

MALAY GRAFFITI IN A NINETEENTH-CENTURY LITHOGRAPHED BOMBAY QUR'ĀN¹

Edwin P. Wieringa

University of Cologne, Germany

ewiering@uni-koeln.de

DOI: 10.31291/jlk.v16i1.516

Abstract

A lithographed copy of the Qur'ān, printed in Bombay (Mumbai, India) in 1881, was bought in Sumatra a few years later by a certain K. Bijls, a Malay-speaking Dutchman who made several markings in it which may be regarded as a form of "graffiti", in the sense of markings asserting his ownership. This same person most probably also added a marginal calligraphic composition to the text, in a manner that is typical of Malay epistolography, perhaps prompted by an element on the printed page that was unfamiliar to him, hence catching his eye and imagination.

Keywords: *Qur'ān, Bombay Islam, Marginalia, Arabic Script.*

Abstrak

Sebagai tanda untuk menegaskan kepemilikannya terhadap naskah tersebut. Orang yang sama ini mungkin saja juga menambahkan komposisi kaligrafi marjinal pada teks tersebut yang menunjukkan bahwa hal tersebut adalah tipikal epistolografi Melayu yang mungkin diminta oleh halaman yang tidak dikenalnya sehingga menarik pandangan dan imajinasinya. Dengan demikian tanda tanda khusus dan ruang kosong lainnya yang digunakan dalam naskah quran tersebut mungkin merupakan ciri khas dari pembacaan orang-orang barat yang tidak pernah dikenal atau didengar oleh orang-orang Indonesia.

Kata Kunci: *Al-Qur'an, Islam Bombay, Marginalia, Kitab Arab.*

Introduction

In the period between 1840 and 1915, a phenomenon emerged in India which Nile Green (2011) has called “Bombay Islam”, i.e. the “vernacular modernity that saw people from across the Indian Ocean drawn into Bombay’s industrial economy of enchantment” (blurb of Green 2011). Foremost among the newly emerging industrial technologies in Bombay (present-day Mumbai) was the lithographic press which Muslim entrepreneurs made use of to print all kinds of Islamic texts catering to customers as far away as Iran, Africa and Southeast Asia. “Bombay Islam” printed Islamic religious books not only in Arabic, Persian and Urdu, but also in Malay and Javanese (Green 2011:98; Proudfoot 1994). According to a contemporaneous official British colonial report, the Indian printing scene produced no less than thirty thousand copies of the Qur’ān in 1871 alone, in order to counter Christian and Hindu missionary activity (Aqeel 2009:18-19).

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Bombay constituted the main source of printed (lithographed) Qur’āns entering insular Southeast Asia. Clearly legible with large letters in *naskh* script, the Bombay style has remained one of the most familiar formats on the Indonesian book market. As just one example, I would like to draw attention to the page with the central expression *wa-l-yatalaṭṭaf* (“and be careful”) occurring in *Sūra al-Kahf* (Q 18:19), which is highlighted by using bigger letters due to its status as the exact textual midpoint of the Qur’ān (cf. Wieringa 2009:119). A brief glance at Fig. 1 will suffice to

show that the Indonesian example, published by Yayasan Sosial Islam in Jakarta in 1953, is modelled on the traditional Bombay design.²

In this short contribution, I wish to discuss the few marginal markings in Arabic script made by a Malay-speaking reader in one of those once popular nineteenth-century Bombay products. I am referring to a lithography which was copied by al-Ḥajj Muḥammad Sammar and printed by al-Maṭba‘a al-Muḥammadiyya in Sha‘bān 1298 (June-July 1881) (Fig. 2).³ The volume is bound in hard pasteboard covered with red-brown leather with imprints on the covers and with an envelope flap in the Islamic style of bookbinding (Fig. 3). A very similar lithographed copy printed in Bombay by the same press and copied by “al-Haj Muhammad Sammara [sic]” but dated 1299, is kept in the Department of Anthropology, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C., USA see (Gallop, 2011c) call number E232849-0. As Annabel Teh Gallop (2011c: description of E232849-0) points out, another seemingly identical lithographed Bombay copy, “with the same red covers, which was found in Sumatra, is held in the Wereldmuseum Rotterdam, showing that the same types of printed Qur’ans circulated all over Southeast Asia at the time.”

The copy came into my possession in 2015, when I bought it from a Dutch antiquarian book dealer. There is no information on previous ownership apart from what can be gauged from internal evidence. Rather remarkably, the previous owner has lettered his name on the fore-edge (Figs 4 and 5). This may remind some mature readers of their school-days, when one proudly displayed one’s name on the edge of a book, embellishing it with swirls and what-not; but it is a most uncommon feature in Indonesian and/or Islamic manuscripts.⁴

The owner must have been a Dutchman who wrote his name in *Jawi* script, but there is a relatively large gap between the *kāf* and the rest of the name, which suggests that this first letter denotes an abbreviation of the first name to the initial K (perhaps a typical Dutch male name such as Karel, Klaas or Kees). This usage is not Malay or Islamic at all, but is quite normal for Westerners, and the rest of the name, written as *b-y-y-l-s*, must be the Dutch surname Bijls. Hence the note of ownership on the fore-edge

states that “K. Bijls owns [this] Qur’ān” (*K Bijls punya Koran*, see Figs 4 and 5). Strictly speaking, however, the word Qur’ān is not written in accordance with conventional orthography in *Jawi* (or Arabic, although he could easily have found that in his copy). Bijls fell back on the spelling he knew in Dutch, which may suggest that he was not intimately familiar with Islam and its mores. The Dutchman K. Bijls is more likely to have been a bibliophile than a *mu’allaf* or new convert to Islam.

On the front flyleaf, there is a note in Malay (also in *Jawi* script), again with the name of K. Bijls (Fig. 6). The statement is written in the first person (*aku* or “I”), relating that the copy was purchased from a certain Tuan Raja Teuku Muhamat in Aceh. The I-figure, i.e. K. Bijls himself, further informs us that he went by ship from Aceh to Batavia on 22 July, arriving at his destination on 30 July. He then went on by ship to Palembang on 16 August, arriving there on 18 August, after which he continued his journey by “war ship” (*kapal perang*) to Jambi in the same month. Although the year is left unmentioned, it seems very likely that it must have been 1885, when, as the historian (Locher-Scholten, 2003:177) phrases it, “Jambi was throbbing with agitation” due to an internal power struggle. The flyleaf text mentions the two main protagonists in this conflict: the *pangeran ratu*, see (who at that time was in his sixties, Locher-Scholten, 2004:175) and Raden Anom (whom Locher-Scholten, 2003:176 calls “the maverick nobleman”) alongside the “bandits” (*orang berandal*). Unfortunately, I have no further information from other sources about K. Bijls and his colonial adventures.

On the penultimate page of the book there are marginal notes in Dutch commenting on the prayer of supplication following the completion of the Qur’ānic text (Fig. 7). An attempt at romanizing the Arabic text is followed by the statement: “If you have read all of this, then read this page in addition” (“*als je dit alles gelezen hebt lees dan nog deze bladzij*”). If this note was also made by K. Bijls, as seems most likely, we may conclude on the basis of the style of the handwriting that he was more used to writing Dutch than Malay. The *Jawi* script on the fore-edge and the flyleaf is executed in a rather inexpert way, whereas the Latin script betrays a confident writer in his own language. This prompts the question as to why Bijls decided to write in Malay at all. Did he simply use his

Malay as much as he could – perhaps being a young man on his first “great adventure”, who took a fancy to this book when he saw it in Aceh and bought it as much as a souvenir as anything else? Or was it perhaps due to his predominantly Malay environment that he explicitly wished to notify his claim of ownership in Malay?

Loosely inserted into the book is one sheet of blue paper with handwritten religious formulae in Arabic, but its relationship to the book remains unclear. The paper is undated, but its watermark (Smith & Meynier) indicates that it was produced by the Smith & Meynier paper mill in the city of Fiume (modern Rijeka, Croatia). This firm was established in 1827 (Sobek and Schmidt 2003:436) and existed into the twenty-first century, surviving “both floods and fire” (Hadžić and Lozo 2011:147) until its closure in 2005 (Hadžić and Lozo 2011:147).

The book is in remarkably fine condition, creating the impression that it was hardly ever used, and with the exception of only one further case of marginal inscription it is “unblemished”. I use the latter term on purpose, drawing attention to the common Islamic etiquette for handling Qur’ān copies which may be summed up by the Qur’ānic injunction that “none but the purified shall touch it” (Q 56:79) (cf. Wieringa 2009:106). For whatever reason, K. Bijls cared enough about the book’s special character not to interfere with God’s word. The notes of ownership are on the fore-edge (Figs 4-5) and the flyleaf (Fig. 6), both parts of the book’s periphery, that is to say, as far removed from the holy writ as possible.

The traces left by the foreign reader could indicate two different motives. Firstly, there are notes in *Jawi* that could have been made in order to assert ownership in a predominantly Malay environment. The motivation would then have been to send a *note to others* expressing a keep off message: “This book is mine.”⁵ However, the book also contains a second kind of annotation, which can be considered as a *note to self*: confronted with a foreign, unfamiliar text, our Dutch reader tried to make sense of what the penultimate page with its addition to the Qur’ānic text is all about. He does so by firstly converting the “exotic” script into Latin script with its “normal” letters, after which he briefly explains in his own language that this particular page (with its additional Arabic text)

was supposed to be read after one had finished reading the entire Qur’ān. Although this explanatory note is scribbled in the body of the book, it does not interfere with the Qur’ānic text itself.

Let me now turn to the last remaining inscription in the book, which can be found at the top of page 50 where the Qur’ānic text has reached *Sūra Āl ‘Imrān* (Q 3) (Fig. 8). Intriguingly, when I showed this example to Dr Shams Anwari-Alhosseyeni, an acclaimed expert in Arabic calligraphy and an accomplished calligrapher himself, he roundly condemned this poorly executed work as an act of desecration and blasphemy. This harsh verdict is undoubtedly rooted in generally accepted Islamic etiquette as mentioned above. However, perhaps this response should be contextualized as a contemporary reaction, mainly attributable to professional irritation with and criticism of amateurish calligraphy. In fact, prior to the modern era it was not so unusual to encounter a few annotations in the page margins of a Qur’ān; see, for example, the words scribbled in pencil in the top margin of a Qur’ān manuscript from Mindanao, shown in (Gallop, 2011b, Fig. 3).⁶

When I showed the ornamentation to some colleagues in Arabic and Persian studies, they had great difficulty in deciphering it. This is rather surprising, as the lettering should be familiar to philologists working with Indonesian manuscripts, the Arabic formula *Qawluhu al-ḥaqq* (“His Word is the Truth”) – which is what this inscription represents – being ubiquitous in Malay epistolography, where it is “by far the most common heading” (Gallop, 2011a:131), together with its extended version, *Qawluhu al-ḥaqq wa-kalāmuh al-ṣīdīq* (“His Word is the Truth and His Speech Veracity”) (Gallop, 1994:61). These calligraphic headings, as (Gallop, 1994:61) points out, “provided a marvellous opportunity for Malay calligraphers to show off their skills.”

In fact, the Arabic phrase *Qawluhu al-ḥaqq* (“His Word is the Truth”) is a quote from the Qur’ān, to be found in *Sūra al-An‘ām* (Q 6:73). However, as every believer knows that “[t]his is the Scripture in which there is no doubt, containing guidance for those who are mindful of God” (Q 2:2 in the translation of Haleem 2005:4), in principle a believer could place this heading above every single page, and I can see no specific reason in the text on page 50 that warrants the insertion of this special “truth claim”.

Speculating about why it was put there, we should look at the calligraphic composition in more detail (Fig. 9). Although the phrase *Qawluhu al-ḥaqq* is still decipherable, albeit perhaps with some difficulty, there are two further characters in the upper tier of the composition that are in need of explanation. Firstly, there is a relatively large straight diagonal stroke, which in my opinion denotes the vowel sign *fathā*. This disproportional diacritic is followed by a *wāw*. We should read here *Wa-Qawluhu al-ḥaqq* (“And His Word is the Truth”).⁷

However, this Arabic phrase is written or drawn in a rather awkward way compared to the well-known calligraphic composition. I have a strong suspicion that Bijls must have “doodled” this ornament. The way the letters are written resembles closely the unskilled handwriting on the fore-edge and flyleaf. Admittedly, my impression is based primarily upon “gut feeling”, the evidence not being clear-cut.⁸ As Colette (Sirat, 2006:493) puts it: “It is obvious that one cannot *prove* that two texts were penned by the same hand. The only way to persuade other people that this is so is to *show* them, to give them the feeling that it is in the same hand.” The figures accompanying this article are there to show that all the reader’s marks in Arabic script in this book are lacking in elegance. As is not uncommon, so also in this case, “there are many dissimilarities even in the work of the same hand” (Sirat, 2006:493). An important factor which further complicates the comparison of the examples in the present case is that the writer of the Arabic phrase deliberately tried to deviate from his normal writing style in order to create a reproduction of a calligraphic model. However, he still could not hide his lack of skill and training, so that it remains a rather poor imitation of a well-established pattern.

It seems to me that it may have been the numeral five, which is written in the form of an “upside-down heart”, that triggered the writing of the heading. The number five is part of the page numeration: the “inverted heart” (5) and “dot” (0) represent the number “50”. Our embellisher was perhaps more used to the usual Arabic representation of this numeral by a full circle. In any case, its form was apparently so intriguing to him that he made a reproduction of it (to be seen at the far right of Fig. 9), also done in a rather crude way. My speculation

goes like this: our Dutch reader found this particular form of the numeral five unusual, so that it attracted his attention, reminding him of a well-known element in Malay calligraphy, namely the looped knotted final *hā'*. Looped knots are very popular in what Annabel Gallop (2005) has felicitously described as “beautifying Jawi”, and although the decorative form of looped knots has been applied to several different letters (Gallop, 2005:204-205) observes that it is most popular for the final *hā'* and *tā'*. In fact, this stylization, especially the looped knotted *tā' marbūṭah*, is a typical Indonesian phenomenon (cf. Gallop, 2005:203-210). It has been described by (Ali Akbar, 2007:246) as a “highly distinctive feature” which is found “in Qur’an manuscripts from various regions, including Aceh, Palembang, Sumedang, Demak, Surakarta, Surabaya, Mataram, Makassar and Ternate,” but it is not restricted to the genre of Qur’an manuscripts only.

The remarkable thing about the heading with the looped knotted final *hā'* in this Bombay lithography is that it did not originate from the professional pen of the (Indian) copyist but from a Malay-speaking reader, who was perhaps prompted to add an “embellishment” after having noticed a “foreign” element on the page, namely the numeral five which may have surprised him due to its uncommon form. One way of approaching this “Malay marking” in a non-Indonesian book would be to view it as a form of “graffiti”. Such markings, as (Stephen Orgel, 2015:5) argues for Western book studies, “assume that the book is not simply a text; it is a place and a property”.⁹ The seemingly irrelevant markings or, in Orgel’s term following Scott-Warren’s coinage (Scott-Warren, 2010), graffiti, “may declare one’s proprietary relation to the property or, more often, merely record one’s presence in it, the fact that a reader has been there, sometimes in the most material way, not reading but merely trying out a pen” (Orgel, 2015:5). If my assumption is correct that a certain K. Bijls was the reader and owner who scribbled his name on the fore-edge and the flyleaf in order “to make his mark”, his zany doodle could be viewed as one more instance of his taking possession of this book. Just as with the modern graffiti sprayer, the key issue is the owner/reader’s “I was here” tagging (cf. Scott-Warren, 2010:366).

Was Bijls's behaviour anomalous? Was his particular use of margins and other blank spaces in a Qur'an perhaps typical of a Western reader, but something unheard of for Indonesians? I am particularly intrigued to know whether there are any examples which may show that Indonesian readers perhaps also felt free to embellish the revealed Word of God on the pages of handwritten or printed copies of the Qur'an according to their own tastes.¹⁰ However, to answer such questions on "reading in action",¹¹ much further research is needed to shed more light on the issues of the obscure social life of books, forms of book use in Indonesia, reading practices, and the different kinds of readers' notes. This is fertile territory indeed; but for reasons too obvious to be stated, the field of Indonesian book studies still hardly exists. The written heritage from Indonesia's past remains largely *terra incognita*.

EndNotes

1. This essay was originally presented at the conference on "Script and National Identity" which was organized by the Indonesian Association of Nusantara Manuscripts (Manassa) and the National Library of Indonesia in Jakarta on 26-29 September 2016.
2. For overviews of the history of the printed Qur'an in Indonesia, which also discuss foreign influences, see (Akbar, 2011:271-287) and (Hakim, 2012:231-254).
3. Cf. (Hakim, 2012:241), who discusses a comparable (but different) Bombay copy from 1304/1886, also printed by al-Maṭba'ā al-Muḥammadiyya. This was copied by someone called "Muhammad Samah", who is clearly a different person.
4. However, this subjective impression is obviously in need of further research. Personally, I cannot recall ever having seen this phenomenon in the Indonesian manuscripts, and several experienced colleagues whom I asked about it were also unfamiliar with it. With regard to Javanese and "Javanese-inspired" manuscripts (Van der Meij, 2017:418) also mentions that personal information on the fore-edge of the book block is "seldom encountered".
5. However, it could also be argued that these are "notes to self", expressing pride in the acquisition.
6. I thank Annabel Teh Gallop for this helpful comment (e-mail of 9 July 2018).
7. A comparable calligraphic composition (but without the diagonal stroke) can be found in a Malay letter from Sultan Mahmud Riayat Syah to Governor General Pieter Gerardus van Overstraten in 1799 (Leiden University Library Cod. Or. 2241-I (15)). Photographs of this letter are included in (Wieringa, 1998:390) and (Mu'jizah, 2009:31), but without any further discussions of the heading.
8. Of course, it is also possible that the originator of this inscription was not Bijls but a previous owner of the book, for example Tuan Raja Teuku Muhamat of Aceh, from

whom Bijls tells us in his flyleaf inscription that he bought it. As Annabel Teh Gallop points out, “inscriptions related to epistolography are amongst the most common ‘doodles’ or annotations found in manuscripts throughout Nusantara, even in Qur’an manuscripts, although more usually on initial or final pages rather than in the margins of the text proper. These usually take the form of opening lines of letters, e.g. ‘Alamat surat daripada ...’ or ‘Warkat al-ikhlas daripada ...’ etc., but may also include ‘kepala surat’ (e-mail of 9 July 2018).

9. However, Orgel in his turn attributes the use of the term “graffiti” in this sense to an article by (Scott-Warren, 2010).
10. This does not seem to be the case. Pressed for examples, Annabel T. Gallop informed me that she had seen pencilled doodles in a Dagestani Qur’ān and seemingly early 20th-century annotations/translations (in blue ink in Latin script) in a Javanese Qur’ān (e-mail, 26 September 2016).
11. To borrow the title of the opening chapter of Orgel (2015).

References

- Akbar, Ali. 2007. “Tracing individual styles: Islamic calligraphy from Nusantara” in *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan* 5,2:244-255.
- Akbar, Ali. 2011. “Pencetakan Mushaf Al-Qur’an di Indonesia” in *Ṣuḥuf, Jurnal Kajian Al-Qur’an dan Kebudayaan* 4,2:271-287.
- Aqeel, Moinuddin. 2009. “Commencement of Printing in the Muslim World: A View of Impact on Ulama at Early Phase of Islamic Moderate [sic] Trends” in *Kyoto Bulletin of Islamic Area Studies* 2,2:10-21.
- Gallop, Annabel Teh. 1994. *The Legacy of the Malay letter; Warisan Warkah Melayu*. London: The British Library.
- Gallop, Annabel Teh. 2005. “Beautifying Jawi: Between Calligraphy and Palaeography” in Asmah Haji Omar (ed.), *Malay Images* (n.p.: Universiti Pendidikan Sultan Idris), 194-233.
- Gallop, Annabel Teh. 2011a. “Gold, silver and lapis lazuli: Royal letters from Aceh in the seventeenth century” in R. Michael Feener, Patrick Daly and Anthony Read (eds), *Mapping the Acehnese past* (Leiden: KITLV Press), pp. 105-139.
- Gallop, Annabel Teh. 2011b. “Qur’an manuscripts from Mindanao in U.S. collections” in *Our own voice*. <http://www.oovrag.com/essays/essay2011a-1.shtml>. Also available at http://www.academia.edu/36938107/Quran_manuscripts_from_Mindanao_in_U.S_collections.
- Gallop, Annabel Teh. 2011c. “Islamic manuscripts from the Philippines in U.S. collections: a preliminary listing, including two printed

- Qur'ans" in *Our own voice*. <http://www.oovrag.com/bibliography/bibliography13.shtml>. Also available at http://www.academia.edu/36938107/Quran_manuscripts_from_Mindanao_in_U.S_collections.
- Green, Nile. 2011. *Bombay Islam. The religious economy of the West Indian Ocean, 1840-1915*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hadžić, Maja and Branka Lozo 2011. "Povijesni pregled razvoja riječke tvornice papira (Historical Overview of the Development of the Rijeka Paper-Mill)" in *Drvna Industrija* 62:147-152. Doi: 10.5552/drind.2011.1035.
- Hakim, Abdul. 2012. "Al-Qur'an cetak di Indonesia: Tinjauan kronologis pertengahan abad ke-19 hingga awal abad ke-20" in *Şuħuf* 5,2:231-254.
- Haleem, M.A.S. Abdel 2005. *The Qur'an. A new translation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Locher-Scholten, Elsbeth. 2003. *Sumatran Sultanate and Colonial State. Jambi and the Rise of Dutch Imperialism, 1830-1907*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University.
- Meij, Dick van der. 2017. *Indonesian manuscripts from the islands of Java, Madura, Bali and Lombok*. Leiden and Boston: Brill.
- Mu'jizah. 2009. *Illuminasi dalam surat-surat Melayu abad ke-18 dan ke-19*. Jakarta: KPG etc.
- Orgel, Stephen. 2015. *The Reader in the Book. A Study of Spaces and Traces*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Proudfoot, I. 1994. "Malay Books printed in Bombay: A report on sources for historical bibliography" in *Kekal Abadi* 13 (3):1-20.
- Scott-Warren, Jason. 2010. "Reading Graffiti in the Early Modern Book" in *Huntington Library Quarterly* 73,3:363-381.
- Sirat, Colette. 2006. *Writing as Handwork. A History of Handwriting in Mediterranean and Western Culture*. Turnhout: Brepols.
- Sobek, Elke and Frieder Schmidt (eds.). 2003. *Internationale Bibliographie zur Papiergeschichte (IBP). Band I: Allgemeine Geschichte des Papiers – Territorien und Orte*. Munich: K.G. Sauer.
- Wieringa, E.P. 1998. *Catalogue of Malay and Minangkabau manuscripts in the Library of Leiden University and other collections in The Netherlands. Volume One*. Leiden: Leiden University Library.

Wieringa, Edwin P. 2009. “Some Javanese characteristics of a Qur’ān manuscript from Surakarta” in Stefanie Brinkmann and Beate Wiesmüller (eds), *From codicology to technology: Islamic manuscripts and their place in scholarship* (Berlin: Frank & Timme), pp. 101-129.



Figure 1.

Page with the central expression *wa-l-yatalattaf* which is highlighted by using bigger letters. On the left: Bombay lithography printed by *al-Maṭba‘a al-Muḥammadiyya* in *Sha‘bān* 1298 (June-July 1881). On the right: Indonesian copy printed by *Yayasan Sosial Islam* in Jakarta in January 1953. Both copies from the author’s collection.



Figure 2.

Final page with colophon, in which it is made known that the book was copied by *al-Ḥajj Muḥammad Sammar* and printed by *al-Maṭba‘a al-Muḥammadiyya* in Bombay in *Sha‘bān* 1298 (June-July 1881). The eight names in the illuminated panel are those of the Islamic scholars who vouch for the accuracy of the copy.



Figure 3.
The binding of the book: front cover.



Figure 4.
Note of ownership on the fore-edge.

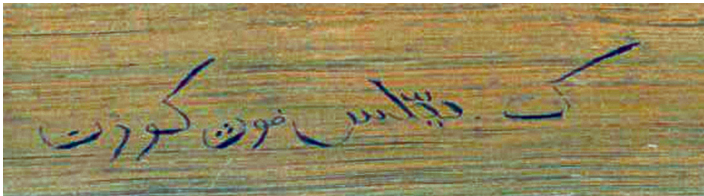


Figure 5.
Detail from the fore-edge: K Bijls [k-b-y-y-l-s] punya Koran, i.e. “K. Bijls owns [this] Qur’an.”

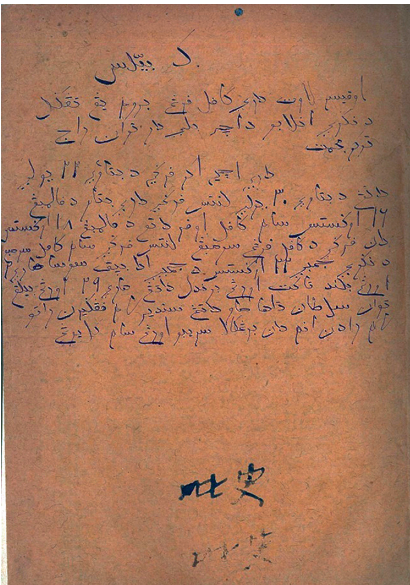


Figure 6.
Note on the flyleaf from K. Bijls [k-b-y-y-l-s] on his travels in 1885 [?]. At the bottom of the page there are pseudo-Chinese/Japanese characters.

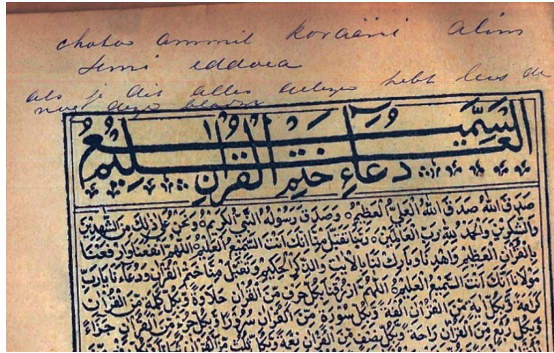


Figure 7.

Marginal notes in Dutch at the top of the penultimate page of the book with the prayer of supplication following the completion of the Qur'ānic text (Du'ā' khatm al-Qur'ān).

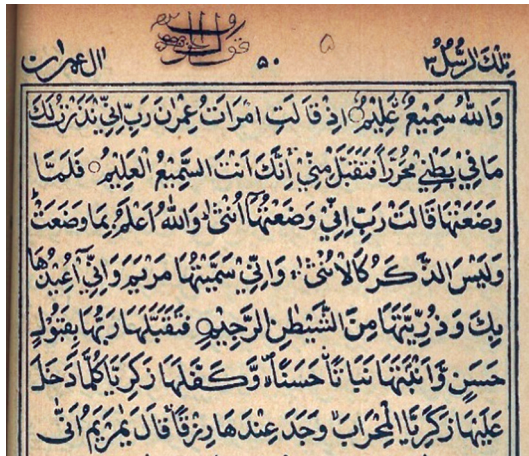


Figure 8.

Arabic phrase *Wa-Qawluhu al-ḥaqq* (“And His Word is the Truth”) on page 50.



Figure 9.

The decoration in detail. The “heart-shaped” form of the numeral five seems to have inspired this calligraphic pattern with its final knotted loops.