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AL-'USUR AL-WUSTA

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# Bagh-e Babur, Kabul, Afghanistan: The German Archaeological Institute Excavations 2002

by U. Franke-Vogt, K. Bartl and T. Urban

**P**arks and gardens of the Mughal period (1526-1858) are a fascinating, but difficult, field of research. Descriptions of Persian gardens are repeatedly used due to the lack of authentic detailed descriptions from the Mughal period. Many Mughal gardens in present-day Pakistan, India, and Afghanistan, especially those of the early part of the period (16th/17th century), are destroyed or modernized; and it is only through archaeological fieldwork that these parks can be reconstructed. However, such investigations have started only recently. The layout of Mughal gardens is related to Persian parks of the Early Islamic period. This tradition of Islamic gardens has fore-runners in the Achaemenid and Sasanian periods. In both Persia and Iraq, gardens were created in palatial contexts, such as the well-known examples at Samarra in the 9th century AD and Shiraz of the 10th century AD. In the later Islamic period, Timurid gardens had a great influence on garden design, especially on those built by

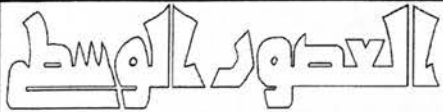
the first Mughal emperor Babur, who was himself of Timurid descent. Beginning with Babur's Ram Bagh as the earliest example, the development reached its most creative phase under Jahangir, was taken to perfection by Shah Jahan, and declined under Aurangzeb.

Several characteristics deriving from the older Persian traditions define Mughal gardens; these are principles of geometry, symmetry, straight channels and rectangular pools (i.e., the *chahar bagh* tradition). The layout and plan of these gardens reflects a symbolism evoking both paradise and political order (fig. 2). Mughal gardens in India also absorbed many local customs; Hindu craftsmen introduced an organic quality of design in their carved columns, lintels and eaves, and carved flowers. Mughal gardens belong to two types: those surrounding a mausoleum, and those developed for leisure. The Mughal mauso-

SEE BABUR, PAGE 2.

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## Al-'Usur al-Wusta

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## BABUR, FROM PAGE 1.

leum set in its garden did not derive from Iranian precedents; it is more likely to have evolved from Mongol tradition or even from Hindu mythology.

### Bagh-e Babur

Bagh-e Babur is one of the largest public gardens in Kabul, covering almost 11 ha. southwest of the old city near the Kabul River at the western slope of the Koh-e Sher Darwaza (Fig. 1). There is little documentation of the numerous alterations over its nearly 500 years of history. Today, only a few of its elements can be considered as original Mughal features with certainty. Among these are the general lay-out of the garden characterized by its central axis, the terraces with (newly created) pools, and the enclosure wall, which was probably built during the 17th century. The tomb of Babur and the mosque built by Shah Jahan also belong to the Mughal period. Parpagliolo describes four main phases of alterations identified through written sources or miniatures (1975/6):

1. Babur's tomb, its platform and marble screen, the mosque, the perimeter wall, water reservoirs, a caravanserai, and a gateway with a gilded cupola, all built by Jahangir and Shah Jahan (first half of the

17th century)

2. the pavilion and the palace, built by Amir Abdurrahman or Habibullah (end of the 19th/early 20th century)

3. the small building protecting Babur's tomb, swimming pools, water reservoirs, and three fountains, built by Nadir Shah (ca. 1930)

4. buildings, including a swimming pool and greenhouse, dating to the last forty years.

Following geophysical prospections carried out by ICOMOS, the German Archaeological Institute undertook an archaeological research program in the Bagh-e Babur prior to reconstruction by the Aga Khan Trust for Culture. The purpose was to rehabilitate a much disturbed area into an Islamic garden according to its original Mughal concept. During the first season an archaeological training project took place. A topographic map was prepared and three trenches were opened, on the 10th, 8th and 7th terraces of the garden (Fig. 2).

The octagonal structure on the 10th terrace Trenches A and B were located immediately west of the pavilion and reached a size of 20 x 7 m with three architectural phases (Fig. 3). The oldest structure was the octagonal pool or basin (Level 1), located almost exactly in the center of the

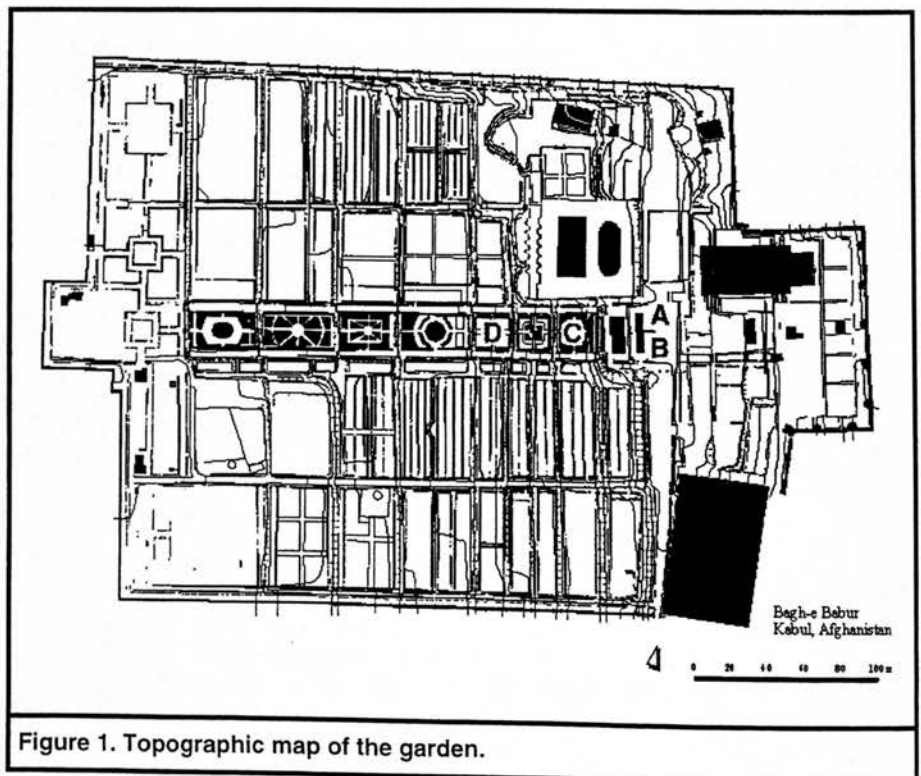


Figure 1. Topographic map of the garden.

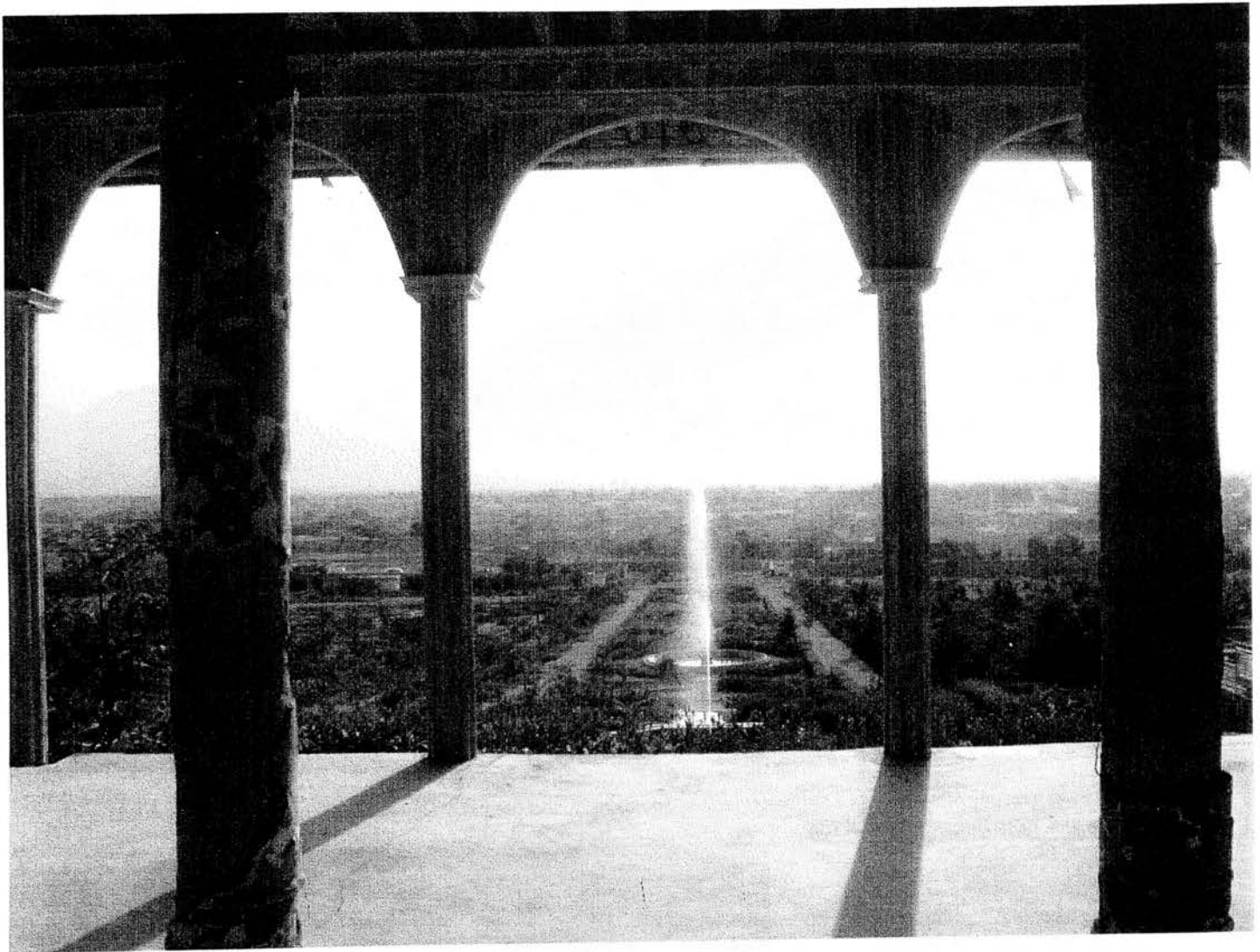


Figure 2. View over the garden towards pavilion, from west.

terrace. Its walls were made by a concrete-like mixture of lime, clay?, and small stones, while the floor is made of burnt bricks. Stratigraphy, shape and construction suggest that this is one of the pools built by Shah Jahan in the first half of the 17th century. The octagonal shape of the basin is known from other Mughal gardens, with well-known examples at Fatehpur Sikri (period of Akbar/1556-1605) and Nishat Bagh in Kashmir built by Jahangir (1605-1627).

Somewhat later the octagonal basin fell out of use and was replaced by a rectangular pool made of burnt bricks. The center of this basin was accentuated by a fountain framed by a mill stone, probably used

secondarily. The floor of this structure consists of mortar and slate slabs, but no traces of a water-proofed floor were found. The rectangular basin was probably constructed together with the pavilion at the end of the 19th century.

#### The channels on the 8th and 7th terraces

Trench C was situated in the center of the 8th terrace, in between the flower beds. Sections of an old water channel were discovered beneath fill and debris (fig. 4), directly in the main axis of the terrace as seen from the pavilion. Trench D revealed another water channel on the 7th terrace, running in an east-west direction. The dating of the channels is rather difficult since

finds, mainly pottery and bone, were few and indistinctive and derived from the mixed contexts of the fill layers.

#### The Future of the garden

The discovery of the old basins and of parts of the old water system not only add completely new structural aspects, they also confirm for the first time that the garden was in fact oriented along a central axis. In the light of the meager written and pictorial sources, only archaeological fieldwork can answer questions concerning the original structure of the garden. The eighteen days of excavations carried out at Bagh-e Babur, accompanied by a training program, provided new information on the axial lay-out

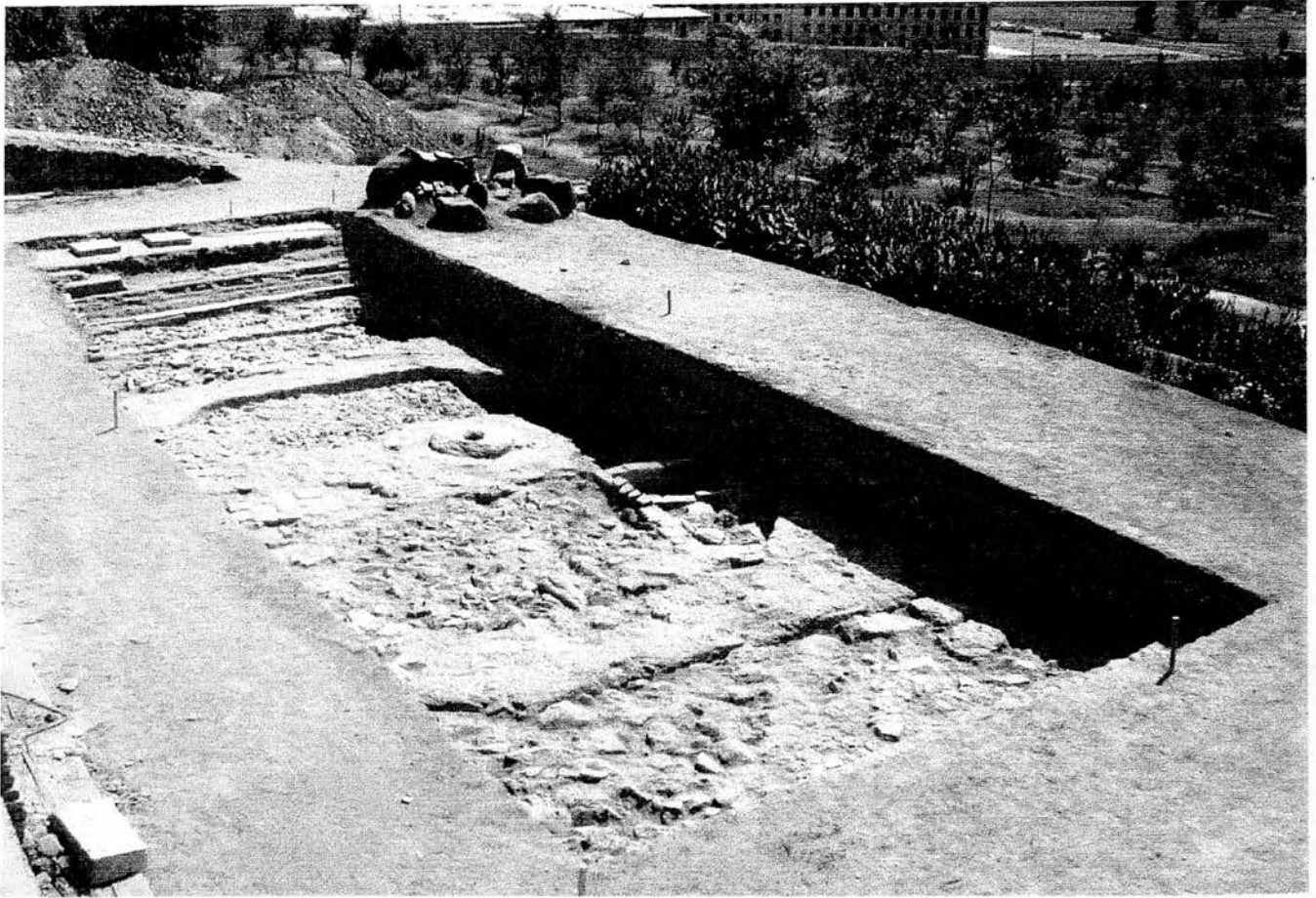


Figure 3. View over Trench A/B towards southwest: burnt brick basin and fountain (level 3) and octagonal structure (level 1). of the site from the continental plateau.

and terracing, its basins and channels. The next excavations will further clarify the structural layout and sequence of terraces, basins, and other structures and provide a better dating of the remains. One of the major tasks for the future is to combine these results with the communal needs for a recreation zone in this heavily damaged area of Kabul.

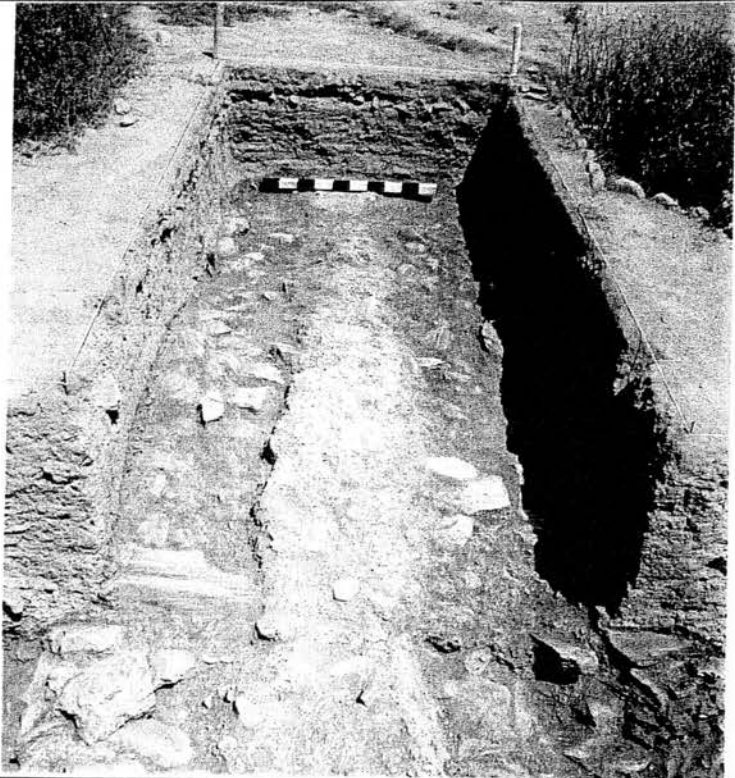


Figure 4. Trench C, water channel with stone lining, view towards east.

# What about Bilad al-Sham?

## The Importance of Umayyad Syria in the Formation of Islamic Theology

by Steven C. Judd

In the context of my continuing research on Umayyad influence on early Islamic thought, I have devoted a fair amount of attention to the intellectual life of the Umayyad capital at Damascus. I have, not surprisingly, found ample evidence, particularly in Syrian sources, that Damascus was a vibrant intellectual center during the Umayyad period. What is surprising is the degree to which Syrian, more specifically Umayyad, influence on Islamic thought has been overlooked by modern scholarship on *fiqh* and *kalām*. Our secondary sources are virtually silent about the influence of Umayyad Syria on the development of Islamic thought. The imperial capital appears to be devoid of serious intellectual activity. This is not the norm for seats of empire. Instead, capitals of ancient empires typically became their intellectual, religious, cultural and artistic centers. Why, then, does Umayyad Damascus seem to be an intellectual and theological vacuum?

Modern efforts to understand the development of early Islamic theology have faced a number of stubborn obstacles. The most vexing of these is the paucity of source materials from the first and second centuries of the Islamic era. The sources we are forced to rely upon are typically late, from the 3rd/9th century at the earliest, and predominantly originate from Iraq. The lack of early texts and the nature of the sources we do have produce several consequences for our understanding of early Islamic theology.

First, when purportedly early sources are found, they attract tremendous

attention. Think, for example of the attention scholars have devoted to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī's *risāla*, the *kitāb al-irjā'*, and to a lesser extent, the early Ḥanafī creeds. While analyses of these texts have contributed greatly to our understanding of the development of Islamic thought, they have also narrowed our focus to the internal workings of specific "documents" whose survival may be attributed to historical accident rather than to the importance of the documents themselves. These sources, fascinating as they are, may not accurately represent the intellectual environment from which they emerged.

Second, later third century sources are predominantly of Iraqi provenance and tend to minimize the influence of the Umayyad period on the formulation of Islamic doctrines. The latent bias of most 'Abbāsīd era historical sources, which typically denigrate the Umayyads as mere secular kings (*mulūk*), is well-known. Its impact on our understanding of early Islamic theology is less frequently recognized. The image of theology during the Umayyad period projected by available sources is one in which the regime itself did not play an active role in shaping religion. Instead theology, and concern about religious matters generally, were the realm of opponents to the regime, the piety-minded opposition as Marshall Hodgson labeled them. Opponents of the regime, quietist or otherwise, asserted their moral voice against a theologically silent, but still impious Umayyad dynasty. Consequently, the locus of religious discussion, and of religious authority, moves away from Damascus, the po-

litical and economic locus of the empire. Damascus becomes an imperial but not an intellectual capital.

This version of early Islamic theology, at least in part the product of accidents of source preservation and the biases of the Umayyads' vanquishers, merits reconsideration. Indeed, one would expect the Umayyad period to be rich in theological discourse. The empire's geographical growth brought with it an increasingly diverse collection of converts, who would likely have asked equally diverse questions about the faith. The prophet, his *Ṣaḥāba* and even the *tābi'ūn* were deceased, denying the community religious authorities who had intimate knowledge of early Islamic times and forcing them to engage in the contentious process of finding answers on their own. Surely as the capital of a growing empire, Damascus would have been the place where most of these new legal and theological questions would need to be answered.

Not only was Damascus the imperial capital, but it was also the site of Muslims' first intensive encounters with Christian theologians and with Greek methods of argumentation inherent to *kalam*. In Christian sources we find suggestions of lively religious debate between Christians and Muslims, such as the alleged correspondence between 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz and the Byzantine emperor Leo III, or John of Damascus' refutation of Islam. However, we do not find material from their Muslim opponents, or even strong evidence of such dialogues in Muslim sources.

It is essential to remember that

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*kalām* is inherently dialectical, that *kalām* is not merely theology, but the process of arguing about theology. To participate in *kalām* one must have an opponent. The Arabic sources do offer some evidence of the existence of theological foes to the Umayyads, including the qadarites, various kharijite groups and at least some of the murji'ites, incidentally all later labeled as heretics. By contrast, their Umayyad interlocutors remain largely invisible. The sophistication of the arguments made by Umayyad opponents and the evolution of those arguments suggest that they were engaged in debate with competent, pro-Umayyad scholars who could challenge their views effectively.

Uncovering the theological viewpoints of these pro-Umayyad *mutakallimūn*, or in some cases even identifying them, remains a difficult task. Unfortunately, it is improbable that a cache of previously undiscovered Umayyad era sources will suddenly materialize to transform our understanding of Umayyad era *kalām*. This should not deter us from trying to uncover Umayyad views. Instead, in order to see beyond the virtual silence of early sources regarding Umayyad theological activities, we must look more care-

fully at the sources that are available and pay particular attention to Syrian sources, such as Ibn 'Asākir's *Tarikh madīnat Dimashq* and al-Mizzi's *Tahdhib al-kamāl*, even though they are not particularly early.

A close examination of biographies of Syrian scholars from the Umayyad period does reveal their concern with matters of theology and their active participation in *kalām*. For instance, many of the theological views of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Amr al-Awzā'i, arguably the most influential scholar of the Umayyad period, can be gleaned from Ibn 'Asākir's 82 page biography. From a close reading of Ibn 'Asākir and other sources, we can reconstruct al-Awzā'i's conception of faith (*īmān*), his basis for rejecting 'Alid claims and, his position on qadar and other aspects of his theological views.

Ibn 'Asākir also offers important insights into the career of Makḥūl al-Shāmī, who is mistakenly labeled as a qadarite by some modern scholars. Instead, he actively debated a variety of theological topics and taught Ḥadīth to the children of the Umayyad caliphs.

It is also important to look more closely at scholars who are not usually identified as Syrians, but had close connec-

tions to Damascus. For instance, the Medinan al-Zuhrī, who is often described as the first to write down Ḥadīth (in some sources after being ordered to do so by the caliph Hishām), spent significant periods of time in Damascus and answered questions from several Umayyad caliphs. In fact, much of Ibn 'Asākir's 93 page biography of al-Zuhrī describes his interactions with 'Abd al-Malik and Hishām.

Dispensing with the assumption that Bilād al-Shām was devoid of intellectual, particularly theological, activity during the early Islamic period, may significantly alter our understanding of the development of Islamic theology. The reconstruction of the theological atmosphere of Umayyad Damascus requires us to rely on later, particularly Syrian sources like Ibn 'Asākir and to dig deeply into the biographies of scholars like al-Awzā'i, Makḥūl al-Shāmī and al-Zuhrī, along with their many students, who either lived in or frequented the imperial capital. While this may be a leap of faith for some, it is certainly as tenable as the alternative of accepting the proposition that the imperial capital of the Islamic Empire had little or no influence on the formation of the emerging faith.

## Franz Rosenthal

1914-2003

With great sadness MEM conveys news of the death of one of its distinguished Honorary Members, Professor Franz Rosenthal, on April 8, 2003, in New Haven, CT. He was 88. Professor Rosenthal, who emigrated from his native Germany just before the Second World War and taught at Dropsie College before moving to Yale University, where he spent the majority of his career, was well-known for his many outstanding publications in the fields of Arabic and Islamic studies and in Aramaic studies, including *A History of Muslim Historiography*, *Knowledge Triumphant*, his translation of Ibn Khaldun's *Muqaddima*, and dozens of other titles.

A fuller notice on Franz Rosenthal will appear in a future issue of *al-'Usur al-Wusta*.

## Obituary

### In Honor of George Makdisi

1917-2002

by Ridwan al-Sayyid

[Translated by Jonathan Brown]

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On September 5th 2002, George Makdisi, professor emeritus of Islamic studies at the University of Pennsylvania, passed away at the age of 85. In a career that spanned forty years, his research and teaching blazed a new and uniquely balanced path in the study of Islamic civilization. Makdisi never gained a "popular" following, but his work certainly deserved it, for he was central figure in our holistic re-envisioning of Islamic civilization for our modern context.

George Makdisi was born in the United States during World War I to a family that originally hailed from Northern Lebanon. After graduating from high school he planned to attend law school and eventually hoped to pursue a career in the state department. He dreamt that one day he would return to Lebanon as the American ambassador.

After graduating from college with a degree in legal studies, however, something happened that changed his plans: when World War II erupted, he went to Princeton to study Arabic and Islam and was subsequently recruited by the US Army to work in their translation bureau. When he returned to Princeton, Philip Hitti advised him to go to Paris in order to study under Louis Massignon. Hitti believed that Makdisi's true interests lay in the study of religious history, and at that time no opportunities existed in the United States for studying the history of Islam as a faith. As concerns the Islamic world, the American academy was primarily interested in philology, history and emigrant Arabic literature.

Makdisi heeded the advice of his professor. He had learned French at home as well as during the war, and he decided to move to Paris, where he would remain for six years. There he became a valued student and personal friend of Massignon. He also had occasion to meet Henri Laoust, who left an indelible mark on Makdisi's career.

This effect was borne out in Makdisi's unusual choice for his dissertation topic: the life of Ibn 'Aqil al-Hanbali and his work in the fields of *ḥadīth*, *fiqh* and *tafsīr*. This choice, however, was not odd because Massignon lacked some familiarity with Hanbalis. In fact he had learned from his work on al-Ḥallāj that the mystic had been counted among their number and that it was the Hanbali judge of Baghdad and his colleagues who objected to the accusations of heresy mounted against al-Ḥallāj and the death sentence they carried. This had led Massignon to study the various Sufi factions to which some Hanbalis adhered as well as their doctrine of Divine Love (*al-ḥubb al-ilāhī*). Thus Massignon had superceded the prevailing view of the Hanbalis as a purely literalist legal school by discovering elements of the Hanbali world that were extremely vibrant in the mystical sense, even verging on doctrines of al-Ḥallāj himself. In this new and almost bizarre understanding of Hanbalism one can even perceive, if I may say so, strikingly leftist sentiments when one views a man like Ibn 'Aqil (d. 513 / 1119), who became famous for issuing the maxim "where there is social good there lies God's law."

Massignon, a devotee of spiritual experience in all its forms (he was raised Catholic, loved Islam deeply, was drawn to the Jesuits and Benedictines and died a Melchite priest, belonging to a denomination within the Catholic Church but using an Eastern rite), startled Makdisi with the wide range of his interests, and his incisive knowledge. The student admired his teacher's love for exploring the duality of meaning and the beauty inherent in marginal or obscure issues. It may have been Massignon who alerted Makdisi to Ibn 'Aqil, who was otherwise unknown at the time. Massignon must have known of him from the scholar's spiritual references to al-Ḥallāj and because he was accused of being a closet Mu'tazilite.

It seems that Makdisi, a conservative Catholic, was drawn to the Hanbalis for the same reasons as Henri Laoust: the rigid consensus on which the *ahl al-sunna wa al-jamā'a* was built, the fact that they defended the Arabic caliphate in the face of the *Shu'ūbiyya* movements and sectarian strife, their proximity to the Qur'an and the Prophet's sunna, their having rescued man's relationship with God from the realm of dialectical argumentation, and their understanding of *fiqh* as the forum in which the needs of the people could be addressed.

Although these issues arose directly from discussing Makdisi's dissertation, it seems that Islamic cultural and religious history and the Hanbalis in particular remained the focus of Makdisi's interests until his death, just as they had for professor Laoust. Makdisi began his academic life with Ibn 'Aqīl, and at the time of his death he still was occupied with correcting his manuscript for the last volume of the Hanbali scholar's *al-Wādiḥ fī uṣūl al-fiqh*. Between the 1950's and the 1990's he published many studies on the Hanbalis and the *ahl al-ḥadīth*, among them a two-volume work by Ibn 'Aqīl called *al-Funūn*, which originally consisted of approximately fifty volumes in all. He also published another work by Ibn 'Aqīl on *uṣūl al-fiqh* as well as Ibn Qudāma al-Ḥanbalī's *Tahrīr al-naẓar fī 'ilm al-kalām*.

Makdisi bequeathed his interest to his students, for Merlin Swartz wrote his dissertation on Ibn al-Jawzī and published that scholars' book on preachers and thinkers. Eventually he published his book on ḥadīth concerning God's Attributes (*aḥādīth al-ṣifāt*).

After returning from France, Makdisi worked at several American universities. The academic surroundings had changed, for by the early 1960's Arabic and Islamic studies in the United States had undergone profound developments and matured significantly. These changes had taken place in part because of the interests that the American government had come to have in the field. In the wake of the Second World War, when America's interests in the Middle East and the Islamic world took on a new dimension, the United States had found that the poorly developed state of Arabic and Islamic studies insufficient to meet the country's wartime and postwar needs. Specifically, the intense competition of the Cold War necessitated a deeper and more up-to-date understanding of Arabs and Muslims. Also, the novel trends of area studies and cultural-civilizational studies provided a new forum for Arabic and Islamic scholarship. One might add one final factor, namely the migration of many European scholars from a variety of fields to the United States either as refugees or because of attractive employment offers. Among the prominent Arabist arrivals we find H.A.R. Gibb, Joseph Schacht, Gustave von Grunebaum, Fazlur Rahman and Bernard Lewis.

Makdisi worked with Gibb at Harvard, and when that venerable scholar's chair was left open after his death, Makdisi competed for it with the rest of his colleagues. When Muhsin Mahdi was selected to replace Gibb, Makdisi chose to leave Harvard and accept an offer from the University of Pennsylvania, where he worked from the mid 1970's until his early eighties, when he chose to retire after spending thirty years there.

Makdisi did not identify with Gibb, Schacht and von Grunebaum as much as Mahdi did, but it is specifically to Gibb's credit that both Makdisi and Mahdi followed in his footsteps to a great extent. Gibb played a foundational role in bringing new methodologies to bear on Arabic and Islamic studies in both England and America, especially in the field of modern Islam. While Makdisi was interested in the cultural history of Islam's middle period, primarily the Islamic educational system, Mahdi was solely concerned with the Aristotelian philosophical legacy in Islamic thought. Both men were Arab, and their studies thus had important personal dimensions for them. Muhsin Mahdi, who also retired several years ago, saw in the Aristotelian rationalism represented in the thought of al-Farābī and Ibn Rushd the future of Islam and the Arab world. Conversely, Makdisi felt that it was essential to study the authentic core of Islamic intellectual history and not its imported elements. These indigenous aspects of Islamic civilization, Makdisi believed, had the greatest influence on Islam's past and held the most potential for affecting its future. In one sense Makdisi was more occupied with religious life and the importance of religion because he was a practicing Catholic as well as due to his interests in religious life in America. Moreover, unlike Mahdi, he had little connection to the modern Arab world and its lifestyle. As a result he had little interest in the various rightist and leftist revolutions and the political or cultural struggles going on in the Arab world.

Makdisi's biggest impact was not his study of the Hanbalis or Ash'arism, although his contributions to these aspects of religious and cultural history were very important. Rather, it was his study of the educational system in classical Islamic civilization that proved the most influential of his works. He examined the curriculum used in the madrasa system, its composition and how it emerged. He investigated how madrasas appeared, how they were run and their systems of funding. How did literature and the transmission of learning (*taḥammul al-'ilm*) come about, and how was it passed on both geographically and chronologically from generation to generation? What were the jobs and positions occupied by scholar in these societies? Where these functionaries selected for their positions and what did the notion of selection or elitism imply in that context? What was the relationship, or network of relationships,



between these scholars and the state? What explains the massive efflorescence of madrasas and their accompanying pious endowments (*awqāf*)? Last but not least, what was the place of knowledge, scholars and the madrasa system in the grand venture of Islamic civilization? What role did they play in that civilization's relations with the West?

George Makdisi was perceptive enough to demonstrate that the Arab-Islamic system of learning, throughout its various dispensations, was based on one model whose different manifestations and intellectual focuses shifted according to geographical location, socio-economic surroundings and ideological leaning. Its basis, however, remained the same: the study of language, religion, and philosophical sciences, with logic and its auxiliary disciplines binding all these subjects together. It was the parochially devout from among the merchants and scholars who first founded the madrasa (Hanbalis, Shafi'is, Shiites and the Brethren of Purity), but they were unable to perpetuate the system without the intervention of the state (the *Nizāmiyya* and the system it spawned). Indeed the European university system is drawn directly from its Islamic predecessor, but with different priorities. While the Islamic world had founded its educational program on essentially humanist notions, Europeans developed humanism by caulking it onto the Scholastic educational model that they had borrowed from the Muslims.

Some of Makdisi's innovative work has been translated into Arabic. Iḥsān 'Abbās translated two long articles on the emergence of the madrasa system written in 1953 and 1955 for the journal of the American University in Beirut: *al-Abḥāth*. It is ironic that it was 'Abbās who vehemently criticized Makdisi's edition of Ibn 'Aqīl's *Funūn* in the mid 1970's. Later, in the 1990's, King 'Abd al-'Azīz University in Jedda undertook the translation of his first book on madrasas. As for Makdisi's book on humanism in the Islamic educational system as well as his articles on cultural and religious history, they remain out of the reach of Arabophone students to this day.

Just as George Makdisi's entrance into academia coincided with the beginning of a new stage in Arabic and Islamic studies in America, so does his death symbolize the end of that period, which had already been declining for two decades. For, in the beginning of the 1980's, Arabic and Islamic studies in the United States witnessed the emergence of a strongly critical trend in scholarship, which was also imported from Europe. It called for a reexamination of Islam's origins, the historical personality of the Prophet, the nature of the Qur'an and Sunna and, in effect, the entirety of received opinion about the course of early Islamic history. This approach rejected the then definitive explanations of these issues, which depended on the study of cultural and civilizational structures, their rise, development and eventual fall. These notions had provided the basis for von Grunebaum, Lewis, Rahman, Gibb and Makdisi's work. Another characteristic that distinguished this new state of the field is the nearly complete separation between "Middle Eastern Studies" and "Arabic and Islamic Studies," not only because of differing interests but also as result of varying methodologies. Unlike the more textually driven tradition of Arabic and Islamic studies, "Middle Eastern Studies" incorporated social science approaches, anthropology and sought to interpret phenomena materially, often through the use of political and economic research. These new trends have been thrust to the forefront, as the tragic events of September 11th pushed the United States to a deeper involvement in Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies. The field has taken on strong domestic implications, for in this country there has long been a struggle over the image of Islam and Arabs. Obviously the two are totally different constructs, but the American populace, specifically the right wing evangelical movement, had not yet grasped this distinction. Martin Kramer wrote a booklet several months ago in which he accused American scholars of Islam and the Middle East of harboring pro-Arab and pro-Islam biases and, as a result, of having failed to sufficiently diagnose the dangers presented by Islamic fundamentalism. Kramer also claimed that most of these scholars had their chairs endowed or supported by various governments. In his eyes, these scholars were in many ways responsible for the events that transpired in New York and Washington.

The tragedy of September 11th and the events that followed have spurred a wide variety of interests in Arabs and the Islamic world. In the shadow of Makdisi's death and at the close of his seminal career, it is immediately clear that, at the dawn of the twenty first century and in the wake of profound global change, the study of Arabs and Muslims, their past, present and future, desperately needs scholars of his caliber.

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# ANNUAL MEETINGS

Organization	When and Where	Information	Telephone/Fax/Email/Web
<b>Middle East Studies Association</b> (2003 Meeting)	Nov. 6-9, 2003 Anchorage, AK [Paper Deadline: Past]	MESA Secretariat University of Arizona 1232 N. Cherry Ave. Tucson, AZ 85721	(520)-621-5850 mesa@ccit.arizona.edu www.mesa.arizona.edu
<b>Middle East Studies Association</b> (2004 Meeting)	Nov. 20-23, 2004 San Francisco, CA [Abstract Deadline: Feb. 15, 2004]	see preceding	see preceding
<b>Middle East Studies Association</b> (2005 Meeting)	Nov. 19-22, 2005 Washington, DC	see preceding	see preceding
<b>American Oriental Society</b> (2003 Meeting)	Apr. 4-7, 2003 Nashville, TN [Abstract Deadline: Past]	American Oriental Society Hatcher Graduate Library University of Michigan Ann Arbor, MI 48109-1205	(734)-764-7555 www.umich.edu/~aos
<b>American Oriental Society</b> (2004 Meeting)	Mar. 12-15, 2004 San Diego, CA	see preceding	see preceding
<b>American Historical Association</b> (2004 Meeting)	Jan. 8-11, 2004 Washington, DC [Paper Deadline: Past]	American Historical Assn. 400 A Street, S. E. Washington, DC 20003	(202)-544-2422 www.Theaha.org
<b>American Historical Association</b> (2005 Meeting)	Jan. 6-9, 2005 Seattle, WA [Paper Deadline: Feb. 15, 2004]	see preceding	see preceding
<b>The Medieval Institute</b> (2003 Meeting)	May 8-11, 2003 Kalamazoo, MI [Abstract Deadline: Past]	The Medieval Institute Western Michigan Univ. 1903 W. Michigan Avenue Kalamazoo, MI 49008-5432	Tel.: (616)-387-8745 Fax: (616)-387-8750 mdvl_congres@wmich.edu www.wmich.edu/medieval
<b>Seminar for Arabian Studies</b> (2003 Meeting)	July 17-19, 2003 London, UK	Seminar for Arabian Studies c/o Venetia Porter Dept. of Oriental Antiquities The British Museum Gt. Russell Street London WC1B 3DG, UK	Tel.: 44-207-323-8843 Fax: 44-207-323-8561 seminararab@hotmail.com www.arabianseminar.org.uk

# ANNUAL MEETINGS

Organization	When and Where	Information	Telephone/Fax/Email/Web
<b>College Art Association</b> (2004 Meeting)	Feb. 18-21, 2004 Seattle, WA [Proposal Deadline: Past]	Suzanne Schanzer 275 Seventh Ave. New York, NY 10001	(212)-691-1051 ext13 www.collegeart.org
<b>College Art Association</b> (2005 Meeting)	Feb. 16-19, 2005 Atlanta, GA	see preceding	see preceding
<b>International Medieval Congress</b> (2003 Meeting) "Power & Authority"	July 14-17, 2003 Leeds, UK [Abstract Deadline: Past]	M. O'Doherty/J. Opmeer IMC, Parkinson 1.03 University of Leeds Leeds LS2 9JT, UK	Tel.: +44 (113) 233-3614 Fax: +44 (113) 233-3616 IMC@leeds.ac.uk www.leeds.ac.uk/imi/imc/imc.htm
<b>International Medieval Congress</b> (2004 Meeting) "Clash of Cultures"	July 12-15, 2004 Leeds, UK [Abstract Deadline: Aug. 31, 2003]	see preceding	see preceding
<b>Dumbarton Oaks Conference</b> (2003 Meeting) "The Sacred Screen: Origins, Development, and Diffusion"	May 9-11, 2003 Washington, DC [Paper: Invitation only]	Dumbarton Oaks 1703 32nd St., N. W. Washington, DC 20007	(202)-339-6940 www.doaks.org
<b>ARAM International Conference</b> (2003 Meeting) "Alcohol & Oils"	July 7-9, 2003 Oxford, UK	ARAM The Oriental Institute Oxford University Pusey Lane Oxford OX1 2LE, UK	Tel.: 44-1865-514041 Fax: 44-1865-516824 aram@ermine.ox.ac.uk users.ox.ac.uk/~aram
<b>ARAM International Conference</b> (2004 Meeting) "Palestinian Christianity"	July 6-8, 2004 Oxford, UK	see preceding	see preceding
<b>American Academy of Religion</b> (2003 Meeting)	Nov. 22-25, 2003 Atlanta, GA [Paper Deadline: Past]	American Academy of Religion 1703 Clifton Rd., Suite G-5 Atlanta, GA 30329-4019	(404)-727-7920 aar@emory.edu www.aarweb.org/annualmeet
<b>American Academy of Religion</b> (2004 Meeting)	Nov. 20-23, 2004 San Antonio, TX [Abstract Deadline: Mar. 2004]	see preceding	see preceding
<b>American Academy of Religion</b> (2005 Meeting)	Nov. 19-22, 2005 Philadelphia, PA [Abstract Deadline: Mar. 2005]	see preceding	see preceding

# NEWS OF MEM

## New MEM Secretary-Treasurer

At its annual business meeting, held in conjunction with the annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association in Washington D.C. last November, MEM's membership elected Professor Kate Lang of the University of Wisconsin, Eau Claire, as next Secretary-Treasurer. (As most of you know, the offices of Secretary and Treasurer will be split in the near future, and Professor Lang will then become Secretary.)

Professor Lang received her Ph.D. in Early Islamic History from the University of Chicago in 1997. She is currently Assistant Professor of History at the University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire, where she teaches Middle East History, Historiography and Women's History. Her research focuses on Arabic historiography.

## MEMber News

**Shahzad Bashir** (Carleton College) published *Messianic Hopes and Mystical Visions: The Nurbakshiya between Medieval and Modern Islam* (South Carolina, 2003).

**Paul M. Cobb** (University of Notre Dame) recently published "Virtual Sacrality: Making Muslim Syria Sacred before the Crusades," in *Medieval Encounters* 8 (2002): 35-55, and "Community versus Contention: Ibn 'Asakir and 'Abbasid Syria," in James E. Lindsay, ed., *Ibn 'Asakir and Early Islamic History* (Princeton: Darwin Press, 2002). He is currently at work on a book about the Banu Munqidh family of Shayzar.

**Fred M. Donner** (University of Chicago) presented "Orientalists and the Rise of Islam" at a conference on "Orientalism: Dialogue of Civilizations" held at the University of Jordan in Amman during October, 2002. In November he delivered the first Wadie Jwaideh Memorial Lecture at Indiana University, with the title "Seeing the Rise of Islam in Historical Perspective." In February, he participated in a round-table discussion at the University of

Pennsylvania on the topic, "Who Wrote [Down] the Qur'an?", and lectured at Brown University on "War, Peace, and Communal Identity in Early Islam," as part of Brown's Kirk Lecture Series on "War, Peace, and Reconciliation in the Ancient World." His chapter on "Uthman and the Rashidun Caliphs in Ibn 'Asakir's *Ta'rikh madinat Dimashq: A Study in Strategies of Compilation*," recently appeared in James E. Lindsay, ed., *Ibn 'Asakir and Early Islamic History* (Princeton: Darwin Press, 2002). He is [still] at work on a book for general readers and undergraduates, tentatively entitled "Muhammad and the Believers: At the Origins of Islam."

**Peter Golden** (Rutgers University) has published *Turk Halklari Tarihine Giris*, trans. Osman Karatay (Ankara: KaraM, 2002), a Turkish translation of his *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1992) and *Nomads and Their Neighbours in the Russian Steppe. Turks, Khazars and Qipchaqs*, Variorum Collected Studies Series, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).

**Leor Halevi** (Texas A&M University) recently published "The Theologian's Doubts: Natural Philosophy and the Skeptical Games of Ghazali," in the *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 63.1 (2002): 19-39. He is the author of "Bernard, Explorer of the Muslim Lake: A Pilgrimage from Rome to Jerusalem, 867," in *Medieval Encounters: Jewish, Christian and Muslim Culture in Confluence and Dialogue*, 4.1 (March 1998): 24-50.

**Th. Emil Homerin** (University of Rochester) published *'Umar Ibn al-Fārid: Sufi Verse, Saintly Life* (Paulist Press, 2001), which includes translations of the poet's Poem of the Sufi Way and the Wine Ode. A second revised edition of Homerin's *From Arab Poet to Muslim Saint: Ibn al-Fārid, His Verse, and His Shrine* was published by the American University in Cairo Press in 2001. More recently, Homerin was the guest editor of *Mamluk Studies Review* VII (2003), a volume dedicated to Arabic Literature in Mamluk Domains (1250-1517). His essay in this volume is entitled "Living Love: The Mystical Writings of 'Ā'ishah al-Bā'ūniyah (d. 922/

1516).”

**Kate Lang** (University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire) received a \$100,000 grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities Schools for a New Millennium Program to assist teachers in implementing history and technology projects across the curriculum at Augusta Middle/High School in Augusta, Wisconsin.

**Neil MacKenzie** is continuing his research on historical and archaeological aspects of the 'Ajlun area under the Ayyubids and Mamluks. He is an ACOR/CAORC fellow (Sept. 2002-April 2003).

**Christopher Melchert** (Oxford) published, “The Piety of the Hadith Folk,” in the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 34 (2002): 425-39, and “Qur’anic Abrogation Across the Ninth Century,” in *Studies in Islamic Legal Theory*, ed. Bernard Weiss, *Islamic Law and Society* 15 (Leiden: Brill, 2002): 75-98.

**Josef W. Meri** is Visiting Research Fellow in Medieval Islamic History & Civilization at the Institute of Ismaili Studies,

London. He is serving as General Editor of Routledge’s *Medieval Islamic Civilization: An Encyclopedia*. Meri has finished writing the entry “Hagiography, Islamic” for the *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* supplement and has also recently completed an annotated English translation of ‘Ali b. Abi Bakr al-Harawi’s *Kitāb al-Ishārāt ilā Ma’rifat al-Ziyārāt* (A Lonely Wayfarer’s Guide to Pilgrimage). He is presently working on a monograph on Sacred Landscapes of the Medieval Islamic World (Muslim, Jewish, and Christian).

**Bernard O’Kane** (American University in Cairo) published *Early Persian Painting: Kalila and Dimna Manuscripts of the Late-Fourteenth Century* (London and AUC: I.B. Tauris, 2003) and “Lifting the Veil from the Face of Persian Painting,” *Oriental Art* 48/2 (2002): 55-60. His article “Siyah Qalam: The Jalayirid Connections,” is forthcoming in *Oriental Art*.

**Lawrence Potter** (Columbia University) recently published an article titled, “Herat Under the Karts: Social and Political forces” in *Views from the Edge: Essays in Honor of Richard W. Bulliet* (New York: Middle

East Institute, Columbia University, 2003).

**Maria Tolmacheva** (Washington State University) has been awarded a sabbatical leave for spring 2003. In February, 2003, she will participate in the international conference, “Middle Eastern Islam from Afar: South/Southeast Asian and African Perspectives,” convened at Bellagio, Italy. Her travel plans include visits to: China, Lebanon, Syria, Russia, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan.

**William Tucker** (University of Arkansas) recently completed an article titled, “Bayan b. Sam’an and the Bayaniyya” which will be published in *Shiism*, ed. Etan Kohlberg (Ashgate/Varioum, forthcoming).

**Hayrettin Yucesoy** (Washington University in St. Louis) is working on, “A Supralunar Look at Historiography: The Case of Islamic Historiography.” This article on the solar and lunar eclipses in Arabic historiography will serve historical astronomy by providing examples from arabic historiography, but more importantly it will contribute to the study of medieval Islamic historiography.

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## The Mamluk Bibliography Project

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The Middle East Documentation Center at The University of Chicago is pleased to announce that the entirely rebuilt Mamluk Bibliography Project is now online at <http://www.lib.uchicago.edu/e/su/mideast/mamluk>

The Mamluk Bibliography is an on-going project (begun in 1986) of the Middle East Documentation Center at the University of Chicago, the aim of which is to compile two comprehensive bibliographies: one records published primary sources relating to the Mamluk sultanate of Egypt and Syria, and the other records secondary research and discussion germane to the subject. The secondary source bibliography is greatly expanded since its last update, and the primary source bibliography has never before been available. Both can be searched and browsed using new software created specifically for this project. Between them, the two databases contain more than 10,000 entries.

It is hoped that the comprehensive nature of these bibliographies will make more readily apparent the field’s advances and its deficiencies. Entries in the bibliographies may fall outside the chronological and geographical limits traditionally used to demarcate the sultanate if their content has some relevance to the period. Two major examples of this are Ibn al-’Arabi and Ibn al-Farid, both of whom died before the Mamluk period but influenced it greatly. Because no attempt has been made to evaluate the scholarly value of the material included here, the bibliography may provide some insight into various perceptions of the subject as well.

The bibliographies have been tested, but there are certainly bugs yet to be found. Despite this, the bibliographies are being made available to the public, and it is hoped that users will report any issues that arise.

This is not a final product, and never will be. New entries are added to the database literally every day (though the online version will be updated quarterly). The primary source bibliography, in particular, is still in its infancy. Its several thousand records are only a fraction of the tens of thousands that exist. It is being made available at this point in its development because it has reached a size at which it may be helpful to users.

For a full explanation of the project and its history, see About the Mamluk Bibliography Project, which is linked from the above page.

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## Conferences and Symposia

### The Ninth International Workshop of the Department of Middle Eastern Studies at Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Beer-Sheva

"The Dissemination of Islam within and beyond Muslim Societies

- Theoretical, Historical, Anthropological and Comparative Perspectives"

June 10-11, 2003

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The conference will be the concluding event of a semester-long workshop on the dissemination of Islam and Islamic ideologies in diverse historical and contemporary settings. Some of the papers that will be presented are:

Brannon Wheeler (Univ. of Washington), "Polemic or Conversion? Biblical Israel and the Jews of Medina in Muslim Qur'ān Exegesis;" Michael Chamberlain (Univ. of Wisconsin), "Ibn Taymiyya on da'wa and Legitimate Rule;" Rainer Brunner (Orientalisches Seminar, Freiburg), "The Shi'itization of Iran under the Safawids as reflected in Muhammad Baqir al-Majlisi's 'Bihār al-Anwār';" Daphna Ephrat (Open Univ., Israel), "From an Elite of Mystical Wayfarers to Local Communities: the Dissemination of Sufism in Late Medieval Palestine;" Anke von Kuegelgen (Univ. of Bern), "The Role of the Naqshbandiyya Mujaddidiya in Disseminating Islam within Central Asia in the 18th and 19th Centuries."

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### 38th International Congress on Medieval Studies

Kalamazoo, Michigan, May 8-11, 2003

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The 38th International Congress on Medieval Studies will be held on the campus of Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan, from 8-11 May, 2003. Some of the papers which will be presented are:

Nora Berend (Univ. of Cambridge), "Legislating Conversion in Hungary;" Alex Metcalfe (Univ. of Leeds), "Medieval Sicily: From Arab-Muslim to Latin Christian;" Benjamin Liu (Univ. of Connecticut), "Alfonso X and Muslim Conversion;" Ibrahim Najjar (Univ. of Sharjah), "al-Ghazali on Sense Perception;" David Vila (John Brown Univ.), "Elias of Neapolis and Conversion to Islam in the First Abbasid Century;" Brian Ulrich (Univ. of Wisconsin-Madison), "Fitna among Christians: Sultan al-Kamil and the Appointment of Coptic Patriarch Cyril III;" Karen Mathews (Univ. of California-Santa Cruz), "The Mamluks and Their 'Infidel' Neighbors: Religious Conflict and Its Representation in Mamluk Architecture;" Telia McGuire (Univ. of Central Oklahoma), "The Assassins;" Jon McGinnis (Univ. of Pennsylvania), "On the Possibility of Discovering Causal Powers: Avicenna's Account of Experimentation and the Asharite Challenge;" James B. South (Marquette Univ.), "Nicoletta Vernia, Averroes, and Immortality;" Brian A. Catlos (Univ. of California-Santa Cruz), "A Matter of Perspective: Determining the Nature of Inter-Confessional Relations in Medieval Iberia;" Cynthia Robinson (Univ. of New Mexico), "But, Does It Say Anything? The Corpus of Inscriptions in 'Mudejar' Palace-Convents of the Fourteenth Century;" Heather Ecker (Smithsonian Institution), "Mudejar Qur'ans?" Jessalyn Bird (Northwestern Univ.), "Infidels, Heretics, or Allies? Oliver of Paderborn's and Jacques de Vitry's Perceptions of Eastern Christians and Islam;" Franklin Lewis (Emory Univ.), "One Chaste Muslim Maiden and a Persian in a Pear Tree: Earlier Islamic Analogues for Two *Canterbury Tales*;" Meriem Pagès (Univ. of Massachusetts-Amherst), "The Vernacular Depiction of the Assassins;" Lennart Sundelin (Princeton Univ.), "Saracens and *Possessores*: Socio-Economic Relations in the Egyptian Countryside in the Aftermath of the Arab Conquest;" Yossef Rapoport (Tel Aviv Univ.), "Invisible Peasants and Marauding Nomads: Reconciling Images of Medieval Rural Society;" Adam Sabra (Western Michigan Univ.), "The Rise of a New Class: Land Tenure in Fifteenth-Century Egypt;" Alford T. Welch (Michigan State Univ.), "Oral Formulaic Features of the Qur'an and Prophet Muhammad's Experience of Revelation;" Sarah C. Davis (Univ. of Notre Dame), "The Sicilian Quarter-Dinar and the Economy of the Western Mediterranean (Ninth to Twelfth Century);" Katja Vehlow (New York Univ.), "Abraham ibn Daub: Jewish History Writing in the Shadow of the Almoravid Invasion;" Syed Ahsani (Association of Muslim Social Scientists), "Islamic Spain and Renaissance: Political Dimension;" M. Basheer Ahmed (Univ. of Texas-Arlington), "Muslim Contributions to Medicine;" Dilnawaz Ahmed Siddiqui, "Hispanic Muslim Philosophy: Its Impact on Europe;" Adnan A. Husain (New York Univ.), "Ramon Marti's *Mu'aradat al-Qur'an*: Arabism and Dominican Islamic Polemics and Theology;" John Curry (Ohio State Univ.), "The Curious Case of Unsi Hasan: An Unsuccessful Muslim Saint in the Ottoman Empire;" Gregg De Young (American Univ. in Cairo), "Gerard of Cremona's Translation of Euclid's *Elements* in Relation to Its Arabic Antecedents;" Coeli Fitzpatrick (Grand Valley State Univ.), "The 'Six Non-Naturals' in Medieval Arabic Medicine;" Matthew Sargent (Georgetown Univ.), "The Role of the Turk in the Creation of Charles V's Imperial Image."

# 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.

**Mujir al-Dīn al-'Ulaymī al-Ḥanbalī. *al-Uns al-Jalīl bi-Tārīkh al-Quds wa-al-Khalīl.* (Amman: Maktabat Dandīs, 1999). 2 volumes.**

This two-volume work is a new edition of the fundamentally important history of Jerusalem and Hebron by the historian Mujir al-Dīn (died 1520). The two volumes are the published versions of two MA theses at al-Najāḥ National University in Nablus by 'Adnān Yūnis 'Abd al-Majīd Abū Tabānah in 1999 (volume 1) and Maḥmūd 'Awdah Ka'ābnah in 1997 (volume 2). The division between the two volumes follows that of the standard 1973 edition (Amman: Maktabat al-Muḥtasib).

The two volumes have introductions by the two editors as well as copious footnotes identifying the people mentioned in the text. The volumes are attractively printed and use (mostly successfully) red ink to set off section headings and names of people whose biographies follow.

The editing work is adequate and corrects a few typographical errors found in the 1973 edition, but this new edition

suffers from the major flaws of not having an index, and of lacking in the margins running indications of the pagination of the 1973 edition. Thus one can not use the index produced by Iṣḥāq Mūsā al-Ḥusaynī and Ḥasan al-Silwādī, *Fahāris Kitāb al-Uns al-Jalīl bi-Tārīkh al-Quds wa-al-Khalīl li-Mujir al-Dīn al-Ḥanbalī* (Jerusalem: Dār al-Ṭīfl al-'Arabī, 1988), nor find references given in secondary literature without much bother.

The editors note manuscript variants of individual words in their footnotes, but inexplicably fail utterly to mark the many places where their text varies widely from the 1973 edition. There are dozens of places where paragraphs and even whole pages found in the 1973 text are missing from their edition, and vice versa. Those large-scale discrepancies between the two editions cry out for explanation and indicate that this new edition does not supercede the 1973 edition. Further critical work on the manuscripts is clearly needed before a definitive edition can be produced.

- Robert Schick

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## GRAPHICS CREDITS

Page 2, Fig.1: Diagrams by the authors.

Pages 3 and 4, Figs. 2, 3, and 4: Photographs by the authors.

**Middle East Medievalists (MEM)** is a non-profit association of scholars interested in the study of any aspect of the history and civilization of the Middle East in the period 500-1500 C.E. Regular membership in MEM is open to persons of all nationalities. Regular members receive two issues of *Al-'Usur al-Wusta*, The Bulletin of Middle East Medievalists, annually (April and October). Institutions (libraries, etc.) may join at the same rate as individuals.

You may join MEM by sending the membership application form at the right (or a photocopy thereof), along with the appropriate dues payment, to Katherine Lang, Secretary-Treasurer of MEM, Department of History, University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire, Eau Claire, WI 54702-4004, U.S.A.

# Middle East Medievalists

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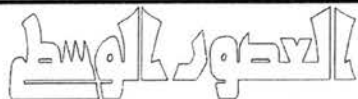
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Send completed application form, with your check (in US Dollars or British Pounds only) payable to "Middle East Medievalists" to:  
**Katherine Lang, Secretary-Treasurer of MEM, Department of History,  
 University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire, Eau Claire, WI 54702-4004, U.S.A.**



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