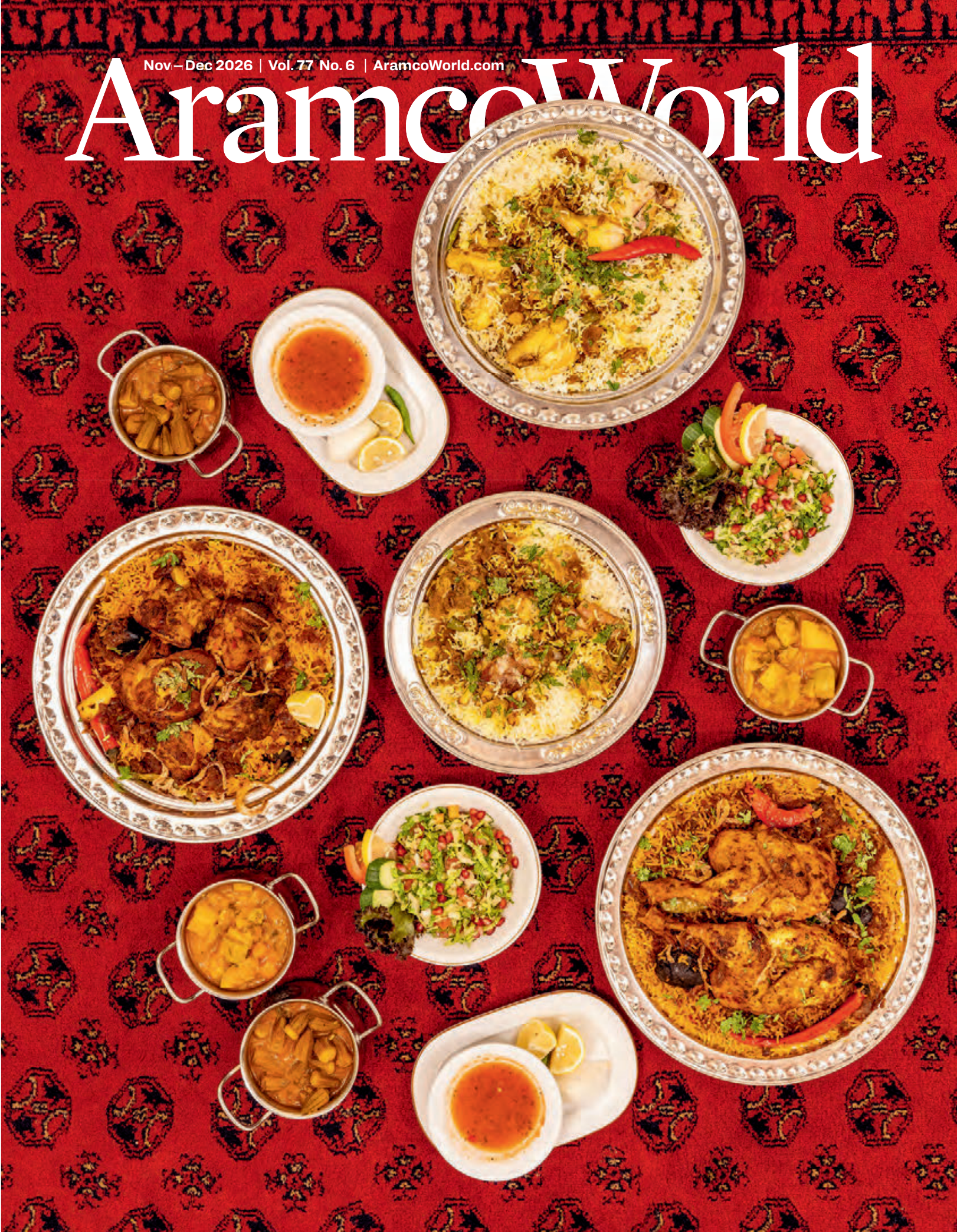
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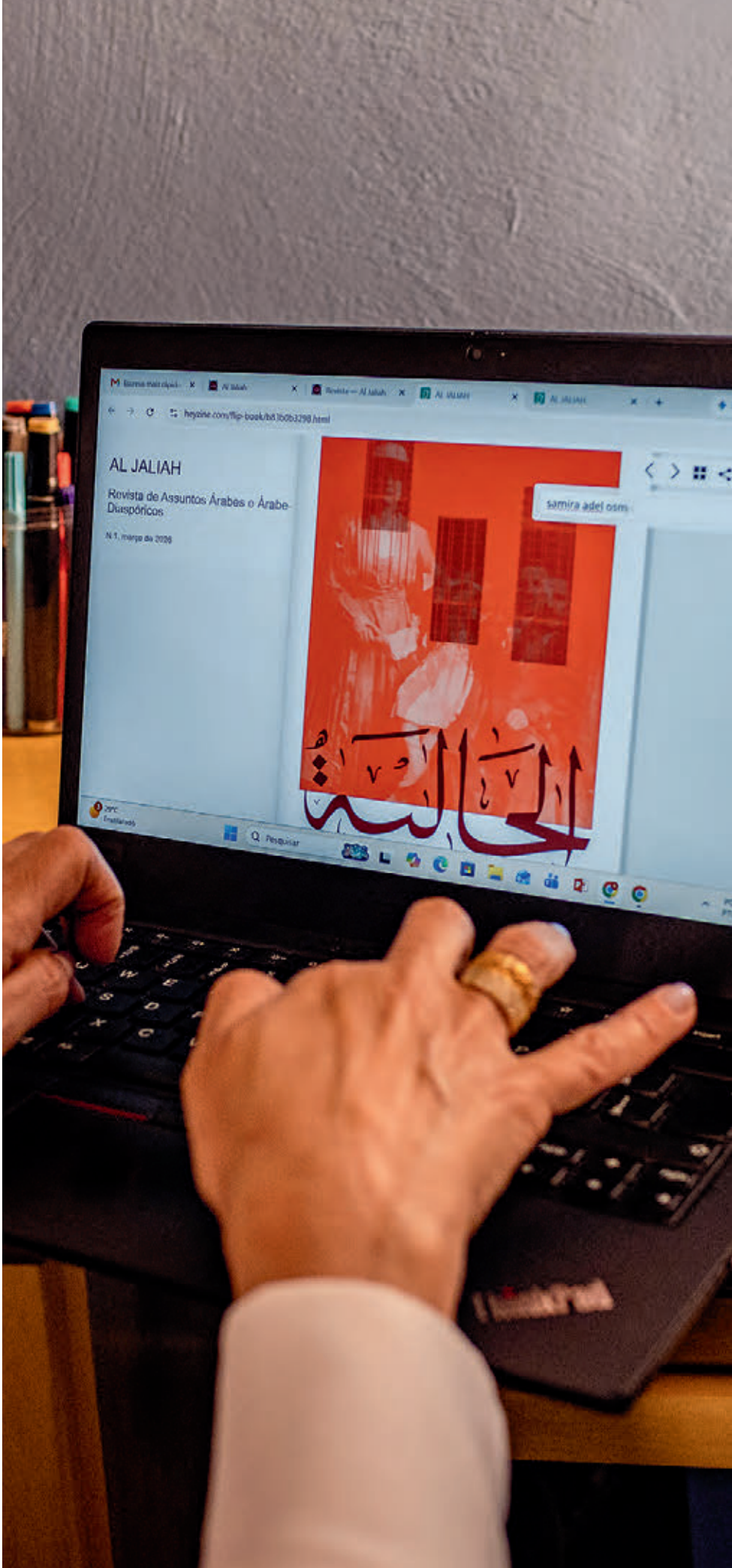
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Brazil's Arabic Press Comes Back to Life

WRITTEN BY BRIAN POWELL, PHOTOGRAPHED BY DADO GALDIERI

With the help of a project to digitize the historical Arabic press in Brazil, the great-grandson of a Lebanese immigrant to São Paulo who published an important magazine is reinventing it for the digital era.



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WRITTEN BY NILOSREE BISWAS

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WRITTEN BY AIBARSHYN AKHMETKALI, PHOTOGRAPHED BY DANIL USMANOV

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The Dish That Carried the Gulf to the World's Table

WRITTEN BY HOMARA CHOUDHARY, PHOTOGRAPHED BY BADER AWWAD ALBALAWI

Everything in the pot arrived from somewhere else. Now kabsa is carried by chefs, by restaurant kitchens abroad and by one Saudi family who won't travel without it.

DEPARTMENTS

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FRONT COVER The Arabian Gulf dish known as kabsa or machboos is both an everyday dish and for special occasions—an expression of love and of welcome.

OPPOSITE: DADO GALDIERI; THIS PAGE, FROM TOP: SANVALAH/THE MORGAN LIBRARY & MUSEUM/WIKIMEDIA COMMONS; DANIL USMANOV; BADER AWWAD ALBALAWI





‘The Bread Lady’

Photographed by NADA HARIB

“The Bread Lady” is part of my series “Within the Walls of the Old Madina.” In it I capture portraits of people in the Old City of Tripoli, Libya, where a wave of new life has taken hold in recent years.

My mother works in the Old City (Madina), where she buys fresh bread baked by Olfa. Everybody loves her fresh, warm bread. Last year I asked Olfa if I could photograph her. She agreed, provided her face not be shown.

I loved the simplicity of the scene: nothing but the bread, the oven and her brown apron. The way she wears her scarf reminded me of Johannes Vermeer’s “Girl With a Pearl Earring.” Though I didn’t actively stage this image like the 17th-century Dutch Baroque painting, I was inspired to shape it in a similar spirit; I’m drawn to the art of that era.

Nearly 3,000 years old, the Madina sits beside the Red Castle, reopened in December 2025 as the National Museum of Libya after 14 years, and the Arch of Marcus Aurelius. These attractions draw tourists eager to see Tripoli’s revival firsthand.

Among business owners benefitting from the district’s affordable leases are my mother and her cousin, who run a wool-weaving shop using traditional looms. Theirs is one of many family-run ventures now standing alongside the coffee shops, antiques stores and art studios that have made the Madina Tripoli’s emerging cultural center. I’ve photographed the people who live and work within these walls, longtime residents alongside new shopkeepers and artists—together telling the story of a community remembering its past while rebuilding its future.

NADA_HARIB

Flavors

The Persepolis Chile Bean Dip

Recipe by SALLY BUTCHER
Photograph by YUKI SUGIURA

This is super cheaty and quick.

I created this one busy, busy afternoon when the Persepolis kitchen dared to run out of baba ghanoush (there is apparently some unwritten cosmic rule that we must always have baba ghanoush available, even though it is not even on our menu).



Sally Butcher is a London-based food writer and cookbook author. She runs Persepolis, the acclaimed Persian food store in London. Her most recent book, *The New Middle Eastern Vegetarian: Modern Recipes from Veggiestan* (also published by Interlink), has been hugely successful and was shortlisted for the Guild of Food Writers' Cookery Book of the Year Award. Her fi st book, *Persia in Peckham: Recipes from Persopolis*, was also published to critical acclaim and short-listed for the 2008 Andre Simon Award. It was also selected by *The Sunday Times* as its cookbook of the year. When Sally is not running her store, she blogs and tweets prolifically and has amassed a devoted online following.

(*Makes a big bowl*)

2 cans (400 grams) red kidney beans, drained and rinsed

1 can (400 grams) chopped tomatoes

1 heap teaspoon harissa paste

3 garlic cloves, minced

Juice of ½ lemon
(or 1 tablespoon bottled lemon juice)

2 tablespoons sesame oil

½ level teaspoon ground cumin

Extra-virgin olive oil

Sea salt, to taste

Put everything except the olive oil in the goblet of your blender. Give it a whizzand then trickle in a tablespoon or two of olive oil. Add salt to taste (some tomato paste is already salted, so this really is quite unquantifi ble).

Serve with pita chips and some pretty crudités (because the dip itself is a very unattractive puce color).

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YUKI SUGIURA



Q&A

When Two Musical Worlds Meet

Written by
ALVA ROBINSON

Pianist Maya Tuylieva grew up between two musical traditions. Turkmen music surrounded her in childhood through her father, composer and music theorist Suhan Tuyliev, whose study of the country's musical modes and traditions led him to write *Theory of Turkmen Music*. In Turkmenistan, where centuries of nomadic life helped shape portable instruments such as the *dutar*, a two-stringed lute, music passed through performers including, *baqshys*, poet-musicians who carried songs, poetry and epics across generations. Alongside that inheritance, Tuylieva received rigorous Western classical training through the Soviet educational system.

Those musical worlds have continued to intersect throughout her career. Tuylieva moved to the United States in 2001 and went on to perform twice at Carnegie Hall and internationally. Today, as founder of the Music Academy of Kansas City, she teaches nearly 150 students of various ages and skill levels while continuing to perform works by Turkmen composers. For Tuylieva, the piano—an instrument from a different musical tradition—has become a meeting place where distinct musical languages can retain their character while speaking to one another.





Maya Tuylieva, who has performed at Carnegie Hall in New York, **opposit e**, puts Turkmen and Western music together.

What distinguishes Turkmen music from Western classical music?

The differences are vast because Western music developed on its own, and Turkmen music developed on its own. Because Turkmens were [from] nomadic tribes, their instruments are very light to carry. They are very easy, just grab-and-go kinds of instruments. You will not see instruments that are like the piano or anything bulky.

They did the best they could with what was given to them, and they reached really high levels. If you've heard dutar playing, it's very virtuosic. Sometimes you can't even see what they're doing with their fingers. It's very high-level playing—on two strings, mind you. Because they didn't have the instruments from Western society, they weren't influenced by how Western music developed, even in things like modal structures. They weren't using the same scales. When you listen to Turkmen music, it's very unique in that way.

When they converged during the Soviet Union, it was very interesting that they didn't clash. Somehow, they were able to come together and exist harmoniously.

You grew up with both traditions. How has that shaped the way you approach music?

It shaped me greatly because ... I grew up understanding both and listening to both. I guess I don't have only one way of looking at music.

I have a background in Western music, but because Turkmen music is so deeply ingrained in me, putting them together is not a very difficult thing. Somehow, they do coexist like that for me.

I love playing Turkmen music on the piano because it does fuse both. It has both worlds meshed together, and it's representative of the possibility of several cultures meshing together and coexisting together and creating something beautiful.

How did coming to the United States change the way you approach performing Turkmen music?

As I was encountering all these questions and performing, I was leaning toward the sounds of Turkmen music when I played. Then, when I was speaking to people, I would bring attention to those sounds and what I was trying to say through the pieces, explaining to people about dutar, about my culture: You will hear this, you will hear that. I'm trying to say this, or the composer is trying to say this.

I didn't just do that with Turkmen music. I started doing it with all the other repertoire that I played because I started seeing that audiences responded better if I planted seeds in their minds about what they were about to hear.

If I'm trying to tell the story, then I have to dig deeper into that story. All of these little rabbit holes that you can go down help you discover the music for yourself, and then it makes your performance that much deeper when you're trying to get it to the audience's ears.

What does music allow you to communicate across cultures that you couldn't otherwise say?

Basically, trying to show that no matter how different we are, we're kind of the same. That's always my main message when I play.

Yes, we're different. But look how much you enjoyed my music. No matter where you go in the world, human desires are the same. We all desire acceptance. We all desire love. We all desire family. People are all the same in the world. There might be differences in how they do things or how they raise their families, but at the core, we're all the same.

I think music shows that. I've played Turkmen music in Japan. I've played Turkmen music in Italy, Europe, Russia—almost everywhere—and the reaction is always, "Wow, that is such beautiful music" and, "You can tell that you love your country so much" or, "You love your tradition so much." Somehow it comes through.

Have you seen an audience make that connection with Turkmen music?

All the time. People come up to me after concerts whenever I play something Turkmen. I give them a little seed and describe the scene, and then they tell me what happens for them.

At a recent concert in Philadelphia, we premiered my dad's trio. There are three movements, and I gave them a little description of each. Afterward, a lady came up to me and said she could see the land, the field of tulips waving, mountains in the background, the wind going through and birds flying.

I didn't tell her any of that. I just told her Turkmenistan is a desert and has fields of tulips, and we also have some mountains. She created this whole scene for herself. That's the biggest gift that I can bestow on my listeners, but it's also a gift when they come and tell me how I affected them.

She saw a picture of Turkmenistan from Philadelphia. In a way, Turkmenistan came to Philadelphia for a little bit.

After performing on international stages, what do you want to pass on to the next generation?

Music saved me when the world was coming crashing down. My parents were very adamant about it: "Yes, right now, we're struggling. Right now, we're starving." Thankfully, education was free for us, and my dad always told us, "You study, study, study, study, and nobody can take that away from you."

You can have money; you can have riches—all of that can come and go. But what you have here, that is the main treasure you have: education. Nobody can take that away from you.

And he was right. Education helped me pursue more, and I was able to achieve it. I had to work hard, but I achieved everything I wanted in life so far professionally, playing on international stages.

My main goal now, professionally speaking, is the school. Providing that kind of education to the next generation is my priority. I want to provide it to kids who are not able to receive good education otherwise. Because of that, we're starting to give scholarships to some kids from not-so-affluent families.

Read more articles like this online at AramcoWorld.com.

OPPOSITE: COURTESY OF MAYA TUYLIEVA; ABOVE: SHYNGGYSALI MEREKE

Brazil's ARABIC PRESS Comes Back to Life

Digitization Project To Preserve Periodicals Leads to Rediscovery and Reinvention

WRITTEN BY BRIAN POWELL,
PHOTOGRAPHED BY DADO GALDIERI



In the library of an Arab social club in 1970s São Paulo, old men sit around wooden tables, reading Arabic newspapers, still following events in homelands they left half a century earlier. In the decades that followed, their Brazilian children and grandchildren would stay connected to their heritage through cuisine, religion and the many similar gathering places throughout this city and elsewhere in the country. But a tinge of loss had taken hold: that of the Arabic language.

Today, 50 years on, a digitization project is reviving this community's connection with its heritage.

One community member rekindling that connection is Gustavo Racy. Although in many respects a typical Brazilian, Racy has always had a strong sense of his family's Arab origins. He grew up hearing stories about how his great-grandfather Sami Racy had immigrated from modern-day Lebanon in the early 20th century and launched one of the most important Arabic-language magazines at a time when Brazil had a booming



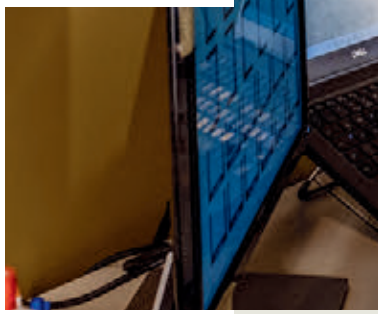
A Brazilian and Lebanese project to digitize historical periodicals, photos and more preserves what Arab immigrants to Brazil published. Silvia Antibas, center, of the Arab-Brazilian Chamber of Commerce oversees the effort in Brazil.

Arabic press serving its large Arab immigrant community. But no one had a copy of the magazine that was his legacy.

"We had always known about the magazine, but we had never seen the magazine," Racy explained. In his mid-30s and with a twirl to his mustache that seemed to wink at the style of whiskers sported by his great-grandfather, he described how he had tried to track down a copy of *Al Jaliah* ("diaspora community" in Arabic). His search took him far and wide until he got hold of a scan of a single page: It bore his great-grandfather's obituary, published in the very magazine he had founded.

"I thought, 'Jeez, I need to do something with this history. Maybe reinvent this history,'" he said.





The project brings together documents scattered among institutions, archives and private collections, preserving the written record of Arab communities whose influence became embedded in São Paulo, Brazil's commercial, cultural and social landscape.

Now, with the help of a project to digitize the historical Arabic press in Brazil, Racy is not just able to access entire issues of *Al Jaliah*; he's reinventing it for the digital era. Published under the same name as Sami Racy's original biweekly magazine from a hundred years ago, this iteration of *Al Jaliah* was launched in 2025 as a cultural publication that aims to promote dialogue between the Arab world and its global diaspora.

But whereas the original was part of an intellectual scene linking Arab communities in Brazil with concerns and conversations back home, this *Al Jaliah* has more global reach. Publishing in Arabic, Portuguese and English, it has attracted readers not only from Brazil and the Arab world but also the United States, Europe and China. For now, it is published annually for free via *Al Jaliah*'s website.

Since its launch, the site has recorded thousands of unique visits and social media followers. Like the original *Al Jaliah*, it covers history, politics, literature and the arts, presented amid compelling images and a sleek design. It is also reprinting articles from *Al Jaliah*'s original run, newly available thanks to the digitization project.

This effort, officially known as the Project to Digitize the Memory of Arab Immigration to Brazil, is a partnership between the Latin American Studies and Cultures Center at the University of the Holy Spirit of Kaslik (USEK) in Lebanon and the Arab-Brazilian Chamber of Commerce (CCAB). Since 2018, the project has been digitizing newspapers, magazines, books, photographs and other documents produced by Lebanese and Syrian communities in Brazil since Arab immigration to the country began in the late 19th century.

As of 2026, the project has digitized over 150,000 pages from 40-some periodicals published primarily during the height of Arab immigration to Brazil between 1900 and 1950.

USEK holds the complete digital archive, which is available to researchers by application, although the public can browse a portion through the Khayrallah Center for Lebanese Diaspora Studies at North Carolina State University in the US.

“I thought, ‘Jeez, I need to do something with [magazine *Al Jaliah*’s] history. Maybe reinvent this history.’”

—GUSTAVO RACY





LEFT Isaac Gabriel Silva, a historian at the Arab-Brazilian Chamber of Commerce, digitizes historical material.

ARAB IMMIGRATION TO BRAZIL

On the Brazilian side, the project has been overseen by CCAB’s cultural director, Silvia Antibas, herself the child of Arab immigrants to Brazil. A historian by training, Antibas said her involvement is the culmination of a lifelong interest in her family origins.

“It’s something I was always interested in,” she explained. “Since I was a little girl, I would ask my dad, ‘How did you come here? What was it like?’”

Her family story followed the trajectory of many Arab immigrants to Brazil, the vast majority hailing from modern-day Syria and Lebanon. They migrated at a time when political turmoil and economic decline were driving many residents of the Levant to leave for destinations throughout the Americas, from the United States down to Argentina. For these Arab immigrants who wanted to “do America,” as they called it, Brazil stood out as a land of opportunity, with its booming coffee industry attracting immigrants from places as far-flung as Germany, Italy and Japan.

Picking up steam in the 1890s, Arab immigration to Brazil peaked between 1900 and 1950 and has continued steadily since then, though in smaller numbers.

Like many Arab immigrants at the time, Silvia’s father began as an itinerant peddler, hauling suitcases full of textiles from coffee plantation to coffee plantation. Saving up money from sales of their goods, these merchants later opened their own shops on Rua 25 de Março, a commercial street at the heart of São Paulo, Brazil’s largest city and main economic center.

From these humble beginnings, members of the Arab community nestled into the center of Brazilian life, making their mark across business, politics and the arts. Prominent recent examples include Milton Hatoum, one of Brazil’s most revered living novelists, and former President Michel Temer. Both are sons of Lebanese immigrants.

The story of Racy’s great-grandfather initially


المصور
الى القاهرة

Though many are unable to read Arabic, social club members still pore over the publications' pages. The photos alone link past and present.

followed a similar arc to that of Silvia's father. Arriving in São Paulo in 1911, he opened a textile shop with several of his brothers. But success proved elusive for the shop, one block from 25 de Março on Rua Florêncio de Abreu.

"They went out of business," Racy explained, "because apparently they were bad businessmen—the only [Arab immigrants] on Florêncio de Abreu who were bad at business."

In 1922 Sami Racy launched *Al Jaliah*, which published essays, poetry, fiction, news, humorous anecdotes and a society section—all in Arabic. Although no circulation figures are known, the magazine counted subscribers in Brazil and abroad. Both Racy and *Al Jaliah* met a premature end: Racy passed away in 1927 at age 47, and *Al Jaliah* folded two years later.

Short lived though it was, the magazine attracted admirers during its run, and Racy himself was described as "one of the pillars of Arab literature in Brazil" in a tribute paid to him after his death by the Lebanese magazine *Al Haress*.

This was no small compliment at a time when Brazil had a thriving Arabic-language press serving its large Arab community. Starting with *al-Fayha*, which was launched in 1893, more than 200 such periodicals circulated in the first half of the 20th century. As time went on, however, the growing assimilation of Brazil's Arab community and its loss of Arabic spelled the end for this once flourishing press. By the 1980s, the number of publications serving the Arab Brazilian community had dwindled to less than a handful—and these were mainly in Portuguese.

FORUMS FOR IDEAS

At their height, these publications functioned as the social media of the era, a way for immigrants to remain connected with their home countries and informed both of political developments and community news. Beyond that, they were active participants in the intellectual ferment occurring across the Arab world from the 1890s to the 1920s—the tail end of the period known as the Arab Renaissance, or *Nahda*. In dialogue with their countrymen back home, these periodicals were lively forums in which new ideas and literary creations first saw the light of day.

"There was a literary flourishing that emerged from these newspapers," observed Samira Osman, professor of history at the Federal University of São Paulo. "It was very much centered on this idea of memory, of absence, of longing."

Nearly a century after their heyday, many of these publications have been lost to time. Others were preserved in scattered and incomplete collections across many different institutions, from the São Paulo State Archives and the Orthodox Metropolitan Cathedral to personal family collections and the various social clubs that Arab immigrants set up.

One of the most prominent of these is Club Homs. Founded in 1920 by immigrants from the Syrian city of the same name, Club Homs possesses the largest library of any institution in São Paulo's Arab community, with 3,500 volumes. It was among this collection that *Al Jaliah* was preserved—and its 1923 issues, bound in a single volume, that the project has now digitized.

It was also in this library that Heloisa Abreu Dib remembers seeing elders reading Arabic newspapers when she was a girl in the 1970s. Dib, one of the digitization project's most tireless researchers and granddaughter of Club Homs's first librarian, passed much of her childhood in the club. She grew up hearing stories about the gatherings her grandfather witnessed in the 1920s and '30s, when the club was a meeting place for the Arab community's vibrant intellectual scene.

Nowadays, for the children and grandchildren of the club's founders, the library is a site of nostalgia. Unable to read the Arabic in which these old magazines are written, some members still spend hours poring over their brittle, yellowing pages. The photos in them alone link past and present.

"I'm looking at a photo from 100 years ago, but I can still tell that this person was probably the great-grandfather of my cousin," Dib marveled. "That's the excitement of it. You have a world that shows you what hardships they went through when they arrived and what their triumphs were as well."

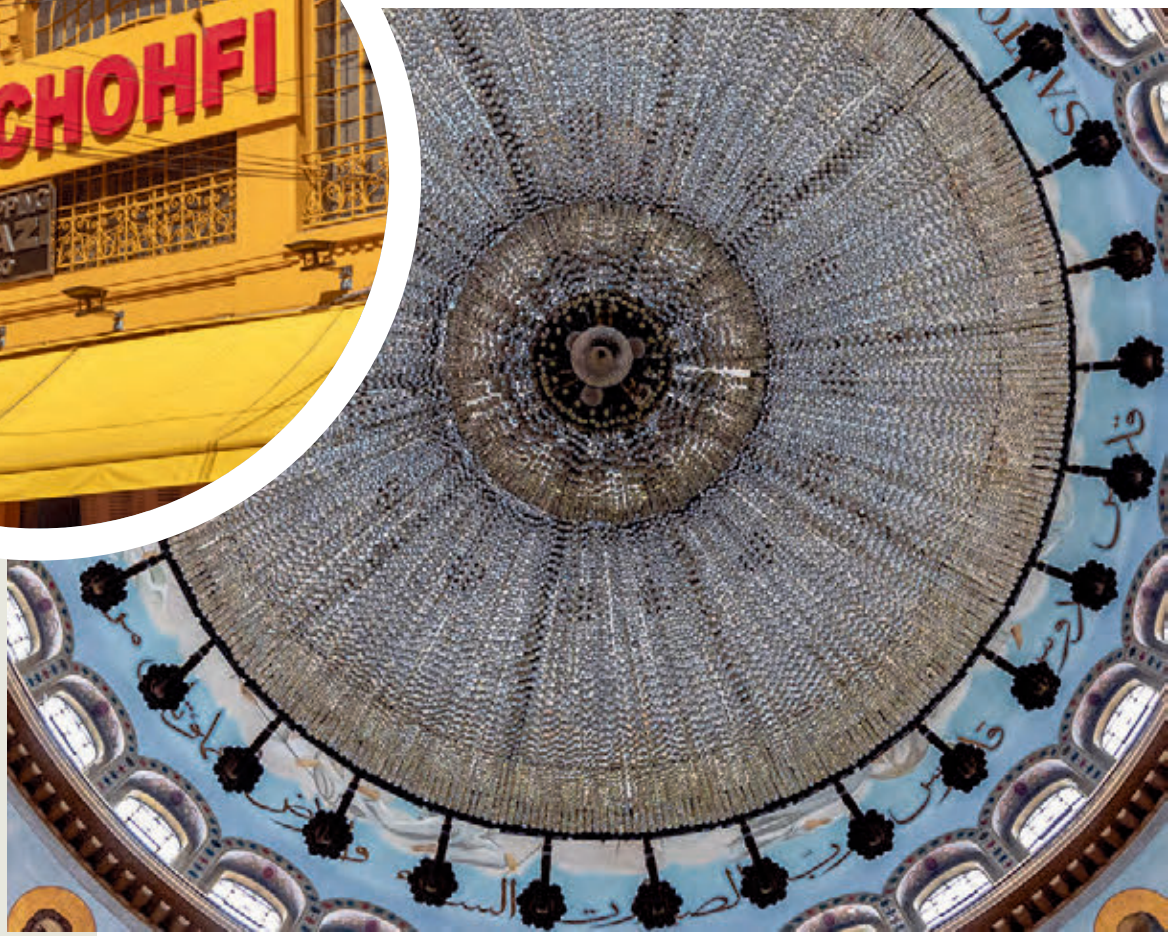
Beyond Brazil's Arab community, the digitization project is attracting the interest of scholars in Europe, the US and the Middle East who are using the archive to recover the stories of people that had largely disappeared from the historical record.

Diogo Bercito, who recently completed a Ph.D. at Georgetown University in the US, has used the archive to reconstruct the career of Salwa Atlas, a Syrian immigrant to Brazil who published the pioneering women's magazine *Al Carmat*, which ran between 1914 and 1949.

OPPOSITE Social clubs that helped Syrian and Lebanese immigrants create community in Brazil have become custodians of their history. **INSET** At the library in São Paulo's Club Homs, a historical publication contains photographs and Arabic text.

BELOW LEFT The Niazi Chohfi store in São Paulo's Rua 25 de Março commercial district exemplifies businesses established by Syrian and Lebanese families whose lives Brazil's Arabic-language press documented. **BOTTOM** Religious paintings cover the dome of the city's Orthodox Metropolitan Cathedral, keeper of a publication collection. Constructed in the Byzantine Revival style, it serves Lebanese Brazilians of the Orthodox Christian faith.





"She was an extremely important figure in this community who was basically forgotten, both by the community and by history in general," Bercito said. "Finding these magazines, I was able to piece together her intellectual trajectory."

AL JALIAH AND BEYOND

A lack of Arabic was the main obstacle Racy faced when he had the idea to revive *Al Jaliah*. Much to his regret, the language was not one of the heirlooms passed down within the family, and so he could not read the words that his great-grandfather had published.

His encounter in 2022 with the woman who would become his wife, Yara Osman, changed this. Osman (no relation to Samira, the history professor), who came to Brazil from Syria in 2016, is part of the most recent wave of Arab immigration to the country. Most of these newcomers have little notion of Brazil's historical ties to the Arab world and little contact with their more established predecessors. Osman herself only became aware of the deep intellectual history of Brazil's Arabic press through her relationship with Racy.

> "There was a literary flourishing that emerged. ... It was very much centered on this idea of memory, of absence, of longing."
>
> —SAMIRA OSMAN

When the two met, *Al Jaliah* was just an Instagram page and a concept. Upon hearing his story and plans to launch the magazine, she insisted he do it.

"Will you do it with me?" was his first reaction. Osman agreed, and the magazine has taken shape



Samira Osman, a professor at the Federal University of São Paulo, at work. The historical press offers researchers a record of diasporic life.



A worshipper at the Orthodox Metropolitan Cathedral in São Paulo, where religion remains one of the living expressions of Arab heritage.







Beit Jede restaurant serves as a place for social gatherings for the Arab community. **INSET** Samba musicians perform at Al Janiah, a restaurant and cultural center.

as their relationship blossomed.

Al Jaliah is very much a co-production, with both of them handling its editorial direction and design. But it is Osman who makes possible the Arabic edition, and perhaps most importantly, she can read issues of the original *Al Jaliah* and select articles for republication.

"It's not just about preserving Arab culture in Brazil," Osman said. "We are doing work that is just as relevant to the rest of the world as it is for Brazil. It carries more weight here though because, well … where are the other magazines?"

Samira Osman agreed that *Al Jaliah* occupies a unique role in the current landscape. "Gustavo's project is based on a different way of thinking about the press today," she noted. "It's not dwelling on the past. … It uses the past as a reference point to conceive of this project for the future."

While *Al Jaliah* prepares its next issue, slated to come out next year, the Project to Digitize the Memory of Arab Immigration to Brazil is entering a new phase. So far, it has focused on São Paulo, the area with the greatest concentration of Arab immigrants, but now is hunting for the remnants of the Arabic press from Rio de Janeiro all the way to the Amazonian city of Manaus.

Both through the old voices the project has revived and the new voices it has inspired, the story of Brazil's Arab community continues to be remembered and retold. With *Al Jaliah*, Gustavo Racy's is the latest voice to join this intergenerational saga. As he said, "It's a way to honor my own story, to create my own story, but it's a story that's not just mine alone." AW



Brian Powell is a writer and translator currently based in São Paulo, Brazil, whose career has spanned the Middle East and Latin America. His work explores Arab culture and the forgotten histories that inform the present. **Dado Galdieri** is a Brazilian Italian photographer and fi mmaker based in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. His work explores culture, identity, environmental change and the relationship between people and place across Brazil and Latin America.





THE WOMEN WHO HELPED BUILD AN EMPIRE

500th Anniversary of Mughals' Rise Prompts Question: Who Gets Remembered for Shaping Great Dynasty?

WRITTEN BY **NILOSREE BISWAS**

It is morning in Chandni Chowk, and Old Delhi is coming to life. Cycle rickshaws thread through its narrow lanes as shopfronts open onto one of the capital of India's great commercial arteries.

Above the crush of signs and freely hanging electrical wires, crumbling facades and overgrown banyan trees pushing through old walls, and beyond the market streets, the Jama Masjid and Red Fort stand as monumental reminders of the Mughal city from which present-day Old Delhi grew.

When Emperor Shah Jahan established Shahjahanabad as his imperial capital in the 17th century, his daughter Jahan Ara Begum helped shape its civic and commercial landscape. She commissioned the bazaar that became Chandni Chowk, together with a caravanserai (a fortified, luxury roadside inn), a public bath and an adjoining garden.

The city offers a fitting point from which to reconsider an empire whose history has so often been told through its men.

This year marks 500 years since 1526, when Zahiruddin Mohammad Babur, a Timurid prince from Ferghana in present-day Uzbekistan, defeated Ibrahim Lodi at the First Battle of Panipat and established the Islamic dynasty that would become known as the Mughal Empire. Five centuries later, the imprint of the Mughals, who also known as the Gurkānī dynasty, remains embedded across South Asia's architecture, art, language, literature, food and popular imagination.

But the anniversary invites another question: Who gets remembered as having built an empire?

"The contribution [of Mughal women] lay not merely in their position within the imperial household but in their participation in shaping the ethical, cultural and political ethos of the empire," says professor Shadab Bano of Aligarh Muslim University, in the northern Indian state of Uttar Pradesh, whose



Nur Jahan, **OPPOSITE**, wife of Emperor Jahangir, enjoyed an exceptional degree of publicly acknowledged authority for a Mughal imperial woman. **BELOW** Completed in 1628, the mausoleum in Agra, India, that she commissioned for her parents exemplifies her influence on architecture.

OPPOSITE: LOS ANGELES COUNTY MUSEUM OF ART/WIKIMEDIA COMMONS; THIS PAGE: CREATIVE TOUCH IMAGING LTD./NURPHOTO VIA GETTY IMAGES





research includes women and gender relations in medieval India.

The familiar dynastic story revolves around the great imperial names: Babur, Humayun, Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. Around them were women who advised rulers, negotiated politics, controlled substantial wealth, participated in long-distance trade, commissioned buildings and public spaces, traveled vast distances and recorded the dynasty's history.

Yet most remain far less familiar than the grandsons, fathers, husbands, sons and brothers alongside whom they exercised power.

The reason comes down to "the lack of information, and at times, silence, on Mughal women in [surviving] historical sources," says historian Mehreen Chida-Razvi, who is associated with the Department of the History of Art and Archaeology at SOAS University of London.

Historiography compounded that imbalance. "Colonial writing painted the harem as a passive space in which women existed as objects of male desire with no political agency," says professor Taymiya Zaman, a historian of Mughal India at the University of San Francisco.

The reality was more complex. Though *zenana*, or women's quarters, was spatially isolated private residential space, it was not necessarily isolated from imperial affairs. Through family relationships, staff and messengers, property, patronage and access to the emperor, its women could remain closely connected to political and economic life. Historian Ruby Lal argues that these quarters became more formally institutionalized under Akbar as the once peripatetic dynasty developed an increasingly structured imperial court.

Five hundred years after the empire's foundation, looking again at its women changes more than the cast of characters. It changes our understanding of where Mughal power operated.

TOP In this detail of a work by Mughal court painter Sānvalah, Isan Daulat Begum counsels her grandson Babur. She served as his chief adviser. **BOTTOM** Detail of portraits likely depicting Gulbadan and Gulchihra, daughters of Babur, by painter Dust Muhammad, 1546.

THE WOMEN BEHIND A DYNASTY

Even before Babur established the empire in 1526, powerful women were helping sustain the family's dynastic ambitions.

Babur's own memoir, the *Baburnama*, makes that clear. Of his maternal grandmother, Aisan Daulat Begim, he wrote: "For tactics and strategy, there were few women like my grandmother. She was very intelligent and a good planner. Most affairs were done by her counsel."

It is a revealing admission. Before there was a wealthy Mughal Empire to administer, women were already helping preserve the political ambitions of the family that would create it.

Lal, professor of history in the Department of Middle East and South Asian Studies at Emory University in the United States, has drawn attention to the roles of Babur's mother and grandmother during those uncertain early years. Their influence suggests that female participation in Mughal politics was not a product of the empire's later wealth and stability; it was embedded in the Timurid world from which Babur emerged.

The next generation left something rarer still: a Mughal history written by a woman.

Gulbadan Bano Begum, Babur's daughter, was born in 1523, three years before the Battle of Panipat. She lived through Babur's death, her half-brother Humayun's exile and the restoration and consolidation of the empire under her nephew Akbar.

Late in her life, at Akbar's request, she drew on decades of observation and family memory to write the work now known as the *Humayun-nama*.

"Her text is the only Mughal history authored by a woman, and there's just one extant copy, which is itself incomplete," Zaman, the professor, says. It's kept at the British Library's India Office collections. "Meanwhile, many copies exist of official chronicles penned by or commissioned by kings."

That disparity matters. Official chronicles foregrounded emperors, battles, administration and kingship. Gulbadan brings into view the emotional and domestic texture of the dynasty—births and marriages, journeys and separations, quarrels, deaths and reconciliations.

In one striking scene, as Babur lies dying, Gulbadan describes Humayun breaking down and urgently summoning physicians to find a remedy. An emperor's death becomes a family crisis: The conqueror appears as a dying father, recalled by his daughter through the distress of his son.

WEALTH BEYOND THE *ZENANA*

Under Gulbadan's nephew, Emperor Akbar (rule 1556-1605), the imperial family expanded through marital alliances with powerful Rajput houses, bringing women from different regional, cultural and linguistic backgrounds into the Mughal household. Their influence could extend far beyond it.



Through family relationships and access to the emperor, women such as Hamida Banu Begum, depicted in 1550, the mother of third Mughal Emperor Akbar, could stay close to political and economic life.

Mariam-uz-Zamani, the Rajput princess who married Akbar in 1562 and became the mother of his successor, Jahangir, demonstrates the extraordinary economic reach some imperial women acquired.

As queen mother she held considerable resources and became a major participant in the maritime economy connecting Mughal India with the Red Sea. Her most famous ship, the *Rahimi*, was among the largest Mughal vessels of its time, carrying valuable commercial cargo as well as pilgrims traveling toward Makkah.

"The scale of Mariam's fleet was extraordinary," Zaman says. Maritime trade was only one element of Mughal women's financial lives, she adds. Women also held revenue-generating estates and commissioned caravanserais, mosques, tombs, gardens and public spaces while patronizing art, music and literature.

Mariam-uz-Zamani commissioned architectural and charitable projects, including the grand mosque

OPPOSITE, TOP: SĀNVALAH/THE MORGAN LIBRARY & MUSEUM/WIKIMEDIA COMMONS; BOTTOM: STAATSBIBLIOTHEK ZU BERLIN—PREUßISCHER KULTURBESITZ (BERLIN STATE UNIVERSITY)/WIKIMEDIA COMMONS; THIS PAGE: ANTHOLOGY OF MIR 'ALI (BAYAZ)/NATIONAL MUSEUM OF INDIA/WIKIMEDIA COMMONS





that bears her name, built in 1614 in Lahore, modern-day Pakistan.

As queen mother she could also issue orders bearing the royal seal—evidence that imperial women's economic power could intersect with administrative authority.

NUR JAHAN: AUTHORITY MADE VISIBLE

On the eastern bank of the river Yamuna in Agra stands another material argument for the ambitions of Mughal women. Light enters the tomb of I'timad-ud-Daulah through carved marble screens and falls across walls covered with flowers, vessels, trees and geometric patterns that vividly stand out in colored stone.

The mausoleum was commissioned by Nur Jahan for her parents, Mirza Ghiyas Beg—who held the title I'timad-ud-Daulah—and Asmat Begum. Built between 1622 and 1628, it represents a major shift in Mughal architecture.

"It's the first major tomb built in white marble with inlaid semiprecious stones," says Zaman. "The marble-and-inlay work is what Shah Jahan scaled up dramatically in the Taj Mahal."

Nur Jahan's influence reached beyond architecture. Born Mihr-un-Nissa, she married Emperor Jahangir in 1611 at about age 34 and received the title Nur Jahan, meaning "Light of the World." According to Lal, she became his co-sovereign during the later years of his reign—an exceptional degree of publicly acknowledged authority for a Mughal imperial woman. Coins even bore her name.

Mika Natif of George Washington University in the US describes her as "a gutsy, smart, sharp and creative woman whose authority was unusual because it was "more openly recognized and institutionalized."

Razvi cautions, however, against interpreting that authority as independent sovereignty. Nur Jahan exercised her prerogatives with Jahangir's consent. That itself raises a revealing question about how historians understand shared power.

"The strength of women," Zaman says, "is often seen as the weakness of men, so if a man has a strong wife, he must be weak. Alternatively, we could see Jahangir as being fairly shrewd in knowing that Nur Jahan could handle statecraft and admiring her for it."

Humayan's Tomb in New Delhi became synonymous with Mughal architecture. The mausoleum, completed in 1570, contains the tombs of the emperor as well as those of Bega Begum, Hamida Begum and Dara Shikoh. **BOTTOM** A painting by royal court painter Bishandas shows the court waiting as Mariam-uz-Zamani, wife of Akbar, gives birth to Jahangir. The queen mother played a big role in the maritime economy connecting Mughal India with the Red Sea.



With the State Bank of India as a backdrop, the busy thoroughfare of Chandni Chowk still reflects the influence of Shah Jahan's daughter Jahan Ara Begum on commercial life in Old Delhi, India.

JAHAN ARA AND THE ARCHITECTURE OF INFLUENCE

Political authority did not always resemble Nur Jahan's unusually public form of power.

When Mumtaz Mahal—Shah Jahan's wife and the woman for whom he built the Taj Mahal—died in childbirth in 1631, her 17-year-old daughter Jahan Ara became Padshah Begum, the premier woman of Shah Jahan's court. She was entrusted with the imperial seal and acquired substantial wealth and responsibility.

"Jahan Ara's most distinct contribution lay in the way she exercised authority through patronage, charity and the creation of public spaces," Bano says.

Her charitable activities included supporting hospitals and free kitchens and assisting pilgrims traveling on her ships. Her architectural and religious patronage similarly extended beyond the palace. At Ajmer, she supported separate quarters for women visiting a religious shrine; in Delhi, her projects included the caravanserai, garden and commercial landscape associated with Chandni Chowk.

Jahan Ara also became involved in the succession struggle that followed Shahjahan's ill health in 1657, supporting her eldest brother, Dara Shikoh, in his bid to become emperor. After Aurangzeb prevailed and confined Shahjahan in Agra Fort, she joined her father and cared for him during his final years.

Bano cautions against allowing that act of care to define her. "Her history cannot simply be reduced either to her care work for the ailing emperor in his final years or to her role as a sister supporting Dara Shikoh in his claim to the throne," she says.

Jahan Ara's public works offer another measure of authority. Mughal power was not expressed only through armies, fortresses and imperial decrees. It could also take material form in the places where people traded, traveled, worshipped, ate and gathered.

Today, much of the Chandni Chowk Jahan Ara created has disappeared or been transformed. Yet the commercial district she helped shape remains embedded in the daily life of Old Delhi. Its survival provides an apt reminder, 500 years after Babur's victory at Panipat, that the Mughal legacy was built by more than emperors. The traces left by its women survive in tombs, manuscripts, coins, gardens and streets. Recovering them reconsiders how the empire itself worked—through kinship as well as conquest, commerce and patronage as well as formal politics.

Reinstate women into Mughal history, and the story of who built the empire changes. AW



Nilosree Biswas is a Global South author and columnist who writes about Asia, reflective of its connected histories. Subjects of her writing include culinary and material culture, and cultural and art histories. Her articles regularly appear in national and international media.

OPPOSITE, TOP: CREATIVE TOUCH IMAGING LTD./NURPHOTO VIA GETTY IMAGES; OPPOSITE, BOTTOM: BISHANDAS/MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON/WIKIMEDIA COMMONS; THIS PAGE: IMAGO/FRANK BIENEWALD

PAINTING SAMARKAND

How Artists Record Memory on Canvas

WRITTEN BY NAIBARSHYN AKHMETKALI, PHOTOGRAPHED BY DANIL USMANOV









At 76, Mirsaid Samatov sits on a low chair in his dimly lit Samarkand studio, painting scenes he can no longer find outside the Uzbek city's walls: wandering musicians moving from house to house, children gathering in courtyards for celebrations, a bride circling a fire as she joins her husband's family.

He remembers watching these rituals as a boy growing up in Samarkand's old town. Now he paints them as a way of keeping their memory alive.

The painting in front of him features silhouettes of horses. Asked what he is working on, he turns away from the unfinished work: "Oh, it's just a [traditional] race. I always work on something but never know what it will turn out to be," he says. "There used to be

Mirsaid Samatov, "The Rooster's Call," 100 x 100 centimeters, oil on canvas. "As I grew older, I realized that everything changes, even monuments. That's when I felt this urge to preserve what remains in my memory," the artist says.

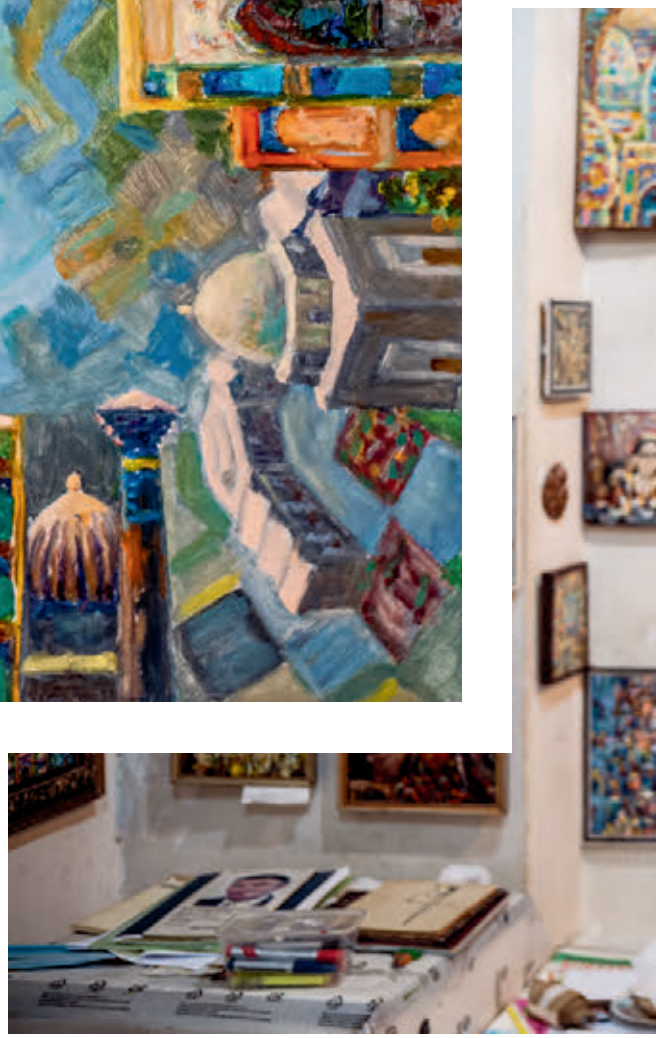


ABOVE
Abib Ismailov, "Blue Azure of Samarkand," 2007, 60 x 60 centimeters, oil on canvas.

these entertaining customs back then. I used to watch them when I was 6 or 7 years old—still young enough to be allowed to join in. I don't see them anymore."

For Samatov painting is a way of making those vanished scenes visible again.

Across the studios around Samarkand's Registan Square, several artists of different ages and styles are capturing a city that is changing around them. Their paintings draw on disappearing customs, artistic traditions and their own experiences of Samarkand.



RECORDING MEMORIES OF PLACE

Samatov's artworks return repeatedly to the communal world he remembers from childhood—celebrations, musicians, wedding rituals and neighborhood life—as well as to the monumental Islamic architecture for which Samarkand is known.

An architect before developing an interest in art, he began painting at 26 and has continued for some five decades.

"I'm from Samarkand. So naturally, as an architect, I was attracted to monuments. I have a lot of [paintings of] the monuments," he says. "And another topic [of interest] is our folk customs and traditions."

In his work, the two subjects become different ways of recording place: one through the structures that remain, the other through people and practices that may not.

In his 2004 painting "Birth of a Child," stilt walkers rise above a crowded street as musicians, drummers and dancers gather to welcome a newborn. Loosely drawn faces and figures give the scene the hazy quality of a childhood memory.

"I used to paint a lot from life, especially architecture and nature. But as I grew older, I realized that everything changes, even monuments. That's when I felt this urge to preserve what remains in my memory," says Samatov.

That includes "Birth of a Child."

"People would come over to congratulate the family. There was music, drums, the *surnay* and the *karnay* [traditional Central Asian wind instruments]. All the kids would gather in the courtyard, dance and just have fun," Samatov recalls.

"Nature and his surroundings shape a person. I paid close attention to capture that."

—ABIB ISMAILOV

"That custom, too, has disappeared now. It's gone."

According to Yeni Kim, an illustrator and assistant professor in visual communication design at Hongik University in Seoul, South Korea, art can bring a vanishing tradition back into cultural conversation.

"It invites people to look at it, become curious about it, discuss it and perhaps connect it with their own memories and experiences," she explains. "In this sense, I think artists can act as culture bearers. They can transmit memories, stories, customs and ways of seeing from one generation to another."

But an artist is not a neutral historical authority; memory is interpreted as it is translated onto canvas.

"An artwork should not necessarily be treated



Ismailov was educated in the tradition of influential artist Pavel Benkov's school, absorbing elements of it before developing his own style.







“You know, we work more with emotions and impressions. … Sometimes I’m surprised by what others see.”

—NURIDDIN ISAEV

ABOVE
Nuriddin Isaev, “Between heaven and earth,” 2024, 75 x 120 centimeters, oil on canvas.

as an objective historical record,” Kim says, “but its interpretation can itself become meaningful. It can show us not only what a tradition was but how people remember it, respond to it and carry it forward.”

Some customs in Samatov’s paintings reach beyond his own childhood to those handed down through generations. One depicts a bride beside a fire in a ritual Samatov associates with the region’s pre-Islamic traditions.

“She’d recite the *salomnoma*—it was a greeting from the bride to her new home,” he explains. “… Family members then carried her around the fire. It was interesting, quite a spectacle,” says Samatov.

HOW ARE ART TRADITIONS PASSED DOWN?

Memory does not pass only through families and rituals. Artists absorb things too: techniques, ideas about light and color, ways of composing an image and looking at the world.

Those kinds of legacy run through the work of Abib Ismailov, 86, who has spent a lifetime painting Samarkand and its people while watching artistic styles evolve around him.

Born in 1939, Ismailov grew up when artists from elsewhere in the Soviet Union were working in Central Asian cities. Among the influential figures in Uzbekistan was Pavel Benkov from Kazan.

Nigora Akhmedova, an Uzbek art historian specializing in 20th-century and contemporary Central Asian art, says Benkov laid the foundations of art education in Uzbekistan.

“There were many artists, but there was no systematic education—he gathered like-minded people around him,” she says. “Thanks to him, Samarkand’s art school was considered the best even during the Soviet era” and was where professional artists of Uzbek ethnicity first formally studied.

Ismailov was educated in the tradition of Benkov’s school, absorbing elements of it before developing his own style.

“Benkov’s school and influence taught me the love of nature, which I carried throughout,” he says. “Nature and his surroundings shape a person. I paid close attention to capture that.”



Akhmedova describes Benkov as the "artist of the sun," noting his attention to light and everyday life.

Ismailov similarly makes buildings more than backdrops, bringing people, especially women, to the foreground.

Pointing to his 1971 painting "Rural Carpet Weavers," he describes women from the *mahalla*, or traditional neighborhood, weaving carpets for dowries. "The tradition has survived in some areas to this day," he says.

SAMARKAND IN A CONTEMPORARY PALETTE

Inheritance does not require imitation. In the next studio, a younger artist draws on many of the same sources—architecture, ornament, place—and allows them to become something less literal.

Nuriddin Isaev, 42, works across figurative, symbolic and increasingly abstract forms in vivid colors. Earlier works incorporated recognizable figures and architecture; his current practice moves more freely among color, ornament and abstraction.

"I went through this entire academic training process from start to finish," says Isaev. "Then, in 2011, after I had finished my master's degree, I wanted to move away from what I knew. I wanted to work more freely."

After studying and living in Tashkent for nine years, Isaev says he developed most as an artist after returning home to Samarkand, where he draws inspiration from the city's domes and majolica, its glazed architectural tilework.

Those sources need not remain recognizable. The geometry and saturated colors of the tilework can be separated from the buildings themselves, reappearing

After nine years in Tashkent, Uzbekistan, Isaev returned home to Samarkand, where he draws inspiration from the city's domes and majolica, its glazed architectural tilework.



Tourists visit the gallery of the Creative Association of Artists, Academy of Arts of Uzbekistan, in Samarkand.

as pattern and color on canvas.

Kim, the professor, says an artwork does not need to provide a literal record of a place to create a connection with it.

"Someone who knows nothing about Jeju [an island in South Korea] or Uzbekistan may encounter an image and become interested in the people, relationships, environments and traditions represented there," she says. "The image may not communicate everything by itself, but it can create curiosity and an emotional or imaginative connection that encourages us to learn more."

Akhmedova cautions against tracing individual motifs in Isaev's work directly to older Central Asian traditions.

"Isaev was among this new generation of artists … tired of pomegranate … of skullcaps and … of ornamentation," Akhmedova says. "Suddenly, this new generation started experimenting with these expressive styles and distortions."

For Isaev, Samarkand is turquoise and ultramarine—the colors of its domes.

Those blues dominate his "Thoughts of Samarkand," in which a woman's face emerges from shades







In studios across from Samarkand's Registan Square, several artists are capturing a city that is changing around them.

brings an inherited artistic tradition to his depictions of Samarkand, Isaev pushes further away from literal representation.

Their visual languages differ but overlap: Architecture, textiles and color migrate into figurative painting, symbolism or abstraction.

For Samatov the memories behind his paintings belong to a particular place and generation. But the experience of carrying such memories, he believes, does not.

"People living in different cultures, they have those deep memories too," he says.

A viewer elsewhere may know nothing of the celebration Samatov remembers or the meaning carried by a local pattern. But the impulse behind them is familiar: to hold onto places, people and experiences that time has begun to alter.

"There are monuments that are being built [to stand] as buildings, and there are monuments created by the people," says Samatov. "What is a memory? … It's what remains."

of blue, one eye open and the other closed.

"You know, we work more with emotions and impressions," he says. "There are some things I can't really explain. Sometimes I'm surprised by what others see."

Some of the imagery, Isaev says, has begun to remind him of the Sogdians, the seventh-century CE people who inhabited ancient Samarkand, then centered on the hills of Afrasiab. They are known for having created pre-Islamic wall paintings at that site.

Where Samatov uses recognizable figures to re-create a remembered social world, and Ismailov He looks at the cultural landscape around him as something already changing. "It is fading away," he says, "and it might one day only remain in paintings." AW



Aibarshyn Akhmetkali is a contributing writer to *AramcoWorld* based in Astana, Kazakhstan. Her work mainly focuses on the culture, history and arts of Central Asia. **Danil Usmanov** is a documentary photographer dedicated to capturing the untold stories of Central Asia. His work has been featured in *The Guardian*, *Die Zeit*, *Meduza*, *Le Monde*, *New Lines Magazine* and *Der Spiegel*.



THE DISH *That Carries the Gulf to the* WORLD'S TABLE



WRITTEN BY HOMARA CHOUDHARY

PHOTOGRAPHED BY BADER AWWAD ALBALAWI

Claimed by Many Nations, Kabsa, aka Machboos, Blends Trade and Tradition in One Pot

On their first day in a vacation rental house near Paris, Intessar AlMumen unpacks a suitcase she filled at home in Dammam, on Saudi Arabia's Gulf coast: tomato paste, spices and rice, including Hasawi, the brown grain grown only around Al-Ahsa in eastern Saudi Arabia. Kabsa was never on the itinerary, but it is always on the family menu—even in one of the world's premier culinary capitals.

Her son Abdulhadi had the same instinct as a student in the United States, where he and his brother Hassan turned what they had learned from their mother into a dorm side hustle, selling the dish to classmates. "Every time they came to my place, they would insist and say, 'Make kabsa, make kabsa, make kabsa,'" he recalls.

Today the meat-and-rice dish is making its way to other palates. It is cooked and enjoyed well beyond the place it originated—the Arabian Peninsula—in restaurants from London to Paris, and from Philadelphia to San Diego in the United States. The world is full of comfort food built on meat and rice. What carries kabsa beyond the region is everything else in the pot, a record of trade routes that reached Arabia long before the dish existed, and a way of serving it that makes the single shared platter the whole point.

WHAT IS KABSA?

Also known as machboos across the Arabian Gulf, kabsa is rice and meat cooked in one pot with tomato paste, aromatics and a blend of spices and brought to the table on a single sharing platter. Muhammad Tahlawi, a Saudi author and historian, calls it the national dish of every Gulf state, eaten once or twice a week in most homes. It is everyday food, he says, and also an expression of love and of welcome. A guest who is served it understands that.

As restaurant kitchens in the Gulf and abroad offer kabsa on their menus, it is becoming further ingrained as a symbol of the hospitality for which the region is known.

Desert Rose Cafe, inside the National Museum of Qatar, is part of that shift. Its chef, Noof Al Marri, has spent recent years serving machboos, on the same site as the collections, to an international audience of visitors who have come to see the country.

"My journey began at home, where I learned traditional Qatari cooking from my mother and grandmother," Al Marri says. "They taught me that every recipe carries a story and every meal is an expression of hospitality." Serving machboos today, she says, is her way of "honoring our heritage while presenting it in a way that today's diners can appreciate and enjoy."

But she will not give up the core of it: "While innovation is important, I believe we must protect the authentic flavors, family recipes and cultural values that make our cuisine unique." What has changed, she notes, is how it is interpreted abroad. "Machboos is no longer seen as simply a rice dish. It is becoming recognized as a symbol of Qatar's culture and hospitality."

That hospitality is practiced and taught, and outsiders often mistake it for something innate, according to Astrid Kensinger of VCUarts Qatar, the Education City campus of the US's Virginia Commonwealth University School of the Arts. There she runs its Intangible Lab, which studies what a culture passes on without writing down.

She does not dispute the size of the gesture: "Machboos is never something you serve as a single plate for a single person; it is a community engagement. It is huge. It's this monster plate of generosity."

Tahlawi, who spent 25 years at Saudi Aramco and keeps a study full of cookbooks, dates changes that led to the dish to about 300 years ago, and the decisive step, rice and meat cooked together in one pot, to roughly a century ago. Kabsa is younger than a good deal of what is served beside it.

WHERE DID KABSA INGREDIENTS COME FROM?

Almost nothing in the pot is native to Arabia. "Spices like cinnamon, mace, fenugreek, cumin, cardamom—none of those grow in the Arabian Peninsula," Kensinger says. Frankincense is the exception. Everything else arrived by sea.



OPPOSITE Lamb kabsa is ready to be served in Dammam, Saudi Arabia. Also known as machboos, the dish symbolizes Arabian Gulf hospitality. **BELOW** Ingredients typically include onions, crushed tomatoes, minced garlic, tomato paste, peppers, bay leaves, lūmī (dried lime), cinnamon, chicken or lamb broth, mixed spices and parsley for garnish.





ABOVE LEFT Intessar AlMumen, rear left, runs Moma's Urban Eatery with her sons, including Abdulhadi AlMumen, rear right. **ABOVE RIGHT** A sign at the restaurant mimics an AlMumen family photo.

Cinnamon is the one to which she keeps returning. "By looking at this one single spice, cinnamon, you have an epic tale of power, domination, imperialism, colonization, money," she says. True cinnamon grows nowhere but Sri Lanka. Cooking with any of it, in her reading, is an enormous act: "By having machboos, you are eating these trade routes. You're consuming hundreds of years of networks; you are what you eat."

Al Marri echoes the idea for her country in particular. "Machboos reflects Qatar's history as a trading nation," she says.

Tahlawi traces three routes by which the world reached the peninsula: "The first is the pilgrimage to Makkah and Madinah, which for 14 or 15 centuries has brought people from everywhere, carrying their cooking with them. The second is [Saudi Arabia's] Eastern Province, trading across the water with Persia, India and as far as Zanzibar. The third is the peninsula's position on the silk and spice routes."

The spices themselves, he says, came from India, Sri Lanka, East Africa and as far as Canton, aka Guangzhou, China. The pilgrimage route he describes has been running since the seventh century CE. The sea and caravan routes are older, 2,000 or 3,000 years by his reckoning.

ALSO LEAVING HOME

Other dishes from the Arabian Peninsula have found their way onto tables abroad. Among them:

Jareesh

Crushed wheat cooked with meat and milk until it thickens to something like porridge. It belongs to the Najd in central Saudi Arabia, where it is served at wedding breakfasts. In Tabuk, in the north of the country, the grain is still broken on a stone quern called a *raha*. Wheat fed central Arabia before rice arrived, which makes jareesh older than kabsa, though both are still eaten today. In 2023 the Culinary Arts Commission named jareesh the national dish of Saudi Arabia. Saudi kitchens in London now serve it.

Saleeg

From the Hijaz, in western Saudi Arabia and named for its method, since *saleeg* means "to boil." The chicken is simmered until the stock takes its flavor, then lifted out and roasted. Short-grain rice cooks in that stock and milk until it collapses into something closer to porridge than pilaf, finished with butter or ghee and served with daqous, a sharp tomato salsa. It is the softest thing on a Hijazi table and belongs to the celebration cooking of Makkah and Taif.

Harees

Wheat and meat again, handled differently. The grain is boiled for hours and then beaten together with the meat until the two stop being separate things and the dish turns smooth, closer to a thick cream than to the coarse grain of jareesh. It belongs to Ramadan tables and to weddings. In 2023 Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and Oman together had it inscribed on UNESCO's Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity, and Gulf kitchens in London now serve it alongside kabsa.

BOTTOM LEFT Saudi author and historian Muhammad Tahlawi calls kabsa the national dish of every Gulf state; **TOP RIGHT** various sauces including *daqous*, a sharp tomato salsa, are served with kabsa; and **BOTTOM RIGHT** traditional green salad and cucumber-yogurt salad are common side dishes.

Lūmī carries its route in its name. Persians call it *limoo amani*, "the Omani lime." Iraqis call it *nūmī basra*, "the Basra lime." It is made by leaving limes in the sun until their water has evaporated, a technique that came from people moving herds across the country with no way to keep food cold. It is still produced around Karbala in Iraq and Muscat in Oman.

The tomato is by far the newest ingredient. The New World plant, unknown anywhere in Asia, Africa or Europe before the 16th century, reached the Arab world later still. Tahlawi traces its arrival to Aleppo, modern-day Syria, where John Barker, the British consul from 1799 to 1825, encouraged local cultivation. From there it spread by trade and by pilgrimage. The base Intessar AlMumen builds in a Paris kitchen could not have been made in Arabia before the 19th century.

HOW RICE ARRIVED IN ARABIA

Rice is newer than most of the spices. Before it, wheat fed the peninsula. Tahlawi lists what people ate instead: margoog, gursan, mataziz—all made from flour worked into small breads and cooked in a stew with meat and vegetables. Those were the dishes you set in front of a guest you wanted to honor.

Then, he says, a severe drought hit central Arabia. Harvests failed. Families from the Najd went north to Iraq and the Levant looking for work. One of them reached Zubair, near Basra, and wrote home. The letter, which Tahlawi dates to around 1750, describes a food the man had never seen before, something the locals called timmin. It was rice. Wheat held on for another century and a half. British colonial trade in the late 19th and early 20th centuries moved rice out of the Indian subcontinent in bulk to be sold through Iraq across the Gulf.







OPPOSITE: COURTESY OF ABDULHADI ALMUMEN; THIS PAGE, CLOCKWISE FROM BOTTOM LEFT: COURTESY OF MUHAMMAD TAHLAWI; WALEED DASHASH



Chef Noof Al Marri keeps machboos on the menu of the Desert Rose Cafe in the National Museum of Qatar.

"First rice and meat were cooked separately," Tahlawi explains. "Then someone thought to cook the rice in the stock the meat had been boiled in. Then the meat was roasted apart and laid on top of the rice at the end. Finally, the meat was cooked with the rice, in one pot."

That last step is kabsa, and it stopped there. What came after was not more evolution but variation, region by region and household by household. Chicken, he adds, arrived later and took the limelight.

MAKING KABSA

The name tells you how the dish is made. *Kabs* means "to press" or "to squeeze"; in cooking, Tahlawi says, it means to put something on top of something and press it down. Meat and stock go in first, rice goes above, and the lid stays shut.

Traditionally in the Gulf, the rice is long grain, and it drinks up the broth. The meat is usually lamb or chicken, sometimes camel. On the Gulf coast, it can be hamour (grouper), kingfish or shrimp, and lately squid. Beef is almost never used. Onions are fried in ghee or butter. Tomato colors the base. Saffron and turmeric do the same job in different households. And lūmī gives kabsa its sourness and most of its aroma.

Tahlawi is particular about the spices. "You use solid spices," he says. "You don't use ground spices because it gives a bitter taste." The meat is boiled with them, then lifted out, and the stock is strained until it runs clear before the rice goes anywhere near it.

Fried onions, toasted almonds or pine nuts and raisins go on at the end. Those, he says, are gift wrapping: "They do not actually change the way you cooked the dish."

Intessar AlMumen would not concede that the last additions are only decoration. A former schoolteacher with a degree in Arabic literature, she now runs a restaurant with her sons, and her husband, Abdulfattah, translates for her.

The onions must be chopped by hand, never by machine, she says, so the juice stays inside them, and cut to a size that caramelizes rather than collapses. She wants onions grown in Saudi Arabia because they carry less water than the rest. Her spice mix is not bought off a shelf either. One woman blends it

"Machboos is no longer seen as simply a rice dish. It is becoming recognized as a symbol of Qatar's culture and hospitality."

—NOOF AL MARRI



Chicken kabsa, like other versions, is made with long-grain rice that drinks up the broth.

for her, and she asks for it lighter on the cumin so the other spices come through.

The butter matters just as much. She melts it, waits for the salted solids to settle and lifts that base into the tomato. "This is one of their secrets," her husband says. "Not many people do that."

WHO OWNS KABSA?

Kensinger sees ownership in intimate terms. In separate research on the desert truffle, three of her participants named machboos, unprompted, as their comfort food. "It's the food that makes many people think of Grandma," she says. "It makes them feel the comfort of home."

And every version is signed. "You can identify a grandmother by the spice of the food you're eating," she says, "because it will smell like the grandmother."

The region's cuisine, in Tahlawi's view, remains less familiar abroad than, say, the hummus and falafel of its neighbors in the Levant and Egypt, where many culinary historians agree those foods originated.

He is not troubled by other countries cooking the Gulf's dishes, namely kabsa. To settle the question of ownership, he reaches for a tailor. A suit can be double-breasted or single, three buttons or two. "But nobody on Earth can claim that they have started or launched suits," he says. "I don't think anybody should have the right to define it."

WHERE TO EAT KABSA NOW

In London, Hijazi Corner, which calls itself the first Saudi restaurant in Europe, draws its cooking from the western region of Saudi Arabia. Across town on Holloway Road, Diwan Kitchen serves kabsa alongside *jareesh*. In Philadelphia, Malooga, on Chestnut Street in Old City, has chicken kabsa on the menu. In San Diego, a kitchen called, simply, Kabsa opened in 2023 and built its whole menu around the dish, with lamb and with chicken, serving ma'soub and 'areekah for dessert.

Back in Paris, one part of the AlMumens' kabsa never leaves the house. It is the crisp, slightly burnt crust at the bottom of the pot, prized at home and never set before guests. When her father visits, Intessar divides it between him and her husband, the two men who want it most.

It is the argument the dish has been having for centuries: what gets shown to the world, and what stays at the bottom of the pot for the people who already know it's there. AW



Homara Choudhary is an international journalist, presenter, moderator and executive producer trusted by global organizations and major broadcasters. She has worked with the BBC, ITV and Al Jazeera, and has moderated and produced editorial content for clients including the UN, WHO, Web Summit and Qatar Foundation. **Bader Awwad AlBalawi** is a photographer, writer and filmmaker based in Khobar, Saudi Arabia. His work explores travel, street life and cultural transitions.



Author's Corner

Tracing Oya Across Cultures: A Conversation With Kathrin Müller

Written by ROZA MELKUMYAN

A strand of intricate oya lace may appear to belong to a single place or tradition. Follow its threads, however, and a more interconnected history emerges, linking communities across Europe and West Asia.

Oya is a type of Turkish lace used to decorate headscarves, clothing and household linens, featuring delicate handmade floral and geometric designs that traditionally conveyed messages and emotions.

Kathrin Müller, an expert in Near East studies, first encountered oya during a visit to Türkiye in 1986. Years later, she and her husband, journalist and photographer Gérard J. Maizou, embarked on a decade-long investigation into the needlework, once used to communicate wealth, fertility, power and beauty.

The research grew into a five-part series, one of which has been published: Efe Oya, men's oya associated with the *efe*, leaders among the Ottoman armed social groups of western Anatolia. Müller discusses their investigation into oya's history and enduring traditions, and how intricate needlework reveals the cultural connections woven across communities.









Oya Lace for Men: Textile Jewels From Turkey
Gérard J. Maizou and Kathrin Müller. dG Arts, 2026.

What first drew you into the world of oya lace?

One day, probably in 2002, my husband was taking photos for an article in a fashion magazine on how to crochet. The pieces were so ugly, made with thick thread. And then suddenly I remembered that book about oya I had brought home as a girl, and I showed it to him. Together we took a closer look and saw these small, thin textiles made by needle. We thought it would be nice to see it in reality, so we traveled to Istanbul. We asked for oya in the bazaar, but nobody knew what it was. One man said that he remembered his grandmother doing this but that they don't sell them—they keep them at home. At another bazaar, in a little shop, a woman gave us a package with lots of scarves made of silk in every color, with very little bits of oya embroidery around the edges. It was so beautiful. We brought some pieces home, took pictures and wrote down descriptions, and there started our project.

What makes Efe Oya—oya lace for men—especially interesting to you?

Efe Oya is the most expensive oya in Türkiye. Rich families in the western region use them to present themselves like an efe, with very expensive leather boots, with the short trousers, and they do the efe dance. They use it for festivities in the villages and homes. It's very interesting because most people in Türkiye don't know about these cultural traditions. Turkish publications love to

ABOVE AND OPPOSITE Efe Oya lace's needlework and the messages it conveys fascinated authors Kathrin Müller and Gérard J. Maizou.

showcase the oya itself, but you don't know where it comes from, whether it is old or new, who uses it, and what its name is. You don't know anything. We tried to fi d out everything, and many things in these books are completely new.

How has the practice of making and wearing oya lace survived into the present?

You can fi d oya in every family, in the bride's trousseau. You'll fi d it in the Balkans, in the Aegean Islands. The Greeks say they invented oya, and in Greek, it is called *bibila*. We learned that it was in the 19th century that it became a sort of very expensive fashion because it's small and made with silk thread. It was sold at the road exhibitions in Paris and Vienna. Then the Ottoman elite started wearing oya, which made others want to wear it too—but using cheaper materials. And so, it became known all over the Ottoman Empire. Today, it has become fashion again as young fashion designers from Istanbul incorporate the lace into designs for both men and women, bringing back the idea of oya as nonverbal communication.

As you followed oya across these places and traditions, what did the work entail?

We went again to Türkiye and collected more pieces. We went to museums and met collectors who had thousands of oya at home. Every oya piece is different from the other, you know? We wanted to know: Where did it come from? Who makes it? How do they make it? We went to Greece, where they make these things too. We went to Vienna and Munich, where we read historical books. We put together a small exhibition at the ethnographic museum in Munich—about 50 pieces of oya displayed on the walls, with photographs of other examples and text explaining their origins. People came running—they were so fascinated. They were staying in that small room for an hour or more and asking for even more information.

After tracing oya across these places and communities, what does it reveal about their cultural connections?

We want people to understand that it wasn't just war that connected Europe and the Near East but culture too. We believe that the oya originates from Europe, normal lace from Italy and Spain, that was imported to the Greek islands very early in the 16th, 17th century. People in Greece started to add embroidery to the edges of scarves and textiles, with the same thread, the same colors, the same pattern, and so this may be how oya came to the world. It's a special part of Turkish, Greek and Armenian culture. Women from these groups lived in the Ottoman Empire all together. We wanted to show that it is not isolated, that people are bringing goods like this back and forth on their journeys from Old Europe to Türkiye—it's fascinating. The oya is an example of this. That people were living and working together. This is also important to remember today, that we are not so separate.

Review of *Oya Lace for Men*, page 40.

Read more articles like this online at AramcoWorld.com.



GÉRARD J. MAIZOU

Reviews



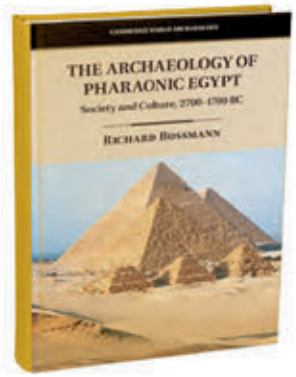
Th Choreic Period
Latif Askia Ba. Milkweed Editions, 2025.

Poetry rarely asks readers to move differently. In *The Choreic Period*, Senegalese American poet Latif Askia Ba disrupts that expectation, refusing to let language accommodate the reader the way it usually does. Rather than simply describing disability, Ba asks readers to encounter it. Drawing on his experience with choreic cerebral palsy—which is marked by nonrhythmic involuntary movements—Ba makes language, and the reader, move differently as well. His signature use of periods creates choreographed pauses that interrupt expected reading patterns. Through multilingualism, Ba asks the English-speaking reader, accustomed to being accommodated, to adapt instead. He reverses accommodation, bringing the audience into his own rhythms. What initially feels fragmented gradually reveals a deliberate artistic vision, though the disruption is not always comfortable; at times the resistance to interpretation risks distancing readers rather than drawing them in. Still, Ba's choreographies on the page are not stylistic experiments for their own sake. They insist that the body whose movement is often pathologized is the one setting the rhythm others must follow. The poetry collection matters because it doesn't just represent disability—it restructures the reader's relationship to language around it. By asking readers to move alongside unfamiliar rhythms rather than simply observe them, Ba refuses to translate the unfamiliar body into comfortable terms. Readers must learn to keep pace with it instead.—BIANCA SPERANZA



Oya Lace for Men: Textile Jewels From Turkey
Gérard J. Maizou, Kathrin Müller. dG Arts, 2026.

How does a craft as delicate and time consuming as needle lace survive for centuries, from the late Ottoman period to today? *Oya Lace for Men* argues that preserving material culture begins with understanding its significance. Take an oil painting featured in the book, in which a Turkish Zeybek warrior sits with a pistol tucked into his tunic and a rifle across his lap. His turban is adorned with strings of Efe Oya—an intricate traditional Turkish needle lace worn by Zeybek leaders off the battlefield to signify power and prestige. Researchers Gérard J. Maizou and Kathrin Müller use examples like this to reveal how Oya lace communicates identity across generations, tracing its evolution from the Ottoman period to its revival in contemporary Türkiye. Their study does more than survey history. It explores the enduring human desire to express identity through craft. While the Zeybeks wore lace to project authority, a bridegroom in the Aegean region today might wear family heirlooms to celebrate his wedding. Contemporary Turkish designers likewise incorporate Oya into modern fashion, showing how tradition continues to evolve. The book's final visual catalog of lace borders, forms and color combinations complements the historical narrative by helping readers recognize the craftsmanship behind each piece. When readers return to the painting with this understanding, the delicate strands become more than ornament—they become evidence of history, identity and cultural continuity, making a compelling case for the enduring value of material culture.
—ROZA MELKUMYAN



The Archaeology of Pharaonic Egypt: Society and Culture, 2700-1700 BC
Richard Bussmann. Cambridge University Press, 2023

The history of ancient Egypt is often told as a top-down account of kings and their enduring monuments: temples, tombs and pyramids. Archeologist Richard Bussmann offers a compelling alternative in this study of Egypt's "pyramid age." Drawing on recent excavations, including his own, Bussmann shifts our understanding of this era from the ground up. Rather than relying on written records that only a fraction of Egyptians could read, he turns to evidence of village settlements, social diversity and long-distance trade to show how most Egyptians lived from the Nile Delta in the north to Nubia in the south. This broader perspective does not diminish the importance of pyramids. They were lengthy projects requiring coordinated labor and enormous resources, and their thousand-year history reveals a continuity often obscured by the conventional divisions of Egyptology. Far beyond the famous trio at Giza, dozens of pyramids demonstrate that these monuments remained the standard tomb for a millennium. Bussmann also draws on anthropology to move beyond conventional interpretations of archeological sites and artifacts. Despite the breadth of its evidence and chronology, the book remains clearly organized and accessible, making complex archeological debates understandable without oversimplifying them. The result is a persuasive reminder that archeology has as much to reveal about ordinary Egyptians as it does about the kings, whose monuments have long dominated the story.
—CHRISTINA RIGGS

"This book explores the gulf between pots and pyramids, between shared human experience, and what sets Egypt apart from other societies."

—The Archaeology of Pharaonic Egypt

Without endorsing the views of authors, the editors encourage reading as a path to greater understanding.

The Tale of Princess Fatima Challenges Who We Imagine as a Medieval Hero

Written by ZINA AMATI

Epic literature is often associated with legendary male heroes such as Achilles, Beowulf or Roland, leading many readers to assume that medieval heroic traditions rarely placed women at the center of military and political life.

The Tale of Princess Fatima, Warrior Woman challenges this assumption by introducing English readers to one of the most celebrated heroines of Arabic literature. Through her translation of selections from the medieval Arabic epic *Dhat al-Himma*, Melanie Magidow reveals a heroic tradition in which a woman could earn authority through courage, leadership, loyalty and service to her community. By making this overlooked epic accessible to English readers, Magidow encourages them to reconsider familiar ideas about medieval storytelling and who could occupy its heroic center.

The significance of this edition extends beyond its engaging narrative. *Dhat al-Himma* is one of the longest epics in the Arabic literary tradition. Rather than attempting to translate the entire work, Magidow selects episodes that introduce Princess Fatima and trace her rise from a rejected child to a figure of military and political authority. Her selection makes the much larger epic approachable while providing the historical and cultural context readers need to understand its significance.

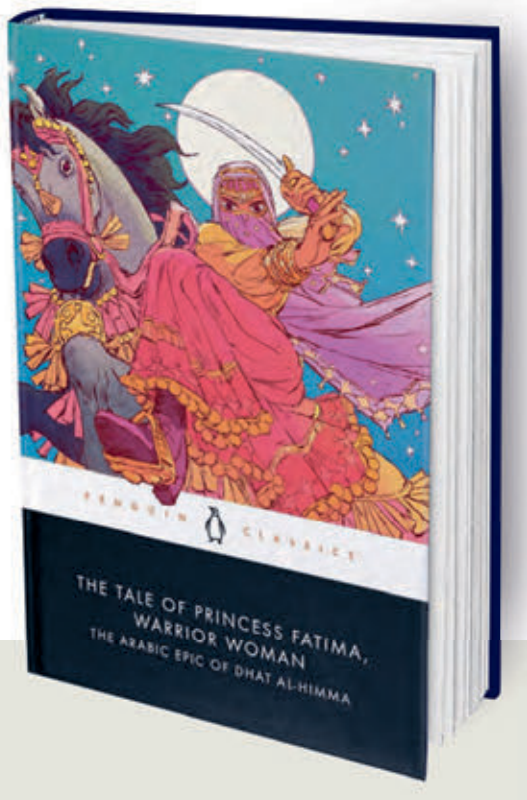
Fatima's story also complicates expectations about gender rather than simply overturning them. Her abandonment at birth because her father had hoped for a son establishes the expectations she must confront. Yet Fatima eventually commands armies and defeats experienced opponents through intelligence, discipline and determination. Her responsibilities go beyond military victory to protecting her people, preserving justice and maintaining loyalty to her family and community. The epic does not present a world in which gender no longer matters; instead, Fatima earns authority within a world in which those expectations remain powerful. Her transformation from rejected daughter to respected leader makes her achievements all the more significant.

Magidow's translation succeeds because it balances readability with scholarly rigor. Her introduction explains the origins and historical importance of the *Dhat al-Himma* tradition, while explanatory notes clarify unfamiliar names, historical events and cultural references without overwhelming the narrative. The organization of the selected episodes creates a coherent story while reminding readers that they represent only part of a much larger tradition. The result functions both as an engaging literary work and as an accessible entry into medieval Arabic epic literature.

Ultimately, *The Tale of Princess Fatima, Warrior Woman* broadens the familiar history of epic storytelling while asking readers to reconsider who can embody the qualities that societies associate with heroism. Fatima's story emerges from a particular medieval Arabic tradition, but her struggle to earn recognition in a world that initially judges her by gender carries beyond that setting. Her courage, intelligence, loyalty and service to her community suggest that heroism depends less on who a person is expected to be than on what that person does when tested. By bringing Fatima's story to English readers, Magidow not only expands the literary canon but also reminds us that the stories we inherit shape whom we imagine can become a hero.

"Heroism is not defined by gender but by courage, leadership, and service to one's community."

— The Tale of Princess Fatima, Warrior Woman



The Tale of Princess Fatima, Warrior Woman: The Arabic Epic of Dhat Al-Himma
Melanie Magidow, ed. and tr. Penguin Classics, 2021

Find more reviews like this online at AramcoWorld.com.

Events



The exhibition allows visitors to experience ancient Egyptians' vision of the afterlife.

An Invitation To Step Into Eternity Like Ancient Egyptians

Ancient Egyptian beliefs continue to stir the human fascination with life—and what comes next—even after thousands of years. One exhibition is taking what people think they know about the tombs and customs and bringing it all … to life.

Ancient Egypt: Obsessed With Life sends visitors on the journey of the dead to the grave, where replica mummies lie prepared for eternity, before a 3D ride carries guests through the underworld to the afterlife. The 9,000 square feet of exhibition space encompasses 250 artifacts: embellished coffins, grave goods, jewelry and everyday items. The show, produced by MuseumsPartner, comes from Denmark's Moesgaard Museum.

Immersive light, sound and scent installations—the latter related to the aroma of resins, oils and spices used in embalming—lend authenticity to the experience. A dedicated space for hands-on learning and quieter reflection complements the interactives throughout the gallery.

"We want visitors to feel the exhibition, not just look at it," says Chris O'Connor, program developer in the Royal BC Museum's Learning and Engagement Department. "The scent stations, the ambient sound, the chance to touch replica amulets—these aren't just add-ons; they're how the exhibition helps make ancient beliefs feel immediate."

▶ Royal BC Museum, **Victoria, British Columbia**, through January 3.

Highlights from AramcoWorld.com. Please verify a venue's schedule before visiting.

Events

Current / December 2028

The Keir Collection of Islamic Art Gallery, on long-term loan, comprises nearly 2,000 works and spans from the Western Mediterranean to South Asia and across more than 13 centuries. It includes luxurious carpets and textiles; notable metalwork; rare works in rock crystal; lavish Qur'ans and illustrated manuscripts; and exceptional ceramics. The collection is considered an indispensable resource for scholarship in the field of Islamic art.

▶ **Dallas** Museum of Art, through December 31, 2028.

RIGHT Late 12th–early 13th century CE, over-glaze painted fritware, ceramic, 7.3 centimeters x 17.15 centimeters x 17.15 centimeters.



Coming / November

Following Damascus: Karl Ernst Osthaus and the Arts of the Islamicate World traces how the arts of North Africa and West Asia shaped Museum Folkwang founder Karl Ernst Osthaus's vision. Following his travels through the region, Osthaus purchased an elaborately decorated reception room from a Damascus, Syria, home in 1899 and began building a collection that preceded his turn toward European modernism. Some 300 objects—including ceramics, textiles, a *Shahnama* (Persian epic) and Ibero-Islamic tiles—reveal the collection's infl ence on the museum and on European art, design and architecture.

▶ Museum Folkwang, **Essen, Germany**, November 6 through February 21.

On Display: Felt, Memory and the Nomadic Steppe

The Manifold of Memory: Detail Within Detail, Bagri Commission transforms a small textile fragment into an immersive felt environment inspired by the nomadic cultures of the Central Asian steppe. In her first UK museum exhibition, Kazakhstan-born artist Gulnur Mukazhanova explores felt as a carrier of memory, connecting centuries-old traditions of shelter, movement and cultural knowledge with contemporary sculpture.

▶ The Whitworth, **Manchester, UK**, November 20 through May 2. **BELOW** Gulnur Mukazhanova, "The Shadows of Hope," 2024.



Readers are welcome to submit event information for possible inclusion to publications@aramcoamericas.com, subject line "Events."

OPPOSITE: COURTESY OF THE ROYAL BC MUSEUM; TOP: THE KEIR COLLECTION OF ISLAMIC ART ON LOAN TO THE DALLAS MUSEUM OF ART; LOWER: COURTESY OF ASPAN GALLERY. PHOTO BY ANVAR RAKISHEV

What's Online?







A Recipe for Flexibility: Cake Rusk Tiramisu

In Pakistan her mother made a substitution for ladyfingers in her tiramisu recipe. Today she keeps that tweaked version—and the lesson about adaptability—in her own repertoire.

Can Cultural Influence Inspire Originality?

Learning Center's activities allow students to examine visionary architect Antoni Gaudí's use of Islamic forms and ideas in his innovative buildings.

From the Archive: The Great Migration of the Bani Hilal

Ten years ago, we took readers on a trip to explore the oral tradition of folk epics, namely *Sirat Bani Hilal*, which recounts the Bedouin tribe's journey from Arabia. Revisit the story from the November/December 2016 issue under our Past Issues tab.

AramcoWorld

SCAN ME

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BOTTOM: IVY JOHNSON; MIDDLE: MATTHIEU PALEY; TOP: TALIE ROSE EIGELAND

Quiz

TEST YOUR KNOWLEDGE

Besides being the oldest continuously used mosque in New York, why is the Powers Street Mosque notable?



A

It is home to Lipka Tatars, Muslims whose ancestors emigrated from Eastern Europe.



B

Goats are kept in the space behind the building.



C

Its garage houses vintage cars.



D

Rare coins and other artifacts lay buried beneath it for centuries.

Answer: A. The Powers Street Mosque was founded by Lithuanian Tatars in 1907 and preserves heritage and tradition for their descendants as a cultural and religious center. Read more at AramcoWorld.com.

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A. GREG KAHN; B. TOR EIGELAND; C. ROBERT CAPLIN; D. MELANIE FRIEND



above Preserved publications provide a record of how Arab immigrants represented themselves while establishing roots in Brazil.
Read more on page **8**