

The Gardens of early Islamic Caesarea

by Jennifer Stabler

Caesarea Maritima is located on the coast of Israel about 30 km north of Tel Aviv. Founded by King Herod between 22 and 10 B.C.E., this city served as the main port and administrative capital of his kingdom. As the headquarters of the Roman administration of Judaea, later Palestine, this was the place where Pontius Pilate governed, where the Apostle Paul was imprisoned, and where the great Jewish revolts began in 66 and 132 C.E. Eventually, in the fourth century, the city converted from paganism to Christianity and became a major center of the Christian Roman Empire. This was the beautiful Classical city known from many excavations and celebrated as King Herod's Dream (Holum 1988).

This paper will present evidence from recent excavations conducted by the Combined Caesarea Expeditions, the Israel Antiquities Authority, and the University of Pennsylvania in Caesarea's southwest zone (Areas CV, CC, NN and KK; see Figure 1), which elucidates the nature of the transition of the large Byzantine city to a smaller, but still prosperous Islamic town in the seventh century. While historical sources focus primarily on actions taken by public personages and the construction or renovation of public structures, they are largely silent on the cultural and physical transitions that were experienced by the local inhabitants in many of the cities of the Levant both before and after the Muslim conquest. Archaeology provides the clues for us to piece together the chronology and nature of that transformation.

Beginning in the 2nd century C.E., the four insulae south of the extant Crusader fortification walls were occupied by

An Apology ...

The Editor apologizes to readers of MEM, and particularly to contributors of articles, for the delay in this issue. The forthcoming October issue should be on schedule. - Ed.

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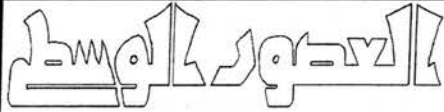
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CAESAREA, FROM PAGE 1.

at least four large mansions belonging to Caesarea's Byzantine elite (Figure 2). Residential buildings probably were established in this area after Herod's hippodrome along the coast went out of use in the late second century C.E. Directly south of the later Crusader wall, the southern sector of the first insula contained the governor's praetorium. This building is mentioned in the *Life of St. Anastasius the Persian*, which describes some of the major buildings in Caesarea just prior to the Sasanian and Muslim conquests of the early seventh century. The praetorium consists of a large audience hall on the west above a series of long, rectangular storage vaults, with offices, an archive room, and part of a small bath. Mosaics found in the building attest to its public administrative function (see Patrich, et al 1999 for a detailed discussion of the archaeological remains). Coins found below a pavement associated with the renovation of the western portion of this complex dated to 571-572 C.E.

The insula directly to the south of the praetorium contains a series of at least six courtyard warehouses on its north side, connected to a luxurious mansion with an entrance hall, dining room, and small bath on its south. The third insula houses a mansion set on two terraces. A fountain and pleasure garden occupy the lower terrace, while two large courtyards and subterranean storerooms occupy the upper terrace. The fourth insula accommodates a stepped structure that contains a room with a Christian scene incised into it. Herod's palace is located on the next insula to the south. When the new governor's palace was erected further to the north, Herod's palace was most likely converted to a private mansion. The final results of these excavations have not been published, but preliminary reports note that 6th-7th century pottery was recovered from the fills on top of the latest floors and inside the subterranean storerooms (Porath 1998).

Archaeology in the southwest zone and other portions of the city support historical sources which describe Caesarea as a flourishing city during the sixth century. The large mansions of Caesarea's elite were abandoned, most likely during or just after the Sasanian or Muslim invasions, since the archaeological evidence

suggests they continued in use up to that time. Caesarea's elite would not have been able to retain their power or prestige under their Muslim rulers and probably gathered up all of their movable property, relocating to regions where their status would be recognized. The latest storage jars and coins found on and just above the floors of these structures date to the 7th century. Some storage jars were left in place on the floors when abandoned. Yossi Patrich's excavations on the eastern side of the two northern insulae of the southwest zone exposed a layer of soil fill below a thick layer of building collapse, which he interpreted as a long period of abandonment before the advent of the next phase of occupation. In some areas, the building debris was one meter thick. Buildings on the west side of the second insula were dismantled down to their foundations. Pottery and coins from the building collapse and soil fill surrounding it are types common to the late 6th and early 7th century. The latest coin found in one of the collapse layers on the west dated to 629-630 C.E. There were no identifiable Islamic pottery types in the collapse layer.

After the buildings in the second insula were dismantled after 630, a layer of soil, 10 to 20 cm thick, was imported and spread over the northern and western parts of the second insula. Some of the north-south walls were left in place to serve as windbreaks or to prevent sand from accumulating on the fields. The warehouse buildings to the east were not as extensively demolished to provide rising garden terraces from west to east. At least eight wells were excavated through the 7th century building collapse to provide irrigation water for the gardens (Figure 3). The water was diverted to the garden plots by cut stone channels running north-south and east west across the fields (Figure 4). Great effort was invested in the construction and maintenance of these gardens. The Byzantine buildings had to be dismantled, wells dug down to and through the bedrock, irrigation channels cut and positioned, and soil imported to provide a fertile base for whatever plants were grown (Figure 5).

An early Islamic city wall has not as yet been identified at Caesarea, so this area presumably still lay inside the city walls. Historical sources do not mention such everyday spaces as urban gardens,

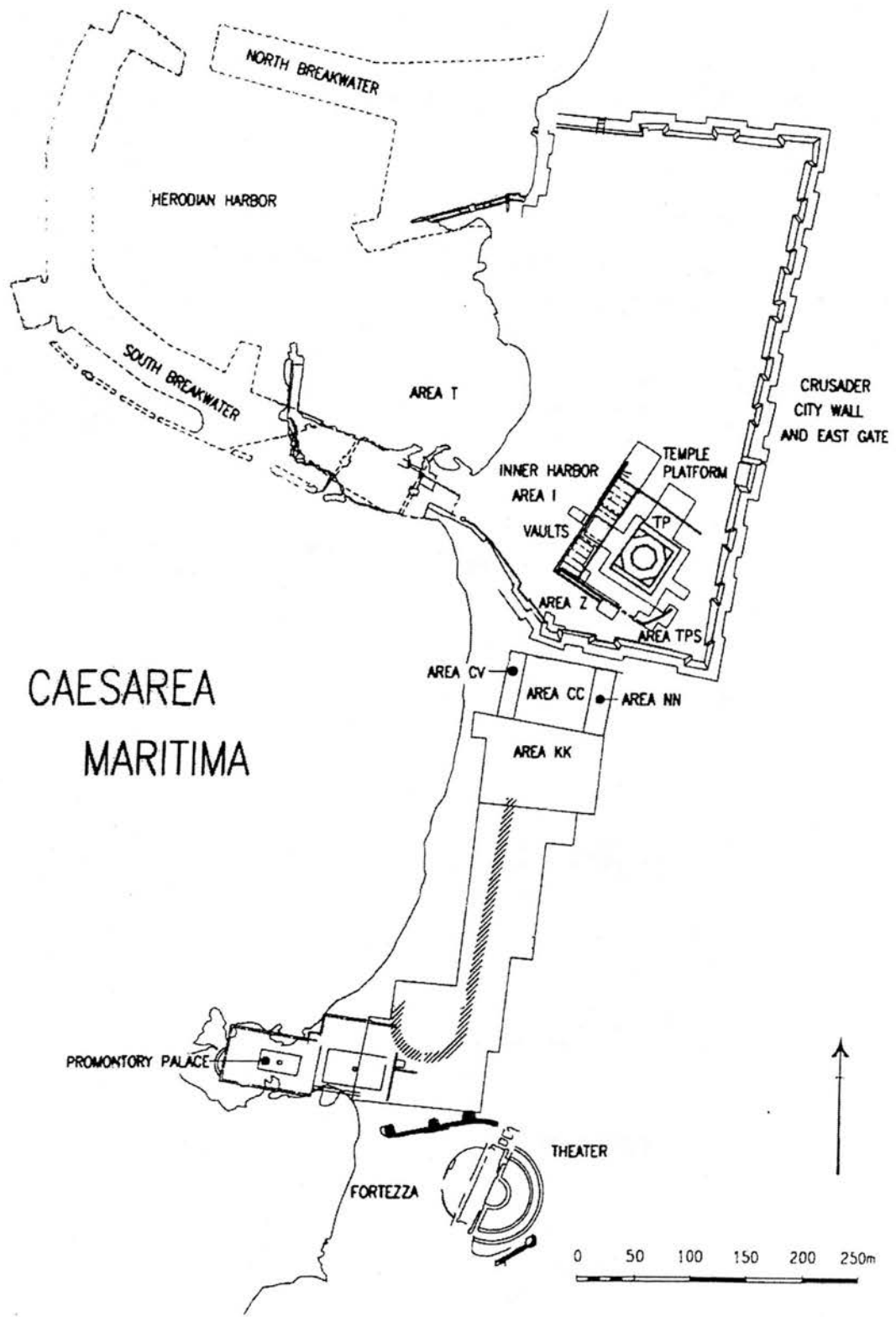


Figure 1. Plan of Caesarea.

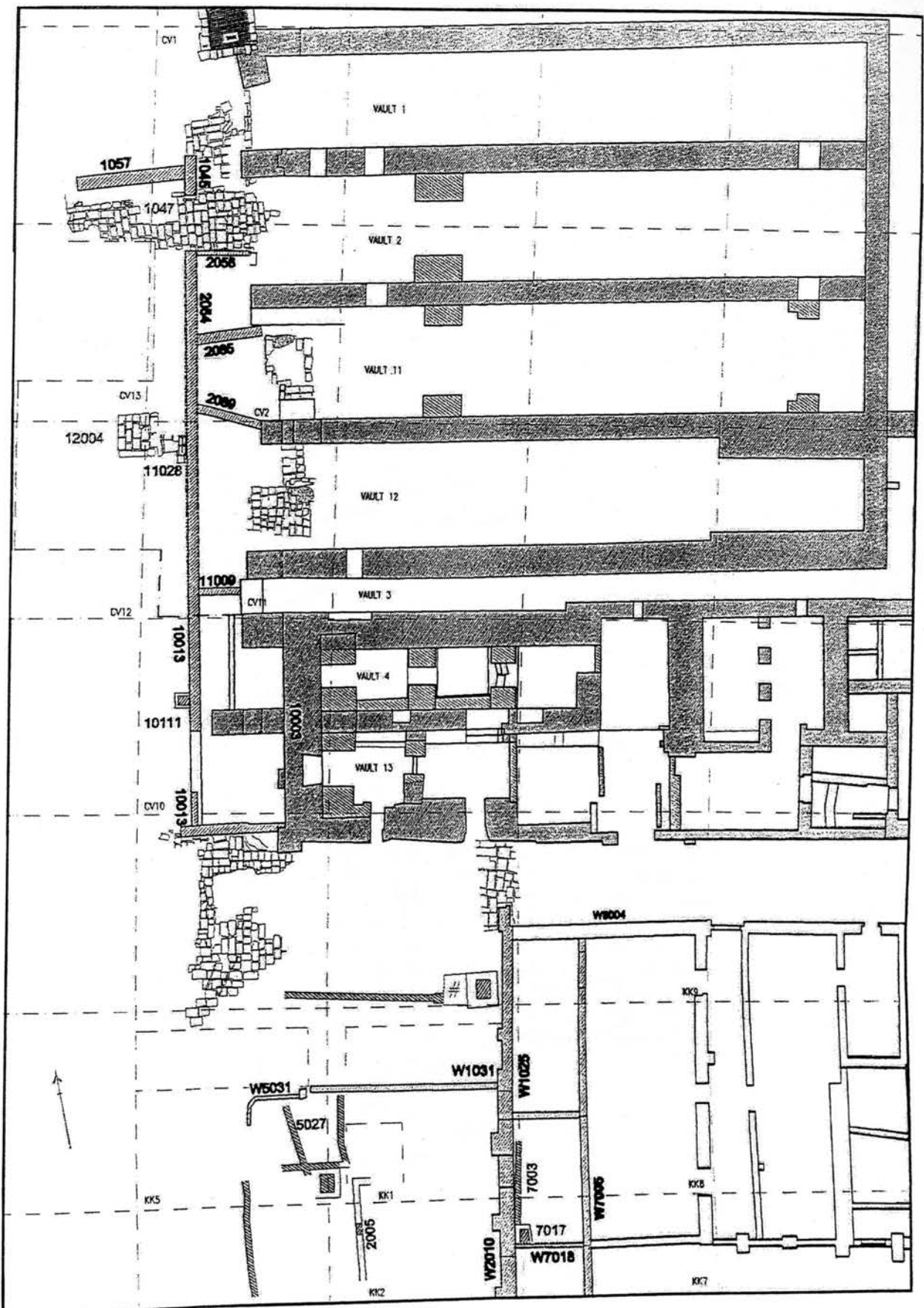


Figure 2. Garden Areas.

leaving the archaeological record as the only means to identify and understand these features. The audience hall portion of the former governor's praetorium and the warehouses below were altered, reused, and occupied in the early Islamic period. Perhaps some of the cultivators of the gardens to the south resided here. No other residences from the early Islamic period have been identified in the southwest zone. They may have existed further to the east in unexcavated portions of the site. No distinctively Islamic ceramic types were recovered from the garden layers, leading us to believe that the gardens did not remain in use for long. Distinctive Islamic ceramic types do not appear until the early 8th century. We, therefore, believe that the gardens were abandoned before the 8th century.

A second layer of collapse was found on top of the gardens. On the west side of the first insula, portions of the former Byzantine warehouses and their second floors collapsed onto the early Islamic floors inside the vaults. Animal skeletons were found on top of the agricultural soil in several places, along with stones that had fallen from the division walls. A thick layer of wind-blown sand, in some

areas several meters thick, accumulated on top of the fields after this second collapse episode. The ceramic types found in the sand layers, again, are the same types found in the first collapse and garden layers. There were no types dating later than the late 7th century. The harbor was dredged some time in the late 8th or early 9th century and dumped on top of the sand layers accumulated over the fields, as evidenced by a thick layer of compacted sand with shells and water worn pottery. So, the fields were definitely out of use by the end of the 8th century. The absence of any identifiable Islamic ceramic types in the garden layers and the drifted sand directly above them suggests the fields were abandoned by the end of the 7th or the beginning of the 8th century. We do not fully understand why the fields, which were built with such great effort, were completely abandoned so quickly. The collapse we see above the garden soil could have been caused by an earthquake, but the debris could have been cleared and the gardens reused. Perhaps a political event, such as loss of Umayyad patronage after 750, or severe drought rendered the fields useless.

The practice of agriculture in an

urban setting was not unusual. Excavations at Pompeii revealed numerous gardens not only in private residences, but in some cases covering an entire insula. Every house had at least a kitchen garden and some of the more elaborate residences had three or four different gardens. Pompeii also had large open agricultural plots containing commercial vineyards, market vegetable gardens, orchards, and even a commercial flower establishment (Jashemski 1981: 3-4). One-third of the excavated area of Pompeii consisted of open space and food was raised on sizeable plots within the city walls. Gardens were irrigated using various methods. Water was commonly collected from the rooftops of residences and commercial establishments and stored in underground cisterns. Irrigation channels cut into the soil or laid along the edges of gardens, ensured a steady water supply to the plants (Jashemski 1979).

Agricultural manuals written in the Roman period offered planting, fertilizing, and irrigation advice. Fertile areas in Italy were cropped year round and it was not unusual to plant vegetables among the vacant spaces in orchards, olive groves, or vineyards. Most Roman farmers practiced animal husbandry along with farming to provide a sufficient supply of manure to fertilize their fields. Manure was a rich source of nitrogen, which was often depleted from the soils by many of the Roman crops. Lime, marl, wood ash, and seaweed were also added to the soil to replace nutrients. Fresh vegetables were an integral part of the Roman diet and market gardens were located both inside and outside of the city walls. Water for irrigation was best procured from springs or wells because this cut down on the number of weed seeds that often were carried in through irrigation ditches. Kitchen gardens were utilized year round and would require irrigation in the dryer summer months (White 1970).

Irrigation agriculture continued through the Byzantine period in much the same manner as the Roman system. The Islamic conquest did not disrupt the agricultural regimes of the regions conquered and in many cases, those who had farmed the land

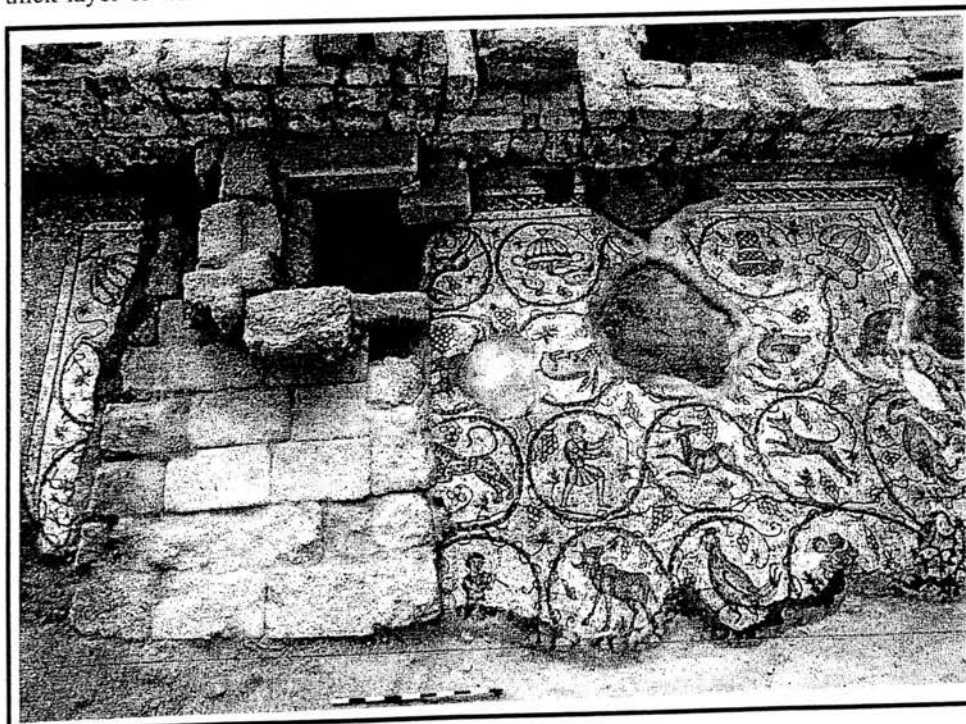


Figure 3. Early Islamic well and pavement cut through a 5th-6th century Byzantine mosaic in trench CV11.

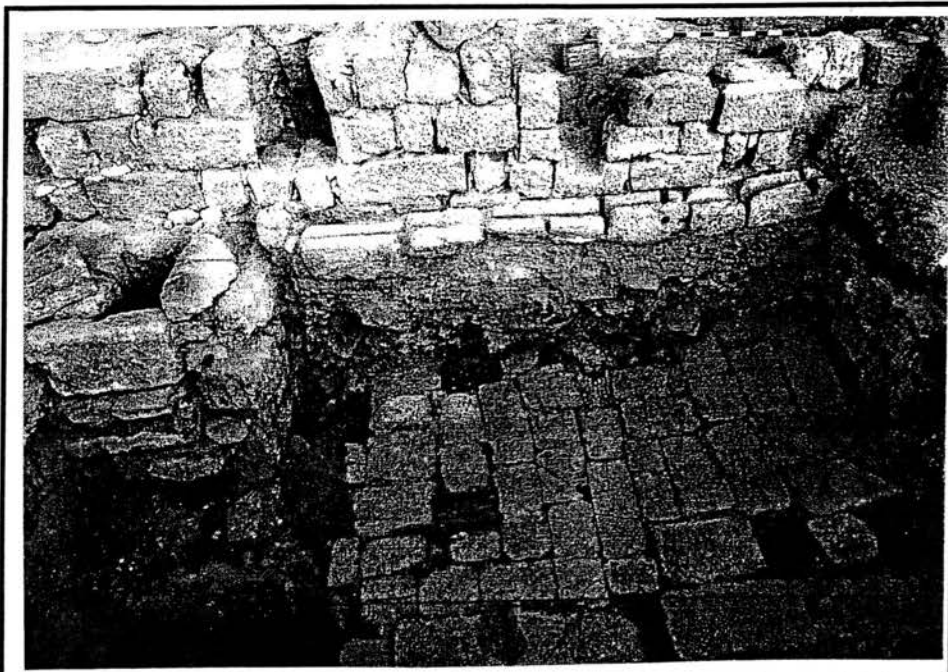


Figure 4. Early Islamic well and irrigation channel above late Byzantine warehouse floor and building collapse in trench KK7.

tural lands, providing yet another incentive to cultivate the land (Watson 1983). It is still uncertain who constructed the gardens in the southwest zone of Caesarea. Additional research needs to be done on urban sites in the Arabian peninsula to determine if Caesarea's gardens were more heavily influenced by Roman/Byzantine or Islamic agricultural methods. Most likely, elements of these two systems were combined to form a new method of agricultural production in the Levant.

Archaeological evidence in the Southwest Zone at Caesarea indicates that there was large-scale renovation of the buildings and warehouses associated with the Governor's Palace and large private mansions into the late 6th century. The entire zone appears to have been abandoned either shortly before or

before continued to cultivate their lands under Islamic rule. The major change that occurred was the introduction of new crops, primarily from sub-tropical regions, such as India and Southeast Asia, including sorghum, rice, hard wheat, sugar cane, cotton, various citrus fruits, bananas, plantains, watermelon, spinach, artichokes, and eggplant. Cultivation of these new crops in arid regions of the Middle East required a new system of irrigation. Since these crops came from semi-tropical areas and were generally summer crops, their cultivation required higher volumes of water during months when little or no rain fell. Crops were grown year round and fields were no longer left to fallow.

Previously established systems of irrigation continued to be utilized in the Islamic period, but a wider array of methods were employed over larger areas. Islamic agriculturalists additionally extended cultivation to areas not previously utilized or that had been considered marginal. Land tenure played a vital role in the establishment of early Islamic agriculture.

Smaller agricultural plots were owned by individuals, who had the right to farm, sell, or lease the land as they wished. Small market gardens and orchards were prevalent in areas around the city walls. Taxation rates were also minimal on agricul-

during the Sasanian or Muslim conquests. Some of the structures were remodeled and reused in the early Islamic period. However, many of the warehouses associated with the urban mansions were dismantled down to the latest floor levels and terraced gardens, irrigated by water drawn from

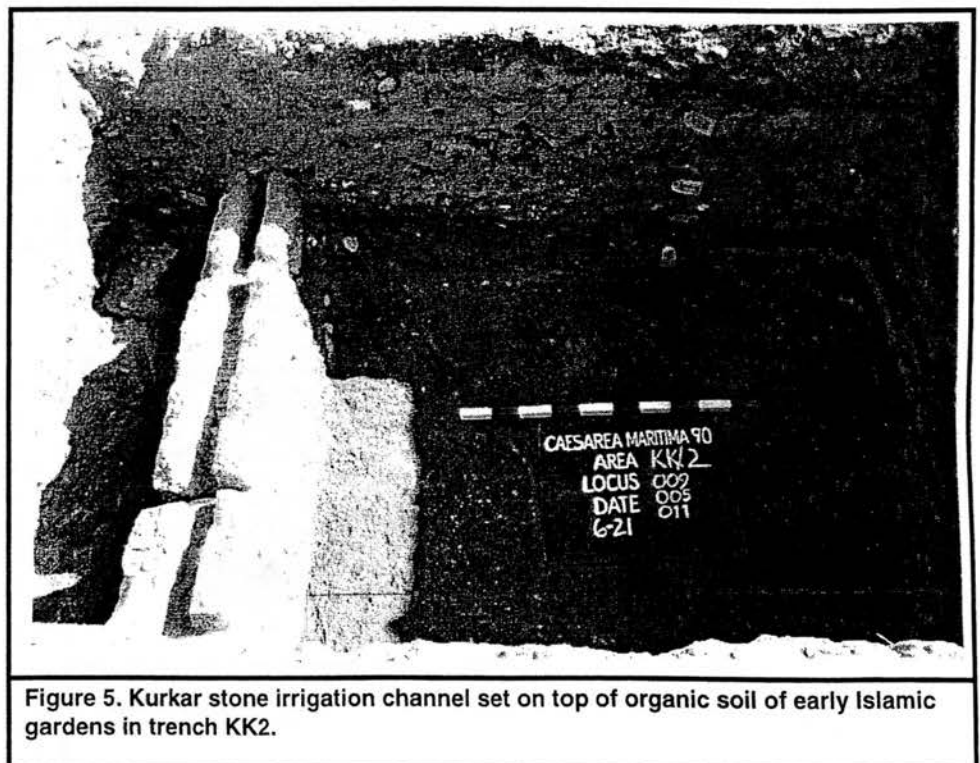


Figure 5. Kurkar stone irrigation channel set on top of organic soil of early Islamic gardens in trench KK2.

wells, were built on top of the leveled buildings. Ceramic and coin evidence suggest that the gardens could not have been built before 630 C.E. and were most likely constructed after the Muslim conquest. The gardens appear to have been abandoned before the end of the 7th century for reasons as yet unknown. Sefi Porath identified a dark soil layer associated with a pool and irrigation channel north of the Byzantine city wall in 1989 that he interpreted as an agricultural undertaking established in the Roman period and continuing in use through the Byzantine period (Porath et al 1990: 132). Like their Byzantine counterparts, the gardens in the Southwest Zone probably marked the southern extent of Islamic Caesarea. After the city was conquered by the Muslims, it contracted considerably, thus necessitating the construction of new agricultural operations closer to the center of population.

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Problems in the Study of Safavid Historiography

by Sholeh A. Quinn

The past decade and a half has witnessed the publication of numerous studies on various aspects of Islamic historiography. While many of these focus on early and medieval Arabic Islamic historical writing, scholars have also researched various aspects of Persian historiography. My own study of Safavid historiography has caused me to consider, not only what I have learned about Persian historical writing and the chronicle tradition, but what questions still remain unanswered or at least difficult to resolve.

The Safavid dynasty came into power in Iran in 1501, with the reign of a young king, Shah Isma'il, who established Twelver Shi'ism as the official state religion in a country with a Sunni majority population. The Safavid chronicles written throughout the course of the dynasty reflect the various transformations that Iran underwent during this period (to ca. 1722). After reading and analyzing those chronicles written up to and during the reign of Shah 'Abbas, (r. 995-1038/1587-1629) I reached three main conclusions about the nature of Safavid historiography. (1) Safavid chroniclers, when narrating their past, largely imitated earlier works, which they then modified in specific ways to reflect their own present considerations. (2) The prefaces or introductions (*dibachah/ muqaddimah*) of Safavid chronicles are highly structured and contain many conventional elements. (3) When narrating contemporary or near-contemporary events, chroniclers used other types of sources, as they obviously could not rely

on earlier accounts.

(1)

In order to understand the imitative nature of Safavid historical writing, one must discover the models that the chroniclers themselves were using in order to narrate their past. Sometimes the chroniclers help us in this task because they clearly state where they obtain their information. In other cases, however, they reproduce an "intermediary" source — itself an imitation of an earlier work or works — without ever naming it. In these circumstances, by focusing on very specific episodes within a given chronicle and all earlier accounts of that same episode, it was not too difficult to learn which texts a particular chronicler was using, if he did not cite his sources. This exercise also underlined the importance of isolating and distinguishing the models. Without doing this, one can mistakenly attribute not just factual details, but bias, approach, ideology, and attitude, to the wrong individual and even worse, the wrong period in time.

The results of this approach were extremely fruitful: I was able to ascertain exactly when and how Safavid chroniclers started rewriting the early history of the Safaviyya Sufi order, that is, the history of the Safavid Sufi founders, in order to make them appear as practicing Twelver Shi'is, when they were in fact Sunnis. For instance, a very early account of the death and burial of Shaykh Zahed, spiritual guide to Shaykh Safi, founder of the Safaviyya,

has him buried according to Islamic tradition. Later accounts, however, describe his burial in accordance with the practices of Twelver Shi'ism! The most significant instances of historical rewriting appear to have taken place during the reign of Shah Tahmasp (r. 930-984/1524-1576). In particular, the chronicler Amir Mahmud, who came from a famous family of Persian historians, used his father Khvandamir's chronicle, the *Habib al-siyar*, as a model to rewrite various episodes in early Safavid history for his chronicle, which he completed in 957/1550 as a continuation of his father's history. Changes such as those that Amir Mahmud made to the narrative of Safavid dynastic origins were then reproduced a generation later, during the reign of Shah 'Abbas, whose chroniclers in turn modified or reproduced those chronicles that were written during Shah Tahmasp's reign.

Although it is extremely useful to know when and how, in terms of altering the narrative, these changes were made to the chronicle tradition and the basic narrative of Safavid history, we still do not know a great deal about the circumstances under which they were made. Amir Mahmud does not tell us very much about whether or not he was actually commissioned formally to write a history, and I have no idea if he rewrote early Safavid history due to pressure being put on him from someone within the Safavid administration, the king himself, or he simply realized that he needed to do so if he wanted to survive professionally. It is also difficult to determine on what basis a particular model was chosen. In the

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case of Amir Mahmud, it makes sense that he would choose his own father's work as a model, but what about the choices that other chroniclers made? Did they rely on the most popular work? Did they choose the work that was the most easily accessible to them? How much choice did they have to begin with?

(2)

Understanding imitative writing helped me to determine that chronicle introductions/prefaces were highly conventional, in that they contain specific information in specific sequences. Much like a combination c.v., dissertation acknowledgement page, and bibliography, Safavid chroniclers thanked and praised certain individuals (usually the king), listed their previous publications, and explained why they were qualified to undertake the writing of a history. Chronicle prefaces also often contain a section on the benefits of studying history and a list of great historical works of the past. In this section, chroniclers also often describe their lack of a patron and the despair they felt while they were writing, until a sudden turn of events, usually in the form of a generous patron or the enthronement of a new king, made their situation easier.

Thus, chronicle prefaces are in fact highly conventional, and the conventions seem to have been established long before the Safavid dynasty came to power, thus indicating that Safavid historical writing is in many respects a continuation of earlier traditions of Persian historiography. But what remains unclear is the extent to which the conventional elements determine content. In other words, most Safavid chroniclers include these themes in their prefaces and when they deviated from what appears to be standard

expectations in this section, they had to explain why. Thus, Mahmud ibn Hidayat Allah Natanzi, author of the *Naqavat al-asar*, had not written any historical works before writing this chronicle, so in the structural position where he would have included this information, he substituted a list of poems that he had written. A small number of other chroniclers, however, did

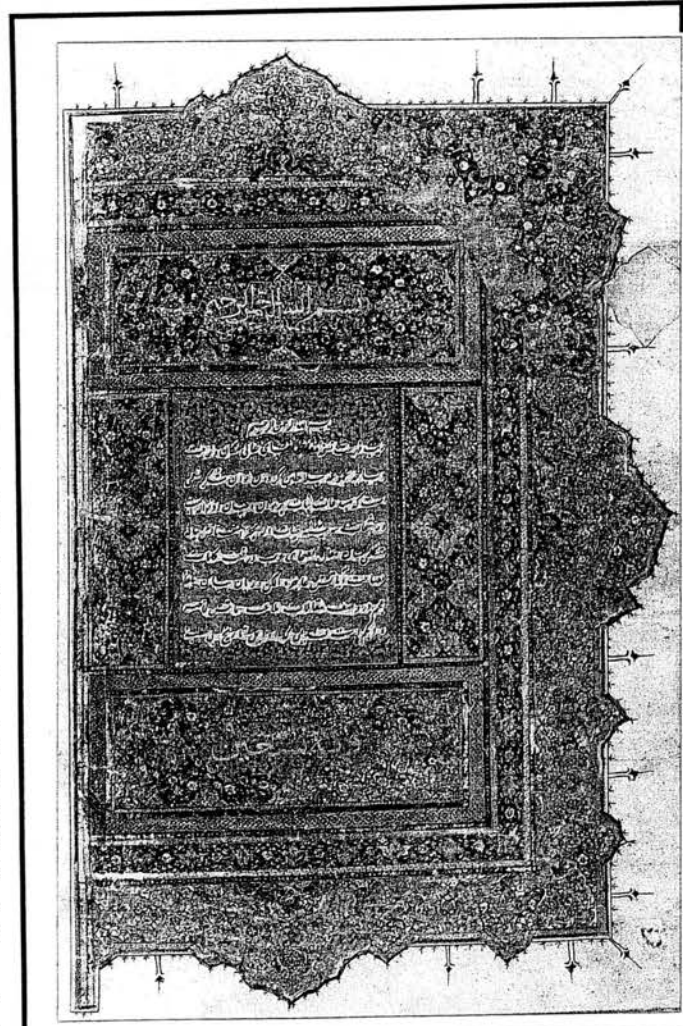
(3)

When Safavid chroniclers narrated events that took place in their own lifetime, there were obviously no earlier models for them to imitate, so they had to use other sources for their information. After carefully and closely comparing how several Safavid historians narrated the same

event, the rebellion and then execution of a Qizilbash leader named Ya'qub Khan Zhu'l Qadr, I reached the conclusion that although the general outline of the story is the same, the chroniclers were not using each other's work, nor did they seem to be dipping into the same cache of documents and materials. However, they tell us very little about how they obtained their information. Some chroniclers, we know, were constantly or often in the king's company or working for the state. For example, Iskandar Beg Munshi, author of the celebrated *Tarikh-i 'alam-ara-yi 'Abbasi*, was a secretary, or chancery scribe (hence his title *munshi*) and Jalal al-Din Munajjim Yazdi, author of the *Tarikh-i 'Abbasi*, was a royal court astrologer. As such, they were in a position to know about the king's activities and whereabouts. But aside from occasional comments about speaking with eyewitnesses to various events, neither of these two chroniclers explicitly states where or how they received their information. In some cases, these two chroniclers in particular sometimes appear to quote from documentary

sources in the form of royal court circulars, petitions, and edicts. However, due to lack of Safavid archival evidence, I have not been able to find the documentation that indicates a direct correlation between these types of sources and the narrative of the Ya'qub Khan episode.

Other chroniclers were even less forthcoming about their sources and meth-



Dibachah (preface) of a seventeenth-century Iran ms. of Mirkhvand's *Rawzat al-safa*.

not follow this pattern at all, and instead wrote something quite different from the established conventions. Is this a reflection of their background and training, or their exposure or lack of exposure to other historical works? To what extent did they feel the weight of historical practice and conventions in deviating from them?

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odology, and in some instances it has been difficult to learn very much about their backgrounds or positions in Safavid society. Part of the problems seems to be that unless a chronicler was a well-known poet, or came from an important bureaucratic or religious family, he would not be listed in the *tazkirah* (biographical) literature of the period. Even for those historians whom we know were attached to the court in some way, I have not been able to determine very clearly the relationship between (1) their position at court and the sources to which they had access and (2) their historical

writing. The chroniclers Qazi Ahmad Qumi (author of the *Khulasat al-tavarikh*), Natanzi, and Yazdi all seem to have written their chronicles on their own initiative and none of these works were officially commissioned.

Another unresolved question regarding Safavid historiography has to do with audience. For whom were these chronicles written, and for what purpose? They mostly do focus on the king and his activities, so one could presume that they were intended for the king, but were they read aloud to more public audiences? Aside

from one tantalizing detail in a traveler's account from the period of Shah Tahmasp describing how the heroic accomplishments of Shah Isma'il were read out in the public square, I have not seen any other accounts describing how chronicles were used.

Fortunately, although the questions and problems discussed here — and many more besides — remain unresolved, we certainly have enough material to address historiographical questions that the chronicles are able to answer.

The Ibadiyah in Muslim Sicily

by Leonard Chiarelli

A part of the history of the medieval Maghrib that has by passed historical study is the period of Arab rule in Sicily. Arab rule lasted from 212/827 until the Norman conquest which began in 457/1064 and ended with the capitulation of Noto in 483/1090. Muslim communities, however, remained active for another century, and not until Frederick II Hohenstauffen defeated their attempts at autonomy and completed the transfer of its leaders to Lucera in southern Italy around 644/1246, did the last vestige of their communities disappear. (1)

Not long after the Aghlabid expedition to conquer Sicily, Muslim settlers migrated to the island from North Africa and the Muslim East. The majority of the settlers to the island, however, were Berbers from Ifriqiyah (the region of modern day Tunisia and Tripolitania). Throughout the period of Muslim rule, and even during the early years of Norman rule, the inhabitants of Ifriqiyah sought refuge on the island, fleeing periods of drought and political upheavals. Arab sources indicate that Berbers first came to Sicily as warriors in the invading army of Ibn al-Furāt in 212/827. They came with their families, clans and tribes. A large part of the Berber contingent was composed of members of the Hawwārah tribe, one of the largest and most influential Berber groups in North Africa. (2) They came to the island from the region known today as Tripolitania in Libya and southern Tunisia, and not only as warriors but as settlers, following the pattern of the Berber migrations and settlement in Spain. The Hawwārah were among the staunchest followers of the Ibadite doctrine, (3) and after making an accord with the Aghlabid regime, they had a prominent role in the conquest of Sicily. Ibn Khaldūn

states that after the Hawwārah in Ifriqiyah failed in their rebellion against Aghlabid rule in 196/811, they sought the help of the leader (*imām*) of the Ibadī Rustamid state, 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn Rustam (171/788-208/824), based at Tahert. Ibn Rustam mediated an agreement between them whereby the Hawwārah became allies of the Aghlabids and assisted their army in conquering Sicily. (4) One of the leading commanders of the invasion of Sicily, Zawāwah ibn Ni'mah al-Khalaf (fl. 3rd/9th century), was a member of this tribe. (5)

After the initial invasion of 212/827, many Berbers came as settlers. (6) It seems that a steady stream of immigrants fled the famines, civil wars and religious strife that afflicted North Africa from the 4th/9th to the late 6th/12th century. The island attracted these immigrants because of its fertility, especially because its soil excelled in the production of the same crops (especially wheat, barley, olives, grapes, and figs) as those grown in North Africa. In addition, land was available for settlement, since the previous century saw an economic decline and depopulation of Sicily due to the series of plagues that had visited the island from 541 to 752. One study of these plagues speculates that they caused the major urban centers to fall into decay. (7) Another part of the attraction was that Sicily had a greater supply of water, making it less susceptible to periods of severe drought, while keeping its pasturage lush for livestock raising. (8) Historical reports mention the famines and upheavals that afflicted North Africa from 246/860 to 537/1142, (9) causing a sizeable number of the inhabitants of Ifriqiyah to flee to Sicily. (10) Arabic sources sometimes specifically mention the migration of Berbers to the island. (11) This was especially the case when a massive move-

ment took place during the great famine of 395/1004-1005, and later during the Banū Hilāl invasion of North Africa in 451/1059. (12) Even when Sicily was under Norman rule (537/1142), that is, when the island was under Norman rule, a severe famine in Ifriqiyah prompted many people to flee to the island. (13)

Under the Fatimids, the flow of colonists continued, and perhaps even increased, since the revolution that brought the new regime to power in North Africa caused Sunnis and Kharijites to seek refuge in Sicily. This was especially the case with members of the Aghlabid elite and other supporters of the old regime who left Ifriqiyah after the establishment of the Fatimids. (14)

Among the Berber tribes that settled on the island were members of the Ibadī sect. Their presence adds a new element to the study of Muslim Sicily, since the Ibadī community in North Africa, especially after the fall of the Rustamid state at Tahert, dispersed and established small semi-independent enclaves throughout North Africa and probably Sicily as well. (15) Ibadī sources state that their community prospered in Sicily, having organizational ties to North Africa, especially with the Ibadī spiritual center on the island of Jerba. (16) Although their presence on the island originated with the military expedition that conquered Sicily, it seems that Ibadī tribes settled there seeking the economic benefits that trade between North Africa and Europe and the Arab East afforded them. Besides commerce, Ibadī groups may have sought a region, as they did in North Africa, where they could live in autonomous communities freely practicing their religion. An Ibadī source states that the city of Qaṣr Yanni (Enna) was among the towns that were Ibadī strong-

holds, (17) but it seems that some of the Ibadī tribes of Tahert settled in the region of Noto, where records from the Angevin period mention a settlement called Tahartina. (18)

After the fall of the Rustamid imamate, dispersed Ibadī communities resorted to a state of secrecy (*kitmān*), whereby they could develop their own self-governing bodies independent or semi-independent of the central government's authority. (19) As in North Africa, the Ibadīyah in Sicily most likely sought independence from the provincial government at Palermo as well, and established semi-autonomous communities in various parts of the island. At the same time, however, members of this sect could hold official government positions. They may serve as military officials, qadis, teachers and in other positions as part of the official Islamic religious community, even though they secretly opposed the regime and its ruler. (20) The total silence in medieval Arabic, Greek or Latin sources, concerning events in the region of Enna and southern Sicily suggests that this region was outside the main political struggles that especially gripped Palermo and Agrigento. It is therefore possible that, as Ibadī sources suggest, this region was an Ibadī stronghold that enjoyed some autonomy and escaped political strife with the central government.

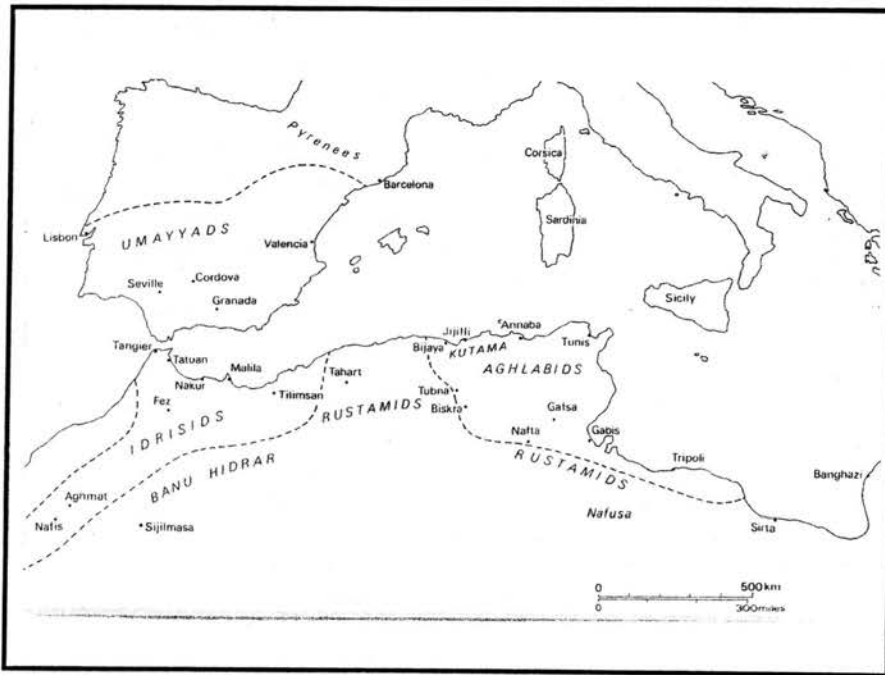
The Berbers inhabited the cities and towns on the coast as well as the interior, such as Enna. Although Berber settlement was greatest in the western part of the island, (21) they were found throughout the island, even in the capital city of Palermo, which was the Arab seat of power. The Arab traveler Ibn Ḥawqal (fl. 332/943-367/977), who visited the island in 362/972, mentions that the Berbers formed a large part of the capital's population. (22)

A study of the toponyms of towns and villages in medieval Sicily reveals a large number of Berber tribal names, among which are well-known followers of the Ibadī sect. The now extinct village of Cumia, for example, which was located near Messina (23) carried the name of the tribe Kumiyah, a branch of the Nafzāwah. (24) The medieval town of Karkud or Qarqud, (25) which may correspond to the present town of Sommatino, is most likely

which gave its name to two other communities, one in the Rif region of Morocco, and the other in the Zab region of Algeria. (35) A river in western Sicily, passing near the town of Selinunte, was called Modiuni until the seventeenth century. It is likely that the name originates with the Lawātah tribe of Madyūnah who was related to the Kumiyah, an Ibadī tribe found throughout all North Africa. (36) One of the most important Ibadite tribes in North Africa,

the Lamayah, who was also related to the Kumiyah and Madyūnah, and probably gave its name to the town of Rahl al-Mayah near Corleone and Lamia near Mineo. The tribe's center in Tripolitania was also called al-Mayah. (37)

All the tribes mentioned above are known to have professed Ibadism during the period under discussion. The names of prominent individuals appearing in 6th/12th century



named after the tribe Karkudah, a branch of the Hawwārah. (26) Near the modern town of Monreale was the village of Rahl Maghaghī, (27) a settlement surely named after the Lawātah sub-tribe of Maghāghah. (28) Until the eighteenth century there was a village near the present village of Acquaviva (near Mussomeli) called Micchinisi, (29) which seems to have derived its name from the Miknāsah tribe, a branch of the Zanātah inhabiting northern Morocco during the 4th/10th century. (30) The community of Manzil Zammur, (31) also located near Monreale, appears to have been named after its settlers, the Berber tribe Zammur. This group inhabited the region of Jabal Nafūsh (32) and was a branch of the Banū Nafūsh. (33)

On the other side of the island, some twelve miles west of Syracuse, is located the town of Mellili, probably named after the Hawwārah sub-tribe Malillah, (34)

documents also reveal the presence of Ibadī Berber tribes. The *nisbah* (adjectival name, which may be formed from a town, tribe or profession) of people such as al-Righī, al-Maklatī, al-Masallatī, and al-Misratī (38) are found along with the many Hawwāri, Zanātī, Lawātī, Nafzāwī, and Wardīnī. (39) The Righah was a tribe of central Algeria, (40) and the Maklatah, a Lawātah branch of the Nafzāwah, (41) inhabited southern Ifriqiyah. The Masallatah and the Misratah were important tribes belonging to the Hawwārah who inhabited much of Tripolitania. (42)

Among the *qā'ids* who divided up the island and established their own principalities after the loss of power of the central government at Palermo in 433/1045, the names of Ibadī tribes are present. The *qā'id* 'Abd Allāh ibn Mankūt controlled the western region including the coastal cities of Mazara, Trapani, Sciacca,

and Marsala, while Ibn Maklati held Catania and its environs. A glance at some of the names of these *qā'ids* clearly indicates that they, or their ancestors, were members of Ibadī tribes. Ibn Mankūt, also spelled Matkūt, Madkūd, Matkūd and Maskūd, due to the differences in Berber dialects (43), is the name of a tribe belonging to the Ibadī Hawwārah group of Berbers, (44) and is a name commonly used among the leaders of Ibadī communities in the Jabal Nafūsah region of Tripolitania. (45)

Ibn Maklati bore the name of a Berber tribe belonging to the Nafzāwah group, who was also related to the Hawwārah. (46) The Nafzāwah and its branches, like that of the Hawwārah, professed Ibadism, (47) and during the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries the Nafzāwah region of southern Tunisia, known as the Jarid, was an Ibadī stronghold. (48) The Maklatah was an ally of the Aghlabids and fought against Fatimid rule along with the Lawātah and the Hawwārah. (49)

The Berber tribes that settled on the island, however, were not limited to those professing Ibadism, but it appears that many, or most, were members of this sect. Other Berber tribes, such as the Kutāmah and Ṣanhājah came to the island as part of the Fatimid jund after that dynasty established their rule there. These two tribes also left place names in various parts of the island. (50) A hint of the possible impact of this Ibadī presence may be seen in tracing the activities of one of these little known Ibadī tribes, the Barqajanah. Ibn Ḥawqal reports that the inhabitants of Palermo were mostly composed of Barqajanah (Berbers) and *mawālī* (clients, i.e., indigenous converts to Islam) claiming a connection with those who conquered the island. (51) According to al-Ya'qūbi the Barqajanah was a Berber tribe who originally migrated west from the

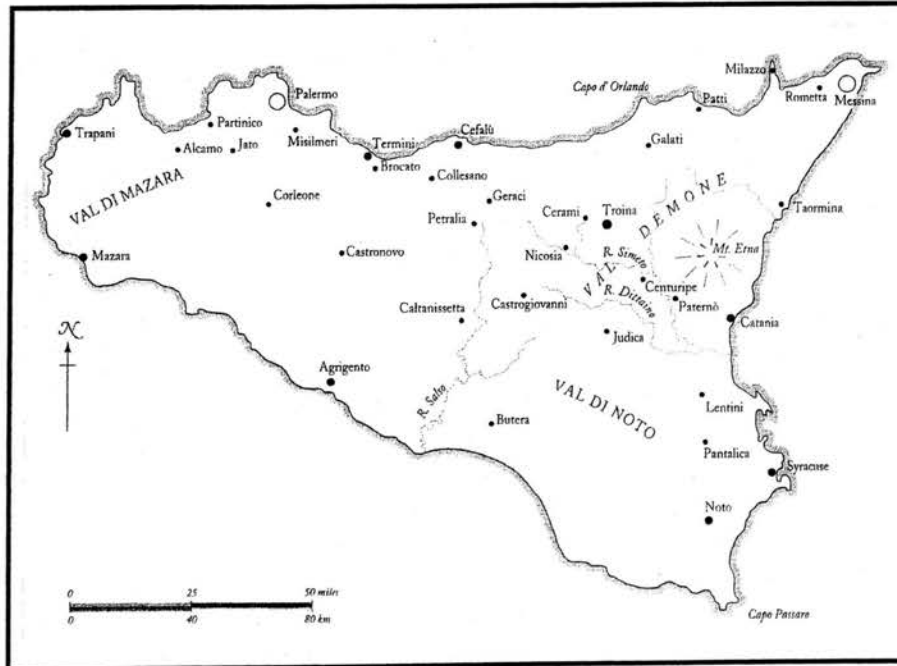
region of Barqah in Libya. During the Arab advance into North Africa they first moved to Qayrawan and then further west to Tahert and beyond. (52)

Members of the Barqajanah appear in many of the major commercial centers in North Africa, especially along the trade routes which were monopolized by Ibadī tribes. (53) In Awdaghust, they were found along with people from Ifriqiyah, Nafūsah, Lawātah, Zanātah, and

Ibadī Rustamid state, 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Rustam (d. 171/788), arrived there to build a new city of Tahert adjacent to it and established it as his capital in 144/761. (64)

It is even possible that the Barqajanah may have had a prominent place in the commerce of the new city of Tahert. (65) There is the possibility that if they had a prominent position in the commerce of Tahert, they would have moved to other trading centers after the Fatimid conquest.

Arabic sources and modern scholars conclude that the Zanātah Berbers and their factions were ardent followers of the Ibadīyah. (66) The personal name Jana (or Shanah in some sources) is associated with the Zanātah because of the tribe's belief that Janah was the founder of their tribe, thus the prominence of the name among its members. (67) It is possible, then, that the tribal name



Nafzāwah, all well-known Ibadī tribes active in the trans-Saharan gold and slave trade. (54) One of the major trade routes from west Africa to Qayrawan passed through the cities of Fez, Tahert and Tobnah, (55) suggesting that they were part of this commercial network. It seems certain that they were found at Awdaghust, Tajannah and Palermo approximately at the same time, that is, around 360/970, (56) but they are reported at Fez, Tahert and Tobna at an earlier period. (57) At the beginning of the 3rd/9th century members of the tribe are mentioned as owning part of the land that would become the Idrisid city of Fez in Morocco. (58) They were also found at Ighzar, (59) the environs of Bani Jallidisan, (60) and possibly at Warglan. (61) In the 2nd/8th century they held the fortified town of Old Tahert (Ḥiṣn li-Barqajanah) (62) also known as Qal'at Hawwārah (63) when the founder of the

Barqajanah may have originated from the tribe being a branch of the Zanātah who inhabited the region of Barqa as al-Ya'qūbi states in his *Tarikh*. (68)

The presence of the Barqajanah in the cities and towns along the major North African trade routes strongly hints that they were a player in the Ibadī trans-Saharan trade network in North Africa, therefore suggesting that they had a similar role in Sicily. Ibn Ḥawqal, for example, tells us that Palermo was mostly populated by merchants, (69) and notes that the Barqajanah comprised a large portion of that population, making it probable that they participated in that city's commercial activity. It is difficult to determine when they arrived in Sicily, but it is very possible that they migrated to Sicily after the fall of Tahert. The Ibadī trade network in Sicily may have led to political conflicts with the Fatimid authorities in Palermo, as it did in

North Africa. (70) After the Fatimids put Sicily under their control, and not long after their first revolt against the new regime's authority was challenged in a revolt that lasted from 325/937 to 329/941, another major rebellion broke out in 335/947. It was at this time that the Fatimids were aggressively moving to exert their influence over the Italian commercial city-states of Campania, which had been almost a monopoly of Sicily before the Fatimids came to power. (71) It appears from historical sources that the Fatimid government tried to circumvent Sicilian commercial relations with the Italian mainland, causing conflict with the established Sicilian Muslim elite who had gained power and influence under the Aghlabids. (72)

The Barqajana and other members of the Ibadi sect were part of an influential trade network which encompassed North Africa from Tripolitania to Morocco, and from the Mediterranean coast across to sub-Saharan Africa. (73) They linked the island to this extensive economic network which may have had widespread impact upon the island's economy. Since the Ibadi trade network was a "confessional" and tribal trade network, (74) it is highly likely that they had a prominent place in the commerce of the island, especially if we consider that Ibadi tribes had an important place in the trans-Saharan gold and slave trade, and that Sicily was a major transit point for these commodities. (75) During the period of Muslim rule the island became, together with Ifriqiyah, a hub for goods going and coming from North Africa and Europe (via the Italian commercial states such as Amalfi, Gaeta, Naples and Salerno) and from Spain to the East. (76)

The influential position of the Ibadiyah in the commercial activities of the island may have drawn them into politi-

cal conflict as well. They may have been involved in a move to forcibly unseat the Fatimid governor of the island, Ibn 'Attāf al-Azdi (329/941-337/948). (77) It is reported that in 335/947, a group of armed men, supported and led by the influential families of the Banū al-Ṭabarī, the Banū Madūd or Mazūz, and the Banū Janah, overthrew the governor. (78) The Fatimid caliph al-Manṣūr (334/946-341/953) accused them of seizing a government owned ship and its cargo. (79) Although there is no specific mention in the sources concerning the ethnic makeup of the rebels, we may conclude that some of the rebels were Berbers and a strong likelihood that they were members of the Ibadi sect. The Banū al-Ṭabarī were of Iranian origin, since this is the *nisbah* (an adjectival appellation, which may be formed from a town, tribe or profession) for someone from Ṭabaristān in northern Iran. This group was most likely part of the Khurāsānī contingent of the jund who came to Sicily during the period of Aghlabid rule. As for the Banū Madūd, it may be a copyist's error for Mazūz. There is no reference in the Arabic sources to a clan or tribe named Madūd, but Mazūz does appear in Sicily in the person of the well-known Sicilian poet of the Kalbid period, Abū Ḥafṣ 'Amr ibn Mazūz ibn Jalīl al-Lawātī (fl. 4th/11th cent.). (80) The *Tarīḥ al-Madārik* of Iyād ibn Mūsā claims that his poetry showed that he was a proud proponent of the Lawātah tribe, which was also adhering to Ibadism. (81)

As for the Banū Janah, this name is synonymous with the Zanātah, Janah being associated in traditional Berber genealogy with the founder of the Zanātah Berbers, and a name commonly used by many members of that tribal group. (82) Thus, both groups, the Banū Mazūz and the Banū Janah, appear to have been Ibadi tribes belonging to the Lawātah and the

Zanātah, tribes who shared leading positions in the Rustamid capital of Tahert. (83) The lack of historical record leaves most of the history of the Muslims in Sicily shrouded in mystery, especially details concerning the fortunes of the Ibadiyah and their impact on the island. But is interesting to note that a remnant of the Ibadiyah may have remained in Sicily, perhaps in some autonomous form, until the 13th century. Ibn Sa'id al-Maghribī (610/1214 - 685/1286) mentions in his work *'Unwān al-murqīṣāt wa al-muṭribāt* that the Sicilian poet Ibrāhīm ibn Maḥbūb (fl. 13th century) was secretary (*kātib*) to the "ṣāhib" of Sicily, Ibn Rustamī. (84) The Arab name Maḥbūb was commonly used by members of the Ibadiyah since Muḥammad ibn Maḥbūb was one of the early Ibadi theologians and traditionalists. (85)

The nisba al-Rustamī, on the other hand, which stems from the Persian name "Rustam", is in North Africa usually associated with the Ibadi dynasty and state at Tahert, (86) which lasted from 144/762 to the Fatimid conquest and expulsion of its leaders in 295/908. It was at that time that the Ibadi tribes dispersed, some going south to Warglan, and others to Jabal Nafūṣah (Tripolitania), and the islands of Jerba and Sicily. (87) Thus the name of a ruler of the Muslims in Sicily in the 13th century brings up new questions on the Ibadi presence on the island and begs for further research.

Another significant point is that until now scholars writing on Muslim Sicily have presumed that heterodoxy was not an important factor on the island. Scholars have overlooked the presence of Kharijites in Sicily, but it is imperative that we study anew the history of Islamic Sicily bearing in mind the potential ramifications of the Ibadiyah in the political, social and economic history of Sicily.

Notes:

- (1) See Julie Taylor, *Muslims in Medieval Italy: The Colony at Lucera*. (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2003).
- (2) Tadeusz Lewicki, "La répartition géographique des groupements ibadites dans l'Afrique du Nord au Moyen Age," *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 21 (1957): 321; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Hawwārah," by T. Lewicki.
- (3) 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'ibar fi ayyām al-'arab wa al-'ajam*, 14 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-Lubnānī, 1983-1986) 11: 246, 286-287; 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères et des dynasties musulmanes de l'Afrique Septentrionale*, trans. William M. de Slane. New ed. revised by Paul Casanova. 4 vols. (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1925-1926), I: 241, 276-277; Tadeusz Lewicki,

- "The Ibadites in Arabia and Africa," *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale* 13 (1971): 92-93.
- (4) Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'ibar*, 11: 286 (*Histoire des Berbères*, 1: 277).
- (5) Ibid.
- (6) Abu Ja'far Ahmad ibn Nasr al-Dawudi, "Le régime foncier en Sicile au Moyen Age (IXe et Xe siècles), "Kitab al-Amwal" d'al-Dawudi," ed. and trans. H.H. Abdul Wahab and F. Dachraoui in *Études d'Orientalisme dédiées à la mémoire de Levi-Provençal*. 2 vols. (Paris: G.P.Maisonneuve, 1967), 2: 401- 444; Abū al-Qāsim ibn Aḥmad al-Ziyānī, "al-Turjumān al-mughrib 'an duwal al-mashriq wa al-maghrib," MSS. Rabat National Library, No. D 658, folios 14 vo and 16 ro.; see also Henri Bercher, A. Courteaux and J. Mouton, "Une Abbaye Latine dans la Société Musulmane: Monreale au XIIIe siècle," *Annales* 34 (1979): 532.
- (7) Robert S. Gottfried, *The Black Death* (N.Y.: The Free Press, 1983), 11-12; André Guillou, "L'Italia Bizantina dall'invasione Longobarda alla Caduta di Ravenna," in *Longobardi e Bizantini*, ed. Paolo Delogu, et al. (Turin: UTET, 1980), 311; Gina Fasoli, "Le Città siciliane dall'istituzione del tema bizantino alla conquista normanna," *Archivio Storico Siracusano*, II (1956): 68-70.
- (8) Claudio Vita-Finzi, *The Mediterranean Valleys* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 117-120; Luna B. Leopold and Claudio Vita-Finzi, "Valley Changes in the Mediterranean and America and Their Effects on Humans," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 142 (1998), 9-16; Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb ṣūrat al-arḍ*, (Beirut: Manshūrāt Dār Maktabat al-Ḥayāt, 1979), 72-73, 85, 92-93; also in *Islam from the Prophet Muhammad to the Capture of Constantinople*, edited and translated by Bernard Lewis, 2 vols. (London: Macmillan Press, Ltd., 1974), 2: 90-91, 100.
- (9) A Samaritan source (Abu al-Fath al-Samiri al-Danafi, *The Continuation of the Samaritan Chronicle of Abu L-Fath Al-Samiri Al-Danafi*, translated and annotated by Milka Levy-Rubin (Princeton, N.J.: Darwin Press, Inc., 2002), 97) mentions that in 246/860 the famine in Ifriqiyah reached such proportions that some people resorted to cannibalism. It is very likely that this famine caused many to flee to Sicily, since this occurred soon after the Muslims established their own government in Palermo. al-Salawī ("Kitab al-istiḡsa li-akhbar duwal al-maghrib al-aḡsa," *Archives marocaines* 31(1925): 48, 49, 62-63, 65, 80) mentions famines and pestilence in 260/874, 285/898, 303/916, 307/919, 339/950 ends a period of severe drought; and locust infestation in 377/988. Ibn 'Idhārī, (*Kitāb al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, ed. G.S. Colin and É. Levi-Provençal, 4 vols. (Beirut: Dar Assakafa, 1967), 1: 12-13, 1: 116) also mentions the famine of 260/874, and also records one in 425/1033. Ibn al-Athīr, (*al-Kāmil fī al-tārīkh*, 12 vols., ed. C.J. Tornberg (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1853-1867; repr., Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, n.d.), 9:329, 494) mentions famines in 413/1022 and 432/1040. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Dabbāgh (*Ma'ālim al-imān fī ma'rifat ahl al-qayrawān*, ed. Ibrāhīm Shabbūh, 4 vols. (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, 1968), 3: 160) states that a major famine occurred in Ifriqiyah in the year 395/1004 that was so severe that the educated, the poor and the rich fled to Sicily. Ibn Abī Zar' (*Rawd al-Qirtas*, trans. Ambrosie Huici Miranda, 2 vols. (Valencia: J. Nacher, 1964), 1: 186-187, 218, 223) mentions famines in 285/898, 344/956, 381/991, and 411/1020.
- (10) Zakariyā ibn Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd al-Qazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād wa akhbār al-'ibād* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, n.d.), 215.
- (11) Abū al-Qāsim ibn Aḥmad al-Ziyānī, "al-Turjumān al-mughrib 'an duwal al-mashriq wa al-maghrib," MSS. Rabat National Library, No. D 658, folios 14 vo and 16 ro.
- (12) 'Abd al-Wahid al-Marrakushi, *History of the Almohads*, P.A. Dozy (Amsterdam: Oriental Press, 1968), 259.
- (13) Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'ibar*, 5: 433.
- (14) 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-'arab fī funūn al-adab*, 31 vols. ed. R. Nizār and A. al-Ahwānī (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyah, 1923-1992), 24: 129.
- (15) Maḥmūd Ismā'il, *al-Khawārij fī al-maghrib al-islāmī*, (Beirut: Dār al-'Awdah, 1976), 176.
- (16) For references about Ibadites in Sicily and the administrative connections with Jerba and Warglan see Abū al-Rabī' Sulaymān al-Wisyānī, "Kitāb al-Siyar," MSS. Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyah, <Photocopy> No. H9112, folio 59 ro.
- (17) *Dhikr asmā' ba'ḍ shuyūkh al-Wahbīyah*, in Aḥmad ibn Abī 'Uthmān al-Shammākhī, *Kitāb al-Siyar*, 2 vols. (Oman: Wizārat al-Turāth, 1987), 2: 226.
- (18) *Gli Atti Perduti della Cancelleria Angioina*, [Regesta Chartarum Italiae, ed. Riccardo Filangieri] ed. Carlo De Lellis, 2 vols. Volume 1, Il Regno di Carlo I, ed. Bianca Mazzoleni (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1939), I: 252.
- (19) Tadeusz Lewicki, "The Ibadites in Arabia and Africa," *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale* 13 (1971): 111; Mohamed Talbi, *L'émirat aghlabide* (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1966), 359-360.
- (20) 'Amr K. Ennami, *Studies in Ibadism (al-Ibadiya)* (Tripoli: University of Libya Faculty of Arts, 1972), 237-238.
- (21) Illuminato Peri, "Per la storia della vita cittadina e del commercio nel Medio Evo: Girgenti porto del sale e del grano," in *Studi in onore di Amintore Fanfani*. 2 vols. (Milan: A. Giuffrè, 1962), I: 570-71; al-Dawudi, "Le Regime Foncier," 436-38; Michele Amari, *Storia dei musulmani di Sicilia*, rev. ed. and annotated by Carlo A. Nallino. 3 vols. (Catania: Prampolini, 1933-1939), 2: 54.
- (22) Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, 117; *Islam from the Prophet Muhammad*, 2: 93.
- (23) Amari, *Storia*, II: 55.
- (24) Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'ibar*, 11: 231 (*Histoire des Berbères*, I: 172).
- (25) Yāqūt ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥamawī, *Marāsid al-iṭṭilā' 'alā asmā' al-amkinah wa-al-biqā'*, 3 vols. ed. 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bajjāwī (Cairo : Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-'Arabīyah 1954-1955), 3: 1160.
- (26) Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'ibar*, 11: 283 (*Histoire des Berbères*, I: 274); Lewicki, "La répartition géographique," 320-321.

- (27) Salvatore Cusa, ed. *I Diplomi Greci ed Arabi di Sicilia*, 2 vols. (Palermo: D. Lao, 1868), 183-186, 207-210.
- (28) Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'ibar*, 11: 235 (*Histoire des Berbères*, I: 232).
- (29) Ibid., I: 272; also Henri Bresc, "Féodalité coloniale en Terre d'Islam. La Sicile," *Structures Féodales et Féodalisme dans l'Occident Méditerranéenne (Xe-XIIIe Siècles)* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1980): 635.
- (30) Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'ibar*, 11: 246, 265-279 (*Histoire des Berbères*, I: 241, 259-272).
- (31) Cusa, *Diplomi Greci*, 223-224.
- (32) Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'ibar*, 11: 229, 231, 283 (*Histoire des Berbères*, I: 170, 226, 274); Tadeusz Lewicki, *Études Ibadites Nord-Africaines* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1955), 81-87; al-Shammākhī, *Kitāb al-siyar*, 2: 230.
- (33) Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'ibar*, 11: 229 (*Histoire des Berbères*, I: 226-227).
- (34) Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'ibar*, 11: 246, 282-283 (*Histoire des Berbères*, I: 179, 274-275).
- (35) M. Forstner, *Das Wegenetz des Zentralen Maghreb in Islamischer Zeit* (Weisbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1979), 86, 90, 112, 207; Amari, *Storia*, I: 55.
- (36) Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'ibar*, 11: 231, 245, 256 (*Histoire des Berbères*, I: 172, 209, 250); Amari, *Storia*, II: 54; Amico, *Dizionario*, I: 374, 576; Girolamo Caracausi, *Dizionario onomastico della Sicilia*, 2 vols. (Palermo: L'Epos Società Editrice, 1994), 1: 830.
- (37) Cusa, *Diplomi Greci*, 209; Lewicki, "Ibadites in Arabia," 94.
- (38) Cusa, *Diplomi Greci*, 506, 571, 566, 572.
- (39) Ibid., 66, 106, 132, 579, 575.
- (40) Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'ibar*, 11: 282-283 (*Histoire des Berbères*, 3: 275); Lewicki, "La répartition," 314.
- (41) Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'ibar*, 11: 231, 240-243 (*Histoire des Berbères*, I: 172, 227-230); Amari, *Storia*, II: 55.
- (42) Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'ibar*, 11: 282-283 (*Histoire des Berbères*, I: 275); Lewicki, "Répartition," 321-323.
- (43) René Basset, "Les Sanctuaires du Djebel Nefousa," *Journal Asiatique* (1899): 112.
- (44) Lewicki, "La répartition," 321.
- (45) al-Shammākhī, *Kitāb al-siyar*, 2:229; Tadeusz Lewicki, "Les noms propres Berbères employés chez les Nafusa médiévaux (VIIIe-XVle siècles)," *Folia Orientalia* 26 (1989): 81.
- (46) Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'ibar*, 11: 229-230, 235-236 (*Histoire des Berbères*, I: 220-228, 231-234).
- (47) Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'ibar*, 11: 230-231 (*Histoire des Berbères*, I: 227-228, 243).
- (48) Tadeusz Lewicki, "Quelques extraits inédits relatifs aux voyages des commerçants et des missionnaires ibadites nord-africains au pays du Soudan occidental au moyen âge," *Folia Orientalia* 2 (1960): 13.
- (49) Farhat Dachaoui, *Le Califat Fatimide au Maghreb (296- 365 H./909-975 J.C.)*, (Tunis: STD, 1981), 108.
- (50) Amari, *Storia*, 2: 54-55; Girolamo Caracausi, *Dizionario onomastico della Sicilia*, 2 vols. (Palermo: L'Epos Società Editrice, 1994), 1: 772-773; Cusa, *Diplomi Greci*, 141, 251.
- (51) Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-ard*, 118; Lewis, *Islam from the Prophet Muhammad*, 93.
- (52) Aḥmad ibn Abī Ya'qūb al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, 2 vols. (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1960), 1: 190.
- (53) Elisabeth Savage, *A Gateway to Hell: A Gateway to Paradise* (Princeton, N.J.: Darwin Press, 1997), 79.
- (54) Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī, *Description de L'Afrique Septentrionale*, rev. ed., trans. Mac Guckin de Slane (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1965), 300 (For Arabic text see Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī, *al-Mughrib fī dhikr bilād Ifriqiyah wa-al-Maghrib*, ed. Le Baron de Slane (Algiers: Imprimerie du Gouvernement, 1857; reprint edition Baghdad: al-Muthannā, 1964?), 158; *Tegdaoust I*, eds. Robert Denise, et al. (Paris: Arts et Metiers Graphiques, 1970), 140.
- (55) *Kitāb al-Istibṣār fī 'ajā'ib al-amṣār*, ed. Saad Zaghloul Abdel-Hamid (Alexandria: University of Alexandria, 1958), 172; C. Vanacker, "Géographie économique de l'Afrique du Nord selon les auteurs arabes," *Annales* 28 (1973): 659-680; M. Forstner, *Das Wegenetz des Zentralen Maghreb in Islamischer Zeit* (Weisbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1979), 44-47, 60-62, 66-68, 72-75, 77, 96, 172, 184ff.; Dachraoui, *Caliphate Fatimide*, 95; al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique*, 109; *al-Mughrib fī dhikr bilād Ifriqiyah*, 51; Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-ard*, 85.
- (56) Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-ard*, 85; al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique*, 137; al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique*, 69, 158. For a discussion on the dates of the travelers see *Tegdaoust I*, 109-115.
- (57) al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique*, 139 (*al-Mughrib fī dhikr bilād Ifriqiyah*, 67); Aḥmad ibn Abī Ya'qūb al-Ya'qūbī, *Kitāb al-Buldān* (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-turāth al-'arabī, 1988), 113; Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-ard*, 85.
- (58) Ibn Abī Zar' (*Rawḍ al-Qirṭās*, 1: 39-91, 186-187, 218, 223; Aḥmad ibn Abī Ya'qūb al-Ya'qūbī, *Kitāb al-Buldān* (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-turāth al-'arabī, 1988), 113.
- (59) A fort near the city of Ténès belonging to the Barqajanah. Ibn 'Idhārī, *Bayān*, 1: 193.
- (60) al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique*, 141 (*al-Mughrib fī dhikr bilād Ifriqiyah*, 69).
- (61) Yāqūt ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, 5 vols. (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1955-57), 5: 371. The text has Majanah, which is most likely a mistake for Barqajanah. See *Corpus of Early Arabic Sources*, eds. N. Levtzion and J.F.P. Hopkins; trans. J.F.P. Hopkins (Princeton: Markus Wiener, 2000), 175.
- (62) al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique*, 139 (*al-Mughrib fī dhikr bilād Ifriqiyah*, 66; Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān*, 1: 155.

- (63) *Kitāb al-Istibṣār fī 'ajā'ib al-amṣār*, ed. Saad Zaghloul Abdel-Hamid (Alexandria: University of Alexandria, 1958), 178.
- (64) al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique*, 139 (*al-Mughrib fī dhikr bilād Ifriqiyyah*, 66); Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān*, 1: 155.
- (65) Ibn Ṣaghīr gives the name of the tribe that controlled the sūq as '*ajim qawm min Majanah*' but Motylinski translated it into French as the tribe Marmajanah. But since Majanah and Marmajanah are the name of towns, I am not convinced that an unidentified tribe from Majanah could control the sūq of Tahert. It appears to me that there was a misreading or an orthographic mistake in the text, and the sentence should be read as '*ajim qawm Barqajanah*'. See Ibn Ṣaghīr, "Chronique d'Ibn Saghīr sur les imams Rustamides de Tahert," ed. A. De Motylinski in *Actes du XIVe Congrès International des Orientalistes* (Algiers: 1905), Arabic text, 27, French translation, 86.
- (66) Abū Zakariyā al-Wargalānī, "La Chronique d'Abu Zakariyya al-Wargalānī," *Revue Africaine* 104 (1960): 146; Michael Brett, *The Rise of the Fatimids*, (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 150; Lewicki, "The Ibadites in Arabia," 123-24; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., s.v. "al-Ibadiyya," by T. Lewicki.
- (67) Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'ibar*, 13: 4-5 (*Histoire des Berbères*, 3: 180-181); *Kitāb mafākhīr al-barbar*, ed. E. Levi-Provençal (Rabat: 1934), 49, 71-72.
- (68) See note 52.
- (69) Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, 113; Lewis, *Islam from the Prophet Muhammad*, 87.
- (70) T. Lewicki, "The role of the Sahara and Saharians in relationships between north and south," in *General History of Africa*, vol. 3: *Africa from the Seventh to the Eleventh Century*, ed. M. El Fasi (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1988), 299; I. Hrbek, "The emergence of the Fatimids," in *General History of Africa*, vol. 3: *Africa from the Seventh to the Eleventh Century*, ed. M. El Fasi, 322-324.
- (71) See Leonard C. Chiarelli, *A History of Muslim Sicily*, forthcoming.
- (72) *Ibid.*
- (73) Lewicki, "The role of the Sahara and Saharians," 276-313; Jean Devisse, "La Question d'Audagust," in *Tegdaoust I*, 25-28, 129, 139; Lewicki, "Ibadites in Arabia," 83-129.
- (74) Michael Brett, "The Arab Conquest and the Rise of Islam in North Africa," in *The Cambridge History of Africa*, vol. 2, ed. J. D. Fage. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 595.
- (75) See Leonard C. Chiarelli, *A History of Muslim Sicily*, forthcoming.
- (76) Shlomo D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*. 6 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967-1993), 1: 211-213.
- (77) *Cronica di Cambridge*, in Michele Amari, ed. and trans. *Biblioteca Arabo-Sicula*, 2 vols. (Turin: E. Loescher, 1881), 1: 289. Henceforth abbreviated to *BAS*; 'Izz al-Dīn ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil fī al-tārīkh*, 12 vols., ed. C.J. Tornberg (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1853-1867; repr., Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, n.d.), 8: 471 (*BAS* 1: 416-418); Abū 'Alī Maṣṣūr al-Judharī, *Vie de l'Ustadh Judhar*, trans. Marius Canard (Algiers: J. Carbonel, 1958), 103.
- (78) Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'ibar*, 7: 444 (*BAS* 2: 193); al-Judharī, *Vie de l'Ustadh Judhar*, 102.
- (79) al-Judharī, *Vie de l'Ustadh Judhar*, 102.
- (80) Iḥsān 'Abbās, *Mu'jam al-'ulamā' wa al-shu'arā' al-ṣiqillīyīn* (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1994), 156; 'Alī ibn Ja'far ibn al-Qaṭṭā', *al-Durrah al-khaṭīrah fī shu'arā' al-jazīrah*, ed. Bechir Baccouche (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1995), 154.
- (81) Iyād ibn Mūsā, *Tartīb al-Madārik wa taqrīb al-masālik*, 3 vols. ed. A. B. Mahmud (Beirut: Dār Maktabat al-Ḥayāt), 3: 773.
- (82) See Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'ibar*, 13: 13-23, 106, 114-120 (*Histoire des Berbères*, 3: 189-198, 285, 294-301). See also Tadeusz Lewicki, "Les noms propres Berbères employés chez les Nafusa médiévaux (VIIIe-XVIe siècles)," *Folia Orientalia* 15 (1974): 7-8.
- (83) Tadeusz Lewicki, "The Ibadites in Arabia and Africa," *Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale*, 13 (1971): 108; Ibn Ṣaghīr, "Chronique d'Ibn Saghīr sur les imams Rustamides de Tahert," ed. A. De Motylinski in *Actes du XIVe Congrès International des Orientalistes* (Algiers: 1905), Arabic text, 27, French translation, 87; *Idrīs 'Imād Dīn, Tārīkh al-khulafā' al-fāṭimīyīn bil-maghrib*, part five from the *Kitāb 'uyūn al-akhbār*, ed. Muhammad Yalaoui (Beirut: Dār al-Maghrib al-Islāmī, 1985), 319, 465; Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'ibar*, 11: 225 (*Histoire des Berbères*, I: 220).
- (84) Ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribī, *Unwān al-murqīṣāt wa al-muṭribāt*, ed. Mahdad Abdelkader (Algiers: Carbonel, 1949), 49.
- (85) 'Amr K. Ennami, *Studies in Ibadism* (Benghazi: University of Libya, Faculty of Arts, 1972), 7-8, 37, 40, 62.
- (86) Muḥammad ibn Mūsā Bābā 'Ammī, *Mu'jam a'lām al-ibādīyah*, 2 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2000), 218-219.
- (87) Ismā'il, *al-Khawārij fī al-maghrib al-islāmī*, 176.

ANNUAL MEETINGS

Organization	When and Where	Information	Telephone/Fax/Email/Web
Middle East Studies Association (2004 Meeting)	Nov. 20-23, 2004 San Francisco, CA [Paper Deadline: Past]	MESA Secretariat University of Arizona 1232 N. Cherry Ave. Tucson, AZ 85721	(520)-621-5850 mesa@ccit.arizona.edu www.mesa.arizona.edu
Middle East Studies Association (2005 Meeting)	Nov. 19-22, 2005 Washington, DC [Abstract Deadline: Feb.15, 2005]	see preceding	see preceding
Middle East Studies Association (2006 Meeting)	Nov. 17-20, 2006 Boston, MA	see preceding	see preceding
American Oriental Society (2005 Meeting)	Mar. 18-21, 2005 Philadelphia, PA	American Oriental Society Hatcher Graduate Library University of Michigan Ann Arbor, MI 48109-1205	(734)-764-7555 www.umich.edu/~aos
American Oriental Society (2006 Meeting)	Mar. 17-20, 2006 Seattle, WA	see preceding	see preceding
American Historical Association (2005 Meeting)	Jan. 6-9, 2005 Seattle, WA [Paper Deadline: Past]	American Historical Assn. 400 A Street, S. E. Washington, DC 20003	(202)-544-2422 www.historians.org
American Historical Association (2006 Meeting)	Jan. 5-8, 2006 Philadelphia, PA [Paper Deadline: Feb. 15, 2005]	see preceding	see preceding
The Medieval Institute (2005 Meeting)	May 5-8, 2005 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 (2004 Meeting)	July 22-24, 2004 London, UK	Seminar for Arabian Studies c/o Venetia Porter Dept. of Oriental Antiquities The British Museum Gt. Russell Street London WC1B 3DG, UK	Tel.: 44-207-323-8843 Fax: 44-207-323-8561 seminararab@hotmail.com www.arabianseminar.org.uk

ANNUAL MEETINGS

Organization	When and Where	Information	Telephone/Fax/Email/Web
College Art Association (2005 Meeting)	Feb. 16-19, 2005 Atlanta, GA [Proposal Deadline: Past]	Suzanne Schanzer 275 Seventh Ave. New York, NY 10001	(212)-691-1051 ext13 www.collegeart.org
International Medieval Congress (2004 Meeting) "Clash of Cultures"	July 12-15, 2004 Leeds, UK [Abstract Deadline: Past]	M. O'Doherty/J. Opmeer IMC, Parkinson 1.03 University of Leeds Leeds LS2 9JT, UK	Tel.: +44 (113) 233-3614 Fax: +44 (113) 233-3616 IMC@leeds.ac.uk www.leeds.ac.uk/imi/imc/imc.htm
International Medieval Congress (2005 Meeting) "Youth and Age"	July 11-14, 2005 Leeds, UK [Abstract Deadline: Aug. 31, 2004]	see preceding	see preceding
Dumbarton Oaks Conference (2004 Meeting) "Egypt in the Byzantine World, 450-700"	April 30-May 2, 2004 Washington, DC [Paper: Invitation only]	Dumbarton Oaks 1703 32nd St., N. W. Washington, DC 20007	(202)-339-6940 www.doaks.org
ARAM International Conference (2004 Meeting) "Palestinian Christianity"	July 6-8, 2004 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
29. Deutscher Orientalistentag (2004 Meeting)	Sep. 20-24, 2004 Halle (Saale), Germany		www.dot2004.de
American Academy of Religion (2004 Meeting)	Nov. 20-23, 2004 San Antonio, TX [Paper Deadline: Past]	American Academy of Religion 1703 Clifton Rd., Suite G-5 Atlanta, GA 30329-4019	(404)-727-7920 aar@emory.edu www.aarweb.org/annualmeet
American Academy of Religion (2005 Meeting)	Nov. 19-22, 2005 Philadelphia, PA [Abstract Deadline: Mar. 2005]	see preceding	see preceding
American Academy of Religion (2006 Meeting)	Nov. 18-21, 2006 Washington, DC [Abstract Deadline: Mar. 2006]	see preceding	see preceding

Conferences

39th International Congress on Medieval Studies

6-9 May 2004

The Thirty-Ninth International Congress on Medieval Studies in Kalamazoo took place on May 6-9, 2004, on the campus of Western Michigan University under the sponsorship of the Medieval Institute.

Some of the papers that were delivered at the Congress are:

Larry J. Simon, "Genoese and Pisan Trade and Relations with Islamic and Christian Mallorca;" Lorrel Sullivan (Univ. of Tennessee-Knoxville), "*Ibn Hazm and Aucassin et Nicolette: A Plausible Connection*;" E. Natalie Rothman (Univ. of Michigan), "Between Venice and Istanbul: Dragomans as Cultural Intermediaries, ca. 1570-1670;" Alice A. Bauer, "Letters and Chronicles: Diplomacy and the Social Climate of Ottoman-Occupied Hungary;" Gregory J. Miller (Malone College), "Escaped Turkish Slaves and the Shaping of Western Views of Islam in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance;" Johannes Pahlitzsch (Freie Univ. Berlin), "Christian and Islamic Endowments in the Second/Eighth and Third/Ninth Centuries in Comparison;" Yvonne Friedman (Bar-Ilan Univ.), "Peace Processes between Muslims and Christians in the Middle East during the Crusader Period;" David Jacoby (Hebrew Univ. of Jerusalem), "From Free Shipping to State Galleys in Venice: A Sailing to Acre in 1282;" Leonard Biallas (Quincy Univ.), "Teaching Islam through Stories: Muhammad, Husayn, Rabi'a, and Rumi;" Michael Fahy (Univ. of Michigan-Ann Arbor) and Jeff Stanzler (Univ. of Michigan-Ann Arbor), "Teaching Andalus: A Simulation-Banquet at the Alhambra;" Kate Lang (Univ. of Wisconsin-Eau Claire), "Historicizing Zeinab: Creating Context for Early Islamic History;" Sini Kangas (Helsingin Yliopisto), "The Conversion Policies of the First Crusade;" Theresa M. Vann (Hill Monastic Manuscript Library), "The Language of Reconquest and Holy War in the Iberian Peninsula;" Paul E. Chevedden (American Univ. of Sharjah), "Battling Pilgrims or Pilgrimage Warfare: The Myth of 'War Pilgrimage' as an Explanation of the Crusades;" Richard C. Taylor (Marquette Univ.), "Intentionality in Ibn Bajjah (Avempace);" Matthew S. Gordon (Miami Univ. of Ohio), "Elite Courtesans of the Early 'Abbasid Court;" Samer Mahdy Ali (Univ. of Texas-Austin), "Mourning a Blameless Mother: Guilt, Grief, and Maternal Elegy in Arabic Court Poetry;" Richard Davis (Univ. of Ohio), "Women in the *Shahnameh*: Exotics and Natives, Rebellious Legends and Dutiful Histories;" Lori Lipoma (State Univ. of West Georgia), "And in Their Absurdities Discover Spiritual Joy: Images of Women as Threshold to the Divine in the Works of Mevlana Jalal-Din Rumi;" Tamer El-Lethy (Harvard Society of Fellows), "Family, Property, and Residential Spaces in Fifteenth-Century Cairo;" Cristina González (Univ. of California-Davis), "Mapping Christianity onto the East in the *Embajada a Tamorlán*;" Rasha Ali (Univ. de Paris IV-Sorbonne), "The Sa'dian Libraries in Morocco: The Lost Library of Zaydan, the Sa'dian Sultan of Morocco;" Carrie Peffley (Marquette Univ.), "Al-Ghazali, Averroes, and Aquinas on Divine Causality and Human Agency;" Muqtedar Khan (Adrian College), "Averroes's Reconciliation of Reason and Revelation as the Basis of Modernity;" Kamran Bokhari (Howard Univ.), "Islamic Spain's Foreign Relations with the South Asian Subcontinent;" Lin Vandenberg (International Advanced Studies Institute), "The Influence of Mamluke Egyptian Embroideries on East and West European Needlecrafts;" Jessalyn Bird, "Missions to Muslims during the Fifth Crusade;" Mostafa Younesie (Tarbiat Modarres Univ.), "A Classical Conception: Relation of Language and Thought in Avicenna;" Raúl Álvarez (Michigan State Univ.), "Negando el amor abstracto: La propuesta naturalista del pensamiento de Averroes en la literatura castellana medieval;" Rahim Acar (Marmara Univ.), "Creation and God's Knowledge of Particulars in Avicenna's Thought;" Jeffrey H. Bowman (Kenyon College), "The Caliph's Touch: Hagiography and Difference in Omayyad Córdoba."

NEWS OF MEM

MEM Elects New Officers

At its annual business meeting, held November 6, 2003 in conjunction with the MESA conference in Anchorage, Alaska, MEM members elected a new President and Vice-President, to replace MEM's outgoing President, Irene Bierman, and Vice-President, Carl Petry, whose terms expired December 31, 2003. MEM's new President is Jere L. Bacharach, and the new Vice-President is Hugh N. Kennedy.

Jere L. Bacharach, Professor of Middle East History, retired in June from the University of Washington, where he had been a faculty member since 1967. In the fall he will be the Samir Shamma Fellow in Islamic Numismatics and Epigraphy at St. Cross College, Oxford University and in the winter anticipates being in Cairo. Jere has held the presidency of three professional organizations including MEM and MESA, served as treasurer of two others, interim Director, ARCE and over his career has been a member of the board of 10 academic organizations. He writes articles on Islamic numismatics, archaeology and art history and edits books, the most recent of which is *Fustat Finds* (Cairo: AUC Press, 2002).

Hugh N. Kennedy, Reader in Mediaeval History at the University of St. Andrews, Scotland, received his undergraduate and graduate education at the University of Cambridge. He has been teaching at the University of St. Andrews since 1972. He has also been the Director of the Institute for Middle Eastern Studies in the School of History and St. Andrews since its inception in 1994. He has published numerous books, amongst which: *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates, 600-1050* (London: Longman, 1986); *Muslim Spain and Portugal* (London: Longman, 1997); *Crusader Castles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001). His research interests include: early Islamic history; the economic and social history of the Near East 300-650 CE with special reference to the archaeological evidence; the military architecture of the Crusades.

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.

Fārūq 'Umar Fawzī, *al-Khilāfah al-'Abbāsiyah: 'Aṣr al-quwwah wa 'l-izdihār (al-juz' al-awwal)*; *al-Khilāfah al-'Abbāsiyah: as-suqūf wa 'l-inhiyār (al-juz' ath-thānī)* [The 'Abbasid Caliphate. Part 1: The Period of Strength and Flourishing; Part 2: The Period of Decline and Collapse] (Amman: Dār al-Shurūq, 1998).

Fārūq 'Umar ("Omar" for his English-language publications) has produced an impressive number of studies in English and Arabic since the late 1960's, nearly all of which deal with the early 'Abbasid period. The present work, which draws extensively upon his previous publications, apparently seeks to break no new ground. Rather, as indicated in a brief introduction, the book was written in response to students and colleagues seeking an overview of 'Abbasid history. For that audience, he has carried out an invaluable service. Western graduate students, working on Arabic, also would do well to read

the book.

The two volumes move carefully and in considerable detail from start to finish (that is, from the organization of the anti-Umayyad movement to the Mongol siege of Baghdad in 656/1258). They are arranged, for the most part, by caliphal reign though scattered throughout are sections devoted to specific topics (e.g. the third/ninth century Zanj revolt). The first volume opens with a consideration of the 'Abbasid dawlah before proceeding to principal developments of each caliphate, ending with that of al-Mutawakkil (d. 247/861). The volume closes with a long section (pp. 321-359) on the "foreign policy" of the 'Abbasid caliphate in the early period. Helpful as this discussion is, it largely underscores the difficulty of situating the early 'Abbasids within a larger regional framework. The second volume, divided broadly into four sections (the period of "military chaos," the Buwayhids, the Seljuqs, and the "final" period), proceeds accordingly. It is a much shorter volume, reflecting perhaps the author's taste for the earlier period.

As a textbook, then, how well does it work? Both volumes, the first in particular, bear many of the features of 'Umar's earlier publications: they are thorough, clearly argued, and evince a close knowledge of the major Arabic sources (hence, in part, the book's value to students). 'Umar provides a very serviceable picture of 'Abbasid religious and political history. It is a dated picture, though, and not simply in terms of organization (which serves its purpose and so should not be dismissed out of hand). 'Abbasid studies, while still not as vigorous a field as one would like, has gathered considerable steam over the past twenty years. None of this recent scholarship is reflected here: absent is the work of Bates, Crone, Elad, El-Hibri, (later) Daniel, (later) Kennedy, Robinson, and Zaman, among others. And, for example, 'Umar maintains a long-held position on his part on the nature and composition of the 'Abbasid movement (that it was predominantly Arab and tribal with only a secondary Iranian element). This view, as Daniel has shown ("The Ahl al-Taqaḍum

and the Problem of the Constituency of the 'Abbasid Revolution in the Merv Oasis," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 7, no. 2 [1996], 151, n. 4), has many adherents but readers of 'Umar's book will need to turn elsewhere for references to more recent, and nuanced, contributions to the debate.

- Matthew Gordon

Safr ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥawālī. *Zāhirat al-irjā' fī al-fikr al-islāmī* [The Phenomenon of *irjā'* in Islamic Thought] (Rosmalen, Netherlands: Dār al-Kalimah, 1420/1999). 528 pp.

This was originally a doctoral dissertation at the Faculty of *shari'ah* and Islamic Studies, University of Umm al-Qura, Mecca. It is primarily intended as a refutation of Murji'ism and a defence of traditional Sunnism. The author ascribes Murji'ism, defined as the doctrine that faith is separate from works, to the influence of Greek philosophy, although without actually demonstrating any connection. *Falsafah* and *kalām* are considered interchangeable and Ash'arism and Mātūrīdism condemned as Murji' and degenerate. Proper *'salaḥī* Sunnism is taken to have resisted historical change, Ibn Taymīyah to have believed just what the Companions believed. I have recently investigated the case of *tārik al-ṣalāh*, someone who consciously misses a prayer. Most schools call for capital punishment, but whereas most schools identify this as a *hadd* punishment, the early Ḥanbali school calls for it on the ground that such a one is an unbeliever, hence not to be washed, prayed over after execution, or buried with the Muslims -- apparently an extreme anti-Murji' position. Ḥawālī says nothing of the problem. Wellhausen and Van Vloten are characterized as some of the most vicious Orientalists (*akhbath*), Goldziher as a spiteful Jew (*ḥāqid*) . . . this book was simply not written for such as read *al-'Usur al-wusta*.

- Christopher Melchert

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