

Archaeological Investigations at Jam, Afghanistan

by David Thomas

The Minaret of Jam (Fig. 1) soars into the sky in a steep-sided valley in central Afghanistan - at 63 m high, it is hard to believe that such a magnificently decorated structure could have been 'forgotten' about by the outside world after the Mongol campaigns ca. 1221-2. Then again, having endured the tortuous 4WD journey required to reach Jam even today, perhaps it is not so surprising that the Minaret remained virtually unknown until the Afghan Boundary Commission 're-discovered' it in 1886. Since then, a only handful of scholars and intrepid tourists ventured to the site before the Soviet invasion in 1979, and the subsequent decades of turmoil, effectively placed Jam out of bounds for outsiders. But Jam is 'back on the map', as independent travellers and organised tours take advantage of the ameliorating political and security situation to include it on their adventurous itineraries.

The principal study of the Minaret was carried out by French scholars in the late 1950s. With the exception of Herberg's brief surveys in the 1970s, however, little fieldwork has been conducted on the surrounding archaeological site. This lamentable situation started to change in 2003, with the inception of the Minaret of Jam Archaeological Project. We have recently completed a second season of fieldwork at Jam and are planning to return in August 2006.

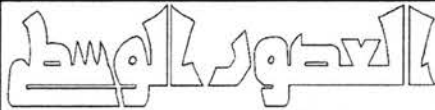
The Geographical and Historical Setting

Jam is located at the confluence of the Hari Rud and Jam Rud, about 215 km to the east of Herat, in Ghur province of central Afghanistan. The site is 1900 m above sea-level, with nearby mountain peaks reach-

SEE JAM, PAGE 2.

In This Issue

Archaeological Investigations at Jam	1
Ideas, Methods, Issues: The Fihrist of Ibn al-Nadim	8
Conferences	14
Annual Meetings	16
Book Reviews	18
Contributors & Credits	19



Al-'Usur al-Wusta

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JAM, FROM PAGE 1.

ing to 3500 m. The harsh winters are often followed by torrential flooding as the snows melt; the summers are hot and dry. With little flat land available along the scree-covered valleys, local people struggle to survive in a subsistence economy.

The inhospitable climate and terrain make it all the more remarkable that Jam was once the centre of a huge empire. Scholars generally agree that Jam is ancient Firuzkuh, the summer capital of the Ghurids. At the peak of their florescence, the Ghurid dynasty (ca. 1150-1216) controlled a swathe of territory from Nishapur in eastern Iran to the Bay of Bengal in India. They had the good fortune to rise to prominence as the Ghaznavid dynasty crumbled, and the misfortune to be squeezed between the Khwarazmshah and the nascent Mongols, whose besieging armies were commanded by Ögedey, son of Chingiz Khan.

The Ghurids first came to prominence in 1150-1, when they sacked Ghazna -- such was the devastation that the Ghurid ruler 'Ala ad-Din became known as 'The World Incendiary', although he took the trouble to rescue rare manuscripts before torching the city. The empire expanded rapidly under the brothers Ghiyath ad-Din and Mu'izz ad-Din, who ruled jointly, turning their back on the fratricidal feuding which had undermined Ghurid expansion in the previous decades. The death of Ghiyath ad-Din in 1202, however, and assassination of Mu'izz ad-Din four years later heralded the decline of the Ghurid empire in the west, although the Ghurid / Turkish sultans in Delhi continued to rule until 1555 - the Ghurid and Islamic dominions in India are the subject of a forthcoming book by Assistant Prof. Finbarr Barry Flood of NYU.

The main historical source for the Ghurids is Juzjani's *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, which was written ca. 1260. As archaeologists, we are attempting to reconstruct a more balanced impression of the Ghurids, negotiating between Juzjani's rather partisan and exaggerated account, and those of the Ghurids' neighbours, who bitterly dismissed them as little more than mountain brigands. The emerging evidence points to a well-organised, sophisticated, flourish-

ing 12-13th century community at Jam, whose opulent standard of living was based on a steady stream of supplies and booty from the corners of their empire. When the Mongols devastated Central Asia, the Ghurids were unable to sustain the lifestyle they had become accustomed to, and reverted to periodic raids from their mountain strongholds.

The Archaeological Setting

The Minaret has understandably been the focus of most of the research at Jam, given its importance as an architectural monument, and the fact that it has started to lean alarmingly in recent years. The Minaret, however, is merely the most visible feature in a rich archaeological landscape; this was recognised in 2002, when Jam was successfully nominated as Afghanistan's first World Heritage Site. The site has been badly damaged by illicit excavations; the valley slopes are pock-marked with robber holes from which an unknown quantity of artefacts were looted and much valuable archaeological information destroyed.

The looting principally took place in the mid 1990s and during the Taliban period. Our initial priority has been to undertake an assessment of the extent of the looting, and the potential impact of much-needed infrastructure work.

The Looting of Jam

In 2003, we investigated 10 robber holes near the Minaret, along the proposed route of a road. We found extensive stretches of stone and brick dwellings terraced into the valley side, elaborately decorated stucco, traces of painted wall plaster and a wide range of ceramics and other artefacts. It soon became apparent that nobody knew the actual extent of the looting at Jam, so one of the aims of the 2005 season was to address this problem. We sought to do this by combining the use of satellite images, Global Positioning Systems and fieldwork to locate and record the robber holes.

The daunting scale of the task was evident by the end of the first day, so we decided to concentrate on a 50 m strip opposite the Minaret, stretching 225 m from Qasr Zarafshan down to the Hari Rud, (Fig. 2). From this intensive sample,



Figure 1. Minaret of Jam.

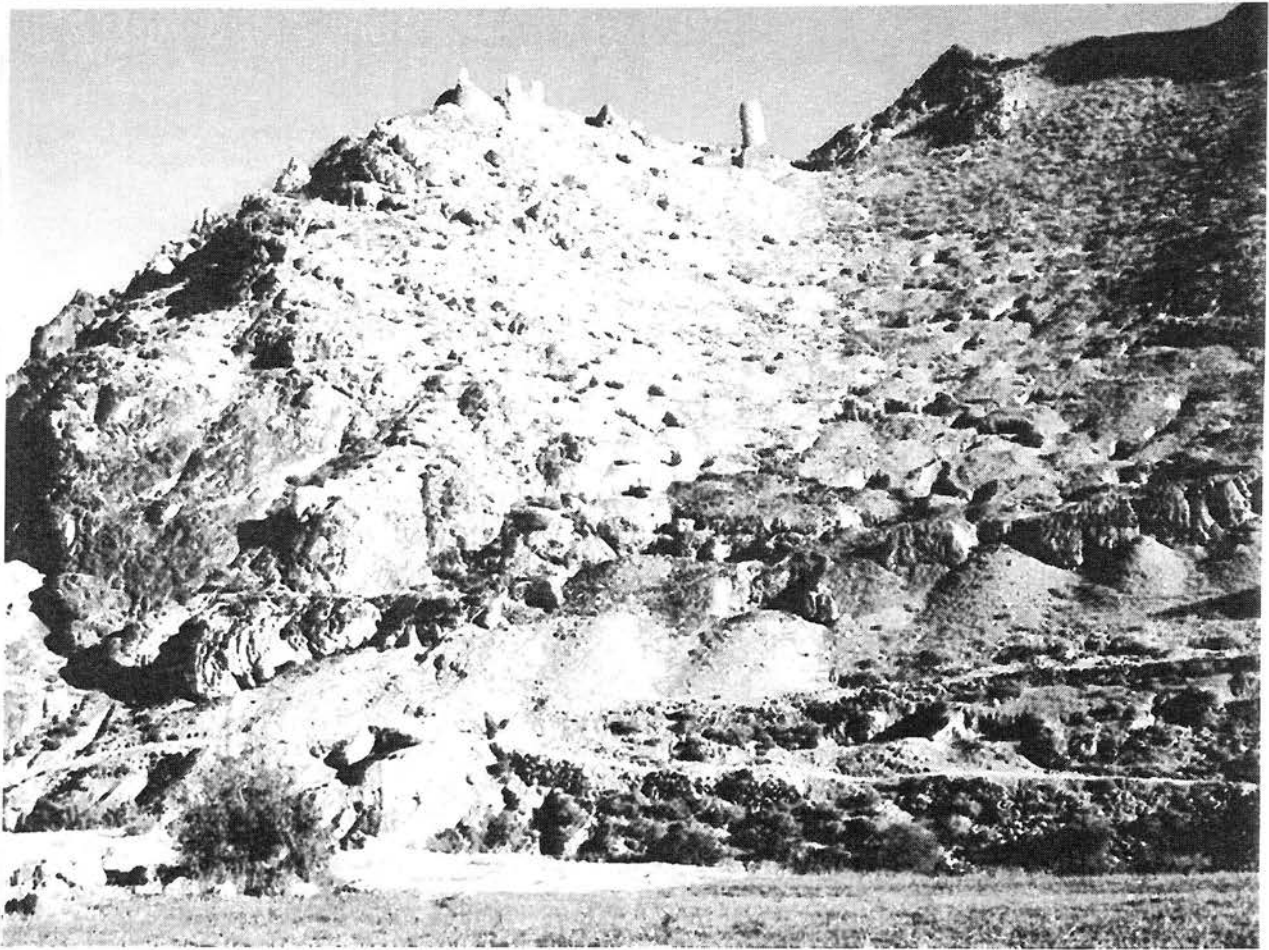


Figure 2. The Hari Rud.

we could extrapolate estimates for the number of robber holes in the rest of the valley side.

By the end of the season, we had recorded 121 robber holes in this strip, amounting to the destruction of ca. 1,300 m³ of archaeological deposits. Nearly 70% of the robber holes contained definite or possible architecture. The area covered by the robber holes amounts to 11% of the strip -- by way of comparison, an archaeological excavation of a tell generally excavates only 2-3% of a site over the course of many seasons.

Since this part of the north bank of the Hari Rud is 150 m long, we estimate that there are over 360 robber holes across this one valley slope -- this is the scale of the damage that the looting of antiquities has wrought at Jam.

On a more positive note, our fieldwork has also yielded important new discoveries about the archaeological sites in

the area: namely, the possible congregational mosque near the Minaret, Ghurid domestic architecture and the archaeological hinterland.

The 'Mosque' near the Minaret

The chronicler Juzjani, who was born in Firuzkuh, records that the Friday Mosque was inundated and destroyed by a flash-flood, some time before the Mongol sieges ca. 1221-2. Ephemeral traces of a large public building to the east of the Minaret were noted in the late 1950s, and our excavations have uncovered further evidence -- whether it is a mosque or not remains a matter for debate.

We have now excavated five small trenches in robber holes and along the Hari Rud riverbank, 60-90 m from the Minaret. All these trenches have revealed areas of well-preserved, baked-brick courtyard paving, probably belonging to a large public building. The herring-bone design in one

robber hole is comparable to that found at the Ghaznavid Mas'ud III Palace at Ghazna and at public buildings at Lashkari Bazar. Nearby, we found three parts of baked-brick columns, which seem to have toppled onto flat brick paving from the south (Fig. 3).

Our geomorphologist, Dr Kevin White (University of Reading), is currently analysing thin sections of 10-15 cm thick alluvial deposits found above the courtyard paving. We hope to determine whether these deposits were dumped in one catastrophic event, which would substantiate Juzjani's account, or whether they were the result of repeated, less destructive flooding.

Ghurid Domestic Architecture

Deleterious as the robber holes are, they do give us an insight into many different parts of the ancient city, and occasionally yield pleasant surprises -- Robber Hole 201, for

example, exposed a near complete Ghurid room, measuring 3.8 x >2.6 m. The room's walls are made of stone, covered with two layers of coarse plaster and multiple applications of a fine, white finish. Traces of the baked-brick roofing are still visible at the top of the walls. In the western wall, we uncovered a stone-slab-lined window ledge over 1.0 m long and 0.75 m deep. A central, plastered brick pillar was also uncovered, presumably to help support the roof.

We carefully excavated a lump of earth adhering to the north-east corner of the room, which the robbers had ignored, and uncovered a plastered domed lamp alcove, measuring 45 cm high; amazingly, the alcove still contained its original ceramic lamp (Fig. 4).

The Archaeological Hinterland

The extent of the archaeological site of Jam and its hinterland are poorly defined, due to the lack of systematic survey. We are attempting to rectify this by re-visiting, and recording more fully, known sites such as the watch-towers overlooking Jam and the cistern at Koh-e Khara and exploring the valleys around the Minaret.

We found sufficient evidence in robber holes to suggest that Koh-e Khara was an elite mountain-top refuge -- turquoise-glazed bricks, delicate glass rims

and two sherds of the very rare Minai ware from Iran. The cistern itself had a minimum capacity of 85,000 litres, and was constructed from baked-bricks, which must have been carried over 400 m up to the summit. We have also located a large structure (a fort?), controlling the narrowest part of the eastern Hari Rud valley. This structure may be associated with a ca. 180 m stretch of robust stone defences, lining the riverbank at this point.

A local guide led us to a kiln, exposed in another robber hole in the Jam Rud valley. Part of the kiln has collapsed, but much of the structure is well preserved: it is large, measuring over 4 m long, 1.7 m wide and over 1.7 m high. The superstructure consists of at least six arches, separated by 12 cm wide flues.

Finally, in this part of the Jam Rud valley, we recorded several inscribed tombstones from a cemetery relating to the 12th-century Jewish trading community at Jam -- the inscriptions are in 'new Persian' written in Hebrew script, and may be additional to those published in the 1960s and 70s.

Scientific Analyses

Very few scientific studies of archaeological samples from Afghanistan have been possible for over 30 years, and we are

grateful to the Afghan authorities for permitted us to export a wide variety of samples for analysis. We hope that these studies will start to shed light on the day-to-day lives of the Ghurids -- their diet, technological skills and trading practices.

The results of our archaeo-zoological study show, unsurprisingly, that sheep and goat were predominant in the faunal remains, accounting for 96% of the bones identified. The mortality patterns, with a steady kill-off of the herd, indicate a consumer assemblage where animals marketed were those excess to requirements on nearby producer sites. The relative lack of head, feet and shin bones suggests that meat was bought in to Jam as part of a dressed carcass, or as joints of meat. This evidence, and the abundance of meat bearing bones are indicative of table refuse, from a population whose diet would have been predominantly lamb, and to a lesser extent goat.

The initial results of the archaeobotanical analysis are also intriguing, yielding wheat and barley, pulses and grape seeds from pit and possible destruction levels. We are eagerly awaiting the full archaeo-botanical results, and those of the analyses of the ceramic, phytolith, metallurgical and geological samples. A more detailed report on this research, and the rest



Figure 3. Baked-brick columns.

of the 2005 season, will be published in Iran.

Future Research Goals

We are currently in the process of fund-raising for the 2006 season, during which we plan to:

- continue our major study of the Ghurid and Islamic ceramics
- conduct a resistivity survey around the Minaret in an attempt to outline the 'mosque'
- survey the standing architecture of Qasr Zarafshan
- conduct a high precision 3D digital scan of the Minaret
- undertake rescue excavations of the Ghurid room, kiln, a possible 'governor's house' and the cemetery

Although the looting has badly damaged the archaeology of Jam, the site has not been robbed of its international significance.



Figure 4. Ceramic lamp in alcove.

Acknowledgements

None of the fieldwork outlined above would have been possible without the assistance and support of our Afghan colleagues in the Ministry of Information, Culture and Tourism and the National Afghan Institute of Archaeology, as well as the hard work and good humour of the team members. We are very grateful to the following funding bodies whose grants made our work possible -- UNESCO (in 2003); the Ancient Persia Fund, the Barakat Trust, the British Academy, the British Embassy in Kabul, the Committee for Central and Inner Asia, the Lonely Planet Foundation, the Stein-Arnold Exploration Fund and the Van Berchem Foundation (all in 2005). Many thanks are also due to Matilda Holmes for her prompt archaeo-zoological analysis, Mette Marie Hald for the archaeo-botanical data and to Dr Alison Gascoigne, our ceramics specialist, for her comments on a previous draft of this report.

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The Bruce D. Craig Prize for Mamluk Studies

The Prize Committee is pleased to announce that Zayde G. Antrim (Ph.D., Harvard University) has been named the recipient of the 2005 Bruce D. Craig Prize for Mamluk Studies for her dissertation:

“Place and Belonging in Medieval Syria, 6th/12th to 8th/14th Centuries”

The Committee was impressed by Antrim’s exhaustive use of various genres of sources to study the formation of a medieval Syrian “sense of place.” She broke new ground in developing a paradigm in Mamluk studies for an indigenous and contemporary understanding of “place” and, specifically, the creation of a Syrian identity. The Committee believes that her work will find a place not only in Mamluk studies but also world systems theory/globalization studies and a variety of other disciplines such as political/social/intellectual history, art and architectural history, geography, and archaeology.

The Bruce D. Craig Prize, carrying a cash award of \$1,000, is given annually by Mamluk Studies Review for the best dissertation on a topic related to the Mamluk Sultanate submitted to an American or Canadian university during the preceding calendar year. In the event no dissertations are submitted, or none is deemed to merit the prize, no prize will be awarded. To be considered for the 2006 Prize, dissertations must be defended by December 31, 2006, and submitted to the Prize Committee by January 31, 2007. Submissions should be sent to:

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Mamluk Studies Review
The University of Chicago
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The Prize Committee for 2005 consisted of Marlis J. Saleh (University of Chicago); Li Guo (University of Notre Dame); and Bethany J. Walker (Grand Valley State University).

Scholarship on the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadim: The Work of Valeriy V. Polosin

by Devin J. Stewart

Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist*, compiled in 377/987 just a few years before the author's death in 380/990, never ceases to fascinate, providing as it does a glimpse at the books available in the center of the Abbasid Empire from the first four Islamic centuries in nearly all fields of human inquiry. It is at once an incredible source for intellectual history, providing rare details unavailable elsewhere, and extremely frustrating reading, for one realizes that the books that have come down to us represent only a minute fraction of what once existed, thus obscuring the crucial formative period of many academic disciplines in the Islamic context. It is unfortunate that the *Fihrist*, like other major sources on which scholars of Arabic, Islam, and related fields rely, such as al-Mas'ūdī's *Murūj al-dhahab* and Ibn Khaldūn's *Muqaddimah*, is not available in a truly critical edition, even though nearly a century and a half has elapsed since the appearance of Gustav Flügel's edition posthumously in 1871-72 and the eminent Arabist Johann Fück dedicated many decades of work to the task. This lack is in large part due to the complexity of Ibn al-Nadīm's work and its textual witnesses. The Russian Arabist Valeriy V. Polosin, more than anyone else in recent years, has devoted a great deal of effort to sorting out the problems standing in the way of a critical edition.

At the School of Abbasid Studies

meeting at Leuven in June, 2004, I proposed emendations to several dozen book titles and other passages in the section of the *Fihrist* devoted to law, the sixth of the work's ten *maqālahs*. In his response to the paper, which necessarily entailed an appraisal of the *Fihrist*'s editions to date, Professor Van Ess called my attention to an important work in Russian that I had not consulted. Valeriy V. Polosin, a student of Johann Fück, published a work in Moscow in 1989 with the title *Fikhrīst Ibn an-Nadīmā kak istoriko-kulturniy pamyatnik X veka* ("The *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm as a Historical-Cultural Monument of the Tenth Century"). I eventually examined Polosin's book, the only monograph to date devoted entirely to Ibn al-Nadīm's famous work, and found that it indeed represents the state-of-the-art in scholarship on the *Fihrist*, particularly with regard to the history of the text. I thought it useful to provide a brief summary and discussion of it here, both because medievalists concentrating on virtually every area in Middle Eastern and Islamic studies have frequent recourse to the *Fihrist* and because Polosin's work is hard to come by and only available in Russian.

Fikhrīst Ibn an-Nadīmā kak istoriko-kulturniy pamyatnik X veka is short but dense, including 158 pages of text with tightly packed lines in a small font. It includes an introduction, three chapters, explanatory notes in addition to citations in

the text (pp. 100-117) a list of abbreviations (p. 118), a bibliography of 195 items in Arabic, Russian, German, English, and French (pp. 119-29), an index (pp. 130-41), fifteen photographic plates of folios from various manuscripts of the *Fihrist* (pp. 142-56), and a short summary in English (pp. 157-58). The sense of Polosin's title is a bit difficult to capture in English. The key term he applies to the *Fihrist*, *pamyatnik*, is defined in dictionaries as "monument, memorial"; it is related to the Russian verb "to remember," and the same term ordinarily applied to such edifices as the Arc de Triomphe, the Washington monument, the Lenin monument, and so on. Here, Polosin's use of the term indicates that the *Fihrist* is a work that has survived in our time as a relic of the past -- like Ar. *athar*, which we often translate simply as "work"-- while also giving the sense that the *Fihrist* crucially represents or defines the age when it was produced, the tenth century C.E.

Chapter One, "The Discovery of the *Fihrist* by Modern Science and the History of its Study" (pp. 7-30), is divided into four sections. The first section (pp. 7-11) summarizes the contents of the *Fihrist*. The second section (pp. 11-19) provides the best description available to date of the fifteen extant manuscript copies of the work. The third section (pp. 19-24) describes the process by which Orientalists became aware of the *Fihrist*, its contents,

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and its various extant copies before the preparation of an edition. The fourth section (pp. 24-30) is devoted to the historical efforts to prepare a critical edition, including Flügel's 1871-72 edition, Dodge's 1970 translation, Tajaddud's 1971 edition, and intermediate discoveries by Ritter, Arberry, Fück, and others.

Chapter Two, "The *Fihrist* in the History of Arabic Literature" (pp. 31-65), includes five sections. The first section (pp. 31-35) criticizes, in agreement with F. Zimmerman's 1976 article, the hypothesis that Ibn al-Nadim produced two versions of the *Fihrist*, a shorter and a longer one, which had been suggested by Ritter in 1928 on the basis of an Istanbul manuscript that included only the first and the last four of ten *maqālahs*, and was subsequently endorsed by Johann Fück. Zimmerman has shown, and Polosin agrees, that this is untenable: Ibn al-Nadim produced only one version of the *Fihrist*, and the "shorter version" was merely the result of selective copying from extant manuscripts at a much later date. The second section (pp. 35-45) describes how the extant manuscripts are related to one another. This is the most important discussion of its kind to date, though Polosin stops short of constructing a complete stemma codicum, concentrating exclusively on the early copies. The third section (pp. 45-48) discusses the structure of the *Fihrist*. The fourth section (pp. 48-58) discusses the sources of the *Fihrist*. The fifth section (pp. 58-65) is devoted to the reception of the *Fihrist* in the East.

Chapter Three "Ibn al-Nadim: Analysis of Biographical Material" (pp. 66-96) is divided into four sections. The first section (pp. 66-69) discusses biographical sources. The second section (pp. 69-76) discusses the name of the author of the *Fihrist*. The third section (pp. 76-84) discusses the profession of *warrāqs* and the functions they fulfilled in the early Abbasid period. The fourth section (pp. 84-96) discusses Ibn al-Nadim's relations with his contemporaries, listing forty-five persons with whom Ibn al-Nadim had personal contact according to the information he provides himself in the *Fihrist*.

Much of Polosin's study is a summary of earlier research, though he adds

detail and confirmation in a number of cases and presents the information in a conveniently concise manner. The history of the study of the *Fihrist* makes fascinating reading. It is filled with false starts and assumptions, a number of which have been corrected over the last century and a half. For example, Flügel and others assumed that Ibn al-Nadim had traveled to Constantinople in search of Greek manuscripts because he states in the text that he had spoken with someone in Dār al-Rūm. In 1890, Rosen pointed out in a short article in Russian that this referred to the Greek Quarter in Baghdad; Ibn al-Nadim had not ventured into Byzantine territory but merely consulted local Greeks in Baghdad. The theory that Ibn al-Nadim had produced a short and a long version of his work was

proposed, as mentioned, in 1928 and held sway for quite some time, appearing in Fück's article on the *Fihrist* in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. It was only decidedly rejected in 1976. It was long believed that Ibn al-Nadim died in 385/995, but it has been shown that this was an error for 380/990. One may cite these results as concrete evidence of progress in our understanding of Ibn al-Nadim and his *magnum opus* -- his only *opus*, as far as we know. One must concede, however, that such advances have proceeded at an exceedingly slow pace.

Polosin presents a number of original results, including several that are extremely clever. The main points of the work are the following.

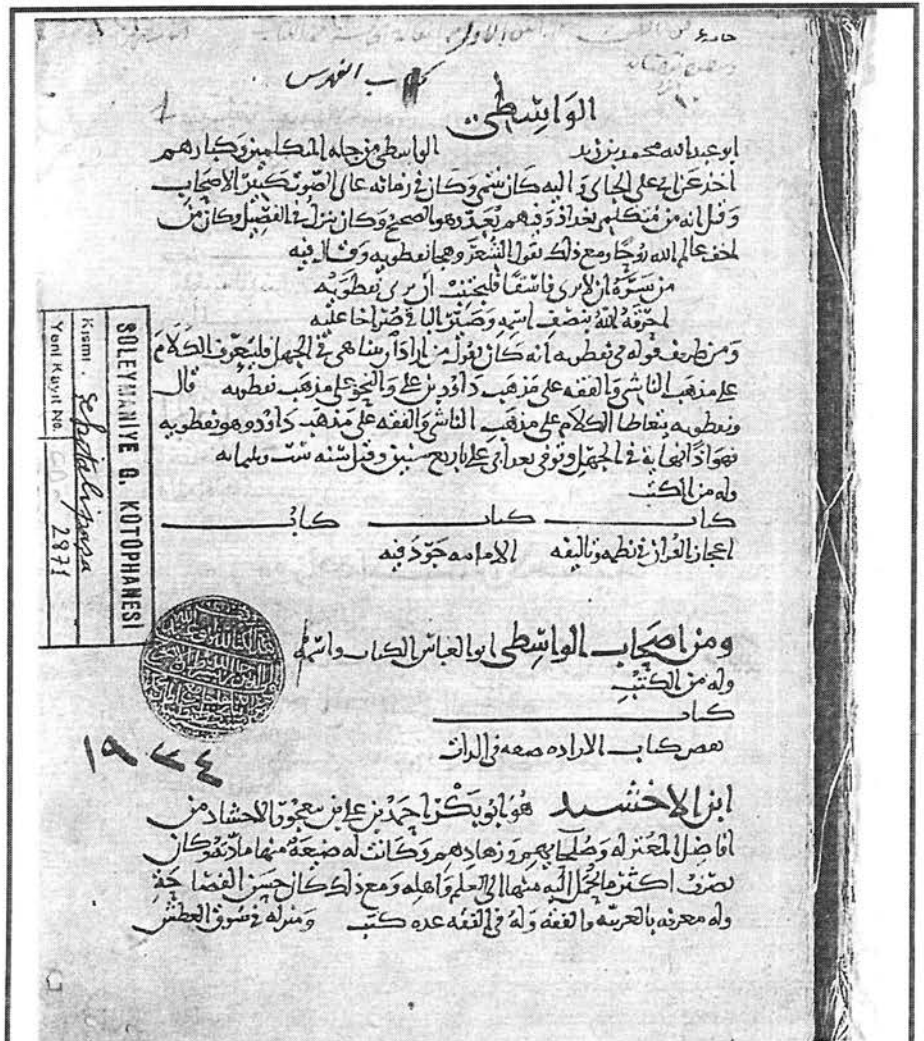


Figure 1. MS Şehid Ali Pasa 1934 fol. 1: The MS begins in the middle of the section on the Mu'tazila (fann 1) in the fifth *maqalah*, on Islamic theology.

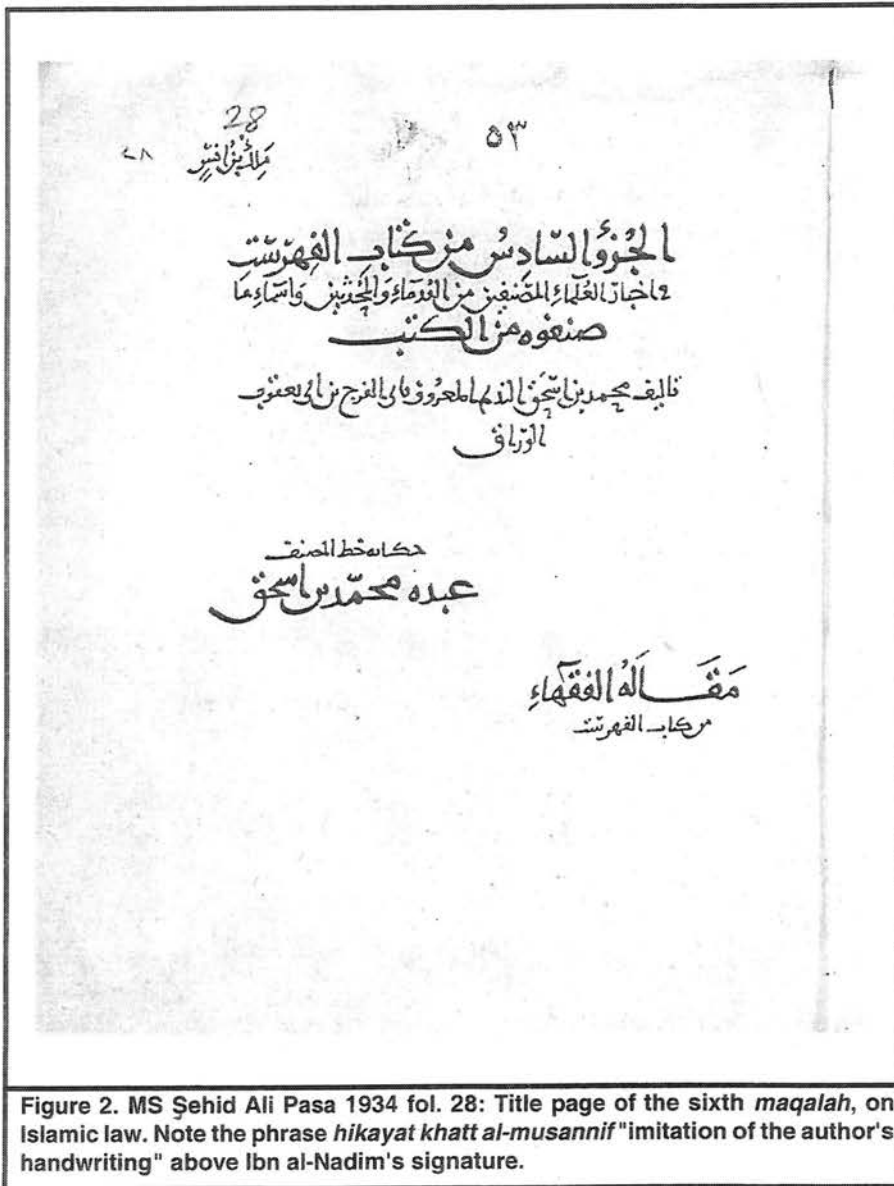


Figure 2. MS Şehid Ali Pasa 1934 fol. 28: Title page of the sixth *maqalah*, on Islamic law. Note the phrase *hikayat khatt al-musannif* "imitation of the author's handwriting" above Ibn al-Nadīm's signature.

I. Polosin's discussion of Ibn al-Nadīm's name is important because it has been subject to some confusion. Examining all of the versions of the name presented in the oldest MSS, he concludes that Ibn al-Nadīm's full name is Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Muḥammad b. Ishāq. His *kunya* is Abū al-Faraj, and his father's *kunya* is Abū Ya'qūb. The sobriquet al-Nadīm "boon companion" probably applied neither to him nor to his father, but to a more remote ancestor. "Ibn al-Nadīm" was apparently a sobriquet that applied to many generations of the family, so it is correct to refer to him as Ibn al-Nadīm, as did al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067) already in the fifth/eleventh

century. The idea that the author of the *Fihrist* is himself "al-Nadīm," as Dodge reports in his translation, derives from the front title page of the Chester Beatty MS, which Polosin argues is not original. He supposes that the work, having been left incomplete by Ibn al-Nadīm, lacked a title page altogether and that a later copyist provided it, giving the title as *Kitāb al-Fihrist li'l-Nadīm*, the version which led Dodge to call the author "al-Nadīm" and not "Ibn al-Nadīm." This version of the name is contradicted by the title pages of the individual *maqalahs* in the same MS.

II. Polosin agrees with Dodge and others

that the earliest extant copy of the *Fihrist*, the first half of which is in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin and the second half of which is in the Şehid Ali Paşa Library in Istanbul, is a copy at one remove from Ibn al-Nadīm's autograph. Polosin specifies that this copy dates from the early fifth/eleventh century, and adds that the copyist probably tried to reproduce not only Ibn al-Nadīm's signature on the opening folio of each *maqalah* but also the physical format of the original, including the blank spaces within and between various entries, the headings, title pages, pagination, and even the size of the pages and script used. It is clear from notes on the title page that the MS subsequently came into the possession of al-Maqrīzī, the famous Egyptian historian, and in the nineteenth century was given as an endowment to the Mosque of 'Akkā by the notorious governor of Palestine, al-Jazzār. Polosin does not hazard a guess as to when the MS was torn in half.

III. It has been known for some time that Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī used two versions of the *Fihrist* while writing *Irshād al-arīb*, one of which was an autograph, and one of which included the additions or interpolations of the fifth/eleventh-century scholar al-Wazīr al-Maghribī (d. 418/1027). Polosin, however, argues convincingly that Yāqūt actually used a single copy of the *Fihrist*. The copy into which al-Wazīr al-Maghribī had penned his additions was actually the autograph of Ibn al-Nadīm himself; the two were not distinct copies. He also argues that the old Paris MS used by Flügel for his edition, and that matches the material included in *Irshād al-arīb* and Ibn Khallikān's *Wafayāt al-a'yān* represents the version that included al-Wazīr al-Maghribī's additions. This suggests that the Chester Beatty/Şehid Ali Paşa MS was probably copied from the original early in the fifth/eleventh century, before al-Wazīr al-Maghribī made his additions to the text.

IV. An important result of Polosin's study is that Riḍā Tajaddud's 1971 edition, which many assume to be a critical edition, is not a reliable record of Ibn al-Nadīm's work. Drawing on Flügel's edition and ultimately

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the old Paris MS, it mixes material from the version expanded by al-Wazir al-Maghribi with Ibn al-Nadim's original. In addition, Tajaddud often omits full information on variant readings, only marking them occasionally. Polosin argues that a new, critical edition of the *Fihrist* should be based more exclusively on the Chester Beatty/Şehid Ali Paşa MSS, and that the remaining MSS should be used only to fill in lacunae and provide supplementary material.

V. Polosin brings out forcefully the fact that our knowledge of Ibn al-Nadim himself is, and has always been, based exclusively on the text of the *Fihrist* itself. Despite the work's importance, Ibn al-Nadim himself garnered relatively little attention in the biographical tradition. One would have expected al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī,

for example, who cited the *Fihrist* extensively in his catalogue of Shiite books to have included an entry on Ibn al-Nadim, but he does not. Information about Ibn al-Nadim's religious and ideological affiliations—that he was an Imami Shiite and a Mu'tazili theologian—as well as information about his teachers and acquaintances, including al-Sirāfi and al-Marzubānī, are based on information from the text of the *Fihrist* itself. Polosin's categorical statement here seems to ignore that Ibn al-Nadim's death date of 380/990, recorded by Ibn al-Najjār in his sequel to al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's *Tārīkh Baghdād*, cannot have derived from the *Fihrist* itself. By examining Ibn al-Nadim's sources, method of citation, and the contemporaries with whom he mentions having had contact, Polosin concludes that Ibn al-Nadim did

not belong to scholarly circles per se, but belonged to the class of *warrāqs*, professional artisans who were crucial but nevertheless marginal to academic circles of the day. This fact, he argues, makes the *Fihrist* a particularly interesting work for posterity, since it mirrors a larger slice of the life of the city than do other more strictly scholarly works.

VI. Polosin argues that Ibn al-Nadim's *Fihrist* remained unused for several centuries after it was produced, until it was "rediscovered" in the thirteenth century and used by such authors as Yāqūt, al-Qiftī, al-Şāghānī, and Ibn Abī Ūşaybi'ah. He states that two manuscripts definitely date to the thirteenth century (Köprülü MS 1135 and Paris MS 4457). He calls the thirteenth century as "the epoch of the *de*

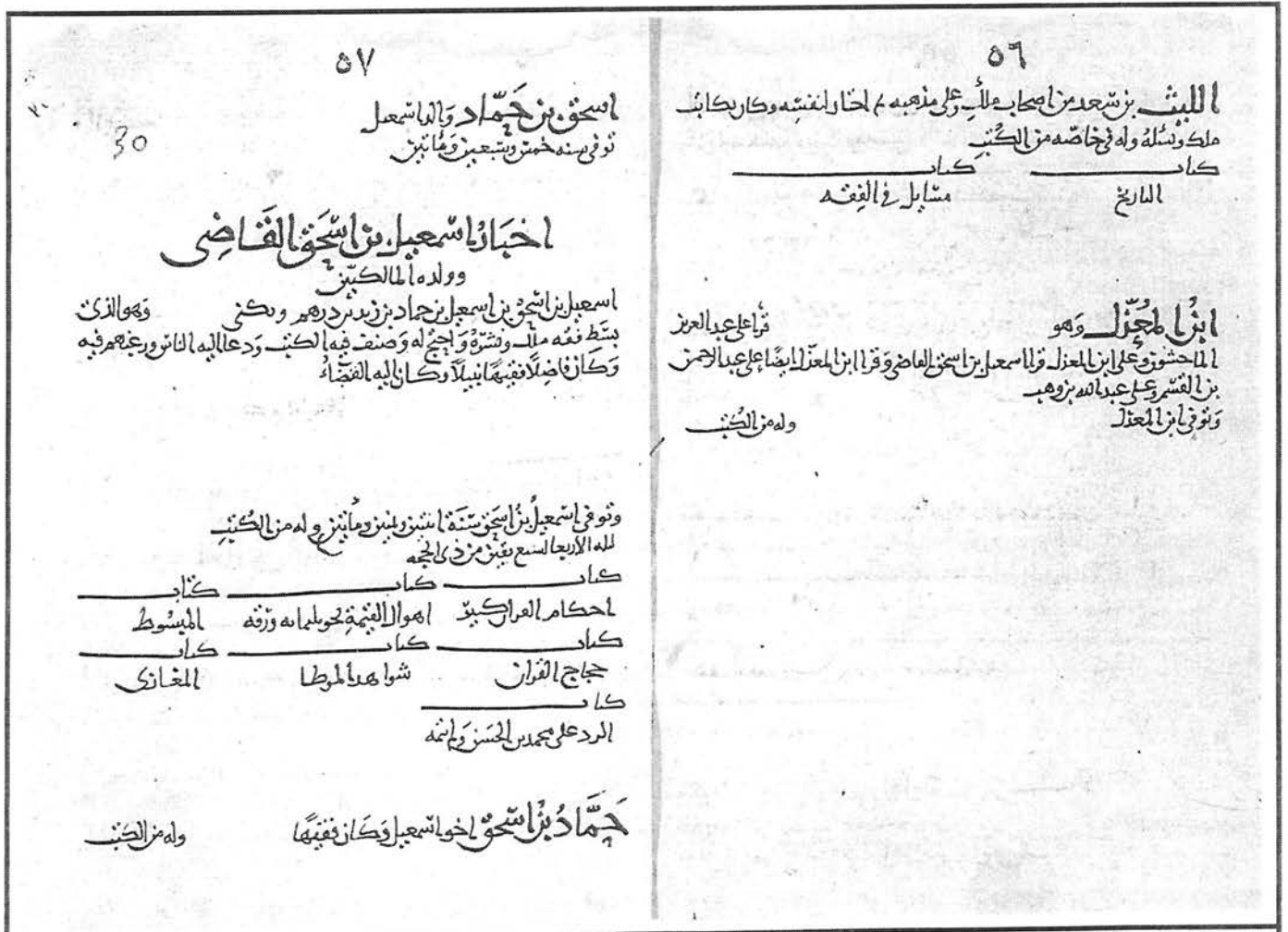


Figure 3. MS Şehid Ali Pasa 1934 fol. 30: From *fann* 1, on Maliki jurists, of the sixth *maqalah*. Note the spaces left for added titles or additional entries.

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facto discovery of the *Fihrist* by Arab scholarship or, at least the epoch of renewed interest in the work." In making this categorical statement, he seems to ignore al-Wazir al-Maghribi, who, as he is obviously aware from elsewhere, used the text, and al-Shaykh al-Tūsi (d. 460/1067), who cites the *Fihrist* many times in his *Fihrist kutub al-shi'ah* already in the fifth/eleventh century. This is odd, given that Polosin himself mentions al-Tūsi's references to the *Fihrist* (p. 75). One wonders which copy of the work al-Tūsi had at his disposal. I suspect that examination of biographical and bibliographical works in other fields will reveal yet other works that make

use of the *Fihrist* in the intervening period. VII. With regard to the structure of the *Fihrist*, Polosin argues convincingly that the basic division of sciences into rational and traditional follows that already established in the transmission of knowledge and in the pre-existing bibliographical tradition. He compares the structure of the work briefly with that of al-Fārābī's *Ihsā' al-'ulūm* and al-Khwārizmī's *Mafātiḥ al-'ulūm*, and other works, finding that it matches al-Khwārizmī's classification most closely in that it is based on a basic division between the Arabic/Islamic sciences and non-Arabic/non-Islamic sci-

ences. Polosin concludes that Ibn al-Nadīm's overall scheme was not innovative but suggests that Ibn al-Nadīm may have been more original in his "micro-structures," that is, in the internal organization of the various *maqālahs* and *fanns*. However, he sees that the book as a whole was a work in progress, recorded in outline to be filled in later as appropriate information became available, so that the whole is characterized by "compositional chaos." He critiques Lippert, for example, for claiming that Ibn al-Nadīm by and large adheres to chronology as an organizing principle, holding that the evidence suggests otherwise. Here, I think, Polosin's position is

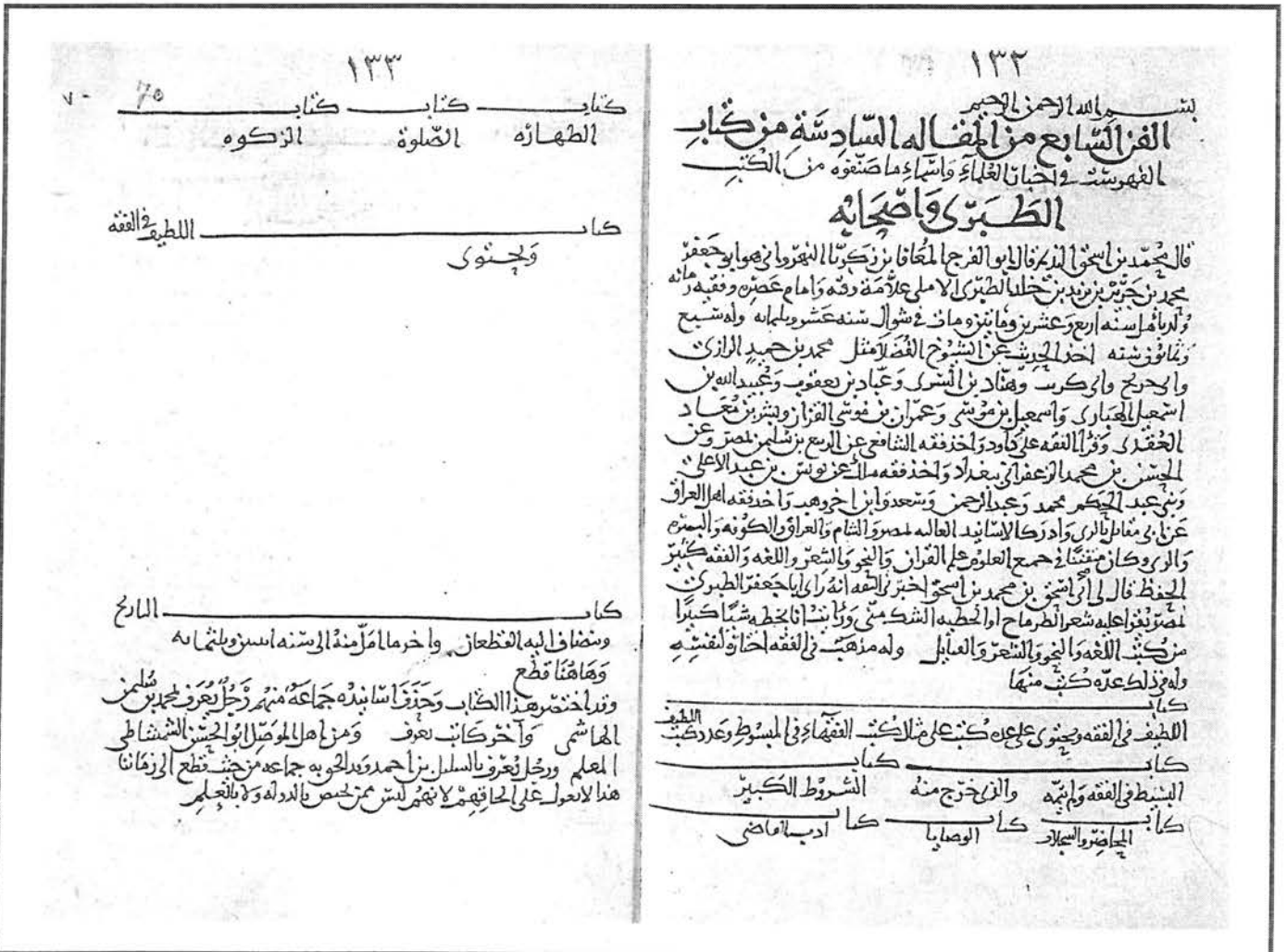


Figure 4. MS Şehid Ali Pasa 1934 fol. 70: The entry on al-Tabari from *fann* 7, on Jariri jurists, of the sixth *maqalah*. Note the space left for the chapter titles of his extensive legal work, *K. al-Latif fi al-fiqh*. It is evident throughout the *Fihrist* that the term *kitab* serves as a place marker of sorts, indicating merely that this is another item in the bibliography; the *ba'* is elongated and the title is written underneath. This suggests that one cannot always assume that the term *kitab* was part of the original title.

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overstated. I would agree rather with Lippert, that chronology is a crucial organizing principle in the *Fihrist* as a whole, even though it is not maintained with strict consistency.

VIII. Polosin makes some interesting observations about Ibn al-Nadīm's use of sources. Ibn al-Nadīm made extensive use of published, written sources, in addition to information gathered in a more informal manner from acquaintances, private book lists, etc. Already in the late nineteenth century, J. Lippert had noted that Ibn al-Nadīm drew heavily on a *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Kūfī (254-348/868-960), which seems to have been the catalogue of his private library. Polosin agrees therefore with Lippert that Ibn al-Kūfī is truly a "predecessor" of Ibn al-Nadīm. In addition to acknowledged sources, Ibn al-Nadīm quotes certain sources without identifying them. Flügel had already noticed, for example, that Ibn al-Nadīm quoted a passage from Ibn Qutaybah's *Kitāb al-ma'ārif* without citing either the work or the author. Perhaps the most important of Polosin's results in this area is the discovery that a large part of Ibn al-Nadīm's chapter on Arabic grammar is based closely on Abū Sa'īd al-Sirāfi's *History of Basran Grammmarians*. Ibn al-Nadīm does not name the work as his source, but refers to al-Sirāfi by name often and calls him his teacher or authority (*shaykh*). Polosin also establishes that *Kitāb al-waraq* by Ibn al-Jarrāh and 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Ibrāhīm's anthology *Ash'ār al-kuttāb* served as the foundation for substantial parts of the section on poets.

In addition, he identified in the *Fihrist* an unacknowledged but extensive citation from al-Marzubānī's, *Kitāb al-muqtabas*. The possibility exists that Ibn al-Nadīm lifted both text and bibliographies from many other works without acknowledgment.

Polosin's *Fikhrīst Ibn an-Nadīma kak istoriko-kulturniy pamyatnik X veka* is an important work that must be taken into account in all future research on the text of the *Fihrist*. His important results advance our understanding of the text of the *Fihrist* considerably, and Polosin's work represents an important step toward preparing the ground for a truly critical edition. The work's main shortcomings are two. The first is relatively minor: Polosin has a tendency to overstate certain propositions, perhaps for dramatic effect, such as the idea that the *Fihrist* was *completely* ignored until the thirteenth century. This leads him to make several categorical statements that do not hold up to scrutiny. The second is more important. With the MSS directly available to him, Polosin was not able to work out the entire *stemma codicum* of the *Fihrist*. Instead, he concentrated on what he terms the first of three stages of the *Fihrist*'s textual transmission. It is clear that the Chester Beatty/Şehid Ali Paşa MSS should be the basis for a critical edition, but this is not completely sufficient, because a number of folios are missing and there is an important gap where the two halves were divided, occurring at the beginning of the *maqālah* on theology in the section on the Mu'tazilah. This section is available only

in the Tonk MS. In order to fill in these lacunae in the most responsible manner a more complete *stemma codicum* is required.

Polosin has solved several puzzles regarding the history of the text of the *Fihrist*, but others remain. For example, Ibn al-Nadīm mentioned Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Dāwūd (d. 297/310), son of the famous ninth-century jurist Dāwūd b. Khalaf (d. 270/884), in the section (*fann* 4) on Zāhirī or Dāwūdī jurists of the sixth *maqālah*, on law. There, he lists Ibn Dāwūd's works on legal topics, but refers the reader to the section on Arabic literature for a list of his literary works. To see Ibn al-Nadīm's list of the latter works would have been quite important, for Ibn Dāwūd was an accomplished litterateur and had written *Kitāb al-zahrah*, a poetic anthology-cum-work on love theory that served as the main model for Ibn Ḥazm's famous *Tawq al-ḥamāmah*. Unfortunately, one searches the *Fihrist* in vain for a notice on the literary works of Ibn Dāwūd. Where did it go? Was Ibn al-Nadīm mistaken? His statement seems to imply clearly that he had already written it and not just that he was planning to include it. Was a whole folio or larger section lost? Has it been preserved in one of the manuscripts that have not been carefully examined? In the end, it may prove impossible to retrieve this particular text, but Ibn al-Nadīm's tantalizing cross-reference reminds us once again that, even after a century and a half of continuous study, there is more to the *Fihrist* than meets the eye.

Report on the Third ISAP Conference

(Alexandria, 23-26 March 2006)

(by Lennart Sundelin)

The International Society for Arabic Papyrology (ISAP) held its third conference in March of 2006 at the magnificent new Bibliotheca Alexandrina in Alexandria, Egypt. Coming on the heels of successful meetings in Cairo (2002) and Granada (2004), this conference drew almost a hundred participants from Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan, Europe, North America, India, Japan, and Taiwan. The schedule included 38 papers and workshops addressing topics as varied as the names of Persian officials appearing in papyri from the period immediately before the Arab Conquest, to Arabic texts on marble from seventh-century Syria, to "obituaries" from Ayyubid Egypt. Highlights of the conference included the unveiling of the "Arabic Papyrology Database" (APD), created by a team led by Andreas Kaplony (Zürich) and now accessible online at <http://www.ori.unizh.ch/apd>. An exciting new digitization project for the Arabic papyri of the Dar al-Kutub (Egyptian National Library) was also presented by Heba Nayel Barakat of the Centre for Documentation of Cultural and Natural Heritage (CULTNAT).

In addition to the sessions at the Bibliotheca Alexandrina, the conference organized visits to nearby archaeological sites, including the extensive excavations at Kom el-Dikka in Alexandria and at Abu Mina to the west of the city, as well as a public lecture at the Swedish Institute in Alexandria given by Hugh Kennedy (St Andrews) on the topic of "The Political and Cultural Formation of Early Islamic Egypt."

This conference was organized by ISAP in conjunction with the staff of the Bibliotheca Alexandrina and Prof. Mostafa El-Abbadi (University of Alexandria), and sponsored by the Netherlands-Flemish Institute in Cairo, the British Academy, Egypt Exploration Society, Royal Netherlands Embassy, Centre des Etudes Alexandrines, the Swedish Institute in Alexandria, and Princeton University.

The next ISAP conference is tentatively scheduled to be held in Vienna in March 2009. Anyone interested in being put on the ISAP mailing list ("ArabicPapy") to receive announcements about the conferences and other information relevant to the field of Arabic papyrology, please send a short note listing your institutional affiliation and research interests to sundelin@princeton.edu.

The papers and workshops presented at the Alexandria conference were:

Thursday, March 23

- Anne Boud'hors (CNRS, Paris) and Florence Calament (Louvre Museum) "Pour une Étude des archives coptes de Medinet el-Fayoum"
- Maher Eissa (Fayyoum University, Egypt) "A New Coptic Letter from the Egyptian Museum"
- Anna Selander (University of Vienna) "Travel in Coptic Documentary Texts"
- Ruey-Lin Chang and Jean Gascoü (Université Marc Bloch, Strasbourg II) "'Amr ibn al-'As (Ambros) under Umayyad Rule: P. Stras. inv. gr. 1301"
- Petra Sijpesteijn (University of Oxford) "Letters from the Edge: New Papyri Belonging to a Third-Century Merchant Family's Correspondence"
- Alia Hanafi (Papyrology Institute, Ain Shams University, Cairo) "A Literary Arabic Papyrus from Cairo and an Arabic Documentary Paper from Copenhagen"
- Andreas Kaplony, Eva Mira Grob, Ayman Shahin, and Johannes Thomann (Zürich University) "Presentation of the Database: Update on the Arabic Papyrology Database"
- Heba Nayel Barakat (Centre for Documentation of Cultural and Natural Heritage (CULTNAT), Egypt) "Digitization and Documentation of the Egyptian National Library Arabic Papyrus Collection"
- Johannes Thomann (Zürich University) "Textsearch beyond the Word Level: Towards an Arabic Papyrology Treebank"

Friday, March 24

- Alain George (Université Saint Joseph, Beirut) "Early Islamic Papyri and the History of Arabic Calligraphy"
- Andreas Kaplony (Zürich University) "What Are Dots Meant to Be For? Some Thoughts on Early Arabic Punctuation"
- W. Matt Malczycki (The American University in Cairo) "al-Fusha and a Quranic Papyrus Text"
- Jairus Banaji (JNU, New Delhi/SOAS, London) "The Identity of 'Shahralanyozan' in the Greek and Middle Persian Papyri from Egypt"
- Peter Sarris (University of Cambridge) "The Social and Economic Background to the Fall of the Roman Near East: The Papyrological and Numismatic Evidence"
- Sebastian Richter (University of Leipzig) "'The Master Spoke: Take One of 'Sun' and One Measure of Almulgam': Unknown Coptic Papyrological Evidence for Arabic Alchemy"

- Tasha Vorderstrasse (Leiden University) "Arabic Terms for Jars in Early Islamic Papyri and their Archaeological Correlates"
- Saied Maghawry (Manufiyya University, Egypt) "Animal Trade during the First Islamic Centuries as Presented in the Papyri"
- Anne Regourd (University of Leeds/Paris) "A Late Ayyubid Report of Death Found at Quseir al-Qadim (Egypt)"
- Christian Gaubert (IFAO, Cairo) "Comptabilité au monastère de Naqlun: quelques comptes de grains en chiffres coptes et epact du 11e siècle"

Saturday, March 25

- Frédéric Bauden (University of Liège) "Le transport de marchandises et de personnes sur le Nil en 823 A.H."
- Johannes Pahlitzsch (Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz) "New Waqf-Documents from the Archive of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria from the 16th Century"
- Frank Trombley (University of Wales) "Michael VIII Palaiologos' Treaty with the Mamluks (1281)"
- Mostafa El-Abbadi (Bibliotheca Alexandrina) "APEL 167: Discussion of a Trilingual Declaration"
- Lennart Sundelin (Princeton University) "Land Tenure and the Changing Makeup of Local Elites in the Countryside of Abbasid Egypt"
- Mohamed A. Abdel-Latif (Supreme Council of Antiquities, Egypt) "The Most Important Cities of Lower Egypt in Papyri of the First Three Centuries after the Hijra"
- Alain Delattre (University of Brussels) "Le monastère de Baouit et l'administration arabe"
- R. G. Khoury (Heidelberg University) "Les papyrus arabes de Heidelberg disparus. Essai de reconstruction et d'analyse"
- Cornelia Römer (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek) "The Arabic Papyri in the Vienna Papyrus Collection: An Invitation to Work on Unpublished Material"
- M. Lesley Wilkins (Harvard University) "Conclusions Drawn from a Database of Documents from Early Islamic Egypt"
- Robert Hoyland (University of St Andrews) "Doodles or Documents?: Arabic Texts on Marble"
- Arietta Papaconstantinou (CNRS, Paris) "Buildings, Saints and Dates: A Sahidic Dedicatory Inscription of the Late 7th Century"
- Jean-Yves Empereur (Centre des Etudes Alexandrines) "Recent Archeological Discoveries in Alexandria"

Sunday, March 26

- Stephen Humphreys (Univ. of California, Santa Barbara) "Documentary Evidence for Mu'awiya's Bilad al-Sham: A Reassessment"
- Shaun O'Sullivan (Univ. of Balamand [Koura, Lebanon]) "Fiscal Evidence from the Nessana Papyri"
- Rachel Stroumsa (Duke University) "Greek and Arabic in Nessana"
- Venetia Porter (British Museum) "Early Islamic Seals and Amulets"
- Johannes den Heijer (Leiden University) "The Kharaj Year in Documentary and Literary Sources (Part II)"
- Nicole Hansen (University of Chicago) "Sunshine Wine on the Nile"

Conference on Exercising Power in the Age of the Sultanates

The third and final conference of the Franco-American sponsored conference on Exercising Power in the Age of the Sultanates: Production, Manifestations, Reception was held in Cairo co-sponsored by ARCE and IFAO. A peer reviewed volume of papers will be published by IFAO under the joint editorship of Sylvie Denoix [Director of Studies, IFAO] and Irene Bierman [Chair, Art History, UCLA]. A list of the papers presented with abstracts can be found at <http://www.arce.org/ifao/collpouvoir>. A spin-off of the Cairo based program took place in Jordan. Five of the papers presented there will be published under the editorship of Bethany Walker and Jean-Francois Salles. The monograph will be published by IFPO-Damascus under IFEAD with the tentative title of "Exercising Power in the Age of the Sultanates: Bilad al-Sham and Iran. Proceedings of an IFPO-ACOR roundtable held in Amman, 14 May 2005".

(info provided by Jere Bacharach)

ANNUAL MEETINGS

Organization	When and Where	Information	Telephone/Fax/Email/Web
Middle East Studies Association (2006 Meeting)	Nov. 17-20, 2006 Boston, MA [Abstract 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
American Oriental Society (2007 Meeting)	Mar. 16-19, 2007 San Antonio, TX	American Oriental Society Hatcher Graduate Library University of Michigan Ann Arbor, MI 48109-1205	(734)-764-7555 www.umich.edu/~aos
American Oriental Society (2008 Meeting)	Mar. 14-17, 2008 Chicago, IL	see preceding	see preceding
American Historical Association (2007 Meeting)	Jan. 4-7, 2007 Atlanta, GA [Paper Deadline: Past]	American Historical Assn. 400 A Street, S. E. Washington, DC 20003	(202)-544-2422 www.historians.org
The Medieval Institute (2006 Meeting)	May 4-7, 2006 Kalamazoo, MI	The Medieval Institute Western Michigan Univ. 1903 W. Michigan Avenue Kalamazoo, MI 49008-5432	Tel.: (269)-387-8745 Fax: (269)-387-8750 mdvl_congres@wmich.edu www.wmich.edu/medieval
The Medieval Institute (2007 Meeting)	May 10-13, 2007 Kalamazoo, MI [Abstract Deadline: Past]	see preceding	see preceding
Seminar for Arabian Studies (2006 Meeting)	July 27-29, 2006 London, UK [Abstract Deadline: Feb. 15, 2006]	Dr. Ardle MacMahon Seminar for Arabian Studies The British Museum c/o Asia Department Great Russell Street London WC1B 3DG, UK	Fax: 44-(0)208-985-3561 seminar.arab@durham.ac.uk www.arabianseminar.org.uk

ANNUAL MEETINGS

Organization	When and Where	Information	Telephone/Fax/Email/Web
College Art Association (2007 Meeting)	Feb. 14-17, 2007 New York, NY	Suzanne Schanzer 275 Seventh Ave. New York, NY 10001	(212)-691-1051 ext13 www.collegeart.org
International Medieval Congress (2006 Meeting) "Emotion and Gesture"	July 10-13, 2006 Leeds, UK [Abstract Deadline: Past]	Axel E.W. Müller IMC, Parkinson 1.03 University of Leeds Leeds LS2 9JT, UK	Tel.: +44 (113) 343-3614 Fax: +44 (113) 343-3616 imc@leeds.ac.uk www.leeds.ac.uk/ims
Dumbarton Oaks Conference (2006 Meeting) "Becoming Byzantine: Children and Childhood in Byzantium"	April 28-30, 2006 Washington, DC [Paper: Invitation only]	Dumbarton Oaks 1703 32nd St., N. W. Washington, DC 20007	(202)-339-6940 www.doaks.org
ARAM International Conference (2006 Meeting) "The Mandaeans"	July 3-5, 2006 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
ARAM International Conference (2007 Meeting) "The Manichaeans and Zindiq in Islamic and Arabic Literatures"	July 6-7, 2007 Oxford, UK	see preceding	see preceding
American Academy of Religion (2006 Meeting)	Nov. 18-21, 2006 Washington, DC	American Academy of Religion 1703 Clifton Rd., Suite G-5 Atlanta, GA 30329-4019	(404)-727-7920 aar@emory.edu www.aarweb.org/annualmeet
American Academy of Religion (2007 Meeting)	Nov. 17-20, 2007 San Diego, CA	see preceding	see preceding

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.

Muḥammad Ḥamza Ismā'il al-Ḥaddād, *al-Asbila al-sulaymāniyya al-bāqiya bil-Quds al-sharīfa: dirāsa taḥlīliyya* [Surviving Sabils Built by Suleiman the Magnificent in Jerusalem: An Analytical Study] (Kuwait: Kuwait University, 2003).

Jerusalem is a city in which construction never ceased in any historical period, as can be seen in its varied architecture, belonging to different cultures and civilizations, Muslim, Byzantine, and others.

The book under review here was published not long ago by the Council for Scientific Publications of Kuwait University. The author, Muḥammad Ismā'il al-Ḥaddād of the university's history department, analyzes the public fountains or *sabils*(1) built in Jerusalem during the reign of the Ottoman Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent (ruled 1520-1566 CE). Despite the book's title, the study is not limited just to the fountains' structural aspects. While there can be no doubt that the construction of

fountains was an integral part of Islamic urban architecture in Seljuk and Ottoman times, such *sabils* also served a distinct welfare or economic function in Ottoman Jerusalem, a city which suffered from a chronic water shortage.

Remains of six such *sabils*, built in the sixteenth century during the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent, are still to be seen in Jerusalem today. These six fountains were part of a water-supply system for the city and for the holy sites on the Temple Mount, provided by the aforementioned Sultan.

The author discusses the importance of these fountains from two aspects. On the one hand is the practical problem of providing water to a city whose topography and geo-morphology have always presented challenges to providing its inhabitants with an adequate supply of water. On the other hand, the author analyzes the artistic and architectural features of the structures in question as they evolved in Seljuk and Ottoman times.

The study is divided into three parts. In Part One the author presents the history of the *sabils*' construction in the years 1536-37 CE. As mentioned above, six of these fountains survive, while another three have disappeared. In all there were thus nine. The six extant fountains are described individually. The first, called *birkat al-sulṭān* ("Sultan's Pool"), was built on the city's outskirts, to the north of today's Old City. The second, the *sabil* of *bāb al-qattānīn* ("Gate of the Cotton Merchants"), is located inside the Old City, on the east side of El-Wād Street near the western entrance to the Cotton Merchants' Market. The third fountain is located to the west of *bāb al-silsila* ("Gate of the Chain"). The fourth, near the Temple Mount at *bāb al-duwaydāriyya* ("Duwaydariyya Gate"), is also known as *sabil Sulaymān* ("Suleiman's Fountain"). The fifth is known as the *sabil* of *bāb al-nāzīr* ("al-Nāzīr Gate"), due to its location at the intersection of El-Wād Street with al-Nāzīr Gate Street. The sixth and last extant *sabil* is that of *bāb al-asbāt* ("Gate of the Tribes"), one of the gates on the north side of the Temple Mount (also known as *sabil sittā Maryam* -- "the

Virgin's Fountain"). This is the only one of the six whose dedicatory inscription has been lost. It is therefore the only one without a date. The other five all possess inscriptions with the year 1536 on them, which according to the author represents the year in which they were originally constructed.

Part Two of the study is devoted to a physical description of the fountains, which were clearly all built to a single architectural plan. However, although the engravings and decorations conform to a certain pattern, on closer inspection each *sabil* has its own distinctive features. The structures are all elongated and hollowed out, surrounded by a prominent stone frame within which a slab of marble carries the dedicatory inscription. These inscribed slabs are still all in place, except for the fountain at the "Gate of the Tribes", as mentioned above. The inscriptions mention the name of the Sultan who ordered the fountain built.

Part Three provides an archeological and architectural analysis of the fountains, based on previous studies by Orientalists, in particular the work of M.V. Berchem. The author shows that in addition to the fountains' Islamic architectural roots, one can also discern Byzantine and Latin influences in certain aspects of their decoration. Their structure, however, is based on the pattern of the Turkish *çeşme* (2) whose features go back to the Seljuk period in Anatolia and survived into Ottoman times. Certain structural traits can be traced back to Egypt and Syria in the Mamluk period. However, the fountains also show occasional signs of innovation in design, and the monumental inscriptions are reminiscent of the ancient fountains of Istanbul.

The author argues that such *çeşmes* were not unknown in the Arab world before the Ottoman period, and were called in Arabic *ḥawḍ* ("basin"), *sabil* ("road"), or *ḥawḍ al-sabil* ("road basin").

An important aspect of this study is the author's reliance on original source-materials and documents, in addition to the many existing studies in Arabic (by Kāmil Jamil al-'Asalī, Rā'if Najam and others)

REVIEWS

and in various European languages (Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, K.A.C. Creswell), books by Western and Muslim travelers to Jerusalem, as well as drawings, plans and maps, all of which are important for a scholarly treatment of the topic under discussion.

The author also points to the importance for his subject of the literature known as *faḍā'il al-arḍ al-muqaddasa* ("Virtues of the Holy Land"). Unfortunately he makes no real use of this literature in his study, despite the fact that dozens of relevant manuscripts have been published, written by pilgrims to the country's holy sites. Such compositions, for example the reports on their visits to Jerusalem written by 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulṣī (d. 1731 CE) and al-Bakrī al-Ṣiddīqī al-Dimashqī (d. 1749 CE) to mention just two, contain much valuable archeological and descriptive information. Equally unfortunate is the author's disregard of the *sabils* built during the Mamluk period (such as the *sabil* of Sha'lān, the *sabil* of Qāsim Pasha, the *sabil* of the Mograbi Gate and others), as well as the 'Arrūb Canal, constructed in 1328 CE during the reign of the

Mamluk Emir Tankiz for the purpose of alleviating the city's water problem; certainly an analysis of these projects could have enriched the present study in a number of ways (Kh. 'Athāmneh in a forthcoming book, *Ta'rikh Filasṭīn fī al-'ahd al-ayyūbī* ("History of Palestine in the Ayyubid Period"), discusses the 'Arrūb Channel and a number of other construction projects in Palestine at the time).

The author focuses mainly on the religious and the historical aspects of the Ottoman Sultan's works; it is a pity that he has not given equal attention to their political and strategic dimensions as well as their economic impact on Jerusalem.

To conclude, we should like to point out that M.V. Berchem, whom we mentioned briefly above, published a documented study of architectural landmarks in Jerusalem in 1923, which also contains a discussion of Suleiman's *sabils*. The present study is thus not the first of its kind. (3) Furthermore, Myriam Rosen-Ayalon in 1989 published a comprehensive, well-documented and illustrated study of Suleiman the Magnificent's *sabils*; it is to be regretted that the author of the present

book did not avail himself of it, in particular in view of Rosen-Ayalon's precise historical analysis which led her to conclude that the first two *sabils* mentioned above were indeed built in 1536 whereas the latter four were constructed in 1537. (4)

- Ghalib Anabsi

(1) On the origin of the name see 'Alī Mubārak, *Al-Khuṭaṭ al-tawfiqiyya al-jadida li-Miṣr al-Qāhira wa-mudunihā wa-bilādihā al-qadīma wal-shahira* (New Plans Made by Tawfiq for Cairo Its Well-Known and Ancient Quarters), Cairo 1887, vol. 6, p. 166).

(2) The word *çeşme* is of Persian origin. Originally it meant "spring", but later came to denote a simple fountain.

(3) Max van Merchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum, Jérusalem, "Ville"*, Cairo (1923), pp. 413-417.

(4) Myriam Rosen-Ayalon, "On Suleiman's Sabils in Jerusalem", *The Islamic World, from Classical to Modern Times: Essays in Honor of Bernard Lewis*, Princeton (1989), pp. 589-607.

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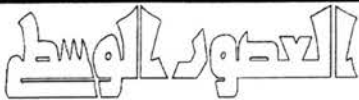
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