

The Early Islamic Settlement in the Syrian Steppe: A New Look at Umayyad and Medieval Qasr al-Hayr al- Sharqi (Syria)

by Denis Genequand

In Syria, where about three fifth of the territory consists of steppe lands, it is of prime importance to understand the settlement patterns in those areas. Depending on climatic, economic, or political conditions, settlement in the steppe has varied greatly over time (Geyer and Calvet 2001; Geyer and Rousset 2001). Until now, Islamic archaeology has not really focused on these concerns, the only exception being the study of the numerous Umayyad "desert castles" distributed through the steppe lands of Bilad al-Sham.

Qasr al-Hayr al-Sharqi is one of the best preserved and most impressive of the Umayyad castles. It is probably also the site that offers the largest variety of components, raising then the problem of its role and function. But Qasr al-Hayr al-Sharqi witnessed also an important reoccupation during the 12th to 14th centuries AD, offering a unique occasion to study the mo-

dalities of creation, development and abandonment of a medieval small town in the steppe.

Qasr al-Hayr al-Sharqi lies some 110 km to the north-east of Palmyra at the crossroads of the ancient routes linking the towns of western Bilad al-Sham to the Upper Euphrates, the Jazira and lower Mesopotamia. The site is on the edge of a vast plain extending beyond the southern slopes of the Jabal al-Bishri, which is the far eastern range of the Palmyrene chain. The region is a semi-arid steppe with a mean annual rainfall under 130 mm.

After some earlier surface surveys, Qasr al-Hayr al-Sharqi was excavated in six seasons between 1964 and 1971 by an American team led by Oleg Grabar (Grabar et al. 1978). Since then, a Syrian team has conducted excavation,

SEE QASR, PAGE 22.

In This Issue

Qasr al-Hayr al-Sharqi 21

**Ideas, Methods, Issues: 29
 Rebellion, Banditry
 and State Formation**

News of MEM 32

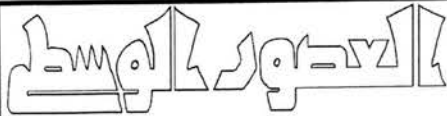
Annual Meetings 34

**Pioneers:
 Paul Wittek 36**

**Medieval Islamic
 Sermons 41**

Book Reviews 45

**Contributors &
 Credits 46**



Al-'Usur al-Wusta

The Bulletin of Middle East Medievalists
Volume 17, Number 2 • October, 2005

Editor: Fred M. Donner

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

Editorial and Production Assistant:

Aram Shahin

Al-'Usur al-Wusta is published twice yearly (April, October) by Middle East Medievalists, and is produced at The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1155 East 58th Street, Chicago, IL 60637, U.S.A. The views and opinions expressed are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect those of Middle East Medievalists, its officers, the editor of *Al-'Usur al-Wusta*, or The Oriental Institute.

Subscription to *Al-'Usur al-Wusta* is automatically included with membership in Middle East Medievalists (see below). Membership inquiries or changes of address should be sent to Katherine Lang, Secretary of MEM, Department of History, University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire, Eau Claire, WI 54702-4004, U.S.A.

Manuscripts, news, reviews of Middle Eastern books, and other items for inclusion in *Al-'Usur al-Wusta* should be sent to Fred M. Donner, The Oriental Institute, 1155 East 58th St., Chicago, IL 60637, U.S.A. Deadline for receipt of items for inclusion in April issues is the preceding March 1; for October issues, the preceding September 1.

ISSN 1068-1051. Copyright © 2005 Middle East Medievalists. All rights reserved.

Middle East Medievalists

Middle East Medievalists (MEM), founded in 1989, is a professional non-profit association of scholars and organizations interested in the Islamic lands of the Middle East during the medieval period (defined roughly as 500-1500 C.E.). MEM's main objectives are to encourage scholarship on the medieval Middle East and to foster lines of communication among its members.

Regular membership in MEM is open to scholars and students of all nationalities interested in any aspect of the history and civilization of the Middle East in the medieval period. (See the membership application form on the last page of this issue.) Annual membership dues for members with addresses in Canada, Mexico, or the United States are US \$15.00. Members with addresses outside Canada, Mexico, or the United States are required to pay a postal surcharge of \$2.50 in addition to their dues, for a basic annual rate of US \$17.50. See the membership application form on the last page of this issue for multi-year memberships and payment options. Payment should be made by check or money order in the appropriate amount, in U.S. dollars payable on a U.S. bank only, and made out to "Middle East Medievalists," or by credit card. Send membership applications and dues payments to Katherine Lang, Secretary of MEM, Department of History, University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire, Eau Claire, WI 54702-4004, U.S.A.

The Board of Directors of MEM is elected annually at the general business meeting, normally held in the fall at the annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association. (For information, see "Annual Meetings" section inside this issue.) The next business meeting will take place in Washington, DC in conjunction with the 39th annual meeting of MESA (19-22 November, 2005). The Board of Directors for 2005 consists of the following members:

President: Jere L. Bacharach, Department of History, University of Washington, P.O. Box 353560, Seattle, WA 98195, U.S.A. (term expires December 31, 2006)

Vice-President: Hugh N. Kennedy, Department of Medieval History, University of St. Andrews, Fife KY16 9A2, Scotland (term expires Dec. 31, 2006)

Secretary: Katherine Lang, Department of History, University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire, Eau Claire, WI 54702-4004, U.S.A. (term expires December 31, 2005)

Treasurer: Eric J. Hanne, Department of History, Florida Atlantic University, P.O. Box 3091, Boca Raton, FL 33431, U.S.A. (open term)

Member: Bethany Walker, Department of History, Grand Valley State University, 106A MAK, Allendale, MI 49401, U.S.A. (term expires December 31, 2007)

Member: Suleiman A. Mourad, Department of Religion, Middlebury College, Middlebury, VT 05753, U.S.A. (term expires December 31, 2007)

QASR, FROM PAGE 21.

clearing and restoration work there. More recently, this work has turned into a collaborative Syrian-Swiss project working under the aegis of the Directorate General of Antiquities and Museums of Syria and the Swiss-Liechtenstein Foundation for Archaeological Research Abroad (SLSA-Zürich). This newly undertaken work has added to our knowledge of the Umayyad settlement at Qasr al-Hayr al-Sharqi, but has also led to a better understanding of the important medieval reoccupation at the site between the 12th and 14th centuries AD (Genequand 2003; 2004; 2005a; Forthcoming). Since 2002, four field seasons have been conducted there.

The Early Islamic period

The Umayyad settlement, extending over 10 square kilometres as a whole, comprises three well known components — the Small Enclosure, the Large Enclosure and the Outer Enclosure — as well as many other smaller constructions and unexcavated structures covering more than 30 hectares. (Fig. 1)

The Small Enclosure (Fig. 2) is a square building, with sides measuring 70 m in length. It had two storeys and is still preserved up to 11 m in places. Its external wall is reinforced at the corners and along the sides by semi-circular towers-butresses. Inside the building, rooms are organised around a central courtyard with a portico. The plans of both storeys are nearly identical and represent the traditional layout of Umayyad castles in their grouping of rooms as apartments (bayt/buyut). In other words, a large central room opening onto four or five smaller ones. The function of the building is controversial. Grabar regarded it as a caravanserai (Grabar et al. 1978: 32), but this interpretation has recently been challenged. Rightly so, as it is much more likely that it was a palace (Northedge 1994: 235-236).

The Large Enclosure forms a square structure with sides measuring 167 m in length. It stands opposite to and has several elements in common with the Small Enclosure. The most obvious of these is its enclosure wall, which is also reinforced by semi-circular towers-butresses at the corners and along the sides. Four gates are situated at the centre of each side of the

building. A huge courtyard surrounded by a portico occupies the centre of the structure. Twelve units of similar dimensions, but with different plans and functions, are organised around this courtyard: a mosque, an industrial unit, six dwelling units, an administrative unit and three units, supposedly without constructions, being open yards. One of the latter was recently shown to be another dwelling unit. An inscription, found on a stone in a pier of the mosque of the Large Enclosure and now lost, ascribes the construction of a madina (literally a "town") to the caliph Hisham b. 'Abd al-Malik in AH 110/AD 728-9 (Grabar et al. 1978: 12, 191 with older references). It was considered as being in a secondary position and as the foundation inscription of the Large Enclosure. It greatly helped in forming the interpretation of this structure not as an urban centre in the traditional sense of the word but as a "small, private, and aristocratic settlement with a minimal number of functions" (Grabar et al. 1978: 79-81; for a different view, Genequand 2005b: 353-355).

A bath is situated immediately to the north of the two Enclosures. It includes a large room with a basilical plan, which has no true utility for the functioning of the bath. It could have been conceived as a reception hall, an element which is missing in both the Small and Large Enclosures. A reception hall linked to a bath is an arrangement which is also found in other Umayyad castles or palatial complexes such as those of Qusayr 'Amra or Khirbat al-Mafjar.

One of the most striking features of the site is the Outer Enclosure, which encircles an area covering over 7 square kilometres. It consists of a wall 15 km long, built in mud-brick over a stone base and ornamented with semi-circular buttresses regularly spaced on both sides. At its northern and southern extremities, there are two sluice systems, the first of which allows the concentration and storage of floodwater from the Wadi al-Suq. The second of these permits the disposal of this water after it has passed throughout the whole Enclosure. Five gates, each one with a different plan, allow entry into this Outer Enclosure which has been interpreted as having an agricultural function, probably mainly connected to animal husbandry (Grabar et al.

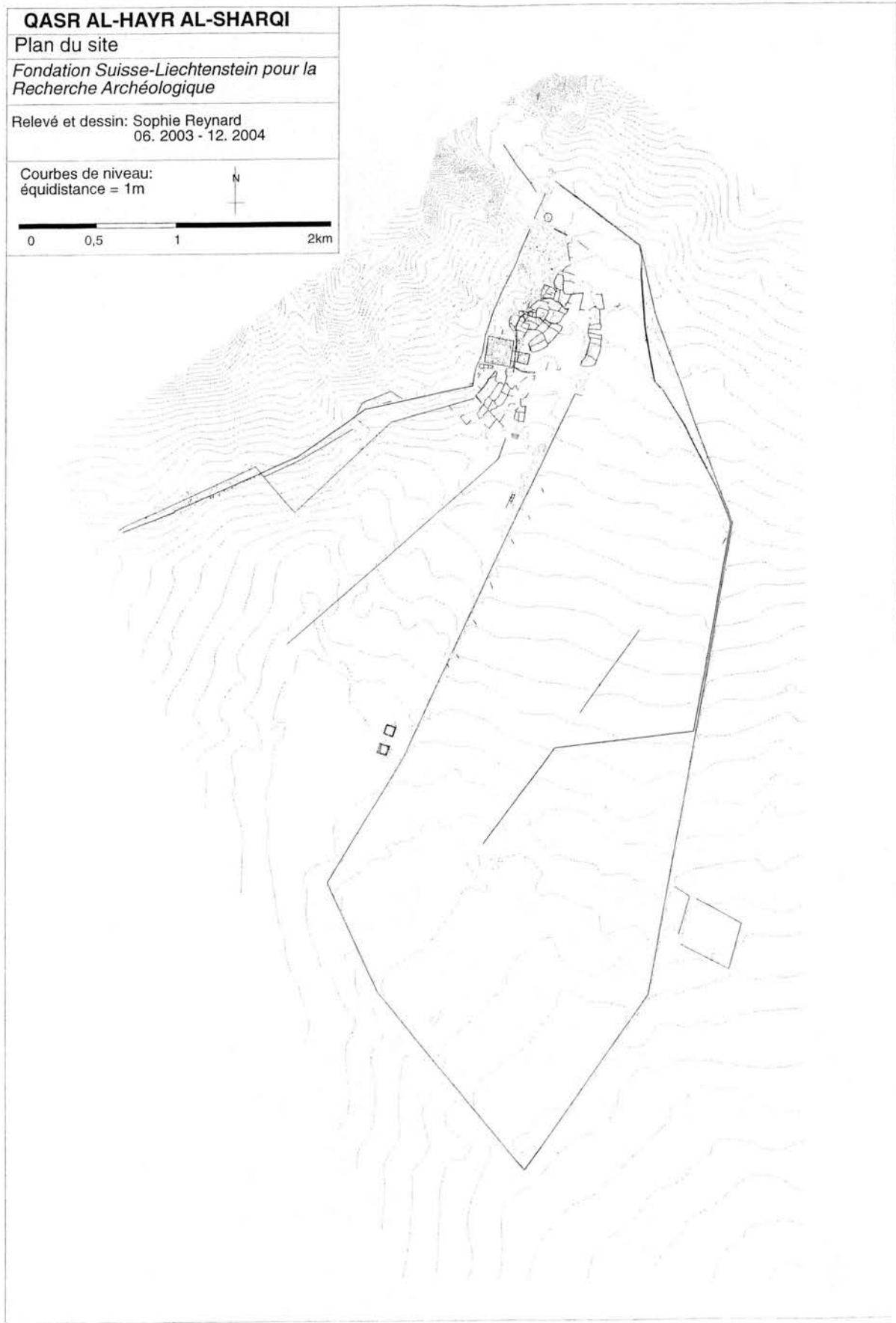


Figure 1. General plan of Qasr al-Hayr al-Sharqi.

1978: 103-104). Recent findings, in particular new irrigation devices, as well as parallels at other sites, point towards it being something more orientated towards cultivation. Remains of a second similarly enclosed and irrigated enclosure exist to the south-west of the site and were planned and studied in 2004.

One of the focal point of recent research — and a point that will continue to be a priority for the coming seasons — has been the investigation of the peripheral buildings. Firstly, there are two large castle-like structures built in mud-brick situated 3 km south of the main monuments, near one of the gates of the Outer Enclosure. (Fig. 3) They stand opposite each other, like the Small and Large Enclosures. Both have similar external plans, as they are square buildings approximately 65 m in length with an outer wall ornamented with semi-circular towers-buttresses at the corners and along the sides. Inside the northern one, eighty-six small square rooms are organised in two rows around a central courtyard. An earthen dome covered each room. No subdivision into apartments consisting of more than two rooms can be evidenced, the rooms in the corners being the exception. The internal plan of the southern structure also includes a central courtyard but is quite different, as three of the aisles are occupied by only one very long room. The eastern and western aisles, which are wider, were subdivided by a row of pillars. The northern aisle comprises the gateway and is therefore subdivided into at least two long rooms. Soundings suggest that they were only occupied for a very short time during the 8th century AD. The new plans of these structures allow now for a complete change of their interpretation. First seen as secondary residences for the caliph's court, they are in fact very likely buildings with an economic or commercial function. They are probably linked to the activities pertaining to the largest of the enclosed and irrigated areas, in front of one of the gateways of which they stand. Almost entirely built with the vanishing material of mud-brick and therefore much

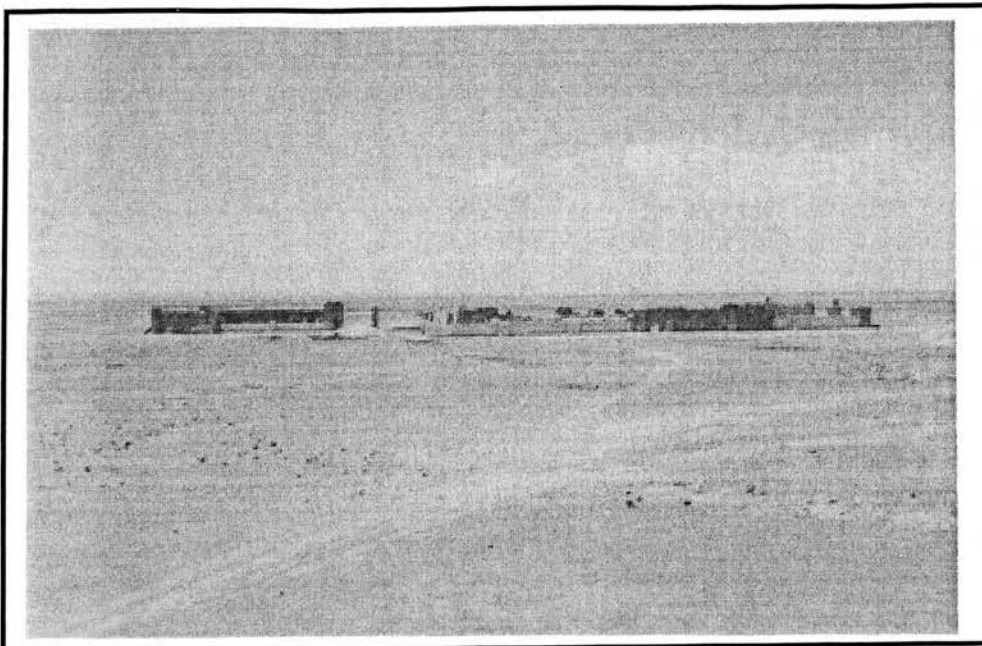


Figure 2. The Small (left) and Large enclosures at Qasr al-Hayr al-Sharqi.

decayed, these two buildings have received little attention. They are, however, important components of the Umayyad settlement.

Secondly, to the north, east and south of the Small and large Enclosures there are also areas with mud-brick structures that have been reduced to small mounds by erosion. The total surface area covered by these mud-brick houses is approximately 30 hectares and some of the structures appear to be of considerable size. The largest of these areas is situated to the north and known as the northern settlement.

Three medium to large-sized mounds, expected to cover each a single house, were chosen for excavations. In the first one (Field A), excavations revealed a large house (about 30 x 30 m) organised around an irregular courtyard. (Fig. 4) Walls were completely built in mud brick or in mud brick over a stone base. Access to the house was through a long partly vaulted corridor. Thirteen rooms were recognized in the excavated area. All the dividing walls were doubled. This fact and the square plans of the rooms indicate that an earthen dome covered them, a traditional building technique of the steppe lands areas of central and northern Syria. The building shows at least three main phases of construction.

Fireplaces, bread ovens and water basins were the most frequently found installations. One of the rooms was a bathroom including a raised washing basin. Some industrial installations, possibly a wine or oil press, were related to the first and second phases. A cistern for storing rainwater was also discovered. It consists of a 4 m deep shaft cut in the bedrock and covered by a massive and raised coping. The ceramic retrieved from this house indicates an occupation during the 8th and the beginning of the 9th centuries AD.

Excavations in Field B revealed another house (30 x 25 m) also organised around a central courtyard and entirely built in mud brick. (Fig. 5) Its gateway, in the eastern aisle, was a protruding porch. The house was developed in at least two main architectural phases. The ceramic evidence showed that this house was in use only for a rather short period during the 8th century AD and that it was abandoned long before the house in Field A.

In Field C, soundings were done in a third house comprising three aisles with an U shape (25 x 20 m). Structures uncovered included a few rooms, a kitchen area with built fire places and bread oven, two latrines next to the kitchen and large storage facilities in the central room. Ceramic evidence points to abandonment close

to the end of the 8th century AD.

During the excavations, special care was devoted to archaeobotanical studies. All the sediments with a clearly stratified situation and susceptible to contain carbonised vegetal remains were systematically sampled and treated by flotation. Results are very good and the proportion of preserved carbonised remains is very high. They will provide data about the environment and the agricultural activities in and around the site during the eighth and early ninth centuries AD. It is the first time that such a study is undertaken for an Umayyad "desert castle" in the Levant.

Excavations in the northern settlement showed the importance of this area of Qasr al-Hayr al-Sharqi for the study of the nature and role of the Umayyad settlement. Actually, this area provides a very important component of the site; namely the housing of people living there, an expected complement to the housing of the large enclosure only devoted to members of an elite minority. It also provides archaeological layers dated to the eighth and early ninth centuries AD, that are missing from

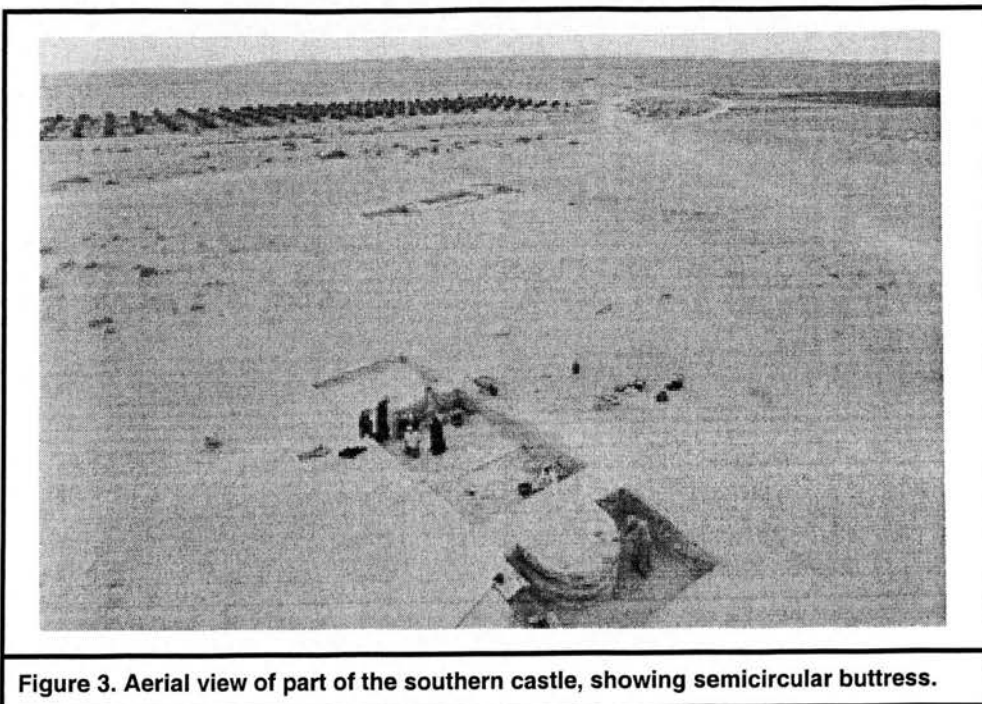


Figure 3. Aerial view of part of the southern castle, showing semicircular buttress.

the main monuments due to a much longer occupation. It will be a very good opportunity to study the mode of establishment on the site, but also the circumstances under which the peripheral structures were abandoned later. Indirectly, it will allow us to understand better the reasons that led to the creation of Qasr al-Hayr al-Sharqi in the 720s AD by the caliph Hisham b. 'Abd al-

Malik. As integral part of the original settlement, the northern settlement may provide some answers to the problem of the activities — mainly economic activities — that Qasr al-Hayr is supposed to have had. One of the main questions about the hydraulic and agricultural structures surrounding Umayyad castles still being to define if they are related to profitable agricultural units or to pleasure gardens. Excavating with modern methods these peripheral buildings will then be of prime importance for reconstructing the site's ancient environment and economy.

The fall of the Umayyad dynasty in AD 750 had some effects on the occupation of the site in the sense that it marked a shift in the kind of occupation. Indeed, between the second half of the 8th and the beginning of the 9th century AD, there is a contraction of occupation leading to the abandonment of some and then most of the peripheral structures (southern castles, northern settlement, etc). However, high levels of occupation continued in the Small and Large Enclosures, where a shift in the kind of occupation is also perceptible since the first half of the 9th century. Vernacular hous-

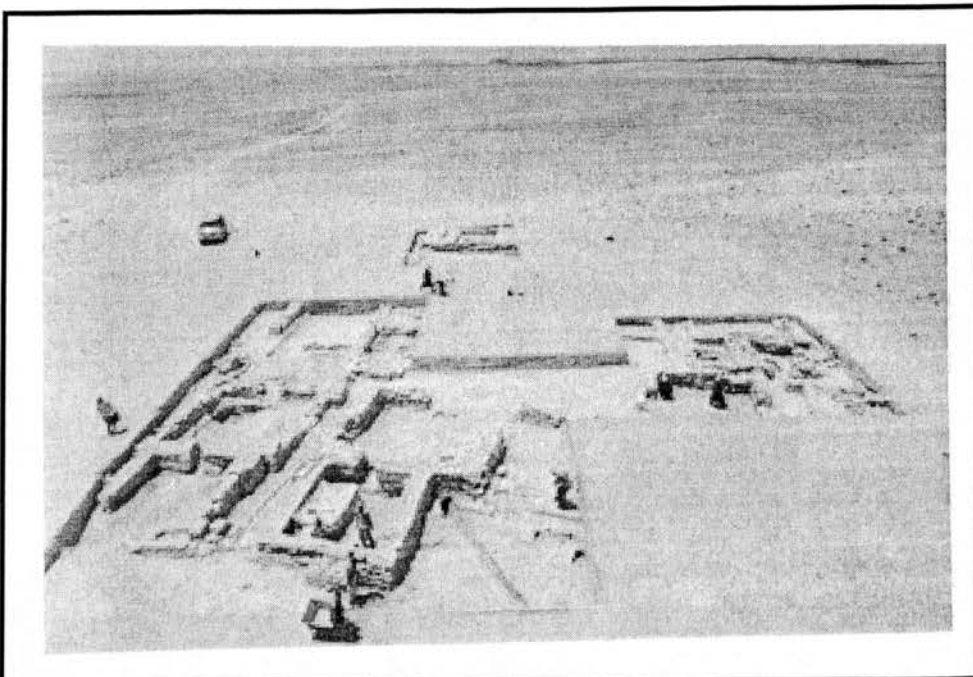


Figure 4. Northern settlement, aerial view of excavations in Field A.

ing takes place inside the palace and the high status houses of the Large Enclosure. They are abandoned in the 10th century AD.

Medieval Qasr al-Hayr

Unlike most of the Umayyad castles which were never settled again after the early Islamic period, Qasr al-Hayr al-Sharqi had a considerable reoccupation during the Medieval period, between the 12th to 14th centuries AD. Already recognised by the American team, the extent of this reoccupation appears now to be larger and more fruitful in archaeological results than previously thought.

The Small and the Large Enclosures, as well as the space between them, enclosed by a new rampart, are completely built in; forming then a small lightly fortified town. This town was identified by Grabar, through a convincing hypothesis of settlement move, with the 'Urd of Medieval sources.

The reoccupation seems to concern first the Small Enclosure, where, about the mid-12th century, the still standing vaulted spaces are consolidated and resettled and new houses consisting of several rooms are built in the central court-

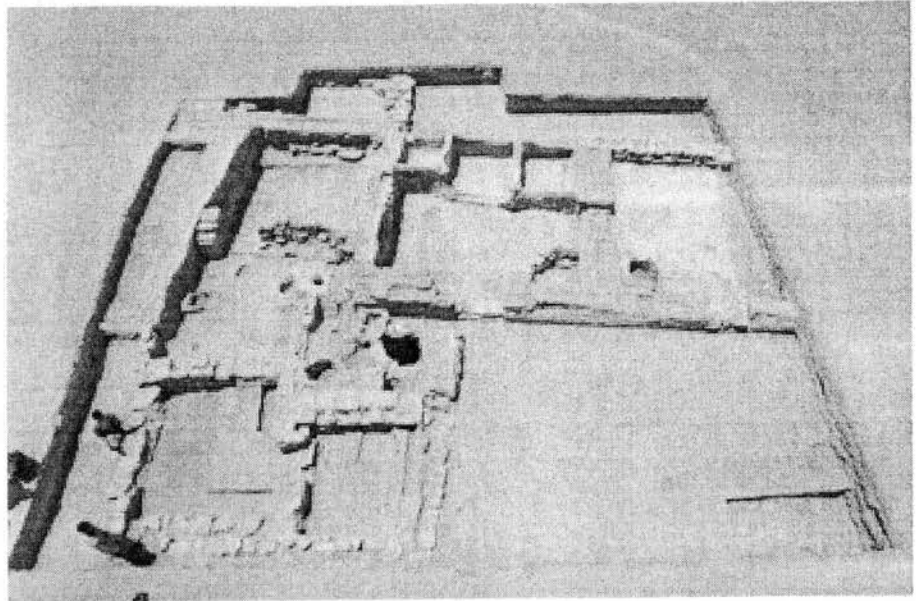


Figure 5. Northern settlement, aerial view of excavation in Field C.

yard. Stratigraphical and architectural evidences clearly show three successive phases of construction in the courtyard. On the basis of a still ongoing analysis of the finds, the most recent phase appears to go back to the late 13th-early 14th centuries. In the Large Enclosure, the situation is apparently different. There is only one main level of Medieval construction which is better built and better preserved and goes

back to the late 12th century. The abandonment is contemporary to that of the Small Enclosure in the early 14th century.

The most conspicuous result of recent research on the Medieval settlement is certainly the discovering of an Ayyubid mosque between the two Enclosures. (Fig. 6) Ever since early work at Qasr al-Hayr al-Sharqi, a square free standing tower attracted attention and was diversely interpreted as an Umayyad minaret, as a medieval watch tower or signal tower etc. It belongs in fact to a large mosque built during the first half of the 13th century and which is now almost completely excavated. The mosque is a square structure (21 x 21 m) built mainly in mud-brick over a stone base. It comprises a covered hypostyle prayer hall, an open courtyard and the minaret. Furthermore, the mosque has a necropolis in its courtyard.

The prayer hall measures 21 x 10 m externally and has six aisles and two bays defined by a row of five reused columns. There is a door in the centre of the north wall. The internal plan is quite irregular. The westernmost aisle is very narrow and was closed by a wall, a fact that resulted in the near-alignment of the mihrab, the door, and the first of the eastern aisles.

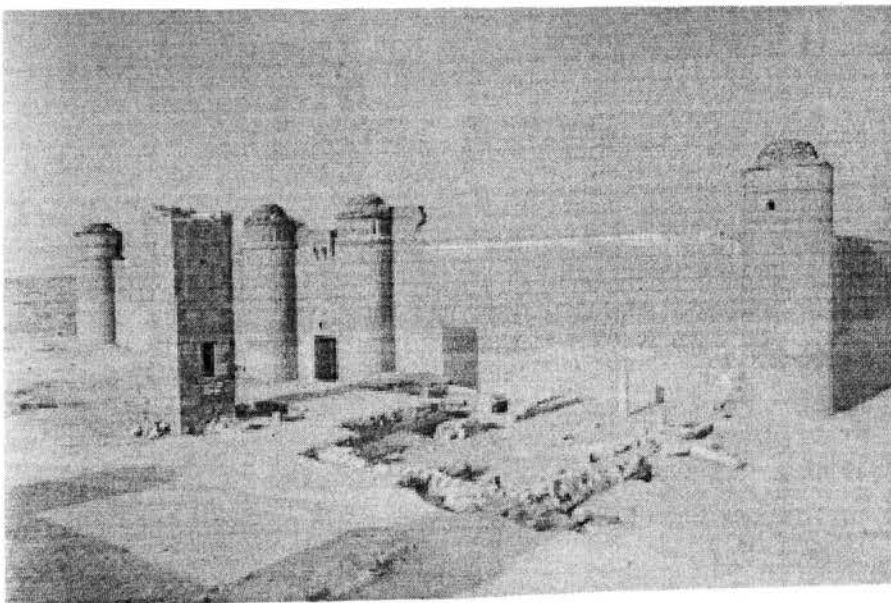


Figure 6. View of the Ayyubid mosque during excavation.

The mihrab is a deep semi-circular niche flanked by two re-used columns. The rear of the mihrab forms a square projection on the external wall of the mosque. It was added to the pre-existing southern rampart. Beside it to the west, three flagstones form the base of a minbar, which was probably built in wood or mud-brick.

The courtyard extends to the north of the prayer hall and has similar dimensions. It is divided by two low walls, which are later additions forming a pathway leading to the door of the prayer hall. The necropolis occupies the eastern part of the courtyard, whereas the minaret is located in the north-western corner. The minaret is a freestanding 3 m wide square tower onto which the walls of the courtyard abut. It is still preserved up to 11.20 m high and was originally only a few courses higher. The top of the minaret can be reached by an internal spiral staircase, which is accessible through a door situated at the top of the western wall of the courtyard.

The necropolis, despite suffering heavy damage previous to the excavations, is one of the few Islamic cemeteries to have been carefully excavated. The first funerary structure that was built in the south-east corner of the courtyard was a small square monument — a mausoleum — with a vaulted collective burial chamber underground and a room at ground level, perhaps a small oratory. Both parts were accessible through independent openings or doors from the courtyard. The extrados of the vault of the burial chamber was visible in the upper room. Because of later disturbances (medieval and modern) only three

burials were preserved at the bottom of the burial chamber. But due to the presence of other bone remains, it was possible to estimate that at least six individuals were originally buried in the chamber. Each individual was placed in a wooden coffin and positioned dorsally extended or on the right side in a lateral position, with the head to the west and facing southward, and with the legs slightly bent.

Individual tombs were established after the mausoleum was built. They are divided into two groups. The first, to the north of the mausoleum, comprises three tombs with wooden coffins in roughly faced pits. The coffins were made of poplar wood (*populus* sp.), a species uncommon to the area and probably imported from the Euphrates valley. One was particularly carefully decorated with iron fittings. The bodies were lying dorsally extended with the head to the west. The second group of tombs is more recent and comprises three other tombs built on the top of and inside the mausoleum after it was abandoned and its superstructure destroyed. All three tombs are stone cists; each constructed in a different way. Each cist contained an individual burial in a wooden coffin.

The relative chronology of the mosque and the mausoleum is very clear. Indeed, there is no doubt that the mosque was built without including a pre-existing monument. It is also clear that the mosque and the mausoleum were not built simultaneously, but that the funerary monument was built in a second phase in this privileged spot. This indicates the high status of the people buried there, a fact that is also

demonstrated by the relative richness of some of the architecture of the tombs and the use of imported wood.

The mosque was built during the first half of the 13th century. This is based on the dating of stratified ceramics, and may be supported by a number of architectural parallels. The closest of these parallels is the recently excavated mosque in Rahba in the Euphrates valley, which is dated to the very early 13th century (Rousset 1998). 14C datings for the tombs in the mosque courtyard at Qasr al-Hayr al-Sharqi point to the second half of the 13th and the 14th centuries (c. AD 1250-1400). It is necessary to keep in mind, however, that tombs of the lower level of burials in the mausoleum were not the very first ones, which were removed at a later stage, as is shown by disconnected bones under the coffins.

The diversity of burial practices — collective or single burials; in a mausoleum, stone cist or pit; dorsally extended or in lateral position; decorated or undecorated wooden coffins — is echoed at the Fatimid necropolis in Cairo (Gayraud 1999). This necropolis displays almost the same diversity, despite being of older date (end of the 10th and 11th centuries) and of much higher status. This diversity is far removed from the Muslim tradition of burial in tombs deprived of any mark of ostentation, the body wrapped only in a shroud. Further archaeological research on Islamic funerary practices will certainly increase our knowledge of the variety in practices according to geographical areas and periods.

Endnote:

The project in Qasr al-Hayr al-Sharqi is a collaboration between a Syrian team (Palmyra office of the DGAM) and a Syrian-Swiss project working under the aegis of the Directorate General of Antiquities and Museums of Syria (DGAM) and the Swiss-Liechtenstein Foundation for Archaeological Research Abroad (SLSA - Zürich). The project is co-directed by Denis Genequand (SCA Geneva & CBRL Amman) and Walid al-As'ad (DGAM/Palmyra).

Website: www.slsa.ch

Selected bibliography:

- Gayraud, Roland-Pierre
1999. "Le Qarafa al-Kubra, dernière demeure des Fatimides." *L'Égypte fatimide, son art et son histoire*. Edited by M. Barrucand, Paris: 443-464.
- Genequand, Denis
2003. "Rapport préliminaire de la campagne de fouille 2002: Qasr al-Hayr al-Sharqi (Syrie)." *SLSA - Jahresbericht 2002*. Zürich: 69-96.
2004. "Rapport préliminaire de la campagne de fouille 2003: Qasr al-Hayr al-Sharqi et al-Bakhra' (Syrie)." *SLSA - Jahresbericht 2003*. Zürich: 69-98.
2005a. "Rapport préliminaire de la campagne de fouille 2004: Qasr al-Hayr al-Sharqi (Syrie)." *SLSA - Jahresbericht 2004*. Zürich: 143-166.
2005b. "From 'desert castle' to medieval town: Qasr al-Hayr al-Sharqi (Syria)." *Antiquity* 79/304: 350-361.
Forthc. "Rapport préliminaire de la campagne de fouille 2005: Qasr al-Hayr al-Sharqi (Syrie)." *SLSA - Jahresbericht 2005*. Zürich.
- Geyer, Bernard and Calvet, Yves
2001. "Les steppes arides de la Syrie du Nord au Bronze ancien ou à la première conquête de l'est." *Conquête de la steppe et appropriation des terres sur les marges arides du Croissant fertile*. Edited by B. Geyer, Lyon (TMO 36): 55-67.
- Geyer, Bernard and Rousset, Marie-Odile
2001. "Les steppes arides de la Syrie du Nord: l'époque byzantine ou à la ruée vers l'est." *Conquête de la steppe et appropriation des terres sur les marges arides du Croissant fertile*. Edited by B. Geyer, Lyon (TMO 36): 111-121.
- Grabar, Oleg, Holod, Renata, Knustad, James and Trousdale, William
1978. *City in the Desert: Qasr al-Hayr East*. 2 vols, Cambridge (Mass.).
- Northedge, Alastair
1994. "Archaeology and New Urban Settlement in Early Islamic Syria and Iraq." *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East. II, Land Use and Settlement Patterns*. Edited by G.R.D. King and A. Cameron, Princeton: 231-265.
- Rousset, Marie-Odile
1998. "La mosquée de Rahba." *Annales Islamologiques* 32: 177-217.

‘Those Who Make War on God and His Messenger’: Some Implications of Recent Scholarship on Rebellion, Banditry and State Formation in Early Islam

by Andrew Marsham

In his ground-breaking survey of the jurisprudence of violent unrest in *Islam, Rebellion and Violence in Islamic Law*, Khaled Abou El Fadl demonstrated that a consistent, clear distinction in law between “rebellion” (*baghy*) and “brigandage” (*hirāba*) was only made in classical times -- that is, after about the 4th/10th century. This differentiation was prompted, Abou El Fadl argues, by the ongoing problem of the legitimacy of violent rebellion in the name of Islam. (After all, Companions of the Prophet had fought over the caliphate, and the Abbasid caliphs themselves had come to power through a rebellion -- by no means a problem unique to Islamic society, but one felt keenly due to the sacred status of the actors.) In earlier centuries, he suggests, jurisprudence was “primitive” and “undeveloped”; in particular, the term *hirāba* was often applied to those rebelling in the name of Islam (as opposed to “brigands” or “bandits” who used violence simply for material gain). Furthermore, “some of the evidence” suggests that the Umayyads and Abbasids sought “to co-opt” the Qur’anic penalty later understood to apply only to brigands in order to punish political rebellion. This penalty was found in the “*hirāba* verse”: “The punishment of those who make war on (*yuḥāribūna*) God and His Messenger, and strive for corruption in the land (*fasād fi ‘l-arḍ*), is that they be killed, or crucified (*yuḥallabū*), or that their hands and feet be

cut off on opposite sides, or that they be banished from the land; this shall be their recompense in this world and they will have a grievous chastisement in the next; except for those who repent before you have them in your power; know that God is Forgiving, Merciful.” (Q.5.33-34, *sūrat al-Mā’ida*).

As Abou El Fadl notes, such an interpretation would have suited the early caliphs and, “if, as Crone and Hinds argue ... [they] ... saw themselves as representatives of God,” it might have been the “logical” consequence of this claim. He compiles a number of instances of the application of this penalty to Muslim political rebels which would support this suggestion.

I would like to propose that the Umayyads and Abbasids certainly did see rebels, like bandits, as punishable by the *hirāba* verse; indeed, by the end of the Umayyad period at the very latest the claim that bandits and rebels both deserved to suffer its penalties had been quite carefully worked out and articulated in Qur’anic terms in the public rhetoric of the caliphs and their representatives. Furthermore, I would like to suggest that the development of the early caliphal response to political resistance and violent unrest in general (“rebellion” and “banditry”) deserves closer scrutiny, both in the context of the late antique milieu in which the caliphs articulated their claims to authority and in the

context of early Islamic “state formation”; as Chase Robinson noted in his *Empire and Elites after the Muslim Conquest*, the study of “banditry” in the Roman empire and elsewhere has taught us that the phenomenon cannot be understood without reference to Shaw’s “ebb and flow” of state power. Much of this argument is not presented as conclusive, but rather as a series of suggestions for the directions which future research into this topic might take in the light of the implications of the work of Abou El Fadl, Robinson and others.

The Umayyad and early Abbasid response to banditry and rebellion is well documented in the Islamic historical tradition: “crucifixion” (*ṣalb*, almost always the public display of a body already killed by beheading on a tree or public building) and “exile” recur throughout the early sources, particularly for the period after the second fitna (c. 60-72/c. 680-692); the *hirāba* verse is used to justify the execution of “those who spread corruption (*fasād*)” by the Umayyad governors, Yūsuf b. ‘Umar and Khālid b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Qasrī, and the second Abbasid caliph, al-Manṣūr; *fasād* is a common term for violent unrest and one of the consequences of *nakhḥ*, or *naqd* - breaking the oath of allegiance (*bay‘a*). Al-‘Abbās b. al-Walīd warned his half-brother, Yazīd, of this, advising him that, “in the breaking of God’s covenant is corruption of religion and the world” (*inna fi naqd ‘ahd Allāh fasād al-dīn wa ‘l-dunyā*).

• IDEAS • METHODS • ISSUES • IDEAS • METHODS • ISSUES • IDEAS •

After the execution of 'Alid rebels al-Manṣūr is said to have protested: (Their blood) is lawful to me on account of this: their betrayal (*naqḍ*) of my oath of allegiance, their desiring civil war (*fitna*), and their seeking to rebel (*khurūj*) against me. Do not think that I reached this point without being certain. (al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, iii.432)

There are, of course, historiographical problems with all this. Some of the most bloodthirsty applications of the *ḥirāba* verse are attributed to the Umayyad governors, al-Ḥajjāj and Asad b. 'Abd Allāh, and the reported speech in which similar actions are justified by others is obviously intended to illustrate their alleged claims rather than being a precise record. Nonetheless, the continued use of the same Qur'ānic interpretation in the Abbasid response to rebellion well into the 3rd / 9th century suggests that these accounts are not merely anti-Umayyad polemic; both practice and rhetoric suggest that little distinction was made in the punishment of rebellion and brigandage and that the early caliphs' claims to be the "deputies of God" and representatives of His covenant, expressed in the oath of allegiance, was the theoretical basis for this attitude.

The very late compilation of the sources may also introduce a second distortion into the evidence. The concerns of the 3rd and 4th / 9th and 10th century scholars who compiled our sources were very different from those of the 1st and 2nd / 7th and 8th century caliphs and their advisors, whose actions they describe. "Classical" Islamic law was developing alongside the great works of Islamic historiography; al-Ṭabarī was famously an authority in both spheres. To such legalistically-minded scholars the conduct of the early caliphs must have appeared truly tyrannous, and this may be reflected in the representation of their actions in the sources. However, the symbolism of Umayyad and early Abbasid "crucifixion" of brigands and bandits also demands consideration in its own, earlier context -- the articulation of monotheist authority over the former Sasanian empire and most of the eastern prov-

inces of the Roman empire. In both of these polities the king had also been God's deputy, transcending the law, and exacting terrible penalties from those who challenged his authority. Both the Romans and Sasanians punished brigandage and rebellion by public execution and mutilation. Roman practice was very similar indeed to Islamic practice (evidence for Iran is less clear); indeed, one might posit a late antique punitive *koine* in order to explain the parallels between the *ḥirāba* verse and late Roman law, at least as it was interpreted by the Umayyad caliphs; public beheading and mutilation, or exile, were the penalties exacted from bandits and rebels in late Rome and Byzantium. As Foucault noted, pre-modern kings came to "regard punishment as a political tactic"; Umayyad and Abbasid beheadings, mutilations and crucifixions were in the tradition of Near Eastern royal power, on which the maximalist claim to be the *khalifat Allāh* was the Islamic calque.

Exactly how the *ḥirāba* verse came to be in the Qur'ān is a problem which remains to be investigated. A quick survey has not thrown up any instances of "crucifixion" in pre-Islamic poetry, but the *Sira* and traditions about the *jāhiliyya* do suggest that the practice was not unknown in pre-Islamic Arabia; parallels in the Judaic tradition were noted by Kraemer. What I would like to comment on here is the pattern of the application of the penalty in subsequent decades, and its correlation with the development of Kharijism as a response to the imposition of state structures by the Umayyad caliphs. Robinson has identified a pattern of Kharijite unrest in North Mesopotamia prompted by the development of the Umayyad "state"; the Sufyanids never established direct control over the Jazīra, and, as expected, "there is no certain evidence of pre-Marwānid Kharijites." With the more direct assertion of state power by the Marwānids in North Mesopotamia there begins, "an almost unbroken string of rebels." As Stephen Mitchell put it in summarising Brent Shaw, "the illegitimacy of banditry was the precise correlate of the legitimacy of the state" (though, of course, the "bandits" themselves saw things quite differently).

In contrast to the Jazīra, the Sufyānids had begun to develop the institutions of state power in Iraq; many Umayyad administrative innovations are attributed to Ziyād b. Abihi, Mu'āwiya's governor of Basra from 44/664, and of all Iraq from 50/670 until 53/673. One of the earlier attestations of the use of the penalties of the *ḥirāba* verse against a rebel derives from Ziyād's governorship: in 46/666-667, two Kharijites, Yazīd b. Mālik al-Bāhili ("al-Khaṭīm") and Saḥm b. Ghālib al-Ḥujaymī rebelled. According to al-Ṭabarī, "when Ziyād became governor" (that is, when Kufa was added to his governorship after 50/670), Saḥm was killed and "crucified" on the door of Ziyād's palace in Kufa and al-Khaṭīm was exiled to house arrest in Baḥrayn, where he was later killed for breaking the terms of his exile. Ziyād's reputation in the historical tradition does seem to reflect a more direct impinging of governmental authority on Iraq, one which generated rebellion and a response from the nascent "state."

As noted earlier, in Iraq and elsewhere, the instances of the use of the *ḥirāba* verse proliferate after the second *fitna*: al-Ḥajjāj is said to have killed and crucified the defeated caliph, Ibn al-Zubayr in 73/692; in the course of the conquest of Afghanistan in 91/709-710 Qutayba b. Muslim encountered "robbers" (*luṣūṣ*) whom he killed and crucified; after a rebellion by the people of Balkh, Asad b. 'Abd Allāh is said to have killed and crucified 400 of its people; in 128/745 Marwān II cut off the hand, foot and tongue of a suspected Kharijite. The penalty became the standard exemplary punishment inflicted upon those who resisted the extension of the power of the Umayyad "state." The forms of resistance varied enormously, but, as in the Roman empire, they came to be defined the same way, as *ḥirāba*, or "banditry." An Umayyad commander sent against the famous Kharijite, Shabīb al-Shaybānī, is said to have declared, "Look at them ... They are merely bandits and renegades (*al-surrāq wa'l-murrāq*) ... they belong to a sect, you to a community." As Robinson has pointed out, Kharijism -- the return to a pious nomadic life in resisting the state -- fits Hobsbawm's paradigm of the "social ban-

• IDEAS • METHODS • ISSUES • IDEAS • METHODS • ISSUES • IDEAS •

dit." It also finds interesting parallels in another militant late antique pious reaction to state appropriation of monotheism; the Donatist controversy and attendant violent conflict in 4th and 5th century North Africa. For Augustine, the Donatists and *circumcelliones* were "bandits" (*latrones*) against whom the use of the coercive force of the state was a regrettable necessity; according to their own definitions, however, they were the true monotheists, resisting the corruption of an impious state.

In the execution of rebels and bandits according to the prescriptions of *sūrat al-Mā'ida*, and in growing claims to

a monopoly on violence and the keeping of the peace, we find another of the manifestations of the development of an Islamic "state." As in the Roman empire (and most pre-modern polities), the responsibilities of the state in the criminal legal sphere were comparatively limited. However, in Rome and Iran, as under the early caliphs, violent unrest, robbery and treason were all punished very severely, and usually by the death penalty. The parallels between Roman penalties and the *ḥirāba* verse are particularly striking and require further investigation. It is also notable that by the mid-2nd / mid-8th century at the latest,

caliphal rhetoric was justifying these punishments through explicit reference to the Qur'ān and the conduct of the Prophet; as in so many other aspects of their rule, the execution of bandits and rebels under the Marwānids also seems to reflect an attempt at the public expression of an "Islamic" legitimacy, prompted by the conflicts of the second fitna. The increased application of this penalty was perhaps a function of the extension of state control over war and violence; resistance to this expansion of the state, both in Kharijism and forms of "native rebellion" awaits a comprehensive investigation.

Select bibliography of secondary works:

- Abou El Fadl, Khaled, *Rebellion and Violence in Islamic Law* (Cambridge, 2001).
- Crone, Patricia and Martin Hinds, *God's Caliph: Religious Authority in the First Centuries of Islam* (Cambridge, 1986).
- Kraemer, Joel L., "Apostates, Rebels and Brigands," *Israel Oriental Studies* 10 (1980): 35-73.
- Mitchell, Stephen, "Native Rebellion in the Pisidian Taurus," in Keith Hopwood, ed., *Organised Crime in Antiquity* (London, 1999), 155-176.
- Robinson, Chase F., *Empire and Elites after the Muslim Conquest: The Transformation of Northern Mesopotamia* (Cambridge, 2000).
- Shaw, Brent D., "Bandits in the Roman Empire," *Past and Present* 105 (1984): 3-52.

NEWS OF MEM

MEM's New Treasurer

During the spring of 2005, the MEM Board approved the appointment of Professor Eric J. Hanne of Florida Atlantic University as Treasurer of MEM. He replaces Professor Warren Schultz of DePaul University, who was originally elected to the position of Secretary-Treasurer and served a three-year term from Jan. 1, 2000 until Dec. 31, 2002. Because the workload of the Secretary-Treasurer position had become onerous—and remember that all officers of MEM serve without compensation—Warren recommended splitting the Secretary-Treasurer position in two, with a separate elected Secretary serving a normal three-year term and a Treasurer to be appointed by the Board serving for an open term, at the discretion of the Board. Warren graciously volunteered to continue to perform the functions of Treasurer after his regular term ended Dec. 31, 2002, until such time as the Board could identify another Treasurer and arrangements could be made to transfer MEM's financial accounts to the state of the new incumbent. With Eric Hanne taking over responsibilities of the Treasurer position this summer, Warren is finally able to take a well-deserved break from his MEM duties. The Board wishes to express its sincere appreciation to him for almost five years of selfless and highly capable service to MEM, which included not only the routine activities of paying bills and supervising MEM's accounts, but also the daunting task of re-establishing MEM's status as a tax-exempt organization in accordance with U.S. and Illinois law, and updating financial reports to the IRS and State of Illinois. All members of MEM owe him their thanks.

The Board looks forward to working with Professor Hanne as MEM's new Treasurer. Eric received a B.A. in Political Science from the University of Illinois in 1989, and pursued his graduate studies at the University of Michigan, from which he received the Ph.D. in Near Eastern Studies in 1998. After serving for a time as Instructor at Michigan, he accepted a position as Assistant Professor of History at Florida Atlantic University beginning in fall, 1999. His teaching includes surveys of medieval and modern Middle Eastern history and World Civilization, as well as courses on peoples of the Middle East, the Crusades, the Ottoman Empire, Islamic History and Society, and Social Transformation in the Modern Middle East.

Eric's research is focused mainly on medieval Islamic history and civilization, particularly political thought, with a strong sideline in numismatics. His book *Putting the Caliph in His Place: Power and Authority in Medieval Islam* is currently in press with Fairleigh-Dickinson University Press. His chapter "Abbasid Politics and the Classical Theory of the Caliphate" appeared in B. Gruendler and L. Marlow (eds.), *Writer and Rulers: Perspectives on their Relationship from Abbasid to Safavid Times* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2004), 49-71, and his article "Women, Power, and the Eleventh and Twelfth Century Abbasid Court" appeared in *al-Hawwa* 3 (2005), 80-110. He has several entries forthcoming in Routledge's *Medieval Islamic Civilization: an Encyclopaedia*, including those on "Dating/Calendars," "Viziers," and "Abbasids." Several other encyclopedia entries and articles are under review and forthcoming, including an article entitled "Death on the Tigris: A Numismatic Study of the Breakup of the Great Saljuqs." He has also been very active at academic conferences (MESA, Leeds) and has made many public presentations to the university community and to non-academic audiences throughout Florida.

Donors to the MEMCapital Fund

2005

(as of March 2005)

\$500-\$999

George Scanlon

\$50-\$100

Fred M. Donner

Matthew Gordon

\$1-\$49

Everett Rowson

Wolfgang Schwaigert

MEMBER NEWS

Niall Christie (University of British Columbia) recently published "Just a Bunch of Dirty Stories? Women in the 'Memoirs' of Usamah ibn Munqidh," *Eastward Bound: Travel and Travellers, 1050-1550*, ed. Rosamund Allen (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 71-87; and "Reconstructing Life in Mediaeval Alexandria from an 8th/14th Century Waqf Document," *Mamluk Studies Review* 8, no. 2 (2004): 163-90. His current projects include: "Preaching Holy War: Crusade and Jihad, 1095-1105" with Deborah Gerish forthcoming from Ashgate that will include a full text, translation and study of the *Kitāb al-jihād* of 'Alī ibn fiḥr al-Sulamī (d. 1105) and *Noble Ideals and Bloody Realities: Warfare in the Middle Ages* a volume of papers edited with Maya Yazigi forthcoming from E.J. Brill.

Eleanor Corgdon (Youngstown State University) published "Venetian and Aragonese/Catalan Relations: Protectionist Legislation in 1398-1404," in *Medieval Encounters: Jewish, Christian and Muslim Culture in Confluence and Dialogue* 9 (2003): 214-35. She is currently researching Venetian merchants in the Aegean and Syria from 1476-86.

Gary Leiser has translated and edited, with Noury al-Khaledy, *Questions and Answers for Physicians: A Medieval Arabic Study Manual* (Leiden, 2004). He has also published "The Madrasah and the Islamization of Anatolia before the Ottomans," Joseph Lowry et al. eds., *Law and Education in Medieval Islam: Studies in Memory of Professor George Makdisi* (Cambridge: E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Trust, 2004). He and Robert Dankoff have edited and translated M.F. Köprülü's *Early Mystics in Turkish Literature* with a forward by Devin DeWeese, forthcoming.

Hatim Mahamid has been revising his Ph.D. dissertation at Tel Aviv University, "Islamic Education in Syria (Bilad al-Sham) in the Ayyubid and Mamluk Periods, 1173-1516," for publication in English. He presented a paper titled "Education and Politics in Mamluk Jerusalem" at "The Turks and Palestine: 1000 Years of Relations" a conference organized by the Institute of Asian and African Studies at Hebrew University in June 2004.

Julie Scott Meisami (Oxford, Emerita) has published *Structure and Meaning in Medieval Persian Poetry: Orient Pearls* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2003).

Christopher Melchert (Oxford) recently published, "The Formation of the Sunni Schools of Law," in *The Formation of Islamic Law*, ed. Wael Hallaq. The Formation of the Classical Islamic World 27 (Ashgate, 2004): 351-66; "The Hanbali Law of Jihad," *The Maghreb Review* 29 (2004): 22-32; "The Meaning of qala al-Shafi'i in Ninth-Century Sources," *Abbasid Studies*, ed. James E. Montgomery, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 135 (Leuven: Peeters, 2004): 277-301; and "The Etiquette of Learning in the Early Islamic Study Circle," in *Law and Education in Medieval Islam: Studies in Memory of Professor George Makdisi*, ed. J. Lowry, D. Stewart and S. Toorawa (E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Trust, 2004), 33-44.

Suleiman A. Mourad joined the Religion Department at Smith College as of this Fall 2005. He recently published *Early Islam between Myth and History: Al-Hasan al-Basri (d. 110 H/728 CE) and the Formation of His Legacy in Classical Islamic Scholarship* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), and "Christian Monks in Islamic Literature: A Preliminary Report on Some Arabic

Apophthegmata Patrum," *Bulletin of the Royal Institute for Inter-Faith Studies* 6, no. 2 (2004): 81-98.

Devin Stewart (Emory) published "The Doctorate of Islamic Law in Mamluk Egypt and Syria," in the volume he edited with Joseph Lowry and Shawkat Toorawa, *Law and Education in Medieval Islam: Studies in Memory of Professor George Makdisi* (Cambridge: E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Trust, 2004). He also published "Pit," "Rhymed Prose," and "Sex and Sexuality" in *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'an*, v. 4, ed. Jane Dammen McAuliffe (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2004). His "Emending the Legal Chapter of Ibn al-Nadim's Fihrist" is forthcoming in *Abbasid Studies: Occasional Papers of the School of Abbasid Studies*, ed. John Nawas.

David J. Wasserstein has been appointed Professor of History and Jewish Studies at Vanderbilt University. His recent publications in Islamic Studies include: *Madrasa: Education, Religion and State in the Middle East*, (in Hebrew) edited with David Ayalon (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 2004); "Ghribib ibn 'Abd Allah al-Thaqafi and the Beginnings of Linguistic and Ethnic Accommodation to Arab Islam in al-Andalus," in *Islamic Reflections, Arab Musings, Studies in Honour of Alan Jones*, ed. R. Hoyland and P. Kennedy (Oxford: Gibb Memorial Trust, 2004), 217-29; "Why Did Arabic Succeed Where Greek Failed? Language Change in the Near East After Muhammad," *Scripta Classica Israelica*, 22 (2003): 257-72; "When is a Fake a Fake and How Much Does it Matter? On the Authenticity of the Letter of the Descendants of Mu'awiya b. Salih," in *Texts, Documents and Artifacts: Islamic Studies in Honour of D.S. Richards*, ed. Chase Robinson (Leiden, 2003), 385-404.

ANNUAL MEETINGS

Organization	When and Where	Information	Telephone/Fax/Email/Web
Middle East Studies Association (2005 Meeting)	Nov. 19-22, 2005 Washington, DC [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
Middle East Studies Association (2006 Meeting)	Nov. 17-20, 2006 Boston, MA [Abstract Deadline: Past]	see preceding	see preceding
American Oriental Society (2006 Meeting)	Mar. 17-20, 2006 Seattle, WA	American Oriental Society Hatcher Graduate Library University of Michigan Ann Arbor, MI 48109-1205	(734)-764-7555 www.umich.edu/~aos
American Oriental Society (2007 Meeting)	Mar. 16-20, 2007 San Antonio, TX	see preceding	see preceding
American Historical Association (2006 Meeting)	Jan. 5-8, 2006 Philadelphia, PA [Paper Deadline: Past]	American Historical Assn. 400 A Street, S. E. Washington, DC 20003	(202)-544-2422 www.historians.org
American Historical Association (2007 Meeting)	Jan. 4-7, 2007 Atlanta, GA [Paper Deadline: Feb. 15, 2006]	see preceding	see preceding
The Medieval Institute (2006 Meeting)	May 4-7, 2006 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 (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 (2006 Meeting)	Feb. 22-25, 2006 Boston, MA [Proposal Deadline: Past]	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 Mandaean"	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 (2005 Meeting)	Nov. 19-22, 2005 Philadelphia, PA [Abstract Deadline: Mar. 2005]	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 (2006 Meeting)	Nov. 18-21, 2006 Washington, DC [Abstract Deadline: Mar. 2006]	see preceding	see preceding

Pioneers

IN MEDIEVAL MIDDLE EASTERN STUDIES

Paul Wittek

by Colin Heywood

Survivors. An ominous word. Survivors from what? Catastrophes, wars, or simply the sword of time? But a word of particular significance for historians, with its implications of witnesses, *shuhūd*, to a past that may have already vanished or be on the point of vanishing. Michelet, the great French national historian of the nineteenth century, observes somewhere that historians are the custodians of the dead. Historians may of course also be, themselves, survivors: there comes, for some of them, a point in time (usually brief, and certainly temporary) when they may be more interesting for what they remember than for what they may have written. This is what my good friend and colleague, Rudi Paul Lindner, himself both an early Ottoman historian of distinction and a man of impeccable Viennese antecedents, has felicitously termed the 'I shook hands with Franz Joseph' syndrome.

It was as a subject of the Austrian emperor Franz Joseph that Paul Wittek was born in 1894. By the time, more than sixty years later, that I encountered him, when I was in the second year of my undergraduate career at SOAS, he was in the last, pre-retirement phase of his short but momentous career (1949-1961) as Professor of Turkish in the University of London. It was indeed for me a stroke of good fortune that in those years the retirement age from SOAS could, in special cases, be extended to 67. Thus it turned out that Wittek continued teaching at SOAS into his late sixties, and only retired in the same year (1961) that I completed my under-

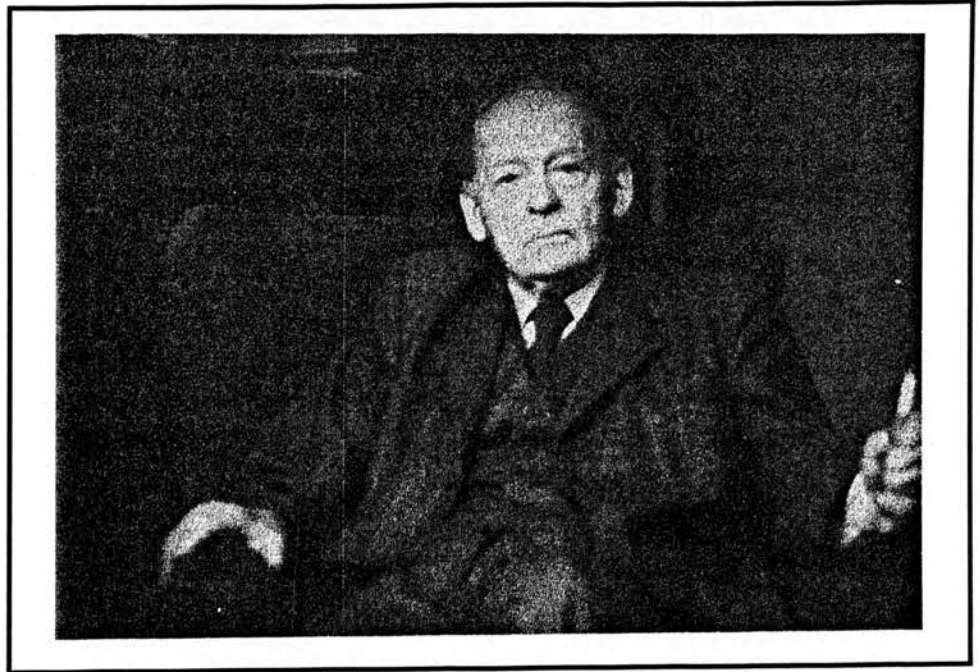
graduate degree in what, at the time, was almost understatedly defined as 'History with Special Reference to the History of the Near and Middle East'.

Now, having reached the age of 67 myself, and looking back with the perspective of half a century, it was surely a matter of chance, or the random application of chaos theory, that, at the age of eighteen, I found myself at SOAS, and not at Cambridge, whose offer of a place to read Oriental languages I had, with all the arrogance that a seventeen-year old can muster, turned down in favour of what my Headmaster had termed 'a place which you might find interesting'. And, once again, a year or two later, initiation into the Wittekian charmed circle, to gain, as it were, the attention of the Master, was a matter of chance. It must have been the late winter of 1958, and we were, as I recall, more than half way through Wittek's famous lecture course on Ottoman history from the origins to 1453. We had reached the bitter years of the *Fitnet devri*, the succession struggle between the sons of Bayezid I which occupied the decade after Timur's defeat of Yıldırım Bāyezid at Ankara in 1402, and we were dwelling on the events of the year 1410. Wittek was in full socratic mode. '1410', he announced, 'was also a very important year in European history. Who here knows what happened in Europe in 1410?' The socratic gaze swept the length of the seminar table, taking in the assembled respectful and uncomprehending faces, Sudanese, Syrian, Egyptian, Cypriot Turkish, Anglo-Indian and Hungarian, and also a solitary, pain-

fully shy Anglo-Saxon one. Silence. 'Of course, nobody in England knows anything of European history.' Again silence, which had somehow to be broken. Finally, from the bottom end of the table, the solitary Anglo-Saxon, with visible embarrassment, managed to mutter the words 'well, I suppose it might have been the defeat of the Teutonic Knights at Tannenberg in that year'. Silence again, this time eloquent with surprise (we were not expected to trump Wittek's aces), then: 'How is it that an English schoolboy knows anything not about English history?'. I cannot recall what happened thereafter: the epochal moment had passed, and we must have moved on to discuss -- rather, to be instructed about -- the downfall of the regime of Musa Çelebi and the eventual triumph, a couple of years later, of Wittek's hero Mehmed I. But I had caught the eye of the sultan, and thereafter life was to take a different turn, away from Arabic and a contemplated career (yes, still just possible at that time) in the Colonial Service. Let us move on, and away, to the distinguished scholar who forms the subject of this short essay.

Paul (August) Wittek (he never seems to have used either his middle name or its initial in his published work) was born in the small town of Baden bei Wien, a few miles from Vienna, on 11 January 1894, the son of the headmaster of a *Gymnasium* or high school. His studies in ancient history and philology at the University of Vienna were interrupted by a call to the colours in the *k.u.k. Armee* on the outbreak of World War I. As an artillery

officer he served on various fronts, firstly in Galicia, where he was wounded, and then on the Isonzo, before his final tour of duty as a member of the Austrian *Hilfskorps* with the Ottoman army on the Palestine front (1916-18). His time in the Near East was decisive for Wittek's professional development: with the end of the war (and the sudden collapse and disappearance of the Habsburg Dual Monarchy), Wittek returned to university and to a Vienna which was now no more than the oversized capital of the small, German-speaking rump of the Habsburg domains known initially as *Deutschösterreich*. In Vienna, having resumed and rapidly concluded his broken-off studies in ancient history and philology (Dr. Phil., 1920), he turned, under



his mentor Friedrich Kraelitz, to the study of oriental languages, and particularly to the further study of Ottoman Turkish, a language into which he had initiated himself, as he was fond in later years of retelling, in the troop train which carried him across the Balkans and for the first time into the 'Well-guarded Dominions' of the Ottoman Empire. His rise to prominence in the newly emergent field of Ottoman historical studies was little short of phenomenal. In that first year (1921) of his initiation into the field he was co-founder, with Kraelitz, of the *Mitteilungen ur osmanischen Geschichte*, the first (and for long the only) scholarly journal outside of Turkey devoted to Ottoman history, in the first volume of which he published two lengthy articles, one on 'The Source Problems of the oldest Ottoman Chronicles'; and the other devoted to a further examination of the late-fifteenth century Ottoman ghazi and chronicler, 'Äshikpashazâde. Thus was launched Wittek's abiding interest in the earliest century and a half of Ottoman history, down to the conquest of Constantinople, a period to which he was to devote himself, virtually without exception, for the remainder of his scholarly career.

It was a tragedy for Wittek -- and possibly for Ottoman scholarship -- that his time in Vienna was destined to be short. Vienna, in 1918 and for some years there-

after, was no longer the glittering and talent-drunken imperial capital of the years before 1914; instead it had become the hydrocephalous head of a small, poverty-stricken republic, its middle classes deprived of their common *raison d'être* as bureaucrats under the *ancien régime* and crippled by a runaway inflation which had effectively destroyed their savings. The University of Vienna continued to exist, after a fashion, but academic employment was in short supply, and at about the time he married his first wife, a former fellow-student, Wittek embarked on a second career as journalist, one which he was to follow intermittently for the next decade. In Vienna he rose rapidly to become editor of the *Oesterreichische Rundschau*, a conservative, *Grossdeutsch* literary and political fortnightly, to which he contributed a significant number of articles and reviews. These, although omitted from his 'official' biography, are not without relevance for his attitude to Ottoman (and Turkish) history.

In the summer of 1924 the *Rundschau* ceased publication, one of many victims of the difficult economic climate. Soon thereafter Wittek returned to Istanbul, no longer the capital of yet another empire that no longer existed. There he continued to ply his enforced trade as a journalist, mainly for the *Türkische Post*, a German-language newspaper published between

the wars in Istanbul, but he was not above turning his hand even to writing tourist brochures for German steamship companies during what he later referred to as these 'recht mühsame und ziemlich bewegte Jahre'. At the same time Wittek continued to act as the responsible editor for the *Mitteilungen ur osmanischen Geschichte*, until it too ceased publication in 1926, and to study the problems inherent in the sources for the history of the early Ottoman state, while broadening his interests to include pre-Islamic and pre-Ottoman Turkish history. These last found an outlet in a couple of articles written for the *Archiv ur So ialwissenschaft und So ialpolitik*, the influential journal founded by the late Max Weber, whose intellectual presence, together with that of his contemporary Köprülü-zâde Mehmed Fu'âd (Mehmet Fuat Köprülü), the pioneer Turkish historian of medieval Anatolia, and the great Russian orientalist V. V. Bartol'd (W. Barthold), whom Wittek had got to know in Istanbul in 1926, can be detected in the articles which he wrote at this time.

By now Wittek was in his mid-thirties, and still without any recognisable academic career. At this point his life seemed to have taken an upward turn, and he gained an appointment in 1929 as a *Referent* (advisor) to the German (formerly Prussian) Archaeological Institute in Istanbul, charged with building up the

institute's oriental section. Thereupon, and for the next five years, Wittek embarked on a series of epigraphical and topographical study-tours in western and south-western Anatolia, in collaboration in part with another pioneer Ottomanist, Fr. Taeschner. Out of these years came a series of meticulous studies on the Islamic epigraphy of western Anatolia and also Wittek's sole monograph, on the history of the west-Anatolian emirate of Mentеше down to its final incorporation into the Ottoman state in the early mid-fifteenth century.

Wittek's *Das Fürstentum Mentеше* did not appear in print until 1935. By that date, Wittek's world had again changed, and this time for ever. He had lost his mentors: both Kraelitz and J.H.Mordtmann, Wittek's patron during the war years when he was Imperial German Consul-General in Istanbul and a profound scholar in both the classical and Islamic history of western Anatolia, as well as a pioneer in Ottoman studies, had died in 1932. In the following year the coming to power of the Nazi régime in Germany -- '[der] Ausbruch der braunen Pest', as he was to describe it later -- made for Wittek any continuing connection with the German Archaeological Institute (he had been obliged to take out German citizenship as a precondition of employment as a civil servant) a moral impossibility. With elements representing the worst anti-intellectual elements of the Nazi régime already making their presence felt at the Institute and in Istanbul, Wittek left Turkey and found sanctuary in Belgium: by the end of 1934 he was living in Brussels, with his family and his books, a member of the Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves, an institute attached to the Université Libre of Brussels and presided over by the dominating figure of the Belgian Byzantinist Henri Grégoire.

In the following four years, from 1935 to 1938, Wittek produced at almost breakneck speed a series of articles and finally a short book on the earliest (pre-1453) period of Ottoman history. All were written originally to be spoken rather than read, Wittek delivering them -- in French, German or English -- at seminars and congresses held in universities -- Leiden, Paris and London -- in the few remaining countries of western Europe that had not already

come under the heel of one or other form of fascism. Something of the frantic, even urgent temper of those years which witnessed the rapid slide of Europe towards war comes over in the prose style of their published versions, with their nervous energy and apostrophising style. No longer is Wittek, as he had been, concerned with the minutiae of fourteenth-century Anatolian epigraphy, but is now obsessed (not too strong a word) with posing -- and, to his own satisfaction, solving -- the one mighty, overarching question for an Ottoman historian: how to explain the unprecedented rise, extent and long duration of the Ottoman Empire, from its earliest beginnings in late-thirteenth century Bythinia to its final downfall as an ally of its one-time mortal enemy, Habsburg Austria-Hungary.

Wittek's answer to this great riddle was essentially simple and monistic: the Ottoman Empire had been, from its very beginnings until almost the end, a ghazi state; that is to say, an Islamic state devoted to the prosecution of Holy War (ghazā) against the unbelievers. The earliest traces of Wittek's all-embracing formulation in fact can be traced back to the mid-1920s, but it reached its culmination and most compressed expression in a series of lectures which he delivered in the University of London in 1937, and which were published the following year under the title of *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire*. This event was, in effect, for Wittek, almost the end of a long road. In March of the same year (the very month which witnessed the incorporation of Austria into the Third Reich) he delivered a pair of lectures at the Sorbonne on the difficult -- for the Ottomans themselves as much as for the historian -- but ultimately triumphant half-century which lies between the defeat of Bāyezīd I by Timūr in 1402 and the conquest of Constantinople by the Ottoman sultan Mehmed II -- for Wittek the apotheosis and embodiment of ghazā -- in 1453. In September, 1938 the XXth International Congress of Orientalists § for which Wittek had been one of the organisers and to which he contributed a paper § was meeting in Brussels. At Munich in the same month the West abandoned Czechoslovakia to the Nazis, a shameful act of appeasement, after which it soon became clear that a general European war had only

been postponed and not averted. Publications; career; life even, for a German subject who had never hidden his powerfully anti-fascist sympathies were all soon in jeopardy. On the outbreak of war in 1939 Wittek remained in Brussels with his family, but with the Germans rapidly overrunning Belgium and the Netherlands in the spring of 1940, Wittek fled alone from Brussels -- through the German lines -- to the coast and to the beaches at Dunkirk. From thence he was plucked to safety by the British navy and brought, for the second time in three years, to England, which was to remain his home for the rest of his long life.

In terms of intellectual biography and his own development as a historian, Wittek's flight to England in 1940 marks something of a *terminus ad quem*, a point to which he had been tending and had now reached. As for the flight itself -- a very real *Flucht ohne Ende*, it must have seemed, to borrow the title of a novel by Wittek's exact contemporary, Joseph Roth, another journalist *faute de mieux*, and another multiple exile: from Habsburg Austria; from Germany and eventually to Paris; that Joseph Roth, the elegiac memorialist of the lost Habsburg Empire and its desolate eastern borderlands, who had died of drink and despair in the pauper's ward of a Paris hospital in May 1939. Wittek, however, was a survivor, and it is perhaps worth remembering here that Wittek, whose knowledge of German literature was both profound and extensive, used to observe with some force that 'only someone born and brought up in Vienna before 1914' could possibly understand Robert Musil's *Der Mensch ohne Eigenschaften*, that other great literary monument to that vanished world -- the old empire which had lived in the consciousness of its citizens, from the highest functionaries of the empire to the simplest peasant in a frontier-zone, not as 'an understandable tangibility' (*ein verstandesmäßig Erfasstes*) but as 'a myth cherished with tender love' (*ein mit artlicher Liebe gehegte Mythos*) -- the words are not Musil's, who took a more mordant stance, but Wittek's, from one of his 'political' articles which he had written for the *Oesterreichische Rundschau* in the early 1920s.

To my mind, however, rather than

Musil, it is Joseph Roth, with his sparely written novellas depicting frontier society on the north-eastern borders of the Austrian crownlands, where disaster, both personal and global in its manifestations, was always waiting mercilessly to reveal itself, whose work form the literary and Austrian counterpart of Wittek's historical and Ottoman preoccupations. For it was for Wittek that the Ottoman Empire was not merely a ghazi state, but it was also, in the earliest, as well as in the later phases of its history, a frontier polity, founded in an equally desolate and fought-over borderland between two civilisations, two cultures, Christian and Muslim, Ottoman and Byzantine (later, Ottoman and Balkan Slavic, Ottoman and Hungarian, Ottoman and East Slavic). Thus, just as in Roth's fiction, there is often present a tension between the borderland and its often unruly, not to say criminal inhabitants, and the established authority of hinterland and the capital; between Jadlowker, the corrupt and conniving border tavern-keeper, and the gypsy dancer and fatal temptress Euphemia on the one hand, and the doomed figure of the inspector of weights and measures Anselm Eibenschütz, the hapless representative of Vienna in these desolate Galician marchlands, so in Wittek's formulations there is always the tension between the 'High Islamic culture' of the hinterland and the anarchic, antinomian tendencies of the dervishes and ghazis who make up the population of the *uj* (the Turkish equivalent of the Arabic term *thughūr*), i.e., the archetypal Ottoman frontier zone.

It is these themes which largely colour what I have termed Wittek's general formulations on Ottoman history, and which one finds in the publications from his Brussels years referred to above. They also, as I well recall, give spirit and substance to the classes on Ottoman history

which he offered at SOAS in the last years of his career. But here we must jump across the abyss of the Second World War and its immediate aftermath, from Wittek's flight to England in 1940 to his appointment as the first Professor of Turkish at the School of Oriental and African Studies in the University of London almost a decade later. From those years, first of internment, then of living freely in London, and finally, before taking up the London chair, returning briefly to Brussels and his family, who had, almost miraculously, all survived the horrors of the German occupation. In these years Wittek's flight had indeed come to an end: some tentative steps towards a further migration, this time to New York, came to nothing, and from the post-war years until his retirement in 1961 and his death seventeen years later he continued to reside in one of London's outer suburbs, occasionally to be encountered late in the evening on the platform of Euston Square station, after one of his marathon seminars, en route via the Metropolitan line to Eastcote near Ruislip -- Eastcote *bei* London, one is tempted to write, fortune's wheel having come full circle in fifty years from birth and residence near or in one declining and later ex-imperial capital to his later and final years as resident in another.

Since Wittek's death, at the age of eighty-four, in 1978 there has begun (and been carried on) a slow process of re-evaluation of his work as a historian of the Ottoman state, and as the formulator of certain concepts which have exercised, and still in part continue to exercise, a very real influence on the way in which the field has developed. The post-1950 explosion in Ottoman historical studies, with its emphasis on the opening to outside scholars of the infinite riches of the Turkish archives, its impressive but not unproblematic fashions for, e.g., 'defterology', and its preoccupa-

tion at times with the minutiae of social history, have little to do with the more classical and philologically-oriented documentary studies which Wittek, along with Mordtmann and Kraelitz, pioneered and which were brought to an almost unattainable height in post-war studies such as his 'Notes sur la Tughra ottomane' (1950-1), concerning which Wittek's son, M. Martin Wittek, once related to me that his father had said, when it was published, that nothing he had ever written had given him such pleasure. Above all, there is his last, unfinished series of articles, written, for the first time in thirty years, in German, published in the leading Austrian orientalist journal, and entitled, quite simply, 'Zu einigen frühosmanischen Urkunden, (I)- (VII)' (1957-1963/4). Here, indeed, is the Law and the Prophets, for those who have ears to hear and eyes to read.

On Wittek's more general formulations from the 1930s the jury, it has to be said, is still out. This is not the place to recapitulate the intense debate (though often it has seemed more like a dialogue of the deaf between the Wittekoclasts and the Wittekodules) which has continued since the 1980s, in which the present writer, together with a number of other friends and colleagues in the field, has played a part. The personal fallout from all this may perhaps some time in the future be revealed, but for the present suffices to recall once again, after more than forty years, the golden age of SOAS in the late 1950s with its pleiad of larger-than-life figures, now either dead or, happily, long since retired and still with us. Amongst the former we can recall the compelling presence and warm if ironic stance of a historian and teacher of whom it can truly be said, as was once felicitously said of Burckhardt, that 'he shook wisdom from his sleeves'.

Acknowledgement and Bibliographical note

I am indebted to M. Martin Wittek, former Director of the Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, Brussels, for sharing with me in 1995 his memories of his father. The remainder of the thoughts, reflections and reminiscences in this short sketch are, in effect, my own, although there are many aspects of Wittek's life, work and career which for reasons of space I have not touched on. In particular I have said nothing regarding the all-pervading influence which the poetry of Stefan George had on Wittek and on his work: for a study of this element see my "'Boundless Dreams of the Levant': Paul Wittek, the *George-Kreis* and the Writing of Ottoman History," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1989): 32-50. Further detailed information on the Austrian roots of Wittek's work, and on the complicated processes which brought him eventually to London in 1937 and to SOAS a decade later, can be found in my "Wittek and the Austrian Tradition," *JRAS* (1988): 7-25. My thoughts on Wittek as a frontier historian can be found in "The Frontier in Ottoman History: Old Ideas and New Myths," in Daniel Power and Naomi Standen (ed.), *Frontiers in Question: Eurasian Borderlands, 700-1700* (London, 1999), 228-250. In an Appendix to that study, which was written for a conference at the University of Essex in 1995, but which has only now been published separately, I have attempted to deal with some interpretative problem surrounding the 1337 Bursa inscription, one of the two main pillars for Wittek's "ghazi theory": "The 1337 Bursa Inscription and its Interpreters," *Turcica* 36 (2004): 215-232. Finally, a further article, which takes up and develops a number of themes touched on in the present sketch: "A Subterranean History: Paul Wittek (1894-1978) and the Early Ottoman State," *Die Welt des Islams* 38 (1998): 386-405.

Wittek's own classified bibliography of his published works ("Publications by Paul Wittek — a selective list"), which he had drawn up in 1966, appeared prefaced to the first volume of what was a *Festschrift* in all but name, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 68 (1968): 1-7. A number of Wittek's major articles, including "Zu einige frühosmanischen Urkunden (I) - (VII)," supplied by its editor with continuous pagination and a separate index, appeared under the title of *La formation de l'Empire ottoman* (ed. V. L. Ménage), London, 1982; the published versions of his lectures and seminar papers from the later 1930s, including *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire* (1938), will shortly be reissued (in English translation where necessary) under the editorship of the present author.

Many of the obituary notices and tributes which were written after Wittek's death are of great value for the historian. For a list of the ones which I have noticed (there may be others) see my "Wittek and the Austrian tradition," pp. 7, n. 2, and 8, n. 5. Cf. also the illuminating account of Wittek during his time at the German Archaeological Institute before and just after the Nazi seizure of power in Germany, in Kurt Bittel, *Reisen und Ausgrabungen in Ägypten, Kleinasien, Bulgarien und Griechenland 1930-1934* (Stuttgart and Mainz: Akad. d. Wissenschaften u. Literatur, Abh. d. geistes- und Sozialwiss. Kl., Jg. 1998, Nr 5), 127-131, 144-147, 159-166, 274-277, 294-297, 381-387, 425-427, 437-457, which complements his earlier (collaborative) work on the *DAI* (see my "Wittek and the Austrian tradition," p. 10, n. 18 for the full reference). I am very grateful to Dr Ilker Evrim Binbaş for kindly bringing Kurt Bittel's recent memoir to my attention.

Some of the many significant contributions by other scholars to the debate over Wittek's "ghazi thesis" may also be mentioned here (listed roughly in order of date of publication): Gy. Káldy-Nagy, "The Holy War (jihad) in the First centuries of the Ottoman Empire," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 3-4 (1979-80): 467-473; Halil İnalcık, "The Question of the Emergence of the Ottoman State," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 2, no. 2 (1981-2): 71-79; Rudi Paul Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia* (Bloomington, 1983); idem, "Beginning Ottoman History," in Colin Heywood and Colin Imber (ed.), *Studies in Ottoman History in Honour of Professor V. L. Ménage* (Istanbul, 1994), 199-208; henceforth: *Ménage Festschrift*; R. C. Jennings, "Some thoughts on the Gazi-Thesis," *WZKM* 76 (1986): 151-161; Colin Imber, "Paul Wittek's 'De la défaite d'Ankara à la prise de Constantinople'," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 5 (1986), 65-81; idem., "Canon and Apocrypha in Early Ottoman History," *Ménage Festschrift*, 117-138; J. Wansbrough, "Paul Wittek and Richard Hakluyt: A Tale of Two Empires," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 7-8 (1988): 55-70; Halil İnalcık, "How to read Ashik Pasha Zade's History," *Ménage Festschrift*, 139-156; Colin Heywood, "Osmanlı Devletinin Kuruluşu Problemi: Yeni Hipotez hakkında bazı Düşünceler," in *Osmanlı* (ed. Halil İnalcık), 1 (Ankara, 1999), 137-145; Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* (Berkeley, 1995); Heath W. Lowry, *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State* (Albany, NY, 2003); cf. the important review article by Ilker Evrim Binbaş, *Byzantinische Forschungen* 28 (2004): 175-193.

Problems in the Study of Medieval Islamic Sermons

by Linda G. Jones

My interest in medieval Islamic sermons began with the discovery of an anonymous early 13th-century Mudejar sermonary from Aragon in Spain, and the subsequent desire to carry out a comparative study of Muslim and Christian preaching in Medieval Iberia. The foremost challenge in undertaking the resultant doctoral dissertation (1) was overcoming the enormous gap separating the scholarship on the medieval Christian sermon, a thriving academic field, and medieval Islamic preaching, which has yielded relatively few scholarly studies. Here I will discuss what I have learned about the study of Islamic preaching, what can be done, and what issues remain unresolved in the hope of encouraging further investigations into what are a rich textual source for understanding medieval Islamic spirituality, thought, and culture.

[1] Genres and Types of Collections: Locating the Sources

In 13th-century Latin Christendom the term *sermo* referred to religious oratory that aimed to instruct and exhort the audience in matters of faith and morality. In the Islamic context, however, religious oratory (*khiṭāba dīniyya*) is a subcategory of a larger oratorical genre that predates Islam and was performed in a variety of contexts, many of which had no religious end. As the belletrists al-Jāhiz and Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi explained, the term *khiṭāba* was applied to formal political addresses, discourses of peace-making and reconciliation, declarations of war, wedding speeches, among others. (2) Accordingly I became concerned about limiting my search artificially to strictly "religious"

sermons in order to make the Christian-Muslim comparison viable.

As it turned out, the scribes and compilers responsible for the production, copying, and preservation of medieval *khuṭba* manuscripts also made such distinctions: the sources that I examined had rubrics identifying the religious occasion or theme for which the sermon was composed. Typical examples of such labelling include *khuṭab jum'iyya* (Friday sermons) and *khuṭba li l-'idayn* (a sermon for the two Eids). Many sermon cycles are titled *khuṭab shahriyya* (monthly sermons) or *khuṭab shar'iyya*, which I translate as "canonical sermons," signalling their legal status as a *farḍ kifāya* or religious duty that requires the participation of a sufficient number of members of the community. Such collections will normally only contain sermons for Fridays and the two canonical feast days. Evidence of this distinction is further seen in two separate sermonaries of Ibn 'Abbād of Ronda (d. 1390), one of which is a collection of Friday sermons, organized according to the Islamic calendar (MSS. Fez, Ibn Suda Library, Unnumbered), while the other (MSS. Rabat Royal Archives, No. 2688) may be classified as "occasional" or "thematic" sermons, since they are organized thematically around the "merits (*faḍā'il*)" of certain occasions, for instance, "Fi faḍl Laylat al-Qadr wa tafsīr Sūrat al-Qadr." The thematic sermon cycles on *jihād* (*al-jihādiyyāt*) of the Iraqi preacher Ibn Nubāta (d. 984-5) are likewise grouped apart from his canonical Friday sermons. Thematic sermons also survive as individual specimens, e.g. the anonymous *khuṭba* on the Antichrist (*khuṭbat al-Dajjāl*) (MSS. Madrid Junta, No. XVII/III, fols. 105-107). Specimens of non-religious ora-

tory are preserved in belletrist (*adab*) compendia, where they appear under the subject of *balāgha* or *khiṭāba*, as well as in chronicle and biographical notices, and in the diwans of famous authors.

While there is ample evidence in juridical and other extra-homiletical sources that medieval Andalusī and Maghribī Muslims practiced popular or non-canonical preaching, (3) actual sermon specimens are difficult to locate. One mostly finds manuscripts of the sermonaries of the Iraqi preacher Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 1200) and his treatise on homiletic exhortation, collections of *qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* by al-Kisā'i (d. 805), al-Tha'ālibī (d. 1074), and other eastern authors, and some locally produced anthologies, such as the prophetic tales compiled by the Cordovan hadith transmitter Ibn Muṭarrif al-Ṭarafī (b. 997). (4)

I have studied one collection of Andalusian exhortatory sermons (MSS. Madrid Junta, No. C/3) whose author, an anonymous Mudejar preacher, preached during an "exhortatory preaching assembly (*maqāmat al-wa'z*)". Scholars in search of exhortatory sermons must be mindful of the variable nomenclature Ibn al-Jawzī differentiated between homiletic storytelling (*qāṣaṣ*) and exhortatory preaching (*wa'z* and its cognates, *maw'iza* and *'iza*, also called *tadhkīr*) as well as of the profitability of exploring ascetic (*uḥd*) literature. I have encountered titles of several Andalusian works that combine homiletic exhortation (*al-mawā'iz*) with wisdom sayings (*ḥikam*), proverbs (*amthāl*), and tales (*ḥikāyāt*) attributed to prophets, ascetics, or other authorities. (5) Juridical references to public ceremonial readings from books of exhortation (*kutub al-wa'z*) and "books of stories (*kutub al-qīṣaṣ*)" shed

light on how this literature was used in a homiletic setting.

[2] Key Problems in the Study of Islamic Sermons: Text and Context

The unavoidable gap between the live preaching event, evidence of which in most cases is irretrievably lost, and the surviving written text challenges the scholar to determine the relation between the two. A homiletic text may have been composed before or amended after the event, an eyewitness account of a live sermon, a model sermon to be used by several preachers, or a missal (*risāla*) or excerpt from a collection of homiletic exhortations or tales composed in one time and place but meant to be preached or read aloud elsewhere. An explanation of how the sermon came to be written down may appear in the prologue or the scribal information at the end of a manuscript. In the prologue of MSS. Rabat Royal Archive, No. 4070, Ibn Marzūq indicates that his disciples requested that he compile a *diwān* of the sermons he had already preached, and he admits to having made "amendments" to improve them. Monthly and model sermon collections are often anonymous and paleographic evidence will only determine when the sermon was copied, not originally composed, much less delivered.

Another problem highlighting the disjuncture between the oral performance and the written text is the absence of the mandatory second part of the Friday *khuṭba*. (A synopsis of the *khuṭba*'s structure is provided in A. J. Wensinck, "Khuṭba," *EI2* V, 74.) In *khuṭba* specimens that remain intact, the scribe will often indicate the second sermon with the words "wa 'l-thāniya". The second *khuṭba* usually relates the chosen theme to blessings upon the ruler and prayers on behalf of the community. Sermons manuscripts are copied for posterity for many reasons, including their didactic value as model sermons. Removed in time or space from the original context in which the sermon was preached, some copyists may have adjudged the second *khuṭba* irrelevant for future audiences. Yet the absence of the second *khuṭba* is problematic because the blessing upon the ruler may provide clues about the political situation, while the prayers on behalf of the community may help identify the social context or

audience composition.

Ideally the gap between text and context would be overcome by an attendant description of the preacher's performance and a verbatim account of his sermon and the audience's response. Recourse to external sources is indispensable in any attempt to recover the performative features and live context of Islamic preaching. This recovery will be tenuous at best, however. Biographical dictionaries, hagiographies, preaching and rhetoric manuals, *fatwā* compilations, *bid'a* treatises, *hisba* manuals, *riḥlas*, and historical chronicles all proved useful, although their information was often frustratingly incomplete. Still, one must thoroughly exploit all the available evidence.

The ultimate aim of the sermon was to elicit audience response (conversion, repentance, *jihād*, etc.) and thus one must be attuned to the rhetorical and narrative devices that the preacher uses toward this end. I began by making a thematic analysis of the sermon. The main theme is usually indicated in the title of occasional *khuṭbas* and exhortatory sermon texts. In the case of untitled *mawā'iz*, the initial exhortation coincident with the first Qur'ānic verse cited identifies the sermon's principal theme. As for the canonical *khuṭba*, its three obligatory introductory liturgical formulae (*ḥamdala*, *shahāda*, *taṣliya*) are followed by a direct address to the audience with the words, "ayyuhā 'l-nās (Oh people)" or "'ubbād Allāh (Servants of God)". The main theme follows in the form of an exhortation or directive (*waṣiyya*), which may be anticipated in the embellishing proclamations that the *khaṭīb* adds to his utterance of the *ḥamdala* and the *shahāda*. Thus one should not ignore the formulaic introduction of the *khuṭba*, as important information might be overlooked regarding how the *khaṭīb* develops his sermon and makes it cohere structurally.

Since canonical *khuṭbas* are organized according to the liturgical calendar, I sought to determine how the chosen theme related to the particular moment in question. Traditions about the observance of Fridays and feast days and the "meritorious times (*faḍā'il al-awqāt*)" literature were useful in this regard, since they helped to determine whether the preacher relied

solely upon established practice or was motivated by other considerations. While it is relatively easy to identify traditional themes associated with the four canonical sacred months and other meritorious times, such as the vigil of mid-Sha'bān, mapping out a "logic of associations" between the chosen theme and ordinary months such as Ṣafar, Rabi' II, and Jumādā I and II proved more difficult. If the historical and religious-political context in which the sermon was first composed or delivered can be determined, homiletic themes could be matched against the salient ideology or trends associated with the contemporary dynasty or religious tendency.

One must then consider how the preacher develops his selected theme, paying particular attention to the array of speech acts and rhetorical techniques at his disposal. I outlined a morphology of speech acts, which included liturgical formulae (*ḥamdala*, *shahāda*, *taṣliya*); exhortations and directives; affirmative utterances of communal self-definition; and prayers and supplications to God. Common rhetorical devices include the citation of authorities, narrative, semantic parallels, and rhymed prose. Theories of public discourse proved useful in deciphering how the sermon's structure—the relation of the individual parts to the whole—lends coherence and meaning to the text. (6) For instance, I discovered how the preacher's recourse to rhymed prose, structural and lexical redundancy, and words derived from the same semantic root helped clarify and strengthen his homiletic message.

Regarding the citation of scripture, *ḥadīth*, and other authorities, quoting the Qur'ān is one of the prescriptions (*aḥkām*) in delivering the *khuṭba* and *khaṭīb* and *wā'iz* alike permeate their sermons with Qur'ānic speech. Preachers also highlight specific verses with formulae such as, "And God Almighty has said (qāla Allāhu ta'āla)". It is important to understand how the preacher employs Qur'ānic language and to what purpose (theological, political, moral, aesthetic). How do the verses relate to the main theme and fit structurally into the rest of the sermon? A comparison of multiple sermons on the same subject or occasion might reveal whether the Qur'ānic verses cited are traditional or novel in some way.

Similar interrogatives apply in the citation of hadith, which generally follow a Qur'anic quotation, serving as scriptural exegesis or embellishment. The authority named as the transmitter of the *hadith* can help date anonymous sermon texts and indicate the preacher's intellectual background or intended audience. Ibn 'Abbād cites some *hadith* on the authority of al-Ghazzālī, an indication of the Sufi theologian's prestige among Ibn 'Abbād's intended audience, his reputation for transmitting weak hadiths notwithstanding. Sometimes he quoted *hadith* without any attribution. The inclusion of unauthenticated *hadith* may indicate a particular spiritual or political tendency.

Exemplary tales, parables, proverbs, and sayings occur more frequently in thematic *khuṭbas* and exhortatory sermons, given the prescribed brevity of the Friday *khuṭba*. While the Qur'an and canonical *hadith* may be the ultimate source or inspiration of some of these narratives, preachers cite other authorities that may reveal details of their intellectual formation and audience expectations. Obviously, the prevalence of Sufi and ascetic sources could indicate a largely Sufi-ascetic milieu. Similarly, several proverbs or sayings with rural imagery might point to a rural setting.

Other potential indicators of audience composition or intended audience are the prayers on behalf of the community. Effusive prayer-panegyrics dedicated

to the ruler, characteristic of court sermons, provide evidence of royal propaganda. Scholars have emphasized the significance of prayers for the ruler in circumstances when leadership and legitimacy are contested. Prayers on behalf of the community can further provide details about the social setting of the preaching event. For instance, in the aforementioned Mudejar sermonary, it is the preacher's final supplication to God to aid his community "oppressed under Christian rule," that makes comprehensible the Job-ian suffering servant discourse that permeates the entire collection. Communal prayers often emphasize boundaries between the community and outsiders, and discursively their function is to link the mythic past, reflected in the preceding Qur'an and *hadith* narratives, to the present reality of the audience.

[3] Conclusion: Research Challenges and Opportunities

Undoubtedly the greatest challenge in medieval Islamic sermon studies is confronting the problem of the gap in sources: a historical chronicle, biographical notice, or *fatwā* case might have a "thick" description of a preaching event or of the impact of a sermon on a given audience or person, but record nothing of what was actually said, and there may be no surviving specimen of the sermon. Similarly, one may find a complete sermon text or collection, but there may be no support-

ing literary or chronicler evidence of the preacher's performance or impact. Confirming the authenticity of sermons preserved only in *adab* compendia or chronicles is difficult. Gauging audience response to preaching on a given theme or to a particular preacher depends on the availability of extra-homiletical evidence. Nevertheless, much can be done with the existing sources. Many sermon collections remain unedited and their edition and translation would be a welcome contribution to the fields of Arabic and Islamic Studies. Diachronic analyses of sermons on the same theme or occasion could be taken to uncover evidence of historical or social change. Biographical notices of preachers could be compiled and analyzed to determine the social profile and (potential) impact of preachers. The existing scholarship on non-canonical preaching, which stresses the question of contested religious authority, could be complemented by further analysis of the content of these sermons. Sermons, both canonical and non-canonical, as well as collections of homiletic exhortations and stories, furnish a wealth of primary source material for discourse analysis. Hopefully, cultural, social, and religious historians will find that sermons, explored in tandem with other literary, historical, and juridical sources, could add useful insights to their research.

Notes:

(1) Linda G. Jones, "The Boundaries of Sin and Communal Identity: Muslim and Christian Preaching and the Transmission of Cultural Identity in Medieval Iberia and the Maghreb (12th to 15th Centuries)," (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Santa Barbara, 2004).

(2) al-Jāhīz, *Kitāb al-bayān wa 'l-tabyīn*, vol. 1 (Cairo: Maktabat al-Ta'lif wa 'l-Tarjama wa 'l-Jam'at wa 'l-Nashr, 1948), 91-116; Ibn 'Abd al-Rabbihi, *Kitāb al-'Iqd al-farīd*, eds. Aḥmad Amīn, et al., 7 vols. (Cairo, 1948-1953), vol. 1, 54-55.

(3) On medieval popular preaching, see Johannes Pedersen, "The Islamic Preacher," in *Ignace Gold iher Memorial Volume*, I, eds. Samuel Lowinger and Joseph Somogyi. (Budapest, 1948), 226-251; idem, "The Criticism of the Islamic Preacher," *Die Welt des Islams* II, (1953): 215-231; Merlin L. Swartz, "Arabic Rhetoric and the Art of the Homily in Medieval Islam," in *Religion and Culture in Medieval Islam*, eds. R.G. Hovannisian & G. Sabbagh. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 39-65; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Kitāb al-quṣṣāṣ wa 'l-mudhakkirīn*, ed. and trans. Merlin L. Swartz. (Beirut: Dar al-Machreq, 1971); and Jonathan Berkey, *Popular Preaching and Religious Authority in the Medieval Islamic Near East*. (Seattle & London: University of Washington Press, 2001).

(4) Roberto Tottoli, "The Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā' of Ibn Muṭarrif al-Ṭarāfi (d. 454/1062): Stories of the Prophets from al-Andalus." *Al-Qanṭara* XIX (Madrid, 1998):131-160.

(5) Juan M. Vizcaino, "Las obras de zuhd en al-Andalus," *Al-Qanṭara* XII, 2 (Madrid 1991): 420-438.

(6) See the volume edited by Robert Wuthnow, *Vocabularies of Public Life: Empirical Essays in Symbolic Structure*. (London: Routledge, 1992).

Note: The MEM Board of Directors has requested that the By-Laws of our organization be published periodically in UW for the benefit of the membership. We therefore print them below. Please direct any questions about the By-Laws to the President or another member of the Board. -Ed.

BY-LAWS

MIDDLE EAST MEDIEVALISTS (MEM)

Section 1. Name. The name of this organization shall be Middle East Medievalists (MEM).

Section 2. Nature and Objectives. MEM is an international organization which seeks to encourage scholarship and foster lines of communication among specialists in the history of the medieval Islamic lands. It invites the participation of faculty, students, and all others interested in this subject.

Section 3. Membership. There shall be two categories of membership: Honorary and Regular.

Honorary Members. Senior medievalists who have distinguished themselves in their teaching and research will be invited by the Board of Directors to be Honorary members.

Regular Members. The Board of Directors may admit as Regular members all those who have completed a membership application and paid the required dues.

Section 4. Annual Meeting. The organization shall normally hold a business meeting on the first day of the annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association of North America (MESA). At the annual meetings, the members who are present shall constitute a quorum. The act of the majority of the members present shall be considered the act of the general membership. The Bylaws may only be changed by mail ballot of a majority of those members who respond after having been proposed by the Board of Directors or at an annual or special meeting.

Section 5. Special Meetings. A majority of the Board of Directors may call for a special meeting as long as all current members are given a timely, written message as to its time, place, and purpose.

Section 6. Newsletter. A newsletter will be sent to all members twice a year (spring and fall).

Section 7. Dues. A fee will be charged for membership in MEM and will be determined annually by the Board of Directors.

Section 8. Board of Directors. The Board of Directors shall carry on the business of the organization. The Board shall be composed of seven members: President, Vice-President, Secretary, Treasurer, two general members, and a Graduate Student Representative. The President. The President shall be the chief executive officer of the organization and shall chair the annual meeting and all Board meetings. The President shall be responsible for a Newsletter.

The Vice-President. The Vice-President shall fulfill the office of the President when the President is unable to do so.

The Secretary. The Secretary shall keep all the minutes and shall inform the membership, prior to the annual meeting of the time, place, and purpose of the annual meeting, as well as maintain the membership records of the organization.

The Treasurer. There shall be a Treasurer with the responsibility of administering the accounts, keeping the financial records, and filing the requisite governmental documents. Subject to Board approval, the treasurer may serve terms in succession.

Ex-officio Members of the Board. Two individuals will serve as members ex-officio of the Board of Directors, the Treasurer and the Editor of the MEM bulletin (al-'Usur al-Wusta). The Treasurer and the editor may participate in all discussions of the board but will not vote on matters that come before it.

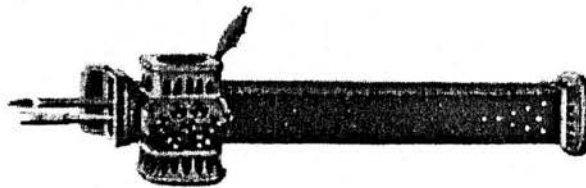
Term of Office. The term of office shall be for three years, except for the Graduate Student Representative who shall serve a one-year term. No officer or board member shall serve for more than one consecutive term in a given office except for the Treasurer who may serve successive terms at the pleasure of the Board.

Removal from Office. Members of the Board may be removed from office by the vote of four-fifths of the Board or by a petition signed by 10% of the current membership. The majority of the remaining Board may appoint an individual to fill the vacant position on the Board until the next general election.

Nominations. There shall be a nominating committee appointed by a majority of the Board, which shall submit a slate of candidates for the vacant positions each fall prior to the annual meeting. Elections for the Board shall place by mailbox or electronic ballot each fall prior to the annual meeting.

CHICAGO STUDIES ON THE MIDDLE EAST

The Center for Middle Eastern Studies
The University of Chicago



Revolutionary Melodrama: Popular Film and Civic Identity in Nasser's Egypt by Joel Gordon (2002)

Commemorating the Nation: Collective Memory, Public Commemoration, and National Identity in Twentieth-Century Egypt by Israel Gershoni and James Jankowski (2004)

The Wine of Love and Life: Ibn al-Fāriḍ's al-Khamriyah and al-Qayṣarī's Quest for Meaning edited and translated by Th. Emil Homerin (2005)

For information about the series and submissions, or to contact the editor, visit
<http://ChicagoStudiesOnTheMiddleEast.uchicago.edu>

Contact The Seminary Co-op Bookstore to place credit card orders:
1-800-777-1456 or <http://www.semcoop.com>

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.

Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī. *Abkār al-afkār fī uṣūl al-dīn* [The Novelties among the Ideas]. Edited by Aḥmad Muḥammad al-Mahdī (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub wal-l-Wathā'iq al-Qawmiyya, 1423-1424/2002-2004). 5 vols. 552, 531, 470, 398, 318 pp. ISBN 977-18-0315-8.

Al-Āmidī is an important yet little known theologian from the turn of the 7th/13th century. Born 551/1156-7 in Āmid (today's Diyarbakir in Turkey) and raised as a Ḥanbalī, he converted to Shāfi'ism in Baghdad, where he apparently discovered rational theology. He connects himself to the teachings of As'ad al-Mayhanī who had died forty years earlier in the 520s/1130s and who was a central figure for the integration of philosophical teachings into Ash'arite theology. Al-Āmidī became a teacher at Ayyubid schools in Cairo, Hama, and Damascus. Several times, his rationalism brought him in trouble and he had to leave his posts. He died 631/1233 in Damascus. His *Abkār al-afkār* ("The Novelties

among the Ideas"), which was written in Cairo 612/1216, claims already in its title to bring something new. The book teaches a synthesis of philosophical metaphysics and classical Ash'arite Kalām. His "reconciliation" of these two schools leans more towards *falsafa* than Ash'arism, a fact evident, for instance, from his insistence that God's "will" is part of His essence (vol. 1, pp. 297ff.) Al-Āmidī presents his teachings in eight "fundamentals" (singl. *qā'ida*) that generally follow the established treatment of a Kalām-compendium. He adds, however, a chapter on heresiography and the criteria for unbelief (*kufṛ*). There, his portrayal of the Muslim community is non-dynamic, historic, and takes no record of the *falāsifa*. Like al-Shahrastānī two generations before him he excludes the *falāsifa* from being Muslim. This tallies with the main part of his book where he often distances himself from the *falāsifa* although he effectively accepts their teachings. While philosophical teachings are cherished, their originators remained stigmatized.

This is the first edition of the full text of *Abkār al-afkār*. Al-Āmidī's own *mukhtaṣar* of the book, *Ghāyat al-marām fī 'ilm al-kalām*, had already been published in 1971. Among other parts, it doesn't contain the heresiographic chapters. This full edition is based on two manuscripts of which one (Istanbul, Ayasofya 2165 6) goes back to the author's lifetime. This manuscript figures as the *aṣl*, with which the second one has been collated while its various readings are footnoted. Given that there are more than twenty manuscripts of this text, this is not an ideal situation. Its lack of an index is another caveat (though the edition of the *mukhtaṣar* has one). Al-Mahdī's edition, however, is easily navigable through its detailed table of contents. It should broaden our knowledge of the spread of Avicennism among the religious *madrasas* of the 6th/12th century.

- Frank Griffel

Shams al-Dīn al-Shahrazūri. *Rasā'il al-Shajara al-ilāhiyya fī 'ulūm al-ḥaqā'iq al-rabbāniyya*. Edited by Mehmet Necip Görgün (Istanbul: Elif Yayınları, 2004). 3 vols. 509, 643, 639 pp. + 88 pp. Turkish Intro. in vol. 3.

Al-Shahrazūri's *al-Shajara al-ilāhiyya* is a philosophical compendium of the Ishrāqī tradition completed in 680/1282. Its extensive doxographic excursions secured its influence particularly on the rationalist wing of Imāmi-Shiite theology and philosophy in Iran. The work was used as a well-structured encyclopedia of philosophical logic, natural sciences, and metaphysics. In it, al-Shahrazūri faithfully discusses earlier solutions to the problems at hand before presenting his own teachings. Unlike other doxographers in the Islamic tradition he is less concerned with names or with petty differences between certain schools. Rather, his interest lies in the systematic approach of different intellectual traditions and how the individual elements of their thought fit together. The Ishrāqī-school's tendency to come up with intellectual lineages to some obscure and unnamed Indian, Babylonian, and Persian sages makes al-Shahrazūri's doxographic reports an interesting and useful resource.

In the West, the book has not yet been sufficiently studied, mainly because there was no printed edition. Hossein Ziai and Sabine Schmidtke are the only two who have written about it. This *editio princeps* of the work generated out of a PhD thesis at Marmara Üniversitesi in Istanbul. It is based on three manuscripts from among the dozen or so available at Istanbul libraries. The main source is the precious manuscript III Ahmet 3227 (Karatay no. 6753) from the Topkapı Palace Library, which was copied in 686/1287-8 and has been, according to its colophon, compared with a manuscript that was copied from the author's copy. The edition is far from critical as it doesn't compare all manuscripts available in Istanbul, not to mention those in Iran. It records some but certainly not all variations of the two other manuscripts. Mis-

REVIEWS

takes are apparent in names, such as when the Indian sage Buddha (Arab. *Būdhāsaf*) appears as *Yūdāsaf* (vol. 3. p. 497.)

The reception of doxographic works depends largely on their indices. In this respect, Görgün's edition is disappointing. What use is it to list over 800 pages that contain the word "one" (*wāhid*) or 500 that contain "existence" (*wujūd*)? Yet, the word "philosophy" (*falsafa*) ap-

parently occurs no more than three times, more often even than the "First Teacher" Aristotle? This is inaccurate. Even more disappointingly, the index was compiled from a version of the text whose pagination (and page-breaks?) differ from the version printed in these volumes. Hence, the index bears no reference to the main text. As long as there is no "translation" of the index to the pages of the text, it will be useless.

Given the sheer size of al-Shahrazūri's book, Görgün's edition, which should be used with caution, is an achievement that will hopefully lead to a more thorough analysis of al-Shahrazūri's thought and his portrayal of earlier philosophy.

- Frank Griffel

NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

Denis Genequand, Service cantonal d'archéologie, Geneva and Council for British Research in the Levant, 4 Rue du Puits-St-Pierre, CH-1204 Geneva, Switzerland.
Email: dgenequand@yahoo.fr.

Frank Griffel, Assistant Professor of Islamic Studies, Department of Religious Studies, Yale University, POB 208287, New Haven, CT 06520-8287.
Email: frank.griffel@yale.edu.

Colin Heywood, Honorary Research Fellow in the History Department and at the Maritime Historical Studies Centre, University of Hull, and in the History Department at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 102 Sunny Bank, Hull HU3 1LF, UK.
Email: c.j.heywood@hull.ac.uk.

Linda Gale Jones, Profesora Investigadora, c/o Grup Pensar per Conviure, Facultat de Filosofia, Universitat Ramon Llull, Diputació, 231, 08007 Barcelona, Spain.
Email: lgjones16@yahoo.es.

Andrew Marsham, the Abdullah Mubarak at Sabah Research Fellow in Islamic Studies at Pembroke College, University of Cambridge, Pembroke College, Cambridge, CB2 1RF, UK.
Email: adm56@hermes.cam.ac.uk.

GRAPHICS CREDITS

Page 23, Fig. 1: Survey and drawing by Sophie Reynard and Denis Genequand.

Pages 24-26, Figs. 2-6: Photographs by author.

Page 37: Photograph from *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 68 (1976), frontispiece. (Volume dedicated to Paul Wittek.)

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

You may join MEM by sending the membership application form at the right (or a photocopy thereof), along with the appropriate dues payment, to Katherine Lang, Secretary of MEM, Department of History, University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire, Eau Claire, WI 54702-4004, U.S.A. Or you may join via credit card on-line at: www.MiddleEastMedievalists.org/MEMAPPMENU.htm.

Middle East Medievalists

Membership Application Form

Name _____

Mailing Address _____

SCHEDULE OF DUES

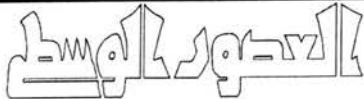
For addresses in North America (Canada, Mexico, U.S.A.) [check one]:

One Year	\$15.00 _____
Two Years	\$29.00 _____
Three Years	\$40.00 _____

For addresses outside North America (Latin America, Europe, Asia, Africa, Australia, and Pacific) [check one]:

One Year	\$17.50 _____
Two Years	\$34.00 _____
Three Years	\$47.00 _____

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



Al-'Usur al-Wusta
Bulletin of Middle East Medievalists
The Oriental Institute
1155 East 58th Street
Chicago, IL 60637 U.S.A.