

The Newly-Discovered Congregational Mosque of Jarash in Jordan

by Alan Walmsley

Jarash, Roman-period Gerasa, is one of Jordan's major archaeological and tourist sites. Jarash's history is long, due to the abundant fertility of the countryside and its strategic location at crossroads leading northwest to Pella (Tabaqat Fahl), south to Philadelphia (Amman) and northeast to Bostra (Busra) and Damascus. Founded in a water-rich valley early in the Hellenistic period on the site of a pre-existing Iron Age settlement, the city was transformed under Roman hegemony by the adoption of an urban grid featuring wide paved and colonnaded streets enhanced with the construction of strategically-placed civic monuments. Included among these were two huge temples, two theatres and open public spaces, especially the famous "Oval Piazza" in front of the Zeus temple (figure 1). In the Byzantine period, with the closure of the great pagan temples, Jarash was endowed with many churches, often decorated with brilliantly colored mosaics.

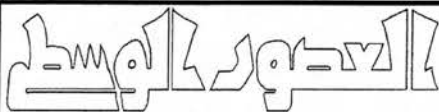
During the Islamic Conquest of Bilad al-Sham (633-640), Jarash capitulated peacefully to the Islamic forces (sulh), according to the Islamic historian al-Baladhuri (d. 892), and archaeologically the event passes unnoticed without any evidence of destruction being inflicted on the city. A high level of social and economic life continued in the following Umayyad period (660-750), although until recently a considered assessment of occupation at Jarash during this time was problematic due to the disjointed and fragmentary nature of the available evidence. Earlier work had concentrated on the major Classical and early Christian monumental tradition of the town, a strategy which had overlooked the Islamic heritage.

During the first of what is planned to be many field expeditions of the Jordanian-Danish Islamic Jarash Project, a collaborative project with the Department of Antiquities funded by the University of

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JARASH, FROM PAGE 17.

Copenhagen and The David Collection, new and important insights into the specific nature of early Islamic settlement at Jarash came to light in 2002 when a large mosque was discovered and partially excavated. The mosque was, in all likelihood, constructed under the caliph Hisham (r. 724-743) as Jarash's main congregational or Friday mosque, and continued in use for a long but ill-defined period thereafter.

That there must have been significant Islamic settlement at Jarash has been apparent for decades. Not until now has this been conclusively demonstrated, even though a broad range of source material -- historical, archaeological and numismatic -- has indicated that this should be the case. Historically, Jarash earns a brief mention in four short literary works of the ninth century, in which Jarash is listed as an administrative district (*kurah*) in the *Jund al-Urdunn* (figure 2). In the following century the respected Muslim geographer al-Maqdisi located the region he called "Jabal Jarash" in the district of al-Urdunn. He described the area as having many villages and producing honey, olives and different types of fruit, especially grapes. The identification of copper coins issued by the mint of Jarash in the 1980s marked a major step forward in the recognition of the town as a significant Islamic centre. Jarash issued coins in the same

style as the more numerous coppers of Baysan (Scythopolis), with the pre-reform types following the heavy fabric of the Justin II and Sophia Byzantine series. A post-reform issue with Arabic-only legends is also known from Jarash, but is rather rare.

Archaeologically some seventy-five years of excavations by various missions have uncovered, mostly inadvertently, significant but disjointed evidence for Islamic settlement at Jarash. Major discoveries included domestic structures built over streets and the "Oval Piazza"; numerous potters' workshops including massive industrial complexes; glassworks; two blacksmiths' shops; a large courtyard "house" and shops flanking the South Decumanus; and the continuing use of the town's churches and other buildings (figure 3). The disparate nature of these discoveries and a poor understanding of the significance of the finds has not been fully recognized. However, recent advances in the classification of ceramics and coins, the recognition of a disconnection between social change and dynastic succession, and new interpretations of the character of human settlement have prompted a reinterpretation of this material, and opened up the prospect for new work on Islamic Jarash.

Jarash's congregational mosque was first clearly identified in an old aerial photograph taken in the late

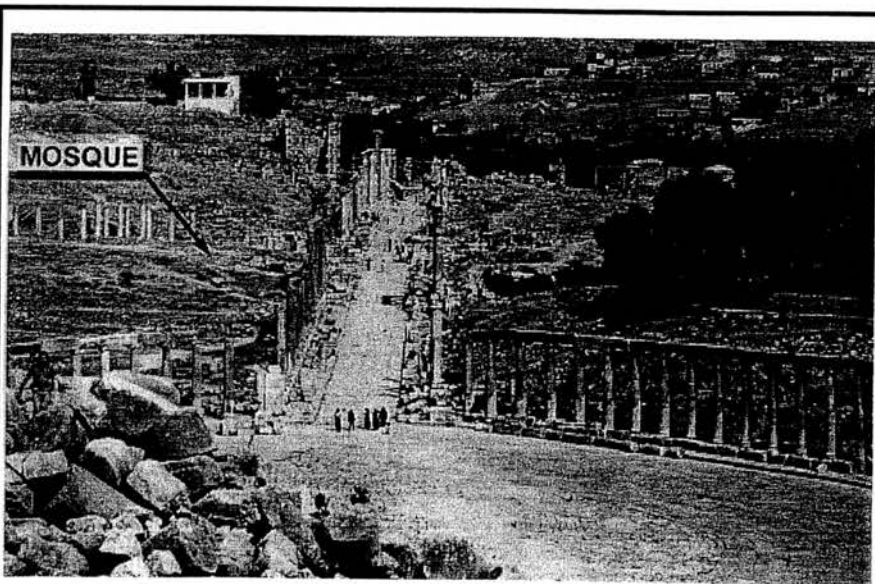


Figure 1. View of Jarash, featuring the "Oval Piazza" and main cardo (taken in 1977). The location of the mosque is arrowed.

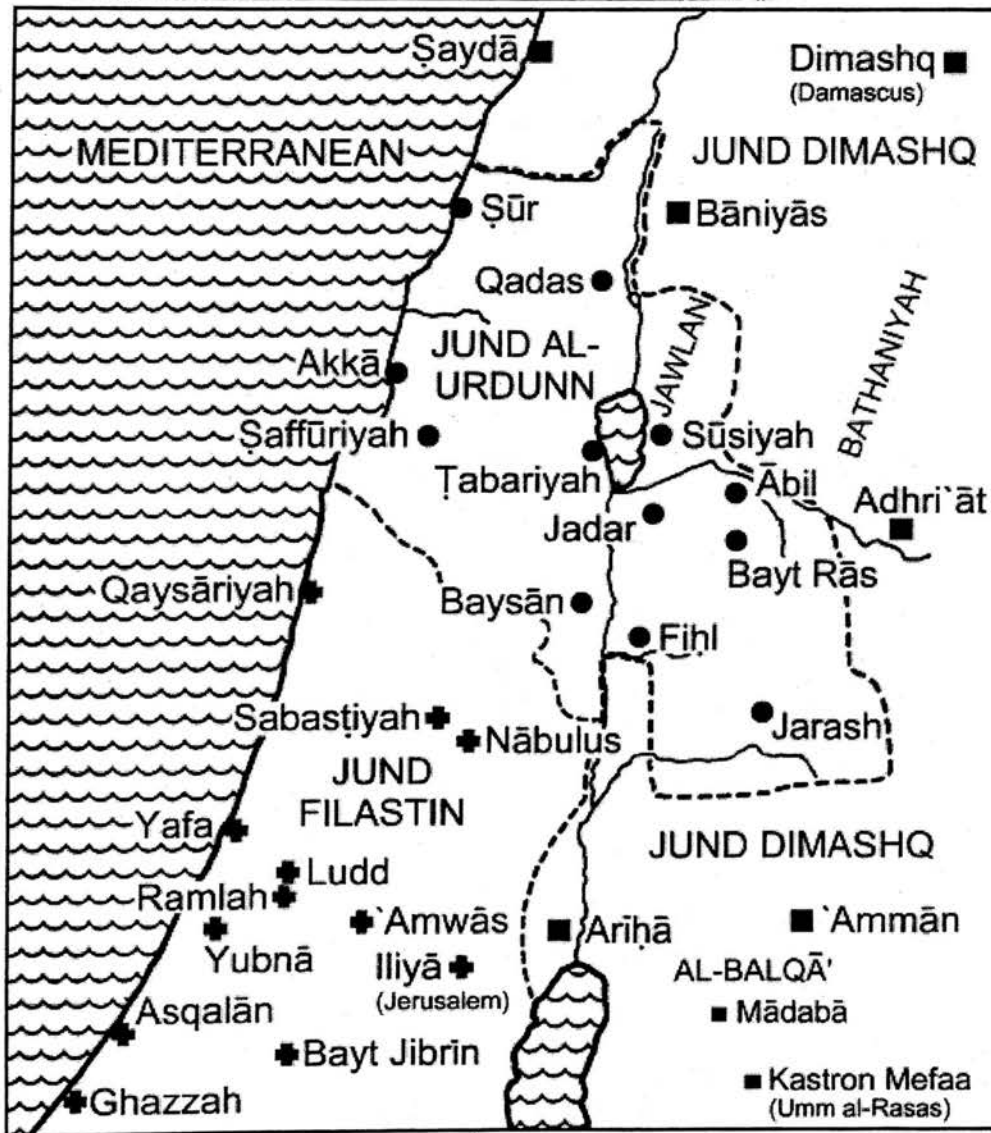


Figure 2. Map of the Jund al-Urdunn.

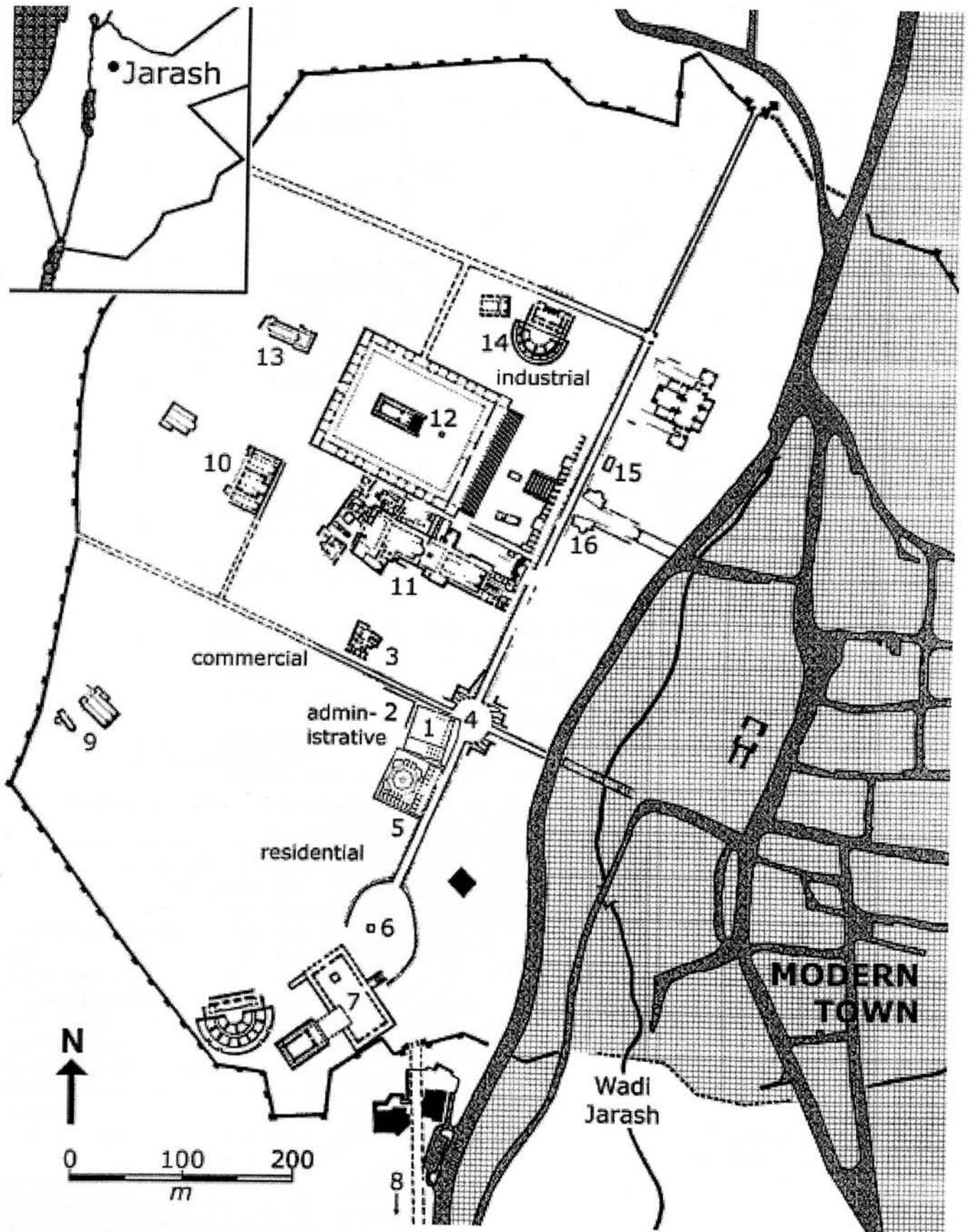
1920s. Scanning and enhancement of the original photograph early in 2002 revealed a large rectangular enclosure to the southwest of the South Tetrakonia piazza and partially impinging on it. Along the south wall a broad room could be discerned, seemingly the prayer hall of the mosque and, at the northeast corner, a tower. Additional examination of the aerial photograph revealed that the mosque was only part of a much larger Islamic urban core at Jarash. Immediately to the west of the mosque an area of ruins could be recognized, perhaps the governor's quarters. Also clearly visible were more structures along the south decumanus and up the hill, which was the main arterial route for Islamic

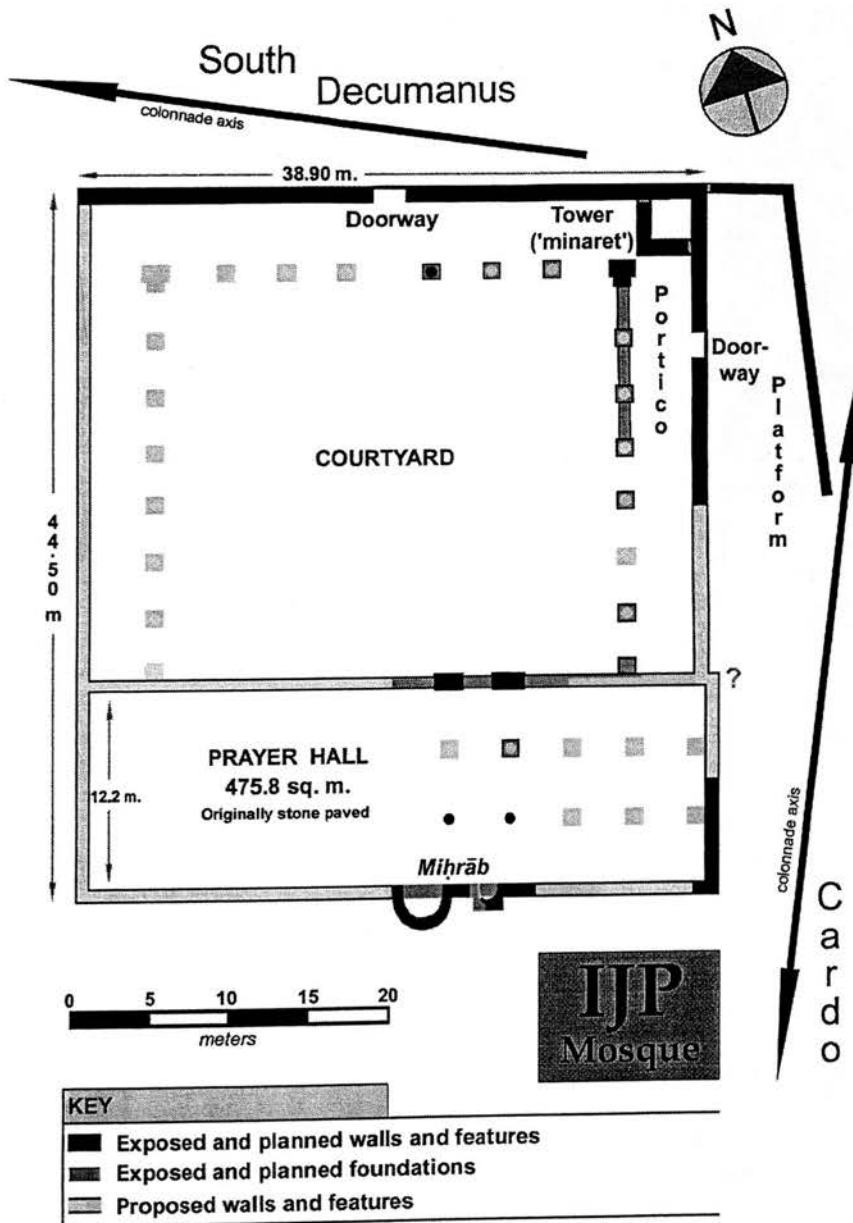
Jarash. One of these buildings was excavated in 1982-83 by a Polish mission, and appears to be part of Jarash's commercial and market center, similar to that excavated in the 1990s at Baysan (Scythopolis) and dated to the reign of Hisham by a mosaic in inscription in Arabic.

As tempting as these many structures were, the 2002 season was devoted to positively identifying the mosque, as all of the above deductions were dependent on this critical feature. The excavations, which lasted from 11 August to 12 September, sought to locate the main features of the building, especially the enclosure wall, prayer hall and -- critically if the mosque attribute was to be proven -- a

mihrab. The north and east enclosure walls had been mostly exposed by earlier work, which allowed the imposition of an excavation grid over the assumed area of the mosque. Squares were strategically located in vital areas, especially at the entrance, over the prayer hall, and at the position where a mihrab could be expected. The area around the tower, cleared by the Yale mission and partially reburied in recent times (the discovery of a "Tulip" brand tin can of Danish corned beef in the fill seemed especially appropriate), was also reinvestigated.

By the end of the season the mosque could be almost fully reconstructed on paper from visible features (figure 4). The main enclosure wall of the mosque,





built in twin-faced courses and 70 cms wide, measured 38.9 meters E-W by 44.5 meters N-S. Many of the stone blocks used in the wall had been recycled from earlier structures, the most obvious being large architrave blocks from street colonnades. Generally, no hard mortar was used, with the internal spaces of the wall being packed with red earth and small stones. However, a projecting mortar edging, decorated with incised lines in a herringbone pattern, concealed the joints between the wall stones on both the inside and outside façades. No other plastering or decoration is apparent on the extant walls.

A single, centrally placed doorway two meters in width gave access to the building through the north wall. Accordingly, the principal entry to the mosque, at least originally, was from the south decumanus of the Roman-period town, which served as the main thoroughfare of the early Islamic Jarash. Because of the necessity to orientate the mosque as much as possible towards the qiblah, the building had to be set at an angle to the original grid. The displacement of the building is particularly apparent with the north and east walls, which face out to the south decumanus and cardo respectively (figure 5). Nevertheless, even this twisting of the building's axis failed to properly align it to the qiblah. A second doorway in the east wall, as evidenced by a surviving threshold, also allowed entry into the mosque. This side entry was approached by way of a platform from the built-over cardo. Much of the detail concerning the precise arrangement of the eastern entry was lost with the Yale mission excavations. In this area at least the cardo colonnade was no longer standing.

The north and east doorways gave access to a spacious, unpaved courtyard. A single-colonnade portico 4.8 meters deep stood on three sides except the south. The courtyard measured 28.2 meters E-W and 24.6 meters N-S, the latter measurement assuming the absence of a portico in front of the prayer hall façade. In the north-east corner of the courtyard, at the junction of the north and west porticos, there once stood a 4.5-metre square tower, almost certainly an early type of minaret for the mosque (figure 6). To carry the greater weight of a tower, its internal walls were of thicker construction, about a meter instead

Figure 4. Preliminary outline plan of the Umayyad mosque of Jarash.

Figure 3 (facing page). Plan summarizing the principal urban features of Umayyad Jarash. 1: Umayyad mosque; 2: possible Islamic administrative centre; 3: market (suq); 4: South Tetrakonia piazza (built over); 5: Macellum, with Umayyad-Abbasid rebuilding, and south cardo, encroached by houses; 6: Oval Piazza domestic quarter with fountain; 7: Zeus temple forecourt (kiln, monastery?); 8: Hippodrome and Bishop Marianos church, eighth century use; 9: church of SS Peter and Paul and Mortuary Church (Umayyad construction date?); 10: churches of SS Cosmas and Damianus, St George and St John the Baptist, with Umayyad-Abbasid occupation and iconoclastic-effected mosaics (later eighth century); 11: Christian complex of two churches, mid-fifth to late sixth century baths and houses to the west, all with extensive Umayyad occupation; 12: Artemis compound used for ceramic manufacture; 13: Synagogue church with iconoclastic-effected mosaics; 14: North Theatre, also industrialized with kilns; 15: the 1981 "mosque"; 16: central cardo with blacksmith's shop and offices.

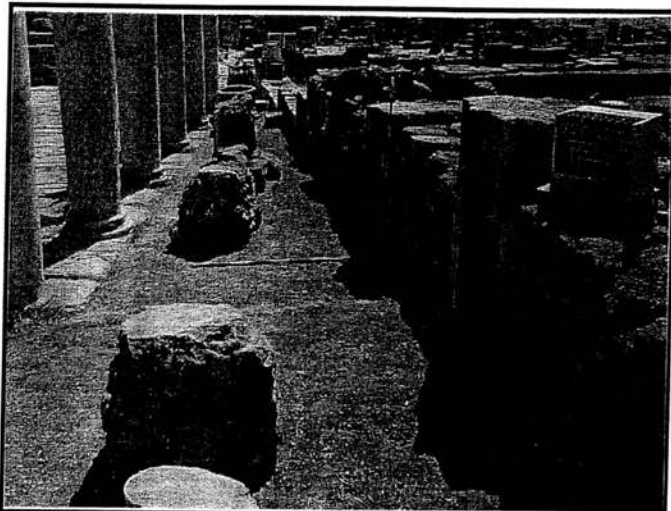


Figure 5. View eastwards along the south decumanus walkway, showing the displacement of the mosque north wall (right). Note the blocked doorway at the scale. The columns to the left were re-erected in the recent past.

of the standard 70 cm of the enclosure wall, and were built on foundations that stepped out a further 10 cms on each side. The tower could be entered from the east portico through a small doorway in its south wall. Any internal arrangements are lost, but the space within the tower is limited (2.4 meters square) indicating, perhaps, that a ladder was used to ascend the tower.

On the south side of the courtyard was the central feature of the mosque: a 13.8 meter-deep prayer hall. In the centre of the qiblah wall the excavations uncovered unequivocal evidence of two mihrabs (figure 7). Although this discovery proved beyond doubt that the building was a mosque, the presence of two mihrabs came

blocked leaving only a narrow doorway. Probably at the same time a second, smaller mihrab with a diameter of 1.65 meters was inserted in the qiblah wall four meters further to the east. This mihrab had a heavy square salient that projected some 80 cms from the external surface of the qiblah wall, and was built using a different mortar.

The floor of the prayer hall was paved with stone slabs, but only a small area has survived. The paving continued into the courtyard, stopping at some point as yet unknown, but perhaps in line with the first column of the east and west porticos (about four meters out from the entrance into the prayer hall). The roof of

as something of a surprise, especially given their proximity. However, it seems certain that only one mihrab was in use at any single time. The probable original mihrab, the larger of the two with a diameter of 3.5 meters, was slightly offset to the east of the central axis of the mosque by 1.2 meters. Its rear (external) wall was circular. At some later stage, that mihrab was partially

the prayer hall rested on two rows of columns running parallel with the qiblah wall. Matching the column positions at the entry point into the prayer hall from the courtyard was a line of stone piers, rather than columns. No evidence for a portico in front of the prayer hall could be identified.

The prayer hall and the courtyard porticos were roofed with ceramic tiles. Many broken pieces of these were found during the excavations. The volume of tile fragments, and the presence of pointed capping tiles with a heavy whitish mortar on their internal surfaces, indicates that the prayer hall was covered with a triple gabled roof running parallel to the qiblah wall, similar to that over the prayer hall of the Great Mosque of Damascus. The tiles were probably carried on wooden beams, although no evidence for these has survived. As a rough calculation, for such figures are pure speculation, the prayer hall could have held between 450 and 650 worshippers and the full mosque many more. It suggests, perhaps, the presence of a sizable Muslim community at Jarash, at least at times, during the first Muslim centuries, and a town population, mostly Christians, of several thousands to match.

The construction of the mosque at the junction of Jarash's primary thoroughfares was achieved by the demolition of a bathhouse, probably of Byzantine date but in a state of decay before its end. Once the leveling of the bathhouse and the adjoining shops southwest of the tetrakonia plaza was completed, a large area of some 50 by 50 meters was created

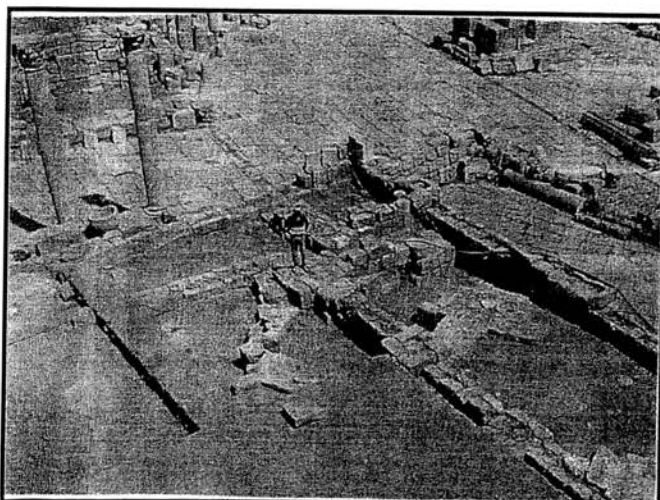


Figure 6. View of the tower base and portico foundations in the northeast quadrant of the mosque compound.

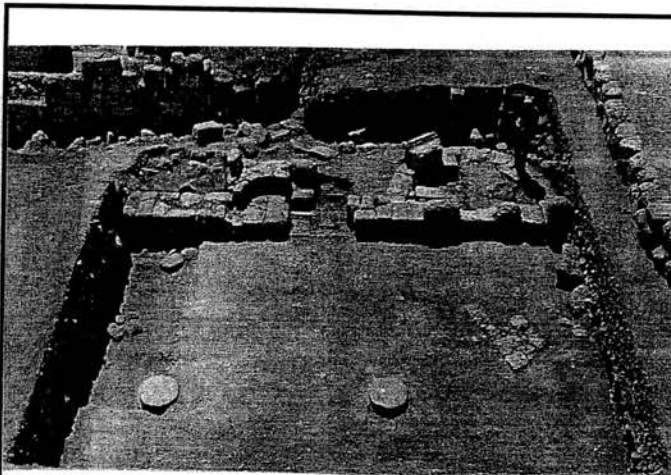


Figure 7. Detailed view of the two mihrab, showing the original large circular niche and the later and smaller mihrab to its east.

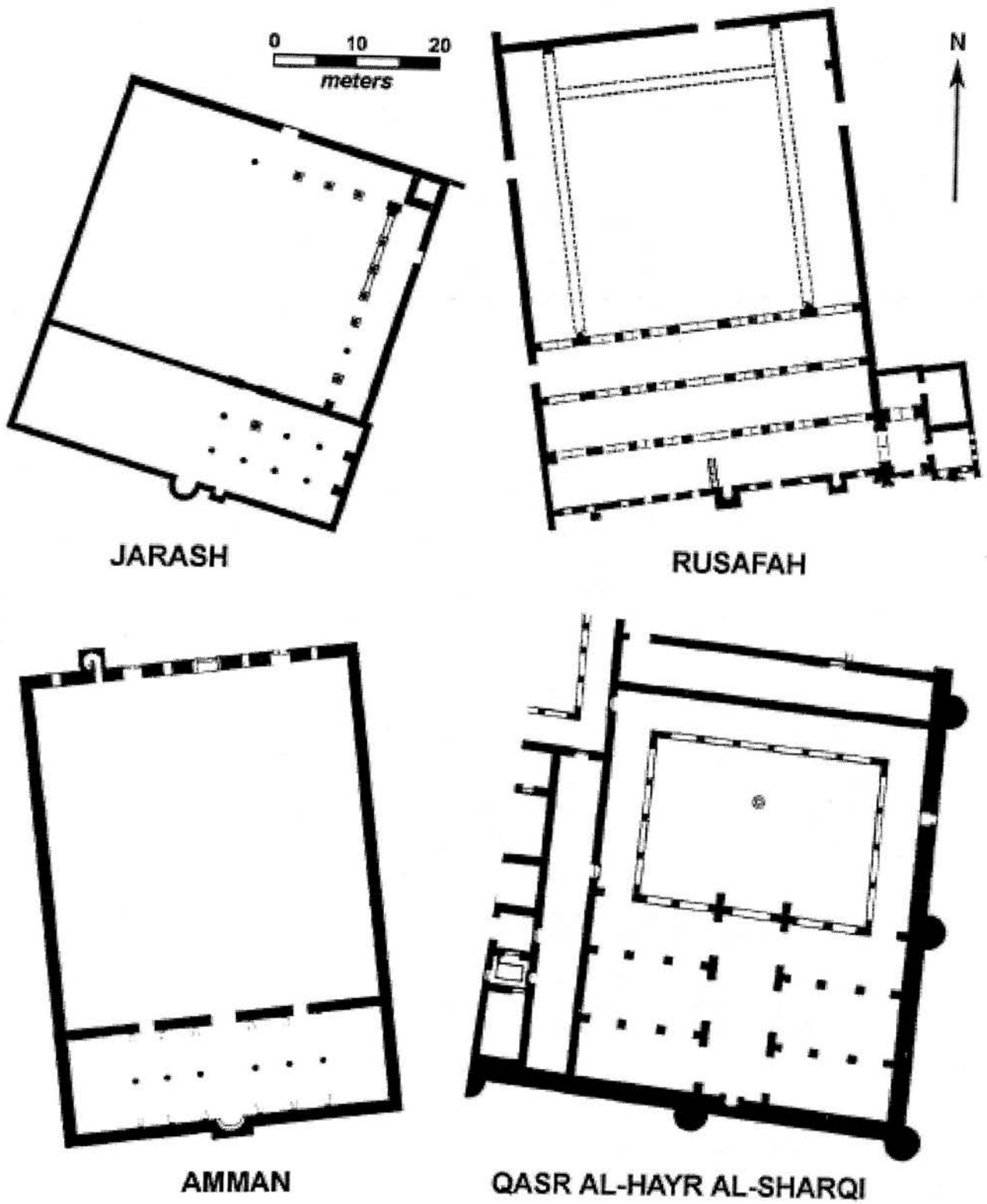


Figure 8. Comparative plans of mosques at Rusafah, Amman and Qasr al-Hayr al-Sharqi.

into which the mosque could be placed. The external enclosure wall was built first, probably beginning with the qiblah wall. Next, an earth fill was placed within the four outside walls of the mosque, which both covered up the remains of the bathhouse and shops while creating a level surface for the completion of the mosque. The tower in the northeast corner of the building and the portico arcades were added later. Neither structures exhibit the plaster edging on the masonry joins of the enclosure wall, while the inner tower walls butt the outer walls and the foundations of the porticos cut into the fill.

The Jarash mosque shared many attributes with the mosques at Rusafah, Amman (downtown) and Qasr al-Hayr al-Sharqi (figure 8), all built during the productive two decades of the caliph Hisham ibn 'Abd al-Malik (724-743). That at Rusafah is very close in style to the Jarash mosque, although 40% larger as would fit the role of Rusafah as a caliphal capital. A courtyard mosque, it originally featured single-colonnaded porticos on the north, east and west sides and a three-bay deep prayer hall, open to the courtyard and with a triple gabled roof running parallel to the qiblah wall. Proportionally the Rusafah mosque is longer than the Jarash one (at 1:1.39 or ca. 5:7 compared to 1:1.14 or ca. 7:8 for Jarash, assuming the proposed line of the Jarash west mosque wall is correct. Similarities with the downtown Amman mosque are also apparent, although at 1:1.42

(ca. 5:7) the Amman example is again appreciably longer than it is wide. Otherwise it presents much the same general plan: court, porticos and prayer hall, the latter with two lateral colonnades.

The highly visual construction of a large congregational mosque at the central crossroads of Jarash brought it into line with an established Islamic urban tradition of the Umayyad eighth century. A strategically placed mosque became one of the defining features of civic life under the Marwanid Umayyads, as most clearly seen in the new towns of 'Anjar in Lebanon and al-Ramlah in Palestine. The recent work at Jarash demonstrates that existing towns were also reconfigured on a large scale to meet new requirements. The insertion of a mosque at Jarash would have resulted in significant urban upheaval, which would have made quite clear the growing permanency of Islamic rule in the local district, more broadly in the Jund al-Urdunn and Bilad al-Sham generally.

The erection of a mosque at Jarash was only one part of a wider program of urban renewal in Bilad al-Sham initiated by the Marwanids. The new town of 'Anjar was part of that program, as was the market complex at Baysan and, on a grander scale, the 'Amman Citadel development consisting of a governor's palace, market square and mosque. At Jarash, the construction of the mosque was accompanied by the redevelopment of the south decumanus, which thereafter functioned

as the principal thoroughfare for the town. Apart from the mosque at the cardo junction, a line of other public buildings flanked the decumanus including, possibly, an administration building next to the mosque and an extensive market place (suq). Many of these buildings await full investigation, an exciting prospect for future seasons devoted to the exploration of Islamic Jarash in all its facets.

Acknowledgements:

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“Peculiarly the House of God”: Turkish Treatment and Perception of Hagia Sophia Church and Mosque

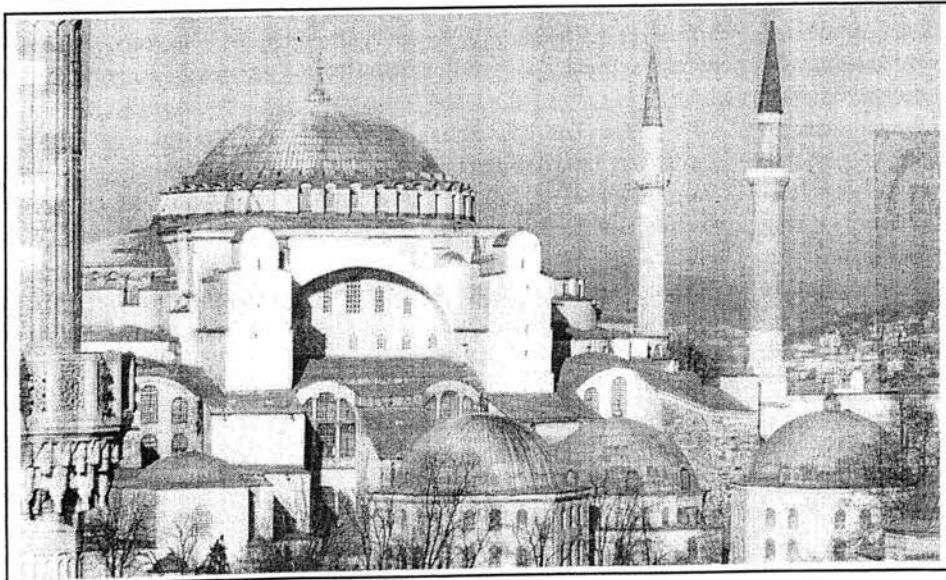
by Steven Richmond

Hagia Sophia of Constantinople and Istanbul is arguably “the most interesting building on the world’s surface.”¹ Built in only five years, 532-537 AD, it was for many centuries the largest church in the world and for over 1500 years one of the most fabled and desired buildings on the planet. For almost 900 years it was the center and chief church of the Greek Orthodox Christian world, including the setting for the coronations of the Byzantine emperors. After the fall of the Byzantine empire and Constantinople to the Turks in May 1453, Hagia Sophia was immediately converted into a mosque and remained one of the greatest glories of the Muslim world for 500 years. Before this, throughout the first half of the thirteenth century, during the so-called Fourth Crusade, it was even a Catholic church. But Hagia Sophia is more than a religious shrine. It is also a monument of art and architecture, the scene and source of political intrigue and international relations, and a fascinating mixing-point of both European and Asian cultures and civilizations. Since mixing is viewed by many historians

as the prime factor in world history,² it may be worthwhile to examine the historical importance of Hagia Sophia as an example of the intersection of European and Asian peoples and their cultures.

The renown of Hagia Sophia, which had lasted for centuries and had spanned throughout Europe and also Asia, is largely forgotten today (outside of the

commissioned to undertake a major renovation of Hagia Sophia, which lasted from 1847 to 1849. This was the first time since the Turkish conquest that the mosque had been entrusted by the Turks to a Westerner. Fossati discovered extant Byzantine mosaics underneath plaster which had been applied by the Turks some time earlier. He planned a publication of drawings of these



mosaics, but this publication was never realized.³ However, other western scholars were allowed into the building at this time, including the German architect, Wilhelm Salzenberg, who was sponsored by the King of Prussia to undertake a study.⁴ He produced a massive text which included drawings of some of the mosaics

and other artistic aspects of the building.⁵

These mosaics of Hagia Sophia are of course of great artistic value, counting among the most impressive mosaic works in the world. But they, or our understanding of them, are interesting also in another, non-artistic way. As observed by Dogan Kuban, the fact that the Turks merely covered the mosaics of Hagia Sophia, instead of destroying them, is itself signifi-

cant (for both Turkish and Greek communities). It was perhaps inevitable that over the centuries after the Turkish conquest, when the building was closed to non-Muslims, interest in Hagia Sophia waned in Europe. However, as recently as the mid-nineteenth century, the church and mosque could still exert its traditional and very old grip on the imaginations of European peoples. In the mid-nineteenth century the court architect of St. Petersburg, Russia, Gaspare Fossati, was

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cant: "If we consider that images of every sort were forbidden in Islam, and that all those figural paintings [sic] were later plastered over, his [Sultan Mehmet II's] tolerance to their existence may be interpreted as a sign of his future policy towards non-Muslim communities, which became characteristic of Mehmed II, and the general attitude of the Turks in the capital city Non-Muslims settled in Istanbul, and their churches and synagogues, and they lived, albeit with some restrictions, according to their creeds."⁶

Another point about the mosaics and their covering, made by Cyril Mango, is their rather late date. It is almost universally assumed that the mosaics of Hagia Sophia were plastered over, if not desecrated, by the Turks upon the conversion of the church into mosque in 1453. However, Cyril Mango points out that: "Strange as it may seem in the light of Muslim usage, the figural mosaics, i.e., those representing Christian personages and Byzantine emperors, were not systematically covered up as soon as Hagia Sophia was converted into a mosque in 1453. From the testimony of western travellers and a number of accurate delineations we can piece together a picture which shows beyond doubt that many mosaics remained visible not only in the galleries, but also in the nave, i.e., the space used for Muslim prayers, until after the beginning of the eighteenth century. It was probably in 1717 that they were covered up, except for the gigantic cherubim in the eastern pendentives, which do not look very much like living creatures."⁷

The fact that the Turks preserved for centuries the mosaics of Hagia Sophia, in violation of the Islamic prohibition against graven images in religious art, is a demonstration that the Turks' approach to Hagia Sophia — their treatment of it, their understanding, viewing and appreciation of it — may be more complex than we are likely to think. A consideration of the meaning of Hagia Sophia among various non-Christian peoples, such as the Muslim Turks, would be a fascinating and valuable topic for a serious, full-length study by a scholar with the requisite linguistic, cultural and historical training. Such a study is beyond the scope of this article, but as

someone resident in Istanbul I offer a few preliminary observations on this subject.

The main question is: How have the Muslim Turks treated and related to Hagia Sophia? How have they seen it? What did Hagia Sophia mean to them, including before and during the conquest of Constantinople, as well as in more recent periods, and even today? Answering this question may be complicated by the fact that there has been definite embellishment in many Turkish accounts of their relations to the building. A clear example is, according to Kuban, the actions of the Ottoman Sultan Mehmet II upon his conversion of the church into a mosque: "Whether he [Sultan Mehmet II] prayed in a church full of Christian images [when he came to Hagia Sophia for the first time, during the conquest], we don't know ... Turkish writers like to repeat that he prayed in Ayasofya, but this must be a later invention. Tursun Beg, who was with him, does not mention it"⁸ Notwithstanding such embellishment, it should still be possible to examine this issue of the Turks' historical and cultural relationship with Hagia Sophia.

The Turks' treatment of Hagia Sophia may be compared with that of another, previous conqueror. For Hagia Sophia was sacked and converted not only by Muslims, but also by Christians, the Catholic Latins of the so-called Fourth Crusade of 1204. Two western eye-witness accounts of this Latin conquest of Constantinople, the chronicles of Robert of Clari and Geoffrey de Villehardouin, give very detailed descriptions of the looting of the city and of the tremendous spoils taken from it by the Latins. Robert of Clari also makes specific mention that these conquerors "... marveled greatly at the church of Saint Sophia and at the riches which were in it."⁹ Hagia Sophia was indeed significantly despoiled of many of its treasures by the Latins of the Fourth Crusade.¹⁰

The Latin and Turkish conquests of Constantinople were directly compared by the prominent American literary scholar and historian, Herbert J. Muller. Writing with his usual irony, he observed in a marvelous essay on the meaning of Hagia

Sophia that: "... they [the Turks] did not destroy the sacrilegious mosaics [of Hagia Sophia] but merely covered them with plaster; hence it has been possible to restore them in recent years. More important, the Turks preserved St. Sophia for posterity by a thorough, skilful job of repair. For they respected the splendid capital of Eastern Christendom ... The unwholesome moral is that in spite of their initial cruelties, the terrible Turks were more civilized and humane than the Christians of the Fourth Crusade, who had captured Constantinople before them."¹¹

Muller's assessment of Turkish treatment of Hagia Sophia is confirmed, albeit indirectly, by Mango. Mango offers a hypothetical but related comparative perspective on Latin and Turkish treatment of Hagia Sophia in order to stress the Ottomans' respect for the structure: "If Hagia Sophia had been in Italy, the chances are that it would have been torn down and rebuilt, like old St. Peter's, in the Renaissance or baroque style. The Ottoman conquest ensured not only its preservation in remarkably complete form, but also its continuing maintenance and repair, since it became the chief imperial mosque, amply endowed and often visited by the sultan. Items of Christian furniture (synthronon, ambo, altar-table with ciborium, chancel-screen and any icons attached to the walls) were, of course removed and replaced by the obligatory mihrab (niche pointing towards Mecca), mimber (preacher's cathedra used in Friday prayers) and raised marble platforms for less formal instruction. Otherwise, the interior was left pretty much untouched The story of the repairs of the building in the Ottoman period has not yet been told in detail, although relevant documents do exist ..."¹²

Mango and Muller have therefore offered what may be termed a revisionist assessment of the Turks treatment of Hagia Sophia — namely, that the Turks maintained Hagia Sophia well. Proceeding on the assumption that this revision is valuable, we may thus consider the Turkish perception of the building. Why did they maintain it well? What did Hagia Sophia mean to them? How did they see it?

There are many sources available

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for studying the Turkish perception of Hagia Sophia. There are official and other sources concerning the Turkish restorations of Hagia Sophia, a source referred to by Mango. There are literary sources, such as Turkish verse devoted to the building; memoiral accounts; governmental and religious documentation; and others. One interesting and very vivid Turkish source is the memoirs of Evliye Efendi. Evliye was born in 1611 into a prominent Turkish family. His father and grandfathers had been standard-bearers to sultans. His uncle, Melek Ahmet Pasha, was a Grand Vezir to Sultan Murat IV (1623-40). Evliye participated in many campaigns and travelled extensively throughout the Ottoman Empire and even in Europe. His Seyehatname is a record of those travels and the places he visited, plus of his native "Konstantaniyyeh" or "Islambol." It is a kind of lyrical travel-guide, largely factual but also highly interpretive and even what we would call dreamy. In its significant section on "Aya Sofiyah," we may sense aspects of the Turkish perception of the building, including even in religious terms.¹³

At the time of Evliye's writing, in or after the middle of the seventeenth century, a certain number of the mosaics of Hagia Sophia were still extant. This is one of the examples, noted by Mango, of references to the mosaics which indicate that they remained uncovered by the Turks until the early part of the seventeenth century. According to Evliye, the mosaics were "wonderful paintings" and: "These figures seem even now, to a silent and reflecting observer, to be possessed of life and thought. Besides them, there are, at the four angles supporting the great cupola, four angels, no doubt the four archangels, Jebrayil (Gabriel), Mikayil (Michael), Israfil, and 'Azrayil, standing with their wings extended, each 56 cubits high. Before the birth of the Prophet, these four angels used to speak, and give notice of all dangers which threatened the empire and the city of Islambol; but since his Highness appeared, all talismans have ceased to act ..."

Evliye had obvious respect for the mosaics as "possessed of life and

thought." His perception that the mosaics had previously worked miracles, in their speaking warnings, specifically until the appearance of the Prophet, suggests that he viewed Christianity itself as having been a real or effective religion until it was supplanted by the appearance of Islam. Extrapolating for the building, perhaps the Turkish perception of Hagia Sophia is of a relic of value, somehow simultaneously both expired and effective.

According to Evliye, "Aya Sofiyah is the Ka'beh of all Fakirs, and there is no larger mosque in Islambol. It possesses all the spiritual advantages to be obtained in any other; whether it be El Aksa at Kuds (Jerusalem), or the mosque of the Ommaviyyeh (Ommiades), at Sham (Demascus) or that of El Ez-her at Misr (Cairo)." So there is no doubt that Evliye perceived Hagia Sophia still to be "spiritual."

To Evliye, Hagia Sophia was "bewitched by talismans" which worked magical powers, and he devoted space time to listing and describing them. The former imperial entrance was believed to have been: "made of planks from the ark which Noah constructed with his own hand. Over this central southern gate there is a long coffin of yellow brass, which contains the body of Ai Sof [Empress Theodora], who caused Aya Sofiyah to be built; and though many emperors have tried at different times to open this coffin, an earthquake and a horrible crash immediately heard within the mosque, have always prevented them from compassing their designs."

Evliye provided a formal list and description of seventeen more "Stations and Places in this Mosque visited as peculiarly fitted for Devotion." These related to locations in the mosque where celebrated Islamic visitors had made prayers, as well as pertain to Christian relics and activities. He began his list with a dedicational item: "First. Aya Sofiyah is, in itself, peculiarly the house of God." He then described an extant decorated depiction of Jerusalem "which is also talismanic, and cannot be touched by any body." There was "The Station of Salomon, who is said to have offered up prayer on the ground where Aya Sofiyah now stands ..." — likely a deduc-

tion of some sort from the legend of Justinian's invocation of Solomon upon his first entrance to the church, a story made up by Procopius in his *On Buildings* in order to placate the emperor. Evliye refers also to a "station of the Apostles;" to the "Sweating Column," known in Christianity as the column of St. Gregory the Miracle-Worker and still legendary for improving eyesight when the hand is worked around a hole in its side; another entrance constructed of wood from Noah's ark; "The station of Lord Jesus's cradle ... where the Christian women used to place their children when sick in order to obtain their recovery;" and "The station of the Washing Place of the Lord Jesus, where the Prophet Jesus was washed immediately after he was delivered from the womb of his mother Meryem [Mary]." I am not aware of any Christian legends about Hagia Sophia in relation to Noah's ark and Jesus's cradle and washing places, so these legends seem to have been Muslim creations. However, there were indeed many Christian legends about the talismans of Hagia Sophia. Some of these were related by Robert of Clari, especially a very colorful one relating to a tube which hung on the door of the imperial entrance and sucked illnesses out of a man when he put it to his mouth.¹⁴

It is in relation to item number ten in Evliye's list of "Stations and Places" where he made his chief expression of his perception of Hagia Sophia. Item ten is "The station of the forty ... a place where the ground is paved with forty stones of various colours, and where forty holy men stood when the extraordinary accident which happened to Gul'abi Agha took place." This "station" is still extant today and still resplendent with the colorful stones which seem to have inspired Evliye. By some accounts the stones mark the place of the coronation of the Byzantine emperors, or where the emperor's throne stood.

Gulabi was a stirrup-holder of Sultan Suleiman, "a pious man who died at the age of 151 years." Evliye relates that he had heard the story of Gulabi from the man himself. During a time of the plague in the city, Sultan Selim II called for special prayers, and the mosque of Aya Sofiya was

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filled with "all the people of Islambol," a counting of them producing the figure of "fifty-seven thousand men." During the preaching of a famous sheikh of the Beshiktash order, Gulabi, who was sitting "in the midst of the crowd" by the colorful stone decoration on the floor, suddenly "felt himself much distressed by a necessity of withdrawing. His body began to swell like the kettle-drum of Bagdad; he stood up two or three times on tip-toes to see whether there was no possibility of making his way through the multitude, but saw that a man must needs be engulfed in this ocean of men. He was ready to die of shame ..."

Poor Gulabi, seemingly stricken by that most common and innocent but unpretty of intestinal discomforts, was extremely fortunate in that: "At that moment he saw a stately man standing near him, in the dress of a Sipahi (soldier), who said to him, 'I will release thee from thy pain;' and thus saying, stretched his sleeve over Gulabi's head, who instantly found himself transported into a meadow on the bank of the stream near Kaghid-khanah [Kagithane]. His pain and distress were removed forthwith; and in a moment afterwards he was again in the same place in the mosque."

Gulabi is convinced that the soldier is actually the Prophet Khizr, and follows him out of Hagia Sophia and waits outside his home door. Thus begins a series of adventures or trials, either fantastic or terribly worldly, which take him around the city. These include witnessing a child whose head is cut off by a Janissary; a man torn "to pieces" and eaten by a lion; a child pursued by a wolf; two men hanged; two small ships appearing in water boiling in a basin, the crew of one of which was saved "but the other perished with all its crew and passengers, except a little boy and girl who escaped to the edge of the basin. The Janissary pushing the innocent boy into the water, he was drowned; but the girl he drew out of the basin." Gulabi is transported also to a tavern in Galata where he eats and drinks with a group of Janissaries. Taking a boat across the Golden Horn to his home neighborhood of Unkapani, he is accosted by two drunk Janissaries and stripped of

his clothes: "So he returned home naked, and never afterwards left his house again, having abandoned the world and given himself up to a spiritual life, in which he soon became a great man"

Evliye's colorful story of Gulabi may seem too fantastic to allow for interpretation of a perception of Hagia Sophia. However, it should be understood that the fantastic element or approach was quite natural for the milieu in which Evliye was writing. And this approach seems to have been what we could call Evliye's method or style. Furthermore, Byzantine and Western accounts of Hagia Sophia were themselves similarly laced with lyrical and fantastic elements, such as Robert of Clari's account of the illness-sucking tube-talisman. Paul the Silentiary's poem on Hagia Sophia, one of our chief main Byzantine sources on the church, written for the rededication of the third and present building of Hagia Sophia (delivered perhaps in 563), has been described by Macrides and Magdalino as less a literal "commentary" and more an artistic, lyrical expression of the author's perceived meaning of the building. And its Byzantine literary genre of architectural ekphrasis, or "rhetorical description," was generally based on a combination of the lyrical together with the literal or factual.¹⁵

Similarly, Mango has demonstrated the mythical aspects of the chief two Byzantine written accounts of the construction of the church: Procopius's *On Buildings* of the sixth century; and the anonymous *Narration Concerning Hagia Sophia or Diegesis* of the ninth century. Mango has shown that while these have some facts mixed in for effect, they both are primarily mythical accounts (including even aspects of divine intervention in the construction). Mango has further shown that the author of the *Diegesis* was not simply making up untrue accounts, but was, perhaps similarly to Paul the Silentiary, searching for lyrical bases for the hard-to-believe creation of such a magnificent structure as Hagia Sophia: "... the boundary between fact and myth is not a fixed line. Our method [today] of establishing what we regard as fact involves the sifting of evidence and the automatic rejection of

anything that is unbelievable to us. To a Byzantine of the ninth century it would have been unbelievable that Hagia Sophia was built without supernatural intervention, that its design was that of an architect ... I am sure that the author of the *Diegesis* did not deliberately set out to write a fiction. On the contrary, he wished to tell the story as it happened or rather as it must have happened An ancient text is not simply a source of hard nuggets of facts that we are free to extract from their matrix so as to build up our own 'scientific' reconstruction. It is the product of its times and possess its own logic, which we, as historians, must penetrate as far as we are able to do so."¹⁶

Taking into account the lyrical or mythical aspects of Byzantine and Western accounts of Hagia Sophia, an interpretation of Evliye's story of Gulabi is certainly possible. Just as the anonymous author of the *Narration concerning Hagia Sophia or the Diegesis* was, according to Mango, inspired to create a lyrical account worthy of what was perceived to be the fantastic sources of the creation of the building, and just as Paul the Silentiary was moved to capture in verse the spirit and features of Hagia Sophia, so was Evliye Efendi moved to look for fantastic facts (such as concerning talismans) and fantastic stories (such as about Gulabi, related by the man himself), through which he could give artistic expression to his feeling for the existence and meaning of Hagia Sophia. For him, as for the Byzantine writers described by Mango, "the boundary between fact and myth is not a fixed line."

My interpretation of Evliye's account of Gulabi is therefore as follows: It is an expression of Evliye's "wonderment" (to use Mango's term from another reference) toward Hagia Sophia. The building was for him definitely a holy place, where all of the population of the city could collect in prayer, and where a soldier such as Gulabi could be transported, by a series of events triggered by that most common of bodily ailments, into a man of the highest spiritual achievements, "a great man ..." And the holiness and beauty inside the building is contrasted in the story to the ugliness of the real-world events which

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Gulabi witnesses outside the building. For Evliye, Hagia Sophia was “peculiarly the house of God.”

Evliye Efendi was highly inspired lyrically by Hagia Sophia. Mango has shown how the Turks were highly inspired also architecturally by the church: “Having appropriated Hagia Sophia as their principal mosque, they saw it as an architectural challenge both in size and in design. The first attempt to take account of it was in the original Fatih mosque (1463-70), which collapsed in the earthquake of 1766 ...” The next Turkish attempts to incorporate or adapt the style of Hagia Sophia was the imperial mosque of Beyazit II (1505), and then “the smaller Kilic Ali Pasha mosque at Tophane (1578-80), the last being a clear imitation of Hagia Sophia.” And even in “later buildings down to the end of the classical phase of Ottoman architecture something of the spirit of Hagia Sophia survives.” Mango’s conclusion is that: “Such emulation would have been difficult to explain if the Turks had regarded Hagia Sophia as an alien entity, the temple of a hostile, if conquered religion ... Among the great buildings of the world that have been erected for the worship of God, few have the power and mystery of Hagia Sophia. The wonderment it has evoked through the ages, among both Christians and Muslims, could only have been expressed in mythical language.”¹⁷

The Turkish treatment and perception of Hagia Sophia has been one of “wonderment” and respect, as reflected in their preservation of the building itself and its mosaics, in their writings about the building, and in their architectural imitations of the church. Further research may provide more such examples in these fields and in others.

Notes:

1. W.R. Lethaby and Harold Swainson, *The Church of Sancta Sophia*

Constantinople: A Study of Byzantine Building (London and New York: Macmillan and Co., 1894), v. I will throughout here use the original Greek name, “Hagia Sophia.” Since the Turkish name, “Ayasofya,” is a direct borrowing, or perhaps even a transliteration, of the Greek name, I see no political issues at all associated with either usage.

2. William H. McNeill suggests that “con-



tacts between strangers with different cultures” may be considered as “the main drive wheel of history, because such contacts start or keep important changes going.” From his *A History of the Human Community: Prehistory to the Present* (Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1997), xv.

3. Fossati did eventually produce a large volume of drawings of views inside and outside the building: *Aya Sofia, Constantinople, as Recently Restored by*

Order of H. M. the Sultan Abdul Medjid. From the Original Drawings of Chevalier Gaspard Fossati. (London: Louis Hague, 1854).

4. Cyril Mango essay in *Hagia Sophia: A Vision for Empires*, essay Cyril Mango, photography Ahmet Artug (Istanbul: Ertug and Kocabiyik, 1997), xlviii.

5. Wilhelm Salzenberg, *Die Alt-Christliche Baudenkmale Konstantinopels von V. his XII. Jahrhundert. Auf Befehl seiner Majestat des Konigs aufgenommen und historischch erlautert von W. Salzenberg* (Berlin, 1854).

6. Dogan Kuban, *Istanbul: An Urban History. Byzantium, Constantinopolis, Istanbul* (Istanbul: The Economic and Social History Foundation of Turkey, 1996), 198-99.

7. Mango, *Hagia Sophia*, xlviii. Kuban notes that the mosaic of the Virgin Mary over the main apse “was only covered by a veil until the middle of the sixteenth century.” Dogan, *Istanbul*, 198, citing F. Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror and his Time*, ed. W. C. Hickman, trans. R. Manheim, Bollingen Series XCVI (Princeton, 1978), 106.

8. Kuban, *Istanbul*, 198.

9. Robert of Clari, *The Conquest of Constantinople*, trans., intro., notes Edgar Holmes McNeal (Toronto, Buffalo, London: Medieval Academy of America, 1996) [reprint of first edition of 1936], 105.

10. In November 1437 a large Byzantine delegation of seven hundred political and ecclesiastical leaders, including the Emperor, John VIII Palaeologos, and the Patriarch of Constantinople, Joseph II, sailed for Italy to conduct negotiations on a union of the Catholic and Orthodox churches. This is known as the Council of Ferrara-Florence. In an agreement on union, the Latins would promise to launch a crusade against the Turks, and the Byzantines would consent to Latin political and ecclesiastical demands. The agreement in actuality amounted to

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nothing (representing more than anything Byzantine desperation in the face of the invading Turks), and it was eventually renounced by both sides. On the way to Ferrara, the Byzantines first sailed to Venice. Almost immediately upon landing, they went straight to the Church of San Marco in order to view items which had been taken from Hagia Sophia by the Latins in the Fourth Crusade approximately two centuries earlier. See *Les "Memoires" de Sylvestre Syropoulos sur le Concile de Florence (1438-1439)*, trans. and ed. V. Laurent (Paris, 1971), 223-25.

11. Herbert J. Muller, "Introduction: Hagia Sophia, or the 'Holy Wisdom,'" from his *The Uses of the Past: Profiles of Former Societies* (New York: The New American Library, 1952), 21.

12. Mango, *Hagia Sophia*, L.

13. All quotations here from Evliye's *Seyehatname* are from the translation by Joseph von Hammer, *Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa in the Seventeenth Century by Evliya Efendi* (London: Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland, 1834), 56-65.

14. Robert of Clari, *The Conquest of Constantinople*, 106-07: "On the ring of the great door of the church [Hagia Sophia], which was all silver, there hung a tube, of what material no one knew; it was the size of a pipe such as shepherds play on. This tube had such a virtue as I shall tell you. When an infirm man who had some sickness in his body like the bloat, so that he was bloated in his belly, put it in his mouth, however little he put it in, when this tube took hold it sucked out all the sickness and it made the poison run out of his mouth and

it held him so fast that it made his eyes roll and turn in his head, and he could not get away until the tube had sucked all of this sickness out of him, and if a man who was not sick put it in his mouth, it would not hold him at all, much or little."

15. Ruth Macrides and Paul Magdalino, "The Architecture of Ekphrasis: Construction and Context of Paul the Silentiary's poem on Hagia Sophia," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* Vol. 12 (1988), 47-82.

16. Cyril Mango, "Byzantine Writers on the Fabric of Hagia Sophia," in *Hagia Sophia: From the Age of Justinian to the Present*, eds. Robert Mark and Ahmet S. Cakmak (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 49-50.

17. Mango, *Hagia Sophia*, LI-LII.

Conferences

Eighth International Congress of Coptic Studies

Paris, June 28 - July 3, 2004

The Eighth International Congress of Coptic Studies, organized by the International Association for Coptic Studies in collaboration with the Institut d'Art et d'Archéologie de l'Université Paris IV-Sorbonne, the Institut Catholique de Paris, and the Association francophone de Coptologie, will be held in Paris between June 28 and July 3, 2004.

All relevant information can be found on the following websites:

- <http://rmcisadu.let.uniroma1.it/~iacs/congresso.pdf>
- http://www.irht.cnrs.fr/congres_copte2004.htm
- <http://www.afcopt.com>

Conferences

2003 Heritage of Iran Conference Draws International Scholars

The Heritage of Sasanian Iran:

Dinars, Drahms and Coppers of the Late Sasanian and Early Muslim Periods

June 19-20, 2003

The American Numismatic Society hosted "The Heritage of Sasanian Iran: Dinars, Drahms and Coppers of the Late Sasanian and Early Muslim Periods" at the Society's premises at 155th and S. Broadway Ave. on June 19th and 20th. A wide range of papers were presented at the conference on the coinages of greater Iran from the 5th to 8th centuries CE in addition to a workshop on the reading of the coins' Pahlavi legends. The event was co-sponsored with The Society for Iranian Studies, The Center for Iranian Studies at Columbia University and Middle East Medievalists. More than twenty people attended from as far away as Japan, Georgia, Egypt and Poland.

Michael Alram, Vice-Director of the Coin Cabinet at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, presented the plenary lecture entitled "Ardashir and the Power of Images." His lecture discussed the typological evolution of Ardashir I's coins. This analysis gave insight into the chronological sequence of the different coin types and the organization of early Sasanian mints. It furthermore helped establish the place of Sasanian coinage amidst other contemporary currencies of the Near East, ie. the Roman system in the West and that of the Kushan Shahs in the East.

Michael L. Bates, Curator of Islamic Coins at the ANS, gave a general introductory lecture, entitled "The Coinages of Iran and Its Neighbors in the Seventh Century." The lecture traced the development of the late Sasanian coin type and its imitation in numerous succeeding coinages in Iran and adjacent regions.

Three panels followed this lecture focusing on recent numismatic finds, monetary circulation, and the inscription of monetary authority. In the first panel, Medea Tsotselia of The Janashia Georgian State Museum in Tbilisi, Georgia discussed a seal and drahms of Varhran VI in the museum's collection.

The second panel discussed monetary circulation of drahms in Iberia, eastern Europe and the Baltic. Dr. Tsotselia and Georges Depuyrot (CNRS, Centre de recherches historiques, France) presented talks on coin hoards recovered in Georgia. Marta Czerwieniec (University of Poznan, Poland) outlined the known record of Sasanian coin finds in the Baltic Sea area. Delia Moisil (National Museum of the History of Romania, Romania), commented on the role of silver in the supply of the late Roman and Byzantine wars against the Sasanian empire with reference to finds of Byzantine hexagrams.

The third panel considered the inscription of monetary authority on early Muslim drahms by both political leaders and the mint. Stuart D. Sears (ACLS/SSRC/NEH International and Area Studies Fellow) outlined the rise of Islamist absolutism in the Arabic legends on early Muslim drahms. Early Muslim rulers increasingly identified their authority in these legends with an Islamist conception of God in order to bolster their authority against the ideological challenges of their opponents. Kameya Manabu (Hokkaido University, Japan) discussed the more than a half dozen mint legends of Darabgird identifying different sub-mints among them.

Participants have been invited to submit their papers for publication in the *The American Journal of Numismatics and Iranian Studies*. The conference will meet again in 2005. Next year in June, the American Numismatic Society will sponsor "Coinage of the High Caliphate: Dinars, Dirhams and Coppers of the Umayyad and Early 'Abbasid Periods, ca. 700-950 CE." Abstracts for proposed talks and inquiries should be sent to Stuart D. Sears (sears@localnet.com) or Michael L. Bates (bates@amnumsoc.org).

-- Stuart D. Sears

Obituary

In Memoriam Ihsan Abbas

1920-2003

by Wadad al-Qadi

Professor Ihsan Abbas (Iḥsān 'Abbās) was born in the village of 'Ayn Ghazal, Palestine, on December 2, 1920. He studied first in Haifa and Acre then at the Arab College in Jerusalem, from which he received the Palestine Intermediate and the Certificate of Education in 1941. After teaching in Safad, northern Palestine, for a few years, he joined Cairo University in 1946, where he graduated with a B.A. (1949), M.A. (1951), and Ph.D. (1954) in Arabic Literature. Before graduating, in 1951, Dr. Abbas started teaching at Gordon Memorial College in Khartoum, the Sudan, and witnessed its transformation into Khartoum University College then into Khartoum University. In 1961 he left Khartoum for Beirut, Lebanon, and joined the Department of Arabic and Near Eastern Languages at American University of Beirut (A.U.B.), where he stayed until his retirement in 1986. In the years 1975-77 he was Visiting Professor at Princeton University's Department of Near Eastern Studies. After retirement, Professor Abbas lived in Amman, Jordan, and taught graduate courses at the Jordanian University until 2002. He died in Amman on July 29, 2003. He is survived by his wife, Ni'mat, his daughter, Nermin, and his two sons, Iyas and Usama.

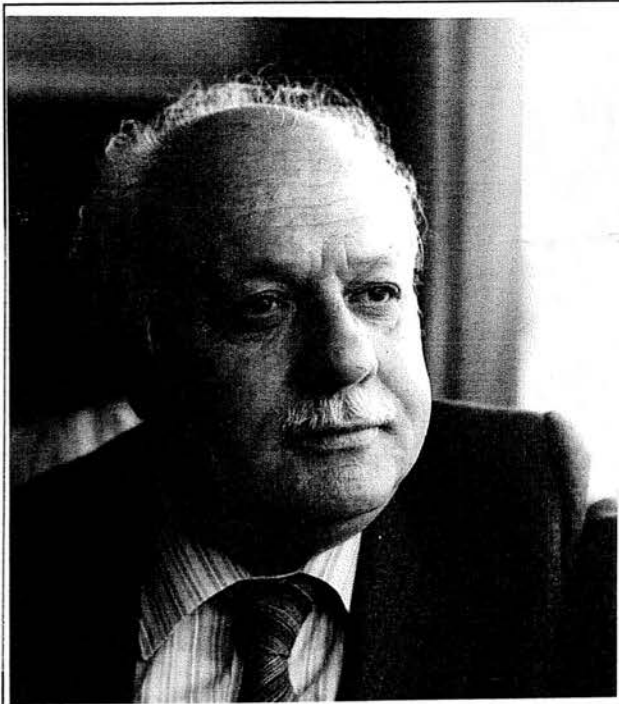
Rarely has an Arab specialist in the field of Arabic literature achieved as much international renown and recognition as Ihsan Abbas has. Among the numerous prestigious prizes which he was awarded are the King Faisal Prize for Arabic Literature (1983), and the Columbia University Prize for Translation (1993). In 1993 he was awarded an honorary doctorate in the Humanities by the University of Chicago; he was honored twice by the Lebanese government, which awarded him the Gold Medal for Education (1981) and Order of the Cedars, Knight Rank (1999); and he was granted rare honorary membership in the German Oriental Society (DMG). In 1995, the Egyptian Ministry of Culture honored him in a ceremony held at the Opera House in Cairo; he was named "Man of the Year" in Jordan for the cultural year 1998; and he was awarded the Furqan Foundation Prize for editing only a few months before his death. Two Festschriften were published in his honor: the first, on his sixtieth birthday, is entitled *Studia Arabica et Islamica* (A.U.B., 1981), and the second, on his seventieth birthday, is entitled *Fi Mihrāb al-Ma'rifa* ("In the Shrine of Knowledge;" Amman, 1990). Ihsan Abbas was also a member of the academies of Damascus, Cairo, Baghdad and Amman.

Ihsan Abbas was a unique figure in the field of Arabic and Islamic studies both in the East and the West. A quick look at his list of publications indicates that no single Arabist or Islamicist of the twentieth century has rendered the distinguished services to the field which he has, both in quality and quantity. The breadth that his works show has been unmatched; his contribution to the founding principles of the modern edited Arabic text is considered by all as seminal; his work on the Arabic literary legacy of Muslim Spain has been eye-opening; his theoretical and applied works on Arabic literary criticism, both classical and modern, have inspired hundreds of scholars; his superb translations of works of world, and particularly American, literature and thought have unquestionably set new standards for translation into Arabic; and his modest and open-minded approach to scholarship has established him as a rare model scholar, a voice calling for the cooperation between Arabs, Muslims and Western Orientalists for the uncovering of the humanistic contribution of Islamic civilization to world civilization.

The sheer number of Ihsan Abbas's works is amazing: he wrote, edited or translated more than eighty books and over one hundred articles. What is more impressive is the wide range of areas of expertise these works cover: Arabic literature, Arabic language, literary criticism, history, geography, political thought, law, science, civilization, religion, proverbs and biographies, spanning the various lands in which Islamic civilization thrived, from Spain in the West to Iran in the East. Within the area of literature, his breadth can be described as phenomenal. He dealt with both poetry and prose, and with almost all periods, from pre-Islamic times until today. He studied the influence of Greek literature and literary forms on classical Arabic literature (*Malāmiḥ yūnāniya*), analyzed the oldest Arabic translation of a middle Persian text on government (*'Ahd Ardashīr*), compiled five volumes on the history of

Medieval Islamic Syria (*Tārīkh bilād al-shām*) and wrote the first comprehensive study on the literary achievement of emigrant Arabs to North America at the beginning of the twentieth century (*al-Shi'r al-'arabī fī l-mahjar*). And the quantity has never been achieved at the expense of quality: all his work maintains a fine degree of scholarship, and is written with originality, perceptiveness, and precision.

The activity that occupied Ihsan Abbas most was editing medieval Arabic manuscripts, an activity which



'Abbas in the 1980s.

made him literally the founder of the modern Arabic school of editing texts. At the time he began editing, there were only few classical Arabic works that had been edited properly with all the necessary critical apparatus. Ihsan Abbas' major achievement in this area was to edit critically over forty of the most important works for the study of Arabic literature and Islamic civilization (several of them multi-volume), thereby making those fundamental works available to students of Islamic civilization in a reliable form: from Ibn Khallikān's *Wafayāt al-a'yān* to al-Kutubī's *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, and from Ibn Ḥamdūn's *al-Tadhkira al-ḥamdūniya* to Yāqūt's *Mu'jam al-udabā'*. In all that, he was assisted by a knowledge of Arabic that has rarely been surpassed, and by a remarkable courage to conjecture when manuscript versions offer no definitive readings of texts.

One of the areas in which Ihsan Abbas produced many editions, along with original books and articles, is that of Andalusian literature, an area in which his work was pioneering. Before him there were only a few works on the subject, in Arabic, Spanish and other languages, mainly because of the scarcity of the printed sources necessary for studying it. What Abbas did was two-fold. He edited the main diwans of the several

leading Andalusian poets, the treatises of Ibn Ḥazm, and the main voluminous encyclopedic literary compendia of Andalusia's litterateurs and historians of literature (such as Ibn Bassām's *al-Dhakhīra fī mahāsin ahl al-jazīra* and al-Maqqari's *Nafh al-ṭīb*), thus making them available to scholars and a source of renewed interest and activity in Andalusian literature and history. He also wrote a study of the Arabic literature in Sicily (*al-'Arab fī Siqillīya*) and a two-volume study on Arabic literature in Andalusia from the eighth century through the twelfth century (*Tārīkh al-adab al-andalusī*), all now classics in the field.

The other area to which Ihsan Abbas devoted a great deal of energy was literary criticism. It may not be accidental that the first book he published, while still a graduate student in 1950, was a translation of Aristotle's *Poetics* (*Kitāb fann al-shi'r li-aristū*), a book that was followed shortly thereafter by two novel books on the art of poetry (*Fann al-shi'r*) and that of the biography (*Fann al-sīra*). As in other areas, Ihsan Abbas's work here has also been inspiring for innumerable scholars in the field. This has been particularly felt in his critical works on the most outstanding "modernist" Arabic poets who were so influenced by Western figures that they were shunned by the influential traditional poets and their audiences who had been used to a very different kind of poetry. What Ihsan Abbas did was to analyze the cultural and existential bases for the tremendous transformation that took place in modern and contemporary Arabic poetry, and to indicate that the change was inevitable. He then proceeded to write a number of books that sent shock waves on the Arab intellectual and literary scene from the mid-fifties until the late eighties, in which he elucidated and unraveled the verse of these new poets. His 1978 book on the directions of contemporary Arabic poetry (*Ittijāhāt al-shi'r al-'arabī al-mu'āṣir*) has also never been superseded. A similar situation obtains with regard to his contribution to classical Arabic literary criticism. His 1971 comprehensive and thoroughly original history of classical Arab literary criticism (*Tārīkh al-naqd al-adabī 'ind al-'arab*) is still considered the standard book on the subject.

Ihsan Abbas's translations are no less distinguished than his other scholarly productions. The breadth he exhibited in other areas is found here as well. He translated several works from the English on Arabic literature and Islamic civilization (including H. A. R. Gibb's *Studies on Islamic Civilization*). However, he also translated some of

the gems of world thought and art, like Ernst Cassirer's *An Essay on Man*, in addition to works written by American authors on literary criticism. By far his most lauded and influential translation, however, remains that of Herman Melville's *Moby Dick*, a challenge, perhaps, to any translator into any language, but particularly into Arabic, which is a language with a limited nautical vocabulary. In this translation in particular, Abbas was able to create so vividly Melville's world, both internal and external, that his rendition became a model for translators of Western fiction into Arabic, few of whom, however, could come close to the standard he had set.

Always outspoken about the necessity of collaboration between serious scholars all over the world concerned with Islamic civilization, Ihsan Abbas demonstrated this in his collaboration with individuals and institutions from Arab and Western countries. This is evident from his enthusiastic support for and close collaboration with the German Institute for Oriental Research in Beirut from the sixties until shortly before his death. This partnership produced such



'Abbas in his library in Beirut.

works as the critical editions of al-Baladhuri's *Ansāb al-ashrāf* and al-Ṣafadī's *al-Wāfi bi-al-wafāyāt*.

But no statement on Ihsan Abbas is complete without mentioning a less known aspect of Ihsan Abbas, namely his deep, personal influence on his students which went far beyond their recognition of his stature in the world of scholarship. An incorrigible bibliophile, Abbas owned a magnificent personal library, and he invited his students to work there whenever they wished. Many of them did and forged lasting friendships there, under Abbas's affectionate wing and his immeasurable hospitality on a variety of levels. They would share with him his drinks and meals; discover in him the romantic poet one met again in his autobiography, *Ghurbat al-rā'ī*; discuss with him and each other an array of issues, ranging from the scholarly to the political, and from the personal to the philosophical; and they would meet his visitors, including scholarly luminaries from all over the world-- visitors whose names they had hitherto known only from the covers of books. It was also in his library that some close students of his learned the immense patience and hard work it takes to be a scholar of Arabic and Islamic studies. And those of them who were privileged to assist him in making indices for his voluminous books or in correcting the proofs thereof often felt that it was there, in his library, that they received the best training they could ever get. And there is no question that this training went far beyond books, proofs and indices. In discussions with him, one learned also the fundamental importance of humility, generosity of character, independence of thought, moral courage, optimism and perseverance despite adversity, avoidance of petty academic squabbles, devotion to 'ilm, and dedication to a mixture of firmness and kindness in teaching for a teacher-scholar: it is such qualities of character that have made one worthy of the lofty title of "scholar" in any time and place. In the oft-turbulent days of recent Middle Eastern history, and more specifically during the dark years of the civil war in Lebanon, the meeting that his students and friends had in his gracious home were a haven from the folly of the outside world, a reassurance of there will always be something fundamentally good in man, and a salvation from the lapse into cynicism. This, in addition to his monumental achievements in scholarship, is how Ihsan Abbas will always be remembered.

Obituary

Knowledge Triumphant: The Life of Franz Rosenthal 1914-2003

by Dimitri Gutas

Franz Rosenthal, Sterling Professor Emeritus of Arabic and Semitic studies at Yale University, died on Tuesday, April 8, 2003, in Branford, CT. He was born in Berlin, Germany, on August 31, 1914, the second son of Kurt W. Rosenthal, a flour merchant, and Elsa Rosenthal (née Kirschstein). He entered the University of Berlin in 1932, where he studied Classics with Werner Jaeger and Richard Walzer, and Oriental languages and civilizations with Hans Heinrich Schaeder, Carl Becker, Eugen Mittwoch, Bruno Meissner, Erich Ebeling, and Paul Kraus. He received his Ph.D. in 1935. After teaching for a year in Florence, Italy, he became instructor at the *Lehranstalt* (formerly *Hochschule*) für die Wissenschaft des Judentums, a Rabbinical Seminar in Berlin. He left Germany shortly after the infamous "Kristallnacht" in early December 1938 and went to Sweden where he was invited through the good offices of the Swedish historian of religions, H.S. Nyberg. From there he went to England and eventually came to the United States on February 5, 1940, having received an invitation to join the faculty of the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, Ohio (1940-48). In 1943 he became a U.S. citizen, and was inducted into the U.S. Army as a cook, though after basic training he joined the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) in Washington. In 1948, he was invited to the University of Pennsylvania where he became full professor in 1950. In 1956, Rosenthal was appointed Louis M. Rabinowitz Professor of Semitic Languages at Yale University. He became Sterling Professor in 1967, and emeritus in 1985.

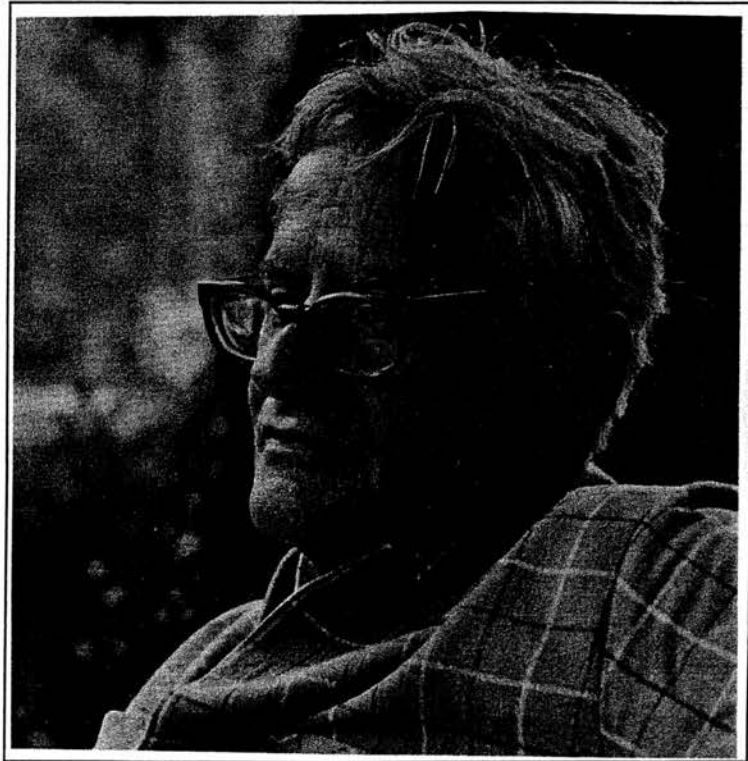
Rosenthal was member of numerous professional organizations, including Middle East Medievalists and the American Oriental Society (president, 1964-65), and the recipient of further academic honors (including the Giorgio Levi della Vida Medal, 1977) and honorary degrees (Hebrew Union College, Hebrew University in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv University, the University of Tübingen, and Columbia University).

Franz Rosenthal's scholarly work is vast and covers most aspects of Arabic and Islamic studies and Semitic studies. He began his career with two monographs on Aramaic studies: his dissertation on Palmyrenian inscriptions was published as *Die Sprache der palmyrenischen Inschriften* in 1936, when he was barely 22; in 1938, while still in Germany, he completed his history of Aramaic studies (*Die aramaistische Forschung*), which was awarded the Lidzbarski Medal and Prize (though he never received the prize money, the capital of the Lidzbarski Foundation having disappeared under the Nazis). Although he was soon to move on to other fields, he never lost interest in Aramaic and Semitic studies and produced, in addition to numerous articles and translations in those disciplines, *A Grammar of Biblical Aramaic* (1961, often reprinted) as well as *An Aramaic Handbook* (1967), the two standard works on the subject in constant use to this very day.

The field that attracted and held his attention, however, already from the time before he left Germany, was Graeco-Arabic studies. This field, which consists of the study of the secular ancient Greek works translated into Arabic from the 8th to the 10th century in Baghdad, held a special attraction for European orientalists insofar as their education even before going to university provided them with the requisite knowledge of the classical languages; at university they acquired the oriental languages they needed. Rosenthal had the same training, though he was exceptional in a different way in that he had a superb knowledge of Latin and an especially superior one of Greek. Much like the famous 9th century Graeco-Arabic translator, Hunayn Ibn Ishaq, he knew his Homer and Hesiod by heart. Once he quoted a line by Hesiod to me, which I approved because I happened to know it myself, but then he stopped and corrected himself, adding a missing particle; the way he had first recited it, he said, did not scan.

During his peregrinations in 1938-1940 after he left Germany and before he came to this country, Rosenthal had occasion to visit Oxford and study the incomparable Arabic manuscripts housed in the Bodleian. On the basis of this research as well as the one he had previously conducted in the Prussian Library in Berlin, he managed to collect sufficient material as to write a lengthy article "On the Knowledge of Plato's Philosophy in the Islamic World." The article was published in 1940, and to this day remains unsurpassed. Similarly foundational has been his work on the transmission into Arabic of the *Enneads* of the Neoplatonist Plotinus. These and similar articles, classics of their kind, were eventually collected in a Variorum Collected Studies volume entitled *Greek Philosophy in the Arab World* (1990). Rosenthal never wrote an expository book on Graeco-Arabic studies, but he did produce a wonderful anthology which, in its English version, bears the title, *The Classical Heritage in Islam* (original German version 1965, English translation 1975). It contains translated selections of Arabic texts which either themselves had been translated from the Greek or were composed on the basis of the Greek originals. This anthology, which has been reprinted a number of times, gave new impetus to Graeco-Arabic studies, for it graphically illustrated the breadth and depth to which Greek thought had penetrated into Arabic intellectual life, thus making classical Islamic civilization the successor civilization to antiquity.

Equally as significant as his contributions to Graeco-Arabic studies is Rosenthal's seminal work on Arabic history and historiography. Interest in the uncommonly rich Arabic historical sources goes back to the 17th century, but no comprehensive exposition of the subject had ever been attempted. Rosenthal produced the first such survey in his magisterial *History of Muslim Historiography* (1952, with a 2nd edition in 1968 and an Arabic translation). This was followed by his great three-volume annotated translation of the *Muqaddimah* of Ibn Khaldun, supported by a Guggenheim grant and the Bollingen Foundation (1958, 1967, and an abridged paperback version). Rosenthal's interest in Arabic history continued unabated to the end of his life: he regularly contributed articles on Arab historians to the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (2nd edition, 1954-2003), and crowned his work in this field by producing translations of the first and last volume of Tabari's monumental *History* (1985 and 1989), edited by Columbia's indefatigable Ehsan Yarshater. The first volume also contains a lengthy introduction on the life and work of Tabari, the standard treatment of the subject.



In Arabic philology and literature, and the history of Islamic intellectual life, Rosenthal produced works that were just as pioneering. In 1943 he published his monograph on the 9th century littérateur as-Sarakhsi, the first collection of fragments of an early Arabic author whose works survives primarily in subsequent quotations, modeled on the great fragment collections of 19th century classical scholars. His *Technique and Approach of Muslim Scholarship*, which appeared in 1947, remains to this day unparalleled in Western studies. His pithy and uncommonly rich *Knowledge Triumphant: The Concept of Knowledge in Medieval Islam* (1970, also translated into Russian) captured the essence of medieval Islamic civilization which was built, he argued, around this concept. It defines Islam, if any single book can, as it defines the man who wrote it.

Rosenthal was a consummate philologist — it was awe-inspiring and exhilarating, to those of us who were fortunate enough to be his students, to watch him extemporize mini-articles in his seminars as he solved intricate problems in classical Arabic texts with a Greek and Syriac background. His mastery of Greek, Syriac, and Arabic philology notwithstanding, however, it is clear from his other output that he viewed philology as an instrument — albeit an indispensable instrument — for historical and cultural studies. Though his work in Graeco-Arabic studies

alone, or in any of the other fields I mentioned above, would have been sufficient to earn him a lasting and honorable place in the history of scholarship in these fields, Rosenthal dedicated most of his research time to his favorite subject, medieval Islam, and within that to a grand theme, which he called "man versus society in medieval Islam." By that he meant to investigate the ways in which norms and regulations set by a society governed by the religious law of Islam come into conflict with the individual and his desires, and how this conflict plays itself out in, and indeed, influences and shapes, culture. Partly following the appellation of man by Huizinga as the playing animal — homo ludens — Rosenthal identified three individual impulses as primary in this conflict: these were for sex, use of narcotics, and gambling, each of which is strictly regulated by the keepers of human societies, and this has certainly been the case in medieval Islam. To investigate the manifestations and modalities of this conflict, he wrote a lengthy article on the role of sex in medieval Muslim society, and two books, one entitled *The Herb: Hashish versus Medieval Muslim Society* (1971), and the other, *Gambling in Islam* (1975). In addition to these three major areas, however, he also investigated other aspects of his general theme. He wrote a book on *Complaint and Hope in Medieval Islam* (1983) — in which man's position vis-à-vis the society he lives in is defined alternately by complaint against the perceived injustices and hope for a better future, *Humor in Early Islam* (1956, also translated into Turkish), *The Muslim Concept of Freedom* (1960), and numerous articles on highly original subjects relating to this central theme: an article on "Individual Piety and Society in Islam," another on the "Stranger in Medieval Islam," and yet another on "Suicide in Medieval Islam."

In all these studies in social history, unparalleled among scholars in the field and as yet not properly appreciated, his approach was never moralizing or theorizing: he had no axes to grind. His concern was to understand the theme he had set out for himself by making available in print and analyzing all the relevant Arabic sources, be they literary, historical, or documentary. Islamic studies is a relatively young field — barely a century and a half old. Most of the progress during this time has been in linguistic and historical studies; other areas, such as social history, have hardly been investigated. In this regard Rosenthal's contributions will remain standard for the next century and will provide material for countless studies. Complementing Rosenthal's stupendous book learning was this talent of his that is the mark of exceptional scholarship: he knew how to identify and focus his powers on the truly significant. This is perhaps the greatest part of his legacy.

Rosenthal was unassuming in his manner and, to use a term that has fallen in desuetude, an upright man. Scrupulously honest in his scholarship, he exhibited the same quality in his interpersonal relations, living up to the best ideals of the medieval scholars he studied. His serious demeanor could not hide, however, either his gentle spirit or, especially, a subtle and quick wit that made his company memorable. He once told a student who had asked whether he had tried any hashish, since he wrote a book on hashish in Islam, that he had also written on suicide in Islam.

When Rosenthal came to the United States, Arabic studies was a backwater philological discipline, practiced and studied by few. Developments in the past fifty years changed all that, and the field has mushroomed to the point that it is impossible now for a single person to possess the broad and deep competence that Rosenthal had. In this regard he was the last and best representative of the heroic age of oriental studies. But as the discipline develops into maturity and is about to take its place with other established national language areas, it is being guided by the extraordinarily high standards that he set, his prodigious scholarly output, his example, and his teaching that lives on in his students.

(A bibliography of Rosenthal's works was published in *Oriens* 36 (2001) xiii-xxxiv.)

ANNUAL MEETINGS

Organization	When and Where	Information	Telephone/Fax/Email/Web
Middle East Studies Association (2003 Meeting)	Nov. 6-9, 2003 Anchorage, AK [Paper Deadline: Past]	MESA Secretariat University of Arizona 1232 N. Cherry Ave. Tucson, AZ 85721	(520)-621-5850 mesa@ccit.arizona.edu www.mesa.arizona.edu
Middle East Studies Association (2004 Meeting)	Nov. 20-23, 2004 San Francisco, CA [Abstract Deadline: Feb.15, 2004]	see preceding	see preceding
Middle East Studies Association (2005 Meeting)	Nov. 19-22, 2005 Washington, DC	see preceding	see preceding
American Oriental Society (2004 Meeting)	Mar. 12-15, 2004 San Diego, CA	American Oriental Society Hatcher Graduate Library University of Michigan Ann Arbor, MI 48109-1205	(734)-764-7555 www.umich.edu/~aos
American Oriental Society (2005 Meeting)	Mar. 18-21, 2005 Philadelphia, PA	see preceding	see preceding
American Historical Association (2004 Meeting)	Jan. 8-11, 2004 Washington, DC [Paper Deadline: Past]	American Historical Assn. 400 A Street, S. E. Washington, DC 20003	(202)-544-2422 www.Theaha.org
American Historical Association (2005 Meeting)	Jan. 6-9, 2005 Seattle, WA [Paper Deadline: Feb. 15, 2004]	see preceding	see preceding
The Medieval Institute (2004 Meeting)	May 6-9, 2004 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 (2004 Meeting)	Feb. 18-21, 2004 Seattle, WA [Proposal Deadline: Past]	Suzanne Schanzer 275 Seventh Ave. New York, NY 10001	(212)-691-1051 ext13 www.collegeart.org
College Art Association (2005 Meeting)	Feb. 16-19, 2005 Atlanta, GA	see preceding	see preceding
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)	May, 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 (2003 Meeting)	Nov. 22-25, 2003 Atlanta, GA [Paper Deadline: Past]	American Academy of Religion 1703 Clifton Rd., Suite G-5 Atlanta, GA 30329-4019	(404)-727-7920 aar@emory.edu www.aarweb.org/annualmeet
American Academy of Religion (2004 Meeting)	Nov. 20-23, 2004 San Antonio, TX [Abstract Deadline: Mar. 2004]	see preceding	see preceding
American Academy of Religion (2005 Meeting)	Nov. 19-22, 2005 Philadelphia, PA [Abstract Deadline: Mar. 2005]	see preceding	see preceding

NEWS OF MEM

MEMBER NEWS

Jonathan Brokopp was appointed Associate Professor of History and Religious Studies at Pennsylvania State University.

Stefania Dodoni (University of Rome) co-directed an archeological project, the "Qastal Conservation and Development Project" (QCDP) in 'Amman-Jordan, and published, "Qasa al-Muwaqqar: una contestualizzazione storica" in *Annali di Ca' Foscari* (Serie Orientale), 31, no. 39 (2002).

S.M. Ghazanfar (University of Idaho) published an edited volume (with a foreword by S. Todd Lowry of Washington and Lee University), *Medieval Islamic Economic Thought: Filling the 'Great Gap' in European Economics* (Routledge Curzon, 2003). The book is a collection of fifteen papers, published in several national/international journals since 1990, on the origins of economic thought discovered in the writings of several medieval Muslim scholars. He also published, "Civilization Dialogue: Medieval Social Thought, Latin-European Renaissance, and Islamic Influences," in *Encounters: Journal of Intercultural Perspectives*, 9, no. 1 (2003): 21-36.

Konrad Hirschler was appointed Assistant Professor in the Department of Islamic Studies, University of Kiel, Germany.

James E. Lindsay (Colorado State University) published *Ibn 'Asakir and Early Islamic History* (Princeton: Darwin Press, 2001). In March, 2003, he presented "Ibn 'Asakir: Muslim Historian and Advocate of Jihad against Christian Crusaders and Muslim Shi'ites" at Middlebury College. He is currently at work on a book for general readers and undergraduates tenta-

tively entitled "Daily Life in the Medieval Islamic World."

Christopher Melchert (Oxford) published, "Early Renunciants as Traditionists," *The Muslim World*, 92 (2002): 407-18; "The Piety of the Hadith Folk," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 34 (2002): 425-39 and, "Qur'anic Abrogation Across the Ninth Century," in *Studies in Islamic Legal Theory*, edited by Bernard Weiss, (Islamic Law and Society 15) (Brill, 2002).

April Najjaj (Boston University and Meredith College) continues to work on her dissertation which is a social history of the Alhambra in the 14th century.

Mark Pettigrew (UC Berkeley) recently published "The Decline of Courtly Patronage and the Appearance of New Genres in Arabic Literature: The Case of the Zajal, the Maqama and the Shadow Play," (with Prof. James T. Monroe) *Journal of Arabic Literature*, 34 (2003).

Yossef Rapoport (Oxford) published "Divorce and the Elite Household in Late Medieval Cairo," *Continuity and Change*, 16, no. 2 (2001).

Nerina Rustomji was appointed Assistant Professor at Bard College in New York.

Delfina Serrano Ruano (Departamento de Estudios Arabes at CSIC) published "Legal practice in an Andalus-Maghribi source from the twelfth century CE: The Madharib al-hukkam fi nawazil al-ahkam," *Islamic Law and Society*, 7, no. 2 (2000): 187-234; "Spanish Research on Islamic Law (1900-1999)," *The Journal of Law and Religion*, 15 (2000-2001): 101-26; and

"Ibn al-Sid al-Batalyawsi (444/1052-521/1127): De los reinos de taifas a la época almoráve a través de la biografía de un ulema polifacético," *al-Qantara*, 23, no. 1 (2002): 53-92.

Stuart D. Sears (1987 Summer Seminar, ANS Advisory Committee, stuardsears@localnet.com) has been awarded an ACLS/SSRC/NEH International and Area Studies Fellowship for a research project entitled, "Claiming Right Authority: Politico-Religious Debates Behind the First "Islamic" Coinages". This project probes the controversy surrounding the caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwan's introduction of all-epigraphic coinages - dinars and dirhams - at the end of the seventh century CE. While their types and weight standards became models for Muslim coinage for many centuries afterwards, they met at their inception notable opposition among piety-minded Muslims. This research hopes to elucidate the political and religious motivations behind the initiative and the strong reaction it provoked. Dr. Sears has also received funding from Fondation Max Van Berchem and the American Council of Overseas Research Centers to carry out work on a die corpus of early Muslim drahms. These coins imitate the Sasanian drahms that circulated in Iraq and Iran prior to the Muslim conquests. Yet they change substantially under the Muslims as they come to assert a distinctly Islamic identity. This project aims to form a comprehensive reference to all known specimens of this series.

Gilbert Verbit recently completed *The Origins of the Trust* (Xlibris, 2002) which explores the question of whether the Anglo-American trust was derived from the Islamic waqf.

The Harim Castle (Northern Syria): Preliminary Report on the Archaeological Project

by Sauro Gelichi

An Italian-Syrian collaboration started with the Ca' Foscari University of Venice and Direction Générale des Antiquités et des Musées of Syria (DGAM) for an archaeological research project on the Harim Castle. Harim is located in the Orontes valley of Northern Syria, overlooking the Amuq valley and not far from Antioch. The site consists of a castle built on a tell and a surrounding village (Fig. 1). The aims of the project are the first accurate plan of the site and reconstruction of successive settlements (especially for the phases of the Islamic period). In addition, the social and economic contexts of the castle and its hinterland are necessary to re-evaluate this historical complex and its environment. Three seasons (1999, 2000 and 2002) have resulted in a new plan (Fig. 2) and the reconstruction of an initial, credible settlement sequence based on excavation data.

Historical information about Harim is quite controversial, especially prior to the period in which it came under control of the Crusaders (1097-1098). During the First Crusade, the Franks came up against the troops of Harim near Jisr el-Hadid on the

Orontes river during the siege of Antioch. Muslim forces may have reoccupied it after the battle of Ager Sanguinis in 1119, but the Crusaders apparently returned and held it until 1149. Nur Ad-Din conquered the castle once and for all in 1164, and it then passed to the control of the Ayyubid dynasty, first Saladin and then his successors. The Mongol invasion caused damage which may have led to a loss of military function and a progressive decline until its present state of ruin.

The present state of the Castle does not allow for an easy interpretation of these historical stages in its construction; the most common assumptions have led scholars to relate its style to the typical architecture of Nur Ad-Din or later. Such hypotheses often begin with comparison

of the walls to those of the citadel of Aleppo and Qal'at al-Mudiq at Apamea. This chronology is reinforced by five groups of inscriptions in Arabic dated from Nur ed-Din to the Mamluk era. Aside from these interpretations, the castle is undoubtedly an architectonic palimpsest, with at least two main stages of curtain wall and a historical settlement development beginning well before the Ayyubids and continuing beyond the Mamluk era.

The Harim castle is built on the top of a hill, partly natural and partly an artificial tell; Mazzoni has determined an occupation from the end of the fourth into the middle of the third millennium (2001). A lower town is separated by a deep ditch cut in the rock on the southern and eastern sides. In the 1980s there have been excavations and restorations to the castle's main gate and entrance hall, the hammam, and the donjon (the fortified residential structure on the eastern hill-top) (Kosara 1988). The slopes of the tell are covered by a glaucis which is better preserved on the northern and eastern sides. This feature makes confirmation of settlement continuity difficult, though there are reused blocks (fifth-sixth centu-



Figure 1. Harim Castle. General view from south.

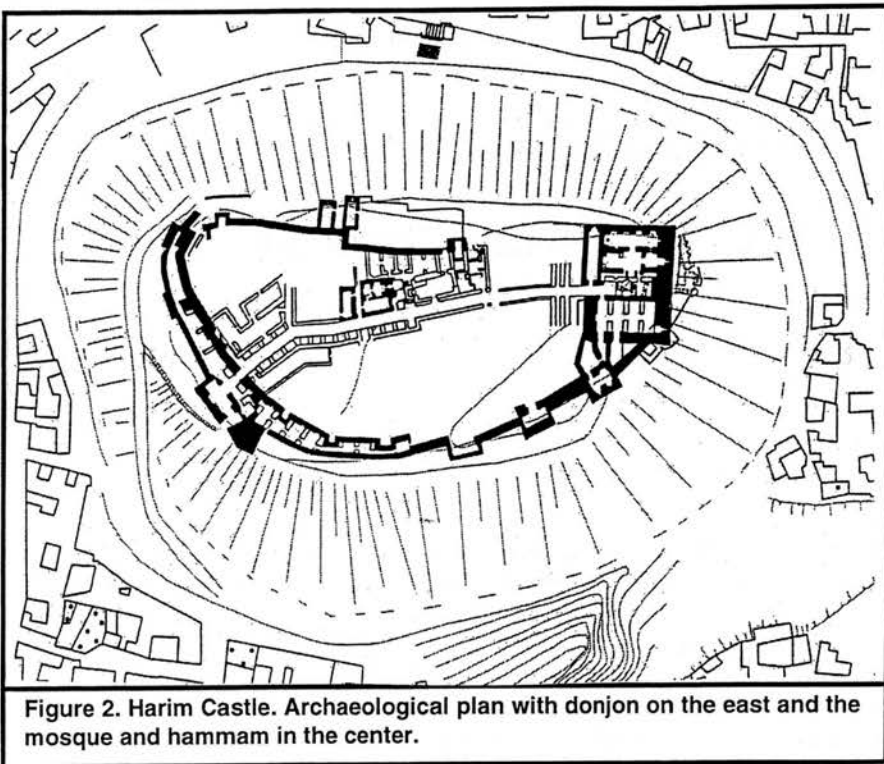


Figure 2. Harim Castle. Archaeological plan with donjon on the east and the mosque and hammam in the center.

ries) and ceramics of the Roman and Byzantine periods found in the strata of Islamic age. The earliest structural remains and associated levels are still of uncertain date.

The earliest structural remains consist of a wall and a kind of polygonal tower connecting the eastern and southern sides. This structure is clearly covered by the glacis and obliterated by the donjon. It is made almost entirely of rusticated blocks, a technical decorative detail not found in other walls of the castle and not of chronological utility. Levels revealed in room 210 and in the area 19 trench are clearly prior or contemporary with the first curtain wall. The absence of Fritware I should lead us towards a date between the last quarter of the eleventh century and the first half of the twelfth century, the period of the Crusaders' occupation of the site.

The later phase saw the building of the first curtain wall, still preserved in elevation, with the main gate located to the west and another entrance in the northern part of the castle (fig. 3). On this curtain wall there are very simple towers, irregular in form and interval. Levels of the phase of this boundary wall (again in room 210) include Fritware I, which may relate these reconstructions to the re-conquest of the site by Nur Ad-Din (after the mid-twelfth century).

Later activities are characterized by a new wall enclosure with a more complex gate protected by two towers and a series of rooms making vaulted entrance corridor took place. The axis of transit runs from east to west through the castle to reach the donjon, flanked by a series of rooms (some still buried) and workshops, analogous with the citadel of

Aleppo (Kosara 1988). The building of the donjon may be attributed to this period; the donjon consists of a series of vaulted, residential rooms and a small bathroom in the centre. The northern external face has false columns, a decorative feature also on the Aleppo citadel. To this period we must attribute the building of a bathroom (near area 200) which was reached from the vaulted passage, and a small mosque. The hammam consists of three adjacent areas: a large dressing room with pool, an adjacent hall and a room (the tepidarium) and finally, a third area which may be taken to be the caldarium.

Opposite this hammam there is a small mosque, completely excavated in 2000. This mosque, consisting of a simple rectangular-shaped room (7.85 x 2.93 m.); beside the *mihrab* are some carved inscriptions to the worship of Allah. In the later Mamluk period, this area may not have continued as a mosque, due to indications of artisan activity. These changes may have been part of the substantial reconstruction of the castle, with re-utilization of rooms with residential and artisan functions. For example, a lime kiln found in the entrance to the donjon shows its complete disuse and plundering for building material. The process of abandonment was not immediate and must have taken place between the late Mamluk era and the Ottoman era.

The archaeological investi-

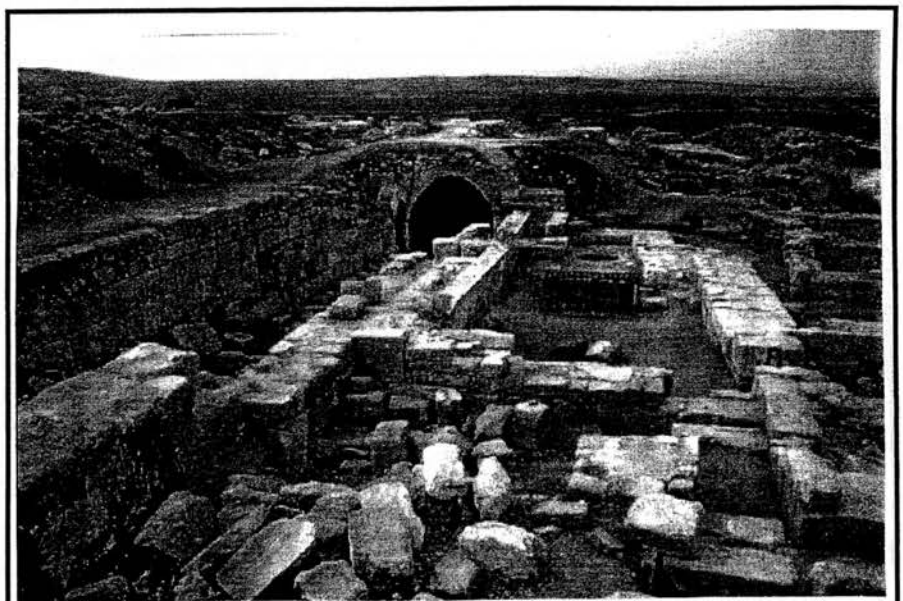


Figure 3. Harim Castle. Area 200 (on the right) and the vaulted passage (view from east).

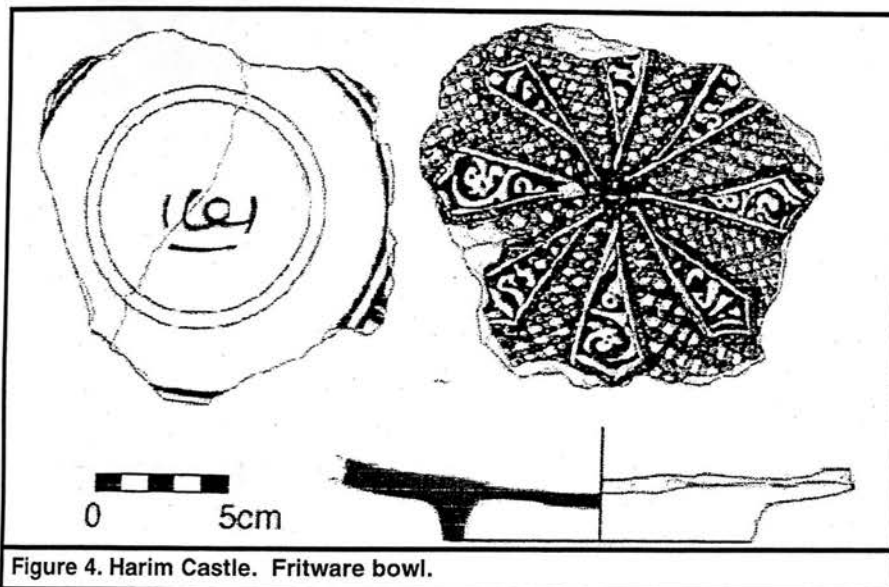


Figure 4. Harim Castle. Fritware bowl.

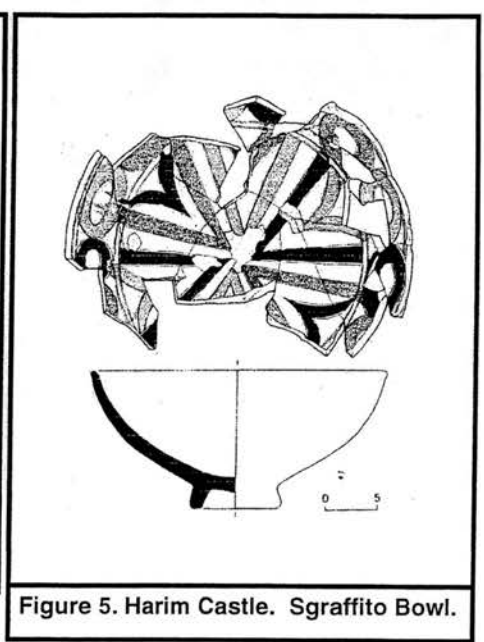


Figure 5. Harim Castle. Sgraffito Bowl.

gations produced a great deal of material, in particular, glass and ceramic artifacts. The latter includes a series of fragments of open forms with monochrome green tin glaze, which have been found in the most ancient levels (210 and 19), together with unglazed items. A local source does not seem incompatible with the first results of the mineral-petrographic analyses. The most common types of pottery are Fritware and polychrome sgraffito. The Fritware is

often very fragmented but include examples of the late Mamluk period (Fig. 4). The polychrome sgraffito items have been found only in the superficial levels, periods of re-utilization of the site. These are open form ceramics with decoration of a vegetal or geometric type and the use of three colours: green, brown and iron yellow (Fig. 5). Together with the sgraffito ceramics there are also monochrome slipped pieces; the stratigraphic associa-

tions confirm that these products were not made prior to the thirteenth century. There are also glazed cooking pots, such as baking dishes or handled jars made with rather fine clay, and the monochrome glazed table items (usually open forms very similar to those of the slipped pieces) (Fig. 6). There are storage vessels (amphorae, jugs etc.) with brown decoration and typical of handmade geometrically-painted ware (HMGPW) in the region. As in the case of the sgraffito items, these pots have not been found at Harim in a context prior to the thirteenth century.

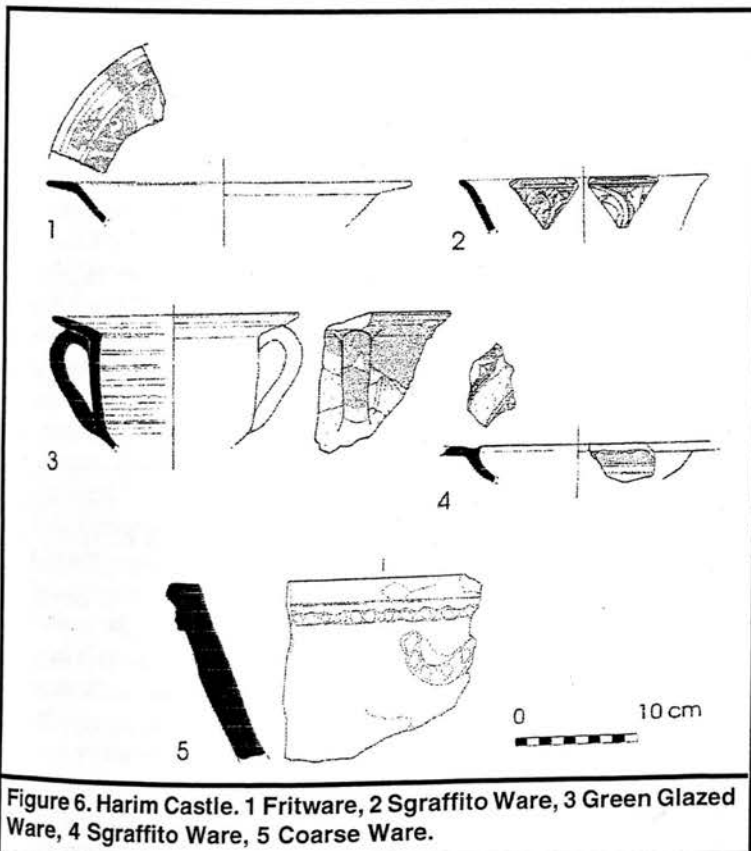


Figure 6. Harim Castle. 1 Fritware, 2 Sgraffito Ware, 3 Green Glazed Ware, 4 Sgraffito Ware, 5 Coarse Ware.

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REVIEWS • OF • BOOKS

FROM • THE • MIDDLE • EAST

REVIEW POLICY

Members of MEM are invited to submit reviews of recent books in Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Hebrew, or other Middle Eastern languages that they have read and that deal with subjects of interest to MEM's membership. In exceptional cases, reviews of books in English or other European languages will be printed, but the main focus will be books in Middle Eastern languages, because generally these are not reviewed in Western journals. *Al-'Usur al-Wusta* relies on the voluntary submission of reviews because review copies of books in Middle Eastern languages are not usually made available.

Reviews should be brief, 250 words or, if possible, fewer. A short note is sufficient in many cases, as it serves the main purpose of bringing a worthwhile work of scholarship to the attention of MEM members who may be interested in the subject it treats. Be sure to include full bibliographical information: full name of author, full title, place and date of publication, publisher, and number of pages. Send reviews directly to the editor.

Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Fayyūmī, *Ta'riḫ al-Fikr al-Dinī al-Jāhili* [The History of Pre-Islamic Religious Thought] (Beirut, Dār al-Jil: 1999). 504 pages.

Comprehensive and synthetic scholarly work on the intellectual and ritual religious history of the pre-Islamic Arabs, not to speak of the social and mythological history of pre-Islamic Arab religions, is scarce. A glance of the table of contents of the book under review gives the impression that the author may have been seeking to go beyond Wellhausen and Fahd for instance, both so far unsurpassed, and to incorporate into the study of this topic the results of epigraphic, archeological, iconographic and textual work that has been undertaken in past decades.

The author ranges far and wide over the ancient Near East and Egypt, the history of Christianity, Arab paganism and pre-Islamic polities, Judaism, and much else. But the scholarship deployed is patchy, antiquated (though neither Wellhausen nor Fahd is mentioned), uncritical, and too

often inaccurate. It is deployed pell-mell in an impressionistic fashion, without systematic sequence, and is often apologetic, seeking to show both the perennity and superiority of Islam. In all, this is a book which will not benefit the expert who, it is hoped, knows better, nor will its chaotic and uncritical style help the beginner in need of orientation or of acquiring the techniques of exact scholarship.

- Aziz Al-Azmeh

Rafiq al-'Ajam, *Mawsū'at Muṣṭalahāt 'Ilm al-Tāriḫ al-'Arabī wa al-Islāmī* [The Encyclopedia of Arabic and Islamic Historiography] (Silsilat Mawsū'at al-Muṣṭalahāt al-'Arabīya wa al-Islāmīya) (Beirut: Maktabat Lubnān). 737, xxxi pages.

An enormous amount of work must have gone into this 800-page dictionary of technical terms, but the result is not particularly happy. Entries consist of quotations from a variety of potentially useful medieval and modern sources, such as al-Bīrūnī's *al-Āthār al-bāqīya* and 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Dūrī's *Baḥṫh fī nash'at 'ilm al-tāriḫ 'ind al-'arab*. The entries for technical terms of medieval Islamic history are mostly uncontextualized, disjointed, and too idiosyncratic to be of any help (e.g., the extremely short, rhymed definition of *tawḥīd* taken from al-Balkhī's *al-Bad' wa'l-tāriḫ*, p. 246). Also, some of the quotations from medieval sources look as though they were found using a search engine, since the term that is supposed to be defined by the entry is often buried in a discussion of something else entirely and seems to be incidental to the quoted passage (e.g., "shar'," p. 392; "jarḫ wa-ta'dīl," p. 260). Entries for contemporary terms of historical scholarship fare only somewhat better § the sources of the quotations in those cases are modern, synthetic introductions to the study of history, but results are still occasionally bizarre (e.g. "taḥlīl tāriḫī" = "Geschichtsmorphologie" [sic] or "Kulturmorphologie" [sic], p. 193). If you really needed to know what one of the words covered in this volume meant, you

would be better off starting with the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (for medieval terms of art) or Hans Wehr's *Dictionary* (for contemporary terms), and in the latter case you would probably be looking up an Arabic translation of a technical term from English or another European language anyway.

- Joseph E. Lowry

Māyisa Maḥmūd Dāwūd, *al-Kitābāt al-'Arabīya 'alā al-Āthār al-Islāmīya mundhu al-Qarn al-Awwal ḥattā Awākhir al-Qarn al-Thānī 'Ashar lil-Hijra (7-18 M.)* [Arabic Inscriptions on Islamic Monuments from the First Century to the End of the Twelfth Century (7th-18th AD)], (Cairo: Maktabat al-Nahḍa al-Miṣriya, 1991).

The author, who teaches Islamic art and archeology at Cairo University, aims to demonstrate the importance of Arabic epigraphy for archeology, chronology, intellectual and social history, and history of art, based on a discussions of selected specimens from eleven centuries. The book is divided into three parts. The first presents the historical and cultural role of Arabic writing, its origins, and the invention of additional reading signs in early Islam. The second discusses types of writing, supports, the ornamental functions of script, techniques and tools necessary to produce it on the different surfaces, as well as the contents of inscriptions. The third part is devoted to a century-by-century treatment of salient monuments and objects that bear inscriptions. These are individually transcribed, commented, and summarily characterized for their script(s)'s ductus and paleographical features typical of the respective century. For the earlier centuries, the author relies on Gaston Wiet's magisterial catalogues of Cairo's Museum of Islamic Art, whence most pieces she discusses derive. This is followed by sections on heraldry, honorific epithets (*alqāb*), and a short glossary of Arabic technical terms. The focus lies throughout on in-

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scribed architecture, epitaphs, and objects and the scripts used for them (*kūfic*, *thuluth*). Texts on papyrus, parchment, and paper and the scripts (*naskh*, *ruq'ā*, *dīwānī*, *jalīl al-dīwānī*) used in them are only mentioned in passing. The supports for early writing, such as camel shoulder bones, flat stones, and palm stalks are also left out.

The paleographical information for the inception of Arabic script is gleaned from mainly Arabic secondary sources (that rely in turn on sources as outdated as Israel Wolfenson's *Ta'rikh al-lughāt al-sāmīya*, Cairo 1929). Western scholarship after 1958 is ignored, which makes the author miss the important fact that Arabic script derives from cursive, not epigraphic, Nabatean script, not to mention the absence of two of the five known pre-Islamic inscriptions and their discussion over the last half century. For this period the reader is advised to refer instead to Suhayla Yāsīn al-Jubūrī's *Aṣl al-khaṭṭ al-'arabī wa-taṭawwuruḥu ḥattā nihāyat al-'aṣr al-umawī*, Baghdad 1977 or the entry "Arabic Script" in the *Encyclopedia of the Qur'ān*, Leiden 2001-, by the author of this review). The treatment of *kūfic* suffers from the same flaw.

The book is useful though for what it focuses on, namely the deciphering and historical placing of many inscribed objects (in stone, wood, metal, cloth, glass, minted coin, and ceramic). Most instructive is the author's characterization of writing styles by century, accompanied by a detailed *kūfic* script chart for the first seven Islamic centuries. The thorough text-by-text treatment of objects, mostly displayed in the plates section, offers good examples for the scholar who wishes to gain familiarity with the evolving, simultaneous and subsequent, styles of memorial and votive inscriptions. Moreover the author correlates script styles with changing dynasties and their representational and ideological programs (p. 180). For instance, she connects the demotion of angular *kūfic* to ornamental functions and the rise of rounded *naskh* and *thuluth* to official scripts used for buildings, coins, and Koran codices with the end of the Spanish Umayyad, Fāṭimid, and Abbasid caliphates and the rise of their successor dynasties. Writing is

seen as occupying "the [same] position as that of the media in our time" (p. 130), for inscriptions "belonged to the most important media conveying on behalf of the state those texts that imparted information about it" (p. 142). An interesting paragraph also covers the afterlife of Arabic script in reconquered Spain (p. 180). Attention is paid to the Koranic quotations common in specific text types (pp. 76-81), names and titles of dedicatees, craftsmen, and places in addition to the cultural context that can be reconstructed from them. All this is presented in a transparent and accessible style and with a consistent use of terminology.

However, the quality of the second or third hand reproductions is poor to the point of being illegible. This is unfortunate, as plates and graphics are selected with a good eye and unmistakable experience. Plates have no legends, and the references to them in the text are not always easy to find. (The list of illustrations, pp. 229-43, is helpful but fails to indicate where in the book the displayed objects are transcribed and discussed.) Neither index nor running headers make the search easier. When placed side-by-side with the better reproductions in Wiet's catalogues, however, the book unlocks its value to the patient reader.

- Beatrice Gruendler

Muḥammad Ḥamīdullāh, *Majmū'at al-Wathā'iq al-Siyāsiya lil-'Ahd al-Nabawī wa al-Khilāfa al-Rāshida* [A Collection of Political Documents from the Age of the Prophet and the Rightly Guided Caliphs], 6th ed., (Beirut: Dār al-Nafā'is, 1987/1407), 757 pages.

One of the most important contributions of the well-known Pakistani scholar, the late Muḥammad Ḥamīdullāh, to Islamic studies is his Corpus of Documents, related to the Prophet Muḥammad and to the four Orthodox Caliphs, the work under review, henceforth called MWS. These Documents attracted the attention of

medieval Muslim writers, who accepted their authenticity, and subjected them to monographic treatment. The same Documents, especially the Letters of the Prophets, have also attracted the attention of modern scholars, some of whom have vouched for their authenticity, while others have rejected it, a question of paramount importance since these Documents are the earliest chapter in the history of Muslim historiography. (An article on their authenticity by M. Lecker, noted in A. Noth's *The Early Arabic Historical Tradition*, p. 76, n. 3, apparently has not yet appeared.)

MWS may be set against these two traditions, united in the person of the author. Ḥamīdullāh was both a pious Muslim, who accepted their authenticity, and a product of Modern Western scholarship, having received his training in France, thus combining the best of the two traditions. What is more, the topic of these Documents was his Doctoral Dissertation which he received in Paris as early as 1935. In the course of the fifty years since then, he continued to write on the topic, and the ripest fruit of his research was MWS, the sterling value of which was immediately recognized. It has gone through many editions, in each of which the author refined what he had researched previously. The result is indubitably the standard work on the subject, in which the author has rendered a great service to scholars by assembling in one massive tome all the texts and relevant material scattered in many sources, thus saving them considerable time and energy.

After a valuable Introduction in which he surveys the work of scholars in the East and the West, he presents the Documents related to the Prophet. The various versions of each document are given, preceded by a list of the sources, and followed by a commentary. The same format is observed for the Documents pertaining to the Orthodox Caliphs. To the texts of these Documents, are appended a glossary of difficult terms, a bibliography of the sources, and index of names and places, nine maps, two genealogical tables, and facsimiles of eight of the Letters of the Prophet.

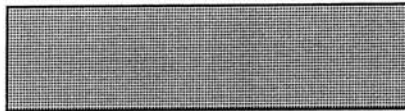
REVIEWS

MWS is thus an invaluable resource. And it is such not only to the Islamicist but also to the Byzantinist, especially to the Byzantino-arabist, who deals with this period. Its counterpart in Byzantine scholarship is the *Regesten* of the late Franz Dölger, now refined and revised by Alexander Beihammer in his *Nachrichten zum Byzantinischen Urkundenwesen in Arabischen Quellen*, (Bonn, 2000), in which the Arabic Documents have been translated into German and commented upon.

Hopefully, similar works on the Documents for the subsequent periods of

Arab history will be authored, now that much attention is being accorded in the Arab world to manuscripts and its ancillary discipline of Diplomatics, which Sāmarrā'i's *'Ilm al-Iktināh al-'Arabī al-Islāmī* (Riyad, 2001) illustrates. For all such future endeavors, Ḥamīdullāh's *MWS* will be the model.

- Irfan Shahid



Some Recent Books of Interest

Yacoub Yousef al-Hijji and Vassilios Christides (eds.), *Aspects of Arab Seafaring*, (Athens: Institute for Graeco-Oriental and African Studies and Kuwait Foundation for the Advancement of Science, 2002).

Khader Salameh, *The Qur'an Manuscripts in the al-Haram al-Sharif Islamic Museum, Jerusalem*, (Reading, U.K.: Garnet Publishing Limited, and Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 2001). (Also available in an Arabic edition.)

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Pages 19 and 23, Figs. 2 and 8: Map and diagram by the author.

Page 20, Fig. 3: Map modified from R.E. Pillein in Zayadine 1986.

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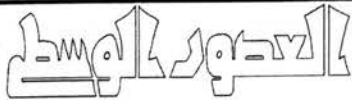
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