob Heyne, immediately announced the Qur'an in the scientific bulletin of the university and praised the quality of the work as well as the beauty of the Arabic types. He also remarked on the comments situated in the margin of the text (which was enclosed within rules in the Oriental manner), although he was not able to understand their contents. These contained information on the name of the Sura, whether it had been revealed in Makkah or Medina, and the number of words and letters, as well as, most importantly, running details on text variants, the so called readings (ar. qirāʿ), not to mention general questions on how the passages should be understood. The unknown author of these annotations occasionally cites sources, but there has, as yet, been no careful study of this.

Even if this Qur'an edition only rarely found its way to Western Europe, it was later of great importance for the region dominated by Russia, with the flowering of Arabic studies in Kazan on the Volga, at that time a fast emerging centre of Islamic scholarship. The first translation made directly from the Arabic by G. S. Sablukow (1804 - 1880) is based on this edition; it appeared in 1878 and reprints of it are used even today.
Of greatest importance for European Qur'an philology was the Qur'an edited by the Saxon private scholar Gustav Leberecht Flügel (1802-70) and printed in 1834 by the renowned Leipzig printer and publisher Carl Tauchnitz (1761-1836). For thanks to this, European scholarship for the first time had available a convenient and—not least—affordable text that was by and large authentic. In the preface, Flügel offers various reasons for his undertaking; for one thing, the texts provided in the three complete editions hitherto printed in Europe—the Hinckelmann, Marracci and St. Petersburg Qur'ans—were not totally reliable, for another, they were hardly very accessible. For the production of his own version, Flügel drew on various Qur'an manuscripts in the Dresden Court Library and also referred to various commentaries, above all that of the Sunni Baydawi. As regards the text itself, he did not adhere to a single reading, but instead provided a mixed text (as was the cast in most manuscripts). For the verse numbering, he followed the Hinckelmann edition.

The Flügel edition of the Qur'an was printed using stereotype plates. (Figure 9) The Arabic types were specially produced for this edition, under Flügel’s supervision, by Anton von Hammer from handwritten samples and materials made available by the Vienna Orientalist Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1774-1856). There are four different versions of the first quarto edition that came out in 1834; they differ in the design of the Arabic preliminary pages, that of the pages containing Sura 1 and Sura 2, verses 1-4, the framing of the Arabic text, and the style of pagination.

Only three years after the first edition, the publisher brought out a “new” edition of Flügel’s Qur’an. (Figure 10) This was a complete plagiarism, against which Flügel protested, albeit without success. The main difference between this quarto edition and Flügel’s original was that the verses were separated only by stars and no longer numbered. In his lifetime, Flügel brought out two reissues of his Qur’an edition (1841 and 1858), both corrected by him, and in 1842 followed it with a concordance that remains useful today.

Flügel’s edition proved to be very successful in Europe over a century, until it was superseded by the fine edition of the Qur’an which was made by Azhar scholars and published in 1924. With the Azhar Qur’an, the story of European Qur’an printing came definitely to its end.

Figure 1: Guillaume Pastel wood-cut type presentation of Sura 1 “Al-Fatiha”. (1538)
Figure 2: The story of the Patriarch Joseph, from the Qur’an, in Arabic” by Dutch scholar Thomas Erpenius. (1617)
Figure 3: Theodor Hackspants booklet titled The faith and the laws of Muhammad. (1656)
Figure 4: Booklet published by Matthew Frederic Beck. (Late 17th century)
Figure 5: The announcement of an “Alcoranus” from the Leipzig Book Fair. (1692)
Figure 6: The announcement of Abraham Hinckelmann’s “Alcoranus”. (1694)
Figure 7: Ludovico Marracci’s four volume refutation of the Qur’an, known as Prolamus. (1691)
Figure 8: Specimen Alcoran Quadrilingual (1701)
Figure 9: The Flügel edition of the Qur’an (1834)
Figure 10: Reissue of the Flügel edition of the Qur’an (1841)
Cultural Affinities
Between Greek and Arab Musical Tradition

Lecture by: Prof. Dr. Lambros Liavas
Presented in English
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It seems that Greece possesses one of the longest and most continuous music traditions in the world. A flute dated circa 4,500 B.C. is one of the oldest archaeological musical findings and, until today, there is no period in Greek history which is devoid of musical interest.

The establishment and teaching of music go back to the dawn of Greek mythology. Hermes, Apollo, Athena, Dionysus and the Muses were the founders of Greek music and demi-gods like the Centaur Chiron taught people to use it. Amphiion built Thebes to the magic sound of his lyre. Orpheus tamed wild animals with his music, while Pythagoras attempted to plump the mysteries of infinity on the basis of musical consonance.

The art of music, in all its aspects (as a form of poetry, music and dance), reaches a high point, initiating the “classic” period of ancient Greek Music, starting from the 8th century B.C. One might speak of the “Golden Age” of music in Greece as one of the highest summits in world music history. Musical instruments take their highly developed form, and music theory, most complex, dictates extreme refinements in melody, combining numerous rhythms and musical scales: modes, genres and nuances — chroai — using a large variety of micro intervals.

Music education, generalised at school, makes every citizen participate in music-making and serious music appreciation, singing and playing the lyre. Music is intensely present in every life activity, and becomes highly differentiated (in style, forms, rhythms and melodic structure), according to the conditions under which it is played (season, hour and place, associated to religious or social activities). All these differentiations were very strictly observed, related to the power and influence of what was called the ethos - the spirit - of music.

The ancient Greeks attached great significance to serving musical principles and guarded the rhythms and the melodies against any corruption. They believed that with the decadence of musical art and the decline of fine singing, the customs of the society would also decline and become lax and the race was going to degenerate.

An Ephor of Sparta, named Emirepsis, used an axe to cut two strings — those that were over and above the normal seven strings — of the “kithara”, the instrument of the renowned musician Phrynis of Mytilene. Timothy of Mellitus was exiled from Sparta because he put twelve strings on his seven-string lyre, making the melody — as they said, more “effeminate”. This is the famous theory of ethos, concerning the sentiments and the attitude, the reactions that music could inspire or even impose on the listener, just as in the case of the Arab modal musical scales, the maqams, as well as at the Indian ragas. Many Greek and foreign musicologists have already pointed out the affinities and resemblances between the ancient Greek nomoi (which were complex and sophisticated compositions), a special type of Byzantine chants (called prosomia), the Arab and Turkish maqams and the classical Indian ragas.

Through the conquests of Alexander the Great, the Greek musical system was disseminated throughout the known world, and became a common musical language and means of expression through sound. Alexandria in Egypt was, for many centuries, a beacon of Greek culture, gathering the best minds in the Hellenic...
world. Later, Antioch in Syria continued this tradition, until Constantinople was built in the 4th century A.D. Constantinople became then the great link between ancient and medieval Hellenism.

Some musical pieces have been preserved from ancient times, allowing us to observe the evolution of Greek music. The most ancient musical manuscript of all is a fragment of a chorus from Euripides’ “Oresteia”, written at the end of the 5th century B.C. Other pieces were carved into the marble of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi, where we find hymns to the god Apollo, written in 5-beat rhythm in a diatonic and chromatic musical scale.

The last score of the music from Greek antiquity is a 3rd century A.D. Christian hymn to the Holy Trinity which was found at Oxyrhynchus in Egypt. Written on papyrus, it bears a startling resemblance both to the “Hymn to the Sun” by Mesomedes of Creta (a composer who was at his peak in the 2nd century A.D.) and also to the Psalms of David, which are still chanted in Greek Orthodox churches today (“Praise and hymns are due to Thee, and glory to the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit”).

Here we can see yet another confirmation of the transition of ancient Greek music to Byzantine Christianity. Melodies from ancient hymns were used, based on the same ancient modal scales and music system, with only the words changed.

However, there are, of course, many discontinuities with respect to the ancient Greek music: instruments like the “lyre” and the “kitara” (symbols of the ancient god Apollo) were forgotten and the theory of ethos was adapted to the new religion, now incorporating values from the Christian world. But still many similarities were preserved in both music theory and practice, in musical instruments, in singing, and especially in the secular folk music, the music of the people. The imposing Byzantine music in the church was, by definition, exclusively vocal and had developed a special music notation, that was later (in the 19th century) codified and consolidated.

Thus, from its inception in the 2nd or 3rd centuries A.D. until today, Byzantine music represents one of the longest — if not the longest — continuous written musical tradition of world music history. Musicological research shows a remarkable continuity between Byzantine music proper and Post-Byzantine music (after the fall of Constantinople, at 1453).

The church music was, as we said, exclusively vocal but secular Byzantine music (both classic and popular) made use of many musical instruments, and formed the starting point for the subsequent traditional music of Greece. This was proven by the first noted Greek folk songs (in Byzantine notation) from the monasteries of Mount Athos, during the 16th and 17th century.

The Greek musical tradition is still one of the most important throughout the Mediterranean and the Balkans. These traditions are rich with special musical dialects and idioms, consisting of innumerable beautiful variants, according to the geographic location, the time of the year and the social context.

As a depository of older musical traditions, according to the musicologist John Papaioannou, probably 70% of Greek folk music comes from secular Byzantine music. He says about 10% comes directly from ancient Greek music, about 2% or 3% from pre-Greek (prehistoric) music, and the rest from various external influences (Italian, French, Albanian, Slav, Arab and Turkish).

A music scholar of the 19th century, Chrysanthos, wrote in his “Great Theoretical Treatise” that the Greek musical art is neither young nor old, but always the same and perfected in a various ways.
Whatever relationship exists between the modern Greek language and ancient Greek, it's almost the same between today's music and that of the Byzantine and ancient Greece. Without the knowledge of the old system, we could not possibly have understood the new. But also, without the new one we could never have studied and confirmed the authenticity of what we read in theoretical treatises or see in the written music of ancient and Byzantine scores.

So, in all this Greek musical tradition, from the 4th millennium B.C. to living folk music, a number of traits seem to remain constant and unchanged in spite of all the historic evolution, differentiation and occasional discontinuities. As in the case of the Greek language, we identify, also for music, at least 14 criteria which seem to prevail throughout this long history, and which are practically the same as those obtained in the cultural area called "Oriental Music Region" (starting from the Mediterranean and the Balkans, passing through the Arabic world and ending to Indonesia and to the borders of China).

We know that the cultural networks between East and West constituted conduits of exchange, through which not only religions and philosophies took shape and circulated, but also objects, techniques and arts. So, ethno-musicalological research, using the methods of comparative musicology for the study of the most important musical networks, points out the particular cultural role of Greece as being the crossroads between East and West. Recipient of influences from the East, it reworked and systematized them, so that they acquired a theoretical substance. Greece then transmitted them to the West and back to the East.

The ancient Greek modal scales are an excellent example of this process, for though the Phrygian and Lydian modes attest to their Asiatic origin, the Dorian, Aeolian and Ionian "harmonies" (corresponding to the three Greek tribes) were developed from these modes. The outstanding musicians and mathematicians of antiquity expounded the theoretical system of these in their texts, which were subsequently translated by the Arabs and which, even today, are a primary source of reference for those seeking solutions to technical and aesthetic problems concerning the modal music.

The ancient Greek harmonies became the echo in Byzantine ecclesiastical music, whence they passed into the modes of the Western Gregorian chant (6th century). Following that, the harmonies were a seminal influence on nascent Western music, as well as into Spanish "flamenco", before surrendering to Arab and Gypsy accretions.

These ancient Greek and Byzantine modes, which are still used in Modern Greek folk music, belong to the same family of modal scales which start in the Balkans and reach as far as India, a musical confirmation of the cultural unity of this area. They are known as maqam in Arab and Turkish music, mugham in Azerbaijan, dashtagh and avaz in Iran, ragas in India. These scales end at the border of old China, where the "pentatonic" scales begin (five note scales without semitones).

Greece and India constitute the two boundaries of this musical area, the intermediate stop being Persia. Elements from Persian and Byzantine musical traditions contributed to the formation of Arabic music (from the 7th to the 10th centuries), and they, in turn, were to be influenced by this new music.

Thus the Byzantine slave girls from Syria (ginnat) — the songstresses of the Caliphs — introduced the Byzantine modes to the Arabian courts. Byzantine composers wrote in "the Persian style" and the Persians, in turn, borrowed Arabic musical terms.

Through these reciprocal and mutual influences, a common musical language evolved throughout the area, which despite its partial or local differentiations (Byzantium, Arabia, Persia, India) has a specific musical character: heptatonic model scales (which differ from the major and minor diatonic scales of Western music), a tremendous wealth of irregular rhythms (7, 9, 11, 13
or even more complex beats) and horizontal musical thought (in contrast to the vertical — polyphonic development of the Western music).

We observe also the technique of pre-formed, ready melodic formulas whose combination and variation yields the melodies, the extreme melodic and rhythmical complexity, the existence of continuous drone — pedal, ("kison" in Byzantine music), the prevalence of certain specific types of musical instruments, the analogy between tone colour of the human speaking voice and music, the metric structure of language and music, the coordination of many musical parameters into a resulting (expressive) "ethos", the intricate adaptation of music styles to social, religious, time, space and other circumstances.

Above all else, however, this cultural unity may be demonstrated through the study of musical instruments: similarities in construction, forms, techniques of playing and, last but not least, their nomenclature. The Ancient Greek name kithara reappears in the Indian sitar and the Persian sehtar; the barbitos is the Iranian lute, the barbat; Pythagoras' kanon is none other than the qanun (one of the main instruments in Arabic and Turkish music); the pandouris, the ancient Greek version of the lute, passed to Byzantium as the thamboura and is known as the tambura from Turkey and Kurdistan as far as Iran, Afghanistan and India.

There is likewise a common nomenclature for a series of wind instruments with double reeds, resembling the ancient Greek aulos: the zurnas (Greek Macedonia), zurma (in Arabic music), surname (among the Uzbeks of Northern Afghanistan), and shahnoy (in India). The distinctive technique of playing, continuous pipe blowing is achieved thanks to a special "circular" way of breathing.

We observe also common elements in the names of a series of fiddles from India (kamayche in Rajasthan) as far as Iran and Armenia (kemenche), Arabia (komancha), Turkey (kemence) and Greece (kementzes).

Here we must also point out the role the so-called "silk roads". They were not solely a network of commercial communication for the passage of silk, spices, paper and porcelain between East and West.

For some two thousand years they constituted the natural channels of cultural exchange and interaction, the gigantic arteries via which not only philosophies and religions took shape and circulated but also arts, techniques and objects. They are both witnesses to each people's contribution to the cultural heritage of mankind and measures of their capacity for absorption in adopting and adapting things novel to their needs and traditions. This is particularly applicable to music, which is, inter alia, by virtue of its symbolism and functions, a privileged code of human communication surpassing as it does the limitations of language.

Comparative musicology is a challenging and exciting field of research. It provides an invaluable tool, another perspective, illuminating — often unexpectedly — certain interesting aspects concerning these mutual, reciprocal influences and exchange.

This holds true particularly for musical instruments, the artefacts through which music, in a manner of speaking, acquires material substance. Not only are they testaments of the uses, techniques, ceremonies and symbols with which they are associated, but also evidence of historical elements and cultural units. And this is so because musical instruments are among the most widely diffused items of material culture. In the tales of the Arabian Nights, for example, the princess summons, by a wink of her eye, a Damascus lute, a Persian harp, a Tartar pipe and an Egyptian dulcimer.

So, in conclusion, within this scheme, Greece traditionally not only belonged to the "Oriental Music Region", but probably constituted, within it, a major focal point, with others of equal importance in Persia and in India. It seems that it is from these main axes that originated the influences unifying the entire Oriental Region. Whereas later, with the Arab expansion, Islamic music attained a new unification that covered the world from Gibraltar to Indonesia, without wiping out various elements of the ancient local music cultures that are still extant.

On the other hand, Greek music played a very important role in influencing the beginnings of Western music. It is only the disruption of the 19th and 20th centuries, due to urban "westernisation" and "globalisation", which brought about a cleavage attaching Greece to the West rather than the East. More recent trends in contemporary music, and also in the living music culture, seem to tend to re-establish the long continuity of Greek musical tradition.

Greek music contains such wealth that every one exploring it will find music to express himself. It is a vital, living art, with a continual presence over thousands of years, ever developing but retaining always its Greek essence. It would receive influences, modify them, adapt them, assimilate them and in this way, Greek music was continually being enriched with new modes, customs and rhythms.

Editor's Note:
A series of vocal and instrumental musical examples, performed by the members of the "Enchordosis" ensemble, illustrated the facts presented during the lecture and demonstrated the cultural affinities between the Greek and Arab musical traditions.
Arab Navigation in the Indian Ocean Before the 16th Century
A Geographic Approach

Lecture by: Dr. Hassan Shihab
Presented in Arabic
12th January 2004

The geographical position of Arabia as a bridge between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean has always made it an important crossroad. Since the time Europe discovered the spices of India and the perfumes of Arabia, camel and donkey caravans from the eastern and southern ports of Arabia transported these precious goods through Syria and Palestine.

In later times this also included the Phoenician coast. Boats belonging to the inhabitants of Arabian ports were also involved in this trade, sailing between the Arab peninsula and both India and East Africa.

The earliest and most extant evidence of the Arab contribution to East-West trade is the work of ancient Greek geographers and historians writing after the armies of Alexander of Macedonia had conquered Egypt and Mesopotamia. Agatharchides, one of the most famous geographers in the 2nd century BC, writes: "No other people seem richer than the Sabaeans and the people of Jarha. They act as agents for whatever goods are transported between Asia and Europe. It is thanks to them that Ptolemaic Syria has become prosperous, and the Phoenicians have established their own trade and thousands of other things."

The people of Jarha on the western Persian Gulf were in control of the trade brought by sea across the Gulf and then taken by land to the Nabatean kingdom in the North of Arabia. The Sabaeans controlled the southern ports of Arabia and the entrance to the Red Sea, acting as the other artery of maritime trade between the east and west. They were also in control of the caravan routes between the ports and the Nabatean kingdom. And it is important to remember that transporting goods doesn't necessarily exclude trading in them as well.

However, the most accurate description of pre-Islamic Arab maritime activity in the Indian Ocean is found in "Periplus of the Erythraean Sea" (the Greek name given to the Indian Ocean). The book gives an account of trade activities in the Indian Ocean as well as details of coastlines, harbours and inhabitants. It was probably written in the 2nd century BC by a merchant or a Roman missionary from Egypt. The book says that Ptolemaic boats sailing from Egypt, before crossing Bahr al-Arab on their way to India, would stop at the port of Eden, which they called the "Arabian Eudemon." There, Egyptian goods were bartered for Indian spices and Arab commodities like gum arabic and myrrh. The book also mentions that the people of Muza had large boats with Arab captains that sailed to the African coast reaching as far as Rhabta, a distance of fifteen days sailing south from the 'Cape of Spices' (Ras al-Tawabel). It was ruled by the people of Muza on behalf of Carabeel the king of Himiyar residing at his capital Zafar.

Muza could be modern Musi or Makha situated on the West coast of Yemen near the Bab al-Mandab Strait? The distance between Muza and Bab al-Mandab mentioned by Periplus is nearly the same as the distance between Magha and the Bab.

As for Zafar, the Himiyar capital, we know it is not the Omani Zafar, but Zafar adjacent to present day Yariim. 'Cape of Spices' is the cape of Ghardzhou or Gardfoun. Periplus mentions that Arab harbours traded with Indian ports on the west coast of India. Arab boats were quite small, sailing close to the coastline. Such was the position of Red Sea trade during the Ptolemaic and Roman age.

Dr. Hassan Shihab is the former head of the Yemeni Research and Studies Center and an award winning author on the subject of Arab navigation. His published work includes The Art of Arab Navigation, Arab Naval Sciences: From Ibn Majid to Al-Qatami, and Glimpses of the History of Navigation in the Red Sea. This work earned him Kuwait's prestigious "Revival of Arab and Islamic Heritage" award. Mr. Shihab's study of Arab navigation was inspired by his years of sailing on traditional dhows to ports on the Arabian Sea, including those in Tanzania and Kenya.
The North Pole was identified from two clouds (Sudur). Ibn Majid writes, "The two poles aren't stars, the North Pole has two clouds that can be seen at the Equator." Western scholars usually attribute the discovery of these clouds to Magellan; however, they were already familiar to earlier sailors of the Indian Ocean. Magellan probably took his ideas from these sailors. Al-Jah is one of the stars identified by astronomers as Ursa Major (Banat Nasih). It is the constellation closest to the North Pole and it was called the "Sultan of Stars" by Ibn Majid. On dark nights when no other stars were visible, sailors were able to use it to identify their routes.

The discovery of lodestone meant that sailors were able to locate al-Jah on cloudy nights. The height of lodestone from the horizon was used to determine the latitude of locations both north and south. Its height was measured using "Isba", a different measuring unit from the previous "Isba" used to measure length and distance. For ancient navigators one cubit equaled 32 units of the old Isba and one Isba equaled a quarter of a dthubban. Ibn Majid estimated a dthubban by the distance between the left palm line and the middle of his little finger.

The altitude of al-Jah is estimated as two Isba when its position is below the center of the pole. From south east Oman or the point called Ras al-Hadd, the altitude of al-Jah was measured as eleven Isba. The altitude measured 13 Isba if it stood parallel to the pole's center at Ras al-Hadd. Hence, its measurement in Isba at Ras al-Hadd was equivalent to its latitude in the Atlas. One Isba is equivalent to 1/57 degree, therefore the measurement of 13 Isba which is the altitude of Ras-al-Hadd, equals 22/27 degrees latitude, as recorded in the Atlas.

Sulieman al-Mahri writes: "Countries situated on the coast have two measurements. When the altitude of the Pole is measured in Isba and converted into degrees (counting each Isba as 1/57 degrees), this corresponds to their latitude as recorded in astronomical tales and the book of Taqwil al-Bid'an. This means that if you measure the altitude of the North Pole centre at a certain location, then convert the Isba's into degrees, this corresponds to the latitude of the same place as recorded in astronomical tables, if the altitude of the place is the same as its star altitude used by navigators. The location therefore acquires two measurements.

Travelling north, al-Jah is seen at a higher altitude becoming lower as you move south towards Ceylon and the cape of Sumatra (Sayf al-Taweel) on the east coast of Somalia. When viewed simultaneously, the altitude of al-Fargadan (Ursa Minor) can be measured. They are in line with al-Jah and their position can be used to measure the latitude of southern locations. They are measured when they are seen at the altitude of 8 Isba's from the horizon. They usually rise to the east of al-Jah. The process of measurement is carried on southwards until they disappear.

Turning to the Gulf trade, the Seleucids were happy for the people of Jara to continue operating as they had always done. They didn't interfere in their trading activity, unlike the Ptolemy's with the Red Sea trade. In later times Arab sea trade declined until the establishment of Islam when it regained its glory.

The Abbasid age is considered the golden age of Arab navigation, during which time Arab boats from the Gulf, Oman and Yemen used to sail across the Indian Ocean in all directions. Eastwards, they sailed from the southern Chinese coast to the East African Coast. Northwards, they sailed from Bengal or Bangladesh and Basra to the al-Qalzam Sea and the Red Sea. Southwards, they sailed to South Africa and the al-Qumar Islands and Tiri Rakha and al-Rukh Bird (also known as Mauritius) to the south east of Madagascar and the southern islands of the Indonesian archipelago.

However, Arab trade with China ceased in 878 AD, after the Chinese rebel Huwang Chan captured Contour city, the principal harbour in south China. Many foreign merchants were killed along with its citizens. After this, Arab boats would meet Chinese boats at Qalah, modern day Malaysia. In the days of Ibn Majid, Arab trading ships were as active in almost the whole area as that during the Abbasid age. Indeed, Arab sailors got to know the Indian Ocean even better than their predecessors.

It is well known that in the ancient world navigation was done through the stars. Eastern maritime routes were plotted according to the stars' ascendency and western routes by their decline. Northern routes were plotted using the North Pole star, called 'al-Jah' by Arab mariners.
below the north horizon at the latitude of Mombasa on the coast of Kenya and whatever lies on the opposite side eastwards. From that point to the south the fifth and sixth stars from the Ursa Major constellation, known to Arabs as 'Banat nāsh al Kubra', can also be measured. Their latitude is the same as al-Jah and Al-Farqadyn. Their measurement continues for 12 isba's, until they become one isba from the horizon.

Sulieman al-Mahri measured the south west monsoon wind at the south east edge of al-Qumar Island (Madagascar) and what lies on its opposite side to the east and west. Consequently, the total latitude from north to south was calculated by Arab navigators as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Star</th>
<th>Number of Isba's</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>al-Jah</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Farqadyn</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Nash</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>32 Isba's</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This total in Isbas is equivalent to 35/67 degrees, which represents the extent of Arab latitude navigation at Ibn Majid's time. In terms of longitude, it extended from the east African coast in the West to the Indonesian Sea in the East.

Throughout their long history of maritime activity, Arab sailors made discoveries about the Indian Ocean, previously unknown to geographers. Earlier geographers were restricted in their knowledge because of their belief that the inhabited area of earth was restricted to seven territories. The rest of the world was assumed to be submerged in water. To them the seven territories didn't exist anywhere south of the equator, which included the Indonesian islands and Madagascar or al-Qumar Island. These were falsely assumed to lie to the north of the equator.

Al-Sharif al-Edrisi's map - considered to be one of the best of its time - shows the East African coast extending from Bab al-Mandab east to Sefala, while al-Qumar Island is placed to the east of Serendib (Ceylon). None cross the equator, since according to their assumption the inhabited section of Earth was the eastern quarter of the northern half of earth.

However ancient mariners were aware of the existence of other inhabited territories to the south of the 'seven territories'. They were correct in their positioning of their coastline and the islands. Ibn Majid didn't agree with the division of the inhabited earth into seven territories north of the equator. He believed that there were seven more in the south. He mentioned that the star of al-Nisr (Falling Eagle) could help them navigate all 14 territories: "inhabitants of the southern territories correspond with those of northern territories in this respect."

According to Ibn Majid, the southern territories were the al-Qumar islands, Safala, al-Akhwar and the coast of Mozambique, while the Indonesian islands lay on the opposite Eastern side. He writes "If the inhabitants of the southern territories such as al-Qumar, Safala or al-Akhwar wish to sail northwards during the end of the season of the Dabbour wind, i.e. the south west wind, they would go through rain until they reached the equator. Similarly the people of the Timur islands go through the same thing if they sail to Java and what follows northwards." To Ibn Majid, Java Island and its neighbouring southern islands lie parallel to the al-Qumar Islands and East Mozambique.

From this we can assume that Ibn Majid had access to maps of the Indian Ocean. This is confirmed by his words: "Al-Tir Sirius has two long 'diras' or navigational routes as long as the coast of China, and from Fartak to Eden. 'Al-Shir al-Abbu' is called al-Tir by mariners, which is a Persian name.

For ancient sailors 'dira' was the sailing route parallel to the coast. It extended from Fartak cape to Eden, similar to the route along the southern coast of China. Both routes extend in the same direction, namely that of the setting of al-Tir in the south west, as indicated in the map.

Ibn Majid's maps of the Indian Ocean correspond to his accurate description of the coast lines of the Indian Ocean from China to southern Africa, which are identical to that of contemporary maps. Ibn Majid therefore preceded European scholars in proposing the correct position of the coastlines.

In a chapter entitled "Sea-routes in all the earth," in his book al-Fa'awaz al-Usul ilm al- Bahr wa'l Qawwād, Ibn Majid described the coastlines of the Indian Ocean, noting that from China and Sanf (Vietnam, Cambodia, Malaysia), the coast extends in a south west direction towards Singapore. From Singapore the coast extends to the north, bending westwards. This is the Siamese coast including Malaysia, Thailand and Burma, till the Bengali coast (Bangladesh). From Bengal the coast drifts south west to the Ceylon Island (Sri Lanka). From Ceylon the
The Karidg Sea was described as full of islands with a mountainous terrain, its water light, its rains heavy; al-Mas'oudi's description corresponds to the southern part of the fourth sea. It also included the Malqa Strait. In his Rajiz poem *The Hawiya*, Ibn Majid mentions the Ding islands, which are situated in the strait of Malqa.

Bahr al-Sin, where the al-Mihrag kingdom lies, is described as having endless islands that would take many years to make a full tour, even sailing very fast. "Their king acquires all kinds of aromatics. The main goods to be carried from his country are Kamfur, incense, cloves, sanel, walnut and perfumes. Its islands overlook an endless sea, next to the China Sea, and from their mountains fires erupt day and night." So al-Mas'oudi described the al-Mihrag Islands, which are known as Indonesia today.

Suleiman al-Mahi's description of the goods concurs with al-Mas'oudi's. He writes: 'In the south east of Java Island lie the Timur Islands. They have sandal. To the east of Timur lie the Bandun Islands which have walnut, basbasa and sandal.' Muluko is the name of the Clove Islands. In his book 'al-Umda', al-Mahri mentions that the most southern Timur Islands lies opposite Safala on the coast of Mozambique in East Africa.

It is likely that the northern mainland of Australia was known to the sailors of the Indonesian and Timur Islands. Captain James Cook discovered its east coast in 1771. Sandalwood used to be exported form its north west coast to Singapore after the British Colonization.

Al-Mas'oudi writes about Bahr al Seen (the Chinese Sea) that it is a hazardous sea with dangerous waves. There are mountains on the sea bed which ships have to navigate before reaching Canton harbour. Whoever sailed that sea, whether merchants or mariners from Basra (Siraf) and Oman, would agree with this description.

Al-Mas'oudi's account of the seven seas is written in his book "Murug a-athhab wa Mal'odin al-Jawhar." The "mountains" through which boats were forced to navigate before reaching Canton harbour was known in other sources as "Abwab as-Seen" or the Gates of China.

Apart from these divisions of the Indian Ocean into seven seas, sailors also divided it into two sections: above the wind and beneath the wind. The first section stretched from east India to China. The wind referred to is the monsoon wind or south west wind known to mariners as al-Kaws. It would carry boats heading from the first to the second section in the east (the section which is beneath the wind). Boats sailing in the east are beneath the wind and therefore cannot proceed west. This expression is often used to describe naval battles; boats above the wind usually conquer those beneath the wind.

Such is the extent of the geographical knowledge of ancient Arab sailors concerning the Indian Ocean.
Unfortunately, few are concerned politics anymore and mass media is no longer performing its role of keeping the public informed. This situation might either reflect the general disappointment of the public in existing bureaucratic authorities and the everlasting regimes or could be a consequence of the prevailing ennui, which led to a state of apathy towards national duty. Eventually, such condition replaced the feeling of responsibility with anger and sarcasm towards authorities, based on nepotism and personal relations.

Reviewing our modern history, we discover that such state of apathy existed due to lack of democratic or civil practices in our countries (democratic practices should have yielded individual rights and closeness to authorities). Hence, it was difficult for people to think about their eligibility to perform a crucial political role and, most of all, after a long period of disappointment, people’s interest in political participation diminished.

In 1783, the parliamentary decision to turn the East India Company (EIC) into a government entity was a turning point for the Gulf States. This decision turned a number of British merchants into politicians who ran the affairs of India and the Gulf region. These merchants looked for personal wealth and glory and preferred running their commercial enterprises rather than running the affairs of the states under their custody. All in all, as democracy was not listed on the EIC’s agenda, authorities who controlled the internal and external affairs of the Gulf States were not concerned with politics. Consequently, for over 150 years the Gulf region failed to realise democracy.

Like India under the British rule, we wished for a democratic set up in our region. India became a democratic country according to the European regime, yet the Gulf area was still tied with agreements and conventions, which were beneficial for foreign legions.

In Bahrain, the submission imposed by foreign rulers was the declared decree. On the other hand, another decree remained secret and existed in small local arenas. In general, the declared decree was employed to support the followers of the ruling elites. It was also used as a camouflage by the political agent, who suggested a reform project in order to be able to interfere in Bahrain’s internal affairs.

In the first quarter of the 20th century the two decrees were unified, and the testimony to this fact is evident in the correspondence prevailing during this period. Such evidence demonstrated the extent of which the official decree was thoroughly merged with the elite decree in terms of official forms and domestic petitions.

During this period, the legal government decree formed a kind of opposition and the British considered this as a rebellion against their authority. They also considered it as a form of unrestrained (disobedient) public behavior supported by Gulf rulers. The echo of this decree reached the British authorities in India and London.

At that time, there were neither political establishments nor organisations to defend human rights. The world did not know the democratic plans of the smaller countries, as the great powers considered smaller nations underdeveloped and believed they should export to them the message of civilisation with their military fleets. The legal government of Bahrain, at that time, was deprived of its freedom of expression and foreign powers did not allow the government to announce its opinions.

Sheikha Mai Mohammed Al-Khalifa is best described as a cultural activist. In less than 15 years, she’s published seven books, three of which had associated exhibitions, and established five cultural centres. The centres, covering culture and research, Bahrain’s press heritage, Sawt, embroidery and poetry. Sheikha Mai Al-Khalifa has an MA in political history from Sheffield University in England and is the Assistant Undersecretary for Culture and National Heritage, Ministry of Information, Kingdom of Bahrain.
The request for independence submitted by Sheikh Isa Bin Ali, at that time, did not attract the attention of official authorities in British India and UK. However, these requests were shelved in the British Indian government archives. It seems that someone was searching for these requests and was trying to highlight the content.

Despite receiving the requests, the authorities in British Indian were surprised! How could a ruler of such a small island reach such a high level of thought with no political or economic power comparable to that of the British? Those requests were seen as a protest against the British monopoly and, at the same time, an indirect declaration of war on the British rule. Hence, the British ignored the requests.

Sheikh Isa realised that the only way to counter the British was to leave no gap between the people and the government. Hence, he insisted that this should be his first request: a democratic government representing the people. He appealed for true reform, which surprised the authorities in British India.

The request for reform was the century’s phenomenon, as well as the British tool to impose its policy (from the British point of view). According to the British perspective, its reform is an attempt to abandon the negatives and search for the positives. Yet, the British reform, represented by the Political Agent’s House and the State House, aimed at restricting the legal government and widening its privileges in interfering in the Bahrain’s internal affairs.

Accordingly, the national reform decree opposed the reform proposed by the political agent and the British authority had to put an end to one of the two decrees. This occurred in May 1923, when the British authority disapproved the national reform.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the disapproved decree set (in an indirect way) some political principles for democracy. It was aimed at distributing authority and holding parliamentary elections for the people of Bahrain. However, political and intellectual maturity was born in Bahrain earlier than expected, when Sheikh Isa tried to make Bahrain a Gulf model facing the challenges of the 20th century. He prepared a peaceful decree comparable to that of Egypt, Iraq, Persia and India.

Disregarding international political events and the Arab status quo at that time, one can be driven by the British claims, documented in Dickson’s and Daly’s correspondences, that events taking place in Bahrain are unique. However, with a more comprehensive view of the general political situation, one can deduce that the events in Bahrain, at that time, are part of the general stream of protests waged against the British Empire, especially after the First World War. The general discontent with the British Empire was renowned in every country. Therefore, it is crucial to read the British documents carefully, and examine the consistency with the local version, documented by the natives and retained in the British archives.

A telegram, dated Jan 15th 1922 from the Political Agent of Bahrain, Major Daly was sent to the Political Resident in Bushir and read: “The Sheikh is very nervous and have the desire for change! And Sheikh Abdullah has an obvious activity” (they meant Sheikh Abdullah Bin Isa, the son of the ruler, and the type of activity indicated above is an activity performed against the British existence).

The conditions under which prisoners are confined are extremely bad.

The question now is, if the situation in Bahrain reflects the Sheikh’s desire for reform and mirrors the same reform requested by the British, why does the agent watch (investigate) the Sheikh of Bahrain and observe his plans? Moreover, why is the agent concerned to the extent that he writes telegrams?

Obviously, the political agent was looking for the disapproval of the reform project proposed by the Sheikh and not, as claimed previously, striving for its implementation. Hence, this enabled the British to expel the Sheikh and deprive him of his authority, especially since the political agent considered himself the herald of reform in Bahrain and sought no competition.

To comprehend all the events taking place in Bahrain, one has to know Major Daly and be aware of his visit to the region. This visit had a major impact on amending
the British policy in the region, especially after the First World War, the end of the Ottoman existence in Iraq, the defeat of Germany and the end of its threats, and the transformation of Caesarean Russia into Bolshevik Soviets (which had no intention for expansion at that time).

Also, we shouldn’t forget about Lord Curzon’s visit to the Gulf in 1903. This visit also had a major impact on amending the adopted British policy in the region, especially in Bahrain. As Sheikh Isa bin Ali refused to handover the taxation (customs) affairs to the British Administration, Curzon described the Sheikh as being stubborn and contentious and, eventually secluded him.

When trying to identify who arranged for the Sheikh's seclusion, inevitably, the answer is Major Daly. The British choice of Major Daly, as the proper figure to face the contentious Sheikh, was the right decision. Daly was the suitable person to counter the Sheikh's request for implementing Wilson's Freedom of States Principle (the right for the country to decide its fate). He was also the individual who proposed establishing local councils to negotiate directly with the British authority.

Major Daly has an arrogant, unfriendly and a very self-confident, personality with a limited cultural background. All of which were model features of the typical colonial working class figure who became domineering when holding authority. As such, he played a vital role and contributed to the events taking place in Iraq and Bahrain in the 1920’s.

In response to Daly’s telegraph, Lieutenant Trevor, the Political Resident, wrote a letter to the Foreign Secretary of the Indian Government entitled “Suggestions for Reform and Taxation in Bahrain”. The letter, dated April 14, 1922, mentions that the Sheikh will implement a fair taxation plan, despite the concerns of those previously exempted from taxation. Also, the Lieutenant asked the Indian Government on behalf of the Sheikh, about their willingness to provide him with the required support for implementing his national reform.

The earlier correspondence indicates that the Sheikh has suggested a reform plan and appealed to the Indian Government support for its implementation. Inevitably, such actions encouraged the State House or the Political Agent to interfere in the internal affairs of Bahrain, taking advantage of sectarianism as a gateway and racism as a passageway.

Certainly, some parties strived to maintain the existing situation as it served their personal interests. By then, the community of Bahrain was divided into tribal sects, some of which were close to the ruling party and surpassed the rest with privileges (elite); while others were paying taxes. Accordingly, the former group opposed the reform project to protect their welfare.

Reviewing the official decree of Bahrain in the twenties of the 20th century, one can detect its main features. It was an ambitious reform decree striving towards liberality and civilization; while the beneficiaries’ decree (or as some may like to call “nationalist decree”) refused to establish a municipality, an airport or open a bank and a cinema. Obviously, the beneficiaries’ decree was a mean to protect the elites’ and merchants’ welfare, and their remonstrations were sometimes made in the name of religion; and other times in the name of conservatism, virtue and morals.

Unfortunately with the earlier situation, the reform decree proposed by the Sheikh was completely paralyzed. Eventually, the existence of this decree appeared only through letters and telegraphs sent to the Indian Government. The correspondence appeared as if expressing the Sheikh’s view and not the community’s will and was, therefore, abandoned by the authority in Indian.

Comparing of the 1920s incoming correspondence with the earlier mentioned ones, we can deduce that the situation was different. In a letter from the former agent, Captain Norman Bary who worked in Bahrain for one year from 1918 to 1919 (before Dickson and Daly), we observe that the letter was written in a friendly and sincere manner emphasising the high position of the Sheikh. The Captain suggested the cooperation between the two parties (the Sheikh and
Obviously, the problem for Sheikh Isa bin Ali started when he refused to handover the taxation affairs to the British authority during Lord Curzon’s visit. This action was the British gateway to impose the Colonial Law and to describe him as being “stubborn and contentious.”

In response to Colonial Law, the Sheikh disapproved the imposed law and promptly sent a message to King George V, with no prior notice to the government in Bombay, India. On June 6th, 1919 Sheikh Abdullah bin Isa was delegated by his father Sheikh Isa to visit London and deliver the message. The message comprised four requests: obtain sovereignty, obtain the right of decision making, obtain equality before the law (especially in implementing judicial affairs, i.e., dissolution of the Colonial Law), and obtain the supremacy of Bahrain over the Zabara area, including the establishment of a port there.

After the First World War, these requests were considered as defiance against the victorious ruling authority (the British). Accordingly, the British disapproved all the internal and external reforms requested. Obviously, this another chance for the British to emphasize its compulsory conditions to the Sheikh and, eventually, led to his seclusion from all of the political and administrative affairs, as well as the expulsion of Sheikh Abdullah.

the British authority) and agreed to meet Sheikh Isa bin Ali at the Swaiyya Palace.

However, five years later (in 1924) the style of the letter was different. For example, a letter sent to the Sheikh from the Political Resident of Bushir (Chief political resident of Persian Gulf), Percy Cox. The letter informed Sheikh Isa that the Government of India is determined to depose him.

With such a turnover, one would wonder how the agent’s decree in 1919 was so altered after five years and why the British attitude towards Sheikh Isa bin Ali had changed. Examining the documents of this period, one would find some documented evidence, which explains and provides a wider view of the whole scene.

Therefore, we have to go back to June 16, 1909 when Sheikh Isa bin Ali sent a letter to the British agent, Captain McKenzie, requesting that the British Government reconsider the issue of foreigners. Actually, the British agent asked Sheikh Isa to write this letter. This was a consequence of having the British government, represented by the King, pass a special judiciary law for Bahrain, which deprived the legal ruler of the right to practice judicial power and passed it to the Political Agent or Resident. Once the First World War ended, the Colonial Judiciary Law was passed and put into action in Bahrain. At the same time, the legal ruler was striving to mend the judiciary issue by dividing the legal proceedings into national court, international court, civil court and personal status court (religious court), in addition to the mixed court (mixed tribunal).
With the principle of sectarian discrimination and the direct interference in the affairs of the state (through preparing confidential reports, appointing spies and discrimination among merchants); Daly was able to divide the Bahraini community into conflicting sects for sectarian and economical reasons. Consequently, the community was divided into two sects, and there was no way for them to agree on one national principle. One sect had allegiance to the British and considered Daly their Sheikh; while the other sect defied Daly and was dedicated to Sheikh Isa bin Ali, the actual and legal ruler of the country. By then, sectarianism was born and supported by the political agent.

At the same time, the beneficiaries were looking for someone to support their status (which opposed the suggested reform). In turn, the political situation in Bahrain was threatened with sectarian and tribal conflict. However, Sheikh Isa tried to maintain the balance with no exception for any sect.

As the Shi'a in Bahrain sought the political agent's support, the Dowasir threatened King Abdul Aziz with migration from Bahrain. According to the correspondences between the Dowasir and King Abdul Aziz, Sheikh Isa was trying to negotiate with the British on subjects related to the imposition of taxes on goods exported to the Arabian Peninsula and the establishment of a port at Zabara.

The crisis of sectarianism within the community of Bahrain did not end. In fact, private interests led to unprecedented violence and conflict on trade enterprises among the citizens of Bahrain, especially the armed conflict between the Nejada (of Najdi origins) and the Persians. The British took advantage of this situation to put an end to the message of Sheikh Isa bin Ali and the elite circles.

As a consequence of sectarianism and the existing conflict, Sheikh Isa was deposed and Major Knox (the Political Resident) delivered a speech on this occasion rationalizing the reasons behind this decision (the deterioration of the administrative affairs and the Sheikh's age). The speech concluded that the Sheikh was not able to comprehend the international situation and the development achieved in other countries due to his old age and inability to run the administrative affairs. This was contrary to the fact that during Sheikh Isa's rule, Bahrain had the first parliamentary election, civil institutions were able to participate in the administrative affairs, the educational system was implemented and the country had a court martial.

After the Sheikh was deposed, he began to follow a new strategy. He proposed to the King's delegate in India a partial reform including several items, most important of which is holding a parliamentary election by the people of Bahrain. The Indian authority was surprised with the Sheikh's request, which would have put Bahrain as the first country to implement parliamentary practices in the Gulf region in the past century. The British response was vigorous. Accordingly, they disapproved the Sheikh's proposal and considered the case closed. Nevertheless, the Sheikh did not give up until he died in December 1932 (8 years from the last proposal mentioned above).

Despite the Sheikh's death, his proposal for the reform decree is still retained among the British documents, waiting for someone to uncover the missing parts from the political history of Bahrain.
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