

**Sayings and Formulas on Manners
of Respect in Mosques
(Compared with Jewish
and Christian Customs)**

by Ofer Livne-Kafri

From its beginnings Islam was obliged to manifest its own uniqueness in contrast to other religions it recognized as based on divine revelation, mainly Judaism and Christianity. There was a need to form a clear distinction in terms of beliefs, ideologies, social connections, and especially customs and habits.¹

In the framework of this study I try to shed light on some sayings in the *hadith* literature regarding mosques, which seem to belong to a very old layer of *hadith*. They deal mostly with customs and habits of respect in mosques. Some of these traditions are formulated very much like Jewish sayings regarding synagogues (but also concerning the Temple, and Beit Ha-Midrash [a place to study religious matters like Talmud and Mishna, and also for prayer]).² I also looked for parallels to Christian attitudes concerning churches. As a preliminary study this is merely a schematic presentation of selected customs reflected in sayings and formulas, rather than a study of

their cultural and historical background; for instance, in the transition from Jāhili, namely, pre-Islamic customs into Islam, or the internal background of the Jewish and Christian sayings and customs.

The sanctity of the mosques derives basically from the Koran and the preaching and acting of the prophet

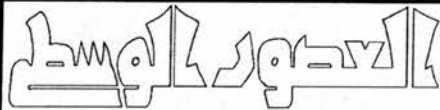
SEE MANNERS, PAGE 22.

An Apology...

Besides the usual excuses, a change in computers (and their operating systems) used in the office where *UW* is produced resulted in long delays as we sorted out how to transfer files between incompatible systems and printers. The editor offers readers abject apologies for the delays. We hope to be on schedule again for the 2007 issues. -Ed.

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Associate Editors: Katherine Lang (Member News), Michael G. Morony (Book Reviews), Donald Whitcomb (Archaeology)

Editorial and Production Assistant:

Aram Shahin

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MANNERS, FROM PAGE 21.

Muḥammad; later on the mosques appeared also in different religious, social and even political connections.³ Traditions that require respectful treatment of the mosque on the part of the visitor emerged out of the need to give it an air of sanctity such as befits a focus of spiritual importance.⁴ A set of sayings and rules were formulated in order to establish the uniqueness of the mosque and to distinguish it from worldly matters and secular places, the worst of which were considered to be the markets, as a symbol of utmost impurity.⁵

Many traditions 'in respect of mosques' were preserved in the so-called 'canonical collections of *ḥadīth*', which might show that they were accepted by orthodox Muslim scholars. For them these were in many cases reliable traditions traced back to the prophet Muḥammad or his companions; I believe that some of them are indeed very old. Similarity to Jewish or Christian formulas must be very carefully examined; one reason is the possibility that similar conditions might have engendered the creation of similar sayings. Some forbidding traditions came out probably against a real background of disgraceful conduct, like condemning a stray beast in the mosque,⁶ or behaving in a loud manner (like laughing).⁷ It was said about the caliph 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb that he built a yard beside the mosque of Medina and said: "whoever wants to recite verses of poetry or to raise his voice, let him go out to this yard".⁸ The prohibition of making the mosque a place for marketing (which appears repeatedly in later periods),⁹ appeared out of reality¹⁰ in which there was eating in the mosques, talking (and talking in a loud manner), bringing animals inside, etc.¹¹ It was probably inappropriate conditions in churches that caused the Quinisext Council in Constantinople (691 A.D.) to issue canons that prohibited eating in churches, selling food there, or bringing animals into them.¹² In a similar manner we find, for example a Jewish saying, "Synagogues are not to be treated in light-mindedness; one should not eat in them, nor should he drink in them... and one should not enter there in hot days [for shelter] from the sun, nor in rainy days because of the rains... and they are to be

swept and be sprinkled with water, so that weeds will not grow there".¹³

A basic demand was to keep the holy mosques clean. A tradition attributed to Anas b. Mālik, a companion of the Prophet Muḥammad, says: "Whoever sweeps a certain mosque, it is (for him) as if he made a raid with the messenger of God..."¹⁴ A similar saying on Anas' behalf promises even a greater reward.¹⁵ Another tradition attributed to the prophet says: "Whoever takes a filthy thing out of the mosque, God will build for him a house in paradise;"¹⁶ or: "... when you come into the mosque, look at your shoes; whoever finds there anything let him rub it."¹⁷ This tradition relates to a case in which Muḥammad removed his shoes after it was noticed by Jibrīl that some impure thing was attached to it. This comes within the discussion by M.J. Kister on the difference between the ritual of Muslims and that of the Jews concerning shoes.¹⁸ There are similar Jewish sayings: "One must not enter the Temple Mount with his staff, shoes, money belt, or the dirt on his feet, nor may [the Temple Mount] be used as a shortcut, and *aminori admains*, spitting [is prohibited there]."¹⁹ Some of these prohibitions are also applied to the synagogue.²⁰ Some Muslim traditions that reflect the need to preserve the purity of the mosque command that if someone finds a louse on his clothing while being in the mosque, he ought to throw it out.²¹ One should also conceal his mucus,²² and not spit in the mosque.²³ There are also Jewish sayings against spitting on the Temple Mount or in the synagogue.²⁴

As Pedersen noted, "The daily *ṣalāts*, which in themselves could be performed elsewhere, became especially meritorious when they were performed in mosques," and "there are even *ḥadīths* which condemn private *ṣalāts*."²⁵ There was also a recommendation and preference to praying in the synagogue over praying at home, among which, "whosoever has a synagogue in his town, and he does not enter to pray there, is called a bad neighbour."²⁶ In this respect there is a special reward for the steps of one who goes to the mosque from his house,²⁷ and there is a saying concerning women com-

ing to the synagogues in order to get the 'steps reward.'²⁸ It was also meritorious to cleave to the mosque, to be the first to come and the last to leave it,²⁹ as it was according to a Jewish saying regarding the synagogue.³⁰

We have adduced here a selection of traditions on respectful conduct that should be followed in mosques that appear mainly in formulas or sayings. They are sometimes very similar to Jewish and Christian sayings and decrees. But do they constitute a borrowing from Jewish and Christian sources? On the one hand we know of widespread absorption of materials from the *ahl al-kitāb* that was recognized and partly confirmed by Muslim scholars. This was especially accepted when it concerned traditions transmitted by Jews and Christians converted to Islam, and when there was no fear of influence on beliefs and customs of Muslims.³¹ Indeed, there was a felt need to form a clear distinction between Islam on the one hand, and Judaism and Christianity on the other hand. An important observation is made by Menahem Kister speaking about one of the trends to keep such a distinction which "evidences a

clear desire on the part of early Islam for self-definition, as well as a concern over the presence of Jewish influences and practices among its earliest believers. It should be recalled that Islam developed in the shadow of Judaism, among Arabs who maintained extremely close relations with Jews and their religion (especially the *Anṣār*)." The author also refers to the influence of the *Anṣār* regarding the introduction of Jewish customs into Islam.³² In fact, despite the opposition to such things, it sometimes happened that a Muslim custom seems to reflect a Jewish origin.³³

Concerning our issue, such customs of respect in the mosque could have emerged independently of the Jewish and the Christian traditions. Nevertheless I would not exclude the possibility of influence caused by contact with Jews and Christians, not only in the lands occupied by the Arabs, but even before the conquests. Mosques were important institutions already in the lifetime of the prophet Muḥammad and the need to create a special attitude of respect for mosques seems to have arisen very early. If some of our traditions are indeed that old, the influence of converted Jews or even the *Anṣār* could

have been at work, at least during the first stage. The borrowing by Muslims (not necessarily converted) who observed the customs of Jews and Christian is not to be excluded as well. The Christian traditions quoted above are from 691 A.D., but I did not find additional traditions of that sort. It seems to me that the phrasing of the formulas concerning the mosques reflects more closeness to the Jewish traditions.

Because this is a preliminary study, the evidence was introduced in a schematic manner; there is still a need for further study of the historical background, the transition from Jāhili, pre-Islamic customs into Islam, and the internal background of the Jewish and Christian sayings and customs. Although the results are still incomplete, we can say that the traditions on customs of respect for synagogues, churches, and mosques reflect a similar cultural background, and they most probably are witness to knowledge shared among the different groups and their scholars. The similarity of the chosen themes and the formulas that express them seem to be more than incidental.

Endnotes:

1. The need for such a distinction is extensively studied by M.J. Kister in his article "'Do Not Assimilate Yourselves... Lā tashabbahū...,'" *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 12 (1989): 321-353 (notice, e.g., the important definitions in p. 324); see also Menahem Kister's 'Appendix' to this article, especially the general observations in pp. 354-355. Muslim scholars had to take a stand when enormous amounts of Jewish and Christian materials were absorbed by Muslims; cf. Kister's study "'ḥadīthū 'an banī isrā' ila wa-la-ḥaraja,'" *Israel Oriental Studies* 2 (1972): 215-239, where he discusses at length the whole question of absorbing Jewish and Christian ideas and conduct into the Muslim system of values. See also H. Lazarus-Yafeh, "Some Halachic Differences between Judaism and Islam," *Tarbiz* 52 (1982): 207-225 (in Hebrew).
2. On some of such 'customs of respect' in the Temple Mount and in the synagogues see *The Hebrew Encyclopedia*, "Beit-Kneset," vol. 8, p. 625. On 'a competition' between the synagogue and Beit Ha-Midrash see *ibid.*, p. 626. Cf. M. Kister, 'Appendix' (note 1 above), p. 360 on "The internal dynamic which one expects to find in Judaism calls for equating the laws of the synagogues with those of the Temple." Cf. J. Pedersen, "Masdjid," *Et²*, vol. 6 (1991), p. 655, "In Medina after a journey, the Prophet went at once to the mosque and performed two *rak'as*, a custom which was imitated by others and became the rule... In this respect, the mosque played a part in public worship similar to that of the Ka'ba in Mecca at an earlier date and the Rabba sactuary in Ṭā'if."
3. J. Pedersen, *ibid.*, pp. 644-677.
4. See e.g., *ibid.*, pp. 654-655.
5. See e.g., Abū al-Ma'ālī al-Musharraf b. al-Murajjā b. Ibrāhīm al-Maqdisī, *Kitāb Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis wa-al-Khalīl wa-Faḍā'il al-Shām*, ed. O. Livne-Kafri (Shfaram, 1995), pp. 288-289.
6. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 855), *Musnad* (Cairo, 1313), vol. 2, p. 179, line 12; 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Dārimī (d. 869), *Sunan al-Dārimī* (Medina, 1966), vol. 1, p. 266, no. 1408; Ibn Māja (d. 886), *Sunan* (Cairo, 1951-1952), vol. 1, pp. 252; Abū Dāwūd (d. 889), *Sunan Abī Dāwūd* (Cairo, 1950-1951), vol. 1, p. 128, no. 473; cf. Mundhirī, *al-Tarḥīb wa-al-Tarḥīb min al-Ḥadīth al-Sharīf* (Beirut, 1968), vol. 1, p. 203; Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Zarkashī, *I'lām al-Sājīd bi-Aḥkām al-Masājīd* (Cairo, 1385), p. 324; Ibn al-Murajjā (note 5 above), p. 301, no. 486. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 304, no. 495; cf. Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, vol. 1, p. 252; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 5, p. 360, line 11; p. 361.

- 7 Ibn al-Murajjā (note 5 above), p. 300, no. 480. Cf. an anecdote on the Koran commetator Muqātil b. Sulaymān (d. 768) who rebuked the rough loud manner of a beduin near the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem (Ibn al-Murajjā [note 5 above], p. 229, no. 338; Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍā'il al-Bayt al-Muqaddas*, ed. I. Hasson [Jerusalem, 1978], no. 140).
8. Ibn al-Murajjā (note 5 above), p. 281, no. 429; Mālik b. Anas (d. 795), *al-Muwatta'* (Cairo, 1951), vol. 1, p. 175, no. 93. Cf. al-Zarkashī, *I'lām al-Sājid* (note 6 above), pp. 322-323.
9. Abū al-Faṭḥ al-Dajjānī, *Jawāhir al-Qalā'id fi Faḍā'il al-Masājid*, ed. M. Perlman, *Israel Oriental Studies* 3 (1973), p. 287.
10. Pedersen, "Masjdīd" (note 2 above), p. 655. Cf. Mālik b. Anas, *al-Muwatta'* (note 8 above), vol. 1, p. 174, no. 92.
11. Pedersen, "Masjdīd" (note 2 above), *ibid.*
12. See Philip Schuff and Henri Wace, eds., *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers*, 2nd series, vol. 14 (New York, 1900), pp. 398-399; 403. Cf. Constance Head, *Justinian II of Byzantium* (London, 1972), pp. 68-69.
13. *Talmud Bavli Mgilla* 28b; cf. *The Hebrew Encyclopedia*, "Beit-Knesset" (note 2 above), p. 626, lines 17-30.
14. Ibn al-Murajjā (note 5 above), p. 275, no. 413.
15. *Ibid.*, no. 415; cf. Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, *Kitāb Mīzān al-I'tidāl fi Naqd al-Rijāl* (Cairo, 1325), vol. 1, p. 414; Abū al-Ḥasan Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Arrāq, *Tanzīh al-Sharī'a al-Marfū'a 'an al-Aḥādīth al-Mawḍū'a* (Cairo, 1375), vol. 2, p. 116, no. 104. The nature of the sources shows a critical opinion among scholars of *ḥadīth* concerning this tradition.
16. Ibn Māja, *Sunan* (note 6 above), vol. 1, p. 250; al-Mundhirī, *al-Targhīb wa-al-Tarhīb* (note 6 above), vol. 1, p. 198; Muḥammad b. Ḥibān al-Bustī, *Kitāb al-Majrūhīn* (Hyderabad, 1970), vol. 2, p. 257; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalāqni, *Tadhīb al-Tadhīb* (Heyderabad, 1325-1327), vol. 6, p. 189.
17. See Ibn al-Murajjā (note 5 above), p. 276, no. 418; cf. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad* (note 6 above), vol. 3, pp. 92, 100, 166, vol. 4, p. 4; al-Dārimī, *Sunan al-Dārimī* (note 6 above), vol. 1, p. 26; Muslim b. al-Hajjāj (d. 875), *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* (Cairo, 1955), vol. 1, p. 391.
18. Cf. Kister's discussion in "Do Not Assimilate Yourselves..." (note 1 above), p. 342, note 73.
19. *Talmud Bavli Berakhot* 62b, quoted by M. Kister, 'Appendix' (note 1 above), p. 358. Note his remark on the difference between the synagogue and the Temple in this respect; cf. our note 2 above.
20. See e.g., *The Hebrew Encyclopedia*, "Beit-Knesset" (note 2 above), p. 625.
21. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad* (note 6 above), vol. 5, p. 419; cf. al-Zarkashī, *I'lām al-Sājid* (note 6 above), p. 313.
22. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad* (note 6 above), vol. 1, p. 179. Cf. Mundhirī, *al-Targhīb wa-al-Tarhīb* (note 6 above), vol. 1, p. 201; Ibn al-Murajjā (note 5 above), p. 289, no. 452.
23. Al-Mundhirī, *al-Targhīb wa-al-Tarhīb* (note 6 above), vol. 1, pp. 199-201; Ibn al-Murajjā (note 5 above), p. 290, no. 453, 254; p. 261, no. 456. It was also prohibited to go into the mosque after eating onion or garlic; see Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad* (note 6 above), vol. 3, p. 400; al-Mundhirī, *al-Targhīb wa-al-Tarhīb* (note 6 above), vol. 1, p. 223. Cf. al-Tirmidhī (d. 892), *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Tirmidhī* (Cairo, 1931-1934), vol. 3, p. 132; Ibn al-Murajjā (note 5 above), p. 297, no. 471.
24. For instance, *Talmud Bavli Berakhot* 62b.
25. Pedersen, "Masjdīd" (note 2 above), p. 655. Cf. al-Mundhirī, *al-Targhīb wa-al-Tarhīb* (note 6 above), vol. 1, pp. 260-261.
26. *Talmud Bavli Berakhot* 8a.
27. Probably in order to encourage people to pray in the mosques (and with the public) rather than at home. See Ibn al-Murajjā (note 5 above), p. 295, no. 464. See also *ibid.*, p. 285, no. 441; al-Mundhirī, *al-Targhīb wa-al-Tarhīb* (note 6 above), vol. 1, p. 206. See also Ibn al-Murajjā, p. 277, no. 420; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad* (note 6 above), vol. 4, p. 157, line 24; al-Mundhirī, *al-Targhīb wa-al-Tarhīb*, vol. 1, pp. 206-207.
28. *Masakhtot Ktanot, Sofrim*, 18/8.
29. See e.g., Ibn al-Murajjā (note 5 above), p. 288, no. 450 (in contrast with the markets, the symbol of the unworthy worldly life).
30. *Talmud Bavli Sukka*, 28a.
31. Cf. Kister, "*ḥaddithū 'an banī isrā'ila wa-la-ḥaraja*" (note 1 above), especially p. 239.
32. Menahem Kister (above, note 1), p. 354; and *ibid.*, note 2, referring to M.J. Kister and Menahem Kister, "On the Jews of Arabia - Notes," *Tarbiz* 48 (1979), p. 240 (in Hebrew).
33. Cf. O. Livne-Kafri quoting Kister in "The Muslim Traditions 'in Praise of Jerusalem' (Faḍā'il al-Quds): Diversity and Complexity," *Annali* 58 (1998), pp. 171-172 as regards the Jewish origin of the custom *khitām al-qur'ān* (the completion of the reading of the Koran); see there, Kister's important observations.

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:

Chair, Prize Committee
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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).

Humanism, Oriental Studies, and the Birth of Philology: Learning Arabic in Europe since the Sixteenth Century*

by Dagmar Riedel

Two approaches dominate work on the history of the study of Arabic and Islam in Christian Europe: The first focuses on the contribution of scholars who were specialists of matters Middle Eastern, Oriental, or Islamic until the nineteenth century, but their insights are today of purely antiquarian interest. Recent examples are Hartmut Bobzin's analysis of Koran translations during the Reformation period, G. J. Toomer's survey of seventeenth-century British Arabists, or the study of André du Ryer (c.1595-1672) by Alastair Hamilton and Francis Richard. The second approach examines the research of scholars who are active members of the contemporary academic discipline, because their work still reverberates, however faintly, in current efforts of achieving a better understanding of those questions that are considered constitutive to modern Middle Eastern studies. The most influential book is surely *Orientalism* by the late Edward Said, because its ahistorical political argument continues to spawn highly charged responses, such as the recent books by Robert Irwin and Daniel Varisco.

The division of labor reflects the epistemological break that profoundly affected the paradigms of research around 1775. This intellectual watershed is beyond dispute, and it is therefore customarily used to justify the mutual disregard of all research on matters located on the other side of this divide—relative of course to one's own standpoint. To rely on this epistemological break for the construction of periods that are clearly separated has stra-

tegic advantages because it keeps research projects in manageable proportions. But the pragmatic decision also presupposes that the break was in fact a rupture, going so deep that there are no continuities that link early modern and modern scholarship.¹ The decision ignores the possibility that within the history of the study of Arabic and Islam in Christian Europe some approaches, attitudes, or axioms continued to thrive despite this epistemological break. The heuristic concept of a *longue durée*—most prominently associated with the French *Annales* school—supposes that societal developments, shifts, and changes occur and proceed in varying paces in different intellectual and cultural areas so that absolute ruptures are in fact impossible. From this perspective, the prize for the very reasonable decision to squarely locate the beginning of modern Middle Eastern studies in the nineteenth century, be it with the critical editions of Antoine I. Silvestre de Sacy (1758-1838) and Gustav Flügel (1802-1870), or with the studies of Gustav Weil (1808-1889), Julius Wellhausen (1844-1918), or Ignaz Goldziher (1850-1921), appeared to be that unrecognized continuities can retain their influence, because that which is claimed to have already ended a long time ago cannot come into view.

Moreover, to locate the beginning of modern Middle Eastern studies in the century that is associated with nationalism and imperialism as well as with historicism and positivism, seems to separate the study of Arabic and Islam from the various intellectual enterprises that are iden-

tified with the European Enlightenment of the eighteenth century. This isolated position of the study of Arabic and Islam is salient. According to the master narrative of western modernity, the Enlightenment is alpha and omega, from human rights and representative democracy to tolerance and secularism. At this state of my research, I do not yet know to how to interpret our unquestioned agreement on this late starting point of the modern history of the study of Arabic and Islam. But between the Reformation of the sixteenth century and the end of the Napoleonic Wars in the early nineteenth century, many men—academia and diplomacy were closed to women—learned Arabic and studied Islam in Christian Europe inside and outside the universities. Even though that which was taught is today considered wrong, racist, or Islamophobic, the Christian European interest in the Muslim Middle East did not begin with the famous Arabists who were working at nineteenth-century universities. In addition, the literary and artistic output of early modern Orientalist scholarship is so rich and varied that on a pragmatic level it seems unrealistic, or perhaps rather neurotic, to assume that modern Middle Eastern studies began with a squeaky clean slate.

My interest in the transition from early modern to modern Orientalist scholarship follows from my work with Islamic manuscripts on the one hand and from my efforts of crossing the abyss that in the West still separates the study of the Arabic language and literature from current research on both historical linguistics and

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literary criticism in the West-European languages.

It is of course always dutifully recognized that Islamic manuscripts constitute the most important body of primary sources for the study of Islam and Middle Eastern Muslim societies since the emergence of Islam in the seventh CE. But the current state of research on Islamic codicology and paleography is very low-key, if measured by the exalted rhetoric in praise of the riches of Islamic manuscripts. Even more surprising seems that despite the intense debates about European Orientalism in the wake of Said's bestseller, the history of European book collections and research libraries for the study of Arabic and Islam has attracted little scholarly attention. The neglect is noteworthy because the availability of both primary and secondary sources is of crucial importance for the level of understanding that can be obtained about a foreign civilization from the outside. The extant research offers some vivid descriptions of how during the seventeenth century Dutch,² French,³ and British scholars struggled to get access to Islamic primary sources.⁴ During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, scholars continued their efforts in building Islamic research libraries. Yet, it is usually not even mentioned to which degree modern Middle Eastern studies obviously benefited from the already extant European collections of Islamic books, be they Islamic manuscripts or Christian imprints. Silvestre de Sacy and Flügel, for example, could only prepare critical editions, because they chose works for which they had sufficient manuscript copies available to them in Paris and Vienna respectively.

The importance of the nineteenth-century editions, such as Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt* (1822), the Koran (1834), Katip Çelebi's *Kashf al-zunūn* (1835-1858), or Ṭabarī's *Ta'rikh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk* (1879-1901), was never contested, even though the publication of critical editions has never been considered the hallmark of modern Middle Eastern studies. The difficulty of access to Islamic books in Christian Europe was one reason as to why scholars needed to produce editions of Arabic literature to be printed in Europe.⁵ Consequently, the

European history of the study of Arabic and Islam can be written not only as the collector's tale of treasure hunting,⁶ but also as the scholar's tale of woe about the obstacles in the way of seeing Arabic texts and reference books, such as dictionaries and grammars,⁷ to the printing press.⁸ Moreover, any survey of early modern Oriental studies that does not include an evaluation of the many book manuscripts that never made it to the press will provide a dangerously incomplete picture of the extent to which Arabic and Islam was of interest to the learned.⁹

Astonishing is that the quite intensive efforts to produce printed editions of Islamic primary sources never generated a discourse on how to actually edit Arabic literature. Scholars of Arabic and Islam worked on editing projects comparable to those prepared in classics and biblical exegesis by Humanists and Enlightenment luminaries, but all the hands-on editing never initiated a methodological debate about the applied textual practice, be it before or after the epistemological break of the late eighteenth century. This disconnect between practical work and theoretical reflection constitutes therefore another continuity between early modern and modern oriental studies, and may explain why there is at the moment not one single monograph about the editing of Arabic literature. In Adam Gacek's systematic bibliography of the Arabic manuscript tradition, Michael Carter's 1995 article in Greetham's MLA handbook *Scholarly Editing* is the only entry under "editing." In contrast, students of Latin, Greek, or biblical literature can choose between several introductions and handbooks, and of course all of them open with the claim that there is not a really good one yet easily available to the student in need of guidance.

At this point, one may ask whether it is justified to compare different fields to conclude that on a structural level comparable activities should lead to comparable outcomes, even though one has paired apples with oranges. While I am willing to concede that there is formalist merit to this separate-but-equal argument, I would insist on a pragmatic and intellectual level that I desire a better answer than the rather

unsatisfactory academic relativism. What is the purpose of paying lip service to interdisciplinary research, if comparisons will be banned whenever the results raise more questions than they provide answers? In addition, scholars working on Arabic and Islam were not living in splendid isolation. Their own education had surely exposed them to that which was happening in Biblical hermeneutics and classics, because these fields retained their importance within both general education and university curricula across the epistemological break and despite an absolute loss of influence during the course of the nineteenth century.

The observation that specialists of Arabic and Islam as academics, gentlemen scholars, or intellectuals, were also always members of larger learned and professional social networks may be the most important argument as to why the starting point of modern Middle Eastern studies can be located in the nineteenth century. It was in the first half of that century that a critical mass of men working on non-European cultures and civilizations founded learned societies, such as the Société Asiatique in 1822, the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland in 1823, the American Oriental Society in 1842, and the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft in 1845. Until World War I, specialists of Arabic and Islam were a minority in these professional organizations that were dominated by researchers of India and the ancient Near East. Nonetheless, all members developed a shared professional identity as Orientalists. The epistemological break of the late eighteenth century explains the conceptual changes within the definition of academic disciplines that in turn made these socio-economic shifts possible and generated the ideal type of the professional academic Orientalist, though it does not follow that modern Middle Eastern studies was invented from scratch. It indicates rather that modern Middle Eastern studies was the result of pooling scattered resources in a newly founded discipline, downplaying the tradition of Arabic and Islamic studies in Christian Europe while generating the creation myth of a new beginning.

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Between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, the study of Arabic and Islam was not the prerogative of any specific academic discipline. In the sixteenth century, the study of Arabic, the sister of Hebrew, was advocated by theologians who hoped that the understanding of Arabic would enhance their grasp of biblical Hebrew. The teaching of Arabic as an auxiliary language of Bible studies was abandoned in concert with the improving knowledge of Hebrew. But Islam and Koran studies remained important for dogma and salvation history. Since Islam was perceived as Christian heresy, the military might of the Ottoman and Safavid empires challenged Christian supremacy. Islam therefore could serve as interface for debates of Christian heresy, while the study of Arabic became a pursuit of missionaries, aiming at the conversion of both Oriental Christendom and the Muslim *umma*.¹⁰ Historians grappled meanwhile with how to fit Muslim societies into their evolving master narratives of a universal history. Scholars of medicine and the natural sciences acquired at least a working knowledge of Arabic to gain access to Arabic translations of Greek sources. But outside the universities the study of Arabic was much less important than the practical mastery of Persian and Ottoman, as well as a solid working knowledge of Islamic law as applied in the Ottoman and Safavid empires. While Persian was the *lingua franca* that connected people between the Indian Ocean and the Bosphorus, Arabic, despite its privileged status within the Islamic sciences, was just the arcane language of Islamic cultus and law as well as the argot of the natives in the Ottoman Arab provinces. The imperial rivals of Protestant Britain and Catholic France courted the Sunni Ottomans and the Shi'i Safavids to contain Orthodox Russia and Catholic Hapsburg, while walking both sides of the street: vying for trade privileges and courting delusions of a last Crusade against the Infidels.

These diverse interests in Middle Eastern societies explains why Arabic remained a minor language within the early modern university curricula, while France and Britain established independent lan-

guage schools to train specialists of the contemporary languages for diplomatic missions.¹¹ The teaching of living languages could not be accommodated at early modern universities, the curricula of which were developed by the faculties of theology, jurisprudence, medicine, and philosophy. Between the late sixteenth and the early nineteenth century, theology, salvation history, and rhetoric were transformed into religious studies, universal history, and philology. History and religion had evolved into concepts that established independent subject fields to be studied on their own merits. The new academic disciplines came of age in an era that was dominated by historicism as well as positivism.¹² Therefore, scholars of history and religions considered it on theoretical grounds impossible to study current societies and their modern religions because fair and final judgment of ongoing processes could not be passed.¹³ Throughout the nineteenth century, philology established itself as the new methodology that allowed for the reconstruction of the vernacular past of Europe's modern national languages. But the canonical works of the major West-European languages were not contemporaneous: Shakespeare, Corneille, Racine, Moliere, la Fontaine, and Goethe are not nineteenth-century authors. While philology had evolved from the methodological foundations of the editing of Greek and Latin literatures, hermeneutics was, and has remained, the well-established Christian methodology for the interpretation of biblical texts. In the twentieth century, the lessons of hermeneutics were expanded in their applicability to non-biblical texts, and fed first into epistemological debates in philosophy and then served as the methodological starting point of deconstruction and critical theory.

From the perspective of a non-Jewish or non-Muslim European it may be rather unremarkable that the epistemological watershed between "l'âge classique" and "l'âge moderne"--to use Michel Foucault's terminology--was Eurocentric and privileged Christianity. But these internalized and unquestioned Christian foundations may explain why professional organizations of Orientalists seemed such a

great idea to nineteenth-century scholars who were specialists in a dazzling variety of Others, standing clearly outside the academic Christian mainstream. In addition, it may offer a first clue as to why the study of Arabic, as well as the study of Persian and Ottoman, kept itself at a safe distance from philology. This new discipline stood in the service of European nationalism because it spawned the academic disciplines of English, German, and French studies, which in turn supplemented the diplomatic history of the West-European nation states with the literary history of their national languages. Conversely, philology could seem irrelevant to the languages of Middle Eastern societies that had not yet been fully affected by European imperialism. Only after 1850 did the *nahda*, the Renaissance of Arabic letters, emerge. The turn to the so-called Golden Age of Classical Islam in Abbasid Baghdad was also a response to the pressure of the conflicting colonial interests of the Ottomans, the French, and the British. European Orientalists responded in kind, and projected European nationalism onto Islamic literatures, even though they continued to skip the methodological discourse on editorial practice. Toward the end of the nineteenth centuries, the histories of Ottoman, Persian, and Arabic literature by E. J. W. Gibb (1857-1901), E. G. Browne (1862-1926), and Carl Brockelmann (1868-1956), respectively, fitted the major languages of classical Islamic civilization into the European mould of a national language.

At this point, a complex picture emerges. The development from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century may be described as streamlining and externalization. During the Reformation period the study of Arabic and Islam had been integrated as research topics into various disciplines across the early modern university curriculum. After the Napoleonic Wars, Arabic studies constituted a single discipline within the large field of Oriental studies, which formed the catch-all for those disciplines, the research in which did not directly contribute to the understanding of how a Christian European nationalism was the inevitable result of humankind's universal history. Unfortu-

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nately, a negation does not contribute to a definition, because that which is actually described is absent. In other words, modern Oriental studies in general and Middle Eastern studies in particular identified themselves as outsiders within western academia. Consequently, they never saw the necessity to communicate with other disciplines through a theoretical dialogue on their specific disciplinary methodology. In the language of psychoanalysis, this silence can be described as repression. The return of the repressed is then represented by our lack of interest in the continuities between early modern and modern Oriental studies, such as the absence of a critical discourse on editorial practice.

This interpretation is supported by the process through which members of

the Middle East Studies Association (MESA) renew their MESA membership. The form asks them to describe their research from five perspectives: discipline, sub-areas, specialties, geographical areas of interest, and research languages. But this politically so correct diversity is a smoke screen, concealing that geography is the only common denominator, and consequently that Muslims in Europe and North America are primarily perceived as Middle Eastern immigrants. Is it really less discriminatory, less racist, or less condescending, to study Islam and Arabic, securely protected against the influence of other academic disciplines by the high walls of Oriental, Middle Eastern, or Islamic studies? During the Middle Ages, Muslims ruled for centuries over parts of

the Iberian Peninsula and Southern Italy. The import of slaves from East and West Africa led to the establishment of the first Muslim underground communities in North America, even though the conditions of slavery ensured that little to nothing has been preserved about these Muslim congregations. Sizeable Muslim communities of citizens in all societies of Western Europe and North America make it today nonsensical, not to say irresponsible, to approach Islam as an exclusively non-western phenomenon. The ethical issue is then whether the current approach to the study of Islam and Arabic is superior to that of the early modern period.

Notes:

* This is the slightly modified text of a paper presented on 21 November 2006 at the annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association in Boston, Massachusetts. The research belongs to a comprehensive project about the history of Islamic and Middle Eastern studies in eighteenth-century Europe, and was conducted between July and December 2006, when I was Scholar-in-Residence in the Burke Library of Union Theological Seminary in the City of New York. I wish to thank the Seminary and Columbia University Libraries for their generous support of this research. I am particularly indebted to Michael Boddy and Seth Kasten, who taught me how to find my way in the treasure troves of Burke Library.

Some explanatory notes have been retained, but in keeping with the character of a conference paper, notes generally lack bibliographical references. Some of the relevant literature is mentioned in the text; many of the other references are drawn from Bernard Cerquiglini's lectures in *Eloge de la variante* (Paris, 1989; English translation Baltimore, 1999); Alastair Hamilton, *William Bedwell* (Leiden, 1985); and the proceedings of *Istanbul et les langues orientales*, edited by Frédéric Hitzel (Paris, 1997).

1. The strategic advantage of this slash-and-burn approach is obvious, and its attraction is understandable, if the merciless funding fights in the Humanities are considered. From the Anglo-American perspective of privileging immediately applicable knowledge, it can seem daunting, if not impossible, to argue for financial support in order to expand the general human knowledge base: research for research's sake. Convincing referees of a project's merit seems easier if immediate benefits of its results can be argued for the near future, and such benefits seem much more probable for research on contemporary issues. The pressure of external factors on the design of research projects needs to be acknowledged, because political and socio-economic pressure will not go away because we wish to ignore them.

3. Raphelengius and Scaliger had to make do with chance discoveries in Europe. Erpenius had an agent in Istanbul, where the dealers were much better stocked and much more expensive than their colleagues in Cairo and Alexandria. Golius worked from 1622 to 1624 for the Dutch in Morocco, and from 1625 to 1629 in the Levant.

4. Du Ryer stayed from 1616 to 1621 in Egypt as a language student, returned from 1623 until 1626 as vice-consul, traveled from 1626 to 1629 in the Levant, and served from 1631 to 1632 as interpreter to the French ambassador in Istanbul.

6. The important European collections of Islamic manuscripts in Oxford, Cambridge, London, Paris, and Leiden originated in that century, but the actual purchasing and collecting of Islamic books also reflects seventeenth-century attitudes to books as collector's items, be they imprints or manuscripts. Codices of the Koran or Persian epics were prized possessions: precious exotic objects of considerable material value, but not texts to be read, studied or censored.

7. The argument that the printing of Arabic books supported successful missionary activity in the Middle East was advanced until the

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beginning of the eighteenth century. But it is rather difficult to decide as to when the missionary argument ceased to be an actively pursued political agenda, and had become an obligatory topos of Arabic literature printed in Christian Europe. When Savary de Brèves set up his printing press in Rome, he focused on Arabic-Latin books as teaching material for European students of Arabic and on Roman-Catholic missionary literature in Arabic and Syriac addressed at the indigenous Christian minorities.

8. I subsume under the term book both manuscripts and imprints, because manuscripts are not by definition archival records or documents, and a handwritten book is a book as well as a manuscript. A good example of how a book circulated because it was primarily valued as commodity, see the example of the famous purple Koran that belonged to the French booty when the troops of Charles V sacked Tunis in 1535.

9. The first Arabic grammar that was printed in Christian Europe appeared in 1616, and is the *Grammatica arabica Maronitarum* by Gabriel Sionita and Johannes Hesronita.

10. Since the 1980s several exhibitions have traced the history of oriental studies as the history of Oriental printing in Christian Europe. The two most recent were *Exotische Typen*, which was on display in Berlin in Spring 2006, and *Middle Eastern Languages and the Print Revolution*, which accompanied a conference held in Mainz in the summer of 2002.

11. Hamilton, *William Bedwell*: "His [i.e., Bedwell's] is not just a story of failure, of frustrated plans and unprinted books. To obtain a proper impression of Bedwell one does indeed have to consult his unpublished manuscripts for, like most other Arabists of the time, he had trouble in finding publishers and patrons." (1).

12. Halle/Saale, which could boast of a renowned university and the Frankeschen Stiftung was a center of Oriental studies, linked to theology and missionary activities. ? in Hitzel, *Istanbul*: ? In contrast, Paris was the center of Oriental studies in the service of imperial diplomacy with a double agenda: examining the options for a successful crusade to destroy the Ottoman power while seeking a political alliance with the Ottoman sultan to obtain the Christian European monopoly for trade in the Ottoman empire, to support the activity of the Roman-Catholic orders in the Ottoman empire, and to become the acknowledged protector of the indigenous Christian minorities. After Genoa and Venice, France had been the first great European power to establish diplomatic relations with the High Porte.

13 Savary de Brèves campaigned hard for the foundation of schools of Middle Eastern languages and cultures, but unlike his printing press, these educational institutions were not considered a contribution to Roman-Catholic missionary activities or even a crusade. When the Bibliothèque du roi was founded in Paris, the collection policy was comprehensive and encyclopedic (i.e., différentes langues de toutes les nations; les langues étrangères). But Middle Eastern or Oriental languages did not yet form a clearly defined separate group. German, English or Dutch may have been perceived as north-European vernaculars, while Russian and modern Greek were diplomatic necessities.

15. The challenge of European academic diversity leads to the question of how to describe the nineteenth-century system of German-speaking research universities, so that the Humboldt system makes sense to scholars only familiar with the French or the Anglo-American university systems.

16. Within current US curricula, history is considered a soft social science, and the methodological problem as to whether ongoing processes can be the subject of scientific historical inquiry is a non-issue.

Bektashi Tekke of Melanit, Albania

by Katie Johnson

Albania is an often overlooked but offers very fertile ground for Ottoman studies. Part of the Ottoman Empire from the mid-fifteenth century until the early twentieth century, the lands now comprising Albania were integral to the Ottoman world. Through the practice of *devshirme*, or child levy, many of the young Christian men of Albania served in the military and bureaucracy; some native Albanians even rose to the rank of grand vizier. Despite the many political, cultural, and religious links between Albania and its Ottoman past, very few studies have been undertaken. During a short trip to southern Albania in the summer of 2006, numerous research possibilities became immediately apparent.

In southern Albania, there are many monuments surviving from the Otto-

man era. For example, the town of Gjirokaster, a UNESCO World Heritage Site, features well-preserved eighteenth and nineteenth century Ottoman domestic architecture and is one of the most important cities in southern Albania. (Fig. 1) The Albanian Ministry of Culture, various private cultural institutions, and the local government are attempting to preserve and reconstruct the houses of Gjirokaster to their former splendor. The town also boasts a large fortress, several mosques, three tekkes, and a bath from the Ottoman era. There is a growing interest in studying and preserving Ottoman cultural heritage in Albania, though not many studies have been completed so far.

Earlier monuments from the Ottoman period are also to be found; one such is the Tekke of Melanit, located across the

valley from Gjirokaster. (Fig. 2) This tekke is a lasting reminder of the cultural and religious influence of the Ottomans, providing evidence of the degree to which Islam and Bektashism penetrated Albanian society. Originating in thirteenth century Anatolia, Bektashism gained a foothold in Albania early on, though it especially grew in the late eighteenth century. This sect was very popular in Albania because of its tolerance of other religions, and its diffusion there was helped by its popularity among the Janissaries -- many of whom were conscripted through the child levy and later returned to Albania.

The Tekke of Melanit was architecturally based upon the Tekke of Asim Baba, also located in the area around Gjirokaster, which was probably built circa 1720-1730. (F. W. Hasluck, 1973 [1929]: *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, Volume 2 [New York: Octagon Books], p. 541.) According to Frances Trix of Wayne State University, there are only three tekkes of this architectural style. The Tekke at Melanit has the remnants of an enclosure wall around the courtyard and a slated roof. There is a domed tomb to the side of the entrance. Based on the architectural style and oral tradition of the area, this tekke was most likely built in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, but it is difficult to determine its foundation date at this time. Unfortunately, the history of the Tekke at Melanit is not as well documented as the Tekke of Asim Baba because its library was destroyed in the communist period. In the 1960s, the Tekke of Melanit was closed during the Cultural Revolution

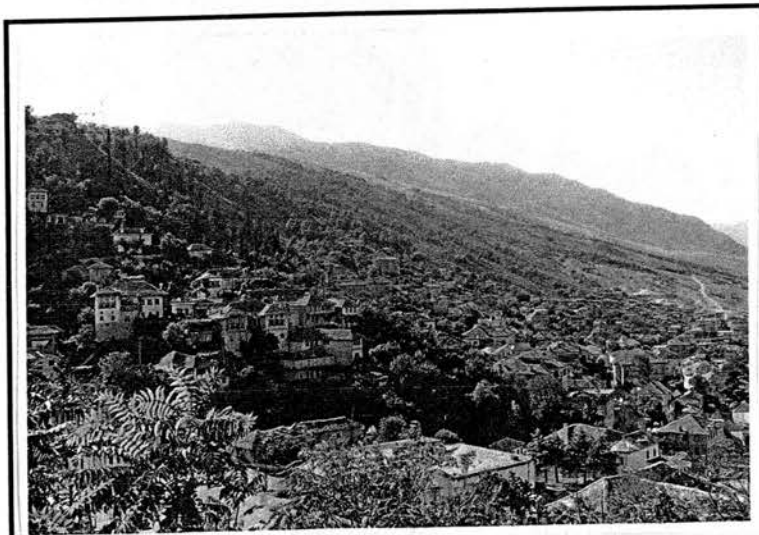


Figure 1. Gjirokaster, Albania.

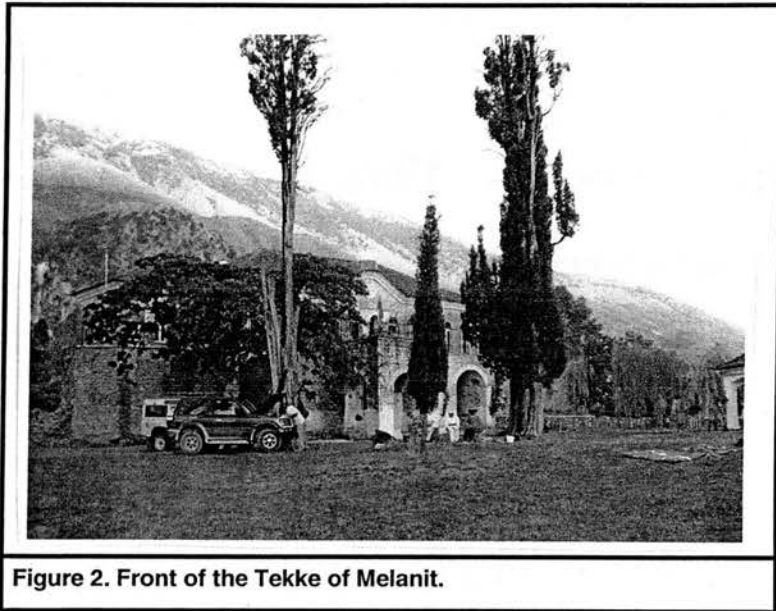


Figure 2. Front of the Tekke of Melanit.

and used by the military. Today, however, it once again functions as a Bektashi tekke.

Currently, under the leadership of Auron Tare, Director of the Albanian National Trust, there are several projects to help restore the tekke to its former state as well as to update its facilities. Additionally, a Swedish foundation and the U.S. embassy established a "Cultural Heritage without Borders" project last summer, bringing many young students from the Balkan region together to help restore and clean the grounds of the tekke. Also during the summer of 2006, a visit to the tekke allowed investigation of its archaeological potential. These included remains from the Ottoman, medieval, and ancient periods. Professor Neritan Ceka, a leading Albanian archaeologist, surveyed the hill where the tekke is located and found remains dating from the fifth-sixth centuries B.C.E. to the medieval period. On the promontory where the tekke is located there are the ruins of a small church, a Christian monastery, and scattered Roman ruins, including an aqueduct. As the tekke is still standing and in use, excavation of the building itself cannot be undertaken. However, a fountain whose foundation most likely dates to the same period as the tekke was open for closer examination. (Fig. 3)

In order to investigate this, the existing walls of the fountain and its associated basin were cleaned and several strata were exposed in order to make drawings and take photographs. (Fig. 4) This de-

tailed examination of the exposed walls show that the construction of the walls took place in multiple phases. (Fig. 5)

The first phase is represented by the fountain itself, and can probably be subdivided into two more phases. The fountain's facade seems to have been built into a pre-existing wall, as the grey, dressed bricks seem to be inset into the other wall, which has thicker, grey mortar with brown stones of various sizes. There is a pipe running under the ground to carry water to the fountain and it is protected by a wall built around it.

The second phase is marked by the construction of a wall abutting the

fountain and continuing the line to the south. This wall also includes the construction of the basin and the drain in the west wall. The walls in the interior of the basin were covered in plaster, most likely in this phase. The third phase includes the rest of the outer wall south of the basin. There are also remnants of a wall outside this wall. The nature and extent of this wall is unclear at this time, as very little of it is exposed. Perhaps it was part of another building or served as some sort of trough for this one.

There are a few elements that cannot be associated with the other phases with any certainty. One is the concrete in the corner of the phase three wall and in the basin, poured over the plaster. Also, there is a shelf-like wall running along the length of the phase two and phase three walls, to the west. Based on the stone type and construction style, it represents a separate phase. Another undated feature is the drainage blocks, seemingly leading from the fountain to the basin. Because these blocks cut through the phase two basin wall, they must post-date this phase. Additionally, these blocks overlie a phase of collapse, which will be explained in the discussion of the test trench. After the insertion of these drainage blocks, a cut was made into the phase two wall, and one of the drainage blocks was turned.

A small test trench was excavated next to the fountain in order to understand the association of the drainage blocks with

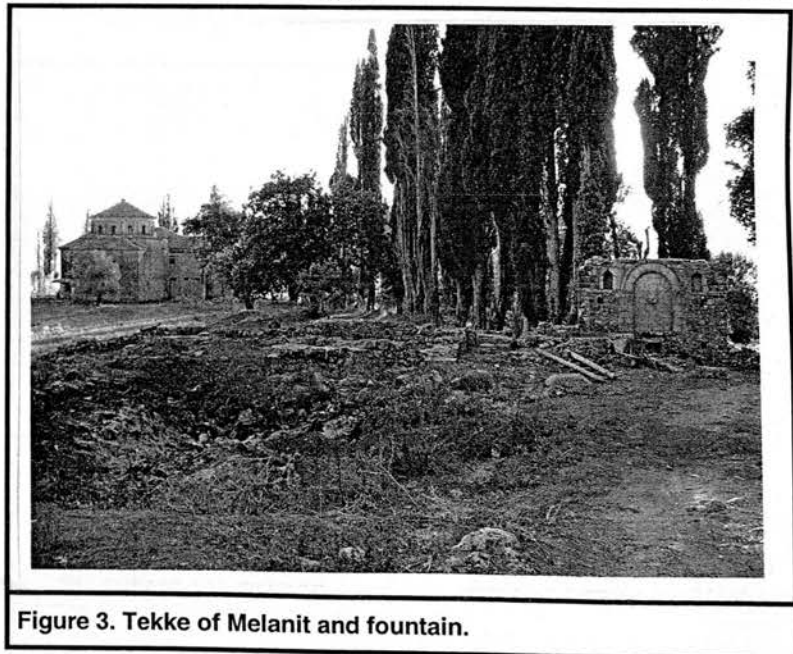


Figure 3. Tekke of Melanit and fountain.

the fountain. The final trench measured 1.0 x 1.0 meters and 0.5 meters deep. The reddish soil had a high clay content and was full of rocks. The layers produced only a few pieces of the water pipe, some nails, and roof tiles. The most abundant find was the roof tiles. However, these red clay ware tiles are virtually impossible to date, as they have no remarkable features.

This trench supported the hypothesis that the blocks with drainage channels on them were added much later, atop a layer of collapse. However, additional excavation is needed at various points around the fountain in order to discern the association of the phases and the original structure. Hopefully, additional finds can lend dates to the fountain structure as well.

The small test trench at the fountain shows evidence of numerous phases, suggesting continuing activity in the area. Due to the lack of historical documents about this tekke -- as well as many other tekkes in the area -- archaeology provides the main source of information. However, studies of the tekke can help provide insight into the realities of the practice of Bektashism. Further, the Bektashis provide historical, religious, and political links to central Anatolia and to the rest of the Ottoman Empire.

Albania provides very rich possibilities for Ottoman studies and especially Ottoman archaeology. Southern Albania alone has several cities and other sites with an extensive Ottoman history and extant Ottoman remains. Very little has been studied or published about Ottoman architecture in Albania -- or in many of the other Balkan countries. As for Ottoman archaeology, it is just beginning as a field, but the growing interest in the Ottoman past of Albania provides the perfect opportunity to excavate and learn about the Albania not represented in the historical documents.

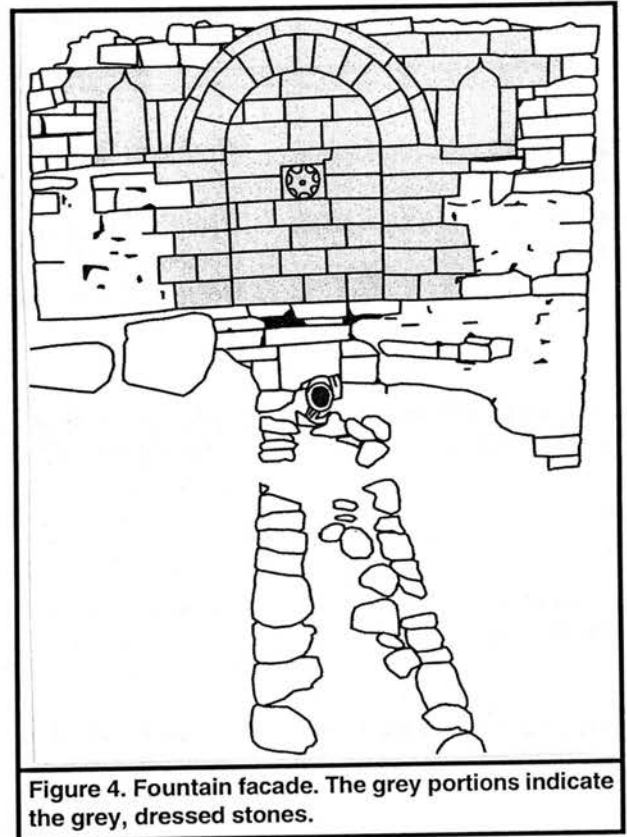


Figure 4. Fountain facade. The grey portions indicate the grey, dressed stones.

Figure 5. Top plan of the fountain, with phasing. The unshaded portions are the sections with uncertain phasing.

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 (2007 Meeting)	May 10-13, 2007 Kalamazoo, MI [Abstract Deadline: Past]	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
Seminar for Arabian Studies (2007 Meeting)	July 19-21, 2007 London, UK [Abstract Deadline: Past]	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 (2007 Meeting) "Medieval Cities"	July 9-12, 2007 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/imc
International Medieval Congress (2008 Meeting) "The Natural World"	July 7-10, 2008 Leeds, UK	see preceding	see preceding
Dumbarton Oaks Conference (2006 Meeting) "Old Testament in Byzantium"	Dec. 1-3, 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 (2007 Meeting)	July 6-7, 2007 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
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.

Robert G. Hoyland and Brian Gilmour, *Medieval Islamic Swords and Swordmaking* (Exeter: Shortrun Press, Gibb Memorial Trust 2006) 216 pp. Price \$55.

Very few primary sources directly address the subject of Islamic arms; most consist of passing references which fail to elucidate questions of form, origin or composition. Perhaps the single notable exception is *On Swords and Their Kinds*, written by Ya'qūb ibn Ishāq al-Kindī in the early ninth century. Al-Kindī, recognized as one of the great scientific minds of the Abbasid period, compiled the comprehensive treatise on weapons for his military-minded patron Caliph al-Ma'mūn.

In *Medieval Islamic Swords and Swordmaking*, Robert G. Hoyland and Brian Gilmour have accomplished a considerable feat in 216 pages. In his concise opening chapter, Hoyland effectively explicates al-Kindī and his study on swords as well as the four surviving manuscripts (each page of which are reproduced in

clear photo plates in Appendix 3.) Through a scrupulous analysis of these manuscripts, Hoyland presents the definitive English translation and edition of *On Swords and Their Kinds* in Chapter 2. Gilmour's Chapter 3 constitutes a commentary which addresses particular attention to contextuality and specifics of terminology in al-Kindī, while Chapter 4 adds a bonus—a singular English translation of F.W. Schwartzlose's 1886 compilation of sword references in Arabic poetry, commissioned especially for this work. Additional appendices include translations and commentaries on al-Birūnī and Ibn Ḥayyān on iron, while Gilmour's glossary is comprehensive and informative. Finally, a number of photos, drawings, maps and charts make the material accessible to a broad audience. *Medieval Islamic Swords and Swordmaking* contains fresh data and observations on Islamic arms and metalworking technology. As such, it is an indispensable addition to every reference library on the subject.

- Oliver Pinchot

Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *al-Ṣadāqa wa-al-ṣadiq*, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Kilānī (Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1996) second printing. 416 pp. ISBN: 1-57547-263-5.

This is a delightful monograph on friendship written by al-Tawḥīdī, one of the premier littérateurs of the Buwayhid renaissance, at the behest of Abū 'Abd Allāh ibn Sa'dān, his future patron, before the latter assumed the office of *wazīr* and thus had the leisure for literature. Like al-Tawḥīdī's other writings, *al-Ṣadāqa wa-al-ṣadiq* is basically an anthology, drawing upon a variety of written and unwritten sources, including much that al-Tawḥīdī heard and experienced.

This treatise has been printed twice, first in Istanbul, 1301 A.H.; al-Kilānī suggests that the first edition, which he finds faulty, was prepared by Aḥmad Fāris

al-Shidyāq, and again in Cairo, 1323 A.H., under the title *al-Adab wa-al-inshā' fi al-ṣadāqa wa-al-ṣadiq*. According to al-Kilānī, this second printing is a letter-for-letter copy of the first, but, nevertheless, each receives its own siglum in the variants, which are printed on the bottom of the page along with useful explanatory notes. The present edition, which first appeared in 1964, was prepared on the basis of a single manuscript, Istanbul, As'ad Effendi 3042/1.

The introduction is sparse and makes no reference at all to secondary literature, not even the editor's own study, which appeared in French (I. Keilani, *Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī: essayiste arabe du I^{er} s. de l'Hégire [Xe s.]*, Beirut, 1950), nor to Joel Kraemer's seminal volumes on the Buwayhids, for which al-Tawḥīdī is a major source. Readers should note that pp. 271-273 of Kraemer's *Philosophy in the Renaissance of Islam* (Leiden, 1986) discusses al-Sijistānī's musings upon friendship, which are recorded in the volume under review.

There are indices of persons, places, nations, book titles, rhymes, and topics. The last of these is not a western-style subject index, arranged alphabetically, but rather a detailed (and useful) table of contents. The printing is excellent and user-friendly, and, in the passages that I inspected, accurate.

- Tzvi Langermann

***The Continuatio of the Samaritan Chronicle of Abū l-Faṭḥ al-Sāmīrī al-Danafī*, text, translated and annotated by Milka Levy-Rubin. Princeton: The Darwin Press, Inc., 2002. (Studies in Late Antiquity and Islam 10). 203 pp.**

The Samaritan chronicle *Kitāb al-Ta'rikh*, written in Arabic, was compiled from earlier sources by Abū l-Faṭḥ al-Sāmīrī al-Danafī in 1355 AD. Parts of this chronicle were edited and translated earlier, but this is the first time that an additional

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text at the end of the chronicle, here titled the *Continuatio*, is placed before the public. It deals mainly with the history of Palestine and its neighboring countries from the time of the Arab conquest until the reign of the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Rādī (d. 322/934). The text (Bibliothèque Nationale Paris, Ms. Samaritan no. 10 [copied 1523], pp. 203-264), which is presented in facsimile, is very colloquial and grammatically unsystematic. It is prefixed by an introduction and an English translation accompanied by over 600 notes to the text and its relation to historical events.

This is an extremely important text. As noted by Levy-Rubin, the significance of the *Continuatio* far exceeds the history of the Samaritans on which it centers, as it also contains important information about the political events in Palestine, Syria, and Egypt, and other matters. Contrary to Muslim chronicles, this text reflects the point of view of the *dhimmīs* and its core is historical events related to Palestine from a local point of view. It provides essential hitherto unknown information neglected by the Muslim chronicles, which were usually written in the capitals of the Muslim empire and viewed events in Palestine as marginal. The *Continuatio* includes data on restrictions imposed upon the non-Muslim population, local uprisings, relations between the local population and the authorities, Islamization and Arabization, economic fluctuations (such as periods of inflation), etc. The editor believes that the author or authors cited by Abū l-Faṭḥ (he himself says that he based his history on written sources) lived at the time of the events, and actually experienced them. There are different reports on "a local basis," for example concerning earthquakes, droughts, locust attacks, and plagues; of particular concern is the history of Samaritan society and leadership, what befell them under Muslim rule (especially under local rulers and Muslim rebels) and political, economic, and religious pressures that caused people even to convert to Islam.

The historical contribution of the *Continuatio*, as observed by this study, is that it places historical events in Palestine in the early Muslim period at the center,

contrary to Muslim chronicles (as mentioned), but also to sources such as Christian hagiographical and theological compositions. A special contribution lies in this account how Caesarea was taken during the Arab conquest. This version is unfamiliar, and it gives previously unknown data on the fate of the coast-dwelling Samaritans and on the different kinds of resistance offered to the invaders by inhabitants of the inland and those who lived on the coast. The *Continuatio*, speaking from the *dhimmīs* point of view, emphasizes the decent attitude of the Umayyads to the non-Muslim population, which was abruptly changed by the 'Abbāsids. They imposed a heavier tax burden, and as a whole their rule in Palestine was characterized by instability caused especially by local rebels. The text also supplies additional information on the fate of Palestine toward the end of the eighth century. It speaks of calamities such as the earthquake of 748-749, attacks of locusts, the great internal struggle in Palestine between Qays and Yaman in the "War of the Watermelon," a drought that caused terrible famine, and a plague. Such accounts of the rapid decline of Palestine during the second half of the eighth century are much more detailed and comprehensive here than in other sources. Other unique accounts here deal with the struggles between Muslim factions in Palestine after Hārūn al-Rashīd's death, between supporters of al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn, especially the military missions of al-Ma'mūn (813-833) and his generals to Syria, Palestine and Egypt. Also related are the disastrous consequences to the local population of uprisings after the rise of al-Mu'taṣim (833-842), and details of the rebellion of Abū Ḥarb which started at the end of al-Mu'taṣim's reign and continued under al-Wāthiq (842-847). The *Continuatio*, unlike other Muslim sources, which describe this rebellion from afar and through messages from representatives of the central government, speaks from a local point of view and through eyewitnesses. The report of al-Wāthiq's forbidding the Christians to strike the *nāqūs*, a wooden clapper used for calling to prayer, is unique, and indicates that restrictions on the *dhimmīs* were ap-

plied in the provinces as well as the centers of the Muslim empire. This is especially important when the text reports al-Mutawakkil's well-known restrictions on non-Muslims as applied strictly in Palestine. Other important pieces of information from al-Mutawakkil's period (847-861) report on an earthquake, the increase of the poll-tax (*jizya*) and the rebellion of a certain Qūmaṭī (probably al-Qiṭāmī). These reports (and others throughout the text) are often accompanied by reports on the Samaritan community, on which the text indeed focuses.

Important eyewitness accounts relate to Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn's reign (868-884) and his regime in Palestine and Syria. His image from other sources as generous and considerate to Muslims and *dhimmīs* alike seems wholly at variance with that from our text, which tells of his abuse of the local population, and especially his restrictions (similar to those enforced by al-Mutawakkil) on non-Muslims; there are also reports of Ibn Ṭūlūn's building activities in Palestine. Detailed local accounts are also preserved in the text on the events leading to the battle of *al-Tawāḥīn*, between Ibn Ṭūlūn's son, Khumārawayh, and the 'Abbāsid army, in April 885. New information is likewise presented on the rule of the Ikhshīd (935-946). All these matters are pointed out by the editor, who also notes that the author's local point of view notwithstanding, he was well acquainted with the general picture of the events in the Muslim empire and that a comparison with Muslim chronicles would attest to his credibility: most dates given in the *Continuatio* are indeed correct, and cases of factual imprecision and error are few.

Levy-Rubin discusses in detail previous research and editions (especially those by E. Vilmar and P. Stenhouse). Because of Vilmar's remarks on difficulties in the Arabic text, and her own observations, she chose to provide a facsimile of the manuscript, accompanied by a translation and notes. As mentioned by Vilmar, the *Continuatio* is very different from the first section of Abū l-Faṭḥ's chronicle (not included in the facsimile presented here). That part, according to Levy-Rubin, "is

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written in a clear and concise manner and strives to imitate Classical Arabic in style," while the *Continuatio* (written in Samaritan Arabic which is a part of the so-called Middle-Arabic) is much more careless in style and in its language, and the vernacular component is dominant. The editor also comments on the orthography, the relation of the *Continuatio* to other Samaritan chronicles, especially specific sources (among those mentioned by Abū I-Faḥ) that may have been the primary sources of the *Continuatio*: "These were actually parts of a chornicle or chronicles written by Samaritans in Nablus or its surroundings close to the time in which the events occurred. Sometimes they themselves witnessed the events described," or they were informed by others, Samaritans, as well as non-Samaritans.

The task of translating was very difficult because of the colloquial style of the text (sometimes using unclear or unique expressions) and because of copying errors. On the whole the result is a very good translation (and easy to read and follow). Difficulties in readings are not overlooked and different suggestions are made. The translation is supported by hundreds of comments on the text and comparisons with historical data taken from other sources (especially Muslim chronicles), which orient the reader better.

The task that Levy-Rubin undertook was not easy from any point of view, and the results are impressive. This is the work of a scholar equipped with interdisciplinary tools, sharp historical observations, and, as reflected between the lines, great passion for scientific challenge. She states: "it is the purpose of this book to make this text available to scholars with an English translation and notes, in the hope that it will contribute to research on this period, not only for those interested in Samaritan history, but also, more broadly, for historians interested in various developments in Palestine and its neighbouring areas during the first three centuries of Islamic history." These goals, I believe, are well achieved.

- Ofer Livne-Kafri

G. Rex Smith, *A Medieval Administrative and Fiscal Treatise from the Yemen: The Rasulid Mulakhkhas al-Fitan of al-Hasan B. 'Ali al-Husayni* (Oxford: Journal of Semitic Studies Supplement 20, 2006).

"It is no longer necessary to introduce the Rasulid dynasty of the Yemen at great length," (p. 1) begins historian G. Rex Smith in his introduction to a long anticipated and certainly much to be appreciated translation of a Yemeni administrative text compiled around 815/1412. It may perhaps be more accurate to make this claim after scholars have had the opportunity to examine Smith's skillful handling of this difficult Middle Arabic text.

The text in question, written by an otherwise unknown Sunni Rasulid clerk for the Rasulid sultan al-Nāṣir Aḥmad, is based on a unique ms in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana. It caught the attention of two giant Arabists of the last century, Claude Cahen and R. B. Serjeant, who joined forces in 1957 to announce their interest in publishing and translating the text. After both scholars had passed away, Smith returned to their respective notes and added his considerable knowledge of Ayyubid and Rasulid Yemen to complete the task. A facsimile of the ms is provided in this edition.

Any scholar interested in the Red Sea/Indian Ocean trade network, or Yemeni Rasulid history, will want to own a copy of this short but micro-detailed text. In addition to his brief introduction to Rasulid administrative divisions, Professor Smith provides invaluable comments on an Arabic text that does not have a formal stiffness, nor "correct grammatical wording, masterly and precise" and "sweet, connected diction!" (p. 9). The translation itself is of modest length, slightly more than 50 pages, but Smith annotates the terse prose with 872 endnotes, and indices according to commodities (both by English and Arabic terms), weights, measures and units of currency, place and tribal names, government official terminology and government departments.

The text itself is primarily a book of lists: income, expenditures, specific taxes

and customs, exports, court officials, etc. Preceding this are several short chapters on the virtues of book keeping and the administrative guidelines for Rasulid officials.

Smith's translation is keen and to the point, not the least due to his intimate association with the demanding dialectical variations in Ibn al-Mujāwir's earlier travel account, the translation of which by Smith is soon to be published by the Hakluyt Society. As in Ibn al-Mujāwir's delectable style, al-Ḥasan maintains his poetic licence while keeping the royal books. I especially enjoy the following quoted ditty (p. 20):

"They brandish thin yellow [pens]; 'tis as if they are

the finger-tips of the buxom girls of the chambers.

Whenever they make [the pen's] nose bleed, adorned by their nose-bleeds

are papers which resemble girls with pinkish throats."

Having made my comments on an earlier draft I have nothing to add in way of criticism of the text. To be sure, as Smith readily admits, there are a number of tentative translations and certain words and phrases were either obscured by the ink or undecipherable by Smith or any of us who were privileged to examine his earlier drafts. This is a text that calls out for collaborative follow up, as it contains items that were traded far and wide beyond Rasulid Yemen's borders. One final note: the numerical symbols used in the text had been decoded by Cahen nearly half a century ago and this initial work has been validated by an explanation of the code in the recently published 13th century administrative text of *Nūr al-Ma'ārif*, edited by the Yemeni historian Muḥammad 'Abd al-Raḥīm Jazm.

- Daniel Martin Varisco

NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

Katie Johnson is a graduate student in Islamic archaeology in the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations at the University of Chicago. The Oriental Institute, 1155 E. 58th St., Chicago, IL 60637, USA. Email: klj@uchicago.edu

Tzvi Langermann is Professor of Arabic, Department of Arabic, Bar Ilan University, Ramat Gan, 52900, Israel. Email: tzvilangermann@yahoo.com.

Ofer Livne-Kafri, Department of Arabic, University of Haifa, Mount Carmel, Haifa, Israel, 31905. Email: livnek@research.haifa.ac.il.

Oliver Pinchot is a graduate student in Islamic Studies at the University of California, Los Angeles. Center for Near Eastern Studies, UCLA, 10286 Bunche Hall, Los Angeles, CA 90095-1480, USA. Email: shamshir@sbcglobal.net.

Dagmar Riedel is Associate Research Scholar, Center for Iranian Studies, Columbia University, 450 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027, USA. E-mail: dar2111@columbia.edu.

Daniel Martin Varisco is Chair and Professor of Anthropology, Hofstra University. Davison Hall, Hempstead, N.Y. 11550, USA. Email: anthrdmv@hofstra.edu.

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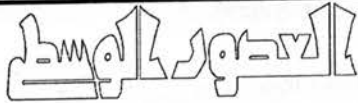
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