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IRCICA Journal publishes articles on all aspects of Islamic civilisation, such as the history of culture, art, science, philosophy, literature, traditional handicrafts and archaeology. *IRCICA Journal* aims to preserve the tangible and intangible heritage of Islamic civilisation, comprising of its written, architectural, cultural and artistic forms.

IRCICA Journal welcomes previously unpublished manuscripts on manifestations of Islamic civilisation in different regions within and outside the Muslim world including the Balkans, Caucasus, Central Asia, the Middle East, North and Sub-Saharan Africa, South and Southeast Asia. The intellectual outputs are hoped to serve the needs of researchers specializing in the fields of history, cultural studies, sociology, architecture, international relations and anthropology. *IRCICA Journal* considers all manuscripts on the strict condition that they have been submitted only to *IRCICA Journal*, that they have not been published already, nor are they under consideration for publication or in press elsewhere.

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إدهام محمد حنش

Calligraphy of Mushaf Manuscripts

Idham Muhammad Hanash, Prof.
World Islamic Science and Education (WISE) University, Amman-Jordan

Editorial

We have launched *IRCICA Journal* last year as an international and refereed journal to constitute a respected and regular academic platform in the fields of Islamic history, civilization, arts and culture. As an international research centre and the cultural subsidiary of the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation, our main goal was to promote in-depth studies in these areas. The first and second issues of *IRCICA Journal* were warmly received by the scholarly circles and we are glad to see that the journal is starting to accomplish its crucial mission.

IRCICA Journal strives to explore the tangible and intangible aspects of the Islamic heritage by publishing articles in English, French and Arabic based on a wide geographical scope including the Balkans, Caucasia, Central Asia, the Middle East, North and Sub-Saharan Africa, South and Southeast Asia. Various aspects of Islamic civilisation such as archaeology, history of culture, history of arts, science, philosophy, literature and traditional handicrafts continue to constitute our thematic focus. *IRCICA Journal* has successfully added a new dimension to the activities of our centre by constituting a regular discussion platform with high academic standards. In this vein, this issue of the journal contains six articles four of which are written by renowned authors in English and two written by invaluable scholars in Arabic.

The first article of the issue constitutes the reprint of a seminal article by late Prof. Nihat Çetin of Istanbul University which was published by IRCICA in 1998 in a thematic book titled *The Art of Calligraphy in the Islamic Heritage*. Taking into account the wide usage of the book and the exceptional impact of the article since then, we decided to make a reprint in the third issue of the journal. Prof. Çetin presented a succinct detour into the historical development of the Islamic art of calligraphy by starting from the pre-Islamic origins of the Arabic script. He evaluated how the Arabic script developed as a written expression of the spoken language after the Hijrah and developed as an art form that has remained vital to the present day. In so doing, he stressed the link

between writing and Islamic values, reformation of the Arabic script, the role of the diacritical signs, emergence of balanced scripts and the trajectory of the development of the Islamic art of calligraphy. Republication of this crucial article in *IRCICA Journal* will make a great service to international academic and artistic circles dealing with Islamic calligraphy by shedding light on his original statements.

The second article of the issue by one of the leading global experts on Balkan history, Prof. Michael Kiel, concentrates on the town of Štip (İŦtip) in the Republic of Macedonia and the Mosque of Husameddin Pasha. Prof. Kiel notes that the town of Štip hosts three Ottoman monuments of historical importance, namely the Husameddin Pasha Mosque, the Bedesten and the Bridge over the Bregalnitsa. He also states that all three are undated and nothing is known about the builder of the Husameddin Pasha mosque. In this important article, Prof. Kiel sheds light on the historical narrative of the mosque with special reference to the identity of its builder and the approximate date of its construction. To this end, he starts from a description of pre-Ottoman Štip and then presents a very detailed historical account on the three Ottoman monuments in the town. This is a crucial scholarly study prepared in the light of relevant Ottoman Tahrir registers.

Another interesting piece of academic research constitutes the third article in this issue of *IRCICA Journal* which is written by Assoc. Prof. Abdul Rauf from the University of Peshawar in Pakistan. He looks at Muslim social movements in British India (specifically Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) which sparked during the Balkan Wars to support the Ottoman Empire as the seat of the Islamic Caliphate against foreign aggression. Abdul Rauf states that Khyber Pakhtunkhwa was the financially most backward province of British India, yet provided substantial support to the Ottomans through a wide ranging social mobilization effort. The article presents details based on archival material on the dissemination of information about the Muslims living in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa through newspapers, journals and related media. It also looks at the main historical personalities who went from India

to Turkey to support the war effort through political, medical or economic means and the reverse movement of personalities from Turkey to India, most notably Mr. Abdul Rahman Peshaweri who became Turkey's first Ambassador in Afghanistan.

The final article of the English section is written by Assoc. Prof. Patrick Ringgenberg from Lausanne University and focuses on a crucial branch of Islamic arts, namely Islamic ornamentation. By conducting a theoretical analysis, Ringgenberg specifically looks at the humanistic, cosmological and metaphysical aspects of Islamic ornamentation. In so doing, he enlightens the philosophical underpinnings of ornamentation with reference to the relationship between man and nature, man and Islam and the cosmology. Ringgenberg also presents a metaphysical hermeneutics of ornamentation by looking at the relationship between the divine intellect, the manifested world and man on earth.

The first article in the Arabic section of the journal is prepared by Professor Idham Muhammed Hanash, from the World Islamic Sciences and Education University, Jordan. It examines the Quranic scripts. The author points out the existence of two major trends in the studies of the script as the cognitive nerve to write the Holy Quran; the first one is *tawqîfî*, that is to say restrictive to what the noble companions recorded according to a particular dictation in the *The Uthmanic Quran (al-mushaf al-imâm)*; the second trend is related to aesthetics and deals with the form of the letter and its situation in the word and in the sentence. This trend sets beauty as a condition to write the noble Quran with the most beautiful script styles and the best also in terms of strength and clarity. This research, as Professor Hanash explained in his introduction, is an attempt to study the artistic ways and methods used by calligraphers to write Quran in general through the study of the different styles used in the copies of the Quran exclusively; thus, these styles of calligraphy are called "*khutûtu al-masâhif*", that is to say, "the scripts used to copy the Quran", to distinguish them from the other scripts used in writing books, documents and registers ...etc. in the Islamic world, called "*khutûtu al-kuttâb*"

and “*khutûtu al-warrâqîn*”, which means respectively “writers’ scripts” and “copyists’ scripts”. In this regard, the author was excellent and helpful through coping with various topics under the following headings: “The principle of beauty as a necessity to write the Noble Quran”, “Calligraphy and aesthetics of the Noble Quran”, “The aesthetic constituents of the Noble Qur’anic script”, “The Quranic scripts, definition and classification”, “The concept of *khutût al-masâhif*”, “*The Uthmanic Quran (al-mushaf al-imâm)* and its artistic branches in the first copies of the Quran”, “*Qalam al-masâhif*: the problematic of the multiple one”, “The *naskh* script, servant of the Qur’an”, “Qur’anic Maghrebian scripts” and “The rare Qur’anic scripts”.

Prof. Hanash focuses on the Arabic letters, words and their positions within sentences from an aesthetical point of view. He argues that as far as the calligraphy styles of the Qur’anic manuscripts (*mushafs*) are concerned, the main principles are the use of most beautiful and clear styles with a strong expression. This is important because manuscripts must be written with straightforward and easy to read calligraphy styles. Qur’anic manuscripts should be ornamented with Islamic art forms including illumination and ornamentation, and aesthetically suitable binding styles ought to be used. Prof. Hanash has organized the article to mention the aesthetic requirements for the writing up of Qur’anic manuscripts; aesthetic necessities for Islamic calligraphy styles; definitions and classification of Qur’anic manuscripts; first Qur’anic manuscripts and their evolution; proportional calligraphy styles; and the *naskh* style which had tremendous services to the calligraphy of Qur’anic manuscripts.

The Second article of the Arabic section is written by Dr. Ibrahim Rabaya from Al Quds Open University and focuses on the charitable endowments (registered in 1061 AH / 1651 AD) in Quds Al Sharif during the reign of Governor Yusuf Pasha. Dr. Rabaya looks at the records of the courts in Al Quds and concludes that in the Ottoman period charitable endowments based on comprehensive contracts supported religious and social institutions in the area. Especially in cities such as Al Quds,

the Ottoman state made great efforts to maintain the financial sustainability of these endowments and to develop their activities by providing various advantages and investing directly in them. Prof. Rabaya presents a general account on social life in Al Quds under the reign of Yusuf Pasha and stresses the importance of charitable endowments in the Islamic value system. He succinctly shows that the general model of endowments generated by Yusuf Pasha waqfs that made great services to the enrichment of the scientific and intellectual life in Al Quds.

As seen from the synopsis of the articles presented so far, we present yet another issue of the *IRCICA Journal* to the attention of our international audience full of articles that are bound to trigger new studies and academic debates in the field of Islamic history and civilization. In the light of substantial contributions to this issue, we would like to invite distinguished scholars focusing on Islamic history and civilisation to enrich our journal with original articles. We are glad to observe that our sincere hope that the journal becomes an outstanding scholarly platform for studies on Islamic history and civilisation comes closer to reality with every new issue. It is with this sense of pride and satisfaction that we launch the third issue of *IRCICA Journal* on behalf of our research centre.

Halit Eren, Assoc. Prof.
Director General, IRCICA

The Rise and Development of the Art of Calligraphy (From its Origins to the End of Yaqut's Era)

Nihad M. Çetin

The fine art of calligraphy developed as part of the Arabic writing system, spurred by the spread of Islamic civilization. With the advent of Islam, Arabic script developed swiftly and simultaneously in two directions. During the first two centuries after the Hijrah, on the one hand, it developed into a sophisticated written expression of the spoken language; on the other, it developed into an art that has remained vital to the present day.

Pre-Islamic Origins of Arabic Script

There are three views of the origins of the Arabic script itself. The first holds that the script was God-given (in Arabic, *tawqifi*) and that Adam invented all the world's scripts,¹ which he learned directly from God. Adam, this view holds, then wrote all the books, which were discovered by the various nations after the waters of the Flood receded. Each nation discovered its own books; thus Arabic was the lot of Ismail.² Traditions also list the names of the Arabs who later disseminated the script,³ sometimes crediting them with its invention.

¹ In these traditions the names of the prophets Idris and Nuh (Noah) are sometimes mentioned instead of Adam.

² It was believed that Ismail was "the first man to speak Arabic, forgetting his father's language." On such traditions and al-Jumahi's opinion, see al-Jumahi 1952, 9-10.

³ Al-Baladhuri 1956-1957, 3: 579-583; Al-Suli 1341, 28-31; Ibn Al-Nadim 1871, 4; Ibn Khallikan 1976, 3: 344; and Jawad Ali 1957, 7: 57-60.

The second view holds that Arabic script was derived from the *musnad*, also known as the Southern Arabic or Himyarite script.⁴ The *musnad* reached Syria and the regions of the Mundhirs very early, via the trading caravans that plied their way between the Yemenites and the Arabs of Syria, Iraq, and Northern Arabia. It later reached the Hijaz, either via the same routes or directly. This theory, based as it is on a logical view of the relations between early peoples, still has some adherents.⁵ It is not supported by currently available inscriptions, however, which shed some light on the various stages of development of Northern Arabic script.

The third view traces Arabic script back to the Nabataean. This view was voiced as early as 1724, when G.J. Klehr claimed a connection between the two scripts; later, in 1865, Th. Nöldeke also maintained that Arabic script developed from the Nabataean⁶ Today, the study of pre-Islamic inscriptions and those belonging to the first century A.H. has established that Arabic script is indeed an offshoot of Nabataean cursive.⁷

In fact, Arabic script has a two-fold connection with the Phoenician: the Nabataean and the Aramaic. The earliest inscriptions showing the various stages of development from Nabataean cursive, which took place between the late third and the late fourth centuries A.D., are those unearthed in Umm al-Jimal (250 A.D.)⁸ and al-Namarah (328 A.D.).⁹ These inscriptions are Nabataean in language and script and commemorate an era in which Nabataean culture —albeit a peculiarly Arab form of

⁴ Ibn Khaldun 1960, 3: 950 and 952-953.

⁵ On this subject see Affi, 1980, 62.

⁶ Grohmann 1971, 2: 11 and al-Juburi 1977, 51.

⁷ Al-Munajjid 1972, 60 and al-Juburi 1977, 51.

⁸ A gravestone found to the south of Hawran in east Jordan.

⁹ The inscription found thereon indicates that it is the gravestone of Imru al-Qays b. Amr, "King of the Arabs"; it was discovered near Hawran, south-east of Damascus.

that culture— was dominant. Also worth noting is the Zabad inscription, written in Greek, Syriac and Arabic (512 A.D.).¹⁰ This inscription shows that the Arabs preferred to use the Nabataean script and that by the early sixth century A.D., Arabic already commanded recognition as a written language. Setting aside the second Umm al-Jimal inscription, which probably belongs to the sixth century A.D., it would appear that at the time of the emergence of Islam, Arabic script was not substantially different from the script used for the Usays inscription (528 A.D.)¹¹ and the Harran inscription (568 A.D.).^{12, 13}

Beginning with al-Baladhuri (279 A.H./892 A.D.),¹⁴ al-Jahshiyari (331/942),¹⁵ al-Suli (335 or 336/947),¹⁶ and Ibn al-Nadim (385/995),¹⁷ Muslim authors report that the Arabic script reached al-Hirah from al-Anbar and then reached the Hijaz.¹⁸ Studies of the names and places mentioned in these reports and the interactions of the peoples involved give us reason to believe that the script moved from Hawran, a Nabataean district, to al-Anbar and al-Hirah and thence, through Dawmat al-Jandal, to the Hijaz. In the light of the unbroken trade relations between the Hijazis and the Syrians through the Nabataean territories, however, it is probable that the script of the Northern Arabs reached the Hijaz even earlier via a shorter route, from Hawran to Petra and thence to al-'Ula. The

¹⁰ Discovered in the ruins of a church in south-east Aleppo.

¹¹ Discovered in south-east Damascus.

¹² Discovered in south Damascus.

¹³ On the scriptural and linguistic characteristics of these inscriptions see Moritz 1965, 498-499; Fleische 1947, 96-97; Blachere 1952, I: 59-60; Jawad 1957, 7: 62. 68. 272-274; al-Munajjid 1972, 20-22; al-Juburi 1977, 43-48; and al-Naqshbandi, 83-101.

¹⁴ Al-Baladhuri 1956-1957, 2: 579.

¹⁵ Al-Jahshiyari 1938, 1:5.

¹⁶ Al-Suli 1341, 30.

¹⁷ Ibn al-Nadim 1871, 5.

¹⁸ For the purport of these traditions and a criticism thereof, see Jumah n.d., 11-18 and al-Juburi 1977, 63-73.

early reports' insistence on passage through al-Anbar and al-Hirah suggests that the script underwent a period of development in the Lakhmid environment around the middle of the sixth century A.D. These reports give us the names of those who first learned the script and then taught it to others. They include Bishr b. Abd al-Malik al-Kalbi, Abu Qays b. Abd Munaf b. Zuhrah, and Sufyan b. Umayyah and his brother Harb (Abu Sufyan's father), all of whom lived in the sixth century A.D. These reports indicate a movement to disseminate the Northern Arabic script in its al-Hirah form.

No extant documents belonging to the late pre-Islamic or early Islamic periods have been found. Historical sources specifically mention persons who were able to read and write, however. Ibn al-Nadim,¹⁹ for example, says that a document written by Abd al-Muttalib b. Hashim, the Prophet's grandfather, was preserved in al-Ma'mun's library. In addition, as Mecca was a trading center, there must have been some number of scribes who used not only Northern Arabic script but also the *musnad* employed in Yemen. Another source, al-Baladhuri, mentions twenty-four persons of that period who could read and write, seventeen men and seven women.²⁰ Literacy was less widespread among the Aws and Khazraj tribes of Yathrib, however; their children learned to read and write from "a Jewish man."²¹

Nevertheless, the sources suggest that pre-Islamic Arabs were more literate than many people have thought. Contemporary Jews and Christians had books in Hebrew and Syriac, and we can be sure there were Arabic texts as well. In addition to religious and apothegmatic texts, there were documents recording commercial accounts, debts, and loans; bonds authenticating ownership of slaves; treaties or agreements between tribes or persons; promises

¹⁹ Ibn al-Nadim 1871, 5, also quoted by al-Asad 1962, 54, and by al-Juburi 1977, 64-65. (He also knew the *Musnad*.)

²⁰ Al-Baladhuri 1956-1957, 3: 580-581.

²¹ Nevertheless, the number of literate people in these two tribes increased in the early period of Islam. al-Baladhuri 1956-1957, 3: 583 mentions seven of these, including Ubayy b. Ka'b and Zayd b. Thabit.

of safe conduct; chronicles of important events; letters; and the like.²²

By the early seventh century A.D., Arabic script in the Hijaz had acquired a distinctive style easily distinguishable from the styles used in al-Anbar and al-Hirah. It was the Hijaz style that was in use at the time of the Prophet.

Islam and Writing

The advent of Islam not only made writing necessary but extended its uses, thereby starting a new era in the history of writing. Writing became an integral part of the new Islamic social system in all its material and spiritual aspects. It became one of the most important instruments for solidifying the new faith, recording its sacred texts, instructing new converts, and spreading the message of Islam. The first half-century after the Hijrah saw a more rapid development in writing than there had been during the three preceding centuries combined. With the revelation of the first five Qur'anic verses beginning with the injunction "Read,"²³ Arabic writing acquired an aura of the sacred that it still has today. Other verses followed,²⁴ always linking writing with a divine source and enjoining its use, until it became an indispensable part of the life of all Muslims, men and women alike.

Enshrining revelation in writing, then, enhanced the sacred nature of writing itself. In addition, the Prophet continually urged his Companions to record information and to keep records. He also urged them to teach their children how to read and write, saying it was their unavoidable duty to do so. The Prophet's instructions regarding the ethics of writing and the forms the letters should

²² Al-Asad 1962, 60-74. With regard to views holding that the Arabs started to record their poetry which was regarded as *diwan ulumihim*= (the register of their culture), and record therefore, the traditions, genealogies, and chronicles already in the pre-Islamic period, see Eche.

²³ Holy Qur'an XCVI: 1-5.

²⁴ Holy Qur'an II: 282; LXVIII: I.

take in the Basmalah (that is, the phrase “In the Name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate”) are well known among Muslims.²⁵ We know today the names of more than forty of the Prophet’s Companions who acted as secretaries, primarily to write down revealed Qur’anic texts. Some of these secretaries worked at specific locations and specialized in certain writing tasks, such as agreements or letters to be sent by the Prophet to the monarchs of the day. Some were proficient in other languages and scripts besides Arabic. Zayd b. Thabit, for example, learned Persian, Greek, Coptic, and Abyssinian from native speakers of those languages in Medina, and he translated the documents the Prophet received in those languages.²⁶ It is also certain that some of the Companions knew Hebrew and Syriac, in both spoken and written forms.²⁷

Arabic script still could not do justice to the spoken language, however. The fact that some of the Companions were aware of this inadequacy and knew other scripts was useful for the later reformation and improvement of Arabic script. But it is unwise to believe the Companions were perfect masters of Arabic script, especially before writing down and copying the *Holy Qur’an*, for they were trying both to improve the script and to increase their own knowledge. During this period of rapid development, a number of weaknesses and difficulties persisted in the script. These problems may be seen in the Companions’ writings, which represent the highest level of accomplishment as well as the various stages of the script’s development. These weaknesses cannot be considered defects, however, as Ibn Khaldun rightly observes.²⁸ Some modern scholars contest the authenticity of the Prophet’s letters,²⁹ citing the scribal and orthographical errors

²⁵ Al-Kattani, n.d., 2: 239-240; al-Juburi 1977, 77; Afifi 1980, 83-85.

²⁶ Al-Baladhuri 1956-1957, 3: 581-582; Ibn Abd Rabihi 1948-1950, 4: 161; al-Masudi 1938, 245-246; al-Kattani n.d. I: 129-243; al-Munajjid 1972, 23; and Afifi 1980, 85.

²⁷ Al-Juburi 1977, 150.

²⁸ Ibn Khaldun 1960, 3: 955.

²⁹ For the Prophet’s epistles, see Hamidullah 1935, 1956 and 1966, 201-203, 208-

they contain. A cogent rebuttal can be found in Ibn Khaldun's description of the Companions' knowledge and mastery of the art of writing, his recognition of the circumstances in which they operated and his realistic acceptance of their imperfection, which in no way belittles their achievement.

Other measures also contributed to the spread of literacy, such as the edict that the literate polytheists of Mecca who had been captured at Badr could win their freedom by teaching Muslim children of Medina how to read and write. Each captive's ransom was to teach ten children. Thus Medina became the first center for the development of Arabic script after the advent of Islam. Writing increased in importance under the first four caliphs (known as the Righteous Caliphs) due to its growing use for religious and administrative purposes and for daily transactions. During the Caliph 'Umar b. al-Khattab's reign (13-23/634-644), schools were opened and teachers appointed.³⁰

The *Holy Qur'an* was the first text in the Islamic period to be reproduced in the form of a book with two covers (*mushaf*). This was done in order to maintain the accuracy of the *Holy Qur'an*, to protect the text against corruption or misreading, and to have it widely disseminated. In the days of the Prophet, the *Holy Qur'an* was written on various materials,³¹ but Zayd b. Thabit, one of the writers of revelation, collected these materials during the reign of Caliph Abu Bakr (11-13/632-634) and copied the *Holy Qur'an* onto uniform sheets (*suhuf*) of parchment or vellum,³² which were kept by Hafsa bint 'Umar. As the number of people who had learned the *Holy Qur'an* by heart diminished, especially during the early

212, 237-248, 256-269 (in Turkish). See also al-Munajjid 1972, 32-35 and al-Juburi 1977, 78-92 and the sources mentioned in these books.

³⁰ al-Kattani, 2: 293-294.

³¹ For writing materials used in the pre-Islamic period and early Islam see, e.g., al-Qalqashandi 1913-1918, 2: 475; Moritz 1965, 502-503; al-Kattani n.d., 2: 240-243; al-Asad 1962, 77-92; Harun 1965, 14-17; al-Halwaji 1978, 17-43; Amin 1986, 259-270; see also the chapters devoted to this subject in books on calligraphy and writing.

³² Al-Dani 1940 a, 2-3:8.

Muslim campaigns, differences began to appear in the reading of many Qur'anic passages. Caliph 'Uthman (reigned 2.3- 35/644-656) had a *mushaf* or written copy of the *Holy Qur'an*, prepared from Zayd b. Thabit's copy of the *Holy Qur'an*; this was later known as *al-mushaf al-Imam*, the master *mushaf*. He then ordered Zayd b. Thabit, Abd al-Rahman b. Amr b. al-Ass, Abd Allah b. al-Zubayr, Ibn Abbas, and Abd al-Rahman b. al-Harith b. Hisham to make one copy each so he might send the copies to the amsar, or the major cities of the state.³³ When the copies were finished, 'Uthman kept one copy and sent the others to Kufah, Basrah, and Damascus. According to some reports, copies also were sent to Mecca, Yemen, and Bahrain, together with an imam who could read.

These *mushafs* were written in black or brown ink on vellum. They had no diacritical markings and no decorations or special designs; the surahs were untitled, and the verses and parts unmarked.³⁴ They were written in what ancient authors called the Meccan and Medinan scripts, named for the places where these particular scripts developed. After its Anbar and Hirah stage, the Northern Arabic script moved to Mecca and, after the Hijrah to Medina, where it went through another phase of development. The Meccan and Medinan scripts did not differ substantially. One of their main features was—in the words of Ibn al-Nadim, who was quoting Muhammad b. Ishaq about the Basmalah he had presented—that its alifs inclined more toward the right of the hand and the tips of the fingers, with a slight reclining posture.³⁵ This brief description tells us something about

³³ Ibid., 4-6.

³⁴ Al-Dani 1960, 10-17, and al-Dani 1940 b, 124-125.

³⁵ Ibn al-Nadim 1871, 6, (It is common knowledge that the Basmalah in this book is printed in modern press letters.) See also Ibn al-Nadim 1971, 9; al-Munajjid 1972, 24; Déroche 1980, 209. A few documents have been discovered through the ancient *mushafs* and parts of *mushafs* discovered in the San'a Mosque. Their dates indicate that they go back to the times of the Umayyads. They clearly reflect the above-mentioned style. A selection of these documents appears in the first few plates of the book *Masahif San'a* (Kuwait, 1985).

the Hijazī form of the script and suggests that the script began to acquire distinctive features in the different cultural centers. Nevertheless, the individual letters still retained the main features they had a century earlier, and many words kept their Nabataean orthography.³⁶

An important point deserves to be mentioned here. Some scholars rightly believe that pre-Islamic Arabs recorded their chronicles and other cultural materials, especially poetry,³⁷ in writing. Such writings were no more than an aid to the memory, however. The preservation of this heritage from one generation to another owes much to the Arabs' prodigious memory: Even if early Arabs could identify the correct reading of simple texts using this script,³⁸ accurate reading of long and complex texts apparently required prior knowledge of the texts. The measures subsequently devised by Arabs to reform the script were, for the most part, intended to improve the writing of the *mushafs*. Later linguistic and literary texts had to wait for at least two centuries to receive such attention.

Reforming, Improving, and Embellishing Arabic Script

In the early years of Islam, Arabic script began to develop into two different types, according to the use it was put to and the instruments used in writing it. An angular script was used for inscriptions on stone and important documents written on vellum, especially the *mushafs*'. Papyrus and similar materials were used for documents relating to daily transactions and requiring speedy rather than serious attention, and a more supple, rounded form

³⁶ Absence of rawadif (ع ط ض ذ خ ث) and neglect of long alif (e.g., ملك and حارث instead of ملك and حارث), etc.

³⁷ On writing and recording in Arabic in the pre-Islamic and early Islamic period, see, e.g., Eche 1967, (see note 22) and al-Asad 1962, 46-134.

³⁸ The "tooth" representing the (ب) and similar letters in medial positions, for example, may be read in some cases in 30-35 different ways.

of script emerged for use with such documents. This second type of script, which had no artistic value at first, soon acquired greater importance and wider application in the offices of the first caliphs, who had served as scribes of the Prophet in his lifetime, and in the offices of their *walis* (governors) and regional deputies.³⁹ At the same time, with the expansion of Islam, Arabic script began to spread beyond the Arabian Peninsula into distant regions and to replace the scripts that had been in use in those regions.

Gradually, however, the absence of short vowels and of any way to differentiate otherwise identical letters was recognized as an inconvenience. The Arabs began looking for a way to correct these defects and thereby to safeguard the text of the *Holy Qur'an* from any possible misreading. The first step toward this end — and toward writing down Arabic grammar— was the effort of Abu al-Aswad al-Du'ali (d. 69/688-689) to mark the *mushaf* with dots to denote pronunciation. As erroneous pronunciation (in Arabic, *lahn*) increased in the spoken language, and as the spoken language deviated more and more from classical Arabic (*fusha*), errors began to appear in the reading of the *Holy Qur'an*. Ziyad b. Abih (d. 53/673), the waif of Iraq, asked Abu al-Aswad al-Du'ali to look into the matter. Abu al-Aswad read the *mushaf* to a scribe proficient in *fusha* and ordered him to mark the letters, one dot above a letter to denote fath (short *a*), one dot below a letter to denote kasr (short *i*), one dot beside the letter to denote damm (short *u*), and two dots to denote nunation (or grammatical terminations ending in the letter *nun*).⁴⁰

³⁹ On the scribes of the Four Righteous Caliphs' period, see al-Jahshiyari 1938, 15-16, 21, 23, and Ibn Abd Rabbihi 1948-1950, 4: 163-164.

⁴⁰ The tradition regarding the biography of Abu al-Aswad and the nature of the service he rendered is repeated in books on dotting the Holy Qur'an and its orthography and on the classes of grammarians, particularly the preface and the introductory parts, and in similar compilations. It is also found in chapters devoted to his biography in the ancient books on linguistics, in treatises which compile the traditions on the rise and principles of grammar, and even in books concerned with misreading and mispronunciation. But this tradition was frequently embellished, especially in its incorporation of anachronistic terminology. A comparatively

By accurately vocalizing the entire *mushaf* in accordance with this system, Abu al-Aswad al-Du'ali made an important contribution to the history of the Qur'anic text, Arabic grammar and script.⁴¹ But dotting (*i'jam*) that is adding vowel marks (*shakl*), which could also include dotting (*naqt*) and vowel points (*shakl*), was known to the Arabs before Abu al-Aswad al-Du'ali, for dots were used above and below the letters in Hebrew and Syriac writings known to some of the Prophet's Companions. Tradition even tells us that the Companions and the first generation of Followers had already started to dot the *mushafs* and to mark groups of five and ten verses of the *Holy Qur'an*. They had not yet devised and applied a consistent system covering the entire *Holy Qur'an*, however; rather, they made "attempts at simplification," which were systematized by later Followers.⁴²

Some reports credit Nasr b. 'Asim al-Laythi (d. 89/707)⁴³ and Yahyab. Ya'mur (d. 129/746)⁴⁴ with having been the first to undertake dotting the *mushaf*, suggesting that these two men completed the work begun by Abual-Aswad al-Du'ali.⁴⁵ The latter's contribution appears not to have seen widespread application, for Abu Ahmad al-Askari says that for more than 40 years, Muslims

accurate form of the tradition may be found in Ibn al-Nadim 1871, 40, lines 5-12, a version quoted by al-Qifti 1369-1393, I: 5, lines 10-19. See also al-Dani 1960, 4: 6-7 and al-Dani, 1940 b, 124-25.

⁴¹ These brief explanations indicate that the text was not vocalized with the six symbols of Abu al-Aswad the way we do this today. The dammah, for example, was not placed above the joined letters in medial position. The vowel points, however, were always given at the end of the word (to indicate the *i'rab* or the pronunciation of case endings). It appears, therefore, that Abu al-Aswad's main purpose was to establish the *i'rab*. His doing so in a long text containing all points of grammar like the *Holy Qur'an* must have led to the deduction of the basic grammatical rules and hence to the rise of this science.

⁴² Al-Dani 1960, 2-3, 15, lines 17-18.

⁴³ Ibid. 6, lines 4-5, 7, lines 13-14.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 5 and al-Dani 1940 b, 125.

⁴⁵ Other names mentioned in this context include Abd Allah b. Abu Ishaq (127/745), the teacher of Abu Amr b. al-Ala. See al-Dani 1960, 7, line 12.

continued to read the mushafs that had been copied for ‘Uthman b. Affan. When erroneous readings (tashif) proliferated⁴⁶ especially in Iraq during the days of Caliph Abd al-Malik b. Marwan (65-86/685-705), al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf al-Thaqafi (d. 95/714), the wall of Iraq, asked his scribes to add diacritical marks (that is, dots) to differentiate between letters that looked alike but denoted different sounds. This task was undertaken by Nasr b. Asim.⁴⁷ Thus the second important stage in the reformation of the Arabic script again involved dotting the *mushafs* after Abu al-Aswad. Note that in both these stages, the reformation was concerned with the script as a system of writing, rather than with its appearance.

In addition, some reports even push the process back as far as the beginnings of the Anbar and Hirah period.⁴⁸ Disregarding these reports, and the comments of some pre-Islamic poets⁴⁹ we can find clear indications that some letters were dotted during the lifetime of the Prophet, who asked Mu’awiyah, one of his scribes, to dot his letters (*raqsh al-huruf*). Asked by Mu’awiyah what *raqsh* meant, the Prophet said it meant dotting the letters with the necessary number of dots to distinguish letters that were otherwise identical.⁵⁰ We also understand from another piece of advice by the Prophet⁵¹ that the letters ب and ت were dotted at the time. Extant documents likewise make it clear that dotted letters existed in the first half of the first century after the Hijrah —long

⁴⁶ Tashif is misreading due to difference in vocalization or dotting, e.g., al-Shajari (الشجري) instead of al-Sijzi (السجزي), arus (عروس), instead of urush (عروش). On this topic see al-Askari 1975, and al-Suyuti 1326, 2: 357.

⁴⁷ Al-Askari 1975, I:14, and, quoting him, Ibn Khallikan 1976, 2: 32, and quoting the latter, Tashköprüzade 1968, I:89 (where after the name of Nasr has been mentioned, we find the statement “wa qila Yahya b. Ya’mur” (other reports give the name Yahya b. Ya’mur).

⁴⁸ Al-Dani 1960, 35: al-Qalqashandi 1913-1918, 3: 155, lines 3-6.

⁴⁹ Al-Asad 1962, 100-103: al-Juburi 1977, 155-156.

⁵⁰ Hamidullah 1964, 3: 26-27, and, quoting him, al-Munajjid 1972, 126.

⁵¹ Al-Munajjid 1972, 126.

before the time of Nasr b. 'Asim and Yahya b. Ya'mur. In a papyrus belonging to the 22nd year after the Hijrah⁵² we can still see dots on the ذ، ز، ش، خ and the ن (both at the beginning of a word and in the middle of it). Moreover, an inscription dated 58 A.H.⁵³ has dots on the ب، ت، ث and ی (again, both at the beginning of a word and in the middle). These dots were not always used, however; they were used only where deemed necessary. At first, dots and vowel markers (*naqt and shakl*) were used even at the time of writing down the revelation, although their use was limited. Later, the Companions removed all such markings from the *mushaf*.⁵⁴ When it appeared there was danger of misreading the text of the Holy Qur'an and making orthographical mistakes (*lahn and tashif*), the Companions added first the vowel markers, then the dots.

Originally, the dots added by Abu al-Aswad to denote the short vowels were round in shape and written in red ink to distinguish them from the black or brown ink of the text. But when marks were added to differentiate similar letters, there was potential for confusion. To clarify the situation, these marks were written as horizontal lines or, more commonly, as lines that inclined slightly from right to left. These lines were considered part of the letter and were written in black or brown ink.⁵⁵

Accurate reading and "accurate writing" of the Holy Qur'an were no doubt inseparable. Hence, the measures taken to ensure accurate reading led to the improvement of writing as well. For example, with the exception of the marks used to differentiate between similar letters, all the dots and marks added to facilitate accurate reading were written in a different color than the text. In fact, since the late first century and early second century A.H., specific colors of ink were used for the marks in *mushafs* copied

⁵² Ibid., 37-38: al-Juburi 1977, 157-159, plate 12.

⁵³ Al-Munajjid 1972, 101-103; al-Juburi 1977, 157-160, plate 34.

⁵⁴ Al-Qalqashandi 1913-1918, 3: 155.

⁵⁵ Al-Dani 1960, 43.

in some parts of the Islamic world, especially in küfiscrits. In Medina, for example, dots denoting short vowels and marks denoting doubling (*tashdid*) or elision (*takhfif*), which were added later, were written in red ink, while the dots denoting the hamzah were written in yellow ink. 'Iraqi scholars used red ink for the hamzah, while some scholars of Kufah and Basrah used different colors, sometimes including green, to denote standard (*mashhur*), irregular (*shadhdh*), and discarded (*matruk*) readings. North African as well as Andalusian scholars followed the practice of Medina and gave hamzah al-wasl at the beginning of a word a green or azure dot.⁵⁶

When the first copies of the Holy Qur'an were made, however, some Muslims had reservations about these additions —even if they were in different color inks. Malik b. Anas (d. 179/795), for example, is said to have been asked several times to give his opinion on this matter and was always opposed to the practice. He did not mind the use of the markings in writings intended for the instruction of children, however.⁵⁷

At first, this sincere effort to preserve the text of the Holy Qur'an, as it was copied during the reign of Caliph 'Uthman, from corruption went hand in hand with efforts to prevent misreading and orthographical mistakes, al-Khalil b. Ahmad (d. 175/791), a contemporary of Malik b. Anas, made a tremendous contribution in this regard. Not only did he permit dotting the mushafs under

⁵⁶ For more details on the colours employed for these signs and on the methods that appeared in the various centres, see al-Dani 1960, 19-20, 23-24, 42-43, 86-88. All these attempts were connected with the mushaf. As for inscriptions and other documents from the Umayyad period, no orthographic signs or vowel points appear except the dot.

⁵⁷ Malik b. Anas was of the opinion that the mushaf should generally preserve the form it was recorded in the days of the Caliph Uthman b. Affan. He disapproved of the prefatory material given at the head of surahs but did not object to dividing the surahs into groups of ten verses by adding a sign at the end of every tenth verse or to indicating the end of each surah by means of a chainlike circle even though by using black ink, in the plates or mushafs used for teaching children. See al-Dani 1960, 11, 13, 15, 17; al-Dani 1940, 9-10, and al-Dani 1940 b, 125.

certain conditions, but he also introduced other refinements, including using smaller forms of the alif (*reclining*) and the waw and recursive elongated ya' instead of the earlier vowel marks, which were circular dots.⁵⁸ He also used small letters to symbolize words in orthography, such as using shin to denote tashdid or doubling. Among his other important contributions were the introduction of marks denoting the *hamzah*, *rawm* (slurring of the final vowel), and Akmam (use of a vowel sound that partakes of the kasrahand the dammah in certain positions).⁵⁹ His book on this science, *Kitabal-Naqtwa al-Shakl* (Book of Dotting and Vocalization), is no longer extant.⁶⁰

Al-Khalil's efforts were not confined to perfecting the existing system and devising his own diacritical marks. He pursued a similar line in systematizing morphology and grammar, contributing to lexicography, formulating and explaining the principles of prosody, and working in the field of music. In all these areas, he collected what was known; subjected this body of knowledge to critical study; corrected, completed, and rearranged his material; defined its terms; and put it together as a science in itself or a branch of a more comprehensive science. As we have mentioned elsewhere,⁶¹ al-Khalil had a remarkable mind that could easily detect the most delicate and intricate relations among seemingly diverse problems and link them to sound principles and a comprehensive system. Although he has not been given the recognition he deserves in history of philology al-Khalil must be considered, by even the most cautious standards, the greatest philologist ever to appear in the Islamic world. He identified the common starting points of his work in the various fields of language and literature, and his insights are as valid today as they were in his time. His research on prosody, aimed at identifying and

⁵⁸ Makhzumi 1960, 38, 106-107.

⁵⁹ Al-Dani 1960, 6-7, and al-Dani 1940 b, 125.

⁶⁰ Ibn al-Nadim 1971, 49; al-Dani 1960, 9; al-Qifti 1369-1393, I: 346.

⁶¹ Küçük Türk İslâm Ansiklopedisi 1978, 1: 183.

analyzing the internal rhythms of Arabic verse; his investigations regarding the best ways to study the structure of Arabic in his work on morphology and syntax; and his reformation of the writing system by systematizing orthography and devising the diacritical marks as safeguards against misreading—all this work was undertaken at the same time and based on the same principles.

The Role of the Diacritical Signs

Thus, the Arabic script became a fully developed system. The vowel markers and other diacritical signs, which became part of the Arabic writing system after al-Khalil, played a role in the development of the art of calligraphy in their capacity as decorative elements. Ancient manuscripts indicate that most of these marks took their final shape in stages. The forms of the fathah, kasrah, and dammah did not change much; nor did nunnation with the fathah or kasrah. Nunnation with the dammah, however, seems to have begun as $\overset{\cdot}{\text{ـ}}$ or $\overset{\cdot}{\text{ـ}}$ then changed into $\overset{\cdot}{\text{ـ}}$ until it took its present shape of $\overset{\cdot}{\text{ـ}}$. Before the time of al-Khalil, the letter (the second letter of the word or shaddah) was used to symbolize doubling. This letter, like the other diacritical marks, was placed above or below the appropriate letter, using a finer pen than the one used for the text. It was written according to the vowel, as follows:⁶²

Shaddah and fatha

Shaddah and kasrah

Shaddah and dammah

The letter dal also took the form of a small arc; it was first written by means of dots indicating vowel points, but these were later dropped:

⁶² Al-Dani 1960, 50.

Shaddah and fathah
Shaddah and kasrah
Shaddah and dammah
Shaddah and fathah
Shaddah and kasrah
Shaddah and dammah

The first to use the *dal* as a *shaddah* were the scholars of Medina, from whom the North Africans took it. The forms $\hat{}$, $\check{}$, and $\hat{}$, with the first and last signs being sharply angular, have continued to be characteristic of North African script. (Maghrib).

As for the other orthographic signs, the ' and its ancient form was used for the *sükun* (or absence of a vowel between two consonants), which seems to be the first letter of the word *جزم*, (*jazm*) or, more probably, the first letter of the word *خفيف*, (*khafif*) and was placed on letters with no hamzah. Earlier examples of the *wasl* (elision of the *alif*) and the *madd* (elongation of the *alif*) may also point to the origins of orthographic signs and their meaning. These two signs were written as *صل* and *مد* above the letter, using a fine pen. The first means that the letter is unpronounced, the second, that the letter is long. The *shaddah* must also have been written as *سد* in the beginning, meaning that the letter is doubled. Long vowels⁶³ were treated as having a *sükun* taking the vowel point of the preceding letter. They were written as follows: a: $\acute{}$, i: $\u00b7$, u: $\u00b8$. The *hamzah*, however, was the most problematic and, for a long time, it continued to be written in various forms. As mentioned above, the initial long *alif* was written as a letter with a short vowel, followed by a letter with a *sükun*, thus: it was even written as:

The measures taken to perfect the writing system in order to

⁶³ In his analysis of the internal structure of Arabic verse rhythm, al-Khalil observed the succession of vocalized and unvocalized letters of the written form of the verse and was able to isolate the long vowels in the above-mentioned way.

do justice to the language and to forestall misreading left no letter in the alphabet (alifba) without its own distinctive mark. Dotting or pointing of similar letters, for example, removed possible confusion, as in ب، ت، ث، د، ذ، س، ش، ط، ظ etc.

Undotted letters were given other signs to prevent confusion. Thus, the letters ر and س were given the superscript ...or v or v. The letter ح was given a smaller ح or .. , > beneath it. The letter ص was given a smaller beneath it and the marks ... ,or ... above it. The letter ط was given a smaller ط beneath it, and the letter ع was given a smaller or shortened ع beneath it: ع

As for ك, which was inclined to the left and thus distinct from ل to begin with, it was given an extra sign, ك, so that the letter was written كلك. This small additional sign developed into a horizontal line rather early; today, it is called the stroke of the *kaf*. When it was written alone or at the end of the word, it became smaller and started to look like a small *kaf* or even like a *hamzah*.

Finally ه was also provided with a small sign, ه, below it to indicate that it was not a *ta' marbutah* (ة, آ) with the dots left off. The letters د and ط were also dotted below, but this was rarely done with the letters ر and ص.

These scribal or orthographic features chosen from several early documents other than the *mushafs* illustrate how the Arabic script was being closely linked with the written language.⁶⁴ In fact,

⁶⁴ In connection with this topic, we consulted the following MSS:

a) Al-Farazdaq's Diwan copied by Abu al-Tayyib Ahmad b. Ahmad al-Warraq, known as Ibn Akht al-Shafi'i (al-Shafi'i's nephew), in 331/943 from a version in the hand of al-Sukkari (275/888). A facsimile of this version, whose original, bearing no. 8800, is located in the Zahiriyah Library and was published by the Academy of Arabic Language (Damascus, 1385/1965). In his introduction to this edition, Shakir al-Fakhkham describes the orthographic and calligraphic characteristics of this version (pp. 4-7) and gives information derived from al-Hamawi 1936, 2: 137 about the copyist, who was the warraq (bookseller) of al-Jahshiyari (331/943).

b) A copy of al-Muqfaclab by Abu al-Abbas al-Mubarrad (285/898) copied in

it would be virtually impossible to misread a text written in this alphabet and with these orthographic rules, which were developed by Muslim scholars who were meticulously systematizing and transmitting the sciences of their time. The modern vowel markers and orthographic signs are the result of reasonable simplification of this highly detailed system of writing.

Some people have considered reading and writing without the diacritical marks, especially the vowel markers, a sign of

Baghdad by Muhalhil b. Ahmad in 347/958 [8], This rare copy was first described by Rescher 1910, 197-207, and by Ritter 1953, 67-68 (Plates II, III). The book was published based on this single MS copy (Cairo, 1385-1388), but the publisher did not mention its calligraphic and orthographic peculiarities. There is another recent description of the MS in Şeşen 1986, 2: 172-177. See also note) 10 below.

c) Abu Abd Allah Muhammad b. al-Abbas al-Yazidi (d. 310/922), Kifah al-Amalr. (İstanbul, Aşir Efendi Library, No. 904 [12]j. It was copied in 370/980 by Abu Abd Allah Muhammad b. Asad al-Bazzaz, Ibn al-Bawwab's master. The book was published, based on this copy in Hyderabad (Deccan) in 1367/1948. There is nothing in the introduction to this edition about the calligraphic or orthographic characteristics of this copy. On the copyist Ibn Asad see notes 111 and 112 below.

d) A copy of Abu Sa'îd al-Sirafî's (368/979), book Akbbar al-Nahwiyyin al-Basriyyin copied by AH b. Shadhan al-Razi in 376/986 (İstanbul, Şehid Ali Paşa Library, No. 1842). It was published by F. Krenkow in Beirut, 1936. A mushaf copied by AH b. Shadhan al-Razi is extant today.

e) An anthology copied by al-Hasan b. AH al-Siqillh al-Nahwi (d. 391/1001) in 386/996 containing Kitab al-Mudhakkar wa al-Mu'annath by Abu Hatim al-Sijistani (255/868-869), the great philologist from Basra and Kitab al-Maqsur wa al-Mamdud by Ibn al-Wallad (d. 332/943)-. (Konya, Yusuf Ağa Library, No. 254) The book was first described in the following: Ateş 1952, 59, 62-63. Çetin 1956, 96-97. See also note 102 below.

f) Hassan b. Thabit's Diwan (İstanbul, TSMK HI. Ahmed, No. 2534). The Diwan was copied in 419 A.H. from a version bearing a reading record dated 255.

g) Kitab al-Mudhakkar wa al-Muannath by Abu Bakr b. al-Anbari (328/940), (İstanbul, Beşir Ağa Library, No. 179). It was copied by Hibat Allah b. al-Hasan b. Ya'qub al-Katib in 520/1126 and was read to Mawhub b. Ahmad al-Jawaliqi in the same year. This copy is a marvelous example of books preserved from al-Jawaliqi's circle, for he had revived the traditions of the third and fourth centuries A.H. in writing, teaching, and transmission of traditions, and revived the orthographic practices of those eras. For a description of this copy, see Çetin 1956, 103-104. The book was published in Baghdad in 1978; see the introduction therein by Dr. Tariq Abd Awn al-Jannabi, p. 68.

education and intelligence.⁶⁵ Consequently, they consider the use of these marks an insult to their intelligence. But it is unfair of those who seek ways to reform the Arabic script to quote previous intellectuals, such as the poet Abu Nuwwas and others, in support of their convictions.

The Era of the Balanced Scripts, al-Khatt al-Mavzun

With the advent of Islam, the Arabic script not only began to be perfected as a writing system, it also began to develop as an art form. The second development started to take shape during the Umayyad period. The generally horizontal lines and angular form of early script reserved mainly for the *Holy Qur'an*⁶⁶ was known as the *kufi* script, so named for its development in Kufah after its beginnings in Damascus. The term *kufi* acquired several subsidiary characteristics that varied with time and place, but it became the common name for scripts with certain basic characteristics. The art of calligraphy found its real outlet, however, in the more rounded form of script (*mustadir*) mentioned above. Although the rounded

⁶⁵ For the poem the famous poet Abu Nuwwas (d. 198/813) wrote on the occasion of receiving a fully dotted and vocalized letter, see al-Suli 1341, 61 and the poet's *Diwan* 1898, 408-409. In that poem Abu Nuwwas says:

O writer, you have written a letter in my abuse.
 (and who can endure writers' cleverness?):
 Not only did you fully dot the letter.
 but parsed it and vocalized it accordingly.
 Did you think it would be misunderstood,
 or did you distrust my ability to read it?
 Had you severed the letters one from the other,
 leaving them totally unrelated.
 I would still have understood your intent perfectly.

Similar to this is the following from al-Abbas b. al-Ahnaf:

The writer of this letter abuses me
 intentionally by exaggerating and over dotting.
 if you wish, I learned from the dotting;
 you seem to have thought I wouldn't understand.

⁶⁶ See, e.g., Ibn al-Nadim 1871, 6-7. The author devoted whole chapters to the scripts used in the mushafs and their copyists.

form was reserved at first for unimportant documents of daily transactions, it soon acquired certain characteristics that made it suitable for official business under the Umayyads in Damascus. There it was adopted by clerks responsible for keeping official records and composing the ever-increasing official administrative correspondence; by compilers, translators, and copyists involved in the growing endeavor of writing and translating books: by the new profession of booksellers (*warraqs*);⁶⁷ and by scholars employed as librarians in the libraries that were already starting to appear.

The earliest artist mentioned by our sources is Khalid b. Abu al-Hayyaj, who flourished in the days of Ali's caliphate and under the Umayyads. This artist wrote twenty-four surahs comprising ninety-three verses, beginning with surah XCI (The Sun) and continuing through the end of the *Holy Qur'an*. He wrote them in gold on the wall of the qiblah in the Prophet's Mosque in Medina. In addition, Sa'd, keeper of the *mushafs* (that is, the custodian of the first known organized library in the Islamic world), commissioned Abu al-Hayyaj to copy *mushafs*, traditions, and verses on behalf of Caliph al-Walid b. Abd al-Malik (reigned 86-96/705-715). Ibn al-Nadim reports that he saw a *mushaf* in Abu al-Hayyaj's handwriting.⁶⁸

Another early artist was Abu Yahya Malik b. Dinar (d. 131/748-749), known as al-Warraq (the bookseller or stationer)⁶⁹ who used

⁶⁷ On the *warraqs* and their profession see note 95 below.

⁶⁸ On Khalid see Ibn al-Nadim 1871, 6 and, quoting him, al-Qifti 1369-1393, 1: 8. Although the translator of the *Fihrist* into English says that it was not possible to ascertain the identity of the above-mentioned Sa'd or the claim that he might have been one of the leading figures of Damascus, Eche, on the strength of what he has found in Ibn al-Nadim 1871 and al-Sam'ani (see also Ibn al-Athir, 1357-1359, 2: 145, says that the appellation "al-Masahifi" means that Sa'd was the keeper of the *mushafs* in the library of Caliph Abd al-Malik (d. 96/714). Thus, he was the first librarian in the Islamic world whose identity has been ascertained. (See Eche 1967, 18).

⁶⁹ Ibn Qutaybah 1960, 470-577; al-Bayhaqi 1902, 108; Ibn al-Nadim 1871, 6; and Ibn Khallikan 1976, 4: 139-140.

to copy *mushafs* on commission. After these two came Qutbah al-Muharrir (d. 154/771),⁷⁰ the earliest artist to be called *muharrir*, a term that distinguished the artist from the scribe and the earliest epithet applied to calligraphers.⁷¹ It was only at a later date that the word *khattat*, or calligrapher, replaced the word *muharrir*.

Ibn al-Nadim says Qutbah produced four *qalams* (pens, or scripts), but he does not mention their names or describe their characteristics. The *qalam al-tumar* must have been one of them, however, as it means the width of the “grand pen” (*qalam al-jalil*), which was in use before Qutbah; in other words, the name of the script denoted the width of the pen used for large lettering and, consequently, the size of the letters. The *qalam al-tumar* was also used as the basis for determining the thickness of the various smaller pens, which were soon standardized. The term *tumar* refers to a certain size of sheet made of vellum, papyrus, and, later, paper (*kaghid*). It can be assumed, therefore, that Qutbah was the first to determine the proper thickness of letters according

⁷⁰ Ibn al-Nadim 1871, 7.

⁷¹ Early calligraphers with distinctive styles were at first called “musharris” and fine writing was called *tahrir*. In *Kawaid-i Hüsn-i Hat*, a treatise written by Tokadlı İmam Mehmed Efendi (d. 1052 A.H.), one of the calligraphers of the age of the Ottoman Sultan Murad IV, the author uses the word *yazar*, the Turkish word for writer, in talking about the great calligraphers like Ibn al-Bawwab and Yaqut. This means that the Turkish “*yazar*” was equivalent to the Arabic word “*muharrir*” meaning *khattat*. Here it may be worthwhile to correct an important error. İmam Mehmed Efendi’s treatise was published in a facsimile edition in Damascus (no date) by Erzurumlu Mustafa Najatuddin Efendi under the title of *Sülis Yazısı Rehberi*, i.e., *Guide for the Thuluth Script*, and the subtitle: “A valuable treatise composed by the late Sayyid Mehmed Majdi Efendi in 1278.” The author’s name and the date of composition mentioned in the printed version are in reality the name of the copyist and the date of the completion of the copy used for that edition. (On the word *yazar*, i.e., calligrapher, see p. 8 of this edition.) Of this treatise several manuscripts are extant, and a beautiful copy dated 1119, is found in the Topkapı Sarayı Library, İstanbul (R, 1505). (See Karatay 1962-1969, 2: 4). For the term “*muharrir*” see notes 147 and 148 below. According to the late Nihad M. Çetin, this risale belongs to Tokadlı İmam Mehmed Efendi. (Editor’s note: However, recent researches conducted after Çetin passed away show that it was copied by Mehmed bin Taceddin (d. 996/1588), a previous calligrapher. See Tüfekçioğlu 1997).

to the size of the sheet they were written on.

The sizes of the other three unnamed scripts attributed by Ibn al-Nadim to Qutbah were determined in relation to the *tumar*. The deciding factor was the nature of the official and administrative affairs of state being transcribed. The *tumar*, the largest of the standard sizes, was reserved for the Umayyad Caliphs' decrees (*alamat*), for it was deemed desirable to have proclamations issued from the caliph's office written in letters that would be easily distinguishable from those used by other offices or by the common people. Reports have it that al-Walid b. Abd al-Malik (86-96/705-715) was the first to introduce this practice, but 'Umar b. Abd al-Aziz (99-102/717-720) did not use large letters because they required too much paper.⁷² This economizing was abandoned after him, however, and the *tumar* was used again, especially in letters sent by the caliphs and the later Muslim monarchs and rulers to other monarchs. During the Umayyad period, then, we can conclude that the sizes of papers used for different kinds of documents were standardized, as were the sizes of letters and pens.

Toward the end of the Umayyad period and the beginning of the Abbasid period, two men from Damascus developed the calligraphic art begun by Qutbah to such an extent that Qutbah was soon forgotten. The first was al-Dahhak b. Ajlan al-Katib, a contemporary of the Caliph al-Saffah (132-136/749-754); the second was Ishaq b. Hammad al-Katib, who flourished during the days of al-Mansur (136-158/754-775) and al-Mahdi (158-169/775-785) and had many apprentices.⁷³ These two artists were said to be masters of the "grand script" (*qalam al-jalil*), which al-Qalqashandi and Ibn al-Sa'igh rightly identify as the *tumar* script or something very close to it. Ishaq b. Hammad's apprentices included many important contributors to the rapid growth of the art of calligraphy. The details of their lives remain unknown to us,

⁷² Al-Qalqashandi 1913-1918, 3: 53.

⁷³ On al-Dahhak and Ishaq see al-Baghdadi 1952-1954, 128; Ibn al-Nadim 1871, 7 (here, fifteen of Ishaq's students are mentioned); al-Qalqashandi 1913-1918, 3: 16; Ibn al-Sa'igh 1981, 42.

however, and even their names are uncertain; among them were Ibrahim al-Sijzi (or al-Shajari), Yusuf Laqwah, the female slave Thana' al-Katibah, and Ahmad b. Abu Khalid.

Ibrahim al-Sijzi,⁷⁴ for example, having mastered the *jalil* script he was taught by his master, added two scripts that were narrower than the *tamar*, which he called the “two-thirds,” or *thuluthayn* (الثلاثين) and “one-third,” or *thuluth* (الثلث) scripts, so named for their size in relation to the width of the *tumar*. His brother, the writer and poet Yusuf Laqwah,⁷⁵ added a script called the “heavyish halfsize,” or *nisf al-thaqil* (النصف الثقيل), later known as the signature script, or *qalam al-tawqiat* (قلم التوقيعات). The vizier al-Fadl b. Sahl —or Dhu al-Riyasatayn, he of the two premierships (d. 202/818)— admired this script and called it the *Uyasf*.⁷⁶

The Vizier Abu al-Abbas Ahmad b. Abi Khalid Yazid b. Abd al-Rahman al-Ahwai (in office 203-212/818-827)⁷⁷ was one of the writers admired by al-Ma'mun. According to one story,⁷⁸ Ibn al-Tarjuman, who was delegated by al-Wathiq (reigned 227-232/842-847) to the Byzantine monarch, saw a letter written by Ahmad b. Abu Khalid al-Ahwal exhibited among the king's precious possessions. We can confidently say this story is mistaken, however, for the most important calligrapher to appear in the time of al-Ma'mun (198-218/813-833) was al-Ahwal al-Muharrir; the little we know

⁷⁴ Al-Baghdadi 1952-1954, 118 (in the form Ibrahim b. al-Sijzi), note 3; al-Qalqashandi 1913-1918, 3: 16 (in the form “Ibrahim al-Shajari”).

⁷⁵ On him see al-Baghdadi 1952-1954, 119; Ibn al-Nadim 1871, 7; al-Qalqashandi 1913-1918, 16; Ibn al-Sa'igh 1981, 43; also see al-Marzubani 1969, 504; al-Isfahani 1972, 20: 93-96; and al-Hamawi n.d., 20: 59-60.

⁷⁶ In view of what al-Qalqashandi (and Ibn al-Sa'igh following him), say, one of the later authors says that this pen was later known as *qalam al-tawqi'af* (the signature pen). See references cited in the previous note.

⁷⁷ On him see Ibn Khallikan 1976, 2: 123, 521-522, 3: 475; Ibn Abd Rabbihi 1948-1950, 1: 29. 2: 274.

⁷⁸ Al-Suli 1341. 45; al-Tawhidi 1951, 36; and, for a similar story regarding Ibn Muqlah, see al-Athari 1958, 57-58.

about him comes from one obscure report.⁷⁹ Ibn al-Nadim says the caliph used to commission this man to write letters on the *tumar* to send to foreign monarchs. The similarity in name and in soubriquet, and the fact that the two were contemporaries, made it easy to confuse them even in ancient times. Both Abri al-Qasim al-Baghdadi and al-Qalqashandi report that al-Ahwal al-Muharrir, having mastered the *thuluthayn* and the *thuluth* at the hands of his master Ibrahim al-Sijzi invented the “half” script, or *qalam al-nisf* (قلم النصف) based on the “grand” script reserved for the *tumar*. He also invented the “light half,” *khafif al-nisf* (خفيف النصف) and the “light third,” or *khafif al-thuluth* (خفيف الثلث), which were more delicate versions of *thuluth* and *nisf*. To this artist were attributed eleven scripts in all, which include, in addition to those mentioned above, *musalsal* (مسلسل), in which the letters are linked); *khatt al-mu'amarat* (خط المؤامرات); and *khatt al-qasas* (خط القصص). He is the best representative of calligraphy during the period between Qutbah al-Muharrir and Ibn Muqlah.

This brief survey shows a four-step evolution in calligraphy:

1. The artists first considered the most suitable pen sizes for the various paper sizes, using the width of the largest pen tip as a baseline against which to measure other pens. Thus they had a 2/3 pen, a 1/2 pen, a 1/3 pen, and so on. They also made smaller pens suitable for smaller-sized paper.

2. They reserved specific thicknesses of line for various sizes of paper for use in the *diwans*, government offices, and other fields.

3. The scripts written by various pens for different purposes acquired special characteristics and began to be differentiated.

⁷⁹ Al-Jahshiyari 1938, 45-47 (quoting *Baday' al-Bidayah*); Ibn al-Nadim 1871, 8-9; al-Hamawi n.d. 4: 126-127; al-Safadi 1981, 8: 300-301, no. 3717. They all repeat the same story except Ibn al-Nadim.

Thus, the *musalsal* (unbroken script) attributed to al-Ahwal al-Muharrir denoted both a special style and a special thickness of line. The use of the term *khattat* (script) instead of *qalam* (pen), as in *khatt al-qisas* and *khatt-mua'marat*⁸⁰ illustrates this point.⁸¹

4. The question of size was not limited to the proportions of width in relation to the point of the pen, which gave us the $\frac{2}{3}$, the $\frac{1}{2}$, and the $\frac{1}{3}$. The artists also talked about thickness (*thaqil*) and thinness (*khafif*), which opened the way to the appearance of subsidiary sizes. Al-Ahwal al-Muharrir was well-versed in the various lettering styles that had appeared before him and the rules and laws governing their shape, and it is quite likely that he wrote a treatise on the subject.

It is worth pointing out that the use of pens of standard size in all kinds of scripts, *kufior mustadir* (rounded), opened up new possibilities for the art of calligraphy, especially the rounded scripts. Ibn al-Nadim listed twenty-four different sizes of pens in use in his time and described the kinds of scripts they were used for and their relative proportions to each other. As for the width of the pens and the lines they produced, the tip of the grand pen reserved for the *tumar* was as wide as 24 hairs of a workhorse's tail laid side by side⁸² (one hair is estimated to be about 625 μ m; 24 would be 15 mm). The *alif* written with such a pen was $24 \times 24 = 576$ hairs in height (approximately 360 mm).⁸³ The sizes of the three other basic pens were as follows:

⁸⁰ Ibn al-Nadim 1871, for example, mentions him under *qalam*; in al-Baghdadi, 1952-1954, 129 and al-Qalqashandi 1913-1918, 3: 16, he is mentioned under *khatt*. But later the word *qalam* was more often used to indicate a style of writing, as in the phrase "the six pens", and the word *thuluth* lost its reference to proportion, which it had signified in the beginning.

⁸¹ Ibn al-Nadim 1871, 7-8; 13-14.

⁸² Muhammad Abd al-Qadir Abd Allah says it is a hair of a Turkistani horse's tail. (Abd Allah 1968, 101). But, he does not mention his source.

⁸³ Al-Qalqashandi 1913-1918, 2: 454-455, 3: 52-53; Grohmann, 1963, xii and al-Juburi 1977, 132-134.

	Two-thirds	One-half	One-third
Tip Alif	16 hairs (10 mm)	12 hairs (7.5 mm)	8 hairs (5 mm)
	16x16=256 hairs (256x625=160)	12x12=144 hairs (144x625=90 mm)	8x8=64 hairs (64x625=40mm)

These widths indicate the widths of the lines made when the arithmetical proportions of the tips are constant. Notice that the height of the *alif* and consequently the size of the other letters and the horizontal lengths of the reclining letters, are determined by squaring the width of the tip. Thus the width of the half script is one-fourth the length of its *alif* in spite of the fact that the width of the pen tip is half that of the *tumar*.

In other words, scripts that varied primarily according to the size of the pens soon acquired different characteristics as well, especially with regard to the varying proportions of the thickness of the lines and the length of the perpendicular and horizontal lines of some letters. Thus, new styles appeared that later were reserved for different purposes. "The original and balanced scripts" (*al-khutut al-asliyyahwa al-mawzunah*) was the name of the scripts invented by the artists mentioned above. They developed these scripts in accordance with proportions that satisfied their tastes, temperaments, and aesthetic judgment, under the patronage of the Abbasid caliphs and their viziers during the late second century A.H. (8th century A.D.) and the early third. We know the names of some of the more famous of these artists, along with their particular skills. They include al-Zaqif (Ahmad b. Muhammad),⁸⁴ renowned especially for his *thulut* hand esteemed by Ibn al-Zayyad (d. 233/847), the vizier, poet, and man of letters; Ibn Ma'dan, master of the *jalil*;⁸⁵ and Abu al-Husayn Ishaq b. Ibrahim al-Barbari,

⁸⁴ Al-Baghdadi 1952-1954, 129 and al-Qalqashandi 1913-1918, 3: 17.

⁸⁵ For Muhammad b. Ma'dan see Ibn al-Nadim 1871, 9 (where, having mentioned Ibn Ma'dan as the master of Ishaq, the author names Banu Wajh al-Na'jah as actually being another man) and al-Baghdadi 1952-1954, 129. (He, too, considers Abu Dharjan Muhammad b. Ma'dan and Wajh al-Na'jah as two different persons); but al-Qalqashandi 1913-1918, 3: 16 treats Abu Dharjan and Muhammad b. Ma'dan as one person.

his most prominent student. Al-Barbari belongs to a family that boasted a number of calligraphers, one of whom was his father. Al-Barbari was tutor to the Caliph al-Muqtadir (reigned 295- 320/908-932) and to his children.⁸⁶ He was the author of the first book we know on calligraphy and writing, *Tuhfatal-Wamiq*⁸⁷ and the master of Ibn Muqlah, who started a new era in the history of calligraphy.

From its beginnings in the Arabian peninsula, the Arabic script was adopted by all nations embracing Islam, to the farthest corners of the globe. It became distinctly “Mamie” and continued to be identified with Islam for centuries to come, finding itself in new milieus, bustling with intellectual and artistic activity to rival that of the center of the Islamic caliphate. The most important such area was Egypt, where there were famous artists such as Tabtab al-Muharrir,⁸⁸ a scribe of Ibn Tülün (d. 270/884). The Baghdadis envied Ibn Tülün for having such an artist as a scribe. Yet, early in the fourth century A.H., as a result of at least three centuries of continued search and practice, the “original and balanced script” had acquired in Baghdad the features of a distinctive art, with its own rules and laws, at the hands of Ibn Muqlah —or, more accurately, the two brothers known by that name.

The Era of al-Khatt al-Mansub, the Proportioned Script

The brothers Abu Ali Muhammad b. Ali b. Muqlah (d. 328/940)⁸⁹

⁸⁶ Ibrahim b. Abd Allah al-Ahwal al-Barbari was Ishaq’s father, Ishaq’s brother Abu al-Hasan (who may well be Ali b. Ibrahim mentioned by Ibn al-Sa’igh 1981, 55), and his son Abu al-Qasim Ismail, and his grandson Abu Muhammad al-Qasim, and the other son of Ishaq, Abu al-Abbas Abd Allah, were all calligraphers (muharrirs). See Ibn al-Nadim 1871, 9; al-Tawhidi 1951, 29-30; al-Hamawi n.d., 6: 59-61.

⁸⁷ Al-Hamawi n.d., 6: 61; cf. Katib Çelebi 1941-1943, 1: 376 (author’s name: Abu al-Husayn Ishaq b. Ibrahim al-Sa’di?).

⁸⁸ Al-Qalqashandi 1913-1918, 3: 17.

⁸⁹ For Abu Ali b. Muqlah see Ibn al-Nadim 1871, al-Tawhidi 1951, 30, 33, 36-37; al-Hamawi n.d., 9, 33-34 (in the biography of his brother the author says that the biography of Abu Ali b. Muqlah was mentioned in its proper place, 29, line 13 and 6: 1-2, but this section is missing). See also Ibn Khallikan 1976, 5: 113-

and Abu Abd Allah al-Hasan b. Muqlah (d. 338/949)⁹⁰ are rightly considered the founders of a new era in the history of calligraphy. When we say “Ibn Muqlah,” we refer to AbuAli, but his brother, Abu Abd Allah, was no less skillful an artist. Yaqut al-Hamawi reports an old narrative describing the way Abu All used to work.⁹¹ This tradition, reported by his servants, is of special importance, for it reflects the artist’s temperament on the one hand and indicates the time-consuming nature of his work on the other. The contributions of the two brothers are generally considered together, but one can only conclude that the personality of the vizier Abu All was the weightier of the two, for he combined in himself the virtues of both and was more representative of the time.

Abu Ali Ibn Muqlah introduced a methodology with specific rules that made it possible to discover the harmony and proportions the various letters had acquired over three centuries of experimentation. Thus, the proportions of the *mawzun* script that earlier artists had intuitively discovered were laid down more clearly by Ibn Muqlah in accordance with the measurements of the art, a step that made it possible to analyze, study, and teach it. Al-Mansub (proportioned script), in which letters, separate or combined, were predictably proportional in size, replaced *ashl* and *mawzun* (balanced) calligraphy.⁹² Ibn Muqlah remained the guide and lodestar of later developments in the field. It is reported that he left thousands of sheets inscribed by him, together with two

117; Hindushah b. Sanjar 1934, 208-211; Tabataba’i 1973, 191-194; al-Qalqashandi 1913-1918, 3: 15, 18, passim; Müstakimzade 1928,428-430; Sanglakh 1288, 19-21; al-Athari 1958, 20, 47, 50 ff; al-Abbud, 1982, 1: 61-72; Zettersteen 1967, 776-777; Sourdel 1975b, 910-911 and the sources cited in these last references.

⁹⁰ On Abu Abd Allah al-Hasan and the other figures descending from this family and mostly known as “Katib”, and on Ibn Muqlah’s name, see Ibn al-Nadim 1871, 9; Ibn Khallikan 1976, 5: 117-118; al-Tha’alibi 1377, 3: 118-119; and Müstakimzade 1928, 159-160.

⁹¹ Al-Hamawi n.d., 9: 32; Ibn al-Sa’igh 1981, 48.

⁹² Some scholars believe that al-khatt al-mansub (the proportioned script) was developed not by Abu All, but by his brother Abu Abd Allah al-Hasan. See, e.g., Ibn Khallikan 1976, 3: 342.

mushafs, one of which remained for some time in Seville, while the other was kept in the library of Baha' al-Dawlah al-Buwayhi (reigned 379-403/989-1013) in Shiraz. Ibn al-Bawwab, who represents the second stage in Ibn Muqlah's school, completed the *juz'* that was lost of this *mushaf* so skillfully that no one would know the difference between the two scripts.⁹³

We understand that Abu Abd Allah paid more attention to the *naskh* script, while Abu Ali's preference was for *riqa'* and *tawqi'* Although no authentic samples by Ibn Muqlah are known to have survived, we may safely say that he had his followers and imitators. It is certain, moreover, that extant specimens dating from the fourth/ninth century, especially those written in *mustadir* (rounded) scripts, bear the stamp of his school. While the other forms of calligraphy were developing in connection with the *kufi* script in Egypt, to the west, and Iran, to the east, Iraq thus witnessed the birth of a new style.

Samples exist through which it is possible to see the sizes that were used in this new proportioned script, appropriate especially for copying books.

Scribes occupied an important position in government and administration, and calligraphy was an essential ingredient in their education. While the grand script (*jalil*) was being used on walls as a basic decorative element in architecture, scribes in high offices were using scripts developed in appropriate sizes from the *jalil*, such as *tumar*, *riyasi*, *thuluthayn*, and *tawqi'*. When the movement to write and translate books began under the Umayyads, libraries developed into research centers very much like modern institutes and academies. These research centers later developed into highly complex systems, under Harun al-Rashid and al-Ma'mun in particular, and became widely known as *Bayt al-Hikmah* (House of Wisdom) or *Khizanat al-Hikmah* (Treasury of Wisdom). Later, each cultural center witnessed the establishment of an institute known as *Dar al-ilm* (House of Knowledge) or *Dar al-Hikmah*

⁹³ Ibn Khallikan 1976, 5: 115 and al-Athari 1958, 51.

(House of Wisdom), like the one established by the Fatimids in Egypt late in the fourth century A.H. In these institutes, provided with well stocked libraries and bustling with the activity of writing translating, and copying,⁹⁴ the art of calligraphy found a perfect atmosphere for growth and development.

The services provided by the *warraqs* (booksellers)⁹⁵ were no less important in the history of calligraphy than those of the scribes themselves, for, together with the research centers, they promoted the literary and scientific movements of their day. They started as paid copyists but soon became book traders and stationers. The earliest known *warraq* was Malik b. Dinar (d. 131/748- 749), mentioned above. Libraries as well as major compilers and authors had their own *warraqs*, whose profession required that they be knowledgeable in calligraphy and grammar and have an extensive education. Scholars like Ibn al-Nadim (385/995), Abu Hayyan al-Tawhidi(400/1009-1010)⁹⁶ Yaqut al-Hamawi (626/1229), and many others are said to have been *warraqs* originally. These scribes and *warraqs* developed a script specifically used for book copying in the third and fourth centuries, known as the *warraqi muhaqqaq* or Iraqi script⁹⁷ A copyist, especially one engaged in copying books on language and literature, had to be a good calligrapher and was required to pay attention to the rules of orthography touched on above. He also had to have expert knowledge of the stages of *tadwin* (recordkeeping); the writing of books, narratives, and various other works; and of the teaching methods established in the second and third centuries A.H., all of which had tangible effects on bookmaking.

Biographical dictionaries contain accounts of a number of the more prominent of such figures, who might be called “scholarly

⁹⁴ Krenkow 1977, 1126-1128; Sourdel 1975 a, 1175; Sourdel 1977, 130; Eche 1967, 1- 160.

⁹⁵ See in this regard Zayyad 1947, 302-350; Harun 1965, 17-23.

⁹⁶ Zayyad 1947, 324; al-Halwaji 1978, 41-125.

⁹⁷ Zayyad 1947, 319.

warraqs.” They excelled mainly in language and literature and included between the IIIrd-IVth (IXrd-Xrd) centuries, Ibn al-Wadda’ Abd Allah b. Muhammad al-Azdial-Warraq (d. 230/845)⁹⁸ Abu al-Abbas Muhammad b. al-Hasan al-Ahwal al-Warraq (third century A.H.),⁹⁹ Abu Musa Sulayman al-Hamid (d. Dhu al-Hijjah 305/918),¹⁰⁰ All b. Muhammad al-Asadi, known as Ibn al-Küfi (d. 348/960),¹⁰¹ and Abu al-Hasan Alib. Abd al-Aziz al-Jurjani (d. 393/1002).¹⁰² There were scholarly *warraqs* in later times as well, including Abu Muhammad Yahya b. Muhammad al-Arzani (d. 415/1024),¹⁰³ a disciple of al-Sirafi’s; Ibn Rashiq (d. 456/1064),¹⁰⁴ the famous scholar; Abu Ja’far al-Qadi al-Zawzani (d. 463/1071),¹⁰⁵ and Abu al-Hasan Hibat Allah b. al-Hasan al-Katib,¹⁰⁶ the disciple of Abu Mansur Mawhub b. Ahmad al-Jawaliqi (d. 539/1144), al-Attabi (d. 556/1161),¹⁰⁷ Yaqut al-Hamawi (d. 626/1229), who devoted a part of his book to the biographies of calligraphers, and al-Nuwayri (d. 733/1333).¹⁰⁸ A number of these scholars used to gather around the great grammarian Abu Sa’id al-Sirafi (d. 368/970) in the fourth/tenth century. al-Jawaliqi, late in the sixth century, revived this practice.

Among the notable scholarly *warraqs* who kept the chain unbroken between Ibn Muqlah and Ibn al-Bawwab were some

⁹⁸ Ibn al-Nadim 1871, 80; al-Qifti 1369-1393, 2: 134.

⁹⁹ Ibn al-Nadim 1871, 79; al-Qifti 1369-1393, 2: 134.

¹⁰⁰ Ibn al-Nadim 1871, 79; al-Qifti 1369-1393, 2: 22; Zayyad 1947, 318.

¹⁰¹ Ibn al-Nadim 1871, 79; al-Hamawi n.d., 14: 153-154.

¹⁰² Al-Tha’alibi 1377, 4: 3; al-Hamawi n.d., 14: 16, 22; Ibn Khallikan 1976, 3: 279.

¹⁰³ Al-Tha’alibi 1934, 2: 102; al-Hamawi n.d., 20: 33-35; al-Hamawi 1965, I: 206 and al-Qifti 1369-1393, 4: 34-35.

¹⁰⁴ Al-Hamawi n.d., 3: 33.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 18: 20-21; al-Qifti 1369-1393, 3: 67.

¹⁰⁶ See note 64 (F) above.

¹⁰⁷ Al-Qifti 1369-1393, 3: 188. A copy of Adah al-Katib copied in 548 A.H. is preserved in Süleymaniye Library, Laleli, MS. no. 1665.

¹⁰⁸ Ibn Taghribardi 1358, 9: 299 (year 733).

who excelled as much in calligraphy as in their scholarly pursuits; indeed, some were better known as artists than as scholars. In the course of his account of the famous linguist Isma'il b. Hammad al-Jawhari (d. 4007/1010?),¹⁰⁹ al-Tha'alibi said, "His calligraphy was proverbial in excellence and was cited among the proportioned scripts like those of Ibn Muqlah, Muhalhil, and al-Yazidi. Al-Jawhari had learned the art in Iraq while pursuing his linguistic studies before he went to teach it in Nishapur. He was thus the first to spread Ibn Muqlah's style eastwards.

To this period belongs a book¹¹⁰ copied by Muhalhil b. Ahmad in 347/958; like al-Jawhari, he was a follower of al-Sirafi's school. The book appears to be one of the most beautiful and characteristic samples from this period (see Plate 8). Another book copied by Abu Abd Allah Muhammad b. Asad al-Katib al-Bazzaz al-Baghdadi (d. 410/1019),^{111,112} a leading master of this style, was finished in 370/980 and became an important milestone in the history of calligraphy (see Plate 12). Ibn Asad, who was the master of Ibn al-Bawwab, the uncontested master of the art whose style

¹⁰⁹ Al-Tha'alibi 1377, 4: 406-407, and, quoting this, al-Hamawi n.d., 4: 152-153 and al-Qifti 1369-1393, 1: 194-195.

¹¹⁰ On this copy see note 64 (B) above. Regarding al-Jawhari, al-Tha'alibi says: "His style in calligraphy is, like that of Ibn Muqlah, Muhalhil, and al-Yazidi, considered one of al-khutut al-mansubah] (proportioned scripts)" (see references given in note 109 above). It may be observed that books copied by this scholar-calligrapher, whose name was coupled with Ibn Muqlah's, were highly valued. Abd al-Qadir al-Baghdadi took care to mention that one of the two commentaries on the Diwan of Zuhayr was lodged in his own library and that it was copied by this man, adding that "he is Muhalhil, the well-known calligrapher, one of the masters of the well-proportioned script" (*Khizanat al-Adab*, 1299, 1: 376 and 1347 2: 291). We may also mention here another important sentence occurring at the end of a copy of al-Muqtadab, which we possess, about Muhalhil's calligraphy: "People were highly attracted to books containing a record indicating that Abu Sa'id al-Sirafi had read the book and corrected it." (See al-Hamawi n.d., 8: 190 and Zayyad 1947, 316-317). Such records related to al-Sirafi appear on the first page of each volume of the above-mentioned copy.

¹¹¹ On Ibn Asad see al-Khatib 1952-1954, 2: 83; Ibn Khallikan 1976, 3: 342-343; at-Safadi 1981 2: 201, n. 576; Ismail Pasha 1951-1955, 2: 61.

¹¹² See note 64 (C) above.

prevailed for three centuries beginning from the early part of the fifth century, admired Abu Abd Allah b. Muqlah's method. As mentioned earlier, Ibn Muqlah had developed a special script for copying books. Ibn Asad copied the book mentioned above, which was in Ibn Muqlah's hand. An ancient anonymous treatise¹¹³ on the proportioned script reports that Ibn Asad used to copy volumes of poetry or poetic anthologies in the *naskh* script, which was close to the *mahaqqaq*, a description that not only characterizes Ibn Asad's style but also the style that was prevalent at the time. This script is generally known as *naskhi*, which has a number of the characteristics of *mahaqqaq*, by then recognized as an independent form among the "six pens," with its own shapes and rules. This is the same script that was later developed into *rayhani* and *naskh*.

Another artist usually mentioned in the genealogical tree connecting Ibn Muqlah and Ibn al-Bawwab is Muhammad b. al-Simsimani,¹¹⁴ but information about him was mixed up with information about others rather early on.¹¹⁵ The scanty and

¹¹³ Risalah fi al-Kitabah al-Mansubah, ed. Khalil Mahmud Asakir, Majallat Ma'had al-Makhtutat at-Arabiyyah (1375/1955), 1: 126, lines 10-11, and, quoting this, al-Athari 1958, 48.

¹¹⁴ al-Qalqashandi 1913-1918, 3: 17; Ibn al-Sa'igh 1981, 50; Müstakimzade 1928 (in Turkish), 330-331, line 19.

¹¹⁵ Those artists whose biographies have been confused are:

a) Muhammad b. al-Simsimani, who may well be Abu al-Husayn Muhammad b. Ali al-Simsimani, mentioned in Bugyat al-Wu'at, 83, notwithstanding the reservations of al-Athari 1958, 19-20, 47. The date of his death is given as-Wednesday, 5 Muharram 415 A.H.

a) Some details of the biography of this man have been mixed up with those of the biography of Abu al-Hasan Ali b. 'Ubayd Allah b. Ghaffar al-Simsimani at a comparatively early date. The date of his death is given as occurring on the same day in the same month and year. Reasons other than the identity of the last name [al-Simsimani] also contributed to the confusion. Both, for example, studied under the same masters. Habib even says that they were "colleagues" in learning calligraphy (p. 43). Although there was some common ground between the two, Muhammad b. al-Simsimani was more prominent as a calligrapher while the other was more prominent in language and literature. On Abu al-Hasan Ali b. 'Ubayd Allah al-Simsimani see al-Khatib 1931, 12: 10; al-Anbari 1968, 230, 232; al-Hamawi

confused information about this artist —who, together with Ibn Asad, was referred to by al-Athari as the Muhammadayn (two Muhammads)¹¹⁶— gives us reason to believe that he was indirectly connected with Ibn Muqlah, that he belonged to the group that gathered in al-Sirafi's circle, which we had referred to earlier, and that he was a member of a distinguished small group of artists in the second half of the fourth/tenth century.¹¹⁷

We may note here that the style generally known as *kufi*, after its development in Kufah, kept its distinctive features and traditional use as the script of the *mushafs* for a while, but was gradually limited in use to a decorative element in book titles, architecture and on objects and utensils. In contrast, the *mawzin* (balanced) scripts, which were derived from the rounded script, became indispensable in the art of calligraphy and began to gain certain features, in addition to thickness of line and size of letters, which were closely connected to the proportions determined by Ibn Muqlah. This development entailed revision and selection; consequently, certain scripts of different sizes emerged to fit certain specialized uses.

It is difficult to know for certain which scripts were discarded in the process. The scripts on some extant works do not conform to known styles, yet they have obvious distinctive features. The script

n.d., 14: 58-61; al-Qifti 1369-1393, 2: 288 and 4: 150-151; Ibn Khallikan 1976, 3: 312; ZZughyaf aZ-Wu'af, 341.

c) It is quite probable that All b. Muhammad al-Simsimani al-Baghdadi, whose name has been mentioned in al-Qifti 1369-1393, 2: 305 and is said to have died on Wednesday 5 Muharram 415 A.H. is only a misreading for Muhammad b. Ali. Interestingly enough, the places mentioned by the publisher in his note regarding his biography do not actually concern him but Ali b. 'Ubayd Allah.

¹¹⁶ Al-Athari 1979, fol. 71b.

¹¹⁷ We gather from what Habib says (p. 43) that Muhammad b. Ali and Ali b. 'Ubayd Allah belong to the same generation. It is also said that al-Sirafi (368/970) and Abu al-Fath al-Maraghi (376/986) taught both of them. Their own students belong to the generation of persons that died in the first half of the fifth/eleventh century.

of a copy of an al-Sirafi book¹¹⁸ made in 376/986 by All b. Shadhan al-Razi, for instance, is a characteristic example of a style that was highly sought after in the eastern part of the Islamic World up to the late sixth/twelfth century (see Plate 10). On the other hand, some of the names of the scripts that have survived have probably been corrupted, and some terms remain ambiguous. Ibn al-Nadim, for example, mentions the compound word *khan hark* (خط برك) in the course of his account of Ibn Qutayba's works in his *Fihrist*.¹¹⁹ Some take the word *hark* (برك) to be the name of a district in Yemen, while others read it as *Turk* (ترك).¹²⁰

The word appears in various undotted shapes in manuscripts of the book; it has even been taken to mean *nazik*, Persian for soft.¹²¹ The correct meaning, however, is *nazil* (نزل) for as al-Suli (d. 336/947), quoting al-Tannukhi, says, "When a book is cluttered with writing, it is called *nazil*"¹²² This meaning of the word was included in important dictionaries. The number of script names mentioned by Ibn al-Nadim and read variously by modern scholars is considerable, but at least some of them can be reasonably ascertained with a careful review of scholarly editions of the different sources.

Ibn Muqlah's calligraphy remained the model for a century.

¹¹⁸ Istanbul, no. 1842 [al-Sirafi]. On this copy see note 64 (D) above. The same calligraphic features may be observed in the following books copied between the fourth and early sixth centuries A.H.:

a) Istanbul, no 3483 [r/qa].

b) Istanbul, no 3386 [al-Biruni].

c) Al-Harawi 1055, this copy is known as the earliest Persian MS. See on it, e.g., Ateş 1949, 1: 65; Yar-Shatir 1332, vol. 5, no. 4. al-Raduyani, pt. I, 63-64. There is also a copy of the ZZo/y Qur'an by Alt b. Shadhan al-Razi (Sec Plate 9).

¹¹⁹ Ibn al-Nadim 1871, 77. line 25, and, quoting this, Ibn Qutaybah, 21.

¹²⁰ Ibn al-Nadim 1970, 1: 171, note 5.

¹²¹ Ibn al-Nadim 1971, 85, line 19, note 7; 1343, 131, line 14.

¹²² Al-Suli 1341, 61, Ibn Mandhur under n-z-1: "khattun nazilun ayy mujtami'."

Ibn al-Bawwab (d. 413/1022)¹²³ whose art, together with that of his masters, descends from Ibn Muqlah —examined and imitated Ibn Muqlah's calligraphy for years until he equaled the master in his art.¹²⁴ Thereafter, he developed his own method and style. He selected characteristics common to the various scripts, made the geometric proportions of *al-khatt al-mansub* more exact, and directed the art of calligraphy, which had branched in different directions, toward the styles he had chosen. Ibn al-Bawwab composed a poem (*qasvdah*) on calligraphy and the pen,¹²⁵ and is said to have copied 64 *mushafs* and to have written small treatises and poetic anthologies, among other works (see Plates 13 and 14). Some of these works have been preserved, replacing the work of Ibn Muqlah and serving as wonderful models for calligraphers for three centuries.¹²⁶ (See Plates 50 and 51).

Ibn al-Bawwab's imitators were judged by how closely they adhered to his style and the characteristics of his school. One such imitator was Abu al-Fadl Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Dinawari (d. 518/1124), known as Ibn al-Khazin,¹²⁷ who tended to restrict himself to the *riqa'* and *tawqi'* scripts. Another was the traditionist Zaynab bint Ahmad b. Abu al-Faraj al-Ibāri al-Baghdadi (d. 574/1178), known as Shuhdah, one of the few remarkable women who excelled in this field, and who was taught by her father and then by Muhammad b. Abd al-Malik.¹²⁸ One of

¹²³ On Abu al-Hasan Ali b. Hilal al-Bawwab, sometimes known as Ibn al-Satri, see al-Hamawi n.d., 15: 120-134; Ibn Khallikan 1976, 3: 342-344, 5: 117, 6: 119, 7: 322; al-Qalqashandi 1913-1918, 3: 17; Ibn Khaldun 1960, 3: 958-960; Ibn al-Sa'igh 1981, 50-53; Qadi Ahmad 1959, 56-57; Müstakimzade 1928, 331; Habib 1305, 44; Huart 1967, 847; Sourdel-Thomine 1975, 536-537; Ünver 1958 b; al-Athari 1958.

¹²⁴ Al-Hamawi n.d., 15: 122-123; Sanjar 1934, 208, lines 20-22, and see note 93.

¹²⁵ See this poem in Ibn Khaldun 1960, Habib 1305, and places mentioned above. The poem has recently been published by Hilal Naji with the commentaries of Ibn al-Wahid (d. 711/1311) and Ibn al-Basis (d. 10th century A.H.), 1986, s.v. "Sharb al-Manzumat] al-Mustatabah fi ilm al-Kitabah, " al-Mawrid. 15/4: 259-270.

¹²⁶ See Ünver 1958 b, 22-33 and al-Athari 1958, 85-89.

¹²⁷ On him see Ibn Khallikan 1976, 1: 149-151, 7: 310; Sanglakh 1288, 22.

¹²⁸ On him see Ibn Khallikan 1976, 2: 477-478; al-Qalqashandi 1913-1918, 3: 18;

the most distinguished calligraphers to bear the name of Yaqut, other than al-Musta'simī,¹²⁹ was Amin al-Din Yaqut al-Mawsili-al-Maliki (618/1221),¹³⁰ who assumed the sobriquet al-Maliki in honor of Sultan Malikshah. Another fine calligrapher was Wall al-Din b. Zinki al-Ajami,¹³¹ Amin al-Din's student. The names of both these calligraphers occur in the genealogical tree of those who spread the mansub script as it was practiced in Egypt and Anatolia. Another name worthy of mention in this regard is that of the famous musician Safi al-Din Abd al-Mu'min al-Urmawi (693/1294), who was a courtier for the caliph al-Musta'sim and then became head librarian in the newly established library of the caliph. Yaqut al-Musta'simī learned calligraphy from this artist.¹³²

Baghdad remained the center for calligraphic development for about five centuries. During this period of revision and selection, the greatest artist was Abu al-Majd Jamal al-Din Yaqut b. Abd Allah al-Musta'simī (698/1298), who also grew up in Baghdad.¹³³ In the history of calligraphy, this artist was like the meeting place of various rivers, where they become clear and limpid, then branch again in different directions. Although he is sometimes linked to Shuhdah bint al-lbarī¹³⁴ on the calligraphic genealogical tree, the Yaqut who should occupy that position is Amin al-Din al-Maliki,¹³⁵ for it is necessary, in a chain like this, for one or

Ibn al-Sa'igh 1981, 53-54; Müstakimzade 1928, 227-228; Habib, 48; Dhihni 1294, 1: 343.

¹²⁹ On the calligraphers known as Yaqut b. Abd Allah and the sources dealing with them, see Çetin 1986, 352-357.

¹³⁰ On him see al-Hamawi n.d., 19: 312-313; Ibn Khallikan 1976, 6: 119-122; Müstakimzade 1928, 576-577; İsmail Pasha 1951-1955, 2: 513.

¹³¹ al-Qalqashandi 1913-1918, 3: 14; Müstakimzade 1928, 573.

¹³² Müstakimzade 1928, 575; Habib 1305, 51.

¹³³ For brief information about Yaqut al-Musta'simī and the sources dealing with him, see Çetin 1986, 352-357.

¹³⁴ See, e.g., al-Athari 1979, fol. 71b.

¹³⁵ al-Qalqashandi 1913-1918, 3: 18. The statement in Çetin 1986, 354, col. 1, lines 23-31 should be corrected as here.

more links to intervene between al-Musta'simi and Shuhdah. It appears that al-Musta'simi studied under Safi al-Din al-Urmawi and others, but his real debt goes to Ibn Muqlah and, especially, to Ibn al-Bawwab, whose calligraphic works he studied carefully and long.

Although al-Musta'simi generally adhered to the rules put forth by Ibn Muqlah and developed by Ibn al-Bawwab, he nevertheless added gracefulness to the style of the latter and came up with a style of his own. The change he introduced to the shape of the pen—increasing the angle of the cut and thickening the tip—had a marked effect on the six basic scripts (*muhaqqaq*, *rayhani*, *thuluth*, *tawqi'*, *rika'*, and *naskhi*). He particularly excelled in improving *muhaqqaq* and *rayhani*. *Thuluth* and *naskh*, however, had to wait until the appearance of the Ottoman school to reach the same degree of perfection.

Most of Yaqut's surviving works are *mushafs*, and the large number of complete *mushafs* (see Plates 23, 25, and 26) or *An'ams* (Qur'anic selections of one or more surahs) found in various libraries and museums supports the widespread conviction that no other calligrapher copied more *mushafs*.¹³⁶ After the *Holy Qur'an*, Yaqut most preferred to copy small collections of Traditions and short verse volumes and anthologies, in addition to his own treatises in verse and prose.¹³⁷ (See Plates 24 and 27.) Some of the extant works bearing his signature are not authentic but are copies; locating and identifying these copies requires serious study. The confusion arises from Yaqut's arrangements with his students. To advance in their art and develop a personal style, calligraphy students first had to comprehend the most minute details of their master's style through a period of emulation that might last for years—a method we might describe as the extraction of copies (*çıkartma*) of the master's calligraphic models. Thus the most

¹³⁶ See, e.g., Karatay 1962-1969, 1: 29-36, no. 89-110. There are twenty-two works varying in dates between 640 and 696 A.H. See also TIEM, no. 28, 328, 505, 507, 525.

¹³⁷ On the nature of these books and some of their MSS, see Çetin 1986, 354-355.

talented students would follow the great master of the age, who represented the highest stage in his teaching line, although they occasionally differed in their understanding of his method. Yaqut, for example, became the center of a “Yaquti school” during his lifetime. Consequently, the names of such masters as Yaqut and Seyh Hamdullah cannot be mentioned in isolation, for Yaqut’s art, with his signature, was copied by his students and his students’ students.

Yaqut did not leave Baghdad after the fall of the Abbasids (656/1258); in fact, during this period, he was in his most productive phase and particularly excelled as a teacher. As his reputation grew throughout the Islamic world, talented students came from various places to study under him. Some of these students so distinguished themselves in his eyes that he permitted six of them to use his signature on their reproductions of his work.¹³⁸ Thus, although many works bear Yaqut’s signature along with that of one of his students, many others bear his name alone. In addition, some followers of Yaqut who did not study directly under him nevertheless copied his works, sometimes changing the original date to the date when it was copied. Consequently, we cannot assume that every work bearing Yaqut’s name is his.

Yaqut and his chosen six students were known as “the seven masters.” (See Plates 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 36, and 37.) The six students transmitted the characteristics of Yaqut’s school of calligraphy to various areas. Their names differ from one account to another, but the following names commonly occur: Ergun b. Abd Allah al-Kamili (d. 744/1343-1344; Plate 37); al-Shaykh Ahmad b. al-Suhrawardi (Plates 28, 29, and 30); Mubarakshah al-Suyufi; Mubarakshah b. Qutb (Plate 31); Abd Allah b. Mahmud al-Sayrafi (Plate 32); and Nasr Allah al-Tabib. The names Yusuf b. Yahyaal-Mashhadi (or al-Khurasani, al-Harawi, or al-Kufi) and Sayyid Haydar Gundah Nuwis also occur.¹³⁹

¹³⁸ Qadi Ahmad 1959, 60.

¹³⁹ On these persons, the sources dealing with them, and the copies preserved of their writings, see Çetin 1986, 355-356.

Although some of Yaqut's gifted contemporaries, such as Wall al-Din al-Ajami, followed Ibn al-Bawwab, it is certain that Yaqut was influential in developing and popularizing the mansub (proportioned) script, either directly or through his students.

Calligraphy After Yaqut

With its ties to the sciences and the fine arts, calligraphy became the most prominent arena for artistic competition in the Islamic world of the eighth/fourteenth century. After this time, Baghdad (or rather, Iraq) lost its preeminent position in the development of calligraphy. When we consider the level this art attained in various regions, we can understand Ibn Khaldun's theory that¹⁴⁰ the rise and fall of calligraphy —as of all the arts and sciences— are linked directly to social and political conditions and to civilization and wealth. After calligraphy's initial development in the Hijaz, Kufah, Basrah, Damascus, and Baghdad, artists in the Eastern regions of the Islamic world began devoting themselves to calligraphy under the Ghaznavids and the Great Seljuks. In the seventh and eighth/thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, during the days of the Ilkhanids, Timurids, and Jalayirids, calligraphy was highly appreciated and encouraged by the rulers, viziers, and princes. The Vizier Baysunghur b. Shah-Rukh (d. 837/1433),¹⁴¹ a patron of the arts and sciences, was a notable calligrapher himself. In his library, which was a veritable arts center, he employed some forty artists who specialized in calligraphy, ornamentation, engraving, gilding, and bookbinding. Calligraphic designs on the Jawhar Shad Khatun Mosque in Mashhad bearing his signature are a fascinating monument to the artistic level attained in the Yaqut-style *jali thuluth* script in the first half of the ninth/fifteenth century. Moreover, in the days of Sultan Abu al-Ghazi Mirza Husayn b. Mansür b. Bayqara (873-911/1469-1506), the ruler-poet

¹⁴⁰ Ibn Khaldun 1960, 3: 949.

¹⁴¹ On Baysunghur, see Togan 1970, 428-430.

of Khurasan, Herat witnessed an artistic and literary activity that almost overshadowed the sultan's military and political successes. Herat was the liveliest of the scientific and artistic centers during Abu al-Ghazi Mirza's reign; there, the arts of the book developed rapidly, not only in content, but in calligraphy, gilding, decoration, and binding. Much of this activity was carried out under the patronage of the sultan himself or that of his vizier, the distinguished poet Prince Amir All Shir Nawa'i (d. 906/1501).¹⁴²

In Egypt, meanwhile, calligraphy attained a high level of excellence under the Tulunids (254-292/868-905) and maintained it under the Fatimids (358-567/910-1171), the Ayyubids (569-650/1174-1252), and especially the Mamluks (648-932/1220-1517). Various extant documents date from these periods, as do *mushafs* and architectural calligraphic designs. A study of the historical data and archaeological remains indicates that Cairo became the second most important center of calligraphy after Baghdad until the eighth/fourteenth century. In Cairo, where Ibn al-Bawwab's style developed alongside the school of Baghdad, calligraphers later adopted Yaqut's refinements. They continued to follow the calligraphic traditions of the eighth/fourteenth century, more faithfully than calligraphers elsewhere, until the emergence of the Ottoman school (see Plates 50 and 51). Many Mamluk works have been preserved, along with some books on the theory, practice, and teaching of calligraphy. Ibn Khaldun, the great thinker who died early in the ninth/fifteenth century, points to the high level attained by the art and explains the reasons for this achievement. He also discusses the method of teaching calligraphy¹⁴³ —not, as some have thought, the teaching of ordinary writing.¹⁴⁴ In Andalusia and North Africa (al-Maghrib), students were given

¹⁴² On Ibn Bayqara and All Shir Nawa'i and the scientific and artistic environment in which they lived, see Togan 1965, 349-357 and Togan 1964, 434-440 as well as Subtelny 1993, 90-93; Frye 1979, 177-178 and Beveridge 1964, 645-646.

¹⁴³ Ibn Khaldun 1960, 3; 949-950.

¹⁴⁴ Note 1275 in Ibn Khaldun 1960, and, quoting him, note 7 of Ibn Khaldun 1983.

a sentence to copy several times. In the words of Ibn Khaldun, "A learner learns the art by imitating the written sentence as a whole, and this continues under the supervision of the tutor until the learner masters the art." In Egypt, however, lessons in calligraphy began by teaching the shapes of the letters in isolation, according to rules for every letter laid down by the tutor. Specialized calligraphy teachers were found in Egypt. The pedagogical principles mentioned by Ibn Khaldun may be gleaned from two books: *al-Inayah al-Rabbaniyyahfi al-Tariqah ah-Sha'baniyyah*,¹⁴⁵ by Zayn al-Din Sha'ban b. Muhammad al-Athari, written in 800/1398, and *Subhal- A'sha*, the famous encyclopedia by al-Qalqashandi (d. 821/1418), in which the author devoted a detailed section to calligraphy.¹⁴⁶

In regions further removed from the Hijaz, Iraq, Syria, and Egypt, different styles developed under various circumstances. The most remarkable of these is the North African, which spread in North and West Africa, in the middle of that continent, and in Andalusia. This script retained vestiges from the period of early Islamic conquests and the period of transition in such matters as the order of the letters of the alphabet, the shapes and dots of some letters, and even the shapes of some vowel markers (*harakat*). Some of these vestiges still exist in the script today. It appears that this style first developed in Qayrawan (in present-day Tunisia), which was established in the year 50/670 and soon became a notable center for science, philosophy, and art, especially under the Aghlabids (184-296/800-909). B. Moritz¹⁴⁷ is certainly right in thinking that this North African style is not a natural development of the Eastern style of writing: rather, it seems to be a consciously developed style invented by some scholar who took the *kufi* script used in *mushafs* as his basis. In addition to the type known as the *Qayrawani* script (Plate 16), other subsidiary styles

¹⁴⁵ On the correct copy of this book used in this introduction, see the Bibliography.

¹⁴⁶ al-Qalqashandi 1913-1918, 3: 1-143.

¹⁴⁷ Moritz 1965, 508b.

also appeared, the most important of which were the *Mahdiyyah* and the Andalusian or Cordovan. The Andalusian replaced the *Qayrawani* and the *Mahdiyyah* scripts all over North Africa until the latter days of the Muwahhids (524-668/1 130-1269). Later there appeared a Fezian script, then, as of the seventh/fourteenth century, a Sudanese script. North Africa today has four different types of script: Tunisian, Algerian, Moroccan, and Sudanese.

During the several centuries before the second half of the ninth/fifteenth century, calligraphy continued to develop in two distinct lines. The first was restricted to the traditional and conservative milieu of the government offices where it stagnated. The second went through a natural evolution and gained brilliance in time. The latest stage in this evolution was achieved by the early calligraphers of the Ottoman school, who raised the art of Islamic calligraphy to the highest levels, basing the art on a system that took into account all the developments of the previous nine centuries. During this period, a number of traditions, measurements, and terms were developed, discarded, or replaced. Therefore, before discussing Ottoman calligraphy itself, it may be helpful to review briefly some of the developments that paved the way for this golden age of Islamic calligraphy.

One term that was replaced in the pre-Ottoman period was *muharrir*. Master calligraphers had been called *muharrirs* since the second/eighth century, and the word *tahrir* was used to denote artistic inscription.¹⁴⁸ It is probable that *muharrir* was replaced by *khattat* as early as the sixth/twelfth century.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁸ See note 71.

¹⁴⁹ In the MS copy of Ibn Qutaybah's *Adab al-Kuttab* (Istanbul, No. 1165), we see a collection record in which a scholar named Izz al-Din b. Nasr al-Khattat is mentioned. The same record informs us that this scholar read this book under All Abu Mansur al-Jawaliqi (539/1144). 'Umar b. al-Husayn (552/1157) is also known as al-Khattat (calligrapher), and in the 6th/12th century he was a famous artist of the school of Ibn al-Bawwab. See al-Hamawi n.d., 16: 59-60. On the strength of a comparatively old tradition we may infer that earlier the term "khattat" was not understood to mean "artist"; rather it denoted "a person who taught reading and writing". The poet Dhu al-Rummah (d. 117/735), one of the poets of the Umayyad

The Egyptians, as mentioned earlier, were the most faithful to the conventions of the past. Al-Qalqashandi, who gave a detailed account of the state of calligraphy in Egypt, continued to uphold the old conventions still followed in the *diwan al-insha'* (or bureau of records and correspondence), in spite of the fact that in his book, he made use of al-Athari, the best authority on the kinds of scripts. The term *qalam*, for example, he sometimes used to mean the thickness of the letters (*misahatarad al-qalam*, or the width of the pen's tip) and sometimes to denote the style or type of calligraphy (the *tariqah*, to use his own term). Therefore, when we read his *Subh al-A'sha*, we must not confuse specific pens for writing scripts of various sizes with the types of script. Al-Qalqashandi devoted separate chapters to the following six *qalams* in the course of attempting to acquaint his readers with those used in his day in the *diwan al-insha'*: *al-tumar al-kamil: mukhtasar al-tumar al-thuluth* (*al-thuluth al-thaqil* and *al-thuluth al-khafif* are treated in the same chapter); *al-tawqi'at*; *al-riqa'* and *al-ghubar*.¹⁵⁰ In addition to using these terms to mean the various widths of the pens and the various styles of scripts that evolved through the use of these pens, he also uses such terms as the *tumar* method (*tariqah*), the *thuluth* method, and the *muhaqqaq* method, especially when he intends to denote styles of calligraphy.¹⁵¹ Briefly, the *qalam* meant the type of script as well as the instrument used to produce it.

Mention should also be made of the kinds of pens and scripts popular at the time in Egypt, as gathered from the two books *Subhal-A'shaandal-'Inayah al-Rabbaniyah*. They are: *al-tumar* and

period, used to go to the Badiyah (desert) to learn to write under the teacher who used to teach children of his own tribe how to read and write (al-Marzubani, 1965, 280). The poet inscribed in his mind the letters his teacher used to draw for him "on the sand in moonlit nights"; he did not write letters, but was able to read them. In two of the three reports that have come down to us through different routes, the poet mentions that this man was "Hayriyyan" (from Hirah) (line 8) and "hadariyyan" (of urban origin) (line 19). In the third report he said he was "khattat" (line 14).

¹⁵⁰ Al-Qalqashandi 1913-1918, 1-2: 53-133.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.. 54. 135-138.

mukhtasar al-tumar; al-thuluth and khafif al-thuluth; al-tawqi; al-riqa'; al-muhaqqaq and al-rayhan; al-ghubar; al-manthur, and al-hawashi. Some of these types were only variations in size and thickness on the same style, while others were close to each other in style. *Ghubar*, for instance, is miniscule *naskh*, which itself is the *waddah* form of *al-tawqi*. *Hawashi*, too, is miniature *naskh* written in diagonal lines. *Manthuris* miniaturized disconnected *riqa'* or *naskh*, while *rayhanis* a subdivision of *muhaqqaq*, only half as thick. *Musalsal*, which is not an independent type, developed as a branch of *tawqi*.

The oldest of these types are *tawqi'* and *riqa'*. As extant illustrations of the first forms of these two scripts show, care was taken in official documents, books, and treatises that comments denoting authorship and date of composition, as well as the *mutala'ah* (reading), *muqabalah* (comparison), *sama'* (hearing), and date of completion, be in a different, generally more pliable script so as not to be confused with the main text. The *tawqi'* and *riqa'* scripts (later known as the *ijazah* script) developed from the script used in these records.

Muhaqqaq and *rayhan* (or later, *rayhani*), the oldest scripts to acquire a special character, emerged from the script developed by the *warraqs* and scholarly copyists for use in books. At first, they generally called this script *al-naskhi*; then it became known as the *Iraqi al-warraqi* (booksellers' script), or *al-muhaqqaq*. By the time of the fifth/eleventh century, Yaqut al-Musta'simi and his contemporaries used these scripts primarily, preferring them to *kufi* in *mushaf* copying. By contrast, *thuluth* and *naskh* did not reach the same degree of perfection until the emergence of the Ottoman school. In time, however, *thuluth* and, to a lesser extent, *naskh* replaced *muhaqqaq* and *rayhani* in most uses. *Naskh* gradually acquired distinctive characteristics and took its place among the six main scripts, becoming the most popular for book copying, while *thuluth* became the basic script in Islamic calligraphy.

One formerly popular term that was abandoned after the emergence of the Ottoman school was *al-jalil* (the grand). At first glance, the term appears to have given way to the term *jali*, but

the idea of large lettering denoted by the two terms is different. In the early years, *al-jalil* denoted pens used for large letters in two scripts, one pliable and curved, the other flat and angular; it also denoted pens used in standard-size large scripts, such as *tumar* and short *tumar* (*mukhtasar al-tumar*). The term *al-jalil* kept this meaning even when other styles of calligraphy began to appear. The term *jali*, on the other hand, was used to indicate any script (except *diwani*) in a larger-than-ordinary size; it later denoted large lettering. Thus the minimum dimension of the pen's tip in the *jali* version of a script varied according to the script.

Up until the ninth/fifteenth century, the most important scripts, and those that met with the greatest favor, were *ta'liq*, *nasta'liq* (*naskh* plus *ta'liq*; in Turkish, *nasta'liq*), *siyaqat* and *diwani*. *ta'liq* probably appeared in Iran in the sixth/twelfth century and acquired its well-known characteristics in the seventh/thirteenth century. We will call this type *old ta'liq*, as opposed to the *ta'liq* employed by the Ottomans later on. Some are inclined to see the influence of the Pahlavi script in the emergence of the *old ta'liq*, but it is more likely that this type, which was used mainly in official documents, developed out of *tawqi* and *riqa'*. *Old ta'liq*, at any rate, did not find favour among the Ottomans, for *diwani* (which had basically developed out of *ta'liq* and *riqa'* in addition to adopting some of the characteristics of the *old ta'liq*) was adopted for official correspondence as a highly artistic script with two varieties, each used for special purposes.

With a few exceptions, these scripts were not used in book copying. Another kind of script was developed in Iran for this purpose, known as *nasta'liq*, a less demanding script that soon became popular (though less so than *naskh*). *Nasta'liq*—known later among the Ottomans simply as *ta'liq*—was the natural outcome of a long period of development. More pliable and more suited to speed, it originated in the *tawqi* and *riqa'* scripts and developed through use in traditional recitation sessions and in book drafts, gradually acquiring its own characteristics. An old phrase describing the draft manuscripts of the famous *Kitab al-*

Aghani Abu al-Faraj al-Isfahani (356/967)¹⁵² indicates that this type of writing was called *khattat al-ta'liq* (*ta'liq* script), but the documents that clearly exhibit characteristics of its classical form date from only the seventh/thirteenth century; these characteristics were finalized in Iran early in the ninth/fifteenth century. As is the case with other kinds of script,¹⁵³ historians sometimes speak of an artist, Mir All Tabrizi,¹⁵⁴ who, they say, “invented” *nasta'liq*. They even give the year 823/1420 as the date of this invention. In fact, this story indicates that the script was used by Mir All, that it became one of the recognized styles, and that it was based on principles and rules.

Finally, as for the *siyaqat* script, it is more commonly found in the margins of official government documents than as an independent artistic form of calligraphy. An old script, it is likely that it varied in shape and essence from period to period and from place to place. It is one of the remains of former times, still known by the same name, a relic of the administrative structure of the Ottoman state.

Thus, we can say that calligraphy, one of the most original and energetic of the arts of Islam, flourished for five centuries in Baghdad. When Baghdad losts its preeminent position as the capital of calligraphy, the art spread for a time through various milieus. From the conquest of Constantinople until our own time—an epoch of development in grace and splendor— calligraphy has found its home in İstanbul.

¹⁵² Al-Hamawi n.d.. 13: 126-127.

¹⁵³ It is reported, for example, that the old *ta'liq* was invented by Abu al-Al or al-Hasan b. Husayn b. All al-Farisl al-Katib: (Sanglakh 1288, 22, and Alparslan 1978, 1155-156).

¹⁵⁴ On the popular tradition in this regard, see Qadi Ahmad 1959, 25, 100, 116; All 1926, 32; Müstakimzade 1928, 688-690; Habib 1305, 207.

The Balkan Wars and British India: A Case Study of NWFP (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa)

Dr. Abdul Rauf¹

Introduction

The British army occupied the north western part of India now known as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (formerly N.W.F.P.) of Pakistan in 1849. The Pakhtun population resisted the British Imperial power with an intensive armed struggle, particularly in tribal areas. The beginning of the twentieth century also witnessed a political struggle to safeguard their interests largely in alliance with their Muslim brethren down the country (in River Indus territories). Both the armed and political struggle had internal and external dynamics. The Ottoman Khilafat remained the main external factor for the mobilization of the people in the region as reported by the British administrators at the highest level, including the Governor of the province. The manner in which the wars in the Balkans affected the struggle of the people in the erstwhile NWFP and how the people strongly backed the Ottoman Empire is the focus of this study. The study will also be helpful to understand the historical background to the contemporary religious and political unrest in the Pakhtun region in (Pakistan and Afghanistan) in the backdrop of the extra territorial sympathies of the resident population with Muslims elsewhere.

The academic and political interest in the Pakhtun region and people has significantly increased particularly in the wake of US-led NATO operations in Afghanistan. The region is socially,

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economically, educationally and politically affected by the conflict in Afghanistan more than any other region since the 9/11 incident. Importance of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa goes back in history to the time when it hosted or provided a route to nearly all the invaders of India from the North-Western axis. Moreover, the region remains a hub for important religions such as Buddhism and Islam. History of the Muslim rule in India would also be incomplete without a substantial reference to Pakhtunkhwa.

In the 18th century the British colonial rule gained a foothold in South India and then was extended to the north of India in the 19th century. However, the British faced unprecedented resistance in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa throughout the expansionist phase. The British not only modified their "Forward Policy" but also started making special arrangements to deal with the Pakhtun. This included separating the region from the Punjab and creating a new province called NWFP in 1901, dividing the province into independent tribal areas, frontier regions and settled districts, each with their distinct administrative structure. This arrangement still remains intact and has been adopted by the government of Pakistan with minor changes.

Other than legal structures, the British introduced certain iron fisted rules and regulations to curb the freedom struggle in the region. The province was a Chief Commissioner Province and was not given the status of a Full Province until 1932 as enjoyed by other parts of British India. The only excuse put forward for this discriminatory treatment was the existence of geo-strategic imperatives, i.e. the proximity of the region to the Tsarist and later Socialist Russia which was always perceived a threat to the British Imperial rule in India. Every kind of political contact by the people of NWFP with the outer world was strongly curtailed by the British Indian administration.

The most important factor which promptly stirred feelings of the people in the region and transformed it into a political struggle in the settled districts on the one hand and flared up the already continued armed struggle in the independent tribal territories on the other hand concerned relations with the Ottoman Empire.

These included critical events such as the Tripoli War in 1911, the Balkan Wars in 1912-13, World War I or the subsequent Khilafat issue.

The first issue which moved emotion of the people was the Italian attack on Tripoli in 1911. Allah Bakhsh Yousafi, a contemporary writer opined that it was the first time when Pakhtun as a community or as a nation took interest in the international politics of the Ottoman Empire.² When Edirne was recaptured by the Ottomans under the leadership of Anwar Pasha the Muslims celebrated the occasion with jubilation throughout British India. For the first time, Muslims of Peshawar illuminated the city and expressed their joy and happiness.³

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa lagged behind other provinces in economy, education, social and political development. However, things began to change with the new means of communication which reduced the barriers to some extent. Newspapers published from Calcutta, Delhi and Lahore such as *al-Hilal* of Abul Kalam Azad, *Comrade* of Mawlana Mohammad Ali Jauhar and *Zamindar* of Mawlana Zafar Ali Khan acquainted the people about happenings in Turkey and its surroundings. Being the least educated province, there were few people who could read newspapers published in Urdu which was not their mother tongue. Usually a literate person would read aloud the newspaper in the public gathering in places such as shops and *hujras*⁴ and then explain the news to the illiterate audience. Newspapers such as the *Zamindar*, *Lahore* and *Afghan*, Peshawar played a key role in providing fresh information and analysis from the war front. It is reported that the people used to wait for the *Zamindar* as eagerly like a thirsty fasting man

² Allah Bakhsh Yousafi, *Sarhad awr Jadujuhd-i-Azadi* (Lahore: Markazi Urdu Board, 1968), p. 122.

³ *Ibid.*, p.122.

⁴ In Pakhtun society it refers to a place where people gather usually in leisure time in the evening (also on some important occasions) and discuss variety of topics ranging from local to international events.

feels at the time of *iftar* (breaking of fast).⁵ The British record also reported that extracts from *Zamindar* were read in public and created a great impression”.⁶ In some places individuals took responsibility and used to appraise the public about the news from the war front. A person with the name Karim who used to make such announcements soon became famous as “Karim Italy”.⁷ News of the war was supplemented with analysis and essays of famous writers like Mawlana Mohammad Ali Jauhar, Mawlana Abual Kalam Azad and Mawlana Zafar Ali Khan which stirred up feelings of the common people. When there were news about the success of Ottomans on the war front, people would start shouting and celebrate the occasion with jubilation. Anwar Pasha, the Turkish commander, became very popular in the region and Muslims declared him as ‘National Hero’. Everywhere, be it a shop, a home or any gathering place he was the focus of discussion. In important places his coloured portraits imported from Germany were displayed.⁸ Arrangements were also made to publish important news from the newspapers and distribute them among the masses. For example in Kohat a person called Ahmad Gul, a dentist and activist, published relevant extracts from the *Zamindar* for the general public. The British reported that he gathered a large crowd to hear the victory of Ottomans over Bulgaria.⁹

⁵ Abdul Rauf, “Muslim Politics in N.W.F.P. (1919-1930) with Special Reference to Pan-Islamic Ideas”, M. Phil dissertation NIPS, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, 1992, p.17.,

⁶ Abstract of Intelligence for the year ending December 1912, Directorate of Archives, Peshawar, p. 48.

⁷ Yousafi, p. 122.

⁸ Yousafi, p.123.

⁹ Secret Index to Volume VIII, North-West Frontier Police-Abstract of Intelligence for the half year ending 31st December, 1913, Directorate of Archives, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Peshawar, p. 48.

Financial Contributions

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, as stated earlier, was the most backward province of British India (even now it is still the poorest province of Pakistan). In spite of their poverty, a distinctive aspect of the Muslims of British India was their extensive financial help to the Ottomans during this crisis. The British Indian Muslim leadership appealed to the people to come forward to contribute with money and help the Ottoman Empire. Consequently in all parts of India including Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Muslims came up with their donations which ranged from four digits to the smallest portion of a rupee.¹⁰ Rich and poor equally contributed at this time. Apart from Red Crescent Society, a Turkish Relief Fund was established. Mawlana Zafar Ali Khan and his newspaper were instrumental in this process of collecting money. On the call of leadership, the Muslims of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa came forward and helped the Ottomans in cash and in kind, despite the fact that it was poorest province of the British India.

In addition to Peshawar, the provincial headquarter, other parts of the province also established Red Crescent societies and collected funds. For example in D.I. Khan a society was established with the following office bearers: Sir Hafiz Muhammad Abdullah Khan (President), Khan Sahib Abdul Rahim Khan, Barrister-at-law and Khan Sahib Ahmad Khan *Rais* (a local affluent person) and municipal commissioner as secretaries, Haji Ahmad Yar Khan (Financial Secretary) and Seth Allah Bakhsh as treasure.¹¹ In the same manner, funds were collected in areas other than Peshawar such as Mardan, Swabi and Kohat and even in the far flung areas such as Haripur, Bannu and D.I. Khan.

When people were not able to donate money in cash, they did not hesitate to offer their help in kind; for example in the form of animals such as sheep, goats, buffalos, bullocks and horses and

¹⁰ British Indian Currency.

¹¹ Secret Index to Volume VIII, North-West Frontier Police-Abstract of Intelligence for the half year ending 31st December, 1913, Directorate of Archives, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Peshawar, p. 71.

cloth, jewellery, silver buttons, watches etc. It was reported that an old beggar woman donated six silver earrings and an old cloth, all she possessed. These were later exhibited and brought tears of emotions to the eyes of many.¹² These articles were then auctioned and the income was deposited in the Turkish Relief Fund.¹³ On one occasion it was suggested to create a bazaar on Eid days where various pieces of jewellery donated by different people would be displayed for sale. Other shopkeepers were also requested to send their goods to this bazaar.¹⁴ On the *Eid ul Adha*, hides of the slaughtered animals were collected, sold and the amount was sent to the Relief Fund.¹⁵ Tribal people also participated in this donation and it was reported that a sum of 7000 rupees was collected in Bannu, which included contributions from tribal people in the region.¹⁶

People were so involved in the religious sympathetic consideration that those who could not donate money adopted other unique methods. Two instances are reported in the British record taken from the *Afghan*, Peshawar:¹⁷ Two residents of Lakki Marwat, Ghulam Mohammad (age 20) and Gulab Din (age 21) who were very poor and could not afford to render any financial help offered themselves to be sold in the name of God and the sum realized on their account may be sent as submission to the Red Crescent Society. They would forever become slaves of the buyer and serve them like servants. A person offered 100 rupees but the amount was too small as the person himself was a poor mason.¹⁸ During a pro-Ottoman meeting held in Islamia Club Peshawar a woman, having no money, donated her four months old baby to

¹² Secret Index to Volume VIII, North-West Frontier Police-Abstract of Intelligence for the half year ending 30th June, 1912, Directorate of Archives, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Peshawar, p.301.

¹³ Secret Index 1913, p.65.

¹⁴ Secret Index 1912, p.301.

¹⁵ Secret Index 1912, p.299.

¹⁶ Secret Index 1912, p.299.

¹⁷ February 12, 2012.

¹⁸ Secret Index 1913, p.65.

the Turkish Relief Fund. Volunteers used the occasion to raise the enthusiasm of the people. The baby was auctioned and the money collected from the highest bidder was deposited by the mother in the Fund. The bidder then returned the baby to the mother and he also took responsibility for the education of the baby.¹⁹

Another way of supporting the Ottoman State was initiated by Mawlana Zafar Ali Khan; editor of *Zamindar*. It was a scheme to provide a loan to the Ottomans without interest for ten years. Accordingly, a trustee council comprising 120 members²⁰ from all parts of the country was established. From Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Mawlvi Sayyed Abdullah editor of the *Afghan*, Peshawar took part in this scheme.²¹ The Executive Committee in addition to collecting money was also responsible for obtaining news from Istanbul. For this purpose Qazi Mohammad Wali [Abdul Wali] from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa acted as special correspondent for collecting news from the war front in Turkey.²² According to the scheme, shares of a bank, i.e. Orient Bank of India, amounting twenty million to rupees would be purchased and the money would be provided to the Ottoman State for ten years without any interest on it. Muslim volunteers were asked to sell these bonds throughout India. The minimum amount for contributions was one share amounting 5 rupees only. Mawlana Zafar Ali Khan himself bought one hundred shares. One thousand shares were sold on the occasion of the launching of the scheme.²³ The British document shows that these bonds were sent to Peshawar via the Orient Bank and sold to the common people. The money was remitted to Turkey through the editor of *Zamindar*.²⁴

The events that occurred in Turkey created reverberation in the region not only by increasing religious enthusiasm and extending

¹⁹ Yousafi, p. 130.

²⁰ Members of this council also included Allama Iqbal and Sayyed Amir Ali.

²¹ Secret Index 1012, p.301.

²² Secret Index 1912, p.301.

²³ Abstract, June 30, 1912, Secret Index, 1912, p. 306.

²⁴ Secret Index, 1913., p.301.

financial help to the Ottomans but some other interesting debates and discussions were also generated. For example, some of the *mullahs*²⁵ held made the Young Turks responsible for the war in the Balkans and it was maintained that the war would have never occurred if Sultan Abdulhamid had remained in power.²⁶ Opinions on the failure of the Ottomans were also very interesting. The religious leaders tried to explain the phenomenon in terms of popular religious justification with little rationality. One *mullah* of a mosque in Peshawar after Juma prayers preached "... that the misfortunes of the Ottomans were due to the sins of the people". He advised his hearers to "go to the jungles (forests) with their families and cattle for seven days and offer prayers to God to grant victory and success to the Turks".²⁷ During these days, a belief was common among the people that the Caliph had a flag bestowed upon him by the Holy Prophet Mohammad (PBUH). This flag was not used in ordinary battles however if the situation got worse the Caliph would unveil the flag and it was capable of inflicting a humiliating defeat to the whole world. During the turmoil in the Balkans (1912) the people became furious with the Caliph for not hoisting the flag in this time of agony.²⁸ Some people also raised the issue of the lack of support by the Caliph to the Indian Muslims in the War of Independence against the British in 1857. However, it was asserted that despite the fact that Ottomans could not help Indian Muslims during their War of Independence, they were fighting for their religion.²⁹

Involvement of the people in supporting the Ottomans in the Balkan Wars had an impact upon the political and militant struggle

²⁵ Religious man who led prayers in the mosque. Community was usually responsible for their food and other needs which they offered them as charity.

²⁶ Secret Index, 1912, p. 299.

²⁷ C.I.D. N.W.F.P., Dated February 8, 1913, Abstract of Intelligence for the year ending 31st December 1913, Directorate of Archives, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Peshawar, p. 35.

²⁸ Yousafi, p. 66.

²⁹ Secret Index, 1913, p. 38.

of the Pakhtuns. Armed resistance to the extension of British colonial power in the region had been conducted in the independent tribal territories since the arrival of the British in 1849. In these encounters religion happened to be the driving force along with fervour of pan-Islamic feelings towards others including the Afghans and the Turks.³⁰ Tripoli and Balkan Wars were the two important occasions which were used to intensify the armed struggle in the independent tribal areas against the British. The commanders who were usually the mullahs in their Friday sermons cited the examples from Muslim history and the gallantry undertakings of the Ottomans against the attacks by the non-Muslims in Europe, Asia and Africa. Refusal of the British to allow the Ottoman army to proceed to Tripoli via Egypt was taken by the local population as a horrendous crime committed by the British who were also their masters after the downfall of the Mughals in 1857. They considered the British as secret collaborators with the anti-Ottoman elements in the Balkans. The mullah portrayed the British as evil on earth and persuaded the people to rise against them. In the same period, Hajji Sahib Turangzai, the most important and well-regarded religious leader and reformer decided to take up arms against the British. The story is really interesting; in 1912 he was requested to lay down the foundation stone of the mosque of the Islamic College Peshawar, the most important modern education institution in the region. After expressing his good wishes for the college, he offered prayers for the success of the Ottomans. It was followed by shouting of *Amin*. This puzzled the British who were present in this ceremony. The British became suspicious about Turangzai and, fearing to be arrested by the British government, Turangzai fled to the independent tribal area and started conducting operations against the British which continued till his death in 1936. The question of Ottomans also provided impetus to the activities of the Indian Muslim Mujahidin stationed in Asmast, Chamarkand, Makin and other parts of the

³⁰ A detailed assessment of these feelings has been made in Abdul Rauf, "Pan-Islamism and the North West Frontier Province of British India (1817-1918)", *Perceptions*, Winter 2007, pp. 21-41.

Picture 1

Dr. Mukhtar Ahmad Ansar (Head of the medical mission)
and Mawlana Mohammad Ali Jauhar (standing) at the time of
departure of the Mission at Bombay
Courtesy of Abu Suleman Shajehanpuri, *Abdur Rahman Peshawari*



province.³¹ Keeping in view with sympathies of the people, in the later days an Ottoman Mission, headed by Kharid Bay landed in the Khyber Agency (an independent tribal territory) in 1915.³²

On the political front, the Ottoman issue in the second decade of the 20th century along with some internal factors such as the annulment of the Partition of Bengal (1911) and Kanpur mosque incident (1913) proved turning points in the thinking of Muslims of South Asia. Muslim League, which was considered to be a pro-British political party emphasising safeguarding Muslim interests through British support, had to distance from the British, resulted in a change in the objectives of the League. It made a demand for the home rule as one of its objectives. Mohammad Ali Jinnah who joined the Muslim League in 1913 was an ardent supporter of the Hindu-Muslim unity.³³ In his capacity as a member of Indian National Congress and Muslim League simultaneously he brought both these political organizations closer.³⁴ Mawlana Mohammad Ali accompanied the Medical Mission headed by Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari until it departed in Bombay for Turkey. This occasion not only stirred the feelings of common Muslims but also these of the leaders. Mawlana Shibli, a great religious scholar and reformer paid rich tribute to those who departed in helping their Ottoman brethren in the time of turmoil. His poetry on this issue is full

³¹ See for details, Abdul Rauf, "The British Empire and the Mujahidin Movement in the N.W.F.P. of India 1914-1934" *Islamic Studies*, Volume. 44 No.3, Autumn 2005 pp. 409-439.

³² With the help of Mir Dast Khan, a soldier in the British army who was awarded Vitoria Cross by the Queen due to his meritorious services in the world war and returned the highest royal title and refused to fight against the Ottomans, they started recruiting men and provided them military training and they were successful in recruiting about 400 people. The British provincial Chief Commissioner, Roose Keppel reported the pro-Ottoman feelings of the people in the region to the British government (Rauf, p.27 quoted from Lal Baha, p.1).

³³ Due to these efforts of Jinnah, Sarojini Naidu an important Hindu leader gave him the title of "the Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity".

³⁴ They finally concluded a pact in 1916, which was the first and last agreement between these political organizations.

of religious enthusiasm which moved sentiments of the people in favour of Turkey. (See Picture 1, 2 and 3).

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa also was affected by these political developments across the country. Meanwhile the Muslim League was founded in the province with Abdul Aziz as president, Qazi Abdul Wali as vice president and Ali Abbas Bukhari as secretary. The last two remained active in the Balkan Wars; the first went to Turkey and reported the events from the war front while the latter remained active in mobilizing the people and collecting donations. The latter also then migrated to Afghanistan where he maintained close contacts with the pro-Ottoman elements in Kabul. In this way, the Balkan Wars and the subsequent pro-Ottoman activities of the people turned into a nursery for political struggle in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The subsequent days witnessed an Ottoman/Turkish tilt in politics until the rise of Pakhtun nationalist politics in 1930s.

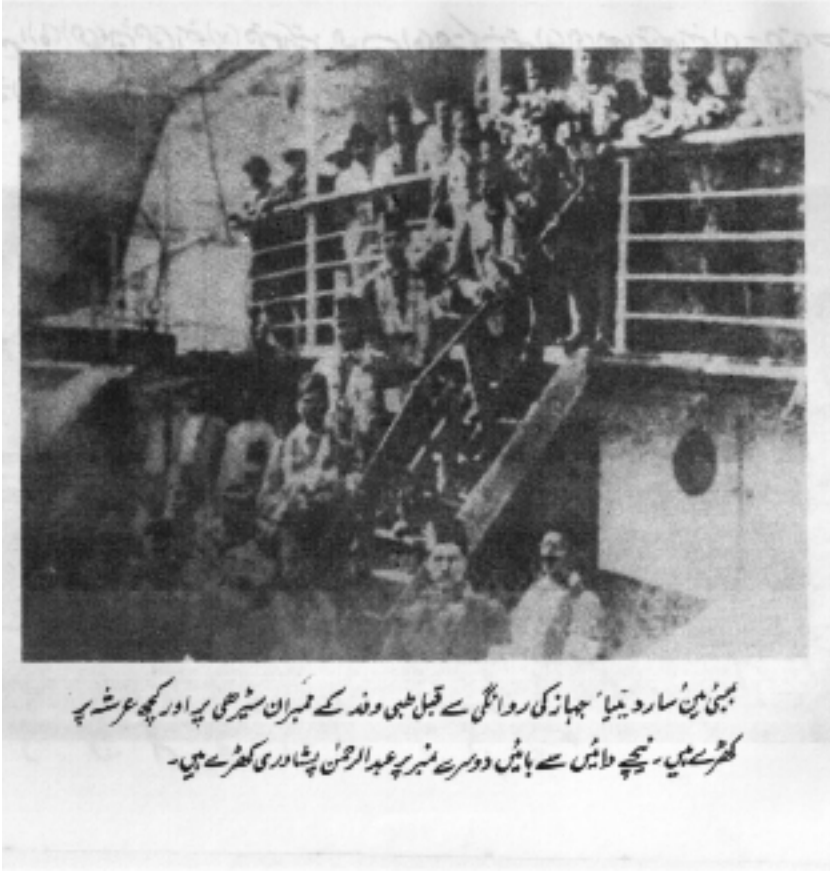
Involvement in the Affairs of Turkey

The most important aspect which made this British Indian province distinctive was the migration of people to join their Ottoman Turkish brethren in their struggle against their adversaries. Ottoman-Turkish affairs remained the topic for the pulpit in the second decade of the 20th century. Some people especially the young went beyond mere words and started to go to Turkey to take part in the ongoing wars. There is a lack of written sources and evidences detailing such migration are not available. However the British records and some local accounts show migration of people to Turkey; for example, it is reported that some youth of the Yousafzai tribe left their homes and joined the Ottoman army. Another source *Sarhad*, bi-monthly from Peshawar reported migration of Amir Mohammad Khan (see Picture 4) who belonged to a noble family in Charsadda.³⁵ When the war in

³⁵ His father is name was Atta Mohammad Khan and he was engaged in farming.

Picture 3

Medical Mission seen off by the people in Bombay for Turkey.
Courtesy of: Abu Suleiman Shajehanpuri, Abdur Rahman
Peshawari



Tripoli started, he transferred all his property to his brothers and embarked on a journey to Turkey. Along with a servant he went to Bombay and took a ship to Egypt. In Aden his servant became ill and returned. In Egypt he was wounded and deprived of his belongings by a Bedouin who promised to help him in crossing over the border to Tripoli. After five months of medical treatment in Egypt instead of Tripoli he went to the Balkans and the Turkish government facilitated his. He first fought in the Balkan Wars and then in the World War I alongside the Ottoman forces. He was offered official ranks in the Ottoman army but he refused each time as he thought it would prevent him from fighting as a soldier in the war front. He also worked as an assistant to a general in the military. After the end of the war and the Armistice in 1918 nothing was reported of him.³⁶

Another important person who visited Turkey during this time is Qazi Abdul Wali (Mohammad Wali).³⁷ During the Tripoli War he went to Turkey and then fought in the Balkan Wars. He also acted as a correspondent for *Zamindar*, Lahore, one of the main organs that became instrumental in mobilizing the people in favour of the Ottoman State.³⁸ Among the individuals who visited or migrated to Turkey during these days, the most important one

Amir Mohammad Khan was born in 1888 and after getting educated until secondary school, he moved to the Municipal Board High School (later Government High School).

³⁶ *Sarhad (monthly)*, volume 1, No 2, Peshawar, August 1925, pp. 9-10.

³⁷ He belongs to Peshawar and remained a Professor in Urdu and Pashto in the prestigious staff college run by the British in Quetta.

³⁸ Returning back to Khyber Pakhtunkhwa he started taking part in politics and became the Vice President of Muslim League in the province. In the subsequent days he remained active in anti-British agitation during Rowlett Act episode. He was arrested but when released he quit Peshawar and migrated to Afghanistan. In Afghanistan he was a part of all those activities the object of which was to liberate India from the British. In 1920s he went to Europe and started publishing two magazines '*Crescent*' and '*Orient*' from Germany. These organs were then banned in British India. Qazi went to Switzerland and started publishing '*Muslim Standard*' and devoted his life to the preaching of Islam. Finally, he come back to Pakistan and died in Peshawar in 1959.

Picture 4

Amir Mohammad Khan of Charssada
Courtesy of: Sarhad, Volume 1, No. 2. Peshawar, August 1925.



Picture 5

Abdur Rahman Peshawari (the first Ambassador of the Turkish Republic in Afghanistan)
Courtesy of Sarhad, volume 1, No 2. Peshawar, August 1925.



Picture 6

Indian Muslim Medical Delegation in a Mobile Hospital in Turkey
Courtesy of: Zuhail Ozaydin, Indian Muslims Red Crescent Society's
Aid to the Ottoman State during the Balkan War in 1912, p.15



هند هلال احمر سیار خسته خانه سنده بر چادر

is Abdul Rahman Peshawari (See Picture 5). Peshawari was part of the medical delegation sent by the Indo-Pakistani Muslims to assist the Ottomans during the Balkan Wars.

Sayed Tanver Wasti,³⁹ and Zuhail Ozaydin⁴⁰ highlighted the services of this delegation in their research articles. Ozaydin produced certain rare photographs which show the activities of the delegation in different places in Turkey (See Pictures 6, 7 and

³⁹ Syed Tanver Wasti, 'The Indian Red Crescent Mission to the Balkan Wars', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 45:3, pp.393-406.

⁴⁰ Zuhail Ozaydin, 'The Indian Muslim Red Crescent Society's Aid to the Ottoman State During the Balkan War in 1912', *Journal of the International Society for the History of Islamic Medicine (JISHIM)*, vol:2 No 4., October 2003, pp. 12-18.

8). This medical delegation not only assisted wounded persons in the war but also assisted the government in establishing a refugee camp in Ömerli which was primarily a hospital. According to Azmi Özcan, a sum of 1.5 million rupees were donated which was more than half of the total amount reaching to the Ottoman Red Crescent Society from all over the world.⁴¹

Peshawari was the son of a wealthy government contractor in Peshawar. He was a student in Aligarh when the Balkan Wars started. An appeal was made by prominent Muslim leaders to help the Ottoman Empires. Knowing that his father will not allow his visit to Turkey, he did not seek permission. Instead he sold all his belongings to meet the expenses of his journey to Turkey with the medical delegation headed by Dr. Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari in 1912. All other members of the 23 member team after the war returned to their country. Peshawari was the only one who was attached to Turkey until his last breath. After his services in the medical mission (See Picture 9) he joined the Turkish army, took his military training first in Istanbul and then in Beirut. When World War I started he was sent to the war front in Dardanelles where he carried out many successful operations. He was raised to the level of a lieutenant, a rare position for a non-Turk from British India, in the Turkish Army. He sustained certain injuries but soon he recovered and continued his war activities. When a delegation under Hussain Rauf Orbay⁴² during World War I was on their way to Afghanistan to get help from Kabul, Peshawari was one of the members of this team. Due to emergency reasons, Rauf Orbay was called back to Turkey. The mission was about to be caught in Persia by the British but Peshawari successfully rescued the mission.⁴³ During the same period he was sent to Germany

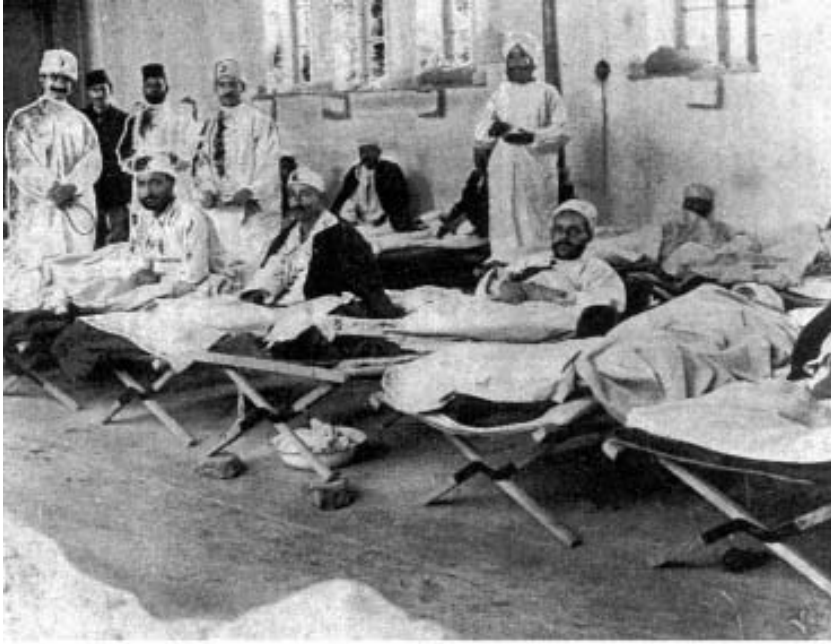
⁴¹ Azmi Özcan, *Pan-Islamism-Indian Muslims, the Ottomans & Britain (1877-1924)* (Leiden, Brill, 1997), p.150.

⁴² Being the Captain of the Hamidiye ship, he earned fame during the Balkan Wars. He supported Mustafa Kemal in establishing the Turkish Republic.

⁴³ Abu Suleman Shajehanpuri, *Abdur Rahman Peshawari* (Karachi: Educational Press, 1979), pp. 178-79.

Picture 7

A ward operated by Indian Muslim Medical Delegation in a mobile hospital in Turkey
Courtesy of: Zuhail Ozyaydin, Indian Muslims Red Crescent Society's Aid to the Ottoman State during the Balkan War in 1912, p.17



هند هلال احمر خسته خانه سنده بر قغوش

for a secret assignment not to be disclosed to anyone. It shows the personal integrity of Peshawari and the trust of the Turkish government in him.⁴⁴ When the Allied Forces reached Istanbul, he went underground for some time on the advice of Rauf Orbay. Later on he went to Ankara and joined Mustafa Kemal's liberation

⁴⁴ Shajehanpuri, p. 79.

Picture 8

Patients and Staff from the Indian Medical Delegation in Turkey
Courtesy of: Zuhail Ozaydin, (Indian Muslims Red Crescent Society's Aid to the
Ottoman State during the Balkan War in 1912), p.16



هند هلال احمر ايکنجهي سپار خسته خانمسي
خسته ل و مأمورين تفنده

army.⁴⁵ Peshawari remained very close to Rauf Orbay and his mother who was very much fond of him. Peshawari resided in Orbay's house for quite some time.

In the post-World War I period Peshawari took an active interest in politics but tried not to get involved in daily struggles of practical politics. Turkish government on several occasions acknowledged the services of Peshawari all along this period, including meetings with the highest government leaders such as Anwar Pasha, Ahmad Izzat Pasha and others. The highest decision on the part of government was entrusting him the ambassadorial duties in a very crucial period in the history of Turkey in Afghanistan (see Picture 10).

⁴⁵ Shajehanpuri, p. 187.

Picture 9

Indian Muslims Medical Delegation with Anwar Pasha in Turkey
(Abdur Rahman Peshawari is second from left sitting on the
ground)

Courtesy of: Abu Suleiman Shajehanpuri, *Abdur Rahman Peshawari*



In March 1921 he was appointed as the first Ambassador of Republic of Turkey in Kabul. This was a hard journey which he undertook and even his servant looking to the hardships on the way deserted him. But finally, he reached Kabul after four and half months.⁴⁶ He performed his duties professionally and emerged as

⁴⁶ Abu Sulaiman Shajehanpuri, *Abdur Rahman Peshawari* (Karachi: Educational Press, 1979), p. 197.

Picture 10

Abdur Rahman Peshawari the Ambassador of the Republic of
Turkey in Kabul (1921-23)
Courtesy of: Abu Suleiman Shajehanpuri, *Abdur Rahman Peshawari*



one of the most important dignitaries in Kabul. He did not only safeguard the interests of Turkey but also had close contacts with elements who were working for the independence of British India (see Picture 11).⁴⁷

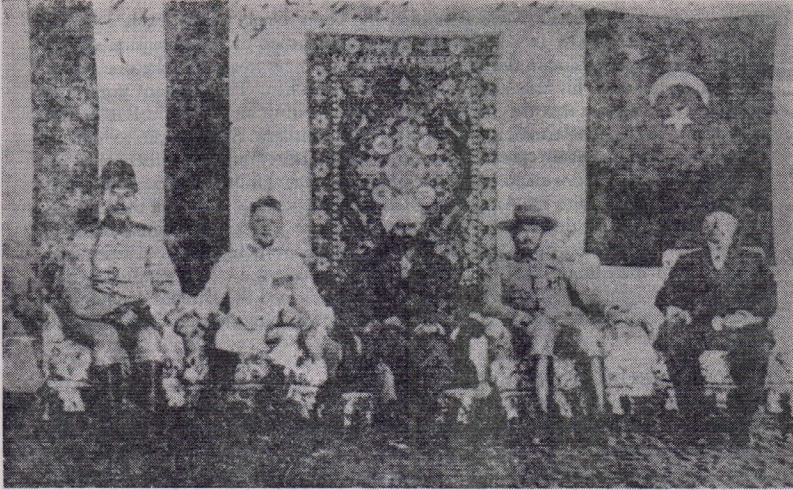
While serving as the Ambassador in Kabul, he was close to his home town Peshawar and his family including his parents whom he could not see during the last ten years. The British Indian government offered him permission to visit his family in Peshawar but he refused on the plea that his homeland is occupied by foreign forces and thus he did not want to enter a subjugated country. Instead his family visited him in Kabul. On one occasion the rumour spread that Peshawari might shift his services to the Kabul government because King Amanullah gave him special attention and his original place of birth was closer to Afghanistan than Turkey. However Peshawari refuted such rumours and expressed his preference to serve the Republic of Turkey.⁴⁸ In the middle of 1923 he was replaced by Fakhri Pasha who as Ambassador had served the Turkish Army in Hijaz. Peshawari returned to Turkey and continued his services to the Turkish state without any governmental post. The domestic politics of Turkey at the time disheartened him as his belief on pan-Islamism had not weakened yet. However he did not interfere in the running of daily politics. On the night of 20-21 May, 1925 when he was on his way home, he was shut down by unknown assassins and after days of treatment in the hospital he succumbed to his injuries and died on June 30, 1925. His death remains a mystery to be solved; however the popular perception is that he was attacked by an assassin mistaking him for Rauf Orbay. The death of Peshawari was mourned equally in Turkey, British India and Afghanistan.

⁴⁷ These include, Mawlana Ubaiduallah Sindhi, Mawlana Mohammad Bashir, leader of the Chamarkand Mujahidin, Mawlana Barkatullah Bhopali, Sayyed Ali Abbas, Qazi Abdul Wali, Zafar Hassan Aibak and leaders of the Hijrat and Khilafat Movements.

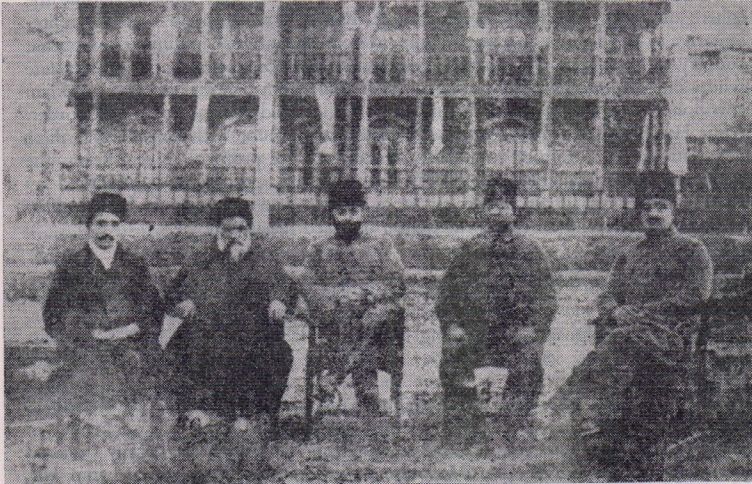
⁴⁸ Abu Salaman Shajehanpuri, *Abdur Rahman Peshawari* (Karachi: Educational Press, 1979), p. 202.

Picture 11

Turkish Delegates in Kabul in the early 1920s
Courtesy of: S.A. Akhtar Kazmi, Anglo-Afghan Tussle
(Lahore: National Book Foundation, 1984)



Turco-German Mission in Kabul
Left to right : Kamal Bey, Von Hinston, Mahendra Partab, Leyder Nyre and Barakatullah



Members of Indian Provisional Government, with Turkish Leaders
Left to right : Noor Mohammad, Obaidullah Sindhi, Jamal Pasha, Barakatullah and Badri Bey

Rich tribute was paid to him by the Turkish leaders including Rauf Orbay and Khalida Adip Adıvar.

Conclusion

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa remained a hub of activities revolving around an armed struggle against the British colonial and occupying forces. On occasions, the pro-Islamist feelings of the people were used to create an impetus to the struggle for freedom from the British yoke. The Balkan Wars and other Turkish affairs dominated all extra territorial issues in the second and third decades of the 20th century. Despite being the poorest region in the country, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa dared to sacrifice whatever its pocket had offered to others. They contributed to the work force for their Ottoman-Turkish Brethren who served them inside and outside Turkey. The present Khyber Pakhtunkhwa shows that their heart throbbed with the same wavelength as it did in 1912 short of thinking how far it would affect their socio-political lives. There is a need for more academic work on the part of social scientists and historians to dig out detail accounts of the relations between Pakhtunkhwa and Ottoman Turkey in the British India period. Many scholarly works done in East and South Asia can be translated into Turkish language while there is a need to preserve the rich historical sources attached with these relations, placed in the archives of Pakistan in general and in the archives of Peshawar in particular. In the memory of Abdul Rahman Peshawari and others who served Turkey during these days a chair/ fellowship should be created by Turkey at the University of Peshawar or the present Urdu Chair in Ankara University sponsored by government of Pakistan should be named after Abdul Rahman Peshawari.

The town of Štip (İştip) in the Republic of Macedonia and the Mosque of Husameddin Pasha

Machiel Kiel*

The town of Štip on the confluence of the Otinja and the Bregalnitsa rivers in the east of the Republic of Macedonia contains a number of Byzantino-Slavic churches with remarkable paintings and the ruins of a mighty medieval castle on an almost unassailable hilltop surrounded by both rivers.¹ Štip also has three Ottoman monuments of importance: the Mosque of Husameddin Pasha, the *Bedesten*, and the bridge over the Bregalnitsa. All three are undated, and of the builder of the mosque almost nothing is known. In this overview we shall attempt to shed some light in the darkness, at least as far as the date of construction of the Mosque of Husameddin and the identity of its founder are concerned. The date of construction and the identity of the builders of the two other buildings will be revealed in a publication by Maximilian Hartmuth.

Pre-Ottoman Štip

Štip had formed part of the loosely knit First Bulgarian Empire since the 8th century A.D. It remained under Byzantine control from 1019 to 1194. It was in that year that Dobromir Hrzs, a local Vlach commander (*Voyvode*), changed sides from the Byzantine

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¹ For the medieval churches of Štip, see: Balabanov-Cornakov and Nikoloski, *The Cultural Monuments of Macedonia*, Skopje 1962 (and several later editions). For the castle, see: Ivan Mikulčić, *Srednovekovni gradovi i tvrđine vo Makedonija*, Skopje 1996, pp.318-322.

to the Bulgarian and, with his 500 Vlach soldiers, captured the important castle of Strumitsa/Ustrumca, thus extending the territory under his control to Štip. In 1197 the energetic Emperor Alexius Comnenos tried to seize Strumitsa with an army containing many Turkish mercenaries, but failed in his attempt. In 1201/02 Strumitsa was finally retaken by the Byzantines and Hrzs was eliminated shortly afterwards. It was after the famous Battle of Klokotnitsa (1230) that Strumica became for a decade part of the Second Bulgarian Empire but was then restored to Byzance. In 1334 the Serbian King (later Emperor) Dušan “took the Greek cities Ohrid, Prilep, Kastoria, Florina (Lerin) and Strumitsa.,” which constituted the entire southern half of today’s Macedonia. When, in 1371, during the Battle on the Maritsa (Meriç) against the Ottomans Dušan’s successor, King Vukašin and his brother Uglješa, Despot of Serres (Siroz) fell, the Serbian Empire disintegrated together with present day western Bulgaria. Štip, Doyran, Strumica and Kratovo were included in this new principality. Kyustendil, now in Bulgaria, was the capital. Jovan died shortly afterwards and Konstantin became a vassal of the Ottomans, faithfully serving Sultans Murad I and Yıldırım Bayezid. In 1395 Konstantin fell in the Battle of Rovine in Valachia [İflak] fighting on the side of Bayezid Yıldırım. Having no suitable heir, his small state was incorporated into the Ottoman Empire as the Sancak of Kostadin-İli, with the old town of Velbužd, now called Ilıca-i Kostandin (later: Küstendil) as the seat of the Sandjak Bey. Štip was one of the most important towns of the Byzantino-Slavic mini-state and was made the seat of a Kadı. It also received a sizeable group of Muslim Turkish immigrants who settled alongside the old Christian inhabitants.²

² The medieval history of Štip can be pieced together from the old, but still very useful works of Jordan Ivanov, *Severna Makedoniya, Istoričeski Izdirvaniya*, Sofia 1906, pp. 209-212; Kosta Kostić, *Naši novi gradove na jugu*, Beograd 1925; for good later works see: John V. Fine, *The Late-Medieval Balkans*, Ann Arbor 1987; and the very detailed, Hristo Matanov, *Knyazestvoto na Dragaši: Kām istoriyato na Severoistočno Makedoniya v pred-osmanskata period*, Sofia 1997, passim.

The oldest extant Ottoman population and taxation register of the Sandjak of Kyustendil is B.O.A., MAD 170 of 1519, whose data are, with minor updatings, incorporated in the *Muhasebe Defter* T.D. 167 from 1530. According to this very complete and informative source, Štip had 201 Muslim households, 323 Christian households and 19 Jewish households. The town had thus about 2,600-2,800 inhabitants, making it the second biggest town of the province.³

In 1570 the number of Muslim household had doubled to 447, the number of Jewish households had risen to 28 but the number of Christian households had sunk to 264. In 1570 the register (Ankara, T.K.G.M.) records Štip as having four Friday mosques, 12 *mesdjids*, two medreses, four schools, three hamams and four dervish convents.⁴

Islamic life was thus rather well developed at that time. Since the end of the 15th century tens of thousands of Yürüks, Turkish nomads or semi-nomads had lived in scores of villages in the district of Štip, especially to the west of the town in the Ovče Polje district. On the eve of the Balkan Wars, in 1912/13, Štip was a thriving commercial centre with 20,900 inhabitants, of whom 9,200 or 44% were Muslim.⁵

The *Salnâme* of 1896 records for Štip 11 Friday mosques, 8 tekkes, 4 churches, one synagogue and three hamams, and mentions explicitly that the mosque of Husameddin Pasha was

³ MAD 170 is kept in the Prime Minister's Ottoman Archive in İstanbul and is unpublished. T.D. 367 from 1530 was recently published as: *1530 tarihli Muhasebe Defter*, Ankara, 2003, (İstib on p.249).

⁴ The 1570 register is kept in the Old Archive of the Title Deed and Cadaster Office in Ankara (T.K.G.M, No 89 and No 90), a place where entry for historians is difficult, as are the working conditions. The entire bulky register has been published in Macedonian translation by Aleksandar Stojanovski through the Macedonian National Archives as: *Turski Dokumenti za Makedonskata Istoriya*, Vol, 5, Skopje 1990, Štip on pp. 56-74.

⁵ Leonhard Schultze Jena, *Mazedonien: Landschafts- und Kulturbilder*, Jena 1927, p. 130 v.v. For the numbers of inhabitants see: Vasil Kănčov, *Makedoniya, etnografiya i statistika*, Sofia 1900, p. 539.

the most important in the town. Štip was divided into eight Muslim wards (*mahalle*), three of Christians and one of Jews. The village population of the Kaza of Štip was 31,675 of whom 23,370 were Muslims (74%), the remainder being “Bulgarians,” Jews and Gypsies.⁶

After the wars of the early 20th century, Štip collapsed because of the mass flight and emigration of the Muslim population, later to be followed by the loss of many Bulgarians/Macedonians forced out by a Serbianisation policy. Schulze-Jena gives the figure of 11,200 inhabitants for the years shortly after W.W.I. While the Enciklopedija Jugoslavije gives 12,000 for 1931.⁷ During the Second World War and the Bulgarian occupation, the once flourishing Jewish community of the town was exterminated. In 1961 Štip had not yet recovered from these blows when 18,000 inhabitants were recorded: still below the numbers of the last Ottoman decades. The results of these developments destroyed most of the Ottoman heritage, as can be expected. Today Štip is an almost “ethnically clean” Macedonian city, in which, apart from the humble and architecturally worthless Kadın Anne Mosque, only three Ottoman monuments have survived.

The Mosque of Husameddin Pasha

The most important mosque in the city is, and has been the monumental and well-built Mosque of Hüsameddin Pasha. About its founder very little was known until recently.

The writers of the representative and comprehensive “Cultural Monuments of the People’s Republic of Macedonia” (published in many editions in various languages) called this building the “Husa Medin Mosque,” thereby showing their complete ignorance of the subject. Ayverdi gives no date, nor anything about the

⁶ Salnâme-i Vilayet-i Kosovo 1314, transcription in Latin script by Yıldırım Aganoğlu (ed.), İstanbul 2000, pp.133-136.

⁷ Enciklopedija Jugoslavije, vol 8, Zagreb 1971, p.267

person of the founder. The same is the case with the various new Turkish books on the Ottoman monuments of the Balkans, which largely follow Ayverdi. In a recent work on the Ottoman heritage of the Republic of Macedonia, published with the support of UNESCO, Zoran Pavlov stated that “there is no information on Husameddin Pasha himself.⁸ This gap in the record is explained by the scholarly background. Those who wrote about Štip and its buildings were either Byzantinists or Medievalists without any knowledge of Ottoman history or Ottoman Turkish, or they were architects, also lacking any knowledge of Ottoman. Historians in general, being obsessed by written documents, ignore the findings of art historians as a source for history. In a study on the Ottoman monuments of Macedonia, written by us some 40 years ago, we did not know either. Not yet knowing Ottoman Turkish, we suggested a date in the second half of the 16th century, which turned out to be wrong.⁹

The mosque of Husameddin Pasha stands on a terrace on steeply sloping ground to the south of the Otinja rivulet. The building is visible from afar. In 1953 some works of restoration and conservation were carried out, but for decades it had remained in a deplorable state, shamefully neglected and without any function. A humble türbe with the still venerated grave of the Halveti dervish saint Muhieddin (d. 1533/4) behind the mosque shows that a few Muslims still held out in Štip, which had once been

⁸ Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Avrupa'da Osmanlı Mimârî Eserleri*, Yugoslavya, III C. 3. kitab, İstanbul 1981, p.48. Ömer Turan – Mehmet İbrahimgil, *Balkanlardaki Türk Mimârî Örnekleri*, T.B.M.M. Kültür Yayınları Ankara 2004, p. 392/93. Turan and İbrahimgil mention the “16th century,” and base themselves on “vakf documents” (vakıf kayıtlarına göre 16. yüzyılda inşa edilmiştir), but do not reveal these sources. Ahmet Kuş - Feyzi Şimşek - İbrahim Dıvarcı, *Rumeli'de Osmanlı Mirası: Arnavutluk – Makedonya*, İstanbul 2007. *Macedonian Cultural Heritage: Ottoman Monuments*, (written by Zoran Pavlov and Radmila Petković) Skopje 2008, pp.122-125.

⁹ Machiel Kiel, “Ottoman architecture in the Macedonia province: Štip, Kumanovo, Prilep and Strumitsa,” in: *Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi* IV-V, İstanbul 1976/77, pp. 153-196. Better accessible in M. Kiel, *Studies on the Ottoman Architecture of the Balkans*, Aldershot (Variorum) 1990, with updating on pp. 178a-178b.

such an important Islamic religious centre. In 2010 the Research Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture (IRCICA) agreed to restore the mosque at its own expense. Locally, however, there is resistance to the plan because an important group of Macedonian Christians have decided that the building was originally a church. This is a favourite topos in Balkan Christian folklore, which imagines medieval churches beneath almost every mosque, without producing a scrap of evidence. This has happened even in those cities founded by the Ottomans as pure Muslim centres without any Christian inhabitants.

The mosque of Husameddin Pasha is built of very carefully cut yellowish-brown ashlar blocks, a technique that is a characteristic feature of the eastern part of Macedonia. We see the same technique used in the Mosque of Tatar Sinan Bey in the town of Kumanovo, *circa* 1525, and in a group of well-built 16th and early 17th century churches in the Žegligovo region to the east of Kumanovo, the most outstanding being the church of Mlado Nagoričane. The construction method, so different from the usual cloisonné work, is explained by the influence of slavified Armenian masons. Armenian immigrants are known to have settled in the area under the Byzantine Emperor Romanos Diogenes. In the 13th century, the villages of Žegligovo were known as “Armenochoria.” One should add here that in the medieval cemetery of Mlado Nagoričane are preserved a number of tombs that differ quite substantially from the local sepulchral traditions but resemble the usual, still extant medieval tombs in Armenia.¹⁰

The mosque is of a type we encounter twice in Prizren, Kosovo (the Mosque of Sofu Sinan Pasha from 1614 and the Mosque of Rotulla Emin Pasha from 1831/32). The other example in the

¹⁰ For details and sources, see: M. Kiel, “Armenian and Ottoman influences on a group of village churches in the Kumanovo district,” in: *Zbornik za Likovne Umetnosti*. Novi Sad 1971, S. 247-255. Idem: “A contribution to the history of art of the Armenian diaspora. Armenian and Ottoman influences in North-Eastern Macedonia,” in: *Revue des Etudes Arméniennes*, N.S. VIII, Paris 1971, pp. 267-282. For the date of the church, see: Marica Šuput, *Spomenici Srpskog crkvenog graditeljstva XVI-XVII vek*, Beograd 1991, pp. 146-150.

Balkans is the Mosque of Gedik Ahmedpaşa-zâde Mehmed Bey in Serres in Greek Macedonia, completed in 1492. It has a single-domed prayer hall with the mihrab protruding in an apse-like extension characteristic of a Byzantine church, preceded by a monumental porch with three domes on four slender columns. It will become clear that the construction dates for this typological group do not help us in determining the date of the Štip mosque. We have to search elsewhere.¹¹

A source neglected by most writers is the above-mentioned 1519 *Mufassal Tahrir Defter* of the Sandjak of Kyustendil (Köstendil) (MAD 170.A.). This register is the oldest still extant *tahrir* of that Sandjak. Its content is summarised in the very useful *Muhasebe Defter* T.D. 367 of 1530, which was updated in a few places with new information. In the Vakf section of this great and complete register we find a mosque, caravansaray and *zaviye* of “merhûm Husam Paşa.” There are very few people who bore the name Husam. In the 1530 *Muhasebe Defter* we find a certain “Husam Kethüda” who had built a *mesdjid* and a *zaviye* in Štip but in 1530 this individual was still alive, whereas Husam Pasha we focused on was dead. In the subsequent *tahrirs* of the Kyustendil Sandjak from 1550 and 1570, the same information is repeated, with only slight differences in the wording. We can thus be quite certain that the Mosque of Husameddin Pasha was built before 1530.

Not much is known about the life and career of Husameddin Pasha. His name is very rare, as said, and only a few are mentioned in the Ottoman Who’s Who, “Sicill-i Osmanî”, where he is the

¹¹ For these buildings, see first of all Ayverdi’s *Fatih Devri Mimarisi*, III, İstanbul 1973 (for Davud Pasha’s mosque, and IV, 1974, pp.736-755 for the Çinili Köşk. Also Sauermost und von der Mulbe, *İstanbul Moscheen*, München 1981 pp. 87-90. For Serres, Mehmed Bey: M. Kiel, Observations on the history of Northern Greece during the Turkish rule historical and architectural description of the Turkish monuments of Komotini and Serres, their place in the development of Ottoman architecture, and their present condition,” in: *Balkan Studies* 12,2, Thessaloniki 1971, pp. 415 - 462. Easier accessible in Kiel, *Studies on the Ottoman Architecture of the Balkans.* Variorum, Aldershot - Brookfield USA, 1990.

only one who fits the dates.¹² According to the rich and original history written by Müneccimbaşı (who was born in Salonica in 1630 and died in Mecca in 1702) Husam came from the *ehl-i kalem*, the bureaucracy, i.e. not from the class of famous warriors who were much more on the focus of the historians. This might be the reason why not much is related about him. He had been Çeşnegir (cupbearer) to the Sultan, and in August 1514 was appointed Defterdar (head of the Department of Finances) of Rumeli. This highly paid position enabled him to erect important buildings. His decision to build in Štip and not in the capital or in the seat of the Pasha of Rumeli (Sofia) might be explained by the fact that he originated from the town or its immediate surroundings. In April of 1516 he was promoted as Vizier. In January of 1517 his career came to a sudden end in Gaza when, on the orders of Sultan Selim I, he was executed after being accused of spreading defeatism in the army during the very difficult crossing of the desert to Cairo. The story is related by Hoca Sadeddin and several other 16th century Ottoman historians. The one closest to the event and giving the most detailed account is Şükrî-i Bidlîsî (d.1530), who accompanied the Sultan in the campaign. His *Selim-nâme* is the source of most other accounts.¹³

Herewith the story ends. Husameddin Pasha, Defterdar of Rumeli and Vizier of the Empire, is the builder of the most important mosque of the town of Štip. Of his three buildings the caravansaray and *zaviye* have not survived but this valuable

¹² Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmânî*, vol II, İstanbul 1311/1894, p.111.

¹³ For the career of Hüsameddin, consult furthermore: Müneccimbaşı Ahmed Dede, *Sahaif-ül- Ahbar fi Vekayi-ül-A'sar*, translated by İsmail Erünsal, Tercüman 1001 Temel Eser, II, İstanbul (no date), p. 483 and p. 505; Hoca Sadeddin Efendi, *Tacüt-Tevarih*, vol 4, (ed.) İsmet Parmaksızoğlu, IV, İstanbul 1979, pp. 307-08; Salâhattin Tansel, *Yavuz Sultan Selim*, Ankara 1969, p.163; Alfons Leonard Steidl, *Die Wiener Handschrift des Selimi-nâme von Şükri: ein türkisches Sprachdenkmal* (Ottoman text and German translation), Wien 1938 (Doctoral Thesis. We wish to thank Prof. Claudia Römer, University of Vienna, for making this rare work available to us). Halil İnalçık – Jean Louis Bacqué-Grammont, *Osmanlı Merkezi ve Taşra Teşkilatlarının Protopografyası* (1997), unpublished, p.44.

monument is finally to be restored and preserved for future generations.

The other great Ottoman monument in Štip is the highly original covered market, the *Bedesten*, in the very centre of town. It is in the form of a large rectangular hall covered with three great vaults and differing completely from the usual *bedesten*.¹⁴ It was restored in the 1970s and serves as an exhibition hall for modern art. The building resembles a work of the second half of the 16th century but not much is known about it. The Vakf section of the great register of the Sandjak of Kyustendil from 1570/73 makes no mention of it, indicating that in 1570 the Štip *bedesten* was not yet in existence. The problem was recently solved by Maximilian Hartmuth.¹⁵ It was the Sufi leader Emir Sultan, a native of Štip, who took the initiative, but Grand Vizier Koca Sinan Pasha (Yemen Fatihi Sinan Pasha.) actually financed it. The two men are also responsible for a number of other important buildings in the town.

The third Ottoman monument in Štip is the great stone bridge also attributed to Emir Sultan. The bridge escaped destruction in the World War II and, with its eight big arches, still spans the river Bregalnitsa. It is not mentioned in the 1570 tahrir register but is described by Evliya Çelebi (vol VI) in 1072 (1662) in his *Seyahatnâme* as a creation of the influential Sufi leader Emir Sultan.¹⁶ Local lore among the Muslim population of Štip also mentions his name as the builder of the bridge. Emir Sultan also had an *imaret* and a magnificent lead-covered and fortress-like *han* built near the bridge. The *han* is mentioned in 1590 by the

¹⁴ Krum Tomovski, "Bezistanot vo Štip," in: Zbornik na Štiski Narodni Muzej, II, Štip 1960/61, pp. 97-101.

¹⁵ Maximilian Hartmuth, "Le Patronage architectural de Koca Sinan Pacha dans les Balkans: un groupe des bâtiments inconnus de la fin du XVI^e siècle à Štip (Macedoine)," to appear in *Turcica XLIV*, 2012. Hartmuth also explains why the Sufi leader and the Pasha worked together.

¹⁶ Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, VIII, İst. 1928, s.752-756; *Seyahatnâme*, hazırl. Y. Dağlı – S.A. Kahraman, VIII, pp. 334-337.

very learned traveller Mehmed Aşık of Trebizond.¹⁷ Koca Sinan Pasha died in April 1596, thus furnishing a *terminus ante quem* for the great constructions in Štip.

Abdülkerim İştıpli Emir Sultan died in 1015 (1606) and was buried in the courtyard of the (Halveti) *tekke* at the mosque of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha in the İstanbul quarter of Kadırga.¹⁸ We should add that the great compendium of Sami Bey, *Kâmûsü'l-A'lâm*, mentions a “Mehmed Kahya Bey” as the builder of the bridge.¹⁹

Štip is the birthplace of a number of Ottoman writers and religious leaders. Besides the afore-mentioned Halveti dervish leader İştıpli Emir Sultan we should mention Şeyh Muhieddin Rumî and Adlî Hasan Efendi, who later became Şeyh of the Sümbüllüye Tekke in İstanbul, and the Sûfî poet Salih Rif'at Efendi (d. 1326/1908). The türbe of Muhieddin Rumî (Meydan Baba), still standing next to the mosque of Husameddin, is in good condition and still an object of veneration to Štip's small Muslim community.

¹⁷ Aşık Mehmed, *Menâzîrû'l-Avâlim*, long known as a rich and reliable source on Ottoman Rumeli but edited only a few years ago by Mahmut Ak, Ankara 2007, p. 2005.

¹⁸ For him, see: Mehmed Tahir Efendi, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, I, A. Fikri Yavuz – İsmail Özen (eds.) İstanbul 1972, p. 40. For unknown reasons Ayverdi (Avrupa'da calls this man “Abdülkadir”)

¹⁹ Vol II, İstanbul 1306 (1892), p. 972/3.

**The population of Štip in the 16th century
according to the Ottoman Tahrir Defters**

All in Households

1519			1528			1550			1570			1900		
Musl.	Chr.	Jews	Musl.	Chr.	Jews	Musl.	Chr.	Jews	Musl.	Chr.	Jews	Musl.	Chr.	Jews
201	323	15	143	274	38	259	271	41	447	264	58	2.000	2.200	180
539			455			571			769,			4.380		
37% Musl.			31% Musl.			45% Musl.			58% Musl.			46% Musl.		

In the year 1900 Vasil Kăncov, (Makedonya-Statistika, p. 530) gives:

10.900, BULG: 8.700 TURKS, 800 JEWS, 500 GYPSIES
TOTAL 20.900 inhabitants

ca. 2.200 hâne Bulg, 2.000 hâne Turks, 180 hâne Jews.

Total 4.380 hâne

When counted over the inhabitants this gives 42% Muslims,
when counted over the number of hâne 46% Muslims.

Kamus ul-A'lam II gives impossible numbers (6.000 inhabitants in total).

Much better is the *Salnâme of the Kosovo Vilayet* of H. 1314 (1896), edit. Yıldırım Aganoğlu, p. 132/33.

The town had 8 Muslim mahalles, 3 Christian mahalles, 1 Jewish, and 1 Gypsie mahalle, and a total of 3.016 hâne.

Taking 5 inhabitants per hâne this gives ca. 15.100 inh.
Kăncov's numbers tend to be taken a bit too high.

Ottoman Buildings in the Town of Štip in the Year 1570

according to the Ottoman tahrir defter kept in T.K.G.M. in Ankara
Published as Turski Dokumenti V,5, Skopje 1990.

Mosques:

Mosque of Husam Pasha, according to Defter-i Atik, p. 74

Mosque of Huseyin b. İskender (merhûm), p. 76 (Zaim of the
Yürüks of Ofçe Polje)

Mosque of Sultan Murad Han al-merhûm (paid from Cizye of
Štip), p. 67.

Mosque of Sultan Murad Han in Castle of Štip, known as
“Kilise Camii” p. 69.

Mescids:

Mescid of Çeribaşı Pir Ali, p. 66

Mescid of Doğancı Eyne Han.

Mescid of Hadji Murad al- Merhûm, p. 56.

Mescid of Hadji Süleyman in the Çarşı of Štip, p. 58.

Mescid of Hamza Çeribaşı,

Mescid of Hamza Fakih, p. 69

Mescid of Husam Kethüda p. 65.

Mescid of Husref Halife (and hamam), p. 63.

Mescid of Mustafa Bey, Emir Ahor (merhûm), p. 74

Mescid of Osman Dede (had also a zaviye), p. 62.

Ottoman Buildings, continued

Mescid of Sheikh Eyüb b. Sheikh Muhieddin.

Mescid of Yeğen-zade, p. 56.

Medreses:

Medrese of Çeribaşı Pir Ali (had also mescid, muallimhane and çeşme) p. 66

Medrese of Mevlana Mehmed Çelebi b. Mevlana Nureddin İştibi-zâde.

Schools:

Muallimhane of Ceribasi Pir Ali, p. 66.

Muallimhane of Dragoman Muslihuddin, p. 65

Muallimhane of Kara Ali, p. 67.

Muallimhane of Mustafa Bey Emir Ahur (had ook mescid), p 74.

Baths:

Hamam of Hüsref Halife, p. 63

Hamam of Mevlana Mehmed Çelebi (İştibi-zâde).

Karavansaray of Husam Pasha.

Ottoman Buildings, continued

Zaviyes:

Zaviye near Mosque of Husam Paşa, according to the Defteri -Atik, p.74.

Zaviye of Hadji Murad (merhûm) b. Celip. p. 56.

Zaviye of Husam Kethüda, p. 65.

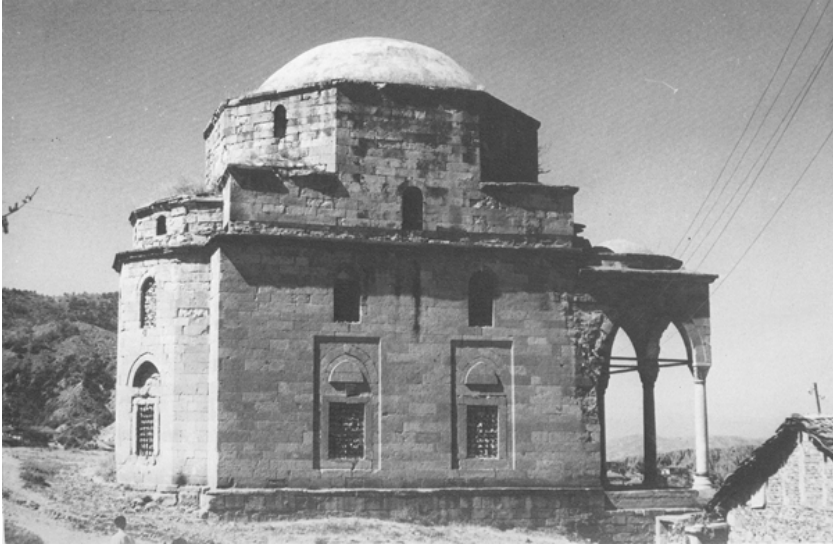
Zaviye of Osman Dede, p. 62.

Totals: 12 mesdjids,
 4 Mosques,
 4 Zaviyes
 4 schools (muallimhâne)
 2 medreses
 2 baths (hamam)
 1 caravansaray

Makes 29 monumental public buildings in 1570.

The Ştip Bedesten was made after the 1570 registration

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Štip, Mosque of Husameddin Pasha, General View, 1991



Štip, Mosque of Husameddin Pasha, Portico, 1991



Štip, Mosque of Husameddin Pasha, Seen from the Rear, 1991



Štip, Mosque of Husameddin Pasha, and the Tomb of Sheikh Muhieddin, 1991.

Islamic Ornamentation: Reflections on its Humanistic, Cosmological, and Metaphysical Aspects

Patrick Ringgenberg*

Ornamentation is one of the main aesthetic features of Muslim arts and creativity. The tendency to decorate buildings and objects is not limited to Islamic arts and handicrafts, but is universal; modernism is alone in seeking to exclude ornamentation or to minimize the importance of decoration.¹

In Islamic arts and handicrafts ornament is far from being a superficial element: on the contrary it is a vital dimension of an object or a building, not “like jewels or pretty dresses which merely decorate the body”, but rather like “the very flesh and skin which cover the skeleton and give it shape, substance, and a pleasing form”.²

This study will not deal with the social, cultural, political or economic meanings of ornament, nor will it enter into the complex contemporary debate over the question of symbolism in Islamic ornamentation.³ Its purpose is rather to shed light on

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¹ James Trilling, *Ornament. A Modern Perspective*, Seattle and London, University of Washington Press, 2003.

² Ehsan Yar-Shater, “Affinities between Persian Poetry and Music”, in Peter J. Chelkowski (ed.), *Studies in Art and Literature of the Near East*, New York, Middle East Center / New York University Press, p. 74.

³ On some debates between the traditionalist (Titus Burckhard, Frithjof Schuon, Seyyed Hossein Nasr, Jean-Louis Michon, among others) and the academic interpretations of Islamic arts, see Patrick Ringgenberg, *Les théories de l'art dans la pensée traditionnelle*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2011, pp. 420-426 and 583-661.

three generic aspects of geometric and vegetal ornamentation in Islamic contexts: humanistic, cosmological and philosophical.

Ornament: a humanistic re-creation of nature

From the perspective of Islamic anthropology, ornamentation may be said to reveal or express the central role of Man, whose vocation is to thrive according to his specific function and destiny. The human dimension of ornamentation presents two aspects: the function of man according to Islamic spirituality on the one hand, and the specificity of human interpretation of the natural world on the other.

Man and Islam: According to the Holy Qur'an, man is the vice-regent or caliph of God on earth (Qur'an 2:30), despite the fact that he is a weak and changeable creature made out of clay (Qur'an 38:71-72). If Man is utterly dependent on God, he nonetheless holds a privileged, unique and central position in the universe, having received the Divine gifts of creativity and of corporal, intellectual and spiritual knowledge of the cosmos. The angels were ordered by God to bow down to Adam, because God taught Adam the names of the things and thus gave him a knowledge that angels do not share (Qur'an 2:30-31). To create and decorate artifacts and buildings corresponds, then, to the human vocation to inhabit the earth and to use, in an adequate way, the specific and unique capacities that Man has received from God.

Ornamentation appears also appropriate for Muslims, from the perspective of Islamic spirituality and in the context of a Muslim society. The social, psychological, and artistic contexts in which ornamentation is created, emphasizing transmission rather than individualism, fit with the Qur'anic and traditional conception of Man. Artists and craftsmen must not try to create idols, or glorify themselves in the arts. From this vantage point, ornamentation, as an aesthetic, a technique, a way of life, and a social paradigm, allows artists and craftsmen to be in the right place within society and in their relationship with God. The creation of decoration,

in as much it rests on the living transmission of patterns rather than on a continuous individualistic “reaction” of new designs, does not require necessarily a special genius (as expected in the anthropocentric post-medieval European art) and does not rely on a “supernatural” and “(neo)-platonian” inspiration, but demands rather a skilled and imaginative mind. Neither is decoration the expression of a creative passion that can blind and lead the artist to adore himself in the mirror of his works, but rather a method of creating (with talent or genius) in harmony with a religious practice and a mystical spirituality that can, in addition, contribute to develop technical skills as well as social and ethical qualities. Moreover, ornamentation in itself cannot be idolized, since it is not an “art for art’s sake” and, however important it is, it remains optional, occasional, ephemeral, dependent, as all arts. On given circumstances (whether cultural, economic, and political). In short, the nature of ornamentation and the cultural and psychological conditions of its creation reflects a certain image of human beings promoted by Islamic spirituality. We can call it the “spiritual humanism of decoration”: the ornament is created by men for men, and far from isolating men from society and taking them away from God, it allows them to blossom in the frame of their human dignity, social network, and metaphysical vocation.

Man and Nature: The aesthetics of ornamentation implies a cultural transformation of motifs – mainly vegetal – found in nature. Man does not simply imitate the natural world, but recreates in his arts, and according to a certain cultural context, aesthetic orientation, technical and material situation, the shape of a tree or the design of a flower. In the Ottoman State (*ill. 1*), Safavid Iran or Mughal India, vegetal motifs in decoration display a more pronounced naturalism than in other Islamic contexts (in North Africa, for instance), but they nevertheless display stylization (geometry, flatness, symmetry, color regularity and saturation, etc.), and are thus clearly distinct from their models in the natural world. This cultural recreation of natural vegetal

elements corresponds to the specificity and vocation of human intelligence and creative capacities. By interpreting in art what he sees in nature, or by inventing patterns and designs more or less inspired from the natural world.

The central role of human consciousness is even more obvious in the geometry of ornament (*ill. 2*). With the exception of geometric structures that can be seen only with modern microscopes, observable geometric elements are rare in nature.⁴

The development of geometric patterns in Islamic decoration is not then the result of the observation of nature, but is mainly due to the technical and creative processes used by craftsmen – many of them inherited from pre-Islamic civilizations –, the development of mathematical sciences, or to Pythagorean and Platonic speculations that may have inspired a symbolic use of geometry and numbers.⁵

The geometrization of pattern and decoration is obviously typical of human consciousness, as it involves a power of intellection and abstraction proper to the human species.

In brief, the use of geometry as well as the stylization of nature in decorative patterns are clear signs of Man's central function within the cosmic order and hierarchy.

The Cosmology of Ornamentation

According to the Qur'an, God adorned the sky with stars (Qur'an 37:6) and the earth with vegetation (Qur'an 18: 7-8). God is the Supreme Artist, who created and adorned His creation, and the ornate universe is a prototype and a primary source of inspiration for human artistic ornamentation. Of the relationship between

⁴ Ernst Gombrich, *The Sense of Order. A Study in the Psychology of Decorative Art*, London, Phaidon, 1984, p. 7.

⁵ The bibliography on geometric ornament is considerable, but Gülru Necipoğlu's book devoted to one of the oldest craftsmen's scroll is one of the major studies published in these past two decades (*The Topkapı Scroll: Geometry and Ornament in Islamic Architecture*, Santa Monica, The Getty Centre for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1995).



PHOTO 1:
Rüstem Pasha mosque, İstanbul,
ca. 1561-1563. Photograph: Patrick
Ringgenberg [2004]



PHOTO 2:
Tuman Aga mausoleum in Shâh-i
Zinda necropolis, Samarqand, 1405,
Photograph: Patrick Ringgenberg.
[2001-2004]



PHOTO 3:
Night sky, Photograph: Robert
Knapp [Wikimedia Commons: CC-
BY-SA-3.0]

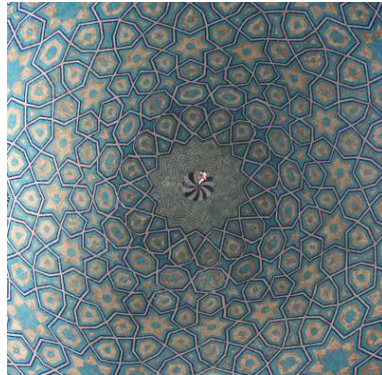


PHOTO 4:
Cupola, Friday Mosque, Yazd,
14th Century, Photograph: Patrick
Ringgenberg [2009]

the human art of decoration and the Divine cosmic ornamentation one can distinguish three main aspects:

1. Craftsmen adorn buildings, objects, or textiles, inspired to a certain extent by the inimitable model of God decorating the sky and the earth. The “handmade” ornamentation, using geometric and vegetal motifs, constitutes a human mirror to a divinely adorned cosmos (*illustration. 3 /4*). When decorating and thus giving beauty to an object or to a building, men continue in a certain sense – or rather echo- the embellishment of the universe and the “decorative” work of the Divine Creator.

2. The harmony of human decorations may be interpreted as a metaphor of the harmony of the world and as an attempt to harmonize, in visual terms, human existence in general and Muslim society in particular with the natural and metaphysical worlds. Carpets offer good examples in this regard. Displaying in a structured order geometric patterns and geometrized vegetal motifs, carpets (*illustration. 5*) are miniaturizations of a garden, of paradise, of a kingdom (hunting carpets), of a mosque (prayer carpet), and thus they reproduce on a space and in a size adapted to men the “holistic” concept of a harmonic and symbolic universe. In a more general way, a decoration – whether on a wall, a cloth, or a plate – expresses order: thanks to its regular patterns and aesthetic principles (predominance of geometry, repetition, subdivision, ...) it provides a sense of organization, structure, stability, regularity, which attunes to the very structure of the universe, determined by natural laws and a geometric constancy.⁶

3. Decoration is or may be interpreted as a symbolic or schematic representation of a cosmology. Ornate objects and

⁶ Many Qur’anic verses evoke indeed the regularity of the universe (the course of the moon and the sun: Qur’an 55:5), the necessity of justice and balance (Qur’an 55:7-9), a sense of proportion (the burden is adapted to each soul: Qur’an 2:233). See Patrick Ringgenberg, *L’univers symbolique des arts islamiques*, Paris, L’Harmattan, 2009, pp. 367-368.



PHOTO 5:
Ardabil Carpet, Iran, 1539-40, Victoria and
Albert Museum, London, Source: Wikimedia
Commons [PD-Art (PD-old-100)]

architectures, like cupolas, cups, candlesticks, carpets or boxes, clearly offer the miniaturization of a worldview (*Weltanschauung*) and a symbolic paradigm.

The ornamentation in many cupolas is a clear evocation of the celestial vault (*illustration 4*) and this ornamentation may be interpreted on different levels, astrological and cosmological as well as metaphysical or mystical. Some decorative motifs such as rosettes, medallions and *shamse*, may even symbolize a cosmology or constitute a visual support for mystical and philosophical interpretations. That is not to say that these patterns were conceived as “mandalas”, although their general structure (a center surrounded by polygons) is very similar to mandalas, but their visuality offers a hermeneutic potential for any interpretation – cosmological, theological, philosophical – using concentric and/or radiating diagrams (*illustration 6 / 8*).

6. A Hermeneutics of a geometric pattern: for a mystic or a Neo-Platonist philosopher, the center may symbolize the Divine Unity and the circumference of the universe, composed with a hierarchy of multiple worlds and levels, radiating from God’s Intellect.



The divine Unity, at the center of all reality, creates.

The universe, as a radiant mirror and mosaic of His Infinity, Names, and Beauty.

PHOTO 6:
Ulugh Beg Madrasa, Samarqand,
1417-21, Photograph: Patrick
Ringgenberg [2006]



PHOTO 7:
Symbolic diagram in Seyyed
Haydar Âmolî's manuscript, dated
1375/6, Mar'ashi Library, Qom,
Photograph: Patrick Ringgenberg
[2012]

A metaphysical hermeneutic of ornamentation

On a more speculative level, the sense of ornamentation in Islamic arts may also be interpreted from a philosophical perspective. The concept of an ornate world stems from the Qur'an and allows us to propose an overall metaphysical interpretation of the very concept of "ornament".

According to a famous hadith, God was a hidden treasure who wanted to be known and who created the world so that he would be

known. It means that the universe, with all its ornaments (stars in the sky, animals and plants on the earth), is a self-disclosure of God's hidden beauty and knowledge. In other words, the cosmic ornaments are signs (âyat) of God:⁷ Their beauty testifies to the Divine Beauty, and their design and function manifest what God desired to share and say about Himself and about the world He created.

Although human art cannot compete with Divine Creativity, artifacts or architectural ornamentation may also convey a symbolic message and transmit a sparkle from a transient beauty. To adorn is to create beauty, to add brightness and intelligibility to a building or to an object: it is a form of tribute to Divine Beauty, the absolute source of all manifested beauty. Therefore the beauty of any decoration may be perceived, not only as a source of sensual pleasure, but also in a Platonic or Sufi perspective as a visible reflection of the Invisible. The subjective or objective qualities of the decorations (clarity, stability, order, harmony, geometry, etc.) can be interpreted on different hermeneutic levels, and ultimately as a mirror of Divine Attributes and Qualities, which are the eternal origin of the world's coherence, meaning, and unity. It is certainly meaningful that the Holy Qur'an mentions ornate works of art in the context of paradisiacal rewards and pleasures: the believers in the hereafter will wear garments of fine silk and brocade (Qur'an 18:31), they will have cushions and carpets (Qur'an 88:15-16), and vessels of silver and goblets of crystal will be passed round them (Qur'an 76:15). Even interpreted in a metaphorical way, these verses clearly show that beauty is a gift of God's generosity and a sign of paradise. Human made ornaments are thus rooted in a paradisiacal archetype. The heavenly gardens give peace, enlighten the eyes, and delight the hearts: so do the ornaments on earth, prefiguring at their modest level and in a perishable way the immutable pleasures and beauty of paradise.

One can even delve deeper into the metaphysical roots of the

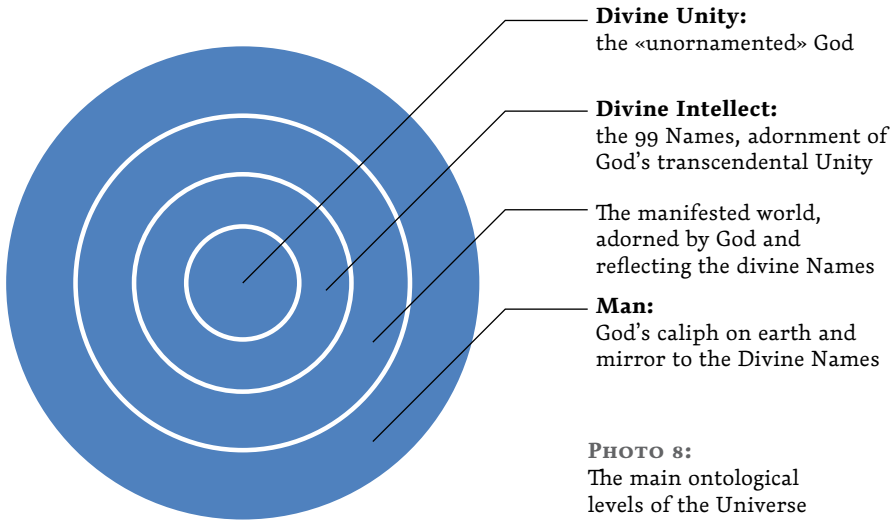
⁷ See Qur'an 6:99; 13:2; 13:17; 12:105; 30:20-22.

desire and power to adorn. The Islamic concept of the 99 Divine Names gives us a clue to trace in God the origin of what we call “ornamentation”. These names may be found in the Qur’an and in the hadith, and although there is no definite consensus about the listing of these names, they represent a fundamental philosophical concept. The 99 names symbolize God’s attributes or modes of action that can be understood by human consciousness. According to Sufis like Ibn Arabî the Divine Names are God’s ornaments, because they are ontological self-expressions of God.⁸ The absolute Unity, the Divine transcendence, is void of any ornamentation, in as much as Divinity is beyond imagination, conceptualization, and intellection. God’s oneness is unornamented, because He is unconditioned and there is nothing comparable to Him. The Divine Names are the Qualities that God himself can disclose in order to radiate intelligible features of His indescribable essence.

- ▶ We can thus evoke a metaphysical procession in terms of ornamentation:
- ▶ The Divine Unity is the “non-adorned God”, beyond any qualification, expression, understanding, meditation.
- ▶ Out of His self-intellection, the supreme Unity adorns Himself with 99 Names, which reveal on a Divine level what God wishes to express about His Infinity.
- ▶ The Divine Intellect, rich of all these Names, creates the entire universe – angels, paradises, skies, earth – whose qualities are woven with and by the Divine Names.

In other words, ornament as beautification and as sign is the result of a metaphysical and cosmological process. God adorns Himself with Names and these Names are archetypes of beauty as well as symbols of an *unknowable reality*: the most beautiful names belong to God (Qur’an 7:180; 17:110) and these names

⁸ Henry Corbin, *L’imagination créatrice dans le soufisme d’Ibn Arabi*, Paris, Flammarion, 1958, p. 240.



are perennial expressions of Divine self-knowledge and radiant creativity. Therefore the cosmic ornaments – the stars in the sky or the vegetation on the earth – are a beautification of the world as well as signs to decipher and to meditate upon.

From a metaphysical perspective, the art of ornamentation and the very concept of ornament reflect the mystery of Existence and God's self-exteriorization. As a radiating beautified sign, ornament derives from the mysterious emanation of Divine Names which adorn the transcendental Unity and determine the cosmic qualities of the entire universe. The capacity of men to adorn reveals once again the excellence of Man. As caliphs of God on earth men have been granted the gift of creativity. The human art of ornamentation, insofar as it is qualitative and meaningful, is a symbol of the essential function of Man who, at the center of an ornate universe, is the mirror to the Divine Names, and whose very existence is rooted in the supreme Unity – the God beyond "ornament".

One may think that the above speculations about metaphysics of ornament are strictly modern and inspired by contemporary

phenomenological or traditionalist approaches to Islamic arts. It is partly true, but a few historical texts may reveal that these concepts were also present before modern times, at least to a certain extent and in certain artistic milieus. A preface by the historian Khwândamir to an album made by Kamâluddin Behzâd (beginning of the 16th century) evokes in a poetic way the decoration of the world by the Divine Painter and the preeminence of Man adorned with arts and crafts:

When the painter of eternity portrayed the sun, he adorned an album with leaves of the celestial sphere.

Therein he depicted without color or brush many bright-cheeked beauties.

When the perfect will of the unquestionable Omnipotent and the all-inclusive desire of the Creator who says “Be!” and a thing is came to bring into existence the forms of this ever-changing workshop, the portraitist of eternal favor depicted with the pen of Divine favor the human “album” in the best form in accordance with the Quranic verse, “He formed you and made your forms beautiful” [Qur’an 40:64], and in accordance with the noble words, “We have preferred them before many of our creatures which we have created” [Qur’an 17:70], he preferred this group, whose qualities were approved, over most creatures by giving them the adornment of various types of rare knowledge and the ornament of unique crafts.⁹

Conclusion

In light of the Muslim worldview, the art of ornamentation appears far from being “decorative” in the restrictive or even pejorative sense of the term. Apart from its social or political meaning and influence, more or less particular and historically defined, decoration and the desire to adorn are, in a much broader sense, an expression of the cosmic vocation of Man, the visuality

⁹ Wheeler M. Thackston, *Album Prefaces and Other Documents on the History of Calligraphers and Painters*, Leiden, Brill, 2001, p. 41.

of a Muslim humanity, a human mirror to the cosmos, a potential or multidimensional sign to decipher, a prefiguration of paradise, a testimony to the manifestable beauty of God.

These are the perennial values of ornament: they do not belong to a bygone age; they are the substance of our human condition. The preservation of arts and crafts in the contemporary Islamic world is a necessity, but economic reasons, however important they may be, should not be the sole motivation. To decorate objects and buildings in an industrial, westernized, and post-modern world must not merely be a superficial perpetuation or “revival” of the past, but should be a connection or a deep-rootedness to an unchanging and unchangeable worldview and humanism.

A 20th century French poet wrote that the countries who forgot their legends are condemned to freeze to death.¹⁰ We could paraphrase this sentence by saying that countries losing the art of adorning life and arts will sooner or later lose their identity and very “raison d’être”. A world without ornament is no longer a world for human beings: to preserve traditional arts and crafts is not a question of nostalgia but a matter of life, a humanistic duty, and a challenge for our common future.

¹⁰ Patrice de La Tour du Pin, « Tous les pays qui n’ont plus de légende / Seront condamnés à mourir de froid » (*Une somme de poésie*, livre V, prélude de La quête de joie).

