to the left, but do not pile up at the end of the line. The long tails on final ya’ and nun encircle the next phrase and add sublinear rhythm. The text is evenly spaced, but much more compact than the text in the document that Shāh ‘Abbas sent to Charles I [Figure 12.11], which is half the size of this one, or the text in the one that Awhang-Zib sent to the Raja of Mawar [Figure 12.8], which is the same size. The Malay scroll also lacks a seal impression, although other documents show that the sultans of Aceh used seals as early as 1609.95

The feature that distinguishes the Malay scroll is its elaborate decoration. Written on gold-sprinkled paper, the text is set in a gold frame surrounded by a floral border of gold flowers highlighted with red. Like the Mughal edict [Figure 12.8], the written area is off-center, set to the left. The headpiece is particularly lavish, featuring an ogee arch with a multi-lobed intrados that occupies almost half as much space as the text itself. The field of the arch is painted in blue, decked with cloud bands and floral scrolls in red, white, and gold. In form and decoration, the headpiece recalls those used in the opening pages of large Koran manuscripts produced in the late sixteenth century for the Safavids, notably those made at Shiraz and often exported to India.96 British collections contain other letters, often decorated with gold, addressed to Thomas Stamford Raffles, Lieutenant-Governor of Java from 1811 to 1816 and Bengkulu from 1818 to 1824,97 but this one issued by Iskandar Muda two centuries earlier is the finest and most elaborate.

This exchange of letters and manuscripts was the result of the trade links that developed between Europe and the East Indies. Sir Francis Drake, the first British person to visit Indonesia, arrived at Ternate in 1579, and representatives of the English East India Company followed in 1600, bringing back documents written in the Malay language in Arabic script. This script is often called jawi, from the word for a person or thing that comes from the island of Java or, more generally, anywhere in south-east Asia, which is known in Arabic as bilād al-jawa.98 The name jawi, however, is used for so many different styles of script, from plain naskh to decorated hands, that it is of limited value.

Manuscripts from Indonesia survive from later centuries. The earliest were usually written on imported European or Chinese paper, but palm leaves were also used. Malay was the lingua franca of the archipelago, so manuscripts in Malay have been found in all the major island groups, from Sumatra in the west to the Moluccas in the east. They contain a wide range of texts, including court histories, legal, moral, theological and didactic works, and both prose and poetic literature. One example is the Hikayat Raja Pasai, the oldest known history written in the Malay language. Thought to have been composed in the fifteenth century, it recounts the coming of Islam in the thirteenth century to the now-vanished kingdom of Pasai on the north coast of Sumatra. The earlier of the two known copies was probably transcribed at Semarang in 1797.99 Its detailed introduction
Figure 13.11 Opening pages with Surah 1-2 from a single-volume Koran manuscript.

This copy exemplifies the style of Koran manuscripts made in Indonesia in the nineteenth century that derive from Indian models. The text is written in a regular but angular naskh that slants to the left, a variant of the bihari script. Incidentally are added in a thick idiosyncratic script, surely by the illuminator, whose work includes floral and vegetal motifs typical of woodwork and textiles, particularly the splendid resist-dyed ikats, produced in the region.

and conclusion explaining how manuscripts were made and used in the region tell us about the role of writing and orality there: created in a society where literacy was confined to the court and religious circles and where texts were transcribed by professional calligraphers, these manuscripts were nevertheless destined for a wide audience, as the text specifies that many manuscripts were meant to be read aloud to men and women from various ethnic groups.

The style used in these court documents and manuscripts allows us to attribute a handful of Koran manuscripts to south-east Asia. The finest is a large (43 × 28 cm) copy thought to have been made for Zayn al-Din Abidin II (r. 1793-1808), Sultan of Terengganu in the north-west of the Malay peninsula.100 Because of its extensive use of gold, a pigment generally reserved for royalty there, it has been dubbed ‘the Gold Edition.’ More typical are smaller nineteenth-century copies transcribed on European watermarked paper (Figure 13.11).101 Like manuscripts made in India, the Indonesian ones have illuminated pages at the beginning, middle, and end.102 The decoration is similar to that found in manuscripts made in India, but includes the curvilinear forms and swirling leaves typical of the arts of India. The all-over decor with arabesque scrolls, sometimes created in reserve, for example, recalls the famous iqat reserved-dyed textiles from the region. Many of the vegetal motifs are also found in Indonesian woodwork. The pointed scrolls along the sides, for example, resemble roof brackets. Also notable are the lobed roundels that project not just at the sides but also below the text.

The text in these Koran manuscripts from south-east Asia is written in a regular and even naskh like that used in other dated documents and manuscripts from the region. It shares many features with the bihari style developed in the subcontinent (Figure 9.8). Letters are posed on a flat baseline, but slant markedly to the left and are very angular in basic construction, despite their slightly rounded edges. The initial ba’ in the basmala is heightened so that it is as tall as alif or lam. In some cases, the gall-based black ink has corroded the pages, particularly in copies that have been preserved in the hot and humid climate there.

In these Koran manuscripts, the naskh text script is juxtaposed to an idiosyncratic display script, used on this opening double page for the suro headings above and below the written area with the name, place of revelation, and number of verses, and for the opening part of the profession of faith (la ila ila illah, there is no god but God) repeated along its sides (Figure 12.11a). The script is quite ungainly: lam alif here is written like a boat. Except for the standard content, the text is virtually unreadable. In a copy in the Khalili Collection, the ba’ of muhammad is distorted to a large isosceles triangle. Such extreme stylization suggests a confined school.

Muslim traders also carried Islam across the Indian ocean to the east coast of Africa. Whereas West Africa had been Islamized from the Maghrib and the Nilotic Sudan from Egypt, the East African coast was integrated into the Indian Ocean trade. Manuscripts produced there confirm the cultural origins of settlers, as some, such as a single-volume copy transcribed by Hajj Sa’d ibn Adish[1] Umar Din in Shawwal 1162/September-October 1759, are written in a script resembling the bihari used in India since the late fourteenth century.103 The text follows the Kufan reading, with suro headings noting not only the number of words and letters as well as verses, but also differences from the readings of Mecca and Medina. The beginning and end of the manuscript contain several short complementary texts, including a compendium of Kufan and maghribi reading techniques, and other techniques of reading and writing the text, canonical and alternative readings, and prayers. Such a manuscript might well have been used in teaching and proselytism.

Local calligraphic styles developed in east Africa. One of the most important centers for artistic production was Siyu, a Swahili town on the island of Pemba in the Lamu archipelago off the coast of Kenya. From 1835 to 1865, it was a center of Islamic learning and craft production in textiles, wood, leather, metal, and especially manuscripts.104 About half the surviving manuscripts made there are copies of the Koran; others are manuals of religion, law, medicine, astrology, grammar and the like. One of the best documented is the second volume of a Koran codex donated by Forster Fitzgerald Arbuthnot to the Royal Asiatic Society in London in 1900 (Figure 13.12).105
The scribe's nisba connects him to the settlement of Siyu on the island of Pate, a center of learning and crafts from 1735 to 1865. The endpapers in the volume have watermarks dating the paper to the late eighteenth century, when the manuscript was apparently rebound so that it could be placed in niches on either sides of a doorway. The script resembles maghribi, but with regular pointing and uniform strokes.

Scrap of paper used as bookmarks between the volume's 188 folios say that it was 'got at Witu and belonged to the sultan of Witu who was deposed,' meaning that it was taken as plunder in 1893 when the British sacked this small state on the east African mainland and deposed the Nabhan rulers there. Although undated, the manuscript was already old when Witu was taken, for the endpapers have late eighteenth-century watermarks. They were probably added when the manuscript was rebound in two volumes c. 1800 so that they could be placed in niches flanking a doorway, a common tradition in the region.

On the basis of paper, colophon, and script, the manuscript itself can be dated to the mid-eighteenth century. The text is transcribed on strong grayish paper of European origin with a watermark of trellis. This paper was produced from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century by the firm of Andrea Galvani at several towns in the Veneto, notably Pordenone, for export to the Ottoman empire, Egypt, and east Africa. The paper was transported as far as sub-Saharan Africa, either by pilgrims returning from Mecca or by caravans crossing the Sahara from Libya (see below, p. 574). The attribution to the eighteenth century is supported by the name of the calligrapher, who signs himself at Khatib ibn 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Khatib ibn 'Ali al-Siyawi. Like the calligrapher Haji Sa'id, who copied the Koran manuscript of 1162/1749, the calligrapher who transcribed this manuscript was quite learned: he came from a family of calligraphers, and Khatib, his given name and that of his grandfather, means preacher or reader of prayers. His education is also evident from the fifteen or so commentaries and variant readings he cites in the margins. His nisba al-Siyawi connects him to the small settlement of Siyu, and the manuscript was likely copied there and removed from the island in the early 1860s when the ruling Nabhan dynasty was expelled to Witu.

The text in this Koran manuscript is written in black ink, with diacritics in bright red ink probably produced from logwood dye, a local specialty made from the wood of the mangrove tree. The hand, more elegant than that of the 1162/1749 manuscript, is large and clear, with some features characteristic of the maghribi style, such as the loopy tails of the letters, the big dal, and the flat s. The pointing, however, follows regular practice (fā' with one and qāf with two strokes above the letter), and the strokes are a uniform thickness and not posed on a rigid baseline. Notable are the unauthorized connections, as in the words bi-'ibāda in the bottom line (Figure 12.12b), in which alif is connected to dal, which in turn is connected to dal with a flourish for taʾ marbūta.

The bottom half of this page is occupied by the heading for Surat Maryam [19]. It marks the division of the text into halves, and a similar large heading for Sura 36 (Ya Sin) on folio 84b marks the division into quarters. The text of the headings is unusual. It gives the name of the sura and the place of revelation [here, Mecca; in the other case, Medina], but no verse counts. Instead, the space is occupied by blessings, here on Maryam. The text of the heading, like the decoration around it, is created in reserve. Notable is the knot-shape used for the final taʾ marbūta in makkīya (Figure 12.12b), a feature characteristic of India and found in contemporary Kashmiri manuscripts (Figure 12.5a). The only two colors used in this copy are red and black, though the dated copy includes a muddy yellow and olive
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green as well, using the same reserve technique. Motifs include a
cable binding and scroll, and the twining rope ornament can be found
in wood and cut-plaster in the region. On the basis of style, other less
well-published manuscripts can be attributed to the same milieu, attest-
ing to a flourishing, but still relatively unknown, style of manu-
script production in East Africa in the eighteenth and nineteenth
centuries.

The Maghrib

Following the expulsion of the Muslims from Spain in 1492 and the
opening of new trade routes across the Atlantic and around Africa,
the Maghrib became a frontier, somewhat isolated by developments
elsewhere in the Islamic lands. This situation persisted in many of
the arts, including calligraphy and book production. Calligraphers
continued to use the same script found earlier in the region, with
loopy descenders, unusual pointing of 'af' and qaf, club foot on alif,
sad written without bump, flat diacritical marks, and so on.
Repetition only led to exaggeration.

The stylization of the maghribi style can be seen most readily in
Koran manuscripts, themselves the most conservative type of text.
Virtually all were copied on paper, which by this period had become
standard even in the Maghrib. Much of it was imported from Europe
and bears watermarks with animals, flowers, crowns, Western ini-
tials, and the like. Shape is consistent: nearly all are rectangular (por-
trait), as the earlier square format seems to have been abandoned.
They vary widely, however, in size. Many measure approximately 30
× 15 cm, but some are bigger. Some were written in a large script,
with only five lines per page, but most were written in a smaller
script, with up to twenty-two lines per page. Some contain the entire
text in a single volume. Other manuscripts were divided into sec-
tions, with one or two sections [juz] in a single volume. Still others
were divided into two or four parts. Some contain only extracts of
the full text, with translations and paraphrases in Spanish, the vernacu-
lar language of immigrants from the Iberian peninsula. At least one
is accompanied by a divination text [tahannuma] in Turkish, the official
language of the Ottomans who ruled North Africa through a system
of provincial governorates supported largely by piracy.

A typical example from the high end of the spectrum [Figure 12.13] is
the copy made for the Sharifian sultan 'Abdallah ibn Muhammad in
975/1568. It shows many features of manuscripts made earlier in
the region. Some pages are white, but others are dyed ochre or rose.
Colored paper, particularly rose or red, had long been used in the
region for both documents and manuscripts [Figures 9.11 and 9.13].
The four hundred folios of text in the Sharifian Koran codex are tran-
scribed in black ink, with vowels in red and other orthographic signs
in blue and orange. Chapter headings are written in gold kufic, with
blue used to fill the interstices. Large marginal ornaments in blue and
gold extend into the margins: palmettes mark chapter titles, tear
shapes, every five verses, and roundels, every ten verses. The richly
illuminated pages at the beginning and end bear elaborate knotted
decoration in gold similar to the type already used in the Koran manu-
script copied by the Ibn Ghattas family at Valencia in the late
twelfth century.

The anonymous calligrapher of the Sharifan Koran used the stand-
ard form of maghribi script with swooping tails, flat diacritical
marks, unusual pointing for 'af' and qaf, and typical letter shapes such
as alif with a club foot, flat sad, kaf with a diagonal bar, and dal like
pursed lips. Letters are set on a flat baseline, and the tails regularly
descend to the line below. The strokes are exaggerated and attenuated.
For example, the anonymous calligrapher often extended the hori-
zontal connector between letters to allow space for the descending
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tails or to fill out the line. Thus, in the last word in the second line of text, lyaghfiqa, he elongated the space between ghayn and fa’ [pointed with one dot below the letter, the standard form used in the Maghribi] to allow for the descending tail of nun from al-rahman and extended the space between fa’ and ra’ so that the tail of ra’ projects into the left margin. He arranged the swooping tails to form patterns, most visible in the margins. For example, the tails of mim and ra’ in the first three lines of text form a tier, the upright alif of lines four and five form parallel bars, and the bowls of nun in lines eight and nine form parallel curve. The tails of mim, ra’, and waw create similar patterns in the bottom margin. The overall impression is of sobriety, balance, and control— even rigidity.

Many features found in this sixteenth-century Koran manuscript can also be found in other copies transcribed during the next few centuries in the region, but become increasingly exaggerated. A codex made in 1142/1732–30 for another prince of the Sharifian line shows the same scripts and illumination but more colorful decoration, with bright red and green added to the standard blue and gold, and more complex strapwork interlacing.112 The text is transcribed in a thinner version of the typical maghribi hand, with even more extended connections. Chapter headings are added in both knotted kufic and sthilab. The manuscript must have been given to one of the Beys of Egypt, for it bears his seal and an endowment notice at the end stating that Muhammad Bey endowed it to his mosque. It represents the finest workmanship from the area.

Maghribi script was used for most texts transcribed in the region. After the Koran, the most popular was al-Jazuli’s Dalal’il al-Khayrat (Guidelines to the Blessings), a collection of prayers for the Prophet Muhammad, including a description of his tomb and his names. The author, Abu ‘Abdallah Muhammad ibn Sulayman, known colloquially in Morocco as Ben Sliman, belonged to the Berber tribe of Jazula in Moroccan Sus, whence his sobriquet al-Jazuli.113 Al-Jazuli’s book of prayers was widely circulated. One of the earliest copies, datable to the sixteenth century, was acquired in 1560 in the bazaars of Kabul.114 Its distinctive maghribi script and square format shows that it was made in North Africa, but it is possible that it was sent to India, where it was rebound with paper inscribed in Devanagari, the script used for transcribing Hindi, Nepali, and Marathi.

Al-Jazuli’s text was copied repeatedly in later centuries, everywhere from the Maghrib to south-east Asia.115 Some manuscripts contain detailed instructions telling the reader how to handle the codex, which was considered almost as holy as a copy of the Koran. In addition to its devotional character, it served as an inspiration to freedom fighters, used, for example, in the nineteenth century by Muslims fighting the Dutch in Aceh. Although a lithographed edition of the text was published in Cairo in 1840, fine handwritten copies continued to be made until the twentieth century. One copied at Fez in 1311/1893–4 shows many features found in maghribi Koran manuscripts.116 It continues the small squarish format, measuring 18 × 16 cm, and the same palette, with the text on 350 folios written in black ink, important words added in red, and colorful illumination in bright yellow, red, blue, and green.

Like most copies of al-Jazuli’s text, this manuscript is illustrated with several representations of places or objects connected with the Prophet. Jan Just Witkam showed that the earliest manuscripts contain a single-page image schematically depicting the tomb (razafa) of the Prophet, containing his grave and those of the early caliphs, in the Mosque at Medina. This format was soon expanded, as in the sixteenth-century copy in Berlin, into a double-page image showing the Prophet’s minbar along with the graves, with both scenes set in framed niches that resemble the illuminated pages from contemporary Koran manuscripts.117 Manuscripts and editions of al-Jazuli’s text made later in the Maghribi adhere to this traditional set of illustrations showing the Prophet’s grave and his minbar, but those in the Ottoman lands and the east from the late eighteenth century contain a different set of illustrations juxtaposing the Mosque of Medina and the Ka’ba in Mecca. The setting of the images also changed: the small niches presented frontally were replaced by overall views of the building, seen first from a bird’s eye and later in perspective. This change probably took place because of the conservative Wahhabi aversion to the veneration of graves. Such a view did not penetrate to the Maghrib, a fact that once again points to the isolation of the region, even in its tradition of book production.

Sometimes calligraphers also embellished al-Jazuli’s devotional text with monumental calligraphy. This is the case with a manuscript transcribed by Muhammad ibn Abi’l-Qasim al-Qandusi al-Fasi (d. 1661–2).118 Typically, the calligrapher of this 326-folio manuscript combined al-Jazuli’s text with another short devotional work containing religious aphorisms. The text of the Dalal’il al-Khayrat occupies most of the manuscript (folios 24–326) and is embellished with many illuminations and four miniatures showing sacred places connected to the Prophet, including his sandals. In addition, al-Qandusi added several folios at the beginning and in the middle of al-Jazuli’s text (folios 38–41) with monumental writing in black ink. This double page [Figure 12.14] contains the basma and the profession of faith, written in black ink. The letters follow the same forms used for centuries, but show the extreme stylization of the maghribi style used for transcribing the Koran and other pious texts. On the right page, for example, the curving tail of mim extends into the margin as in the earlier Koran manuscript, but now occupies the entire height of the page. It is mirrored in the smaller mim at the end of al-rahit, the last word of the basma. Almost half the page is occupied by the word allah [God], whose size underscores its semantic importance. The calligraphy on the left page repeats the same shapes, but is denser and more enveloping. In the word rasil in the bottom line, for
one page in this manuscript contains the word allah embroidered on leather with silk thread.120

Al-Qandusi often played with such a stylized script. He used a similar thick script for a twelve-volume copy of the Koran completed in 1265/1849–50.111 Each volume contains some 250 large (43 × 28

Figure 12.14 Double page with the basmala and the profession of faith inserted in the middle of a copy of al-Jazuli’s Dala’il al-Khayrat transcribed by Muhammad ibn Abu T-Qasim al-Qandusi al-Fasii and finished on 14 Ramadan 1246/28 March 1829.

After the Koran, al-Jazuli’s book of prayers for the Prophet was the most popular text in later times. Although the work was published in lithograph in Cairo in 1840, fine handwritten copies continued to be made, often incorporating other devotional texts. This copy by al-Qandusi, the most inventive calligrapher working in the Maghrib in the nineteenth century, is one of the most dramatic. Al-Qandusi played with large, fat versions of maghribi script, which often recall the abstracted forms of modern art.

example, the ra’ wraps around the sin and the final lam wraps around the word allah. Initial mim of muhammad floats like a streamer above the second letter, ha’.

Al-Qandusi used a particularly wide pen and contrasted the thick stroke with a hair-thin line, as in the extension of final ha’ in the words ilah and allah and the serpentine tail of waw in rasul that resembles a curlicue. The same thin line is used for the flat vocalization and dagger ali. Diacriticals are marked by fat round dots, with stops (sukun) indicated by fat rings. On other pages with prayers, aphorisms, and homages to the Prophet’s lineage, al-Qandusi added color and exaggerated the flourishes.119 He also exploited other techniques, for at least

Sub-Saharan Africa

Islam arrived in sub-Saharan Africa, as it had in south-east Asia, not by conquest but diffused through the emigration of merchants, teachers, and settlers. Through these trading networks, Islam was extended first to the Sahel, the grassy steppe that borders the Sahara, and then to the Sudan, the broad savannah that lies to the south. Muslim kingdoms were established in various regions of the western and central Sudan by the ninth or tenth century, but manuscripts survive only from several centuries later. One of the earliest datable examples [Figure 12.15] is a Koran manuscript examined by A. D. H. Bivar in Maiduguri in Nigeria.121 It has interlinear glosses in a form of Kanem, a dialect of Kanuri still spoken by parts of the Bornu population around Lake Chad. The margins of the Bornu manuscript are filled with several commentaries, including a lengthy one by al-Qurtubi, whose colophon says it was completed on Sunday, 1 Jamada II 1060/27 October 1659. The colophon also gives the genealogy of the calligrapher, whose family had lived in Bornu as early as the last quarter of the fifteenth century. Bivar concluded that this manuscript and three other copies of the Koran with Kanem glosses that he had seen in northern Nigeria were produced in Birni N’gazargamu, the former capital of the Bornu empire that had been destroyed by the local Fulanis in 1808. These manuscripts therefore show that the tradition of Koran manuscripts with interlinear translation dates back
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pointing and shape, with swooping—though shorter—tails, horizontal diacritical marks, unusual pointing for faʾ and qaʾ, and typical letter shapes such as alif often with a club foot, flat sad, kaf with a diagonal bar, and dal like pursed lips. Verses are marked with a pyramid of three balls, another feature typical of maghribi Koran manuscripts. Decoration is more distinctive, with a row of simple geometric shapes in earth colors used to fill the bottom of folio 1, space that would have been filled on regular pages with the eighth line of text. Calligraphy, especially in Koran manuscripts, is therefore conservative, and artists felt freer to introduce local features for illumination.

The origin of this script is controversial. Bivar designated it ʿifṭiqi, meaning from ʿIfṣīyya, the Arabic name for the region comprising modern-day Tunisia and western Algeria. As evidence, he cited the statement by the great North African historian Ibn Khaldun, writing c. 1375, who says that Muslim calligraphers fleeing from Spain introduced a more delicate and flowing hand which replaced the styles that had been used earlier in North Africa, notably at Kairouan and Mahdia. The old scripts, Ibn Khaldun continues, were preserved only in a few towns in the Jazir, a word literally meaning palms and a term designating the region of south-western Tunisia in the Sahara. Bivar argued that the old style of script was also preserved south of the Sahara in the Sahel, brought there by the Almoravids during their conquests of the Upper Niger region. He distinguished this heavy angular ʿifṭiqi script from a thinner and more flexible hand that he called andalusi.

Though ingenious, Bivar’s arguments are ultimately unsatisfactory for a variety of reasons, ranging from historical to paleographic. The Almoravids, who introduced Maliki Islam and many other features to the Sahel, never controlled ʿIfṣīyya, the presumed home of the ʿifṭiqi script, although they might have imported manuscripts from there. Furthermore, the style used in eleventh-century Tunisia was different, as shown by a legal document copied in 461/1070, almost certainly in Kairouan. The script used in the Koran manuscripts from Bornu, by contrast, shares many, many characteristics with maghribi. Sad, for example, is written without a final tooth, as in the maghribi style, but not in the Maliki legal document from Tunisia. Medial haʾ also follows the maghribi rather than the Tunisian style. Bivar’s attempt to distinguish this hand from a thinner variant is also based on faulty reasoning: both thicker and thinner styles of script had been used throughout the Maghrib for centuries, and efforts to distinguish the two with geographical names such as fasi (from Fes) and andalusi are unsuccessful (see Chapter 61). Rather, the script used in these Koran manuscripts from Bornu seems to be an offshoot of the more typical maghribi style.

Koran manuscripts with distinctive format, script, and decoration continued to be produced in the region in later centuries. A few are dated, and most can be attributed to the eighteenth century. The

at least three and a half centuries in the region, far longer than had been imagined, though not as far back as it does in the eastern Islamic lands.

The Koran manuscript from Bornu is transcribed on brittle paper that has frayed at the edges and was probably imported to the region. Closer examination of the paper might put to rest suspicions by some that this manuscript is actually a copy of an earlier one whose commentary was transcribed in 1080/1679. Each regular page in this large (32 × 33 cm) manuscript has eight widely spaced lines of text written in a hand that shares many features with the classic maghribi style. Letters are posed on a flat baseline and share the typical maghribi
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Figure 12.16 Page with Suras 37:168–181 from a loose-leaf Koran manuscript with 16–20 lines per page.

This Koran manuscript can be attributed to the Sudan in the mid-nineteenth century because of its materials and style. Preserved in a leather wallet inside a leather satchel, the looseleaf pages are transcribed on watermarked paper made in Pordenone in the bold and flowing script typical of the region. Pages decorated in earth tones divided the text approximately into fourths, and other ornaments comprise circles reserved against the paper.

best documented are two in the University of Leeds, one dated 1299/1881 that was acquired after the defeat of the Mahdi in the southern (or Nilotic) Sudan, and the otherdatable to the mid-nineteenth century [Figure 12.16]. These manuscripts typically comprise looseleaf pages held in a tooled leather wallet that is not attached to the textblock, but rather wrapped around it, with the flap folded on the outside and held in place by a cowrie shell and leather thong wrapped around the binding. The wallet, in turn, is held in a leather satchel, said to preserve the manuscript from impurity and protect it from the evil eye, but also used to enhance portability. Made of goatskin, the satchel usually has a shoulder strap and a flap secured by plaited leather thongs.

The Koran manuscripts from nineteenth-century West Africa are relatively small. The typical sheet of paper measures about 22–3 by 16–17 cm, though some manuscripts are made from pages half that size or smaller. The sheets are watermarked with the tre lune and were made at the Galvani mill in Pordenone. They have the same type of paper used in Koran manuscripts from East Africa [Figure 12.12], but these sheets were probably not transported west from Egypt, but south from Tripoli across the Sahara.

OTHER STYLES AND CENTERS

Generally portrait in shape, these manuscripts are transcribed with a varying number of lines per page. Typically, each has fifteen lines of text in an unframed block, but the number can range from thirteen to twenty, sometimes within the same manuscript. There was clearly no scribal tradition or school. Marginal ornaments mark places of prostration (ṣalāt) and divisions into sixtieths (ḥizb), themselves divided into eighths as indicated by letters written in the marginal ornaments (thā, fi thumān, one-eighth; baʾ for rūbʾ, one-quarter, nin for nisf, one-half). Usually these manuscripts also have four decorative pages dividing the text into quarters.

The illumination too is distinctive, with a variety of geometric designs done in vivid earth tones of yellow, brown, and red. The rectangular panels often contain strapwork patterns, some divided into horizontal bands whose layout resembles Berber flat-woven rugs from southern Morocco, for textiles were probably the source for many of these designs. Marginal ornaments are sometimes geometric devices, but more often circles with reserve decoration. Vocalization is marked in red, and verses are separated by pyramids of yellow dots. As in the maghribī tradition, hamza al-qāf is marked with a large yellow dot.

The script continues the type used earlier in the region and throughout the Maghribī. Strokes have a uniform thickness, written with a pen whose nib becomes increasingly blunt over the pages. Pens must have been expensive, probably imported. The strokes are similar in height, with faʿalqaqāf almost as tall as alif lam. The letters show the features of maghribī script such as the club-footed alif, toothless sad, kaf with a diagonal stroke, dahl like pursed lips, etc. Initial baʾ in the basmalah continues to be heightened. Medial baʾ is often written as two circles on a flat baseline, like a bow. Altogether these manuscripts from West Africa in the nineteenth century present a distinctive look and exemplify a strong local tradition ultimately descended from maghribī styles.

Notes


2. The amount is given in an inventory compiled in 1605 and mentioned in John Seyller, 'The Inspection and Valuation of Manuscripts in the Imperial Mughal Library,' Arsibus Asiae 57, no. 3/4 (1997): 143 and n. 1. It is important to remember that all of these manuscripts were handwritten. Even today a library of 24,000 printed books would be significant. The Mughals used a tri-metal system with various types of gold mohurs, silver rupees, and copper damān. According to Abu'l-Fadl
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(The Aṭṭī-i Akbarī, trans. H. Blochmann, et al. [New Delhi, 1982]), the ratio between them varied, but the pure mohur, before devaluation, was equivalent to ten rupees or four hundred dattāns.


5. The best introduction to the subject is Jeremiah P. Losty, The Art of the Book in India, no. 65, J. M. Rogers, Mughal Miniatures [New York, 1995], no. 30, Barbara Braden, The Emperor Akbar’s ‘Khamsa’ of Nizamī (London, 1995). The colophon mentions that the manuscript was transcribed for Akbar’s library (khiznath al-kutub wa kitabkhana-yi ʿālī). Seal impressions and inscriptions on the title page have been defaced, but the quality of the materials and execution confirm that this was a product of the royal scriptorium.

6. Seyller, Pearls of the Pārāt, 39–40, discusses the calligrapher’s output in this manuscript. Sixty-two folios, mainly in the first third of the manuscript, have tiny numbers at the edge of the text area or the central intercolumnar space; after this point, the folios are marked with red dots that fulfill the same function. The numbers clearly refer to daily output, rather than daily readings or some other features, because they are consecutive to 30 or 31 and in the Khusraw and Shirin section lead up to the date of the 20th Muharram mentioned in the colophon to that poem.

7. See Chapter 10, p. 434, and note 72. Perhaps both calligraphers, like their famous predecessor Sultan ‘Ali Mashahi, who daily wrote thirty lines for Mir ‘Ali Shir and twenty for Sultan Husayn, were working on two projects concurrently.

8. The note is published and discussed in Seyller, ‘Inspection,’ 277–8 and fig. 2, and mentioned in Seyller, Pearls of the Pārāt, 39.


11. Such views clearly derived from the Safavid theory of the two pens (qalam) articulated already in the middle of the sixteenth century; see Chapter 10 and note 7.

12. The painting is dated in the inscription in the dado cartouches. See Seyller, ‘Scral Notas,’ 247, n. 6. Seyller’s publication of the note, which confirms Losty attribution of the picture as a later double portrait of the painter Dawlat and the calligrapher Abūl-Rahim, confirms the necessity of reading the inscriptions on paintings.

13. London, Royal Asiatic Society, Pers. ms. 258; Losty, The Art of the Book in India, no. 58. The painting is reproduced in color in Anthony Welch, Calligraphy in the Arts of the Muslim World [Austin, TX, 1979], no. 76 and p. 13, and in black and white in Seyller, Pearls of the Pārāt, fig. 3. The colophon page in another contemporary manuscript, a copy of the Divan of Amir Ḥasan Dālahī (Walters Art Gallery W.650, Milo Cleveland Becht, The Grand Mogul: Imperial Painting in India, 1600–1660 [Williamstown, MA, 1978], no. 1; Losty, The Art of the Book in India, no. 73) made for Prince Salim in 1611/1602–3, also contains a portrait of the calligrapher Mir ‘Abdallāh known as Mushkīn Qalam (ink pen) accompanied by a paper burner (reproduced in Beach, Grand Mogul, p. 19). The article by Ashok Kumar Das, ‘Calligraphers and Painters in Early Mughal Painting,’ in Ghavidh-2, ed. Anand.
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Kristina (Benares, 1981), 92-7, lists manuscripts with colonophon portraits. The Gubhan album also includes a marginal painting by Dawlat showing a ruler, presumably Jahanqir, gazeting at a book accompanied by portraits of five famous Mughal painters, first published by Yeddah Godard, *Les Mages du Murakka* (Gulshan, *Athère* 6 tétouan 1936: II-33), I thank John Seyller for bringing these, and other matters Mughal, to my attention.

24. For an overview of Mughal albums, see Jane Turner (ed.), *The Dictionary of Art* (London, 1996), *Ablum. 2. Indian subcontinent*, Beach, *Grand Mogul*. Albums were already made for Akbar and continued to be made for his successors. Only two early examples survive in some semblance of their original form. One is the Gubhan Album in Tehran (Gulistan Palace Library, no. 1645), which bears dates between 1599 and 1608. It is currently being prepared for publication by a team of scholars, meanwhile, see Mohammad-Hasan Semair, *Golestan Palace Library: A Portfolio of Miniature Paintings and Calligraphy* (Tehran, 2000), 283-93. The second and slightly later one [with dates 1608-18] is in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin [no. A.17]; see Ernst Kühnel and Hermann Goede, *Indian Book Painting from Jahangiri's Album in the State Library, Berlin* (London, 1926). Pages from both have been detached and are now in other collections (e.g., Figure 2.3).


26. Seyller, *Peals of the Parrot*, 41. This happens eight times in the manuscript.

27. Windsor, Royal Library, ms. 1367; Milo Cleveland Beach and Ebba Koch, *King of the World: The Pahadshahnama*, an Imperial Mughal Manuscript from the Royal Library, Windsor Castle, etc., The coaster of Maragha (Washington, DC, 1997) (Abu'l-Fad'l 'Allami, *Ayn-i Akbar*, 109), mentions a Mamluk Amin al-Mashhad as one of the skilled practitioners of *nasta'liq* at Akbar's court. If this is the same person, he may have been responsible for the miniature that follows this manuscript, also in the Sahi Jang Museum (Tehran, 2000), 283-93, and the second and slightly later one (with dates 1608-18) is in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin [no. A.17]; see Ernst Kühnel and Hermann Goede, *Indian Book Painting from Jahangiri's Album in the State Library, Berlin* (London, 1926). Pages from both have been detached and are now in other collections (e.g., Figure 2.3).

28. Folio 98b is illustrated in Beach and Koch, *Padshahnama*, fig. 4. The painting following it on folio 98b is their no. 17.

29. Fol. 49b is illustrated in Beach and Koch, *Padshahnama*, fig. 5, the two-page illustration on folios 49b-9a (and 50b-12a) are their nos. 9-10 and 10-11, respectively.


33. Several folios also bear traces of small (1.5-1.8 cm) round seals that have been obliterated so that they are unreadable, presumably by a later owner who wanted to disguise the manuscript's provenance. The seals do not appear to be those of the Mughal emperors Shah Jahan or Alamgir. I thank John Seyller for this information, which is part of his forthcoming work on Mughal seals.


35. See also the one copied at Gwalior in 1601/1339 [Geneva, Sadruddin Aga Khan Collection, see Chapter 9, note 76].


38. James concluded that the first half, which contains longer works that are written in both Arabic and Persian including some by older Safavid poets, belonged to another album compiled in the year 1000/1591-2 as part of the celebrations to mark the millennium of the Islamic calendar.

39. This is true, for example, of the works of the Ottoman calligrapher Hafiz Osman (see Chapter 11 and Figure 11.10).

40. James, *’Millennial Album’.*

41. Hyderabad, Sahar Jang Museum, 978. The text has been published as Muhammad-Quli Qutbshahi, *Kaliyat*, ed. S. M. O. Zor (Hyderabad, 1359/1940).


43. The most notable is a two-tiered *thuluth* with a long tail extending beyond the right across the page that divides the calligraphy into two zones. This turning tail on the word *Fis* is used on fol. 7a, illustrated in James, *’Millennial Album’,* pl. 14C.

44. This manuscript, also in the Sahi Jang Museum in Hyderabad (ms. 2190), is a Shi'ite commentary on the Koran.

45. Michell and Zebrowski, *Deccan*, fig. 83.


47. Porter, *Painters, Painting, and Books*, 47 and n. 55. On the problem of identifying the origin of the marbling technique, see Chapter 3.

48. There is a vast literature on this building, justly heralded as a landmark of world architecture. For an overview, see Sheila S. Blair and Jonathan M. Bloom, *The Art and Architecture of Islam*, 1250-1800, *The Pelican History of Art* (London and New Haven, 1994), 278-81. For a sourcebook, including a translation of the inscriptions and detailed illustrations of them, see Begley and Desai, *Taj Mahal*.

49. Shorter bands with Suras 81 [al-Talwiir], 82 [al-Insifir], 84 [al-Ishaiq] and 98 [al-Rayyina] form the doorways.

50. Putting together inscriptions and texts, Wayne E. Begley, *Amânat Khân and the Calligrapher, the Taj Mahal*, Kunst des Orient 12 [1978-9]: 5-60, assembled a biography of the calligrapher. Born c. 1572 in Shiraz, ’Abd al-Haq was the son of the calligrapher Qasim al-Shirazi and younger brother of Mulla Shukriah. Both brothers were scholars and calligraphers, who probably trained with their father. They emigrated from Shiraz to seek their fortunes in India, where Mulla Shukriah became the more famous as a Persian scholar and courtier, eventually awarded the title Afdal Khan. He died in January 1639, aged seventy, and his younger brother, Ruzbeh’s man, either grief-stricken or out of work, retired to the Saray Amanat Khan, a large caravanserai that he had built near Lahore [see Wayne E. Begley, *A Mughal Caravanserai Built and
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Inscribed by Amanat Khan, Calligrapher of the Taj Mahal, in Indian Epigraphy: Its Bearing on the History of Art, ed. Frederick M. Asher and C. S. Gai [New Delhi, 1985], 287–90. Its construction was finished between 18 September 1640 and 11 April 1641. Amanat Khan died the following year and was presumably buried in his pious foundation there.

51. For the building, see Blair and Bloom, The Art and Architecture of Islam, 1250–1800, 276, with references.


53. For a slightly earlier example from Bidar, a calligraphic band in tile mosaic on the Madrassa of Mahmud Gawan dated 1473, see Michel and Zebrowski, Deccan, fig. 100.

54. A’in-‘I Akbari, 105.


56. Furthermore, other contemporary buildings are decorated with such Koranic excerpts. The Mosque of Shahk Luftallah in Isfahan, for example, is inscribed on the interior with Suras 97 [al-Qadr], 104 [al-Humazza], 109 [al-Kafirun], 94 [al-Inshirá], 105 [al-Fil], 107 [al-Ma‘un], 95 [al-Tin], and 1 [al-Fatihah] inscribed in square kufic in the spandrels. See Luftallah Hunarfar, Ganina-yi ahtar-i tarikihi hi islahan (Tehran, 1350/1977), 410. Like the short suras used to decorate luster tiles, these chapters were undoubtedly chosen because of their brevity: they all have eight verses or less.

57. For Ottoman examples, see Chapter 11, note 32.

58. The Khalili Collection in London owns four: QUR280, attributed to the mid-sixteenth century; QUR326, attributed to the second half of the seventeenth century; QUR200, dated 1284/1867–8; probably Isfahan; and QUR500, dated 1339/1824, probably Kashan; Bayani, Contadini, and Stanley, The Decorated Word, nos. 64–6 and 78.

59. The inscriptions on the Taj Mahal even contain three of the same suras [36 on the exterior and 67 and 48 on the interior] used in the Iranian-Indian manuscripts.

60. London, Khalili Collection, QUR80; Bayani, Contadini, and Stanley, The Decorated Word, no. 64.


63. Ellen S. Smart, ‘Akbar, Illiterate Genius,’ in Kolodzey, American Studies of the Art of India, ed. Joanna C. Williams [New Delhi, 1981, 99–107], has identified a few words and phrases in Akbar’s hand. One is on the opening page of a splendid copy of Sa’di’s Ghalân penned by the Timurid calligrapher Sultan ‘Ali Mashhadi in 872/1468–9, once in the collection of the Marquis of Bute and now in the Art and History Trust Collection [Abolala Soudavar, Art of the Persian Courts: Selections from the Art and History Trust Collection [New York, 1992], no. 156]. The first page also has notes in the hands of Jahangir and Shah Jahan. Jahangir’s hand can be seen on the flyleaf of the so-called Juki Sháhmaná [London, Royal Asiatic Society ms. 231], a copy made c. 1440 for the Timurid prince Muhammad Juki and later in the Mughal royal library. See Michael Brand and Glenn D. Lowry, Akbar’s India: Art from the Mughal City of Victory (New York, 1985), fig. 9.

64. The Koran manuscript given to Darashikh in Khali Collection, QUR61; Bayani, Contadini, and Stanley, The Decorated Word, no. 73. The album he penned is in London [BL, no. 1451] for an individual specimen, see Milo Cleveland Beach, The Imperial Image [Washington, DC, 1981], no. 68.

65. Both arc in the Khali Collection. The Safavid copy, perhaps made for Tahmasp, is QUR791 [James, After Timur: Qajar of the 17th and 18th Centuries, no. 43]. The smaller Mughal copy is QUR17; Bayani, Contadini, and Stanley, The Decorated Word, no. 60.

66. See Preface, xxi–xxiii.


68. The best example is Muhammad Husayn al-Kashmari, later known as zarín qalam, the most famous nasta’liq calligrapher at Akbar’s court, see below, p. 552 and note 72.


71. St Petersburg Public Library, no. 271; Adamova and Grek, Miniatures from Kashkhan Manuscripts, no. N1.


74. Seyller, Peals of the Parrot, 39 and notes 1–9, has compiled the most recent biography of the calligrapher and list of his works. He was active from 1688/1766–1 at least until 1705/1699–11.

75. The pages now measure 28 × 19 cm, but, like the ones in the British Library Khamsa, are bordered with wide margins. The complete surface is 17 × 10 cm. The Walters manuscript is also one-third shorter than its contemporary: it is originally contained 233 folios, whereas the British Library Khamsa originally has 370.


79. Akbar’s coins issued after 1592/1584 are dated to the regnal year and have a new legend in place of the traditional profession of faith. The text reads allahu akbar jallal jalalahu [God is Great; May His glory be splendid]. Although outwardly pious, the text can also be read as a proselytizing reference to Akbar, whose honorific (laqib) was Jalal al-Din (glory of the faith).

80. The phrase is used by J. Burton-Pearce in his article, E/2, ‘Mughals 11.’
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Numismatics, an excellent introduction to the subject, but unfortunately devoid of illustration. This is pity, for Mughal coins deserve further study not only for their historical interest but even more for their artistic value. Better color photos of a few issues are available. Michael L. Bates and Robert E. Darley-Doran, The Art of Islamic Coinage, in Treasures of Islam, ed. Toby Falk (London, 1988), 350–94.


82. See, for example, Abu'l Hasan's painting of Jahangir embracing Shah 'Abbas from a copy of the Jahangirnama (Washington, DC, PGA 45.9), Wheeler M. Thackston, trans. and ed., The Jahangirnama: Memoirs of Jahangir, Emperor of India (New York, 1999), frontispiece.

83. Many imperial Mughal seals are illustrated on the flyleaf of the Juki Shabnam (Brand and Lowry, Akbar's India, fig. 9). The seal of Babur is at the top left, those of Humayun at the middle left and the top center, that of Jahangir below it, that of Shah Jahan to the right, and that of Aurangzeb at the bottom center. See Figure 12.8 for Aurangzeb's copy of Akbar's seal.

84. Babur's seal, for example, has a pyramidal pile of three circles. The seal that Mulla Ahmad 'Ali designed for Akbar has the emperor's name written within a circle surrounded by eight smaller circles with the names of his ancestors back to Timur, whose figure is written directly above that of the Mughal emperor to affirm his lineage.


86. In contrast, the Ottoman chancery at Istanbul survived until 1834 and many documents were preserved in the Topkapi Palace, thereby making it possible to study the development of the imperial Ottoman tughras in detail (see Chapter 11 and Figure 11.15). Archives of the Catholic Archbishop of Agra, India, Brand and Lowry, Akbar's India, no. 60. The end of the date is missing, but on the basis of subject matter and formal characteristics, it has been attributed to the late 1590s.

88. Washington, DC, Smithsonian Institution, Sackler Gallery, S1996.32. It has been exhibited in the museum, but to my knowledge never published. I thank Massimiliano Fattah for supplying the museum's object report.

89. See the large basalt example in the Philadelphia Museum issued by Barbakshah of Bengal in the mid-fifteenth century, Nabih A. Faris and George C. Millic, 'An Inscription of Barbak Shah of Bengal,' Arts Islamica 7, no. 4 (1940), 141–7.


92. E.g., one in the Musée d'histoire naturelle in Paris, illustrated in Y. H. Saidi, Islamic Calligraphy (Boulder, CO, 1978), no. 154. The calligrapher's signature is clearer in the paper copy: it is signed 'Muhammad... Bek.'


OTHER STYLES AND CENTERS


95. ibid., Golden Letters, no. 2.

96. Compare, for example, the one in a large Koran manuscript in Berlin (Museum für islamische Kunst in L426) that was the subject of a recent monograph by François Déroche and Almut von Glüsing, Der Buchhonor im Museum für islamische Kunst (Berlin, 1999), esp. p. 57.

97. E.g., Gallop, Golden Letters, nos. 8–15.

98. E.g., Gallop, Golden Letters, no. 30.


101. Those in the Khalili manuscript are also written in alternating lines of red and black ink, another feature typical of Koran manuscripts in bihari script.

102. London, Khalili Collection, QUR766; Vernooij, Occidentalism, no. 28; Bayani, Contadini, and Stanley, The Decorated Word, no. 5. We do not know exactly where the calligrapher of this particular manuscript worked, but a century later it was in Zaghouan, where it was acquired by an Omani who had settled there, and the materials and style confirm that it should be attributed to east Africa. Like its Malaysian counterparts, this large [32 x 22 cm] manuscript is copied on European paper in black ink. Typical features of manuscripts in bihari script include format (with two sizes of the same script, a larger one for the first and last lines on each page), distinctive script (with angular letters, alfι pitched to the left, sweeping strokes with thick terminals), and vocalization (marked with flat, rather than diagonal, strokes). Like the Koran manuscript attributed to the Yemen in the late fifteenth century (Figure 9.9), the script in this copy has sweeping tails, a flat line, the typical combination of black and red for the text, and braided hands for illumination. Local features include the traditional color palette with yellow and green and the sophisticated use of reserved geometric decoration, particularly the cable bindings marking the beginning of the Koranic text on folio 7b and the marginal roundels marking places of prostration and textual divisions, in which the letters marking salat, S kit, and the like are done in reserve.


105. Royal Asiatic Society, London; Simon Digate, 'A Qur'an from the east
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African Coast,' AARP 7 [April 1975]: 49–55. A civil servant in the Bombay Service who was interested in eastern languages and exotic, Arbuthnot (1833–1901) collaborated with Richard Burton on the English translation of the Kamasutra.


108. A sixteenth-century copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale (ms. arabe 396, Déroche, Manuscriptur coron II, no. 317), for example, measures 41 × 27 cm, and a seventeenth-century one in Rabat (National Library Jilm III, Marn Lings and Yasin Safadi, The Qur’an [London, 1976], no. 51) measures 44 × 37 cm.


111. See Chapter 6, p. 235 and note 83.


113. El‘a, ‘al-Djazzil.’ A learned scholar and jurisconsult who lived in Fez and traveled to the holy cities of Arabia, he joined the Shadhilliya order of Sufis. He reportedly went into religious retreat for fourteen years, but re-established himself in Saff on the Atlantic coast and was seen as a staunch defender of Islam against both internal and external threats, in his time the Portuguese. After he died sometime between 1461 and 1470, he became the focus of a popular religious brotherhood, the Jazaliyya, whose adherents believed in the repeated recitation of his celebrated work for spiritual benefit. His tomb, relocated to the Riyadh al-Arus quarter of Marrakesh, became a shrine, and today he is considered one of the seven patron saints of the city.


118. Rabat, General Library, no. 399; De l’Empire roman, no. 551.


120. Khatibi and Sijelmassi, The Splendor of Islamic Calligraphy, 168.

121. Rabat, Bibliothèque Générale, no. 26183; De l’Empire roman, no. 553.

122. Illustrated on p. 144.


124. A. D. H. Bivar, ‘A Dated Kuran from Bornu,’ Nigeria Magazine [June 1960]: 199–202. As in southeast Asia, the cataloguing of collections in this region will undoubtedly bring to light more early manuscripts. In 1987, C. C. Stewart at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign initiated a project known as AMMS to provide an on-line catalogue to manuscripts in the West African Sahel. AMMS version 2 database included 19,000 records from six collections in Boutilimit, Mauritania, Niger, Paris, Timbuktu, and Evanston, Illinois. The newer third version, described enthusiastically, at http://test.atlas.uiuc.edu/ amms/ammsinfo.html#acks, will allow for easier addition of new material, internet access to these collection entries, and an opportunity to finally reunite an impressive range of Arabic writing representative of a broad sweep of West Africa in, mainly, pre-colonial times. On the Mauritanian collections, see also Louis Werner, ‘Mauritania’s Manuscripts,’ Saudi Aramco World 54, no. 6 (November/December 2003): 2–16.

135. See Chapter 1.


139. On the Almoravids and this area, see El’ll, ‘Murabitun’ and ‘Murabitun’.


141. Bivar’s identification of this script as ‘Kufic on the basis of Ibn Khaldun’s mention of the name poses the same problem that scholars have encountered in trying to identify early scripts on the basis of references in Ibn al-Nadim’s Fihrist [see Chapter 5]: without dated and identified examples, it is difficult, if not impossible, to match names mentioned in texts with extant examples.


143. See, for example, one transcribed by Sayyarah for Malam al-Qadi ibn al-Khaysan of Bornu and dated 8 Rabi’ I 1350/15 July 1934 and once in the collection of the Newberry Library in Chicago (Or. ms. 323), The Qur’an and Calligraphy: A Selection of Fine Manuscript Material, Bernard Quailltach Catalogue 1213 [London, 1995], no. 31.

144. Leeds, University, ms. 615 and 307; Brockett, ‘Qur’an in 19th-Century Sudan.’

145. Another sabel is illustrated in James, Qur’an and Bindings, no. 115.

146. For such textiles, see Patricia L. Fiske, W. Russell Pickering, and Ralph S. Yohe [eds], From the Far West: Carpets and Textiles of Morocco [Washington, DC, 1980].

147. Tim Stanley (The Decorated Word, 32–4) dubbed it sudani as it is typical of the Sahel region. Though geographically apt, the name is underspecified in the meager sources and runs the risk of confusion, for many today identify the Sudan with the modern Republic of the Sudan or Nilotic Sudan.