

## Medieval Remains in the Muristan Quarter in Jerusalem

by Jodi Magness

Within the old city of Jerusalem, the roughly square shaped area known as the Muristan, which extends south from the Church of the Holy Sepulcher to the hill rising from the present David's Street, has long been the subject of

scholarly interest and archaeological investigation. The name Muristan means "hospital" in Kurdish, for in the twelfth century the area was given to the Crusader Knights of the Order of Hospitallers. The

SEE MURISTAN, PAGE 30.

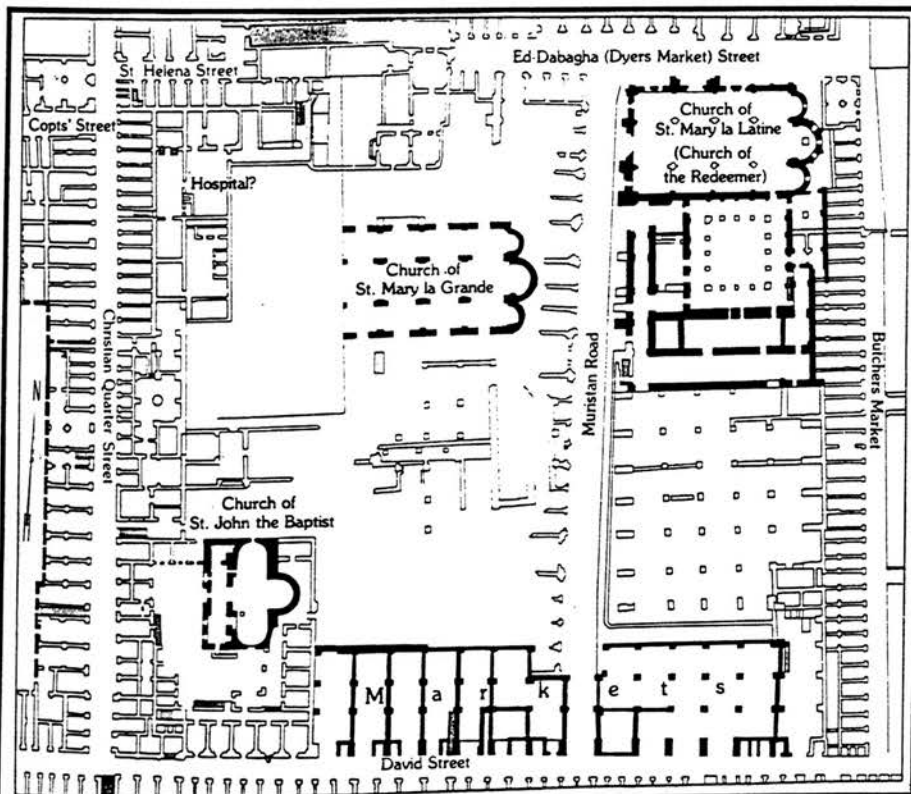


Fig. 1. Plan of the Muristan showing the location of the medieval structures.

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# Fatwas and Social History

by Mohammad Fadel

In recent years, a number of scholars have begun to make use of *fatwās* (legal opinions) as a source for reconstructing the social history of medieval Muslim societies. Large collections of *fatwās*, such as the thirteen-volume compilation of *fatwās* from North Africa and Spain assembled by Aḥmad ibn Yahyā al-Wansharisi (d. 1508) known as *al-Mi'yār al-mu'rib wa l-jāmi' al-mughrib 'an fatāwā ahl ifrīqiya wa l-andalus wa l-maghrib*, have been especially tempting targets for such analysis. The topics treated by these researchers are various, including issues of labor, gender, paternity, the rule of law, and the intergenerational transfer of property, whether by inheritance, gift, dowry, or *waqf* (endowment). The success of these studies, moreover, has encouraged other researchers to give more serious consideration to *fatwās* as a possible source for social history. This brief essay will examine some of the more pressing methodological issues that a researcher using *fatwās* must face.

We may begin with an observation made by Stephen Humphreys in the chapter of his *Islamic History: A Framework for Inquiry* that deals with Islamic law and society. In this chapter, he presents several of the difficulties that have been generally associated with the usefulness of Islamic law for the historian, and those specifically associated with *fatwās*. Humphreys characterizes Western scholarship on Islamic law as consisting of "realistic" and "idealistic" studies. The former term refers to studies that concentrate on how Muslims in particular societies actually lived, while the latter term is used for studies that analyze "doctrine"—that examine, in other words, the normative ideals enshrined in Islamic law that served as guidelines regulating the life of both indi-

viduals and communities.

A *fatwā*, as an expression of what a given jurist felt the law implied for an actual (or hypothetical) case, falls somewhere between the ideal and the real—it is ideal insofar as the *muftī* is expressing a universal rule, but real insofar as it is the empirical manifestation of *his* opinion and insofar as it is occasioned by a unique set of empirical fact. Effective use of *fatwās* for historical analysis requires a keen awareness, then, of the relationship of the ideal elements within a legal opinion to its real elements (more accurately, its contingent elements). This relationship between legal doctrine and the contingent, empirical world is referred to by lawyers as the distinction between law and fact. One cannot understand a legal text produced by any system of law until one has the ability to distinguish between these two elements in the document he or she is trying to interpret. The task of the researcher, therefore, should be to explain how a given *fatwā* assimilates a particular set of facts into the intellectual categories of the law to produce the actual ruling (*ḥukm*), rather than a search for "realistic" elements within Islamic law as some have done.

This procedure is significant because it recognizes that law, *qua* law, exists only conceptually—that is, it is an idealist system. It can provide no more than mental categories to be used in the analysis of sets of fact. That law's existence is limited to the world of idea, however, does not mean that law is, at least by nature, utopian. For our limited purposes here, we can consider a system of law to have utopian elements wherever it seeks to impose normative standards of conduct on individuals or groups independent of those individuals' or groups' consent.

Maintaining the distinction be-

tween law as an idealist system and law as a utopian system bears implications for the manner in which we attempt to extrapolate from particular *fatwās* to a broader conclusion about Muslim societies. For example, questions such as whether the Islamic law of endowments favored male beneficiaries over females can only be answered after we know the nature of the law of endowments, i.e., does the law of endowments establish a norm for the distribution of revenues among beneficiaries, or is the formula for distributing revenues established by some act of human will? In fact it is the latter; since the law allows the founder to distribute the endowment's revenues in the manner he sees fit, an endowment deed tells us only about that one person's predilections. Generalization about the relationship of gender to the distribution of endowment revenues, then, requires a statistically significant number of cases that would allow the researcher to identify a pattern, if there is one, as opposed to the idiosyncratic tastes of an individual. Generalization from legal cases about social behavior in areas of social life not regulated by a utopian standard of law, the, requires a statistically significant sample if the conclusions are to avoid the danger of idiosyncratic behavior.

Another important question must be faced when interpreting a *fatwā*: to what extent can it be taken as being representative, in a sociological sense, of broader society? Several issues come up here. The first is simply trying to explain why a particular *fatwā* was preserved in the first place. No one doubts that the preservation of *fatwās* was selective, but without formulating a theory that would explain the criteria by which *fatwās* were preserved and transmitted over time, the validity of any generalizations based on the evidence



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of the *fatwās* is questionable, since the data may have been skewed by the process of selection and editing. To believe that the *fatwās* contained in a work like al-Wansharisi's *Mi'yār* accurately reflect the types of interactions actual individuals had with the law, one must assume that it is either a random sample (which seems highly unlikely), or that the compiler of the work was animated by the desire to preserve representative exemplars of legal opinions, and that he did so successfully. I wish to advocate neither this position, nor its opposite--the often-stated claim that *fatwās* were far-fetched, hypothetical, and perhaps simply academic exercises: I only wish to point out that if we are to generalize about society based on the data of *fatwās*, the question of their sociological representativeness must be answered. So far, the only author to have provided us with a theory that at least partially explains both the reasons for the preservation of *fatwās* and the editorial processes to which they were subjected over time in Wael Hallaq in his important article "From *Fatwās* to *Furū'*: Growth and Change in Islamic Substantive Law," *Islamic Law and Society* 1 (1994).

The other problem with the particular nature of *fatwās* as historical evidence is their problematic relationship to legal doctrine. Just as the sociological representativeness of the data presented in *fatwās* is debatable, so is the legal doctrine communicated in *fatwās*. For example, the twentieth-century Moroccan scholar Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ḥajwī, in his work *al-Fikr al-sāmī*, warns specifically against the dangers of *al-Mi'yār*, saying that it is full of *fatwās* based upon weak opinions. If it is the case that works like *al-Mi'yār* only preserve the especially difficult cases, or at the very least overrepresent them, then obviously any generalization about the law taken from its data is suspect.

It is important, then, to establish how accurately a group of *fatwās* reflects legal doctrines, and to what extent they are

instances of the individual discretion of the *muftī*. Analysis of the collection entitled *al-Ḥadiqa al-mustaḥilla al-naḍra fī l-fatāwā al-ṣādira 'an 'ulamā' al-ḥaḍra*, containing *fatwās* taken from 8th-9th/14th-15th century Granada, reveals that a slight majority of the *fatwās* were simply the application of rules already existing in the Māliki school (to which all the *muftīs* issuing the *fatwās* belonged). A significant portion of the opinions, approximately 20-

ise as a source, especially in qualitative social history, although their utility for quantitative studies does not appear to be as great. The best use to which *fatwās* can be put, however, remains that of micro-studies, which means that any general conclusions at this stage can be not more than working hypotheses that stand in need of further demonstration. Our knowledge of *fatwās*, Muslim social history, and the relevance of Islamic law to both will only increase as our familiarity with, and our use of *fatwās* increase. The immediate obstacles before us, however, are significant, due ironically to the plethora of sources. There are hundreds, if not thousands, of *fatwā* collections that remain in manuscript (a glance at 'Umar al-Jidī's *Muḥāḍarāt fī ta'rīkh al-madhab al-mālikī fī l-gharb al-islāmī* [Rabat, 1407/1987] will give an idea of manuscript collections of the Māliki school alone). Until more of these manuscripts are edited, indexed, and published, the validity of our general conclusions will remain problematic and the potential of this rich source will remain unrealized.

## **Bibliographical Note:**

For a general introduction to some of the philosophical problems associated with law as a system, a good work is H.L.A. Hart's work *The Concept of Law*. His notion of law as primarily being a vehicle for enabling individuals to organize their private affairs, and

only secondarily as a vehicle through which the government controls society is helpful in approaching the issue of theory and practice in Islamic legal history, especially in the context of *fatwās*. Another important work in jurisprudence is Jerome Frank's *Law and the Modern Mind*, a work that explains both the desire for complete certainty in the operations of the law, and why it is an unattainable ideal. This work is a good example of how a practicing jurist uses the distinction between law and fact to



The first page of text from the lithograph edition of al-Wansharisi's *al-Mi'yār* (Fez, 1897).

25%, contradicted the school's doctrine as a result of the individual *muftī*'s discretion. Fortunately, many of the opinions contained in this collection may also have been preserved in the *Miyār*. This gives the researcher an opportunity to compare the *fatwās* and to observe the editorial process, if any, first hand. If this were done, we might be able to gain a better idea not only of how *fatwās* were both preserved and changed over time, but also how representative of legal doctrine and practice a work such as *al-Mi'yār* actually is.

At this stage of research it can safely be said that *fatwās* have great prom-

SEE FATWAS, PAGE 59.

# ANNOUNCEMENTS

## Middle Eastern History University of Cincinnati

The University of Cincinnati, Department of History, hopes to be able to fill a tenure-track position in Middle Eastern History at the level of Assistant Professor beginning September 1, 1997. Interviews of selected candidates are planned to be held at the AHA annual meeting in January, 1997. Duties include teaching undergraduate and graduate courses in Middle Eastern History from 600 A.D. to the present and general education world civilization courses. The appointee will have the opportunity to develop new courses and will be expected to maintain a program of research and publication in his or her field. The Ph.D. in history, as well as publication and teaching experience, are desirable qualifications. Salary is competitive. Send a letter of application, c.v., graduate transcripts, and three letters of reference to: Professor Barbara N. Ramusack, Chair, Middle East History Search Committee, Department of History, University of Cincinnati, P.O. Box 210373, Cincinnati, OH 45221-0373. Deadline is December 2, 1996.

## Sharjah Chair of Islamic Studies University of Exeter, Devon

University of Exeter, Devon, U.K., gives advance notice that we expect to advertise The Sharjah Chair of Islamic Studies in September. If you would like to receive further information about this important appointment please contact the Personnel Division, University of Exeter, Exeter, EX4 4QJ, U.K. Fax (01392-263122), quoting reference no. 4089.

## Islamic Studies Henry Martyn Institute, Hyderabad

Henry Martyn Institute of Islamic Studies, Hyderabad, India, is looking to fill a faculty position in Islamic Studies. The appointment is for three years. Requirements include a Ph.D., good knowledge of Arabic and willingness to teach both introductory and advanced courses in Islam. Knowledge of and interest in the South Asian context, knowledge of Urdu, and knowledge of Christian theology a plus. Benefits include time to do one's own research. Send applications to: Harold T. Hanson, ELCA/DGM 8765 West Higgins Road, Chicago, IL 60631, USA. E-mail hhanson@elca.org.

## Arabic Language and Literature The University of Chicago

The University of Chicago, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, invites applications to a tenured/tenure-track, open-rank position in Arabic Literature. The appointment will begin on July 1, 1997. Applicants must be specialized in classical Arabic literature, including classical poetry, and must have a teaching knowledge of modern Arabic literature. They must have a solid background in classical Arabic philology and syntax, and familiarity with literary theory. In addition, they should be thoroughly fluent in Arabic. The Ph.D. degree and a credible record of publications are required. Applications should include a c.v. and the names, addresses, and telephone/fax numbers of at least three scholars who can provide academic references.

Send applications to: Chair, Arabic Search Committee, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, The University of Chicago, 1155 East 58th Street, Chicago, IL 60637, U.S.A. Deadline for receipt of applications is October 31, 1996. Equal Opportunity / Affirmative Action Employer.

## Classical Arabic Literature American University in Cairo

American University in Cairo invites applications for two definite positions for Arabists specializing in classical Arabic literature: 1) Teach courses in Islamic institutions, Muslim historical literature and classical Arabic texts, and a seminar in Islamic studies. Teaching advanced Arabic through set texts may also be required. 2) Teach courses in pre-Islamic and early Islamic literature, Arabic grammar, syntax, and prosody, seminars in classical Arabic literature and the history of Arabic literary criticism. Both positions also require teaching survey courses both in Arabic and in translation. Both positions may also require participation in core curriculum interdisciplinary seminars.

Required qualifications are BA, MA, and PhD in an appropriate field, teaching proficiency in both Arabic and English, familiarity with Arabic primary sources, and university teaching and research experience. Normal teaching load is 9 hours per semester. Both are two-year appointments (renewable) beginning September, 1997. Rank, salary according to qualifications. For expatriates, housing and round-trip air travel to Egypt, plus schooling for up to two children included. Send c.v. to: Dr. Andrew Kerek, Provost, The American University in Cairo, 866 United Nations Plaza, Suite MS-517, New York, N.Y. 10017, U.S.A. Deadline December 31, 1996. EOE.



# ANNOUNCEMENTS

## Department Chair Near Eastern, Judaic, and Hellenic Languages and Literatures The Ohio State University

The Department of Near Eastern, Judaic, and Hellenic Languages and Literatures (which is in the process of being renamed) at The Ohio State University announces a search for a department chair. The Department intends to make a senior appointment at a competitive salary to an established scholar who can provide energetic leadership to an expanding program. Faculty of the Department teach Arabic, Hebrew, Persian, Turkish, and ancient Near Eastern languages and cultures, and their research interests cover a wide range of disciplines. Applicants, therefore, should possess a broad understanding of the diversity of the cultures of the Near East. The language and disciplinary specializations are open, but fluency in at least two Near Eastern

languages and a strong interdisciplinary or comparative interest are desirable. The duties of the new chair will include development of a comprehensive graduate program. Application letter, *curriculum vitae*, and three letters of reference should be submitted by January 2, 1997 to:

Department Chair Search Committee, Dept. of Near Eastern, Judaic, and Hellenic Languages and Literatures, 203 Botany and Zoology Building, 1735 Neil Avenue, Columbus, OH 43210-129, U.S.A.

The Ohio State University is an Equal Opportunity/Affirmative Action employer. Women, minorities, Vietnam-era veterans, disabled veterans, and individuals with disabilities are encouraged to apply.

## Arabic Language and Literature The University of Toronto

The Department of Near and Middle Eastern Civilizations of the University of Toronto invites applications for a tenure-stream Assistant Professorship in Arabic language and literature. Applicants must hold the Ph.D. degree and be able to teach undergraduate and graduate courses in Arabic language and various genres of classical Arabic literature, as well as courses that place Arabic language within the broader Islamic religio-cultural framework. The Department of Near and Middle Eastern Civilizations is seeking a colleague who will complement its offerings in Islamic studies (Persian and Turkish languages and literatures, mediaeval Islamic history, history of the modern Middle East, and Islamic religion).

The position is effective July 1, 1997. Applications will be considered by the Search Committee after November 1,

1996. Applicants are requested to send a covering letter outlining their research and teaching interests, together with a curriculum vitae, and to arrange for three letters of reference to be sent directly to:

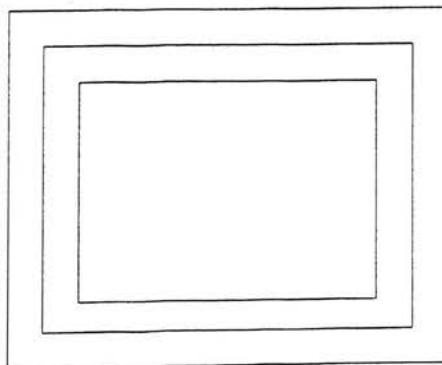
Chair, Arabic Language and Literature Search Committee, Department of Near and Middle Eastern Civilizations, 130 St. George St., Room 14087, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario M5S 3H1, CANADA.

In accordance with Canadian immigration requirements, this advertisement is directed to Canadian citizens and permanent residents of Canada. In accordance with its Employment Equity Policy, the University of Toronto encourages applications from qualified women or men, members of visible minorities, aboriginal peoples and persons with disabilities.

## Fellowships for Advanced Arabic and Islamic Studies in Morocco January-June, 1997

The Center for the Study of Islamic Societies and Civilizations, Washington University, St. Louis, and the Arabic Language Institute in Fez, Morocco, offer full travel and fellowship support for up to eight U.S. Ph.D. graduate students enrolled in any accredited graduate program and specializing in one of a variety of academic disciplines in the humanities or the social sciences to gain the advanced Arabic language skills and the core textual background necessary for proficiency in the key concepts and the central texts of the major disciplines of Islamic thought. Successful applicants must: (1) have completed at least three years of university Arabic or its equivalent by the program's beginning; (2) be full-time students enrolled in accredited programs of Ph.D. graduate study; (3) be citizens of the United States; (4) pass a written examination that will be given to all applicants at a school in their locality. Application deadline is November 1, 1996.

For further information and applications, contact: Professor Peter Heath, The Center for the Study of Islamic Societies and Civilizations, Washington University, Campus Box 1230, One Brookings Drive, St. Louis, MO 63130-4899. Tel. (314) 935-4325. Fax (314) 935-7462. E-mail: phealth@artsci.wustl.edu.



# ANNUAL MEETINGS

Organization	When and Where	Information	Telephone No.
<b>Middle East Studies Association</b> (1996 Meeting)	Nov. 19-24, 1996 Providence, RI [Paper Deadline: Past]	MESA Secretariat University of Arizona 1643 E. Helen St. Tucson, AZ 85721	(602) 621-5850 Fax: (602) 626-9095 mesa@ccit.arizona.edu
<b>Middle East Studies Association</b> (1997 Meeting)	Nov. 22-25, 1997 San Francisco, CA [Abstract Deadline: Feb. 15, 1997]	see preceding	see preceding
<b>American Oriental Society</b> (1997 Meeting)	March 22-26, 1997 Miami, FL [Abstract Deadline: Oct. 15, 1996]	American Oriental Society Hatcher Graduate Library University of Michigan Ann Arbor, MI 48109-1205	(313) 747-4760 Jonathan_Rodgers @ub.cc.umich.edu
<b>American Oriental Society— Midwest Branch</b> (1997 Meeting)	Feb. 16-18, 1997 Wheaton, IL [Paper deadline: early Jan. 1997]	Richard Averbeck Trinity Evangelical Divinity School Deerfield, IL 60015	(708) 945-8800
<b>The Medieval Institute</b> (1997 Meeting)	May 7-11, 1997 Kalamazoo, MI [Panel Deadline: Past]	The Medieval Institute Western Michigan Univ. Kalamazoo, MI 49008-3851	(616) 387-8745 FAX: (616) 387-8750
<b>American Historical Association</b> (1997 Meeting)	Jan. 2-5, 1997 New York, NY [Paper Deadline: Past]	American Historical Assn. (202) 544-2422 400 A Street, S.E. Washington, D.C. 20003	
<b>American Historical Association</b> (1998 Meeting)	Jan. 8-11, 1998 Seattle WA [Paper Deadline: Feb. 15, 1997]	see preceding	see preceding
<b>College Art Association</b> (1997 Meeting)	Feb. 12-15, 1997 New York, NY [Paper Deadline: Past]	Suzanne Schanzer 275 Seventh Ave. New York, NY 10001	(212) 691-1051 ext. 14 Fax: (212) 627-2381
<b>College Art Association</b> (1998 Meeting)	Feb. 25-28, 1998 Toronto, Ontario, Canada [Paper Deadline: April '97]	see preceding	see preceding
<b>American Academy of Religion</b> (1996 Meeting)	Nov. 23-26, 1996 New Orleans, LA [Paper Deadline: Past]	American Academy of Religion 1703 Clifton Rd, Ste. G-5 Atlanta, GA 30329-4075	(404) 727-7920
<b>American Academy of Religion</b> (1997 Meeting)	Nov. 22-25, 1997 San Francisco, CA [Paper Deadline: March 1, 1997]	see preceding	see preceding



# ANNUAL MEETINGS

Organization	When and Where	Information	Telephone No.
<b>Byzantine Studies Conference</b> (1996 Meeting)	Oct. 24-27, 1996 Chapel Hill, NC [Paper Deadline: Past]	Ralph Mathisen Dept. of History Univ. of South Carolina Columbia, SC 29208	(803) 777-5195 FAX: (803) 777-4494
<b>Byzantine Studies Conference</b> (1997 Meeting)	Fall, 1997 Madison, WI [Paper Deadline: early Jan. 1997]	see preceding	see preceding
<b>Dumbarton Oaks Conference</b> (1997 Meeting) "The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World"	May 2-4, 1997 Washington, DC [Papers: invitation only]	Dumbarton Oaks 1703 32nd St, NW Washington, D.C.	(202) 342-3245
<b>Dumbarton Oaks Conference</b> (1998 Meeting) (Topic to be announced)	May 1-3, 1998 Washington, DC [Papers: invitation only]	see preceding	see preceding
<b>International Congress of Asian and North African Studies (ICANAS), 25th (1997).</b> General Subject: "Oriental Studies in the 20th century: The State of the Art."	July 7-12, 1997 Budapest, Hungary [Proposal deadline: Past]	Tamá Iványi Körösi Csoma Társaság/ ICANAS H-1088 Budapest Múzeum krt. 4/B Hungary	Fax: 361-266-5699 Internet: ivanyi@osiris.elte.hu

## International Directory of Middle East Scholars

The International Directory of Middle East Scholars is a free, publicly available online database of Middle East specialists from around the world. This service is being provided by Columbia University through the Middle East Gopher, and is compiled and maintained by Frank H. Unlandherm.

The database contains records of individuals who have identified themselves as being involved in Middle East studies. Each record, submitted by the person listed, contains the name, title, institutional affiliation, mailing address, telephones, fax number, and full e-mail address, and a short statement of the person's activities, teaching and/or research interests, specializations, etc. in the area of Middle East Studies. The entries are free-form text, and

one may include any information in any format that seems useful and informative. The database is indexed so that one can do a search to locate the record for a particular individual, or one can do a keyword search to find, for example, a list of all the Middle East specialists located in a given country or city, or all scholars who work on a given language or subject or region, etc.

To have your entry included in the database, submit an entry with the information described above: name, title, institutional affiliation, mailing address, telephones, fax number, and full e-mail address, and a short statement of your activities, teaching and/or research interests, specializations, etc. When providing a description of your work and interests,

include all relevant keywords such as languages, countries, regions, disciplines and sub-disciplines, historical periods, and ethnic, religious, or political groupings. Remember that others will use "keyword searches" to identify listings of those they do not know by name.

This information can be submitted via regular mail or e-mail to: Frank Unlandherm, Middle East Librarian, 303 International Affairs, Columbia University, 420 West 118th Street, New York, N.Y. 10027, U.S.A. e-mail: unlandherm@columbia.edu. To view entries currently in the database, visit the Middle East Studies Home Page at <http://www.columbia.edu/cu/libraries/indiv/area/MiddleEast/>

# RECENT SYMPOSIA AND CONFERENCES

## Myths, Historical Archetypes and Symbolic Figures in Arabic Literature: Towards a New Hermeneutic Approach

The Orient-Institut der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft Beirut celebrated its reopening by sponsoring a symposium on "Myths, Historical Archetypes and Symbolic Figures in Arabic Literature," which was held June 25-30, 1996, at the Orient-Institut. Forty formal papers were presented during the symposium. In addition to a number of contributions dealing with modern Arabic literature, the following papers were read that related to medieval Arabic literature: John Mattock (Glasgow), "A Fresh Look at Ibn Ḥazm's *Tawq al-ḥamāma*;" Anas B. Khalidov (St. Petersburg), "Myth and Reality in the *K. akhbār al-buldān* by Ibn al-Faqīh;" the Distinguished Lecture, delivered by Wadād al-Qāḍī (Univ. of Chicago), "The Many Faces of Alienation in Classical Arabic Literature;" Stefan Leder (Halle), "Paradigm and Aetiology—two prominent patterns of classical narration;" Manuela Marin (CSIC, Madrid), "Individual and collective archetypes in Andalusi biographical literature;" Claudia Ott (Berlin), "The Virtual Story-teller in the *Sīrat al-mujāhidīn*;" Gregor Schoeler (Basel), "Iblis in Abū Nuwās's poems;" Sebastian Günther (Beirut/Halle), "Hostile Brothers in transformation. An archetypal conflict figuring in classical and modern Arabic literature;" Jane Dammen McAuliffe (Toronto), "Debates in the Qur'ān: Scenes

and Structures;" Angelika Neuwirth (Orient-Institut, Beirut), "Adab Standing Trial? Whose Norms should rule society? The case of al-Ḥarīrī's *al-Maqāma al-Ramliyya*;" Maher Jarrar (AUB/Harvard), "The Martyrdom of Passionate Lovers: Holy War as Sacred Wedding;" Walid Saleh (Yale/Hamburg), "The Female Body as a locus of apocalyptic anxiety in medieval Islam;" Fuad Rifka (Beirut), "Nature as a poet's inspiration;" James E. Montgomery (Leeds), "Sindbad and Polyphemus: Reflections on the Genesis of an Archetype;" Mohammed Shaheen (Amman), "Sindbad and modern sensibility: the archetype of quest;" Susanne Enderwitz (Berlin), "Homesickness and exile;" Janusz Danecki (Warsaw), "Muslim Town: the source of all evils?;" Richard van Leewen (Amsterdam), "Labyrinth motives in *Alf layla wa layla*. The city as metaphor;" Geert Jan van Gelder (Groningen), "Dream Towns of Islam? Geography in Arabic Oneirocritical Works;" Nadia Maria al-Cheikh (AUB), "An Arab Mythology: Constantinople through Arab Eyes;" Louis Pouzet (Univ. St.-Joseph, Beirut), "The Development of the concept of *futuwwa*;" Heiko Wimmen (Berlin), "Ammūriyya as a female archetype;" Kathrin Müller (München), "Al-Ḥanīn ilā l-awṭān in early *adab*-Literature."

## Tense und Aspect in the Semitic Languages

The Institute for Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations at the Friedrich Schiller-Universität, Jena, Germany, held a conference on the topic "Tempus und Aspekt in den semitischen Sprachen" from 12-13 October, 1995. The program included the following speakers and papers:

Joachim Oelsner (Jena), "Der Neuaufbau der Orientalistik in Jena;" Adolf Denz (München), "Tempus und Aspekt?;" Eva Tichy (Freiburg), "Nicht nur Vordergrund und Hintergrund: die griechische Aspektopposition und ihre Verwendung im epischen Stil;" Michael P. Streck (München), "Das Perfekt *iptaras* im Altbabylonischen;" Joachim Oelsner (Jena), "Zur Verwendung der Verbformen im Frühneubabylonischen;" Josef Tropper (Berlin), "Probleme des ugaritischen Verbal-systems;" Ingo Kottsieper (Siegen), "‘mein Vater zog hinauf’: Aspekte des älteren aramäischen Verbal-systems und seiner Entwicklung;" Stephan Bombeck (München), "Das Verbal-system des Altsyrischen;" Werner Arnold (Heidelberg), "Das Verbum in den neuwestaramäischen Dialekten;" Norbert Nebes (Jena), "Verbform und Affekt im klassischen Arabischen;" Thomas Bauer (Erlangen), "Verben und Textpartikeln in altarabischen narrativen Texten;" Werner Diem (Köln), "Besonderheiten des Verbalgebrauchs im mittelalterlichen arabischen Briefstil;" Otto Jastrow (Heidelberg), "Das Verbal-system eines anatolisch-arabischen Dialekts (Kedērib);" Ewald Wagner (Gießen), "Der Wandel im Verbal-system zwischen dem alten und dem modernen Harari;" Stephan Weninger (München), "*kona qatala* zum Ausdruck der Vorvergangenheit im Altäthiopischen."

The proceedings will be published. For further information contact Prof. Dr. Norbert Nebes and Prof. Dr. Joachim Oelsner, Löbdergraben 24a, D-07743 Jena, Germany. Telephone/Fax: 011-49-3641-632133.

## Sixth International Congress on Graeco-Oriental and African Studies

The Sixth International Congress on Graeco-Oriental and African Studies was held April 30-May 5, 1996, in Nicosia, Cyprus. Sponsored by the Institute on Graeco-Oriental and African Studies (Athens), The University of Ioannina, and the Makarios III Foundation (Nicosia, Cyprus), the Congress discussed the following topics:

1) The Silk Route. 2) Hellenism in North Africa from Gibraltar to the Red Sea. 3) The Countries below the Sahara. 4) Graeco-Oriental Literary Exchanges. In addition, a Round Table Discussion was held on the subject of "Christianity and Islam."



# RECENT SYMPOSIA AND CONFERENCES

## Ottoman Archaeology

A conference entitled "Breaking New Ground for an Archaeology of the Ottoman Empire: A Prologue and Dialogue" was held on Saturday, April 20, 1996, at the State University of New York at Binghamton, N.Y. The conference was sponsored by the Institute of Turkish Studies, the Middle East and North Africa Program of SUNY-Binghamton, The Department of Anthropology and the Anthropology Graduate Student Organization of SUNY-Binghamton, and the Department of Anthropology of the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. The following papers were presented: Peter Ian Kuniholm (Cornell), "The Dendrochronology (Tree-Ring Dating) of Ottoman Houses" [Poster Display]; Neil Silberman, "Sultans, Merchants, and Minorities: The Challenge of

Historical Archaeology in the Modern Middle East;" Allaire Brumfeld (Towson State Univ.), "The Agricultural History of Crete;" Cheryl Haldane (Bilkent Univ.), "Chinese Porcelains in the Red Sea: The Sadana Island Shipwreck of ca. 1700 A.D.;" Ghada Ziadeh-Seeley, "The Archaeology of Ottoman Ti'innik, an Interdisciplinary Approach;" Alison Snyder (Pratt Institute), "Transformations, Readings, and Visions of the Ottoman Mosque;" Øystein LaBianca (Andrews Univ.), "Daily Life in the Shadow of Empire: A Food System Approach to Archaeology in the Ottoman Period;" Uzi Baram (Univ. of Massachusetts, Amherst), "The Habits of Modernity: Entangled Commodities from the Palestinian Past;" Lynda Carroll (SUNY-Binghamton), "Men of Most Modest Sub-

stance: Towards an Archaeology of Non-Elite Consumption in Ottoman Anatolia. A Discussion Session, opened by initial remarks and critique by Donald Quataert (SUNY-Binghamton), was led by Uzi Baram (Univ. of Massachusetts, Amherst) and Lynda Carroll (SUNY-Binghamton).

For information, contact Uzi Baram, Dept. of Anthropology, Machmer Hall, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA 01003, tel. (413) 545-2221, e-mail [uzib@anthro.umass.edu](mailto:uzib@anthro.umass.edu); or Lynda Carroll, Dept. of Anthropology, Binghamton University, SUNY, Binghamton, N.Y. 13902, e-mail [bc80279@binguns.cc.binghamton.edu](mailto:bc80279@binguns.cc.binghamton.edu). On line information at <http://www-vms.oit.umass.edu/~uzib/>

## The Network for Early Islamic Studies

The Network for Early Islamic Studies is a free public network whose goal is to facilitate contact between those studying early Islam (ca. 500-900 C.E.). This will be done by providing all members of the Network with up-to-date mailing lists, bibliographies, and news. It is conceivable that some members may exchange research material or publications as a result of this network. At least once every eighteen months, a questionnaire will be sent to the members, followed by a newsletter containing the information gathered from these questionnaires.

Some people may interpret the name "Network for Early Islamic Studies" to mean "computer network." This is not the intention, however. All members of the network receive newsletters by regular mail; in addition, those members who can be contacted by e-mail will receive an e-mail version of the newsletter. They will

also receive, and may return, the questionnaires by e-mail.

It is intended that the Network for Early Islamic Studies should grow spontaneously. No membership lists of similar organizations are checked for possible new members. Only people proposed by existing members are asked to join, since there is not use in acquiring names of people who do not send in information.

Anyone interested in joining the Network for Early Islamic Studies is invited to do so. Write, telephone, fax, or e-mail to The Network for Early Islamic Studies, c/o Daan van Reenen, Faculteit der Letteren, Vrije Universiteit, de Boelelaan 1105, 1081 HV Amsterdam, The Netherlands. Tel. 31-20-444-6472 or 31-20-444-6424. Fax 31-20-444-6500. E-mail: [sofie@let.vu.nl](mailto:sofie@let.vu.nl).

# UPCOMING CONFERENCES AND SYMPOSIA

## Trade and Exchange in the Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East (A.D. 565-750)

### (Fifth Workshop of the Late Antiquity and Early Islam Project)

The Fifth Workshop of the Late Antiquity and Early Islam Project (LAEI), on the subject "Trade and Exchange in the Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East (A.D. 565-750)," will be held from 14-16 November, 1996, at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

The scheduled list of speakers and topics includes the following: C. Wickham (Birmingham), "Introductory Remarks;" M. Morony (UCLA), "Introductory Remarks;" L. I. Conrad (London), "Travel Times and Carriage Costs in the Early Islamic Near East;" G. Fiaccadori (Parma), "The Red Sea and Long-Distance Trade in the Pre-Islamic Period;" N. Khammash (Damascus), "The Early Amô®r;" M. Kaplan (Paris), "Village and Urban Economies in the Early Byzantine Near East;" G. R. D. King (London),

"Yemen, the Gulf, and Central Arabia: Trade and Local Pilgrimages;" E. Savage (London), "A Transformation from Oppression to Economic Monopoly: Pirenne and North Africa;" Y. Tsafrir (Jerusalem), "The Negev and Southern Palestine;" D. Whitcomb (Chicago), "The Red Sea and Egypt: Ceramics and Other Material Evidence."

Attendance will be limited to 40 persons, including speakers and discussants. Registration fee for available places, if any remain, is £45.00. A dinner for participants on Friday evening, 15th November, can be attended for an additional £30.00. To register, contact Dr. G. R. D. King, Department of Art and Archaeology, School of Oriental and African Studies, Thornhaugh St., Russell Square, London WC1H0XG. Tel. 071-637-2388. Fax 071-436-3844.

## Veiling Exhibit

The National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden, The Netherlands, is presenting a major exhibition on the history and development of veiling. The exhibition will open on 11 October, 1996, and will run for seven months.

The intention of the Leiden exhibition is to explore both the history and the development of veiling in the Near East and North Africa, as well considering as different forms of veiling found in Japan, China, Indonesia, Northern Europe, and South America. Different types of veils that will be presented at the exhibition include headcoverings, face veils (whether draped, wrapped, or tied), outerwraps, "body shields" and garment veils. The exhibition considers the social and religious functions of veils in such diverse arenas as providing seclusion and anonymity, establishing and defining identity, safeguarding honor, as vehicles for rites of passage, and as elements in beauty and fashion.

(Information provided by Gillian Vogelsang Eastwood)

## Cultural Interchange in the Arab Peninsula Ninth International ARAM Conference

The Ninth International Conference of the ARAM Society for Syro-Mesopotamian Studies will be held at Oxford University on 14-16 July, 1997. The subject will be "Cultural Interchange in the Arab Peninsula." Scholars are invited to submit papers dealing with the cultural interchange of Arabic, Aramaic, Greek, and Syriac cultures in the Arabian Peninsula throughout history. Paper presentations should be limited to 35 minutes, although the full text of the papers on which presentations are based may be longer. The texts

of papers may be published in their entirety in the ARAM periodical.

Scholars interested in participating in the conference should contact Dr. Shafiq Abou Zayd, Chairman of ARAM, The Oriental Institute, Oxford University, Pusey Lane, Oxford OX1 2LE, England, U.K. Tel. (0) 1865-514041. Fax (0) 1865-516824. E-mail: 100753.3143@compuserve.com. Please send the proposed title of your paper, your name, address, and telephone, fax, and e-mail

## Sixth International Symposium on the History of Arabic Science

The sixth International Symposium on the history of Arabic science will be held in Ra's al-Khaimah, United Arab Emirates, in December, 1996. The conference will be organized by the Institute for the History of Arabic Science, University of Aleppo, Syria, and the Center for Studies and Texts in Ra's al-Khaimah, U.A.E.

For further information, contact Professor Kh. Maghout, Director, Institute for the History of Arabic Science, University of Aleppo, Syria; or Ms. Amal al-Rifa'i, Fax [in Syria, country code 963]: 21-229184.



# UPCOMING CONFERENCES AND SYMPOSIA

## International Congress of Asian and North African Studies

Budapest, Hungary -- July 7-12, 1997

The 35th ICANAS (International Congress of Asian and North African Studies) will take place in Budapest, Hungary, 7-12 July 1997. The general subject is "Oriental Studies in the 20th Century: The State of the Art (Great personalities, discoveries and new developments in the last hundred years)". Papers devoted to the general subject and to any other topic may be read in sections or panels.

ICANAS consists of eight sections, each

with several subsections. Subsections for section II, "Near and Middle East and North Africa, are: 1. Judaic and Hebrew Studies, 2. Islamic Studies, 3. Arabic Studies, 4. Iranian Studies (including Central Asian Areas), 5. Urdu Studies, and 6.. Ottoman and Turkish Studies. Section III, "The Caucasus", Section IV, "Central Asia and related areas," and Section V., "South Asia," may be of interest to some readers.

Those interested in attending ICANAS are

supposed to have completed preliminary registrations by June 1, 1996, but some information suggests that later applications may be considered.

For further information, contact:

Tamas Ivanyi (ICANAS)

ELTE - Koeroesi Csoma Tarasasag

H-1088 Budapest, Muzeum krt. 4/B

Hungary

Fax: 36-1-266-5699; E-mail ivanyi

@osiris.elte.hu

## History and Historiography in Islamic and Judaic Traditions

The Institute for Islamic-Judaic Studies of the University of Denver will hold its annual conference on October 20-22, 1996, on the theme "Appropriating and Re-appropriating the Past: History and Historiography in Islamic and Judaic Traditions." The Conference will consider the perception (and mis-perception) of the past in Islam and Judaism. Papers currently scheduled include, in addition to a number of papers on modern topics, the following of interest to medievalists: F. E. Peters (New York University), "Present at the Creation: Jews and the Origins of Islam;" Gordon Newby (Emory University), "Contesting Abraham's Legacy: Text, Intertext, and Historiography in Eighth Century Jewish-Muslim Dialogue;" Rizwi Faizer (Cornwall, Ont., Canada), "The Genre of *Sira Maghāzī*;" Fred Astren (San Francisco State University), "The Gibeonite Gambit: Sabians and Karaite Jews on the Margins of Medieval Islamic Society;" Abdulkader I. Tayob (University of Capetown), "Al-Ṭabarī in Early Islamic Historiography;" Shimon Shtober (Bar-Ilan University), "Islam Judaized: The Re-appropriation of Islam in 17th-Century

Jewish Historiography;" Eva Lapiedra Gutierrez (Universidad de Alicante), "Official Ideologies and Terminologies for the Representation of Jews and Christians in Andalusian Arabic Chronicles;" Marcia K. Hermansen (San Diego State University), "Biographical and Autobiographical Materials in Islamic and Jewish History and Historiography;" Muhammad Qasim Zaman (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill), "Structures of Authority in Medieval Islamic Biographical Dictionaries;" Maria Gelleo (Universidad Complutense de Madrid), "The Historiography of the Andalusian Poetess Qasmuma Bint Ismail;" Moshe Sololow (Yeshiva University), "The Treatment of the Biblical Era of the Monarchy in Medieval Jewish and Muslim Historiography;" Chaim Milikowsky (Bar-Ilan University), "Trajectories in Jewish Historiography in the Hellenistic-Roman Period: Is There a Rabbinic Historiography?" Josef W. Meri (Oxford and IFEA, Damascus), "Communing with the Realm of the Holy Dead: Medieval Muslims and Jews Seeking Evergreen Elijah;" Brannon M. Wheeler (University of Washington), "Alexander the Great in

Islamic and Jewish Historiography;" Larry Poston (Nyack College), "Renewers of the Faith: Al-Suyūṭī and the *Mujaddidūn*;" Yitzchak Kerem (Aristotle University, Greece), "The Historiography of the Jews of the Greek Peninsula in the Ottoman Empire;" Vera B. Moreen (Swarthmore College), "Khodaidad: A Judaeo-Persian Historical Document from Bukhara;" Aryeh Botwinick (Temple University), "Historicism as a Central Factor in the Formulation of the Argument of Maimonides' *Guide*;" Daniel H. Frank (University of Kentucky), "Remarks on the Historiography of Jewish Philosophy;" Frederick M. Denny (University of Colorado, Boulder), "Memory in and Remembering in Islam as Meditative and Ideological Disciplines;" Oliver Leaman (John Moores University, Liverpool), "Islamic Political Philosophy and the Role of History."

For further information, contact Dr. Seth Ward, Institute for Islamic-Judaic Studies, University of Denver, Denver, CO 80208, USA. Fax (303) 871-3037. E-Mail sward@du.edu.

# NEWS OF MEM

## MEM

### Graduate Student Prize

The Board of Directors of MEM will again be offering a prize of \$250 for the best graduate student paper on a medieval topic at the 1996 Middle East Studies Association meeting. The winner will be announced at the annual business meeting of MEM. Although modest in amount, it is hoped that this award will encourage graduate students with an interest in the medieval period to attend the conference. The winner of last year's prize was **Paul M. Cobb** of the University of Chicago, for his paper entitled "Al-Mutawakkil in Damascus, 244/858."

Students who are scheduled to present a paper on a medieval topic at MESA-1996 and who wish to have their contributions considered for this year's prize should submit a copy of their paper to MEM's Secretary-Treasurer, Matthew Gordon, by **October 30, 1996**. Send papers to: Matthew Gordon, Department of History, 254 Upham Hall, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio 45056, USA.

## 1996 MEM

### Business Meeting and Secretary-Treasurer Election

MEM will hold its annual business meeting on Thursday, November 21, 1996, at 9:00 A.M. in room 550A/B of the Rhode Island Convention Center, Providence, Rhode Island, in conjunction with the 30th annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association. At this meeting, members will choose a new Secretary-Treasurer for MEM, to serve a three-year term. The new officer will succeed Matthew S. Gordon, whose term as Secretary-Treasurer expires December 31, 1996. The Officers and members of MEM express their thanks to Matthew for his three years of fine service!

## MEMBER NEWS

**J. Allan** (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford) has recently published "The Transmission of Decorated Ceilings in the Early Islamic World," in W.R. Hackman and A.J. Turner, eds. *Learning, Language and Invention: Essays Presented to Francis Maddison* (Aldershot and Paris, 1994), 1-31; "The Influence of the Metalwork of the Arab Mediterranean on that of Medieval Europe," in D.A. Agius and R. Hitchcock, eds. *The Arab Influence in Medieval Europe* (Reading, 1994), 44-62; "Silver Door Facings of the Safavid Period," *Iran* 33 (1995): 123-37; and "Investigations into Marveled Glass," in J.W. Allan, ed. *Islamic Art in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford Studies in Islamic Art* 10 (1995), 85-116. He is now preparing a monograph on the steel-working industry of Iran up to 1900 A.D.

**Terry Allen** (Occidental, CA) is pleased to announce that the first chapter of his book

"Ayyubid Architecture" is now available online (without illustrations) at <http://www.wco.com/~books/readmeaa.html>. This chapter, "Damascus before Nur al-Din," is mostly scene-setting and house-keeping, preparatory to the main study, but it does discuss several 12th century monuments. This is an electronic publication; there is no print counterpart (although of course you can print it through your Web browser if you're set up to do so). The rest of the chapters will be forthcoming over the next year or two.

**Reuven Amitai-Preiss** (Hebrew University of Jerusalem) has two articles in press: a review article, "The Fall and Rise of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate," in *JAOS*; and "The Mamluk Officer Class During the Reign of Sultan Baybars," in Yaakov Lev, ed. *War and Society in the Eastern Mediterranean, 7th-15th Centuries* (Leiden: E.J. Brill). He will be spending 1996-97 as a

visiting fellow at St. Antony's College in Oxford where he will be conducting research for a monograph on the Islamizations of the Mongols in the Ilkhanid State.

**Julia M. Ashtiany** (St. Andrews University) recently published *Media Arabic* (Edinburgh University Press, 1993); "Abu Tamām's 'Spring Qasida,'" *Journal of Arabic Literature* 25 (1994). She has two forthcoming articles: "Isnāds and Models of Heroes," *Journal of Arabic Literature* (1996); and "Third- and Fourth-Century Bleeding Poetry," *Journal of Arabic Literature* (1997). She is presently working on a translation of Tanūkhī's, *al-Faraj ba'd al-shidda* (Deliverance from Evil).

**David Ayalon** (Hebrew University of Jerusalem) recently published *Eunuchs, Caliphs and Sultans: A Study in Power Relationships*.

**Meir Bar-Asher** (Hebrew University of Jerusalem) recently published "Abū Bakr al-Rāzī" (in German) in F. Niewoehner, ed. *Klassiker der Religionsphilosophie (von Platon bis Kierkegaard)* (Munich, 1995), 99-111; with Aryeh Kofsky, "The Nuṣayri Doctrine of 'Alī's Divinity and the Nuṣayri Trinity According to an Unpublished Treatise from the 7th/13th Century," *Der Islam*, 72/2 (1995): 258-292. His article with Aryeh Kofsky, "L'ascension celeste du gnostique nusayri et le voyage nocturne du Prophete Muhammad," is scheduled to be published in M.A. Amir-Moezzi, ed. *Ascensions celestes et itineraires spirituels*; and his article, "Shi'ite Qur'ān Exegesis" (in the article "Qur'ān Exegesis"), is scheduled to be published in the *Encyclopaedia Iranica*.

**Michael L. Bates** (American Numismatic Society) has recently published, "Roman and Early Muslim Coinage in North Africa," in Mark Horton and Thomas Wiedemann, eds. *North Africa from Antiquity to Islam: Papers of a Conference Held at Bristol, October 1994* (Bristol: Centre for Mediterranean Studies, University of Bristol, Occasional Paper 13, 1995), 12-



15. He is currently preparing a monograph (*The Expression of Nobility in the Abbasid Caliphate, 218-334 H./833-946 CE*) on titulature, its use by the court as a political tool, and its use by modern historians as a key to political history; scheduled to go to press in 1996. In addition, he is conducting research for ("Money Before Machinery: Fundamentals of Monetary History") a survey, to lead to a book someday, of how coins and other forms of money were used in practice. Citations of illuminating references in texts, documents, and pictures will be gratefully received; evidence for the transportation of money is of special interest at present.

**M.A.J. Beg** (Cambridge, UK) recently published "Shammā," in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*; and "Ḥaḍārah," in the *Oxford Encyclopaedia of the Modern Islamic World*. He also attended the BRISMES Conference at the University of Durham (1995).

**Winslow W. Clifford** (MEDOC/University of Chicago) recently completed his Ph.D. dissertation, "State Formation and the Structure of Politics in Mamluk Syro-Egypt, 648-741 A.H./1250-1340 C.E." (University of Chicago, 1995). His article, "Ubi Sumus? Mamluk Studies and Social Theory," is scheduled to be published in *Mamluk Studies Review* 1 (1997).

**Eleanor A. Congdon** (Cambridge University) was recently in the Prato, Italy working in the archives on her PhD dissertation, "Venetian Merchant Presence in the Western Mediterranean, 1398-1405," which is nearing completion. She has recently published "Imperial Commemoration and Ritual in the Typikon of the Monastery of Christ Pantokrator," *Révue des Études Byzantines* 54 (1996): 161-99. She has two forthcoming articles § "Datini and Venice: News from the Mediterranean Trade System," in D. Aguis and I. Netton, eds. *Across the Mediterranean Frontier* (Brepols, forthcoming); and "Private Ships and Shipping in the Western Mediterranean, ca. 1400," commissioned for *al-Masāq* (1997).

**Vincent J. Cornell** (Duke University) has recently published *The Way of Abū Madyan: Doctrinal and Poetic Works of*

*Abū Madyan Shu'ayb ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Anṣārī, ca.509/1115-16 § 594/1198* (Cambridge: The Islamic Texts Society, 1996). He has several articles in press § "Mirrors of Prophethood in the *Tarīqa Muḥammadiyya*: Ibn 'Arabī's Legacy in Reformist North African Sufism," *Journal of the Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabī Society*, in press; "Ḥayy in the Land of Absāl: Ibn Ṭufayl and the Maghribi Sufi Tradition in the Muwahḥid Era," in Lawrence I. Conrad, ed. *The World of Ibn Ṭufayl* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, in press); "Faḳīh Versus Faḳīr in Marinid Morocco: Epistemological Dimensions of a Polemic," in Frederick de Jong and Bernd Radtke, eds. *Sufism and Its Opponents* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, in press); "Gnosis without Mystery: The Islamic Hermetism of Ibn Sab'īn," *Journal of the Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabī Society*, in press; "Living by the Word of God in Islam: and :Where is Scriptural Truth in Islam?" in H.M. Vroom, ed. *Holy Scriptures, Values, and Society* (Orbis Books, in press); "The 'Sovereignty of the Imamate' (*siyādat al-imāma*) of the Jazūliyya-Ghazwāniyya: A Sufi Alternative to Sharifism?" *al-Qanṭara*, in press. His monograph, *The Dominion of the Saint: Power and Authority in Moroccan Mysticism* is presently under review.

**Elton L. Daniel** (University of Hawaii at Manoa) was Visiting Fellow, Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies in 1995. He has two forthcoming articles § "The 'Ahl al-Taḳādam' and the Problem of the Constituency of the Abbasid Revolution in the Merv Oasis," *Journal of Islamic Studies*; and "The Samanid Translation of al-Ṭabari," in Hugh Kennedy, ed. *Al-Ṭabari: A Medieval Muslim Historian and his Work* (Princeton, forthcoming).

**Touraj Daryaee** (UCLA) recently published "Zoroastrian Eschatology According to Middle Persian Texts," *Critique & Vision* 1 (1995): 5-23; and "National History or Keyanid History? The Nature of Sāsānid Zoroastrian Historiography," *Iranian Studies* 28 (1995): 129-42. He attended the American Numismatic Society's graduate seminar in New York (Summer 1995) where he worked on the coinage of Xosrow II and presented a paper at the ANS entitled "The Last Sāsānian Crown." He also presented "Muslim Theologians and the Zoroastrian Intelligentsia: The Use

of 'Ilm al-Kalām," (MESA, 1995); "Sasanian Ideology in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries: The Numismatic Evidence," (JUSUR, UCLA, 1996); and "Who Controlled the Sāsānian Empire when the Persian King was in Byzantium?" at the Late Antiquity Conference, (UCLA, May 1996).

**Fred M. Donner** (University of Chicago) has completed a monograph entitled *Narratives of Islamic Origins: The Beginnings of Islamic Historical Writing*, to be published by Darwin Press, and the entry "Islamic Empire, Structure of," for the forthcoming *Guide to the Late Antique World* (Harvard University Press). His article "Centralized Authority and Military Autonomy in the Early Islamic Conquests" has appeared in Averil Cameron (ed.), *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East, III: States, Resources and Armies* (Darwin Press, 1995).

**Tayeb El-Hiibri** (University of Massachusetts) is preparing a monograph on the historiography of the early Abbasid Caliphate.

**Carl W. Ernst** (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill) has recently published *Rūzbihān Baqlī: Mysticism and the Rhetoric of Sainthood in Persian Sufism* (Curzon Press, 1996). He is presently preparing a monograph entitled *The Pool of Nectar: Islamic Interpretations of Yoga*. He is also preparing with Bruce B. Lawrence a monograph entitled *Burnt Hearts: The Chisti Sufi Order*.

**Farouk Omar Fawzi** (University of Āl al-Bayt, Jordan) has recently published a new and revised edition of *al-Khilāfa al-'Abbāsiyya, 132-247 A.H.*; and has published the *Decline and Fall of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate, 247-656 A.H.* (Arabic). He is presently preparing a study on "The Role of the Military in Politics During the Early Abbasid Period;" and is planning a study on "Army and Politics During the Umayyad Period."

**Rebecca M. Foote** (Harvard University) will be participated in the last (foreseeable) season of excavation of Humeima, Jordan and the 8th-century *qaṣr* there (June 14-July 20, 1996). She invites MEMBERS to visit the Abbasid revolutionary head-

quarters. Fax in Jordan for directions: 962-6-844181.

**Gladys Frantz-Murphy** (Regis University) has completed her forthcoming monograph *Land Tenure in Egypt According to the Papyri* (Oxford), which consists of 75 editions, translations and annotations of Arabic papyri relating to agricultural, administration, and land tenure in Egypt. In addition she has contributed "Islamic Documents," in *Guide to the Late Antique World* (Harvard, forthcoming).

**Valérie Gonzalez** (Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton) recently published "Naissance de l'art hispanomusulman à Cordoue: synthèse et création," *Madina 2* (1996): 48-61. She presented "Le système esthétique significatif des inscriptions dans l'art islamique," to the conference: "Inscription as Art in the World of Islam" (April 1996) at Hofstra University, Hempstead, NY, and will be presenting a paper at the international symposium on "Arabesque in Traditional Crafts of OIC (Organization of the Islamic Conference)" in Damascus, January 4-11, 1997. She is presently conducting research on "Aesthetics and Artistic Creation in Islam: Language and Signification of Works of Art."

**Ulrich W. Haarman** (Seminar für Orientalistik, University of Kiel) published with Thomas Philipp *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society: Proceedings of the Bad Homburg Conference on the Mamluks* (Cambridge University Press, 1996). His *Ethnic Diversity and Religious Unity in the Islamic and Latin Middle Ages* (in German) is scheduled to be published by the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences (1996).

**David D. Haldane** (Institute of Nautical Archaeology, Egypt) conducted an archaeological survey of the NW Egyptian coast and continued the excavation of a late-17th century shipwreck in the Red Sea. He is preparing his PhD dissertation entitled "Arab Ships and Seamanship in the Eastern Mediterranean, A.D. 50-969" (Texas A & M).

**Axel Havemann** (Freie Universität Berlin) is conducting research on historiography in modern Lebanon for his

Habilitationsschrift.

**Gilles P. Hennequin** (The Coin Cabinet, National Library, Paris) is continuing his work on Islamic coinage. His *Catalogue of Oriental Coins at the Museum of Fine Arts, Chartes, France* is forthcoming.

**Qamar-ul Huda** (UCLA) is researching her dissertation on 'Umar al-Suhrawardi and the Suhrawardiya Order during the thirteenth century.

**Erica C.D. Hunter** (Cambridge) visited Baghdad in 1995 and examined the collection of incantation bowls in the Iraq Museum. She has recently published "Amulets and the Assyrians of Kurdistan," *Journal of the Assyrian Academic Society* 11/2; and has two articles in press: "Incantation Bowls: A Mesopotamian Phenomenon?" *Orientalia*; and "A Syriac Ostrakon from Ctesiphon," *Al-Rafidan*. She is continuing her work on the collection of incantation bowls in the Iraq Museum and is editing Syriac texts for *Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum*. She is also developing a course on "Oriental Christianity" for the Department of Continuing Education, Cambridge.

**Robert Jones** (Bernard Quaritch Ltd., London) has a monograph in press: *Learning Arabic in Renaissance Europe, 1505-1624* (Leiden: E.J. Brill). He is continuing his researching and cataloguing of rare books and manuscripts of or about the Middle East for Bernard Quaritch Ltd.

**Walter E. Kaegi** (University of Chicago) is preparing a biography of the Emperor Heraclius as well as more studies of Byzantine-Muslim warfare. In addition, Cambridge University Press has authorized a Turkish translation of his *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests*.

**Mutsuo Kawatoko** (Middle East Culture Centre in Japan) has been involved in the al-Tür Site excavations in Sinai since 1985. He has recently published "A Port City Site on the Sinai Peninsula, al-Tür: The 11th Expedition in 1994," (1995). He is currently preparing "A Port City Site on the Sinai Peninsula, al-Tür: The 12th Expedition in 1995;" and a general catalogue of Fustat finds.

**Hugh N. Kennedy** (St. Andrews) has recently published *Crusader Castles* (Cambridge, 1994). He is preparing a monograph entitled *Muslim Spain-Portugal: A Political History of al-Andalus*; and is editing *Al-Ṭabarī: A Medieval Muslim Historian and his Work* (Princeton). Both are scheduled for publication in 1996.

**Ella Landau-Tasseron** (Hebrew University of Jerusalem) has recently published *Biographies of Companions and their Successors: A Translation of al-Ṭabarī's "Dhayl al-mudhayyal"* (SUNY Press, 1996); "On the Reconstruction of Lost Sources," in Lawrence I. Conrad, ed. *History and Historiography in the Early Medieval Near East* (Darwin Press, 1996); "Features of the Pre-Conquest Muslim Army," in Averil Cameron (ed.), *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East, III: States, Resources and Armies* (Darwin Press, 1995). Her "The Biographical Works of al-Ṭabarī," is scheduled to be published in Hugh Kennedy, ed. *Al-Ṭabarī: A Medieval Muslim Historian and his Work* (Princeton).

**Amalia Levanoni** (University of Haifa) has recently published *A Turning Point in Mamluk History: The Third Reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn, 1310-1341* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995), and four entries in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*: "al-Ṣāliḥ 'Imād al-Dīn Ismā'il," "al-Ṣāliḥ Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Ṣāliḥ," "al-Ṣāliḥ Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Ḥadjdji," and "Ṭabaqa."

**Richard P. Lorch** (Institut für Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften der Universität München) has recently published *Arabic Mathematical Sciences: Instruments, Texts, Transmission*, Variorum (Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 1995); "Ptolemy and Maslama on the Transformation of Circles into Circles in Stereographic Projection," *Archive for History of Exact Sciences* 49 (1995): 271-84; and "Mischaströlabien im arabisch-islamischen Kulturgebiet," in Anton von Gotstedter, ed. *Ad radices. Festband zum fünfzigjährigen Bestehen des Instituts für Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften der Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1994), 231-36; with P. Kunitzsch, "A Note on Codex Paris BN ar. 2457," *Zeitschrift*



für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften 8 (1993): 235-40; "Maslama's notes on Ptolemy's *Planisphaerium* and related texts," Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse, *Sitzungsberichte*, 1994, Heft 2; and Abū Naṣr and Ḥabash on maṭālī' al-samt," *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften* 9 (1994): 43-82; with G. Brey, S. Kirshner, Chr. Schöner, "Ibn aṣ-Ṣaffār's Traktat über das Astrolab in der Übersetzung von Plato von Tivoli, in *Cosmographica et geographica: Festschrift für Heribert M. Nobis zum 70. Geburtstag* (= *Algorismus*, Heft 13), München 1994, 125-80; and with K. Shehadeh and D. Hill, "Construction of a Fluting Machine by Apollonius the Carpenter," *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften* 9 (1994): 326-56. He also has several papers and articles in press.

**Richard C. Martin** (Emory University) recently published *Islamic Studies: A History of Religions Approach* (Prentice Hall, 1996). He is completing a book with Mark Woodward entitled, *Defenders of Reason: Mu'tazilism from Medieval School to Modern Symbol*.

**Abdalrazzaq Moaz** (IFEA, Damascus) is preparing a monograph entitled *The Sarūja Quarter in Damascus: Urban Development, Architecture, and Society (1200-1900)*; and an article entitled "Seljuq Madrasas of Damascus."

**Hasan al-Naboodah** (Sharjah, UAE) was granted a Fulbright to Georgetown University (February-June 1996). He recently published *Qabilat Kalb fī ṣadr al-Islām* and is currently conducting research on the Nabhānis in the Omani Sources.

**Norman D. Nicol** (Santa Rosa, CA) has two forthcoming publications § "Corpus of Fatimid Coinage," and "Khwarizmian-Ghorid Hoard from the Time of the Mongol Invasions."

**Alistair Northedge** (Université de Paris V) has recently published "Samarra" in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*; with M.-O. Rousset, "Örnek étape de la route de la soie," *Archéologie Islamique* 5, 97-122. He is presently preparing a publication of

Herzfeld's excavations at Dār al-Khalifa/Jawsaq al-Khaqānī, Samarra. He participated in the UNESCO committee of evaluation for the rescue excavations of Beirut (December 1995); and will participate in the Tell Bashir, Turkey (June 1996) and the Mashhad Misriyan, Turkmenistan (September 1996) surface surveys.

**Linda Northrup** (University of Toronto) has recently had accepted for publication *From Slave to Sultan: The Career of al-Manṣūr Qalawūn and the Consolidation of Mamluk Rule in Egypt and Syria, 678-689 A.H./1279-1290 A.D.* She is preparing a chapter on Bahri Mamluks for the *Cambridge History of Egypt*; and a monograph based on documentary material entitled "The Economic Basis of Power in the Early Mamluk Sultanate: Ritual Landholding Patterns in Egypt and Syria, 1250-1382." She presented "The Crusades: The Muslim Response," to the Medieval Studies Spring Lecture Series, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, March 25-28, 1996.

**Carl F. Petry** (Northwestern University) was a fellow at the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton (1996) and is preparing a comparative study of charitable trusts and their relationship to capital investment in the Ottoman, Mamluk, and Safavid States in the 16th Century.

**Valeria Fiorani Piacentini** (Catholic University of the Sacred Heart, Milano) has recently published *The Disintegration of the Soviet Empire: Problems of National and Collective Security in Central Asia* (Rome, 1995); and *Suhār: Historical Outline* (in press). She presented "The Italian Contribution to Islamic Studies" to the AFEMAM conference, Aix en Provence (July 1996).

**Nasser O. Rabbat** (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) recently published *The Citadel of Cairo: A New Interpretation of Royal Mamluk Architecture* (Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1995). His "The History of al-Azhar Mosque" is scheduled to be published in *Muqarnas* 13 (1996). He is presently conducting research on Umayyad Damascus as well as 11th-14th century palaces and citadels in Syria and Anatolia

**F. Jamil Ragep** (University of Oklahoma), with Sally P. Ragep, edited *Tradition, Transmission, Transformation: Proceedings of Two Conferences on Premodern Science Held at the University of Oklahoma* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996). He will be spending the 1996-97 academic year in Turkey; and is continuing his research on Islamic scientific cosmology (hay'a).

**Lutz Richter-Bernburg** (Leipzig) has recently published "Medicina Ancilla Philosophiae: Ibn Ṭufayl's Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān," in Lawrence I. Conrad, ed. *The World of Ibn Ṭufayl* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996), 90-112. He is currently researching Nāṣer-e Khosrow's *Siyāhatnāma* for a review article and more.

**Everett K. Rowson** (University of Pennsylvania) has recently published "al-'Āmiri," in S.N. Nasr and O. Leaman, eds. *History of Islamic Philosophy*, (London and New York, 1996), 216-21; and "Middle Eastern Literature: Arabic," in Claude J. Summers, ed. *The Gay and Lesbian Literary Heritage*, (New York, 1995), 481-85. He is presently preparing a monograph entitled *Homosexuality in Traditional Islamic Culture*. In addition, he has recently been appointed to the Board of Editors of the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*.

**Elizabeth Savage** (Hemel Hempstead, Herts, United Kingdom) has recently published *A Catalogue of Early 'Abbasid Coins* (London: British Museum Publications, 1996); *The North African Response to the Arab Conquest: A Gateway to Hell, A Gateway to Paradise* in the Late Antiquity and Early Islam Series (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1996); and "Dirhams for the Empire," in *Proceedings of the Conference: La ville islamique du Haut Moyen-Age (al-Andalus-Maghreb), Granada, 16-17 novembre, 1995* (forthcoming 1996).

**John M. Smith** (UC-Berkeley) has two forthcoming publications § "Mongol Nomadism and Middle Eastern Geography: Qishlaqs and Tümens," in D. Morgan, ed. *The Mongol Empire and Its Legacy*; and "Mongol Society and Military in the Middle East: Antecedents and Adaptations," in Y. Lev, ed. *War and Society in the Eastern*



### Mediterranean.

**Lennart K.R. Sundelin** (University of Utah) is preparing his Master's thesis on "The Early Development of the Institution of Qadi in Post-Conquest Egypt."

**Marina A. Tolmacheva** (Washington State University) has recently published "The Medieval Arabic Geographers and the Beginnings of Modern Orientalism," *IJMES* 27/2 (1995): 141-56; and "Essays in Swahili Geographical Thought," *Swahili Forum* 2 (Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere N43, 1995): 1-40. She spent fall 1995 on a teaching Fulbright at Kyrgyz National University and has recently been promoted to Full Professor at Washington State University.

**Ian G. Tompkins** (University of Wales, Aberystwyth) has recently published "Problems of Dating and Pertinence in some Letters of Theodoret of Cyrrhus," *Byzantion* 65 (1995): 176-95. His monograph *Theodoret of Cyrrhus and Syrian Society in the Fifth Century* is under review. In addition, he is preparing a translation of the letters of Theodoret of Cyrrhus for Liverpool University Press' Translated Texts for Historians Series.

**David Vila** (St Louis, MO) was area

supervisor at the Abila Excavation in Northern Jordan (summers 1990, 1994, 1995, 1996). He has recently published "A New Church at Abila: 1995 Season Report on Area DD," *Bulletin of the Near East Archaeological Society* (1996). He is presently conducting research for his PhD dissertation, "Relations Between Muslims and Christians in the Early Islamic Period" (St. Louis University).

**Rachel Ward** (British Museum) has recently published "Tradition and Innovation: A Group of Candlesticks Made in Mamluk Egypt," in J.W. Allan, ed. *Islamic Art in the Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford Studies in Islamic Art no. 10, Part 2, 1995), 147-58; and with Susan La Niece, Duncan Hook and Raymond White, "Veneto-Saracenic Metalwork: An Analysis of the Bowls and Incense Burners in the British Museum," in D. Hook and D. Gaimster, eds. *British Museum Occasions Paper 109* (BMP, 1995), 235-58.

**Donald Whitcomb** (University of Chicago) visited King Saud University in Riyadh during the spring, where he gave a series of lectures on Islamic archaeology in Arabia and its region and visited a number of archaeological sites. He participated in the conference on Ottoman archaeology held at SUNY Binghamton. In Chicago, he

was active in organizing the Middle East urbanism workshop and spoke on Mamluk archaeology for the Mamluk Studies workshop. Finally, during the summer he attended the ARAM meetings in Oxford, the Seminar for Arabian Studies in London, and a conference on early Islamic art at the University of Bamberg. In the midst of these activities, he continues to work on the results of the Aqaba excavations and their implications for early Islamic trade and development.

**Lesley Wilkins** (American University in Cairo) is presently conducting research for her PhD dissertation, "From Papyrus to Paper: Technology Transfer in Medieval Egypt," (Harvard University).

**Brannon Wheeler** (University of Washington) has recently published *Applying the Canon in Islam: The Authorization and Maintenance of Interpretive Reasoning in Hanafi Scholarship* (SUNY Press, 1996). He is presently conducting research for two studies § "Moses in the Qur'an and Tafsir Literature;" and "'Recall' [rafa'a] of the Torah and Qur'an."

**Hayrettin Yücesoy** (University of Chicago) has recently published *Tatawwur al-fikr al-siyāsī 'inda ahl al-sunna: fatrat al-takwīn* ('Amman: Dār al-Bashīr).

## MURISTAN, FROM PAGE 31.

vent, a marketplace, and a hospice. Though scholars have assumed that some of these buildings were located in the vicinity of the Church of St. Mary la Latine, no remains have been identified until now. The buildings erected by Charlemagne were destroyed by the Fatimid Caliph al-Hakim in 1009 but were reconstructed later in the eleventh century by Italian merchants from Amalfi. Perhaps the construction of a new north-south retaining wall (I.4-I.1) above the old one should be attributed to these Italian merchants. The new retaining wall fell into ruin and was covered with debris before the twelfth century, when the medieval Church of St. Mary la Latine was erected on the site.

Vriezen's publication provides a basis for reexamining Kenyon's conclusions regarding Site C. It is clear from their

character and contents that the 8 meter thick layers of fill discovered in both excavations are contemporary and must be associated with the same building activity. As has been seen, the evidence published by Vriezen indicates that this fill was deposited much later than the second century C.E. date proposed by Kenyon, probably in connection with the construction of wall I.5 and its associated structures during the time of Charlemagne. Thus, the 2 meter thick layer of "Byzantine" levels above this deep fill at Site C may date to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when the retaining wall under the Church of the Redeemer appears to have been rebuilt (I.4-I.1) and then fell into ruin. The "Umayyad" houses found by Kenyon above the "Byzantine" levels at Site C must therefore be medieval or later in date.

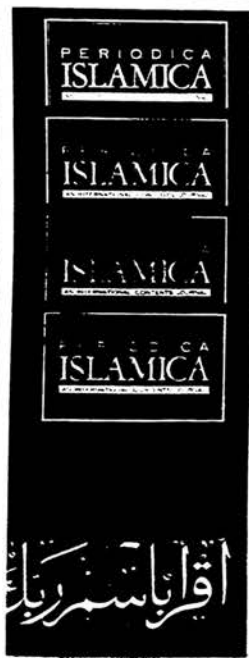
If the chronology proposed here is accurate, it means that almost all of the remains discovered in the excavations un-

der the Church of the Redeemer and at Site C date to the Byzantine, early Islamic, and medieval periods. The quarrying activity of the Roman period could have obliterated whatever earlier remains existed in this area, thereby accounting for the apparent absence of any trace of the Second Wall.

### Bibliographical Note

For fuller development of some of the ideas presented in this article, see the author's review of Karel J. H. Vriezen, *Die Ausgrabungen unter der Erlöserkirche im Muristan, Jerusalem (1970-1974)* (Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1994) [= *Abhandlungen der Deutschen Palästinavereins* 19], reviewed in *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 298 (1995), 87-89.

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# Pioneers

IN MEDIEVAL MIDDLE EASTERN STUDIES

## Philip K. Hitti

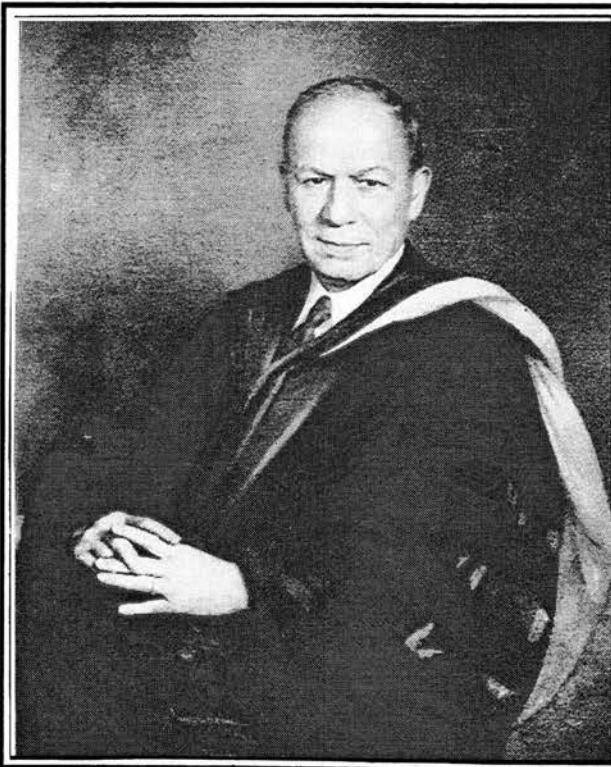
by Fred M. Donner

**M**y first encounter with Philip Hitti came one morning in the mid nineteen-sixties. A student at Princeton, I had recently decided that my undergraduate major would be neither chemistry (as I had originally planned), nor music (for which I, and more importantly the faculty, deemed my talents too limited), but Oriental Studies--specifically the archaeology of ancient Mesopotamia, which I had discovered through an art history course taken a semester or two earlier. Filled with the enthusiasm both of youth and of the new convert, I was eager to learn more about "my" field, and had gone to Firestone library as soon as it opened that day. The cool stairwells to the third floor were empty, the bookstacks still dark and silent as I made my way to the graduate study room for Oriental Studies. To my surprise, I found upon entering an elderly gentleman already there, seated at an old wooden desk tucked into the sunny bay window at the south end of the long room, reading a book with the aid of a large magnifying glass. He may have looked up and wished me a "Good Morning!"--I can't remember. I do remember wondering how he could have gotten up the stairs before me.

Or had he spent the night there? Later one of the graduate students I asked told me, "That's Professor Hitti. He knows the night watchman, who lets him in every morning around four or five o'clock." Over the next few years he became a familiar figure to me, pursing his lips as he quietly

studied a text, or looking up to offer a good-natured greeting to someone passing by his desk. As a former student at Princeton in those days recently observed, his persistent presence and patient attention to his texts made him an exemplary role model for the many young historians then in training there.

Philip Khuri Hitti was born on



June 24, 1886 in Shimplān, Lebanon, a small village high on the hillsides overlooking the Mediterranean and Beirut. Although Beirut was only about twenty miles (as the crow flies) away, transportation was still very slow in late Ottoman Lebanon, and Shimplān's contact with the

outside world was minimal. As Hitti told me many years later, "If you had been to Beirut in those days people looked at you as if you had gone to the moon--not like today, when people commute down daily for work. You had to arrange for a large carriage to take you down, what they called an 'arabiye, and a trip to the city required several days. Hardly anyone did it."

Shimplān was a humble village, and Hitti grew up in straitened circumstances in a family whose access to education, until then, had been nil. By Hitti's own testimony, his scholarly career began when, at age 8, he broke his arm so badly that his parents thought he would be unfit for physical labor, and decided that he would have to rely on his mind, not his body, to earn his livelihood. After the village priest had taught him to read and write at the village "school" under a large oak tree, his parents sent him to the American school in the neighboring town of Sūq al-Gharb, from which he graduated in 1903. He then taught in the same school for three years, saving enough of his pay (with a little help from the headmaster) to permit him to enrol at the American University of Beirut (then Syrian Protestant College) in 1906. He received his B.A. degree from AUB, with first honors, in

1908, and taught history there from 1908-1913. In 1913, with support from the World Student Christian Federation and AUB, which continued to pay him his salary, he was able to travel to New York and enroll at Columbia University, where he studied Semitic languages and civiliza-



tions under Professor Richard Gottheil. He completed his dissertation, a translation of the first half of al-Balādhuri's *Futūḥ al-buldān*, in 1915. By this time, the outbreak of World War I (with the Ottoman Empire on Germany's side) made it impossible to return to Lebanon, so he taught at Columbia until 1920, when he returned to AUB as professor of oriental history. In 1926 he accepted an assistant professorship at Princeton, where he remained the rest of his professional life, becoming associate professor in 1929 and Professor of Semitic Literature on the William and Annie S. Paton Foundation in 1936 (the Chair which, in occasional irreverent moments, he referred to as "his stool", perhaps to express his disdain for the salary). He became acting chairman of the Department of Oriental Languages and Literatures in 1941, and was appointed chairman in 1944, a post he held until his retirement in 1954.

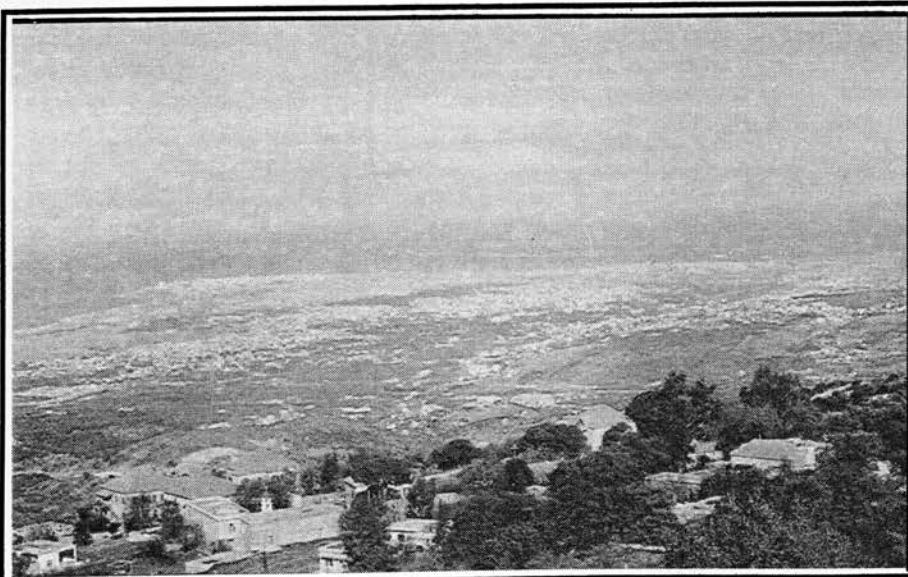
Throughout his professional career, and well into retirement, Hitti produced a flood of publications of diverse kinds in English and Arabic. (The bibliographical list in his *Festschrift*--which includes only works published up to 1958--runs to 28 pages.) Typifying one stream of this flood--scholarly publications--is his best-known work, his *History of the Arabs*, which first appeared in 1937 and went through many subsequent editions (the tenth edition appeared in 1970). Other major works of this type included *The Origins of the Druze People and Religion* (1928),

*Catalogue of the Garrett Collection of Arabic Manuscripts* (1938), *History of Syria* (1951), *Lebanon in History* (1957), *The Near East in history, a 5000-year story* (1961), *Islam, a way of life* (1970), and his translations of al-Balādhuri's *Futūḥ al-buldān* (entitled *The Origins of the Islamic State* [1916]) and of Usāma ibn Munqidh's *Kitāb al-i'tibār* (entitled *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades* [1928]); he also prepared an edition of the Arabic text of the last-mentioned work.

It is deceptively easy today to criticize--and to underestimate the significance of--Hitti's scholarship. As one former student noted, he did not have much interest in ideas in history, and none of his works is noted for critical analysis or historical depth. Moreover, already in the nineteen-sixties Hitti's *History of the Arabs* was being faulted for its superficiality and for its "nationalistic" or "Arabistic" focus on the Arabs and their history, to the virtual neglect of Persians, Turks, and Mongols. To some extent this may have been because the secondary scholarship on the "Middle Periods" of Islamic history was very thin when Hitti wrote in the nineteen-thirties, but it was also partly because *History of the Arabs* was, as one critic put it, "...undependable in its guiding conceptions and in its emphases." The next generation of survey texts favored a broader, Islamic focus: Marshall Hodgson's *The Venture of Islam* (1974, but based on a version going back to 1958), *The Cam-*

*bridge History of Islam* (1970), Ira Lapidus's *A History of Islamic Societies* (1988)--although it is worth noting that the most recent major contribution in the survey genre, Albert Hourani's *A History of the Arab Peoples* (1991), adopts once again a focus on the Arabs, rather than on Islam. It is also worth noting that whereas *History of the Arabs* is narrower than works like Hodgson's *Venture* in geographical and ethnic coverage, in that it limits itself mainly to Arab history, its chronological scope is broader. None of the other works devotes as much space to the pre-Islamic Near East, or conveys nearly as well the sense one gains from *History of the Arabs* of the Arabs' rootedness in the long succession of pre-Islamic Semitic cultures. (This sense of continuity is, of course, even more prominent in one of Hitti's late works, *The Near East in history, a 5000-year story*.) Moreover, *History of the Arabs* and some of Hitti's other works are given enduring value by the fact that they were based almost entirely on primary sources, and because, as several observers have remarked, the factual information they do contain (names, dates, etc.) is invariably accurate.

None of this, however, really addresses the true importance of Hitti's scholarship, particularly his *History of the Arabs*. That importance, it seems to me, lies in the fact that Hitti was among the first writers in the West to present a comprehensive overview of the Arabs and of Arab and Islamic culture as subjects deserving attention in their own right. Until the nineteen-thirties, Arabic and Islamic studies were included in academic programs, if at all, because of the linguistic accident that Arabic was one of the Semitic languages. Oriental studies programs concentrated on the Bible, and on what might be called "background subjects" to Bible study: the ancient Semitic languages, and the history of the ancient Near East. Arabic and Islamic studies in those days were subsidiary subjects, minor appendages to the field of Biblical scholarship. Many who did study Arabic in such programs learned it out of a sense of linguistic duty as Semitists, with no concern for the cultures it carried; only a few studied Arabic literature, and when they did, they tended to concentrate on the early, classical texts. Most of Arab history, particularly recent Arab history, and modern Arabic literature were ignored or derisively dismissed. Seen



A view over the rooftops of Shimlan as it looked in the nineteen-sixties, with Beirut in the distance.

against this background, *History of the Arabs* was nothing short of revolutionary—a decisive, massively erudite refutation of what had been, until that time, the prevailing conceptual paradigm. To criticize *History of the Arabs* for superficiality, then, is to miss the point; superficial or not, its impact was profound, partly because it changed the way scholars viewed the Arabs and the Middle East.

*History of the Arabs* not only helped realign scholarly priorities, however; it also brought a lucid and sympathetic view of the Arabs and Islam to a vast public, who were often reading about these subjects for the first time. (This also applies to the scores of entries Hitti wrote for encyclopedias, including the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.) That Hitti could harness for this task both his authority as a scholar and his skill as a writer of readable and engaging English prose broadened his books' impact. His work thus helped clear obstacles of ignorance and prejudice from the path of all later generations of Middle East specialists, and did much to create a growing and informed awareness of Islam and the Middle East among a large public who were supportive of such specialized work. In this respect, too, Hitti was truly a pioneer. It is fair to say that no other work of twentieth-century scholarship in Middle Eastern studies had an impact remotely as great as *History of the Arabs*—all the moreso in view of the fact that it was translated into over a dozen other languages.

But even this realization does not exhaust the scope of its impact. Hitti espoused a definite, yet never doctrinaire, vision of the Arabs as a distinct people; for this reason, *History of the Arabs* must be recognized as having been not only a significant work of scholarship, but also a key document in the creation of an Arab nationalist identity. The massive learning distilled in its pages provided Arab nationalists with a seemingly objective historical legitimization of their ideology. A Syrian colleague once described to me the nationalist student congresses he attended during the nineteen-fifties, at which the ardent

young delegates debated the nature of Arab nationalism, who was and who was not an Arab, and similar questions; as he pointed out, the Arabic translation of Hitti's *History of the Arabs* was frequently quoted as evidence in support of various arguments.

As noted above, however, Hitti's scholarship was but one stream in his flood of publications. Far greater in compass was the other stream, which for want of a better term I will call didactic literature. For Hitti seems to have considered it his personal mission to instruct others, particularly the people of the Arab world, through his more popular writings. These writings included articles in both Arabic and English on an astonishing range of subjects and appearing in a bewildering array of publications: comments on cur-

ies in the United States, Syrian emigration, characteristics of Arab medicine, how hotels should be run, the origins of sugar cane, the possibility of union among the Arab states (1943), and dozens of other topics. Larger works in this corpus of "helpful" literature included his *Education Guide for Syrian Students in the United States* (1921) and *Guidebook for Foreign Students in the United States* (1921), both frequently reprinted and the latter translated into several languages. This willingness to help to those who needed it was also manifested in his extensive service on editorial boards, as adviser to the governments of the United States and various Arab states, and as lecturer. Hitti's role as interpreter and conveyer of Arab and Islamic civilization to the West is known;

perhaps less well-known, in the West at least, is the fact that he was just as much a conduit of information from and about the West to the Arabic-speaking world, conveyed through many articles and through his early memoir, *Amrika fi naẓar sharqī, aw thamāni sanawāt fi l-walāyāt al-muttaḥida* (*America as seen by an Oriental, or Eight Years in the United States*, 1924).

But perhaps Hitti's greatest impact was not as author—prodigious as his output was—but as teacher and program director. His graduate students often began their studies terrified of him because of the grilling on Arabic grammar to which he subjected them, but they came to realize that the crusty exterior was a carefully cultivate façade concealing a generous and be-

nign person who was profoundly interested in their welfare. As one put it, "we all loved him," and as another said, "he did care for us before the great deluge of government money." He was always encouraging to young scholars, carefully reading what they submitted and sending a note with comments and injunctions to continue in their work—a quality that more than one student found inspirational. Both graduate and undergraduate students enrolled in large numbers in his main course, a year-long survey called "Semitic Civilizations;" in the fall semester he covered ancient Near Eastern civilizations, while



**Hitti sitting between former students John A. Wilson (l.) and Constantin Zurayk (r.) at Princeton's bicentennial celebration, 1947. At that time, Wilson, who had studied with Hitti in Beirut, was Director of the University of Chicago's Oriental Institute, and Zurayk was Vice-President and Professor of History at the American University of Beirut.**

rent political issues, reports of recent scholarly discoveries (often communicating them to an Arab audience for the first time), appreciations of various literary figures, helpful advice of various kinds. So we find him writing on "The Syria Question" (1918), on Arabic dialects of Syria and Lebanon, on Zionism (1921), ancient inscriptions of Nahr al-Kalb, the modernization of the Arab world, American and Syrian women, the rediscovery of the Hittite empire, the Arabic sources of Dante, Khalil Jubrān, Amin Rihānī, Genoese merchants of Syria in the twelfth century, al-Idrīsī, "Are the Lebanese Arabs?", Oriental stud-



the spring semester was devoted to Arab civilization. (According to one former student, Hitti promised a grade of "A" to anyone in the class who could find a typographical error in the latest edition of his *History of the Arabs*--a sly way to ensure students did the assigned reading, and carefully!) Not least among his virtues as teacher was his ability to stand above political or other differences. Hitti's sympathy for the Arabs in the Arab-Israeli dispute was well-known, but even Jewish students who sympathized with the Zionist movement found that he treated them with kindness and respect, and that he fully supported their efforts to establish themselves as professional scholars.

Most important was Hitti's determination to build up Middle Eastern studies at Princeton. What is striking in this was his ability to see beyond his own training and limitations to envision a completely new kind of program. Although his own scholarship dealt strictly with the Arabs and Arabic, he realized that a program dedicated to the study of the Middle East had to include Persian and Turkish as equal partners, and he fought for over twenty years to establish both languages at Princeton, first by arranging to have them offered in summer seminars (1935, 1938, 1941), and then by working hard for permanent appointments--among the first, if not the first, in the United States for these languages. The resulting program, which offered a balanced approach to the history and cultures of the Near East, was an unheralded development. In the nineteen-fifties, graduate students at Princeton were required to take three full-year seminars, one on the Arabs, one on the Persians, one on the Turks, and his students carried this broad vision of Middle Eastern studies to colleges and universities far and wide. Most Middle East programs found in North America today follow this conception and are thus largely Hitti's legacy, whether they inher-

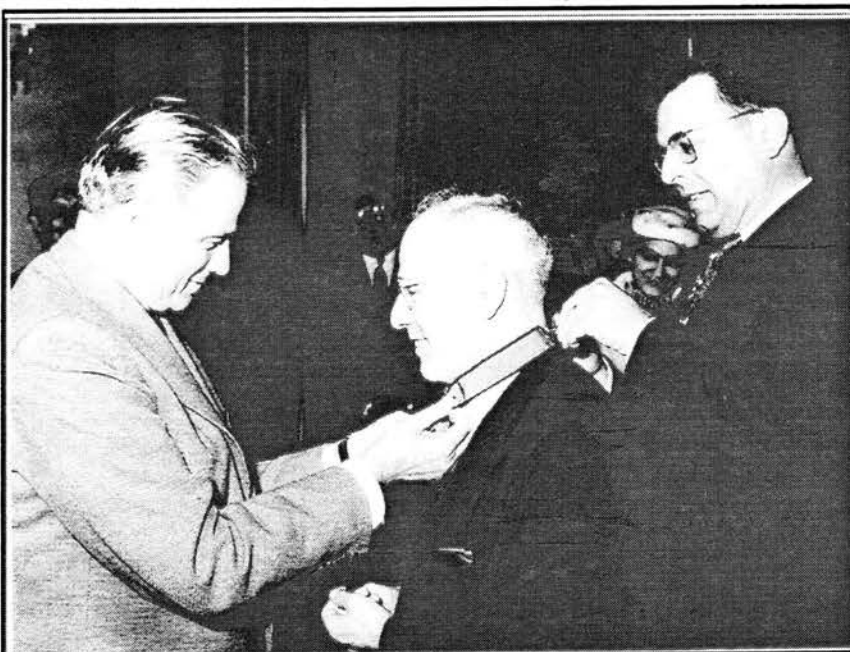
ited it by colonization or by emulation.

In the course of his long life, Hitti received innumerable honors and awards (a partial list is provided in his *Festschrift*), and visitors of all stations came in a steady stream to meet him. I remember well my own first visit to his modest house on Prospect Street, in the center of whose open front lawn a young Cedar of Lebanon reached for the sky. Upon my arrival, he instructed me, as he did all his visitors, to sign into his guest book. After doing so, I flipped back through its pages; there, along with the names of hundreds of other students and ordinary visitors like myself, were the entries of Shāh Muhammad Reza Pahlavi of Iran, Prince (later King) Faisal

students, Hitti used to inquire now and then about how his life was going, aside from his studies, and repeatedly stressed the importance of getting sufficient physical exercise. In his prime, he was an avid tennis player; in his later years, his exercise was usually taken in the form of long walks, characteristically begun early in the morning. He especially loved walking in the hills of Lebanon during his annual summer sojourn there. When I was in Shīmlān in the late sixties and early seventies, Hitti would start before sunrise, rambling through the olive groves and along back roads to neighboring villages. On the way back, he would sometimes stop in Shīmlān to chat with the butcher, whose

family I knew, as he prepared his cuts of meat for the coming day. The butcher (like most people in Shīmlān, a relative of his) was usually the only other person in the village up at that hour.

He was always a pleasure to talk with, and advancing years did not dampen his dry wit. One summer, when Hitti's daughter and son-in-law were to be away for a time, they asked me to collect mail that came for him at the departmental office and to deliver it to his house every few days, and generally to check in to make sure he was O.K.--he was, after all,



**April 19, 1956. Hitti receives the medal of the Order of the Cedars, Commander's rank (Lebanon's highest civilian decoration) from President Camille Chamoun (l.) and Minister of Education Salim Sahnud (r.)**

of Saudi Arabia, the Arab nationalist writer George Antonius, scores of well-known scholars, and many other famous persons. Diplomats, students, politicians, kings, princes, scholars, businessmen--all had made the pilgrimage to Princeton to pay their respects. Yet Hitti was utterly without pretension, and if one met him on the street one would never know that he had been heaped with honors of every kind, and had received the most august visitors.

Despite his astonishing productivity, Hitti was no bookworm. I remember him remarking on a former neighbor of his, a colleague whose study light was always on--"always working, working working. For what?" According to one of his

in his mid-eighties at this time. I came to enjoy these calls immensely; he always seemed pleased to see me, and we would sit in folding chairs in his yard, sipping lemonade and reminiscing about Shīmlān. He would tell me what life had been like in the old days, or explain when I inquired who this or that villager whom I remembered was, sometimes clarifying his remark by tracing out parts of a family's genealogy in the dust with a stick. (Once I asked about the aged village half-wit, Jiris, with whom I had had a colorful encounter a few years earlier. "Jiris!" he said. "Jiris is my brother!..."). On one occasion, I brought with me to Hitti's house a couple, fellow new graduate students in the department,



who had expressed an interest in meeting him. He welcomed them cordially and we took seats in the lawn chairs. Responding to his inquiries, my friends told Hitti that they had studied at Macalester College in Minnesota with Yahya Armajani, who had been one of his first students. Hitti asked how Armajani was. My friends replied that they had recently spoken to him, that he was well, and just retired. Hitti sat upright in his chair and looked at me. "My students are retiring! What should I be doing?"

Hitti's last years were passed under the dark cloud of civil war in Lebanon; his depression over these tragic events was doubled by the fact that conditions there made it impossible for him even to visit his beloved country. I think he felt that somehow the failure of political order and collapse in basic decency was partly his fault—as if his lifelong outpouring of guidance and affection for his country should have been sufficient to stave off the collapse. It is a pity that his death on Christmas eve, 1978, had to come at a time when no glimmer of hope for an end to the war was in sight.

Hitti's kindness—to students, to colleagues, to friends—was sincere and endearing. One former colleague, whom Hitti invited for a ride one Saturday after-

noon in a canoe he kept on Princeton's Lake Carnegie, discovered that Hitti took a blind man he had met in town for such an outing every Saturday, in order to give him some recreation. He was a devoted father and faithful husband, even though, by most reports, his wife, to whom he remained married for fifty years, could not have been an easy person to live with. He was also a steadfast friend to those he knew. I will close by relating my own favorite memory of him, one which takes us back again to my days in the graduate study room in Firestone library, with Hitti working at his window. The door opened, and another elderly gentleman entered. Hitti slowly got up, his face beaming and his arms raised in welcome, and walked over to give a warm greeting to the visitor. It was Bayard Dodge, who had been a colleague of Hitti's at AUB (and served as AUB's president from 1923 to 1948) and a friend for a half-century. With arms around one other's shoulders and each bent over his cane, they walked slowly out of the room to enjoy a visit together.

**Acknowledgement and Bibliographical Note.** I am indebted to C. Ernest Dawn, Muhammad Harb Farzat, Oleg Grabar, Thomas B. Irving, Norman Itzkowitz, Aminta Marks, John H. Marks, Francis E.

Peters, George Scanlon, John Alden Williams, Viola Hitti Winder, and Farhat Ziadeh for sharing their recollections and thoughts with me, and to Viola Hitti Winder for providing photographs. To the best of my knowledge, no full-length biography of Philip K. Hitti has been attempted—rather surprising in view of his significance and the rich resources available, including a collection of Hitti's papers at the Center for Immigration History of the University of Minnesota. Much of the factual data for the present article was drawn from the informative sketch provided by the editors in James Kritzeck and R. Bayly Winder (eds.), *The World of Islam. Studies in honour of Philip K. Hitti* (London: Macmillan and New York: St. Martin's, 1959), 1-9; it includes several pages of autobiographical comments by Hitti himself, originally part of an address delivered at a gathering in his honor, and well repays reading. Further useful information was found in Aminta W. Marks, "Princeton and Near Eastern Studies," *Princeton Alumni Weekly* January 20, 1968, 6-16, which also includes a transcript of some of Hitti's own comments. Additional observations about Hitti by those whose careers intersected his are found in Thomas Naff (ed.), *Paths to the Middle East* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1993).

## Mamluk Studies Review

*Mamluk Studies Review*, the first scholarly journal devoted exclusively to Mamluk studies, is an annual journal devoted to the study of the Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt and Syria (648-922/1250-1517). The goals of *Mamluk Studies Review* are to take stock of scholarship devoted to the Mamluk era, nurture communication within the field, and to promote further research by encouraging the critical discussion of all aspects of this important medieval Islamic polity. The journal will include articles and reviews of recent books, as well as edited texts and translations of shorter Arabic source materials. Vol. 1 (1997) contains twenty-four reviews and the following articles:

Donald P. Little, "Documents as a source for Mamluk History;" Li Guo, "Mamluk Historiographic Studies: The State of the Art;" W. W. Clifford, "Ubi Sumus? Social Theory and Mamluk Studies;" Th. Emil Homerin, "Reflections on Poetry in the Mamluk Age;" Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "The Mahmal Tradition and the Pilgrimage of the Ladies of the Mamluk Court;" Leonor Fernandes, "Mamluk Architecture and the Question of Patronage;" Donald Whitcomb, "Mamluk Archeological Studies: A Review."

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## Obituary

# Robert C. Grossman

by Michael L. Bates

Robert C. Grossman, voluntary legal counsellor to Middle East Medievalists, died on 29 April 1996 of brain cancer, at the age of 53. Grossman, who practiced law in Northbrook, Illinois, helped arrange for the incorporation of MEM in 1992 and renewed the documents for us every year at no cost to the association. MEM extends its condolences to Grossman's family, friends, and associates.

Grossman was connected to Middle Eastern history through his collection of Timurid coins, one of the finest in the world. He had begun to collect ancient Roman coins more than thirty years ago, but was looking for a field where he could make a large contribution when a friend showed him a superb rupee of the Mughal emperor Akbar, which enchanted him by the quantity of information written on its small area. His general interest in Islamic coins was converted to concentration on the Timurids by Stephen Album, the erstwhile Berkeley Ph.D. candidate who became the world's leading Islamic coin dealer. Grossman's last catalogue of his collection, a respectable scholarly work in its own right, carefully described 1,038 Timurid coins with full annotation. A copy of the handsomely-printed catalogue, entitled "Timurid Coins and copper coins of the Timurid-Shaybanid period in the collection of Robert C. Grossman," is in the library of the American Numismatic Society and perhaps in other numismatic research centers. There is nothing to com-

pete with it: no one has ever published a full corpus of the coins issued by Timur and his descendants, nor does any published catalogue including Timurid coins (and they are very few) have nearly as many specimens and varieties as Grossman's list. The 23-page catalogue is not illustrated but has sketches of various design features. It includes numerous quotations about the coinage from medieval and modern histories and from other numismatic experts.

Like most numismatists, Grossman had a lively interest in royal genealogy: necessarily in his case, since the previously published lists of Timurid rulers (by Lane-Poole, Zambaur, and the earlier editions of Bosworth's *Islamic Dynasties*) are inaccurate and misleading. In 1986 he distributed "The Timurids: A Numismatic Genealogy" which shows the filiations of six generations of the family, including every then-known male with the coin issuers indicated by full capitalization. Simultaneously he prepared the first version of his tabulation of the rulers of the dynasty. Traditionally, since Stanley Lane-Poole catalogued the Timurid coins in the British Museum, the Timurids were divided into a principal line of rulers in Samarkand and subordinate rulers in other places. Grossman pointed out that the supreme ruler was not always also the ruler of Samarkand. Following a suggestion of John Woods (made with regard to the Aq Quyunlu), Grossman classified the

Timurids into four successive generations or "dispensations." The first was that of Timur, his sons and grandsons, until his son Shah Rukh won out over all the others and displaced them with his own descendants, forming the second "dispensation." After Shah Rukh's death, his progeny were displaced by Abu Sa'id, descended from a different son of Timur: Abu Sa'id, the third supreme Timurid, and his progeny constitute the third "dispensation." The last powerful ruler was Husayn Bayqara, who with his sons constitute the fourth "dispensation." The entire listing with an introduction, fully transliterated names, and dates was published as "A Numismatic 'King-List' of the Timurids," *Oriental Numismatic Society Information Sheet* No. 27 (September 1990).

Those who knew Bob Grossman will miss him. He would have been the overwhelming winner of a popularity contest among Islamic coin collectors. He attended the major conventions in New York and Chicago and was a favorite in post-session restaurant gatherings: a man whose conversation was always both intelligent and entertaining. Although he did not read Middle Eastern languages, he found everything there was to read on the Timurids in western European languages, and absorbed it. He never hesitated to get the advice of experts, or to circulate his work for criticism and improvement, but most importantly, he knew when he was right and the experts were wrong.

# REVIEWS • OF • BOOKS

FROM • THE • MIDDLE • EAST

## REVIEW POLICY

Members of MEM are invited to submit reviews of recent books in Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Hebrew, or other Middle Eastern languages that they have read and that deal with subjects of interest to MEM's membership. In exceptional cases, reviews of books in English or other European languages will be printed, but the main focus will be books in Middle Eastern languages, because generally these are not reviewed in Western journals. *Al-'Usur al-Wusta* relies on the voluntary submission of reviews because review copies of books in Middle Eastern languages are not usually made available.

Reviews should be brief, 250 words or, if possible, fewer. A short note is sufficient in many cases, as it serves the main purpose of bringing a worthwhile work of scholarship to the attention of MEM members who may be interested in the subject it treats. Be sure to include full bibliographical information: full name of author, full title, place and date of publication, publisher, and number of pages. Send reviews directly to the editor.

**Ḥusayn 'Aṭwān, *al-Murji'a wa'l-jahmiya bi-Khurāsān fī 'l-'aṣr al-Umawī* [The Murji'a and the Jahmiya in Khurāsān during the Umayyad Period] (Beirut: Dār al-jil, 1993). 93 pp.**

This short book, one of several works Ḥusayn 'Aṭwān has written about Umayyad Khurāsān, attempts to explain the confusing sectarian struggles in Umayyad Khurāsān.

The book's dominant section, the discussion of the Murji'a, describes the origins of the Murji'a during the political strife which followed the death of 'Uthmān. 'Aṭwān explains that Murji'ites refused to participate in the struggle between 'Alī and Mu'āwīya, deferring their judgment to God. 'Aṭwān includes biographical sketches of several figures who boycotted both sides. He does not mention the current debate among Islamicists about the origins of the Murji'a or the texts around which this debate centers.

'Aṭwān's description of Murji'i beliefs is derived from standard heresiographical sources and offers no sur-

prises. He follows al-Baghdādī's division of the Murji'a into "Qadarite," "Jabrite" and "Pure" subsects, but does not describe and Qadarite activities in Khurāsān. His discussion of the "Pure" Murji'a, whom he describes as accommodating to the Umayyad regime, is quite brief.

'Aṭwān's treatment of the Jabrite Murji'a dominates the work, consuming nearly half the text. He distinguishes between the Jabrite and the "Pure" Murji'a and describes a few Jabrite Murji'i figures before his long discussion of al-Ḥārith b. Surayj and the revolts he led. His account of al-Ḥārith is essentially a rehash of al-Ṭabari and Ibn al-Athīr, although 'Aṭwān's version flows more smoothly than their frequently interrupted narratives.

After describing al-Ḥārith's failed revolts, the author turns to the second and lesser section of his work, the description of the Jahmiya. He begins with a brief biography of Jahm b. Ṣafwān and a description of his beliefs, drawn from standard heresiographical sources. Surprisingly, 'Aṭwān does not mention the assorted refutations of the Jahmiya such as Ibn Ḥanbal's *Radd 'alā l-zanādiqa wa l-jahmiya*. He also has difficulty explaining the distinction between Jahm's beliefs and al-Ḥārith's Jabrite Murji'ism.

'Aṭwān concludes that the relative success of Jabrite Murji'ism in Khurāsān was due to its anti-Umayyad ideology. He argues that the Jabrite Murji'i ideology attracted the Khurāsānians, who had political grievances with the regime. The more accommodating "Pure" Murji'a failed to address these concerns. In 'Aṭwān's analysis sectarian groups have political origins and succeed by addressing political concerns successfully.

This book offers no new insights into the confusing sectarian struggles in Umayyad Khurāsān. Its primary strength is its coherent narrative of al-Ḥārith's movement. 'Aṭwān provides a clear and concise summary of the Murji'a in Khurāsān, but his other works are more analytically sophisticated than this one.

-Steven C. Judd

**Marwān Muḥammad al-Sha'ār, *Al-Awzā'i imām al-salaf* [Al-Awzā'i: imām of the forefathers] (Beirut: Dār al-nafā'is, 1992). 208 pp.**

Several Arabic works about al-Awzā'i have appeared in recent years. Most of these have been specialized works dealing with al-Awzā'i's *fiqh* and *ḥadīth*. Al-Sha'ār's work on al-Awzā'i is more general and devotes more attention to al-Awzā'i's biography. The result is an accessible introduction to al-Awzā'i, which is still solidly grounded in the medieval sources.

Al-Sha'ār's work is divided into 23 chapters, which detail all aspects of al-Awzā'i's life and work. The book's organizational scheme sometimes follows the medieval sources too closely, causing occasional redundancies. The author devotes substantial attention to al-Awzā'i's views regarding *ḥadīth*, transmission, his reputation as a scholar and his piety. Al-Sha'ār reproduces materials from medieval sources, but also provides his own explanations of more complex issues.

This work's most important contribution is its creation of a coherent chronology of al-Awzā'i's life. The author arranges biographical details culled from the sources into a plausible timeline. His treatment of al-Awzā'i's youth and his early journeys is particularly helpful. He offers important suggestions about the dates of al-Awzā'i's journeys, particularly his early trip to Medina (p.32). Unfortunately, al-Sha'ār makes one surprising error in his proposed chronology. Based on his misreading of al-Zirikli's *al-A'lām*, he argues that Ghaylān al-Dimashqī was executed in 105 A.H., when Hishām came to power. (Al-Zirikli's text actually reads "after" 105 [ba'da]) Al-Sha'ār uses reports that al-Awzā'i was first asked about *fiqh* when he was 13 years old (rather than in 113 A.H., as most sources report) to argue that al-Awzā'i questioned Ghaylān in 105 A.H. at the age of 17. The argument is as unconvincing as the misreading of al-Zirikli is surprising.

Al-Sha'ār's work includes numerous quotations from medieval sources on al-Awzā'i. He reproduces many of the



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letters found in Ibn Abi Ḥātim's *Taqdimat al-ma'rifa* and includes frequent citations from Abū Nu'aym as well. His introduction of the copious material on al-Awzā'i contained in Ibn 'Asākir's *Ta'rikh madīnat Dimashq* is more important. While his citations from Ibn 'Asākir are numerous, they offer a mere glimpse of the quality and quantity of material preserved therein. When contradictions appear in the medieval sources, the author includes variant traditions, often expressing his preference for particular accounts. Unfortunately, he does not always explain his criteria for choosing a preferred version.

Al-Sha'ār's book offers no startling insights to the life and work of al-Awzā'i. Nor does it introduce significant theoretical innovations. It does, however, nicely summarize the material found in the medieval sources and makes portions of Ibn 'Asākir's work on al-Awzā'i more accessible. Its thorough bibliography will be useful to anyone approaching this topic. In general, this is a worthwhile introduction to al-Awzā'i.

-Steven C. Judd

Fāliḥ Ḥusayn. *al-Ḥayāt al-zirā'īya fī Bilād al-Shām fī al-'aṣr al-umawī* [Agricultural Life in Geographical Syria in the Umayyad Period] (Amman: al-Jāmi'a al-Urdunniya, 1978).

I first encountered this title (where else?) in R. S. Humphreys' *Islamic History: A Framework for Inquiry*, where, in the context of his survey of the historiography of the peasantry and rural life, Humphreys (p. 298) refers to it as "[a] recent study with a promising title (though I have been unable to see it)." It is indeed a promising title, as our knowledge of rural life in pre-modern Syria is very slim. Although Ḥusayn's book does not live up completely to the promise of its title, it is of no small value for those interested in rural life in the Bilād al-Shām.

First, the promises. The book is

divided into six sections: The Geography of the Bilād al-Shām, Agricultural Land (i.e. Land-tenure issues), The Agricultural System, Agricultural Products and Animal Husbandry, Taxation, and The Village. The geographical section is conventional, although Ḥusayn pays careful attention to climate and topography, stressing the great variety of agricultural regimes within the Bilād al-Shām. His discussion of water sources is brief, but will be informative even, I suspect, to those who claim to know the region well. Although Ḥusayn's interpretation of village life is marred by notions of an unchanging peasantry, he does, for what it is worth, present potentially useful data on peasant food, clothing and housing. Perhaps the most useful feature of this book is a lengthy reconstruction of the agricultural calendar for the region, detailing what chores were done when in a given region. Such details as these go a long way to breaking up the deafening silence of the sources and the secondary literature about rural life.

However, the book must be used carefully. It is not, as the title promises, about Umayyad Syria, strictly speaking. In fact, the author's data come from a variety of sources dating from a variety of time-periods, with a good deal of contemporary (or at least modern) comparative observations thrown in. Thus, not all the statements made in the work can necessarily be applied to the Umayyad period. Nor are all his data necessarily applicable to Syria at all. His sections on land-tenure and taxation, for example, are based on the most normative of sources, legal works like Abū Yūsuf's *Kitāb al-kharāj* or agricultural manuals like the *al-Filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya* of Ibn Waḥshiya, sources that should be taken as Iraqi unless demonstrated otherwise.

And yet, beggars cannot be choosers, and those of us looking for useful guides to rural life in early Islamic Syria are definitely short on capital. This book offers a wealth of data on rural life in Syria, all of it carefully referenced to its source. A cautious reader with one eye on the footnotes will find much that is new and applicable to the early Islamic period, and even an incautious reader will learn a great deal of the often ineffable variety that charac-

terizes rural life in the non-industrial Near East.

-Paul M. Cobb

'Abd al-Bārī Muḥammad al-Ṭāhir. *Khurāsān wa mā warā' al-nahr: bilād aḍā'at al-'ālam bi l-islām* [Khurasan and Transoxiana: Lands which Illuminated the World with Islam]. Fayyūm: Riyāḍ al-Ṣāliḥīn, 1414/1994. Pp. 422; appendices and bibliography to p. 433.

This book demonstrates quite clearly that it is not only Western scholars who have been inspired following the breakup of the Soviet Union to take a renewed interest in the history of Central Asia. The author attempts to provide an extensive overview of the social and cultural history of the region in the third and fourth centuries A.H. and dedicates the volume, whether pretentiously or naively is hard to say, to "the Islamic republics of Central Asia: Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Afghanistan, and Iran."

The book is elaborately and rigidly divided into a number of parts, chapters, and sections; there is a brief abstract in English of the contents of the volume. The major topics covered include a geographical and historical introduction to Central Asia in pre-Islamic and early Islamic times, its society and classes, the daily life of its people, its cultural centers and institutions, and the intellectual achievements of its Muslim scholars down to the Sāmānid period. The bulk of the book, and potentially its most useful part, deals with the latter topic, which is clearly of the greatest interest to the author. He notes in considerable detail the prominent scholars from Central Asia and their works in the fields of the Islamic sciences (*qirā'a*, *tafsir*, *ḥadīth*, *'aqida*, *taṣawwuf*, *fiqh*), history, philology, medicine, chemistry, and mathematics. This amounts, however, to little more than a listing of names, bits of factual information, and copious references to the appropriate *riḥāl* literature. Simply as a

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compilation this has some merit. but its usefulness is limited by the fact that the book has no index to facilitate locating information about a particular individual.

The shortcomings of the book are manifest. The bibliography lists more than three hundred sources, but they are restricted to the usual examples of *turāth* plus modern works in Arabic and a handful of Persian sources and Orientalist classics (notably Barthold's *Turkestan* which happen to be available in Arabic translation. Throughout, the author's approach is encyclopedic rather than analytical and superficial rather than profound. His account of the history of the region, for example, devotes only about a page to events such as the Abbasid revolution or the conquests of Qutayba b. Muslim; the entire history of the regional dynasties from the Tāhirids to the Sāmānids is covered in ten pages. He has no interest in the various revolts and disturbances from the nativist rebellions to the communal feuding between Ḥanafis, Shāfi'is and other factions that affected the region during the first four centuries of the Islamic period. His geographical introduction merely gives the names of the major cities and districts and some representative information about them quoted from the medieval geographers; there is no real sense of either the nuances or the significance of the physical setting. The author simplistically views the pre-Islamic population as composed of Turks north of the Oxus and Persians south of it; he appears unaware of subtler distinctions among Soghdians, Khwarazmians, Ghuzz, or Karluks. His accounts of daily life (food, dress, housing, holidays) and institutions (such as the *madrassa*) are equally over-generalized and uninformed by modern scholarship in languages other than Arabic.

The most fascinating aspect of the book by far is the thoroughly Islamist perspective of the author and the meaning that he consequently attaches to Central Asian history. For him, the coming of Islam is clearly the decisive event in the history of the region, which reaches its zenith with the production of the canonical collections of *ḥadīth* by al-Bukhārī, Muslim and al-Tirmidhī and the theology of al-Māturīdī. He argues that prior to the Is-

lamic conquests Central Asia was handicapped by the political separation of Khurasan and Transoxiana, ethnic divisions between Persians and Turks, rigid class divisions, and the oppression of women (evidence of which he finds in the Zoroastrian acceptance of certain forms of incestuous marriage and the maintenance of large harems by aristocrats). Islam, he believes, brought a greater degree of equality and helped obliterate class discrimination. By limiting the number of wives to four and guaranteeing property rights, it improved the status of women. The Arab conquests united Khurasan and Transoxiana, and even greater solidarity was attained due to the willingness of the inhabitants to submerge local identities in the common religion of Islam and the culture of the Arabs (a trend he hopes to see revived). For him, the emigration of large numbers of Arabs, including numerous Companions of the Prophet, is sufficient explanation for the phenomenal importance of Central Asia in *ḥadīth* studies as well as for the spread of Arabic there, which in his view reduced the use of Persian to insignificance. He sees the various rulers of the local dynasties in a positive light as pious and enlightened, protectors of the ulema, and sponsors of Arabic culture. Surprisingly, he even extends this attitude to the Ṣaffārids, whom he praises along with the Tāhirids for their austere and ascetic lifestyle as a mode of behavior "needed by contemporary Muslim rulers."

-Elton L. Daniel

**Maḥmūd Aḥmad Naḥla, *Ṣuwar ta'liḥ al-kalām 'inda Ibn Hishām [Ibn Hishām's Description of Arabic Sentence Types]*. Alexandria: Dār al-ma'rifa al-jāmi'iya. 1994. 162 pages.**

Ibn Hishām (d. 761/1359) was one of the most important later Arab grammarians; he has even been called a "second Sibawayhi". His *Mughnī al-labīb* has recently been studied by Adrian Gully: *Gram-*

*mar and Semantics in Medieval Arabic* (1995). The present work is an in-depth study of the principles used by Ibn Hishām for the description of Arabic syntax. Since some of Ibn Hishām's works are still used as advanced text-books in the Arab world, Naḥla also studies the relevance of the categories established by Ibn Hishām for the teaching of Arabic to both native and non-native speakers today. This work will thus be of interest to specialists in the history of Arabic grammatical study and to those interested in the state of contemporary Arabic linguistics in the Middle East.

-John Hayes

**Seyfollāh Kāmbakhsh-Fard, *Ma'bad-e Anāhitā, Kangāvar: Kāvoshhā va Pajhōheshhā-ye Bāstānshenāsi va Bāzsāzi va Ehyā-ye Me'māri-ye Ma'bad-e Nāhid va Tāq-i Garrā [The Anahita Temple, Kangavar. Archaeological Excavations and Surveys: The Reconstruction and Architectural Restoration of the Nahid Temple and Tagh-e Gera]*. Tehrān: Iranian Cultural Heritage Organization Publications no. 23, 1955. xi+406pp., 24 maps, 74 figs., 315 b/w illus., 12 tables.**

The remains of the Temple of Anāhitā, the Zoroastrian goddess of water, are scattered in an area of 4.6 hectares in the middle of the town of Kangāvar in western Iran. These impressive remains have attracted travelers since the eighteenth century, but archaeological exploration of the site did not commence until 1968, when a team from the Archaeological Service of Iran led by Seyfollāh Kāmbakhsh-Fard embarked on a long-term project of archaeological investigations and architectural reconstructions. Kāmbakhsh conducted seven seasons of excavations and two seasons of reconstructions from 1968 to 1975. Several preliminary reports were published during the course of the work, and now after his retirement, Mr. Kāmbakhsh has published the final report



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of his works at the Temple of Anāhitā, Tāq-i Garrā (Gireh), and the Bisotūn (Behistun) relief.

The introductory Chapter 1 includes an environmental survey of the Kangāvar plain and a review of travelers' accounts of the Anāhitā Temple. Like many urban archaeological projects in Iran, the Anāhitā project started with purchasing and demolishing the contemporary dwellings built on and in the immediate environs of the site. Following the initial preparations, which are discussed in Chapter 2, several trenches were opened on and around the Temple platform to investigate the nature of the archaeological remains. Chapters 3 to 7 deal with the excavation process and remains of the Parthian to late Islamic periods. Chapter 8 deals with the mortuary remains of the Achaemenid to Islamic periods; and Chapter 9 presents the objects discovered in the excavations, including Parthian coins from the time of Tiridates I (ca. 220 B.C.E.) to Phraates IV (ca. 35 B.C.E.) and Sasanian stamp seals and sealed clay balls with Middle Persian inscriptions dating to the time of Peroz (459-484 C.E.). Finds of Islamic date are discussed in Chapter 10, including a remarkable gravestone with a Kufic inscription, coins from the time of the caliph al-Mahdī (ca. 140 A.H.), and coins from the Būyid and Saljūqid periods.

Chapter 11 is concerned with stratigraphy and chronology. The author attributes the foundation of the Temple to the Achaemenids and dates the platform, double stairways, and the surrounding wall to the Achaemenid period. Later, after the Seleucid interval, the Parthians reinvigorated the Temple, made major restorations and turned the Temple into a pilgrimage and funerary complex, as evidenced by numerous burials and votive objects of Parthian date discovered in and around the site. The author dates the first conflagration and destruction of the Temple to the time of the campaign of Tigranes in western Iran in about 70 B.C.E. Later, during the Sasanian period, the complex functioned as a fire-temple, but it was to be burnt down once again, a destruction the author blames on Muslim invaders. The complex never regained its importance and later became the residence of squatters and

commoners in Ilkhanid, Timurid, Safavid, and Qajarid times, continuing up to the contemporary era.

Chapter 12 is the report of restoration works at the Sasanian post of Tāq-i Garrā, forty kilometers to the east of Qasr-i Shirin, which was undertaken in conjunction with the Anāhitā project in 1973-74.

Going over the book, one stands astonished by the painstaking work done in the Temple of Anāhitā and the amazing amount of data buried in the text and footnotes. As mentioned earlier, several conflagrations in Parthian and Sasanian times, in addition to a severe and deliberate destruction, presumably by iconoclast Muslim invaders, and considerable churning and tearing up by settlers of later periods, have greatly damaged the integrity of the site. However, this report demonstrates that excavations were usually as meticulous as piecing together a shattered porcelain vase. Textual information, supplemented by numerous plans, line drawings, and vivid illustrations, is well presented and unusually easy to follow. This volume will undoubtedly remain a classic in the Persian scholarly literature on the archaeology and architecture of Iran, especially that of the Parthian and Sasanian periods.

Those who wish to purchase a copy of the book should contact: Publications Office, Iranian Cultural Heritage Organization, Azādi Avenue on Zanjāne Jonoubi Street, Tehran, Iran.

-Kamyar Abdi

**Mohammad-Yousef Kiāni and Wolfram Kleiss, *Kārvānsarāhā-ye Īrān [Iranian Caravansarais]*. Tehrān: Iranian Cultural Heritage Organization Publications, 1995. 778 pp., 27 color plates, 366 b/w illus., 26 maps, 435 plans, 235 figs. (in Persian and English).**

Bounded by the Caspian Sea on the north and Persian Gulf and the Sea of Oman on the south, the Iranian plateau has served as the main highway for contact between eastern and western cultures from the earliest times. Innumerable traders,

pilgrims, diplomats, or other travelers crossed the plateau in earlier periods and left their traces in the archaeological record. From the Achaemenid period, with the establishment of the *pax Persica*, interregional contact flourished and a new form of structure was introduced to the Iranian plateau, namely the stations for royal messengers which later grew and expanded to become the structures known as caravansarais. Whenever this pattern recurred in Iranian history and the Iranian plateau and adjacent regions were united under a stable government that was able to guarantee the safety of travelers, the interregional contact flourished and caravansarais mushroomed. The best-known example of this pattern occurred in the Safavid period, when, according to folklore, Shāh 'Abbās I (1588-1629) alone built 999 caravansarais.

The English term *caravansarai* is derived from the Persian word *kārvānsarā*, "lodging for a caravan." This term is used to describe a special type of structure with a central courtyard surrounded by rooms for travelers and stables for beasts of burden. The whole structure is usually enclosed by fortifications to protect the travelers and their belongings from bandits.

The book under consideration has been over twenty years in the making. Many caravansarais on the Iranian plateau needed to be identified, dated, recorded, and mapped. In addition to several articles and monographs published in Iran and elsewhere, two earlier versions of the book were printed in Iran in 1983 and 1988. In subsequent years, the authors successfully recorded the rest of the known caravansarais. But, instead of publishing them in a separate third volume, the entire results of the survey have been made available in this monumental volume.

In their introductory remarks, after an outline of the history of Iranian caravansarais, the authors classify Iranian caravansarais into four types:

1. The mountainous type.
2. The Persian Gulf (low sea-shore) type.
3. The miscellaneous type.
4. The central court with iwans type, which itself has four sub-types:



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- a) With two iwans.
- b) With four iwans.
- c) Circular.
- d) Octagonal-polygonal.

Each type and sub-type has been described and illustrated with examples. The Introduction provides a general discussion of the arrangement, decoration, staff, water supply, illumination and ventilation systems, furniture, and inscriptions of caravansarais. Then nearly 500 caravansarais are listed by province, accompanied with individual information, maps, plans, sections, black-and-white and occasionally color photographs.

This work is a superb achievement and a major contribution on the history of Iranian architecture. It will definitely serve as a valuable source of data for students of the field for many years to come.

Those wishing to procure a copy of this work should contact: Publications Office, Iranian Cultural Heritage Organization, Azādi Avenue on Zanjān-e Jonoubi Street, Tehran, Iran.

-Kamyar Abdi

**Muḥammad al-Arna'ūt, *Mu'tayāt 'an Dimashq wa bilād al-Shām al-janūbiya fī nihāyat al-qarn l-sādis 'ashar* [Information about Damascus and Southern Bilād al-Shām at the end of the 16th century] The Waqf Document of Sinan Pasha.** Damascus: Dār al-Ḥaṣād, 1993. 247 pp. with index and bibliography.

This book is the definitive edition of a *waqf* document (Zāhiriya Library 11253) of Sinan Pasha, one of the leading political figures in the Ottoman Empire during the second half of the 16th century. During his long career he served for a time as governor of Syria.

In his *waqf*, which is dated to 1596, Sinan Pasha used the income from numerous farms and villages in southern Bilād al-Shām that were under his control during his tenure as Grand Vezier to support the upkeep of clusters of buildings. These included mosques, tekkiyes, houses, *ribāts*, baths, and shops at al-Qaṭifa (be-

tween Damascus and Ḥims), Damascus, Ṣa'ṣa'a (south of Damascus), 'Uyūn al-tujjār (in northern Palestine), Ṣafad, and 'Akkā. These *waqf* funds did not long survive his death.

The book begins with a short biography of Sinan Pasha and then turns to more detailed examinations of the information about topography and buildings that the document provides, as well as information about various economic and social aspects such as agriculture, trade, industry, professions, standard of living, administration, weights and measures, and public facilities.

The text of the *waqf* document on pages 123 to 163 is accompanied by 347 footnotes that identify place names or indicate grammatical peculiarities in the text, such as the consistent dropping of *hamzas*. The presentation of the text suffers from the lack of any sort of numbering by line, section, or folio. Thus it is awkward to locate any specific passage of the *waqf* document.

This paperback book is reasonably well produced. The English references are marred by the usual high number of typos. The book has an index, and a few black-and-white photographs of Sinan Pasha's mosque, *sūq*, and *madrassa* in Damascus. It also has a map of major places in Bilād al-Shām in general, and two maps of Damascus. The book would have benefited from an additional map locating all the farms and villages mentioned in the *waqf* document.

-Robert Schick

**Sayyid Maqbul Ahmad. *A History of Arab-Islamic Geography (9th-16th Century A.D.)*.** Amman: AL al-Bayt University, 1995. xxxv + 454 pp.

This book in English is an excellent summary of the history of geography in the Islamic world in the medieval period. The range of the book is ambitious and the author fully meets his objective of comprehensiveness.

Part One (pages 5-251) summarizes the contributions that individual authors made to geographical literature. In-

formation is given about some 150 authors of works on astronomy, literature, philosophy, travel, world and regional geography, geographical dictionaries, and navigation. Each author receives anywhere from a paragraph or two (for minor authors, or those whose works have been lost) to several pages; the *littérateur* al-Jāhiz, for example, gets three pages. Among those authors with lengthier coverage are al-Birūnī, Ibn Mājid, Ibn Sinā, al-Mas'ūdī, and al-Zuhri. Al-Maqdisī, at thirteen pages, receives the most extended treatment. Authors who wrote in Persian, Turkish, or Syriac are mentioned only in passing and then only if their works were translated into Arabic or otherwise had an impact on Arabic writers; exceptions to this are the Persian historian Ḥāfeẓ-e Ābrū, whose history Ahmad himself edited, and the Turkish navigator Piri Reis. The coverage is arranged by rough time period: the classical period (9th-10th centuries), the apogee (11th-12th centuries), and the period of expanding horizons of geographical knowledge (13th-16th centuries).

Part Two (pages 255-358) covers geographical concepts and the various branches of geography, and in short chapters examines astronomy and Ptolemy's system of spheres as adopted by the geographers; mathematics and measurements of latitude and longitude; physical geography and climatology; and cartography. Ahmad gives more coverage to general, regional, and cultural geography, examining such topics as the limits of the world and oceans known to the Arab geographers and their writings about the distribution of races, but Ahmad's summaries of what they knew about the lands beyond the core Islamic lands are all too brief.

The book concludes with an appendix about the Waqwāq islands. The author locates the Waqwāq of the East in southeast Asia and the Waqwāq of the South in New Guinea or Australia. A second appendix examines al-Idrisi's changes to Ptolemy's Geography.

The production standards of the paperback book are good, but the text would have benefited from better copy-editing and proofreading; there is hardly a page without several typos or infelicitous English, such as on page 113: "Ibn Faḍlān nearly [rather than "barely"] escaped

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## FATWAS, FROM PAGE 33.

death." Such problems do not seriously impede understanding; it is just that the text is otherwise of such high quality that the book deserves better.

A few reproductions of maps from Miller's *Mappae Arabicae* are included. More and better maps would not have been amiss.

This book is the inaugural volume of the newly established AL al-Bayt University in Jordan. It can be ordered from: AL al-Bayt University, P.O. Box 772, Jubayha, Amman, Jordan.

-Robert Schick

analyze legal cases.

The works of David Powers and Maya Shatzmiller are worth reading for their skillful use of *fatwās* to illuminate aspects of medieval Muslim society. Mention should also be made in this regard of the work of Brinkley Messick. While his work centers on 20th-century Yemen, he nevertheless has made extensive use of *fatwās* in his research in ways that others may also find useful. See his article "The Mufti, the Text, and the World: Legal Interpretation in Yemen," *Man* 21 (1986):

102-19. Masud, Messick, and Powers have also jointly edited a work on *fatwās* entitled *Islamic Legal Interpretation: Muftis and their Fatwas* that is due to be released this year. It should also be full of valuable articles regarding the use and interpretation of *fatwās* and their relationship to Muslim medieval social history. Finally, Part II of my dissertation, *Adjudication in the Mālikī Madhhab* (Univ. of Chicago, 1995), contains my findings regarding *al-Ḥadiqa al-mustaqilla*. It also contains a more lengthy theoretical introduction to the problems facing any researcher who wishes to exploit this underutilized, but plentiful, source.

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## GRAPHICS CREDITS

Page 29. Plan of the Muristan. From D. Bahat, *The Illustrated Atlas of Jerusalem* (Jerusalem: Carta, 1990), 96.

Page 31. Western section through Kenyon's site C. From K. M. Kenyon, *Digging Up Jerusalem* (London: Ernest Benn, 1974), fig. 37.

Page 48. Portrait of Philip K. Hitti by Lester Bentley, now in the Department of Near Eastern Studies, Princeton University. Reproduced in J. Kritzeck and R. B. Winder (eds.), *The World of Islam. Studies in honour of Philip K. Hitti* (London: Macmillan, 1959), frontispiece.

Page 49. Shimlan, Lebanon. General view to northwest, August, 1966. Photograph by Fred M. Donner.

Page 50. Philip K. Hitti with John A. Wilson and Constantin Zurayk, Princeton, 1947. Photograph provided by Viola Hitti Winder.

Page 51. Philip K. Hitti receiving the medal of the Order of the Cedars, Commander's rank, from Lebanese President Camille Chamoun and Minister of Education Salim Sakhud. Beirut, April 19, 1956. Photograph by Antoine Dalati provided by Viola Hitti Winder.

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