

Sponsorship of a *madrasa*, reflecting the value of farmland in the urban economy of Zabid, Yemen

by Edward J. Keall and Ingrid Hehmeyer

As reported in *Al-ʿUsur al-Wusta* 5.2 (Oct. 1993), the fieldwork of the Canadian Archaeological Mission of the Royal Ontario Museum (CAMROM) includes defining the role of agriculture in the life of a medieval city, Zabid, in Yemen. New insight on the subject was discovered fortuitously in 1998 when inscriptional panels flanking the *mihrāb* of the Citadel Mosque were found to contain not the expected Qurʾānic text, but rather a 940/1533 notice of a *waqf* dedication in support of a *madrasa*. The *waqf* is especially significant because the inscription specifies tracts of land and measures of harvested grain that are dedicated to the new *madrasa*. This meshes well with the hypothesis that the primary factor in sustaining Zabid's economy was agriculture rather than international trade.

This is not to deny that foreign goods reached Zabid. There is ample field evidence, for instance, to corroborate Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's words that Chinese pottery was exported to Yemen (cf. Carswell, 1985, 18). CAMROM has unearthed 12th-13th century Sung and Yüan celadons, as well as 14th-15th century Yüan and Ming blue-and-white porcelains. But these were luxury items, imported in relatively small quantities into Zabid. There is nothing to support the idea of a merchant city singularly dependent upon trade for its existence, like al-Mukhā, where the coffee trade brought

lavish profit, even at least temporarily, and furnished prosperous merchants with the capital for building grandiose mansions (cf. Brouwer, 1997, 137).

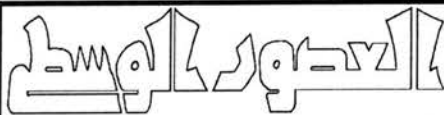
The absence of opulence is especially apparent on the Red Sea coast, where CAMROM's 1997 fieldwork focussed on what purported to be Zabid's Ziyādid period port (9th-early 11th century). Iraqi turquoise-glazed and Chinese stoneware potsherds provide a 9th-10th century date and help identify the site tentatively as al-Ahwāb, a name cited in both 'Umāra al-Yamani (ed. Kay, 1892, 8) and al-Khazraji (ed. 'Asal, 1913, 382). But from the ephemeral, though widespread habitation one envisages al-Ahwāb as a sprawling settlement becoming quite lively upon return of the Indian Ocean ships, but otherwise no more than a fishing village. The settlement moved up the bay during Rasūlid times, to follow the shifting anchorage, becoming known as al-Fāzza. But here, too, the same modest settlement was repeated. The pattern supports the hypothesis that foreign trade was only a minor factor in sustaining Zabid's economic life.

While it is argued that agriculture provided Zabid's real economic sustenance, an infrastructure had to be in place, diversion barrages and distribution canals regulated, for land to be productive. As already

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Illustration One. Iskandar's waqf dedication, right hand panel

expounded in Hehmyer & Keall (1993, 26), Wādi Zabid is a typical arid terrain flood course where because of seasonal rains, a mass of water arrives suddenly from the mountains as a spate which must be utilized immediately, or run to waste. Depending upon the rain's intensity, usually resulting from a late afternoon thunderstorm, the flow varies from a few hours to more than a day before the spate subsides to a modest base flow. Distributing the water immediately is the key to success. Hehmyer (1995, 46) describes traditional spillway devices that provide an overflow for the release of excess water, in the event of an exceptional flood. Al-Khazraji (ed. 'Asal, 1918, 75) gives us vivid accounts of damage caused to life, property and crops on the plain after heavy

rains caused water to run out of control.

CAMROM has not produced archaeological evidence to tie the beginning of spate irrigation to Zabid's foundation as a city in 204/823. Certainly, a 4.5 m rise in irrigation sediment (Hehmyer & Keall, 1993, fig.1) reflects considerable accumulation. Also, Kopp (1981, 128) argued that, seen from the air, the fields in the Wādi Zabid landscape reflect a system of long standing - the implication being that a new settling-pond field has square corners and straight banks when first laid out, and these become less distinct as sediment deposition and repairs obscure the original profile. But this does not automatically imply that these fields are a thousand years old.

It has become suggested in the profession recently that sediment rise can be calculated on the basis of an average of approximately one metre per century. Both Ueli Brunner and Brigitte Coque used this figure in their respective reports on ancient irrigation systems, at the Fourth International Conference on the Civilizations of Ancient Yemen, Ṣan'ā', Yemen, March 1998. Along the Wādi Zabid, CAMROM has measured a sediment rise of 11 m within a distance of 200 m from the main wadi stream. In this instance, hypothetically, we have eleven metres reflecting eleven centuries of irrigation operation. But there may be subsurface anomalies which distort the picture. Away from the down-cut main stream, the sediment may be exaggerated in height because it lies over earlier, naturally deposited alluvium. In addition, one must be cautious about applying too readily the one-metre-a-century principle because the catchments of different wadis are not necessarily the same.

From al-Khazraji's mention of a diversion barrage broken by a flood in 802/1399 ('Asal, 1918, 414) we have an indication that an irrigation system was in place, at least as early as the 14th century. Salameh (1995, 42 and Nachtrag) refers to an 18th century manuscript in which disputes concerning water allocation are described going back to the 14th century, too. For the verbal tradition that the present allocations are based on a water law codified by Shaykh Ismā'il al-Jabartī, who died in 875/1470 (Ibn al-Dayba', 1983, 139), see TESCO (1971, 5). Al-Jabartī assigned spate water not according to the Shari'a principle of upstream priority (*al-a'lā fa-'l-a'lā*), but following established use ('urf), with allo-

cations by prescribed calendar dates. Now, from the discovery of the Citadel Mosque *waqf* inscription, we have some intimate details of the operation, at the level of an individual farm, in the early 16th century.

The Citadel Mosque *waqf* is dedicated in support of a *madrassa* by Iskandar whom we must assume, because of the 940 date, is Iskandar Mawz, who controlled Zabīd between 936-943/1530-1536. CAMROM concludes that the original building was a mosque, attributable to an unknown Rasūlid sponsor on the basis of the painted decorations (Keall, 1984, 54).

The *madrassa* dedication allows us legitimately to use the building's traditional name of *al-Iskandariyya*, even though the tradition of a school (and its *waqf*) had long been forgotten. Iskandar was a "Lawandi." The Lawandis were "Levantine" mercenaries (Blackburn, 1971, n. 122), originally assigned by the Ottomans to aid the Mamlūks in their scheme to exclude the Portuguese from the Red Sea. Yemen was seized in 1516 as part of this exercise. When the Mamlūk state was overthrown in 1517, a leaderless army in Yemen was left without formal authority, but nevertheless with power in parts of the country. Jealous rivalry and murderous intrigues amongst these Lawandi officers produced a litany of assassinations. Iskandar lasted in power longer than most, employing a slave corps to restrain his rivals, but with a reputation for justice (Blackburn, 1971, 64). One may assume that the land donated to the *waqf* was possibly confiscated. Nevertheless, details about the properties may be taken as representative of Wādī Zabīd land management and productivity in general.

In the inscription, the properties dedicated to the *madrassa* are different parcels of land from three named canals (canal=*sharij*) of the Wādī Zabīd network.

The size of the individual properties are given in *ma'ād*, a land measure which is still in use in the Wādī Zabīd today, equaling 0.35 ha (TESCO, 1971, 18). The respective levies from each property are listed as dry measures using the terms *mudd* (pl. *amdād*) and *thumun*. No crop is specified, though it can be assumed it is sorghum. Varisco (1994, 164-5) cites Ibn al-Mujāwir and gives one *thumun* as 1:32nd portion of a *mudd* in the Ayyūbid period, and equates it with one *zabad* (pl. *azbūd*), as the amount of grain eaten by an individual in a month's time. Levies vary from 0.19-0.53 *amdād* per *ma'ād*. From use of the term *sharij* we can extract the nuance that the land and the water form part of one integrated system, for *sharij* implies the deflector berm at the head of the canal, the canal itself, and the tract of land watered by it (Kopp, 1981, 126).

The inscription, then, indisputably demonstrates that farmland and the successful management of the irrigation infrastructure of the Wādī Zabīd were of

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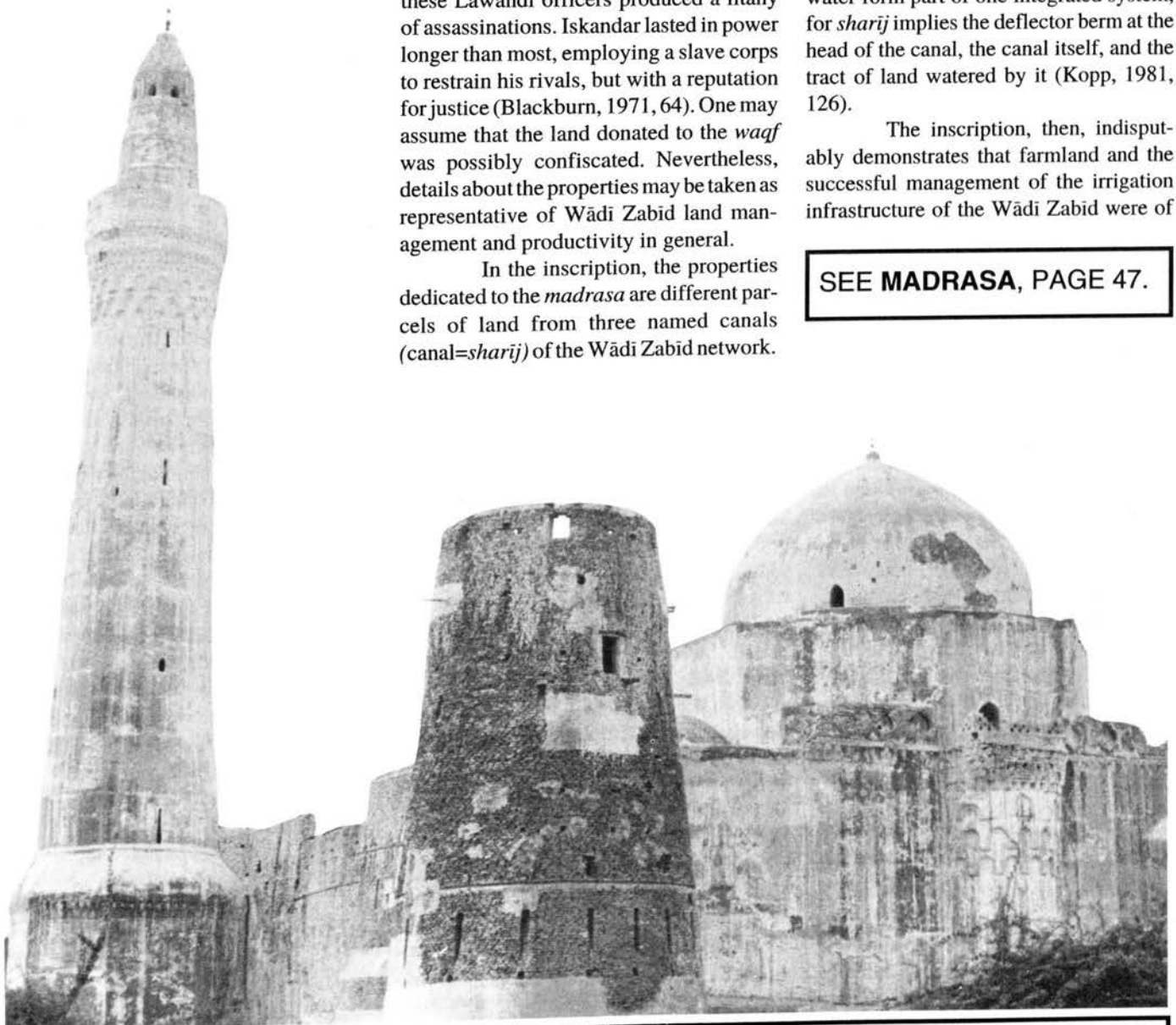


Illustration Two. Al-Iskandariyya, projecting mihrab, minaret, and citadel corner tower

Middle Iranian Sources for the Study of Medieval Islamic History

by Touraj Daryaei

Middle Iranian refers to the languages that were in use in Iran (present day north western India to Iraq and from Central Asia to the Persian Gulf) from the end of the Achaemenid empire (end of the fourth century B.C.E.) to the medieval Islamic period (end of thirteenth century C.E.). The north eastern branch of these languages includes Sogdian and Khwārazmian, and the southeastern includes Khotanese and Bactrian. The northwestern branch of Middle Iranian includes Parthian and the southwestern includes Middle Persian, usually called Pahlavi (distinct from New, or modern, Persian). These languages were written in various scripts and some are better represented than others in the material available. For this and other reasons, they have mainly remained in the hands of philologists who have toiled to clarify and edit the various texts that were written in these languages. Historians, on the other hand, have made very little use of them, even though many texts in Middle Iranian languages were written in the early Islamic period. The discussion that follows will describe these materials and the various ways that they can be used for medieval Islamic history.

Most of the sources in Sogdian are religious texts of the Buddhists, Manichaens, and Christians written between the sixth and tenth centuries C.E. The many minor Sogdian inscriptions are more important for Irano-Turkic relations than for the early Islamic era. Some of the Sogdian documents, found in Mount Mugh, are important because they date back to the eighth century C.E. and give us some understanding of the Muslim economy. As for the Khwārazmian material, there is more from the seventh century onwards

which includes ossuaries found at Tuq Qala with inscriptions and glosses in Arabic dictionaries, such as the *Muqaddimat al-adab* of Abu'l-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. 'Umar al-Zamakhsharī, who lived in the twelfth century. The Khotanese texts are not useful for the Islamic period, even though some were written during this period, since they are usually Buddhist texts on religion and medicine. Bactrian is the only important southeastern language which contains important material for medieval Islamic historians. Bactrian texts from the Sāsānian period survive - most recently a hundred documents written on leather were found which give important information about late Sāsānian and early Islamic history. The most valuable are legal documents written as late as the end of the eighth century. Several of these documents refer to Ru'b-khan, the ruler of Ru'b and Samangān who aided Qutayba b. Muslim in defeating the Hephthalites in 710 C.E. In addition, documents on the sale of slaves and other economic matters provide good evidence concerning social conditions in eastern Iran in the seventh century. The latest dated Bactrian document from 757 C.E. is a deed of sale which interestingly mentions a new currency, "Arab silver dirham," rather than the traditional "gold dinar" or "Persian silver." The documents also refer to tax payment to the Arabs (M.N. Sims-Williams, "Nouveaux documents sur l'histoire et la langue de la Bactriane," *Académie des inscriptions & belles-lettres*, 1996, avril-juin, Paris, pp. 633-654; Ibid, "New Findings in Ancient Afghanistan," see <http://www.gengo.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp/~hkum/bactrian.html>).

While there is no Parthian material for the Islamic period, the Middle Persian texts provide a plethora of information

that has yet to be utilized. The reason for this neglect is two-fold, involving the historicity and the translation of the surviving texts. These texts were written by Zoroastrian priests from the provinces of Fārs and Kermān (and perhaps Iraq) and mainly concern theology and cosmology. Although they do not give detailed chronological information, they provide a communal reflection on events in the Islamic period. By utilizing these texts, one can gain important information not only concerning the Zoroastrians of the Iranian plateau and Iran, but also the Byzantines, Arabs, Turks, and Muslims in general. The second problem is that some of the most important texts still await proper translation. Such shortcomings have left these texts mainly in the domain of philologists who are concerned with linguistic and philological aspects. If we are to use these texts for history, they need to be edited and translated properly, but few historians have utilized these texts for the early Islamic period: Michael Morony, Philippe Gignoux and recently Jamshid Choksy. The Middle Persian material is categorized based on its contents and in relation to early Islamic history in the following categories: I) Coins & Inscriptions; II) Encyclopedic texts; III) Philosophical & Kalām texts; IV) Legal texts; V) Epic and geographical texts; VI) Apocalyptic texts; and VII) Pazand texts.

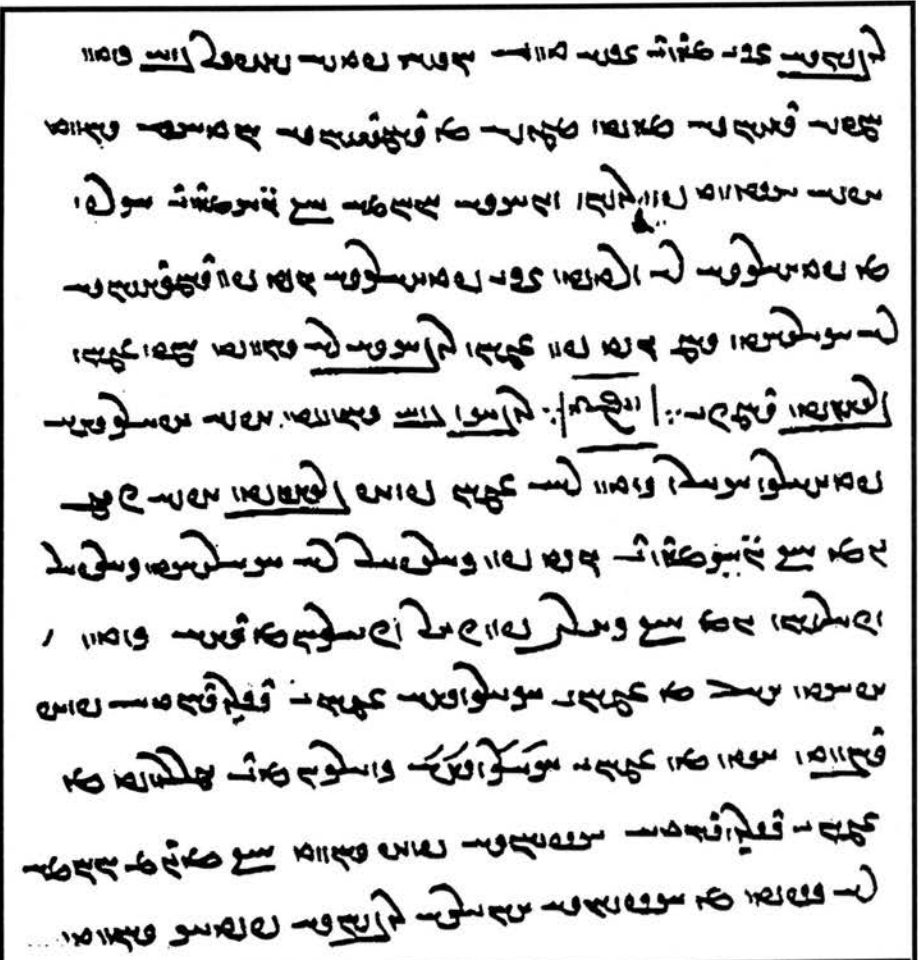
I) *Coins and Inscriptions*. Dirhams (from Middle Persian *drahms*), issued by the Muslims continue to have legends in Middle Persian until the eighth century (a few are found even later, for example on Buyid coins and medallions). These include the name of the person whose image is inscribed on the coins, a slogan, date, and the place of the mint. The coins are an invaluable source for understanding

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the economic and political history of the early Islamic era from Iraq to Khawārizm (M. Bates, "Islamic Numismatics," *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin*, Vol. XII, No. 2, May 1978, pp. 1-16 & Vol. XII, No. 3, December 1978, pp. 2-18). Coins tell us where the different Arab governors ruled, and when the Arab Muslims were able to capture and secure a city or province. The different slogans on the coins tell us which group, e.g. the Umayyad governors, or the Zubayrids, or the Khawārij, or any other group, controlled a specific region at a specific time (M. Mochiri, *Arab-Sasanian Civil War Coinage, Manichaeans, Yazidiya and Other Khawārij*, Paris, 1987).

There are also many minor Middle Persian inscriptions of a funerary nature from the late Sāsānian or the early Islamic period which are mainly found in the province of Fārs. The intensity of funerary finds in a specific region (in Fārs most of these funerary inscriptions belong to Zoroastrians; some others to Christians) can lead us to better understand the religious makeup of a province. One then has to ask why so few inscriptions of this type exist elsewhere if most of the people of the plateau were Zoroastrians? Were there differences in burial customs or different religious configurations in other provinces? Bilingual inscriptions (Middle Persian and Arabic) have been found at Qal'a Bahman which concern the repair of a castle by a Muslim named Hāzīm b. Muḥammad b. Janāna in 786 C.E. (A. Hassuri, "Two Unpublished Pahlavi Inscriptions," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Band 134, Heft 1, 1984, pp. 94-97).

II) *Encyclopedic Texts*. These texts appear to have been written in Sāsānian times, but material was added to them in the early Islamic period. 1) The *Dēnkard* (Acts of Religion), compiled in the ninth century and originally divided into nine books, is one such text. The third book covers religious and philosophical matters and criticizes the tenets of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. The fifth book answers questions posed by a certain Ya'qub Khalidan and a Christian named Boxt Marē. An eminent Middle Persian scholar has called this text, "the book of Daylamites," because it appears that Ya'qub was a Daylamite (J.P. de Menasce, *Une*



Page from the Bundahishn, being a Facsimile Edition of the Manuscript TD1, Iranian Culture Foundation 88, no date, published in Iran.

encyclopédie Mazdéenne, le Dēnkart, Presses universitaires de France, Paris, 1958, p. 30-31). 2) The *Bundahišn* (Primal Creation) is another important text which deals with historical events up to the thirteenth century C.E. and contains illuminating information on late Sāsānian history, the Arab Muslim conquest, the 'Abbāsi revolution, such sectarian movements as the Khorramiyya, and the Turkic invasion of the Near East. One important chapter chronicles historical events from the beginning of time to the early Islamic period from the Zoroastrian point of view. Other parts of the text refer to Arab Muslims and the effect of their settlement on the Iranian plateau. 3) *Dādestān ī dēnīg* (The Judgments of Religion) poses ninety-two questions concerning laws and precepts, which a priest named Manūchihr answers, and deals with the problems of interaction with

the Muslims up to the third century of the *hijra*. Thus, this type of text is important for understanding the effect of Arab Muslim settlement in cities where Zoroastrians lived and the process of Islamicization on the plateau.

III) *Philosophical & Kalām Texts*. These texts deal with Zoroastrian theology and philosophy as well as those of other religions. 1) *Škand ī gumānīg wizār* (Doubt Dispelling Explanation), written by Mardān Farrox in the ninth century C.E. is the most interesting text in this category. Its method of argumentation is different from other Mazdean texts in that it uses 'ilm al-kalām against the tenets of Manichaeism, Judaism, Christianity, Islam, and the Dahrīs. This important Zoroastrian scholar, prob-

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ably borrowed used this method of argumentation from the Muslim intellectual tradition against other faiths (Muslims and Mu'tazilites in this case). 2) The *Gizistag abāliš* (The Accursed Abāliš) chronicles a debate between the leader of the Zoroastrian community, Adur-Farrobay ī Farroxzādān, and Abāliš (whose name may be a corrupt form of Abdallāh, who could have been a Muslim or a Manichaen) held at the court of Ma'mūn (813-833 C.E.) in Baghdad. In other texts, authors attack Muslim beliefs, such as monotheism, but Jewish beliefs are also targeted. At the time of Arab Muslim rule the Zoroastrian priests could not have criticized Islam and its tenets directly; since Judaism and Islam held many beliefs in common, attacks against one could have stood for attacks against both.

IV) *Legal texts*. These texts deal with Zoroastrian-Muslim interaction in the Islamic period, conversion to Islam, marriage to Muslims, and inheritance (if the member of the family converts to Islam). 1) The *Rivāyat ī Ēmēd ī Ašawahištān* discusses such issues as going to a Muslim bathhouse, marrying a Muslim, and more general problems which the Zoroastrians faced in the early Islamic era. 2) *Rivāyat ī Adūrfarrobay ī Farroxzādān* poses one hundred and forty-seven questions regarding precepts and laws concerning interaction with non-Zoroastrians, which the leader of the Zoroastrian community answers. 3) *Dādestān ī dēnīg*, a Middle Persian text written by the priest Manūchihr, contains 92 questions posed to him about purity and pollution. Information on the selling of wine to non-Zoroastrians, business-dealings with non-Zoroastrians, and inheriting money and material wealth from those who have converted to Islam, is also supplied. 4) The *Pahlavi rivāyat* which accompanies the *Dādestān ī dēnīg* is a guide for the Zoroastrians living in the Islamic period and gives advice on how to avoid or make proper contact with Muslims who are either called *ag-dēns* (people of evil religion) or *an-ērān* (non-Iranians). One example advises Zoroastrians to not buy meat from infidels more than once because one must not give anything to an infidel. 5)

The *Rivāyat of Farrobay Srōš* is a short text dated 377 Yazdgerdi / 1008 C.E. and refers to Muslims in regard to marriage and matters relating to religious priesthood. 6) *Pursiš ī Isfandiyār Farrox Burzēn* contains answers to such questions as marriage, and more importantly, buying bread, meat and prepared food from Muslim bazaars and selling commodities to them.

V) *Myth & Geographical Texts*.

This small body of texts deals with the story of Iranian heroes and the geography of the late Sāsānian period, but some information about the early Islamic period is present as well. *Šahrestānihā ī Ērānšahr* (The Provincial Capitals of Iran) is the most important text, last redacted at the time of the Caliph al-Manšūr. Although the provincial capitals of Iran are mentioned, such cities as Mecca, Medina and more distant places such as towns in Africa are also listed along with the supposed builders of these places, according to the Zoroastrian religion. The *Dēnkard* discusses matters pertaining to myth and is useful for understanding Zoroastrian views of the Muslims. For example, the mythical Avestan Azhi Dahāka, who is a serpent / dragon, becomes an evil ruler in these texts, and is labeled a *Tāzīg* (Arab) and rules from *bābil* (Babylon). This myth is most probably a reaction to the Arab Muslim conquest and the establishment of the 'Abbāsi capital at Baghdad.

VI) *Apocalyptic Texts*. A number of significant apocalyptic texts deal with the Arab Muslim conquest and its aftermath. The most detailed is that of the 1) *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* (The Commentary of Wahman Yasn), which discusses events from the end of the Sāsānian period to the Turkic invasions of the tenth and eleventh centuries. The text predicts the Arab Muslim invasion, the devastation that it had for the Zoroastrian population and the Mazdean religion, the 'Abbāsi revolt, the Khorramiya, the Zanj and the position of the *dehgāns*. 2) The *Jāmāsp nāmag* (The Book of Jāmāsp) contains the predictions of Jāmāsp, the wazir of Wištāsp, who writes about some of the events in the text previously discussed. Jāmāsp presents information about the people neighboring Iran (including the Arabs), their worship and some common beliefs about their diet. 3) *Abar madan ī šāh wahrām ī warzāwand*

(On the Coming of the King Wahrām Warzāwand) is another interesting text, composed in verse, which deals with Muslim rule, the imposition of jizya, and the destruction of fire-temples, and calls for the restoration of the Zoroastrian religion and the destruction of mosques and what it calls "the evil religion."

VII) *Pazand Texts*. These texts, written in Middle Persian with Avestan script, have not received the attention they deserve. They are an excellent source for understanding the religious and social beliefs of the Iranians in the medieval period. Some of the texts also exist in Pahlavi, but others are quite unique and include information on praying, saying grace, repenting, breaking spells, destroying demons and curing toothaches, headaches, fever and the like. There are many instructions on how to wash hands and wear the sacred belt, the *kusti*. These texts, as well as some of the New Persian Zoroastrian texts that contain Pazand writing, describe Muslims and their beliefs. One text which has only survived in its Pazand form, contains a word play dealing with the Arab Muslim invasion and Zoroastrian cosmology; one passage states that the Arabs will rush to Iran like the demon *Hēšm* (Demon of Wrath). The name of the demon is written *Hāēšem* referring to Hāšim, the ancestor of the Prophet Mohammed, the 'Abbāsi and the descendants of 'Alī (S.S. Hartman, "Secrets for Muslims in Parsi Scriptures," in *Islam and its Cultural Divergence, Studies in Honor of Gustave E. von Grunebaum*, ed. G.L. Tikku, University of Illinois Press, Urbana, Chicago, London, 1971, pp. 69-70).

What can these texts tell us? Each category has its own kind of information, giving us a different perspective from the Islamic sources. The aim of this brief summary of some of the sources is to encourage historians of the medieval Islamic era to utilize these texts as a complement to the Arabic and New Persian sources. Middle Persian sources, as well as Armenian, Syriac, and Greek sources, should be used for insights into the psyche and the mentality of Zoroastrians (who faced a tide of conversion in the ninth and tenth centuries), and their view of history unfolding and how to keep their community vibrant. The use of these sources is still limited by

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their shortcomings, but because they are written from a communal perspective, they give answers or help give answers to the questions which preoccupy social and economic historians of the medieval Islamic era.

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**H-MIDEAST
 MEDIEVAL**

Middle East Medievalists has launched H-MIDEAST MEDIEVAL, a moderated list for scholars and others interested in the study of the Islamic lands of the Middle East during the medieval period (defined roughly as 500-1500 C.E.). The list is free and open to everyone with a mature and abiding interest in the subject. The list favors contributions that adopt a scholarly, historical tone and content. Scholars, teachers and librarians professionally interested in teaching and research in the field of the medieval Middle East are particularly invited to join. Messages to the list will be read by one of the moderators before being posted; in certain circumstances we may contact you about your message and ask you to clarify content.

If you would like to join H-MIDEAST MEDIEVAL, please contact MEM's Secretary-Treasurer, James Lindsay, at jlindsay@h-net.msu.edu. He will inform you of the necessary procedures for joining H-MIDEAST MEDIEVAL.

CALL FOR PAPERS**Arab Studies Journal**

The *Arab Studies Journal* is accepting papers for the Spring and Fall 1999 issues. Original work in any social science discipline or literature which concerns the Arab world, past or present, will be considered for publication (in English and Arabic). The *Journal* also encourages the submission of papers representing fresh and alternative approaches not sufficiently represented by mainstream scholarship.

WE ENCOURAGE POST-GRADUATES TO SUBMIT THEIR ORIGINAL WORK.

The *Arab Studies Journal* is an independent open forum in the field of Arab and Middle Eastern studies. It maintains no editorial position on issues. Papers will be evaluated on their scholarly probity and not on their theses.

Previously unpublished papers submitted to the *Journal* should not exceed 35 double-spaced, typewritten pages, including endnotes. All submissions must include author's name, affiliation, address, telephone and facsimile numbers, and email address, if available, and be submitted on disk (DOS or Mac) along with a hard copy. The *Journal* conforms to the *Chicago Manual of Style* (University of Chicago Press).

DEADLINE FOR SUBMISSIONS: 15 DECEMBER 1998

Please send all submissions to:

Arab Studies Journal
Center for Contemporary Arab Studies
Georgetown University
Intercultural Center 241
Washington, D.C. 20057 USA
tel 202 637 9772 fax 202 637 7001
email: asj@gusun.gerogetown.edu
Web: www.georgetown.edu/sfs/programs/ccas/asj/asj.htm
For subscription or advertising information, please contact Faedah Totah. For questions regarding article submission, please contact Kathryn Coughlin Dé.

CALL FOR PAPERS**Syriac Symposium III -
The Aramaic Heritage of Syria**

June 17-20, 1999

University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, IN 46556

Syriac Symposium III welcomes contributions from individual scholars, and proposals for panels on the full range of Syriac/Aramaic studies relating to language and literature, cultural interplay, and institutions; including, but not limited to: Syriac Christianity, Judaism and Christianity, Syriac/Armenian Studies, early Christian-Muslim contacts, and Christian Arabic. Send paper title and 250 word abstract by Nov. 1, 1998 to the address printed below.

In association with Syriac Symposium III:

SyrCOM-99: Third International Forum on Syriac Computing - June 18 & 19

This Forum aims to give those working on computational projects in Syriac the opportunity to share information. Papers on all aspects of Syriac computing, databases, etc. are welcome.

For conference-registration, abstracts, etc., address: Syriac Symposium III, Center for Continuing Education, Box 1008, Notre Dame, IN 46556 USA, information telephone: (219) 631-6691, fax line: (219) 631-8083, Email: cce.1@nd.edu

CALL FOR PAPERS**The Medieval
Studies Council****Twentieth Medieval Forum**

Plymouth State College,
Plymouth, NH 03264
April 16 and 17, 1999.

Scholars, teachers, students and aficionados interested in the Middle Ages are invited to participate. The selection of papers will be governed by these guidelines:

1. Papers by specialists as well as those of more general interest for teachers and students on any medieval subject are welcome.
2. Individuals who propose complete groups, roundtables and workshops, need to find participants on their own and send us all the relevant information.
3. Papers will be limited to 20 minutes, with an additional 10 minutes of discussion time.
4. Participants are encouraged to submit papers or groups on **any aspect of medieval studies**; all topics will be considered. For the Twentieth Forum we are interested in forming sessions or groups on "The World of Entertainers in the Middle Ages: Troubadours, Juglares, Minnesingers, etc."
5. Proposals deadline: **December 15, 1998**. Acceptance notified: January 15, 1999. Registration packets will be mailed by 2/10/99.

Sessions are scheduled from Friday morning through Saturday afternoon, April 16 & 17, 1999. In addition, the program will include a keynote address, entertainment, informal social hours and displays of interest to all medievalists.

For more information, please contact: Professor Manuel Marquez-Sterling, Director, Medieval Studies Council, Plymouth State College, USNH, Plymouth, New Hampshire 03264. Phone 603-535-2425 / 603-535-2542.



CALL FOR PAPERS**XIth Conference of the Australian Association for Byzantine Studies****Orthodoxy and Unorthodoxies**

Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia
Friday 16 to Sunday 18 July, 1999

Papers exploring tensions between cultivation of truths and dissension and conformity, in any aspect of Byzantine Studies, are sought for the eleventh conference of AABS. Topics including art history, literature, religion, history, modern scholarship, and other fields are welcome. Papers addressing other themes are also invited, as sessions not involving the main conference theme will be scheduled.

Plenary speakers will include: Averil Cameron (University of Oxford); Walter Goffart (University of Toronto); Elizabeth Jeffreys (University of Oxford).

Abstracts (100 to 300 words) can be sent via email, fax, or post by 31 March 1999 to: Dr Andrew Gillett, School of History Philosophy and Politics, Macquarie University, Sydney NSW 2109, Australia. Email: agillett@ocs1.ocs.mq.edu.au. Tel.: 61-2-9850 9966. Fax: 61-2-9850 8892.

30 minutes will be scheduled for each speaker, including question and discussion time. Please provide full details of any audiovisual or data projection needs for your paper.

Registration: please contact the address above for Registration and Accommodation Forms, or access: http://www.museum.mq.edu.au/docs_centre/ahdrc.html.

The conference organizers are: Profesor Sam Lieu (slieu@laurel.ocs.mq.edu.au); Associate Professor Alanna Nobbs (anobbs@ocs1.ocs.mq.edu.au); Dr Andrew Gillett (agillett@ocs1.ocs.mq.edu.au).

CALL FOR PAPERS**209th Meeting of the American Oriental Society**

The 209th Meeting of the AOS will be held in Baltimore between March 21-24, 1999. Following the pattern of past years, the Meeting will begin on Sunday afternoon and end on Wednesday at noon.

Members of the society are invited to submit communications to be presented at the 209th Meeting. Abstracts of no more than 300 words should cover the following points: (a) the precise topic treated, (b) the exact contribution to the problem, (c) its relationship to previous scholarship on the topic, (d) specific conclusions. Abstracts should be typed or wordprocessor produced and submitted in duplicate. Please do not submit draft-quality dot-matrix printed abstracts, since these cannot be scanned efficiently for the production of the published Abstracts of the Meeting. The abstracts of papers accepted for presentation will appear in the published Abstracts in the way in which they have been submitted. It is impossible for this Office to edit them. Please romanize non-roman writing systems.

Papers from non-members, except for those of invited visiting scholars, cannot be considered because of the expense the Society bears in running the Annual Meeting. Those interested in participating must first apply for membership. Papers will be considered only if members are in good standing.

All materials must be submitted by November 1st, 1998, to the Office of the Secretary, American Oriental Society, Hatcher Graduate Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48109-1205, USA. Tel.: (734) 647-4760.

Abstracts may be submitted via email or fax. Send email abstracts to: jrodgers@umich.edu. Send materials via fax between the hours of 18:00 and 08:00 Eastern Time, from October 1st through November 1st, 1998, to (734) 763-6743.

ANNUAL MEETINGS

Organization	When and Where	Information	Telephone No.
Middle East Studies Association (1998 Meeting)	Dec. 3-6, 1998 Chicago, IL [Paper Deadline: Past]	MESA Secretariat University of Arizona 1232 N. Cherry Ave. Tucson, AZ 85721	(520)-621-5850 mesa@ccit.arizona.edu
Middle East Studies Association (1999 Meeting)	Nov. 19-22, 1999 Washington, DC [Abstract Deadline: Feb. 15 '99]	see preceding	see preceding
Middle East Studies Association (2000 Meeting)	Nov. 16-19, 2000 Orlando, FL [Abstract Deadline: Feb. 15 2000]	see preceding	see preceding
American Oriental Society (1999 Meeting)	March 21-24, 1999 Baltimore, MD [Abstract Deadline: Oct. 31 1998]	American Oriental Society Hatcher Graduate Library University of Michigan Ann Arbor, MI 48109-1205	(313)-647-4760 Jonathan_Rodgers@ ub.cc.umich.edu
American Historical Association (1999 Meeting)	Jan. 7-11, 1999 San Francisco, CA [Paper Deadline: Past]	American Historical Assn. 400 A Street, S. E. Washington, DC 20003	(202)-544-2422
The Medieval Institute (1999 Meeting)	May 6-9, 1999 Kalamazoo, MI [Paper Deadline: Past]	The Medieval Institute Western Michigan Univ. Kalamazoo, MI 49008-3851	(616)-387-4145
College Art Association (1999 Meeting)	Feb. 25-28, 1999 Los Angeles, CA [Paper Deadline: Past]	Suzanne Schanzer 275 Seventh Ave. New York, NY 10001	(212) 691-1051 ext15
American Academy of Religion (1998 Meeting)	Nov. 21-24, 1998 Orlando, FL [Paper Deadline: Past]	American Academy of Religion 1703 Clifton Rd., Suite G-5 Atlanta, GA 30329-4019	(404) 727-7920 aar@emory.edu
American Academy of Religion (1999 Meeting)	Nov. 20-23, 1999 Boston, MA [Paper Deadline: Feb. 1999]	see preceding	see preceding

ANNUAL MEETINGS

Organization	When and Where	Information	Telephone No.
Byzantine Studies Conference (1998 Meeting)	November 5-8, 1998 Univ. of Lexington, Kentucky [Paper Deadline: Past]	Ralph W. Matheisen Dept. of History Univ. of South Carolina Columbia, SC 29208	(803) 777-6068 FAX (803) 777-4494
International Medieval Congress (1999 Meeting) "Saints"	July 12-15, 1999 Leeds, UK [Proposal 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
International Medieval Congress (2000 Meeting) "Time and Eternity"	July 10-13, 2000 Leeds, UK	see preceding	see preceding
Dumbarton Oaks Conference: (1999 Meeting) "Byzantine Eschatology"	April 30-May 2, 1999 Washington, DC [Paper: invitation only]	Dumbarton Oaks 1703 32nd St., N. W. Washington, DC 20007	(202) 339-6940
ARAM 12 "History and Archaeology of Beirut"	April 13-16, 1999	Beirut	
Midwest Region of the American Oriental Society (1999 Meeting) "Daily Life in the Ancient Near East"[Abstract: Jan.1, 1999]	Feb. 14-16, 1999 Hebrew Union College Cincinnati, Ohio	Richard E. Averbeck Trinity Evangelical Div. School 2065 Half Day Road Deerfield, IL 60015	Tel.: (847) 317-8017 Fax: (847) 317-8141 Email: RAverbeck@compuserve

NEWS OF MEM

David Ayalon

MEM notes with deep sorrow the death of David Ayalon, one of MEM's original Honorary Members. He taught Muslim history for many years at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, and was doing pioneering research on the Mamlūk dynasties of Egypt. He also compiled what is considered the most authoritative Arabic-Hebrew dictionary. He passed away in Jerusalem on Thursday, June 25, 1998 at the age of 84.

MEM-Sponsored Panel at Kalamazoo

MEM will be sponsoring a session at the 34th International Congress on Medieval Studies, to be held at Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan, on May 6-9, 1999. The session, entitled "From Ibn Hazm (Abenhamad) to Ibn Rushd (Averroes): The Islamic Intellectual Florescence in al-Andalus c. 1000-1200," will be chaired by Amila Buturovic, Assistant Professor, Humanities, York University (Toronto). The following papers will be presented: Scott C. Lucas (University of Chicago), "Some Notes on Ibn Hazm's Articulation of Islamic Theology in *al-Muḥāla bi-l-āthār* and *al-Fiṣāl*;" Aaron W. Hughes (Indiana University), "Islamic Philosophy and Jewish Intellectuals in al-Andalus: An analysis of Ibn Ezra's *Ḥayy b. Yaqzān*;" Fehrullah Terkan (University of Chicago), "Ibn Rushd's Theory of Double Truth: An Effort to Reconcile Philosophy and Religion."

MEMBER NEWS

Camila P. Adang (Tel Aviv University) is preparing three articles dealing with Ibn Ḥazm: "From Mālikism to Shāfi'ism to Zāhirism: The 'Conversions' of Ibn Ḥazm;" "A Jewish Reply to Ibn Ḥazm: Ibn Adret's Polemic against Islam;" and "Fiṭra in the Writings of Ibn Ḥazm."

Michael D. Bonner (University of Michigan) is continuing his research on poverty and the poor in early Islam and economic thought.

C. Edmund Bosworth (Manchester University) and Denis Sinor (Indiana University) were presented *in persona*, and Richard N. Frye (Harvard University) *in absentia*, with the UNESCO Silver Avicenna Medal by the Director-General Federico Mayor for their work on the multi-volume project *History of Civilizations in Central Asia*, on the occasion of the publication of Vol. 4 *The Age of Achievement: A.D. 750 to the end of the Fifteenth Century*. Part 1. *The Historical, Social and Economic Setting*, ed. M.S. Asimov and C.E. Bosworth (UNESCO Publishing, Paris 1998). The book contains chapters by Bosworth on Central Asia under the Umayyads, the Ghaznavids, the later Seljuqs and the Khwarazmshahs, and the later Delhi Sultans; and by Sinor on the Uighurs in Mongolia and the Kyrgyz, and the Kitan and the Kara Khitay. Part 2. *Intellectual and Cultural Achievements*, will appear at the end of 1998. *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. V, *The Sāsānids, the Lakhmids and Yemen*, transl. and commentary by C.E. Bosworth, is now in press.

Leonard C. Chiarelli (University of Utah) recently published "A Preliminary Study on the Origins of Medical Licensing in Europe," in *Islam and the Medieval Mediterranean* (1998).

Eleanor Congdon (Plymouth State College) was recently appointed Assistant Professor of Medieval History at Plymouth State College, Plymouth, New Hampshire.

Vincent J. Cornell (Duke University), has been promoted to Associate Professor of Religion at Duke University, Durham, North Carolina. He has recently published the following: *The Way of Abū Madyan: Doctrinal and Poetic Works of Abū Madyan Shu'ayb ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Anṣārī* (ca. 509/1115-16-594/1198), (Cambridge: The Islamic Texts Society, 1996), x+190pp.; *Realm and the Saint: Power and Authority in Moroccan Sufism*, (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, September 1998); "The Way of the Axial Intellect: The Islamic Hermetism of Ibn Sab'īn," *Journal of the Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabi Society*, 23, 1997, 41-79; "Living by the Word of God in Islam" and "Where is Scriptural Truth in Islam?" in Hendrik M. Vroom and Jerold D. Goort eds., *Holy Scriptures in Judaism, Christianity and Islam: Hermeneutics, Values and Society* [Currents of Encounter, 12], (Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, 1997), 20-26 and 69-76; "The Sovereignty of the Imamate (*Siyādat al-Imāma*) of the Jazūliyya-Ghazwāniyya: A Sufi Alternative to Sharifism?" *al-Qanṭara* (Madrid), 17/2, 1996, 429-451; "Ḥayy in the Land of Absāl: Ibn Ṭufayl and Sufism in the Western Maghrib During the Muwaḥḥid Era," in Lawrence I. Conrad, ed., *The World of Ibn Ṭufayl: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996), 133-164. He participated in the following: March 17, 1998: "Identité religieuse et ambiguïté culturelle dans la société islamique: les Andalous et les 'ulā' au Maroc, 1492-1600," paper delivered at the conference, "L'Identité: Choix ou Combat?" Faculty of Human and Social Sciences, Université de Tunis I, Tunis, Tunisia; November 27, 1997: Organized and chaired a panel on "Women's Issues in Islamic Law," thirty-first annual meeting, Middle East Studies Association, San Francisco, California; October 21, 1997: Participant in "Muslim/Greek Orthodox In-

terfaith Dialogue," sponsored by the Georgetown University Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding and the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.; July 26, 1997: "His Character was the Qur'an: The Ethical Imperative and the Essence of the Muhammadan Sunna," paper delivered at the Naqshbandiyya Foundation Fourth International Milad-un-Nabi Conference, University of Illinois, Chicago Circle.

Kathryn Coughlin Dé (Georgetown University) is seeking to locate and identify manuals, *nawāzil*, and Islamic court records from medieval Spain and Morocco as sources for her dissertation on the social history of Muslim-Christian relations.

David J. Duncan (Librarian, University of Central Arkansas) published "Library Workers and Other Professionals: Past Successes, Present Problems and Future Questions," *Arkansas Libraries* (1988). He is presently researching the "history of the book" for a conference paper and ultimately a monograph.

Nadia M. El-Cheikh (American University of Beirut) published "Sūrat al-Rūm: A Study of the Exegetical Literature," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 118 (1998); and presented a paper entitled "Byzantium through the Islamic Prism, 12th-13th Centuries" at a Dumbarton Oaks symposium. She is presently preparing a monograph entitled *Constantinople through Arab Eyes: A Mythology* to be published by the German Institute for Oriental Studies in Beirut.

Carl W. Ernst (University of North Carolina) published *The Shambhala Guide to Sufism* (1997) and a translation of Ruzbihan Baqli entitled *The Unveiling of Secrets: Diary of a Sufi Master* (1997). He will be going to Pakistan in the fall of 1998 to do research on the role of print/lithography in the public dissemination of Sufism.

Reuven Firestone (Hebrew Union College, Los Angeles) published "Merit, Mimesis, and Martyrdom: Aspects of Shi'ite Meta-Historical Exegesis on Abraham's Sacrifice in Light of Jewish, Christian and Sunni Tradition," *Journal of the American*

Academy of Religion 66 (1998): 93-116; and "The Failure of a Jewish Program of Public Satire in the Squares of Medina," *Judaism* Winter (1997): 438-52. His monograph, *Jihad: The Origin of Holy War in Islam*, will be published by Oxford University Press.

Clive Foss (University of Massachusetts) published "Syria in Transition, 550-750 AD: An Archaeological Approach," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* (in press).

S. M. Ghazanfar (University of Idaho) published "Post-Greek/Pre-Renaissance Economic Thought: Contributions of Arab-Islamic Scholastics during the 'Great Gap' Centuries," in *Research in the History of Economic Thought and Methodology* (1998). He is presently researching two studies: "The Evolution of Capitalistic Institutions and Processes in the Medieval Mediterranean Tradition" and "The Economic Thought of al-Ghazali and St. Thomas Aquinas: Some Comparative Parallels."

Peter B. Golden (Rutgers University) recently published *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1972); "Cumanica IV: The Tribes of the Cuman-Qipchaqs," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 9 (1995-97): 99-122; "Wolves, Dogs and Qipchaq Religion," *Acta Orientalica Hungarica* 1-3 (1997): 87-98; "The Religion of the Qipchaqs," *Central Asian Journal* 42 (1998): 1-58; "Nomads and Sedentary Societies in Medieval Eurasia," in *Essays on Global and Comparative History*, ed. M. Adas (The American Historical Association, in press). His edition and translation of *The Rasulid Hexaglot* with T. Halasi-Kun, L. Ligeti, and E. Schultz is nearly ready to be submitted to a publisher. He is preparing a monograph entitled *The Qipchaqs in Medieval Eurasia*. He also presented "Nomads in the Sedentary World: The Case of Pre-Chinggisid Rus' and Georgia" at the Seminar on Nomads in the Sedentary World, Institute of Asian Studies, Leiden, The Netherlands, July 1998.

Li Guo (University of Chicago) published *Early Mamluk Syrian Historiography: Al-Yūnīnī's Mir'at al-zamān*, 2 vols. (Leiden:

E.J. Brill, 1998); and "Arabic Documents from Quseir (I): Business Letters," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, forthcoming.

Torsten Hylén (Hoegskolan Dalarna) "Är Kerbala-dramat en myt?" (Is the Karbala Drama a Myth?) in *Myter och mytteorier. Religionshistoriska discussioner och teoretiska ansatser*, ed. Sundqvist and A Svalastog (Uppsala: Teologiska Institutionen, Uppsala Universitet, 1997), 55-71.

Richard C. Martin (Emory University) recently published with Mark Woodward *Defenders of Reasons in Islam: Mu'tazilism from Medieval School to Modern Symbol* (Oxford: Oneworld, 1997). He is preparing with Adal S. Gamal a translation of an 11th-Century CE Mu'tazili manuscript on prophethood and miracles by an unknown student of Abu Rashid al-Nisaburi. He, Carl Ernst (University of North Carolina) and Bruce Lawrence (Duke University) have established a regional exchange for graduate students and faculty in Islamic studies: the Carolina-Duke-Emory Consortium for Islamic Studies.

Karen Rose Matthews (University of Colorado at Denver) recently completed her PhD dissertation, "'They Wished to Destroy the Temple of God': Responses to Diego Gelmirez's Cathedral Construction in Santiago de Compostela, 1100-1140" (University of Chicago, 1995). Her article "Negotiated Meanings and Urban Audiences for the Inscriptions on the Sultan Hasan Madrasa Complex in Cairo," will be published in selected papers from the conference, "Inscriptions as Art in the World of Islam" sponsored by Hofstra University. Her article, "Expressing Political Legitimacy and Cultural Identity in the Year 1000: the Use of Spolia on the Ambo of Henry II" is under review. She is preparing a monograph entitled, *The Creation of a New Art: Themes in the Study of Islamic Art and Architecture*.

Julie Scott Meisami (University of Oxford) edited with Paul Starkey *Encyclopaedia of Arabic Literature* (London: Routledge, 1998). She authored 38 articles in the Encyclopaedia. She published "Cosmic Numbers: The Symbolic

Design of Niūāmi's Haft Paykar," in *Humanism, Culture and Language in the Near East*, ed. Asma Afsaruddin and A.H. Mathias Zahniser (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1997), 39-49; "Imru' al-Qays Praises the Prophet," in *Tradition and Modernity in Arabic Literature*, ed. Issa J. Boullata and Terri DeYoung (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1997), 223-43; and "Places in the Past: The Poetics/Politics of Nostalgia," *Edebiyat* 8 (1997): 63-106. Her monograph, *Persian Historiography to the End of the Twelfth Century* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press), is forthcoming. She also organized the European Workshop "The Shi'i Century and the Iranian Milieu" at Wolfson College, Oxford, 11-14 June 1998.

John Meloy (American University of Beirut), has completed his dissertation for the University of Chicago entitled "Mamluk Authority, Meccan Autonomy, and Red Sea Trade, 797-859/1395-1455," and is now teaching in the History and Civilization program at AUB.

Hasan Qasim Murad (University of Karachi, Retired) is presently working on a 3-volume study of the life, thought, and caliphate of 'Umar II. He recently finished revising an article on the comparative analysis of sources for the *miḥna* of Ibn Taymiya.

Judith Pfeiffer (University of Chicago) will be conducting research in Iran and Turkey for her dissertation, "Conversion to Islam among the Ilkhans in the 13th- to 16th-Century Narrative Traditions." She will be based at the Orient-Institut der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft in Istanbul from November 1998-October 1999.

Nasser Rabbat (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) is currently working on a book on the writing on art and architecture in the medieval Middle East and their social, cultural, and historical contexts. The book is tentatively entitled, *Visual Echoes in a Textual Culture: Representations of Art and Architecture in the Medieval Arabic Literature*. He published "Mamluk Artists and Society: The Perspective of the Sources," *Journal of Architectural Education* (1998); "The Iwan: Its Spatial Mean-

ing and Memorial Value," *Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales* 44 (1997); "My Life with Salāh al-Din: The Memoirs of 'Imād al-Din al-Kātib al-Isfahāni," *Edebiyat* 7 (1996); "Al-Azhar Mosque: An Architectural Chronicle of Cairo's History," *Muqarnas* 13 (1996); "The Formation of the Neo-Mamluk Style in Modern Egypt," in *Essays Presented to Stanford Anderson on his Sixty-Second Birthday* (1997). He also contributed several entries on architectural terms for the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, the *Encyclopedia of the Qur'an*, and *A Guide to the Late Antique World*.

Elizabeth Sartain (American University in Cairo) is preparing a critical edition of Fāṭimid documents from Qaṣr Ibrim. She is also continuing her research on Islamic government (*siyāsa shar'īya*).

Elizabeth Savage published *A Gateway to Hell, a Gateway to Paradise, the North African Response to the Arab Conquest*, (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1997). She is currently preparing studies on the historiography of early North Africa and the works of Tadeusz Lewicki for Variorum. A camera-ready manuscript of Early Abbasid Coinage, a typology is available to anyone interested. This coin catalogue covers the early Abbasid period up to the reforms of al-Ma'mūn in 218. The British Museum Press described it as a "wide-ranging survey ... which sheds light on subjects as diverse as art, religion and regional development as well as economic and political history." Heretofore, copies have only been available to a handful of elite scholars. Should others be interested in acquiring a free copy write or email me at esavage@msn.com. (Work: 044 01442 842401).

Maya Shatzmiller (University of Western Ontario) is preparing a monograph entitled *The Berbers and the Islamic State* (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, forthcoming).

D.A. Spellberg (University of Texas) published *Politics, Gender, and the Islamic Past: The Legacy of 'Ā'isha bint Abī Bakr* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994); and "Writing the Unwritten Life of Eve: Menstruation and the Demonization

of Motherhood," *IJMES* 28 (1996): 305-24. She is presently preparing a study entitled "Science, Religion, and Blood: Female Biology in Medieval Islamic Thought."

Paula Stiles (University of Rhode Island) is preparing her Master's thesis on Arabization of the Knights Templar during the Crusades.

Marina Tolmacheva (Washington State University) published "Bertius and al-Idrisi: An Experiment in Orientalist Cartography," *Terrae Incognitae* 28 (1996): 36-45; "Intercultural Transmission and Selection: Greek Toponyms in Arabic Geography" in *Tradition, Transmission, Transformation*, F. Jamil Ragep and Sally Pi Ragep, eds (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996): 419-40; and four articles in *Encyclopaedia of the History of Science, Technology, and Medicine in Non-Western Culture* (Dordrecht/Boston/Leiden: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1997) : "East and West: Africa in the Transmission of Knowledge from East to West;" "Environment and Nature: Africa;" "Navigation in Africa;" "Navigation in the Indian Ocean and Red Sea." She presented two papers : "Mecca in Islamic Geography and Travel," at the 1997 Annual Meeting of the International Society for the Comparative Study of Civilization (Provo, Utah); and "Pilgrimage and Patronage in Medieval Islam," at the 6th International conference of the World History Association (Pamplona, Spain). She was an invited lecturer for a mini-course on the history of Islamic states (Kyrgyz National University, Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan, March 1998) and a Visiting Professor at the École des hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (Paris, May-June 1998).

Daniel Varisco (Hofstra University) published *Medieval Folk Astronomy and Agriculture in Arabia and the Yemen* (Variorum Press, 1997). He is presently researching a monograph on traditional irrigation in Yemen. He is also webmaster of "Yemen Update," currently at <http://www.geocities.com/Athens/Oracle/9361>.

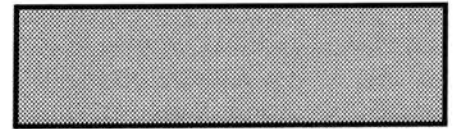
Knut S. Vikor (University of Bergen) published *Sufi and Scholar of the Desert*

Edge: Muhammad b. 'Alī al-Sanūsī and his Brotherhood (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1995); *Sources for Sanūsī Studies* (Bergen, 1996); *Ei verd bygd på islam: Oversikt over Midtaustens historie* [A World Build on Islam: Overview of Middle Eastern History] (Oslo: Det norske samlager, 1993); "Shi'ismen: historias lim" [Shi'ism: The Glue of History], *Tidsskrift för mellanösternstudier* 2 (1996): 79-93; and "Politisk islam: fundament eller utvekst?" [Political Islam: Fundament of Malignancy?] in *Til debatt: Innlegg ved Nordke historiedagar*, Oyvind Bjornson, Egil Nysæter and Arve Kjell Uthang, eds. (Bergen, 1998): 83-96. His forthcoming publications include *The Oasis of Salt: The*

History of Kawar, a Saharan Centre of Salt Production (Bergen, forthcoming); *The Exotering A mad b. Idrīs: A Sufi's Critique of Madhabs and Wahnābis*, Bernd Radtke, Knut S. Vikor, John O'Kane and R. S. O'Fahey, eds. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, forthcoming); *Mellom Gud og stat: Fortolking og praksis i islamsk lov* [Between God and State: Interpretation and Practice in Islamic Law] (Oslo, forthcoming); "Jihāds in West Africa: A Global Theme in a Regional Setting," in *Local Islam in a Global Context*, Leif Manger, ed. (London, forthcoming); "Sufi Brotherhoods," in *The History of Islam in Africa*, N. Levtzion and R. Powels, eds. (Athens, OH, forthcoming). He is currently prepar-

ing two monographs: *Ijtihād in the 18th-19th Centuries: A Study of al-Sanūsī's Iqāz al-wasnān*; *The Letters of Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Sanūsī and an Encyclopaedia of Islam* article, "al-Wisyāni."

Hayrettin Yucesoy (University of Chicago), is working on his PhD. dissertation entitled "The Messianic Milieu: A Study of Abbasid History in its Liminal Phase (193-220 A.H./808-835 C.E.)."



Centre of Furuṣiyya Studies

A new association of scholars has been formed named **al-Halqa**. The purpose of this association is to promote academic research in the subjects of military science, technology, tactics and other aspects of warfare within the Islamic World during the pre-modern era. **al-Halqa's** field of interest also extends to those cultures which either influenced developments in these fields within Islamic civilization, or which were themselves influenced by various aspects of warfare in the Islamic World. **al-Halqa** intends to promote and organize meetings of similarly interested historians, symposia etc., and top publish a journal.

If you would like more information about **al-Halqa** or would like to join the association, please contact the **Centre of Furuṣiyya Studies** via one of the following:

Dr. David Nicolle, "Beaucaire," 67 Maplewell Road, Woodhouse Eaves, Leics. LE128RG, England. Tel. and Fax: +44 (0) 1509 890428;

Dr. Shihab al-Sarraf, Saint Denis Le Thiboult, 76116 RY, France. Tel: +33 (0) 235 021480 and Fax: +33 (0) 235 232040.

MADRASA, FROM PAGE 35.

fundamental importance for sustenance of Zabid's economic and cultural life.

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MEM Scholar Profile

Ibrahim Boutchiche

HISTORIAN, SULTAN QABUS UNIVERSITY

Dr. Ibrahim Boutchiche (Ibrāhīm al-Qādirī Būṭshīsh) was born in January, 1955, in the village of al-Sa'īdiya, district of Wijda, Morocco. He received his elementary and secondary education in Wijda. He then attended the Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh University in Fez, from which he received his *ijāza* (roughly equivalent to the B.A.) and *diblūm* (roughly equivalent to the M.A.) in Islamic history in 1977 and 1984, respectively. Along the way, he also earned a certificate in education from the Teachers' College in Rabat (1979), and taught history and geography at the secondary school level in Miknās from 1980-83. However, he was soon called back to teach at the university level, serving as Assistant Professor at Mawlay Ismā'il University in Miknās from 1983 until 1991, including a term as chairman of the history department. He received his *doctorat d'état* from Mawlay Ismā'il University in Islamic history in 1991, and was promoted to Associate Professor (*ustādh muḥāḍir*). His dissertation was entitled *al-Hayāt al-ijtimā'īya fī l-maghrib wa-l-andalus khilāl 'aṣr al-murābiṭūn* [Social life in the Maghrib and Andalusia during the Age of the Almoravids]. In 1994, he took up a position teaching in the history department at Sulṭān Qābūs University in Masqaṭ, 'Umān.

Dr. Boutchiche's interests focus on social, economic, and intellectual history, including such diverse topics as the question of social classes and the role of magic in society. His doctoral dissertation was recently published in Egypt (Alexandria: Dār Shabāb al-Jāmi'a), but before it appeared he published several other books on the subject. These include *Athar al-iqtā' fī ta'rīkh al-andalus al-siyāsī min muntaṣif al-qarn al-thālith ḥattā zuḥūr al-khilāfa (250 h-316 h)* [Effects of iqtā' in the political history of Andalusia from the middle of the third century until the appearance of the caliphate (250-316 A.H.)] (Rabāt, Dār 'Ukāz, 1992), as well as *Ta'rīkh al-gharb al-islāmī: qirā'āt jadīda fī ba'ḍ qaḍāyā al-mujtama' wa l-ḥaḍāra* [History of the Islamic West: new views on some problems of society and civilization] (Beirut: Dār al-ṭalī'a, 1994), a collection of conference papers and articles published previously in various periodicals. These include studies of the concept of "class" and its relevance to our understanding of social organization in the Islamic West, the history of the common people (*al-'awāmm*) in the medieval Maghrib in view of the

paucity of source material, the Christian communities of the Islamic West during the Almohad age, etc.

Dr Boutchiche has also published papers on the relations between the Arabian Gulf and the Indian subcontinent from the 1st-3rd centuries A.H.; on the impact of warfare on the scale of taxation in the Maghrib and Andalusia during the Almoravid era; on the crisis of trade in Andalusia at the end of the period of the emirates (in *al-Manāhil* 32 [1985]); on the political role of the

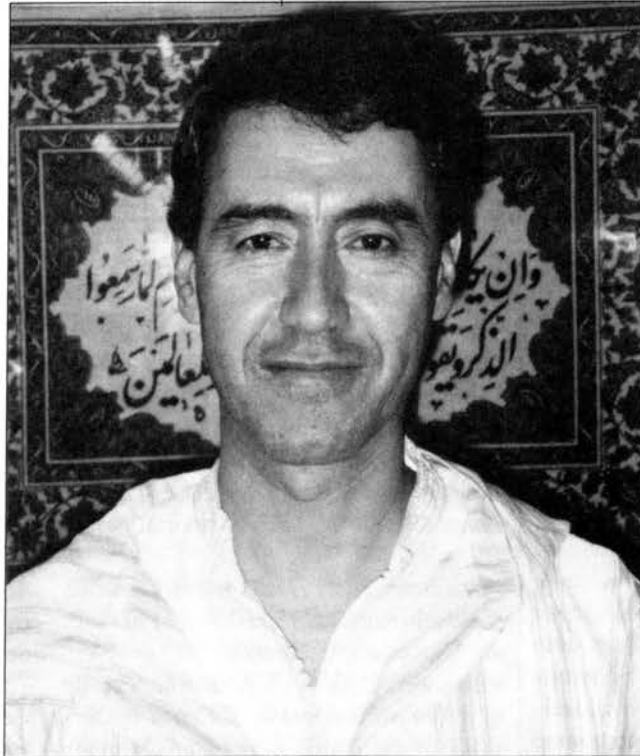
cultured elite in the Maghrib, the example of the movement of Ibn Masarra (in *Dirāsāt 'arabīya*); on land ownership in Andalusia during the emirate (in *al-Manāhil* 32 [1989]); etc. Among his publications are a number dealing specifically with the history of Miknās, such as one on the development of agriculture in Miknās from the Almoravid era to the end of Marinid times (in *al-Manāhil* 33 [1990]).

He has also taken an active interest in questions of historiography, as in his article "Muqṭaraḥāt li-milād madrasa 'arabīya li-l-ta'rīkh" ["Suggestions for the inception of an Arab school of historical writing"], published as part of the proceedings of a conference on "Revisionist historiography" held in

Baghdad, 1987. Likewise, he has been very keen to advance an awareness of Arabic manuscripts and to publish original documents; this effort is reflected in articles such as his "Wathā'iq ḥawl al-ta'rīkh al-dīni li-l-maghrib fī al-qarnayn 5 wa 6 h: madkhal li-dirāsāt 'ilāqat al-sulṭa bi-quwā al-taṣawwuf" ["Documents about the religious history of the Maghrib in the 5th and 6th centuries A.H.: introduction to the study of relations between the authorities and the powers of Sufism," *Majallat Dār al-Niyāba* 17-18 (1988).

Dr. Boutchiche is an active member of numerous scientific societies in the Arab world and has attended many conferences in the Arab world and in Europe.

Dr. Ibrahim Boutchiche can be reached at the Sultan Qabus University, College of Arts, Department of History, P.O.B. 42, Masqaṭ 123, Sultanate of Oman. Fax: 014210.



Pioneers

IN MEDIEVAL MIDDLE EASTERN STUDIES

Ignaz Goldziher

(1850-1921)

Nestor of Islamic Studies in the West

by Shalom Goldman

At the end of the nineteenth century, the Turkish government asked its Minister of Education to prepare a report on European universities and the possibility of introducing Western style higher education in the Ottoman realm. The Minister travelled to the great European educational institutions and submitted his report to the Sultan's court. Asked by the Sultan what the most surprising aspect of his visit was, the minister replied: "In Budapest I attended a lecture on Islam. The speaker was an Hungarian Jew. The audience was composed of Hungarian Christians. And everything he said about Islam was correct."

The minister's report -and this delightful anecdote- were well-received at the court. The Ottoman authorities were impressed by the openness and tolerance of the various European university systems and took some steps to introduce educational reforms into their own educational system.

The Hungarian Jewish scholar referred to in the anecdote was Ignaz Goldziher, the savant who pioneered the scientific study of Islamic languages and texts in the West. During his long career he produced books and articles that are studied by Islamicists to this day. His work had a profound effect on Western scholarship in the areas of comparative philology, religious studies, and the emerging discipline of Semitics. His vast oeuvre includes over eight hundred items. The titles of his major

books are familiar to all students of Islamics. His earliest work, *Mythos bei den Hebräern* (1876), was influenced by Max Müller's work on solar mythology and addresses a topic that has attracted scholarly attention: the relationship between theories of myth and the early narratives of the Hebrew Bible. Islamic scholars in Egypt and elsewhere in the Muslim world recognized the importance of Goldziher's accomplishments and considered him a valued colleague. Goldziher understood the political and social implications of his scholarly work. Throughout his life he strived to create an atmosphere of mutual respect and understanding between Muslims, Christians, and Jews.

Much of Goldziher's inspiration for this life long-commitment to Orientalist scholarship derived from his 1873-74 journey to the Middle East. He was then 24 years old and at the end of a 5 year period in which he had travelled throughout Europe and studied with the eminent European Arabists of his day. When he arrived in Damascus and then proceeded to Cairo he was fluent in Arabic, and this eased his entry into Muslim institutions. The bulk of his time in the Mideast was spent in Cairo, where his language skills, intellectual acumen, and persistence gained him an introduction to the Shaykh Al-Azhar, the administrative and spiritual head of Al-Azhar, Islam's oldest center of religious learning. Goldziher was the first European to attend lectures at this prestigious academy. He

was allowed to do so only after the Shaykh gave him a rigorous examination. Of the four months that he spent at Al-Azhar Goldziher later wrote "Both the students and the teachers treated me as if I were one of them, although I never posed as a Muslim. These were four glorious months of spirited learning." His professors gave him an Arabic title which evoked the sound of his German name -Shaykh Zarawi. The Arabic document which the head of Al-Azhar wrote on Goldziher's admission to the theological school reflects a more relaxed period in interfaith relations, a period in which a non-Muslim scholar, fluent in Arabic, could gain permission to study at an institution closed to outsiders. "There appeared before us the Hungarian talib Ignaz, a man of the ahl al-kitab with the presentation of his desire to delve into the sciences of Islam under the eyes of the wise and learned shaykhs of the mosque.... He declares himself far removed from all pursuit of mockery... Thus it is the decision of God that this youth become a neighbor of our flowering mosque, and one must not obstruct the decision of God." During his later years, Goldziher's pride in this affiliation remained. He proudly signed his books with the phrase Ignaz Goldziher, the Magyar Azhari.

But it was not only with the Egyptian religious establishment that Goldziher formed lasting ties at that time. He was also acutely aware of the political struggles then raging in Egypt and allied himself

with progressive nationalist forces. He sympathized with the views of Egyptian nationalists opposed to both the Ottoman Turks and the European colonial powers. Goldziher befriended the influential thinker Jamal ad-Din Al-Afghani, (1838-1897) who called for Egyptian independence from all foreign powers. Al-Afghani, who lived in Egypt from 1871 to 1879, had a profound effect on Egyptian politics in particular and on Arabic political thought in general. The mid 1870s were a formative period in Al-Afghani's political development. His charisma and oratorical ability attracted many followers. Visiting European intellectuals were eager to meet with him, and he with them. Of the Europeans, it was Goldziher with whom he formed the closest association. The friendship with Al-Afghani and the other social and intellectual ties that Goldziher formed during this 1873-74 visit had a profound effect on his understanding of Islam as it is lived. As Lawrence Conrad noted in an important series of articles on Goldziher, the full import of this trip must be understood in the context of the times. For Goldziher arrived in the Near East in the heady early days of the *nahḍa*, the great revival of Arab communal and cultural awareness that characterized the intellectual and social history of the later nineteenth and early twentieth-century Levant.

Though the necessity for religious tolerance was a theme that emerges from Goldziher's oeuvre, he himself was the victim of intolerance throughout his life. The breadth and depth of his scholarship was recognized by experts throughout the world; but despite his stature as a scholar, the state-controlled University of Budapest would not grant him a regular university appointment. A Jew, even one educated within Hungary's own university system, was not a suitable candidate. A contemporary of Goldziher's, the linguist Bernard Munkacsy, in writing of his own travails at the hands of the university administrators, described the fate of Jewish students who aspired to university professorships in mid-nineteenth century Hungary: "The honors degree, Ph.D. and academic achievements were all in vain! Where teacher's posts were given, certificates of baptism were required. Teachers-to-be of Jewish origin had to settle their 'religious status' before

being employed by the state. Many of my attempts to acquire a secular job have failed."

Goldziher, while bitter at rejection by the system that educated him, did not vent his spleen at the Hungarian authorities. Rather, he reserved his most caustic remarks for his Jewish co-religionists. When Goldziher, in his mid-twenties, realized that admission to the regular university faculty would be denied him, he accepted an administrative job with the Budapest Jewish community. As secretary of the Israelite Congregation of Pest, the Reform Synagogue with the largest membership in Europe, Goldziher was responsible for the religious, educational and social activities of the congregation. As Raphael Patai noted "a man without Goldziher's intense scholarly drive, and more important, with a thicker skin, could have found at least some measure of satisfaction in occupying this influential position."

But there was to be no sense of satisfaction in Goldziher's professional life. He served the Jewish community for thirty years. In his diary, and in his letters to friends, he complained bitterly about his fate. Early on in his period of service he wrote "It was decided that I become a slave. The Jews wanted to have pity on me. This is the misfortune of my life." It is remarkable that Goldziher did not succumb to these bitter feelings and sink into inactivity. On the contrary, he persisted in his studies and developed a system which enabled him to produce scores of books and articles over these thirty years. During the working year he would read Arabic texts at night, translating and taking notes, and this after working eight hours in the congregation's office -- during which he supervised a staff of ten employees. On his six week summer vacation he would take these books and notes (and later, when he married, his wife and son) to the mountains and write a complete monograph in one sustained effort. Among the magisterial works written in this manner were: *Islam: Studies in the Religion of Mohammad* (in Hungarian-1881), the long German-language monograph on the Zahiris (1884), and the authoritative *Introduction to Islam* (German-1910).

It was only in 1905 that Goldziher,

then aged 55, received a regular university appointment in Budapest. During his employment at that city's Reform Jewish congregation he turned down serious job offers from the most important European and Middle Eastern centers for the study of religion and culture. Among the offers: In 1893 the University of Heidelberg, at the urging of the great Semitist Nöldeke, offered him a professorship. A year later Cambridge University invited him to occupy the chair left empty at the death of William Robertson Smith, the eminent philologist and historian of religion. In the early 1900s Goldziher received offers from the Khedive of Egypt to teach in Cairo -- and from Zionist leader Max Nordau to teach at the projected Hebrew University in Jerusalem. (Surely he was the only person who received job offers from both of these figures!)

To all of these offers, Goldziher, tied to Budapest and his family, friends and regular employment, said no. His refusal to consider teaching positions outside of Hungary -- coupled with his continuing bitterness and anger at the Jewish community for "enslaving" him in his administrative position -- are congruent with the general psychological picture we get reading the letters -- that despite his accomplishments and world-wide acclaim he felt 'trapped' in a situation in which his worth was not recognized. And from that trap he could see no way to free himself. This was the way that Raphael Patai, the late anthropologist whose father was a student of Goldziher's, saw the master's psychological problems. A more recent study and analysis (L. Conrad 1990) sees Patai's reading of the diary as flawed. For along with Goldziher's stridency and occasional emotional outbursts, there is much in his letters that is positive. To use Goldziher's emotional outbursts as the basis for an interpretation of his life and work seems unreasonable.

Robert Simon, Goldziher's biographer, noted that "he transformed correspondence into a veritable cult." A letter from a valued colleague or student was joyfully received. He told A.S. Yahuda that "if I receive a letter from Nöldeke or Snouck I feel as if I were given a precious gift. A happy and solemn mood descends upon me immediately." And these were

not mere missives of politeness. Scholars who have perused them note that these letters and Goldziher's detailed replies could pass for scientific papers and convey more ideas and have greater scientific value than many of the mass-produced pieces of modern philology. The Hungarian Academy of Sciences has preserved a good deal of the master's correspondence, and as one observer put it, "the mere quantity of these letters is astounding: 45 boxes containing 13,700 letters from 1,650 people." Goldziher clearly followed his own advice. Joseph Somogyi, a student of Goldziher's who emigrated to the U.S. and taught Arabic at Brandeis University, quoted his teacher as exhorting him to do two things "if you want to prosper in life: answer every letter or card you receive, even if your answer be negative; and give lectures at the Orientalists' congresses. This is as important as literary work."

On occasion, Goldziher's personal concerns emerge in his letters, though for the most part they are concerned with matters philological and textual. Some of these letters served as drafts for his academic papers. He also kept a diary and in it he allowed himself greater freedom of expression. Portions of these diaries were published in the 1970s. William Montgomery Watt, in an essay on the diaries,

noted that they contained a startling revelation about the great scholar: "His apparently effortless mastery of his subject and the even tenor of his scholarly expositions suggest a placid existence in the groves of academia. The publication of the diary shows such a suggestion to be completely erroneous. All these works of serene and profound scholarship came from one who was engaged for over thirty years in an intense spiritual struggle against forces which made his daily life almost unbearable and threatened to destroy all his confidence in himself."

Goldziher's literary legacy of books, articles, letters was vast. His other great legacy to scholarship was his students: He taught and inspired a generation of Islamicists, Semitists, and students of religion. These students, in turn, founded scholarly lineages of their own. Many of his Jewish students were murdered by the Nazis. Others fled Europe and survived. They taught, wrote, and inspired a new generation of scholars in New York, Boston, London, Moscow and Jerusalem.

Examination of Goldziher's work and life can lead us to a more nuanced reading of the Western project of Understanding Islam. Edward Said claimed that after Renan Western scholarship produced no new conceptualization of Islam and the

Orient. But as Lawrence Conrad has noted, Goldziher's career flatly contradicts one of Said's most important conclusions. For Goldziher's work is itself a critique of Orientalism. It is an attempt to present Islam as it is presented and interpreted in its own textual tradition. Goldziher sharply attacked Renan and repeatedly sought to disprove his Aryan/Semitic formulations. As al-Afghani also produced a trenchant critique of Renan's views, one might imagine the young Hungarian Jewish Orientalist and the older Middle Eastern religious and political thinker critiquing and demolishing Renan's views as they walked through Cairo in the winter of 1874.

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- L. Conrad, "The Near East Study Tour of Ignaz Goldziher", and "The Dervish's Disciple: On the Personality and Intellectual Milieu of the young Ignaz Goldziher", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1990, 105-126, 225-266.

Netherlands Ulama Project

The main aim of the Netherlands Ulama Project (NUP) is to study the emergence and evolution of the ulama in early and classical Islam (through AH 400) with special emphasis on the role of the non-Arab converts (mawali). NUP has its own information system which comprises, alongside a data entry program (TabaqatKamila), statistical and geographic programs for flexible and elaborate data analyses.

The project has two databases. The main database, which has been completed, is a representative sample of 1,049 ulama (for Hadith, Tafsir, Qira'a, Nahw and Fiqh). The other database, currently being collected, will comprise all known grammarians of the period (estimated to be about 400); at present it counts 210 grammarians. For each individual scholar some 100 variables can be entered. The data are collected from as many classical biographical dictionaries as we can get our hands on.

NUP is a research project funded by the Dutch government's Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO). The grant for the project was awarded in 1994 to us as principal investigators and lasts until 1999. After termination of the grant, we hope to continue our project in enlarged form, depending on the possibilities of our new University/employer.

Dr. Monique Bernards & Dr. John Nawas, Groen van Prinstererlaan 32, 5252 AK Vlijmen, The Netherlands. Email: john.a.nawas@let.uu.nl. Tel.: 31-73-5119616

European Research Workshop:

The Shi'i Century and the Iranian Milieu

The European Research Workshop on "The Shi'i Century and the Iranian Milieu" was held at Wolfson College, Oxford, 11-14 June 1998. The objective of the Workshop was to examine and discuss various aspects of culture, religion, and politics in the Eastern Islamic world in the 4th/10th century, and to consider plans for future research in this area.

Eleven speakers delivered papers at the Workshop; a list of the speakers and their papers follows, together with a brief summary of their contents.

Wilferd Madelung (University of Oxford): "The Zaydiyya in 10th-Century Iran."

Professor Madelung briefly outlined the history of the Shi'i/Zaydi movement in Daylam and eastern Gilan (Tabaristan) from its beginnings in the late 2nd/8th century. His paper focussed primarily on the establishment of the Buyid dynasty, with capitals in Shiraz, Isfahan, Rayy, and, ultimately, Baghdad, where from the mid-4th/10th until the mid-5th/11th century the Buyids controlled the Abbasid caliphate. The Buyids revived pre-Islamic traditions of Persian kingship; they and their officials sponsored extensive scientific and literary activity in Arabic.

Elton Daniel (Encyclopedia Iranica, New York/University of Hawaii): "Attitudes Towards Shi'ism in the Persian Prose of the Samanid Period."

Professor Daniel discussed the 4th/10th century as a transitional phase in the development of Islam in Iran, and connections between religion and the rise of Persian prose literature. Examining the extent to which the latter phenomenon might be connected to attempts on the part of the Samanid rulers to combat various heterodox movements in their domains of Khurasan and Transoxiana, he concluded that although the problem of heterodoxy looms large in the prose texts of the period, it is difficult to pinpoint specific 'heresies' at which these texts were aimed. (Professor Daniel's participation was made possible by a grant from Wolfson College.)

Hans-Hinrich Biesterfeldt (Landesspracheninstitut Nordrhein-Westfalen, Bochum): "Political Aspects of Ibn Farighun's *Jawami' al-'ulum*."

This Arabic work, written in the mid-4th/10th century for the local Muhtajid rulers of Chaghaniyan (southern Transoxiana), is an encyclopedia of sciences written for the instruction of court secretaries and officials. It is of particular interest as it employs the *tashjir* form (entries are composed in the shape of an inverted tree, a method of composition which can only be conceived and practiced in a written medium); it contains an important chapter on history which integrates a variety of historical traditions.

Jurgen Paul (Institut für Orientalistik, Halle): "The Histories of Isfahan."

Professor Paul's paper discussed the development of the genre of local histories (that is, biographical dictionaries centered on a given town or region) with reference to two Arabic histories of Isfahan written in the 4th/10th century, and examined the extent to which such sources can be used to shed light on issues of cultural and social history. (Professor Paul was unable to attend the Workshop; his paper was read by Dr. Julia Ashtiany-Bray of the University of St. Andrews.)

Wadad al-Qadi (University of Chicago): "Al-Tawhidi: A Sunni Voice in a Shi'i Century."

Abu Hayyan al-Tawhidi (d.411/1023) viewed the period in which he lived as one of religious, intellectual and moral decline. A militant Sunni, in a Baghdad ruled by the Shi'i Buyids, in many of his writings he attacks Shi'ism on historical, theological and experiential grounds, and expresses particular alarm at the expansion of Shi'ism due largely to Isma'ili missionary activities.

Joel Kraemer (University of Chicago): "The Ancient Sciences in the Shi'i Century: Appropriation or Marginalization?"

Professor Kraemer questioned the view that the appropriation of the Greek philosophical and scientific heritage, through Arabic translations, commentaries, and original works, was a marginal phenomenon, arguing that it was widely supported by dynastic and other patronage and by the foundation of institutions for the purpose of preserving and disseminating this heritage. He raised the question of possible connections between Shi'ism and this flourishing of philosophy and science, but concluded that the period represents a particularly dynamic phase in the constant evolution of Islamic civilisation. (Professor Kraemer's participation in the Workshop was made possible by a grant from the British Academy.)

Lutz Richter-Bernburg (University of Leipzig): "Marble, Wood, Lead, and a Glass Crab: Architecture in 4th-Century Islamic Geography."

Professor Richter-Bernburg's paper examined the treatment of architectural 'wonders' in Arabic geographical works of the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries. He argued that whether writers drew their information from conventional literary tradition or from autopsy, in such writings 'architecture is a signifier of meanings which are extra-architectural.'

Annabel Keeler (University of Cambridge): "Two Early Persian Tafsirs."

This paper compared two early Persian Koranic commentaries: the Persian 'translation' of Tabari's (d. 301?/923) Arabic commentary, and the so-called 'Cambridge Tafsir.' Both these works were written in Eastern Iran, within no more than 100 years of each other (late 4th/10th and early 5th/11th century), and probably represent the Hanafi school of Sunni Islam. They are, however, remarkably different with respect to form, style, and overall content, examination of which may tell us much about the development of religious writing in Persian.

Tilman Seidensticker (University of Jena): "Arabic and Persian Four-Line Poems."

Professor Seidensticker surveyed various accounts, both indigenous and orientalist, concerning the origins of the Persian quatrain (*ruba'i*). He himself argued for the theory of Arabic origins (first suggested by Fritz Meier), based on the tendency towards four-line poems among the poets of the Abbasid period, in particular the secretary-poet Khalid ibn Yazid al-Katib, who used the form for love poems. It was later expanded (in both Arabic and Persian) to include other themes, and became a popular form for mystical poetry.

Giovanni M. D'Erme (Istituto Universitario Orientale, Naples): "Some Considerations on the Dualistic Aspects of Zandaqa."

This paper (which was illustrated by slides) discussed various types of dualistic beliefs in Iranian religions and their transmission in symbolic form, and stressed the importance not only of conflict but of balance between the forces of good and evil. This concept of balance is expressed iconographically in such diverse sources as the Luristan bronzes (8th-7th century BCE), the 10th-century Palatine Chapel in Palermo, and 12th-century Saljuq buildings in Anatolia and in Eastern Iran.

Julie Scott Meisami (University of Oxford): "The King From the East and the End of Days: Myth, History and Politics in the Samanid Milieu."

This paper discussed the persistence and conflation of apocalyptic legends surrounding such figures as Bahram Chubin and Abu Muslim and their influence on Zoroastrian apocalyptic texts written in Islamic times in both Middle and New Persian, in the contexts of Samanid politics and legitimacy strategies, the rise of New Persian literature and the revival of Persian cultural traditions under the Samanids, and the eschatological expectations current during the 4th/10th century, which included predictions of a 'King from the East' prior to the End of Days who would restore justice in the world.

Islamic Numismatic News Network

Arab-Byzantine Forum IV

The fourth forum on the Arab-Byzantine coinage of the Fertile Crescent in the seventh and eighth centuries CE will take place at the American Numismatic Society in New York on Saturday, November 14, at 10:00 AM. The forum is co-sponsored by the Oriental Numismatic Society.

The speakers list is still being compiled. Presentations of any sort are welcomed: from formal lectures of a half-hour or so to brief descriptions of new or strange coins. Anyone who wishes to address the meeting should communicate with the Forum organizer, Charles Karukstis, at the address below. Presentations can be:

on the Arab-Byzantine coinage itself

on any related Islamic or late Roman coinage

on the history and culture of Bilād al-Shām in the Umayyad era.

Among the speakers this year will be Professor Alan Walmsley of the University of Sydney, who has participated in the excavations at Pella and catalogued the coins found there. He is a specialist in the social and economic history of the region and era.

Those who wish to attend the Forum, and have not received mailings for previous fora, should also contact Karukstis:

Mr. Charles Paul Karukstis

P.O. Box 221871

Charlotte, NC 28222-1871

704 388-1421

charlie@charliek.com

The ISLAW Catalogue

The Oriental Institute at the University of Leipzig (OIL) has set up a new Internet Site, beginning in April 1998. The "ISLAW - Catalogue" is a first attempt to collect all existing sites on the Internet about Islamic Law and the Law of Islamic States. Everyone doing Oriental and Islamic Studies or who has an interest in International Law could be interested in the Catalogue. The URL is as follows:
<http://www.uni-leipzig.de/~orient/islaw.htm>

For more information, criticism, and for new links, please contact: Thoralf Hanstein, (Editorial Team) (e-mail: oil@rz.uni-leipzig.de).

Second International Conference on

The Inspiration of Astronomical Phenomena ("INSAP II")

to be held 7-14 January 1999 on The Mediterranean Island of Malta

The sky makes up half of mankind's world; the Earth around us makes up the other half. This meeting will explore mankind's fascination with the astronomical phenomena that define the sky - the lights in the sky, by day and by night - which have been a strong and often dominant element in human life and culture. Scholars from a variety of disciplines (including Anthropology, Archaeology, Art, Classics, History and Prehistory, Mythology and Folklore, Philosophy, the Physical Sciences, and Religion) will attend "INSAP II" to discuss the impacts astronomical phenomena have had on mankind. Presentations by attendees will be grouped under four main topics: Literature; Art; Myth and Religion; History and Prehistory.

Among many presentations will be:

Imad A. Ahmad (Bethesda, Maryland): "Astronomical Inspiration in the Rubayyat of Umar Khayyam"; Daniel Varisco (Hofstra Univ.): "The Mystical Symbolism of the Lunar Stations in Medieval Islamic Cosmology."

The Conference will allow the attendees to address the many and variegated cultural impacts of the perceptions of the day and night skies, providing a mechanism for a broad group of artists, historians, philosophers, and scientists to meet, compare notes, and have the chance to ask those questions of each other about their work which may have been lying fallow for decades. Attendance will be by invitation from among those applying.

Full information on the Conference and an application form can be obtained by contacting the Organizing Committee, or from our Website (<http://ethel.as.arizona.edu/~white/insap2.htm>).

This Conference is the second to be held on this general theme. Details of the first meeting (held at Castel Gandolfo, Vatican State, 27 June-2 July 1994), and the publication references that include many of the papers presented there, may be found at <http://ethel.as.arizona.edu/~white/insap.htm>.

This Conference is sponsored by the OTS Foundation and the Vatican Observatory.

The Organizing Committee:

Professor Raymond E. White, Steward Observatory, University of Arizona (Chair) (rwhite@as.arizona.edu)

Rev. George V. Coyne, S. J., The Vatican Observatory (gcoyne@as.arizona.edu)

Dr. Rolf M. Sinclair, National Science Foundation, Arlington VA (rsinclai@nsf.gov)

Prof. Frank Ventura, Malta (fven@cis.um.edu.mt)

7th International Congress on Greco-Oriental and African Studies

The 7th International Congress on Graeco-Oriental and African Studies with the cooperation of the University of Cairo will take place in Cairo (December 12-15, 1998). The topic of the congress is the Relations between Egypt and Greece from Hellenic times until the present day. There will be four sections: 1) Sources; 2) Archaeology and Art; 3) History; 4) Social Sciences.

For further information write or call Prof. Vassilios Christides, 39 Solomou St., Kryoneri Attikis 145 65 Greece, Tel. and fax: (00301) 81.61.037.

Daily Life in the Ancient Near East

February 14-16, 1999
Hebrew Union College
Cincinnati, Ohio

The Midwest Region of the American Oriental Society (MWAOS), the Midwest Regional Organizations of the Society of Biblical Literature (SBL) and the American Schools of Oriental Research (ASOR) will hold their annual joint meeting at Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, Ohio, February 14-16, 1999, on the topic "Daily Life in the Ancient Near East".

All who are interested in reading a paper related to this topic at the meeting should contact the Program Coordinator at their earliest convenience. **The deadline for the abstract is January 1, 1999.** For more information, please contact:

Richard E. Averbeck, 1999 Program Coordinator, Midwest AOS/SBL/ASOR, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, 2065 Half Day Road, Deerfield, IL 60015, USA. Tel.: (847) 317-8017. Fax: (847) 317-8141. Email: RAverbeck@compuserve.com.

The Second Biennial Conference on Iranian Studies

May 22-24, 1998, Bethesda, Maryland

The Second Biennial Conference on Iranian Studies was sponsored by the American Institute of Iranian Studies (AIIS) and the Society for Iranian Studies (SIS) and with the support of the Foundation for Iranian Studies, Iran Heritage Foundation, International Association for the Study of Persian-Speaking Societies, and the Persian Heritage Foundation. Some of the papers presented were:

New Aspects of Sasanian History: Cynthia J. Villagomez (UCLA), "Contrasting Views of Kavad I in Syriac Sources;" Touraj Daryaee (UCLA), "The Disintegration of the Sasanian Empire in the 7th Century;" Prudence Harper (Metropolitan Museum of Art), "Motifs on Sasanian Silver Vessels: The Interaction between Art, Society and Literature." **Classical Persian Culture and Literature:** A. A. Sayed-Ghorab (University of Leiden), "Magic in Classical Persian Love Poetry;" Roxanne Marcotte (McGill University), "The Philosophical Anthropology of Bustan l-Qulub and Yazdan Shinakht: Two Works Attributed to Suhrawardi;" Abolala Soudavar (Independent Scholar), "The Concepts of 'Al-aqdamo asahh' and 'Yaqin-e saheb'." **History as Literature, Literature as History:** Soheila Amirsoleimani (Univ. of Utah), "Truth and Lies: Irony and Intrigue in Tarikh-i Bayhaqi;" Julie Meisami (Univ. of Oxford), "Problems of Saljuq Historiography;" Mohammad-Taghi Nezam-Mafi (Boston Univ.), "The Persian Palimpsest: Abul Hassan Khan Shirazi and Haji Baba of Espahan;" S. Wali Ahmadi (Univ. of Virginia), "History, Memory, and National Imaginary in the Persian Poetry of Muhammad Iqbal." **Mint and Money in Pre-Modern Iran:** Rudi Mathee (Univ. of Delaware), "The Mint of Huwayza in Safavid Times: The Numismatic Evidence." **Wives of Women and of Men:** Jerome W. Clinton (Princeton Univ.), "The Uses of Guile in the Shahname." **Aspects of Medieval Shi'ism:** Karim Douglas Crow (American Univ.), "'Aql, 'Ilm, Ma'rifa and Hujjah: Imam Ja'far al-Sadiq's Doctrine of Ta'rif (Notification);" Said Amir Arjomand (State Univ. of York, Stony Brook), "Evolution of the Idea of Ghayba(t) from Chiasm to Nomocracy;" Rasul Ja'farian (Qom Theological Seminary), "Dependence of Iranian Shi'ism on the Shi'ism of Iraq." **Persian Historiography: Pre-Modern Period:** Elton L. Daniel (Univ. of Hawaii), "On the Genesis of Persian Historiography;" Parvaneh Pourshariati (Social Science Research Council), "Persian Local Chronicles;" Charles Melville (Univ. of Cambridge), "Hamdallah Mustaufi, Hafiz-i Abru and Medieval Persian Historiography;" Sholeh Quinn (Ohio Univ.), "Safavid and Mughal Historiography: A Comparison."

La tradition manuscrite en écriture arabe

[The manuscript tradition in arabic script]
DEUX JOURNÉES D'INITIATION (19 ET 20 NOVEMBRE 1998)

A workshop for students preparing the edition of an Arabic, Turkish or Persian text.

Sessions will be in french.

This stage of initiation to manuscripts is aimed primarily to students of the third cycle preparing the edition of an Arabic, Persian or Turkish text. The sessions are organized by the Arab section of the IRHT and will take place on the campus of the Collège de France (conference hall of the second floor, escalier A, 52 rue du Cardinal-Lemoine, 75005 Paris.)

Program: **Thursday 19 November:** 9:30AM: welcome of the participants; 9:45AM: presentation of the program and aim of the meeting; 10:00AM: the manuscript as a source of information on the history and the transmission of a text: information given by the calligraphy and the book as an artisanal object; colophons, liminar texts, marginal annotations (G. Humbert, IRHT); pause; 11:15AM: reading of some notices of the catalogue of Arabic manuscripts of the BnF (M-G. Guesdon, BnF); 12:00PM: how to handle a manuscript? (M.-G. Guesdon, BnF); lunch; 14:15: Libraries and other institutions concerned with Arabic, Persian, and Turkish manuscripts in France. (A. Nouri, BnF); 15:00: writing workshop (with regard to the expositions on writing at the BnF-Tolbiac) (A. Berthier, BnF). **Friday 20 November:** 9:30AM: particularities of African manuscripts (C. Hamès, CNRS); 9:45AM: Christian Arabic manuscripts (P. Géhin, I.R.H.T.); pause; 11:00AM: reading of a page of an aljamiado manuscript (J.-P. Molènat, I.R.H.T.); 11:45AM: questions of punctuation (M. Jaouhari, Université de Bordeaux); 12:00: discussion on the future of this meeting; lunch; afternoon: presentation of some manuscripts of the BnF (A. Berthier et F. Déroche).

Attention! It is obligatory to register in order to attend (registration fee: 50FF). Please ask for a registration form from the I.R.H.T. if necessary: G. HUMBERT, IRHT - CNRS, section arabe, 52 rue du Cardinal-Lemoine, F-75005 Paris. Tel: 01 44 27 18 63 (thursday, friday p.m.). Email: humbert@alize.msh-paris.fr.

For more information contact: Marie Genevieve GUESDON, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, division orientale, 58, rue de Richelieu, 75084 Paris Cedex 02. Tel 33-1-47 03 75 91, Fax 33-1-47 03 76 65, Email marie-genevieve.guesdon@bnf.fr.

Third International Round Table on Safavid Persia

19-22 August, 1998 - University of Edinburgh

The Third International Round Table on Safavid Persia was held at the University of Edinburgh on 19-22 August, 1998. It was sponsored by: The University of Edinburgh's Arts, Divinity and Music Faculty Group Research Fund; The Foreign and Commonwealth Office; The Iran Heritage Foundation; The Barakat Trust; The British Institute of Persian Studies; National Museums of Scotland; Out of the Nomad's Tent, Edinburgh; The British Academy; The University of Edinburgh Development Trust. The following is the list of speakers:

Iraj Afshar, " 'Majmu'ehs' and 'Maktubs' as Essential Sources for Safavid Research;" Sussan Babaie (Smith College), "The Houses of Isfahan: Architecture, Patronage, and Social History;" Kathryn Babayan (University of Michigan), "From Tabriz to Isfahan: The Reconfiguration of the Safavi Household (Dudman);" Ebadollah Bahari, "The Sixteenth-Century Bokhara School of Painting and the Art of the Book;" Shahzad Bashir (College of the Holy Cross), "After the Messiah: The Nurbakhshiyya in Safavid Times;" Michele Bernardini (Istituto Universitario Orientale, Naples), "Some Safavid Historical Books of Kings: Hatefi's Timurname and Fotuhat-e Shahi and Qasemi's Shahname-ye Esmail;" Sheila S. Blair (Richmond, NH.), "The Ardabil Carpets in Context;" Stephen P. Blake (St. Olaf College), "Isfahan as Safavid Capital: When, Where, Why;" Jonathan M. Bloom (Richmond, NH.), "Epic Images Revisited: An Ilkhanid Legacy in Early Safavid Painting;" Audrey Burton (University of Leeds), "Abbas II and the Rulers of Bukhara and Balkh;" Jean Calmard, "Popular Literature Under the Safavids;" Sheila Canby (The British Museum), "Dr. Kaempfer's album;" John Emerson (Harvard College Library), "Ethnic variety and minority presence in later Safavid Iran: Some European evidence;" Ehsan Eshraqi (University of Tehran), "Nuqtavian of Qazwin in the Safavid Period;" Willem M. Floor (and Patrick Clawson), "Trimetallism in Practice: Iran 1500-1750;" Bert Fragner (Universität Bamberg), "Mapping Safavid Iran: Territorial Perceptions of Iran and Its Neighbouring Regions Between the 14th and 17th Centuries;" Gene R. Garthwaite (Dartmouth College), "Safavid Political Culture: Isma'il and his Poetry Revisited;" Masahi Haneda (Institute of Oriental Culture, University of Tokyo), "Newly discovered sources on the life of Jean Chardin;" Rasoul Jafarion (Library of Iranian and Islamic History, Qum), "The Migrated Manuscripts;" Todd Lawson (Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University), "A 'New Testament' for the Safavids: Reflections on Aspects of 17th century Iranian Qur'ān Commentary;" P. Losensky (Indiana University), "The City as Poem: a Literary and Cultural Analysis of 'Abdi Bayg's Khamsah on the Imperial Capital of Qazvin;" Rudi Mathhee (University of Delaware), "The Closing of the Mints in Seventeenth-Century Iran;" Robert D. McChesney (New York University), "A Pilgrim's Progress: The Iranian Segment of 'Abd al-'Aziz Khan's 1681 Hajj;" Farhad Mehran (University of Neuchatel, Switzerland), "In Search of Distinctive Scenes in Illustrated Shahnama Manuscripts of the Safavid Period;" Charles Melville (University of Cambridge), "A new chronicle of Shah 'Abbas;" Hossein Mirjafari (University of Isfahan), "A Research on 'Shatter' a social status in the Safavid era;" Alexander Morton (School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London), "Khwaja 'Ali and the Ardabili Tradition;" Andrew J. Newman (University of Edinburgh), "Baqir Majlisi and Islamicate Medicine: Safavid Medical Theory and Practice Re-examined;" Sholeh A. Quinn (Ohio University), "The Timurid historiographical legacy: A comparative perspective on Persianate historical writing;" Mansoor Sefatgol (University of Tehran), "Safavid Awqaf Institution: Structure and Functions (1666-1722/1077-1135);" Maria Szuppe (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Strasbourg / Institut Francais d'Etudes sur l'Asie Centrale, Tachkent), "Bukhara and Samarkand Tazkere Writers on Intellectual Life in Uzbek Mavarannahr and Safavid Khurasan in the 16th and 17th c.;" Ernest Tucker (United States Naval Academy), "The 'Safavid Nostalgia' of the Ottomans: 1722-1750;" Antony Welch (University of Victoria), "Iran Seen Through Venetian Eyes;" Akihiko Yamaguchi (University of Tokyo), "Early 18th-century Iranian Society as Seen in the Ottoman Tapu Registers;" Dzul Haimi bin Md Zain (Institut Teknologi MARA, Malaysia), "The Definition of Safavid Style and its Relation to Ottoman and Mughal Qur'āns."

For further information, contact:

Dr. A. Newman, IMES, 7-8 Buccleuch Place, Edinburgh, EH8 9LW, UK,
tel. (0) 131 650-4182/4-78, FAX 44 (0)131 650 6804, or

<http://www.arts.ed.ac.uk/eiasime/events/RoundTable.html>, or AJN@holyrood.ed.ac.uk.

Table ronde

AFEMAM 1998 COLLOQUE 1, FRIDAY, 3 JULY

Unité et diversité des sociétés et des cultures dans l'Islam**LA GESTION SPONTANÉE OU INSTITUTIONNELLE DES DIFFÉRENCES DANS LES MONDES MUSULMANS TRADITIONNELS ET CONTEMPORAINS ET SES BLOCAGES ÉVENTUELS**

The following are the presentations given at the round table on "Unity and Diversity of Societies and Cultures in Islam," held on Friday, 3 July, 1998 at the Université Lumière-Lyons II:

Jean Claude Chabrie (CNRS, Université Paris IV - Sorbonne), starting from Assyria (confluence of arameo-judeo-armeno-greco-irano-kurdo-arabo-turkish cultures) reduced the ethnocentric and nationalist dogmas and encompassed the polyethnic and multicultural musical themes of the region and its vicinity. He studied the acoustic systems of Antiquity, from the European, Mediterranean, and Asiatic evolutions to the modal genres and systems, as well as instrumental languages, especially those of the *'ūd* and the *tanbūr*.

Oleg Grabar (The Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, NJ), discussed two themes, illustrated by projections: 1- whether the differences which emanated from a common past, the world of Late Antiquity in the Mediterranean and its equivalents in Iran, India, South and South-East Asia, were really differences or were rather variant degrees of jahiliyah; 2- the later contacts by accidental borrowing, wanted or imposed, demonstrated by two examples.

Stéphane Pradines (Paris IV-Sorbonne), gave a presentation on "The Swahili *mihrāb*: local evolution and influence of the Arab world." The Swahili culture extends from Somalia to Northern Mozambique. The typological examination of the decorative forms and motifs of Swahili *mihrābs* allowed the identification of 8 local groups and the observation of foreign architectural influences. These exogenous elements could be Fātimid, Ethiopian, Saljūqid, Yamani, Indian or Pakistani. These were taken as indices to establish a map of historical relations in the Indian Ocean.

Eric Geoffroy (Université de Strasbourg), spoke on the unity and diversity of Sufism. The Sufis regarded themselves as belonging to a single spiritual entity and as traveling the same path of initiation. But the emergence of particular paths, the variety of the spiritual temperaments of the Sufis, and the heterogeneity of their social profiles as well as the doctrinal cleavages that traversed this milieu, all attest to the diversity which encompasses the term *taṣawwuf*. Thus, Geoffroy analyzed the exterior pressures which, throughout history, have made Sufism bend toward certain norms.

Jérôme Lentin (INALCO, Paris), discussed the linguistic variety of the Arab-Muslim world which has been characterised by its subtlety and pragmatism. Arabisation, generally connected to Islamisation, was accomplished at different rhythms and according to diverse modalities. Orally as well as in writing, many languages were able to maintain themselves and intermediary varieties were constituted. Dialectal varieties multiplied and reinforced themselves and koïnes (urban, regional, or from literary expression) were elaborated. At a parallel level, if the two polar varieties (the dialectal and the literary) remained distinct, the linguistic continuum which they carried was intensively exploited.

Dominique Mallet (Université de Bordeaux, Directeur de l'IFEAD à Damas), attempted to show how the philosophical thought of Arab philosophers was alimanted by a paradoxal sollicitude for differences by using one of the first works which attempted to reconcile Aristotle and Plato, "The Treaty of the Harmony of the Opinions of Plato and Aristotle." "Unity and diversity", "the administration of differences" were the tasks assigned by a Parmenid to philosophy. It is exactly because they were philosophers that Arab Aristotelians could not mix the exercise of thinking with the effacement of differences. They attempted to reconcile: 1) the doctrines of Plato and Aristotle; 2) religion and philosophy; 3) reason and mystic effusion; 4) thought and action; 5) political sovereignty and philosophical speculation; 6) Greek and Arabic; 7) the text and its commentary; etc. The characterisation of their intellectual movement as a concordist, reconciliatory enterprise would deny that the Arabs merely philosophized.

Baber Johansen (EHESS, Paris), discussed "A System of Differences: The Normative Pluralism of Fiqh Schools." At the center of Sunni fiqh lies the contingency of every human action, including the interpretation of revelation. It excludes the creation of an authoritative doctrinal instant and legitimizes the formation of many schools of fiqh, each with its own doctrines. The differences between these provide a legal foundation for the judiciary decisions, which pronounce multiple and distinct individual norms for cases of the same type. The importance of these differences has been reduced by Western scholarship. This contribution would serve to demonstrate their relevance for a recon-

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struction of the fiqh systems.

Jean Pierre van Staevel (Université Lumière-Lyon 2), presented "Doctrinal Currents and Judicial Practices in Ifriqiya at the end of the Medieval period (8-9/14-15th centuries):

The Formulation of a Local Juridical Culture." The author became interested in the mechanisms of reproduction of the judiciary norm within the Maliki *madhhab* while working on the juridical discourse regarding handling of the material structures of the city and the organization of urban spaces in the Maghribi cities of the post-Almohad period. In particular, the author looked at the modes of expression in Tunis, capital of the Ḥafṣid state and new bastion of Ifriqiyān Malikism, which at that time knew a great activity on the juridical level by the coming together of the Qarawi tradition with Andalusian and Oriental doctrines. The author presented certain juridical mechanisms used in Tunis during this period to define the contradictory corpus of the Māliki madhhab (which was to be applied to a particular case). These methods attempted to reconcile on a local level the diverging doctrinal opinions and the scriptural material with the contingent reality.

Joseph Shatzmiller (Duke University), gave a presentation on "The Jews in Neighbouring Societies." The degree of participation of the Jews in the enclosing societies in the Medieval East and West will be examined. The employment of languages by the Jews and onomastic material will be taken in consideration in different historical contexts.

Jean Claude Garcin (Université d'Aix en Provence), spoke on "Politics and Difference: Tolerance or the Search for the Foreign?" This contribution attempted to demonstrate how political elaboration has passed in pre-modern Muslim societies through tolerance and a search for the foreign which might well find itself at the center of the construction of the state.

The Mamluk Sultanate: Cities, Societies, Economies

A conference entitled "The Mamluk Sultanate: Cities, Societies, Economies" will be held on Thursday, December 3, 1998 in Chicago, Illinois. Professor Robert Irwin (Senior Research Associate, School of Oriental Studies, London University) will deliver the keynote address for the conference. The title of Professor Irwin's presentation is "Under Western Eyes: A History of Mamluk Studies."

The panelists are: Nasser Rabbat (Massachusetts Institute of Technology), "Remembering Cairo: The Purpose of al-Maqrizī's *Khiṭāṭ*;" Linda Northrup (University of Toronto), "Ghosts from the Faṭimid Past: Ibn Buṭlān Versus 'Alī ibn Riḍwān and the Appointment of Ibn Abī Ḥulayqa to the Chair of Qalāwūn's Hospital in Cairo;" Rifaat M.M. El Nabarawy (Cairo University), "The Circassian Mamlūk Coins in the Collection of the Islamic Art Museum in Cairo;" John L. Meloy (American University in Beirut), "Celebrating the Pilgrimage: The Rajab Festival in Mamlūk Cairo;" Nimrod Luz (Hebrew University), "The Social and Topographical Ascendancy of Abū al-Wafā': Aspects of the Islaamization of Space and Society in Jerusalem;" Amina Elbendary (American University in Cairo), "The Sultan, the Tyrant, and the Hero: Changing Medieval Perceptions of al-Zāhir Baybars;" Anne F. Broodbridge (University of Chicago), "Mamlūk Legitimizing Ideology and the Mongols: al-Zāhir Baybars to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad;" Stuart J. Borsch (Columbia University), "Nile Floods and the Irrigation System;" Vlad Atanasiu (École Pratique des Hautes Études), "Sex, Calligraphy, and Mamlūks."

This one-day event, scheduled on the affiliated meetings day of the annual MESA meeting, will be held in the modern conference facilities of the DePaul University Center in downtown Chicago, just minutes from the MESA hotel. It will begin at 9:00 a.m.

Registration: There is no registration fee. If you plan to attend, or for more information, please contact the conference coordinator: Warren C. Schultz, Department of History, DePaul University, 2320 N. Kenmore, Chicago, IL 60614, USA. Tel. (773) 325-2561. Email: wschultz@wppost.depaul.edu.

This conference is organized by *Mamluk Studies Review*, a journal devoted to the study of the Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt and Syria, 1250-1517. It is sponsored by DePaul University, the University of Chicago, Northwestern University, and the University of Wisconsin, Madison. Financial support has been received from the University Research Council of DePaul University, the Norman Wait Harris Fund of the Center for International Studies at the University of Chicago and the Middle East Documentation Center of the University of Chicago.

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 Munir Ḥijāb, *al-Di'āya al-Siyāsiya fī al-'Aṣr al-Umawī* [Political Propaganda in the Umayyad Age] (Ṭanṭā: Mu'assasat Sa'id lil-Ṭibā'a, 1986). 285 pages.

While it is true that the author wrote this book more than 12 years ago, its novel approach to the period in question, the Umayyad period, makes it an important contribution to the field. The author looks at the Umayyads' and oppositional parties' struggle for power within early Islam, and how these parties used different methods to disseminate their parties' propaganda to the people. As the title implies, he concentrates on the propaganda used by the Umayyads to propagate their rule of the Islamic Empire.

The book is divided into eight sections, the first three of which look at the social, economic, religious and cultural background of the Umayyad age. These sections also look at the rise of the oppositional movements during that age and their backgrounds. It is in these first three sections that the author defines the terms to be

used in the book. This effort by the author is unique and one would wish others to imitate it. This stems from the fact that many a reader, including this one, assumes that their translation of Arabic terms is, if not the exact then a very close approximation of the author's intent. With this in mind the following example should clarify the previous point. The author uses the Arabic word *siyāsa* which one would guess to mean 'politics,' yet the author points out that what he really means by the word is 'policy.' Without this clarification many a point would have been lost on the reader.

The rest of the book defines the propaganda tools at the disposal of the Umayyads and looks at how they utilized these tools for their purpose. The methods utilized by the Umayyads, according to the author amounted to speeches, books, coins, buildings etc. The author looks at each of these methods and analyzes the way in which the Umayyads used them. Examples of the use of religious literature by the Umayyads for propaganda purposes are the invention of *ḥadīth* and the manipulation of Qur'ānic exegesis, all to shore up their own regime. ("*fa-ikhturi'at al-aḥādīth al-nabawīyya ... wa-fussirat al-āyāt al-qur'āniyya wa-fqān li-āghrād al-di'āya.*" p.258.) Specific examples include the Prophetic *ḥadīth: lā tajma 'ummati 'alā ḍalāla* (My community does not agree on error), as being used by Mu'āwiya to appease the populace and legitimize his rule. (pp.208-209.) For the author it is not important whether the above *ḥadīth* was authentic or not; what matters is that it was circulated at the beginning of Mu'āwiya's reign to consolidate his power and appease the pious opposition. The author is a little more direct when he discusses the reason behind 'Abd al-Malik's building of the Dome of the Rock. He argues that the Dome of the Rock was built during the civil war with the counter caliph 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, in order to divert pilgrims from going to Mecca where the latter was ruling. Not only did 'Abd al-Malik build the Dome of the Rock, he also circulated a *ḥadīth* on the authority of Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri that the Prophet said, "People do not gather except at three mosques, the Ḥarām Mosque (in Mecca), My mosque (in Medina), and the

Mosque in the Holy House (Jerusalem) ... and this latter mosque stands in the place of the mosque in Mecca and the rock (where the Prophet ascended to heaven from) stands in the place of the Ka'ba." (p.175.)

As one can see from the above there is no love lost between the author and the Umayyads. He views them as usurpers, especially Mu'āwiya, who had no legitimacy as such to rule the Empire. Thus we find the work falling in the same pitfalls as those of many scholars, whether Western or Arab, when it comes to its anti-Umayyad stance. Yet even with this in mind one finds his analysis of Umayyad actions quite interesting and unique. The book proposes yet another approach to early Islamic history, which the author builds quite effectively. If for no other reason the book deserves reading because of its sound methodological approach.

- Khaled Keshk.

Fahmi Jad'an, *al-Miḥna: Baḥth fī Jadaliyyat al-Dīnī wa al-Siyāsi fī al-Islām* [The Miḥna: A Study of the Discussion of the Religious and the Political in Islam] (Amman: Dār al-Shurūq, 1989). 403 pages.

This book examines the religious policy of al-Ma'mūn known to students of Abbasid history as the *Miḥna*. It is divided into five chapters together with an introduction and indices. The study attempts to answer three major questions: were the Mu'tazilites supporters of Abbasid rule? Did they have a major role in the institution of the *Miḥna*? What was the main underlying cause of the *Miḥna*? In the introduction, Jad'an gives a historical and intellectual account of the controversy around the createdness of the Qur'an and highlights the conclusions of his study.

Chapter one, "The Mu'tazila and the Caliphate," deals with the relationship between the Mu'tazila and the caliphate until the reign of al-Mutawakkil. In this

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chapter Jad'ān reviews the history of the Mu'tazila with the Abbasids and whether they were instruments of the caliphs providing ideological support to the rule. He takes the issue from the emergence of the Mu'tazila to point out that this trend did not emanate from internal dispute or controversy, rather it came into existence as a response to theological and cultural challenges that the Muslim community faced during its first two centuries. According to Jad'ān the Mu'tazila cannot be viewed as a single entity. There were groups who allied with the Abbasids and supported them; but there were also groups who did not. It was among the latter that Jad'ān locates the historical-authentic Mu'tazilite ideology and practice. Jad'ān asserts that the createdness of the Qur'ān was not a particularly Mu'tazilite doctrine in exclusion to other individuals and groups. Therefore, one cannot argue that al-Ma'mūn imposed a Mu'tazilite principle. Equally intriguing is his opinion that the Mu'tazilites of the Miḥna period did not try to convince al-Ma'mūn to initiate the Miḥna nor did they take an active part in it. Rather, it was some controversial personalities, such as al-Bishr al-Marisi, who were falsely believed to be Mu'tazilite, that were responsible for the Miḥna.

The second chapter, "The Miḥna," is devoted to a historical analysis of the Miḥna from its first institution by al-Ma'mūn until the reign of al-Mutawakkil when it was abolished. The purpose of this chapter is to analyze the historical details of the event so that the writer could highlight the working elements in the Miḥna. Biographical accounts of those involved in the Miḥna are provided in the third chapter, "Motivations and Men." It is assumed that the exposition of the main players in the Miḥna would provide a vantage point from which the hidden motivation of the Miḥna could be uncovered. The underlying causes of the Miḥna as Jad'ān sees them and the arguments of the previous chapters are provided in the fourth chapter, "Justifications for History." According to Jad'ān, power competition or more precisely the intrinsic inclination of political authority toward gaining monopoly of power was the real underlying motive of the Miḥna policy: "it is impossible for the political to

submit but to a single logic, logic of state or logic of kingship" (p.290).

The fifth chapter is a broader exposition on the nature of the "Dialectic of the religious and the political in Islam." Taking the Miḥna as an example, Jad'ān reviews the debate in classical Islamic literature on caliphate and kingship to conclude that the fault line in Islamic tradition was the binary opposition between political and religious authority. "And the truth is that the struggle between 'ahl al-dīn' and 'ahl al-dawla' in Islam was one of the most significant forms of political struggle. And in the battle of al-Miḥna, imposition of the createdness of the Qur'ān and call for obedience were just a justification or a pretext to flame the struggle, not a cause or reason for it." (p. 359)

Jad'ān's treatment of the subject is absolutely of scholarly quality, though the reader will have to work hard to get a meaning out of many rhetorically inflated sentences. As one of the renowned scholars of Islamic philosophy he was able to integrate the theological dimension of the issue of the createdness of the Qur'ān into his study. We should point out, however, that his categorization of the Mu'tazila as authentic non-conformist and deviant conformist may help the reputation of the Mu'tazila, but it troubles his argument since it assumes an essence fixed at a given time that must have been the true character of the Mu'tazila. His references to classical sources are impressive. However, his neglect of recent scholarship on the subject is an evident deficiency of his work. This is particularly harmful to his reassertion, that the Miḥna was in fact a struggle between the caliphate and the religious establishment represented by ahl al-ḥadīth, not only because he fails to incorporate the conclusions of a trend of scholarship extending from Gibb to M. Hodgson, I. Lapidus, P. Crone-M. Hinds and others into his thesis, but also he rediscovers an explanation which has already been developed. As it appears, the conceptual trend that Jad'ān seems, knowingly or not, to adhere to still continues to have currency in the Miḥna scholarship, T. El-Hibri and J. Nawas being the most recent proponents of it. The disturbing aspect of such an explanation is, however, exactly its rigidity, which does

not recognize any merit to anything other than 'logic of state,' content of which is presumed to be universal. No less puzzling is the fact that this 'logic' is always defined in opposition to other social and political forces in the society, to the religious establishment, i.e. ahl al-ḥadīth, in our case. One would appreciate this approach's illuminating explanations of certain historical phenomena, but when it comes to explain the history as a whole, as is the case in many instances, from the Battle of Jamal to Ottoman-Safavid relations, one wonders how monolithic and boring the history would become.

- Hayrettin Yucesoy

'U. Kuḥayla, *Ta'rikh al-Naṣārā fī al-Andalus* [History of the Christians in al-Andalus] (Cairo: al-Maṭba'a al-Islāmiyya al-Ḥadītha, 1414/1993). 287 pages.

Since the publication long ago of *Historia de los mozárabes de España* (Madrid, 1897-1903) by F.J. Simonet, and *Los mozárabes* (Madrid, 1947-48) by I. de las Cagigas, no one has undertaken the task of writing a general book devoted to all aspects of the life of Christian people who lived in al-Andalus. These books obviously are out of date. New sources have appeared since then, many of which have been edited already. These sources provide us with a lot of new and interesting data on the life of this community, its social-political organization, its religious practices, its cultural activities, etc. In addition to that, the biased view that characterizes both books, especially that by Simonet, is also outdated. Kuḥayla's book has appeared to fill the gap, although only for readers of Arabic. Kuḥayla exploits many of the sources, such as the historical work by Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-Muqtabis* (2nd Part: ed. M. 'A. Makki, Beirut, 1973; 3rd Part: ed. M. Antuña, Paris, 1937; 5th Part: ed. P. Chalmeta, F. Corriente, M. Sobh, Madrid, 1979) and the *I'lān* (ed. A.H. al-Saqqā, Cairo, 1980) by al-imam al-Qurṭūbi, which contains quotations from several Christian

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apologetic works. Nevertheless, the previous books devoted to the Mozarabs remain a valuable collection of data and useful information about the life of Christians under Muslim rule. Kuḥayla himself has made extensive use of both of them, especially of Simonet's.

In his book, Kuḥayla deals with several subjects concerning the social, cultural and political life of the Christian community in al-Andalus. He divides the work into four books, which he then subdivides into chapters. The first book deals with social classes existing both in Hispania before the Arab conquest and in al-Andalus after this event. Kuḥayla emphasizes the fact that in al-Andalus all social classes participated in the administration of the state, even non-Arab people -- be they Muslim, Christian or Jewish.

The second and third books focus on the social life of the Christian community in al-Andalus. In the second book the author pays attention to the internal life of the community: its administrative and ecclesiastical internal organization, its social composition and social life, and lastly, its cultural life. The third book concerns itself with the relationship between Mozarabs and the Muslim government. Kuḥayla stresses the good relations existing between them, and holds that there were influences in both directions in the social and cultural fields, but in the religious field influence moved only in one direction: Islam influenced the way Mozarabs understood their own religion. The Mozarabs held posts in the state administration, army and politics, and played an important role in the relationships between the Muslim government of al-Andalus and extrapeninsular Christian kingdoms such as Byzantium.

The last book deals with risings of native people, Christians or Muslims, against the Muslim government. The author reports the movement of the martyrs of Cordoba, the revolts of personages such as Ibn Marwān al-Jilliḳī or 'Umar ibn Ḥafṣūn, as well as the help that some Christians gave the Northern kingdoms against the Muslim government. Kuḥayla insists that the reasons for the risings were not religious but social ones.

In the appendices, Kuḥayla pro-

vides us with several helpful maps, tables and graphs concerning the history of al-Andalus.

Without reaching the degree of partiality which characterised the work by Simonet, throughout the book the author makes evident his wish to show the good situation in which the Christians lived in al-Andalus. Kuḥayla insists that the Muslims were not the ones who violated the pact of the *dhimmā*, but rather the Christians.

A formal feature that detracts considerably from the book is the errata we find in the bibliographical references in Latin characters, which have not been checked with due solicitude.

Notwithstanding these small reservations, this book is a valuable and helpful work on the history of the Mozarabs, as well as an important contribution to the general knowledge of this community, joining the more specific studies that have been published recently, such as the book by Millet-Gérard, *Chrétiens mozarabes et culture islamique dans l'Espagne des VIIe-IXe siècles* (Paris, 1989), which studies how the Mozarabs see Islam through their literature in Latin, or the several works by Koningsveld (e.g. "Christian Arabic Literature from Medieval Spain: An Attempt at Periodization" in *Christian Apologetics during the Abbasid Period* (1994), 203-224) and M.Th. Urvoy ("La culture et la littérature arabe des Chrétiens d'al-Andalus," *Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique*, 92, 1991, 259-275) focused on Mozarab cultural production written in Arabic.

- Mayte Penelas

Khaled Marrar, *Maqam An-Nabi Musa - The Shrine of Prophet Moses. A Historical and Archaeological Study*, Prepared by Abbas Nimr and translated by Sami Musallam. (Jericho: Committee for the Promotion of Tourism in the Governate of Jericho, 1998). 83 pages.
E-mail: musallam@planet.edu

This book, also available in an

Arabic language edition, is a condensed version of Khaled Marrar's 1996 MA thesis for the Institute of Islamic Archaeology, al-Quds University on the Nabi Musa shrine near Jericho. The paperback book is attractively produced and the English translation is completely fluent. It presents a study of the history and architecture of the Islamic shrine of Moses, first built by the Mamluk Sultan Baybars in 1269, and renovated and enlarged a number of times in the Ottoman period. The shrine was the scene of a major Islamic pilgrimage festival each spring, which the Palestinians have revived in the last couple of years.

The book complements well the earlier study by Kāmil al-'Asālī, *Mawsim al-Nabi Mūsā fī Filasṭīn: Tārīkh al-Mawsim wa-al-Maqām (The Nebi Musa Feast in Palestine. A History of the Feast and the Sanctuary)*. Amman: University of Jordan, 1990, and contains much new information, including several previously unpublished Ottoman period dedicatory inscriptions.

- Robert Schick

Fārūq Sa'd, *Risālah fī al-khaṭṭ wa-bary al-qalam li-Ibn al-Ṣā'igh* [Epistle on Writing and Sharpening the Pen by Ibn al-Ṣā'igh] (Beirut: Sharikat al-Maṭbū'āt, 1997). 252 pages, many color and black and white photographs and line drawings.

This book is an exceptionally good critical edition and commentary on an important text on calligraphy written by the Egyptian Mamluk period calligrapher 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Ṣā'igh (769-845/1367-1441). The text of Ibn al-Ṣā'igh's treatise on scripts and shaping the calligraphic pens discusses the characteristics of the various types of scripts, the types of pens to be used, and how the individual letters should be shaped. The edited text, which forms the core of the book, would take up only a couple dozen printed pages, but in this edition, the text is accompanied by so many photographs and line drawings illustrating specific points that it is spread out

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over some 140 pages, followed by another 60 pages of footnotes that form Sa'd's commentary on the text as well as on the development of the Arabic script and calligraphy in general.

The book begins with a presentation of the surviving manuscripts of Ibn al-Šā'igh's treatise, the known details of Ibn al-Šā'igh's career, including a presentation of the surviving manuscripts in his hand, and the importance of his treatise.

The production values of the hard-back book are high, and for a change the photographs are well produced, making this book not only informative but also exceptionally attractive.

- Robert Schick

Muḥammad Ḥasan Shurrāb, *Fī Uṣūl Tāriḫ al-'Arab al-Islāmi* [Concerning the Origins of Arab Islamic History] (Damascus: Dār al-Qalam, 1993). 400 pages.

This book is written from an Arab nationalist point of view to assert that the peculiarities of classical Arab society, which were embodied in the Arabs' ancient past and language, contributed to the birth of Islam and the great Islamic civilization and history. Muḥammad Ḥasan Shurrāb argues that the Qur'ān was revealed to the Arabs because Arab society and the Arabic language were superior to other societies and languages, and also because the Arab personality was highly qualified to carry the message of Islam. With these views, he author glorifies the *jāhiliyyah* and urges Arab historians to dedicate more of their studies to pre-Islamic Arab society and culture. A careful study of the *jāhiliyyah*, Shurrāb says, would rehabilitate the Arabs' image in the *jāhiliyyah* and would refute much of the misunderstandings surrounding the Arabs' ancient past.

Shurrāb alerts the new generation of Arab historians to the orientalist attempts at distorting Arab Islamic history, and provides them with a guide as to who should write Islamic history and what sources should be used. In the introduc-

tion, the author asserts that his work is the beginning of a new school that deals with the proper way of rewriting Arab history. Of course, according to Shurrāb, the improper way has been the way of the orientalist.

Shurrāb indicates that Arab historians should have an absolute conviction that Islam is a universal and idealistic belief, and that Islam is the one religion for the Arabs. Once Arab historians cease to believe in their Islamism and Arabness, they cease to write their own history effectively. The author adds that Arab historians should mainly rely on the Arabic sources in order to produce a flawless Arab History. However, the orientalist sources may be used as secondary sources once it is determined that there are no flaws in them. The author divides the sources of Arab history into three parts: the Qur'ān, the tradition, and the *tarājim*, and then provides a critical assessment of the Arabic sources, using the history of Madīna as an example. He chooses Madīna because of its important place in history that was unchallenged by any other Islamic city.

The author attributes the flaws in Arab history to the writers' blind transmission of the *khbar*. First and foremost the authenticity of the *khbar* should be investigated before it is transmitted. If there is a doubt about the authenticity of the *khbar*, the author should warn his readers that the *khbar* may or may not be authentic as Ṭabarī did. Shurrāb adds that flaws in Arab history can be caused by transmitting *akhbār* from biased sources. Thus, Arab historians should investigate the ideological backgrounds of the writer of the source before committing themselves to the source. For instance, the author says: "we reject, accept, or doubt a source after we reveal the religious and political affiliations of the writer of the source. We tend to reject the Shi'i sources about the Umayyads, and we also tend to reject the Umayyad sources about the Shi'a" (p.202).

Finally, the author makes a scientific criticism of 12 *akhbār* which appeared in 12 different sources. His criticism of these *akhbār* reveals ample evidence to believe that these *akhbār* are inauthentic. Shurrāb urges historians to use his method of scientific criticism in order to determine

the authenticity of the *khbar*. The sources of Shurrāb's book are limited to primary materials such as the Qur'ān, the prophetic *ḥadīth*, the *tarājim*, the prophetic *sīra*, the books of history (Ṭabarī, Ibn Kathīr, Ibn Khaldūn, etc.), the books of literature, poetry and language, and a variety of books on history and historical criticism.

- Hussam S. Timani

Najāh al-Ṭā'i, *al-Saqifa: Inqilābun Abyaḍ* [Al-Saqifa: A White Revolution] (Beirut & London: al-Dār al-'Arabiyyah al-Šiniyyah lil Ṭibā'aw al-Nashr, 1996). 398 pages.

This book is about a controversial topic: Saqīfat Banī Sā'ida. Najāh al-Ṭā'i revives the controversy over the succession to the Prophet by arguing that the Saqīfa was a revolution planned and executed even before the death of Muḥammad. The author asserts that the leaders of the Saqīfa made every effort to prevent 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib from succeeding the Prophet. In this book, al-Ṭā'i addresses several indicators that show 'Alī's right to succeed Muḥammad. These indicators are: the divine text (*al-naṣṣ al-ilāhī*); the public oath of allegiance (*al-bay'a*); the theories of electing a leader (*naẓariyyāt intikhāb al-ra'īs*); the tribal custom of electing the leader (*al-'irfāl-qabalī fi intikhāb al-ra'īs*); and the divine will (*al-waṣiyyah al-ilāhiyyah*).

The first indicator of 'Alī's succession to the Prophet, according to al-Ṭā'i, is *al-naṣṣ al-ilāhī*, which includes 300 verses in the Qur'ān favoring 'Alī's succession to Muḥammad. Also, *al-naṣṣ al-ilāhī* includes the speech of Muḥammad at Ghadir Khumm where he designated 'Alī as the commander of the believers after his death. The second indicator is the *bay'a*. Immediately after the Prophet gave his speech at Ghadir Khumm, the 100,000 Muslims who were present at Ghadir pledged allegiance to 'Alī, including Abū Bakr and 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. But, the masterminds of the Saqīfa (Abū Bakr, 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, Ibn al-Jarrāh, Mu'adh

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b. Jabal, Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr, Bashir b. Sa' d, Khālid b. al-Walid, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf, and al-Mughira b. Shu'ba) changed the context of the Prophet's speech at Ghadir to mean that 'Alī was designated as the helper and the beloved of the Muslims.

The author asserts that the leaders of the Saqifa did not leave any opportunity for the 100,000 Muslims who heard the Prophet's speech at Ghadir to renew their allegiance to 'Alī after the Prophet's death. The Saqifa, according to al-Ṭā'ī, was a white revolution (*inqilāb abyad*), in which a handful of men assumed authority at a time when the Banū Hāshim were occupied in burying the Prophet. Al-Ṭā'ī argues that usually military or civil revolutions occur at midnight when members of the government are asleep, or when the leader is out of the country, or during the change of power between one leader and another. At the Saqifa, Abū Bakr claimed power at the very same moment when the Prophet was handing the authority to "his inheritor" 'Alī.

According to the theories of electing the leader, a caliph must be elected by a popular *bay'a* from all the Muslims who can be present in the capital city of the

Islamic government. Also, the *bay'a* must occur in a public place known to all adult and sound Muslims. The author argues that the *bay'a* for 'Alī at Ghadir was a popular *bay'a*, whereas the *bay'a* for Abū Bakr at the Saqifa was private and secret. Al-Ṭā'ī claims that although 'Alī was given a popular *bay'a* at Ghadir, he did not need such a *bay'a* because he was mentioned as a successor in the divine text. The popular *bay'a* is necessary only where the divine text does not mention a successor. However, at the Saqifa the Muslims ignored both the popular *bay'a* and the divine text.

Al-Ṭā'ī argues that if the Muslims had chosen a successor according to the principles of the ancient Arab tribal custom, 'Alī would have been the successor. The tribal custom in the Arabian peninsula gave the leadership to a man of noble lineage (*nasab*), dignity, courage, and generosity. The author claims that only the family of Hāshim possessed such values.

Al-Ṭā'ī writes that the Prophet left an oral divine will appointing 'Alī as his successor. In fact, the Prophet did not leave a written will either because he was too ill to write or because 'Umar prevented

those around the Prophet from providing him with a pen, fearing that he may write a divine will appointing 'Alī as his successor. But, according to al-Ṭā'ī, the Prophet left an oral divine will when he said: "I am leaving you with the Book of God and the people of my house, you shall not go astray if you hold to them."

Al-Ṭā'ī concludes that the Saqifa was planned in advance by the triumvirate Abū Bakr, 'Umar and Abū 'Ubayda who withdrew from the Prophet's house clandestinely to assemble at the Saqifa and claim power. The Saqifa was a white revolution, according to al-Ṭā'ī, that prevented the Muslims from freely electing 'Alī to power. Obviously, the author represents a Shī'ī point of view, which transmits history the way it ought to be. The book, in fact, lacks any counter argument, i.e. Abū Bakr favored by the Prophet to lead the prayer when he was ill, and 'Alī's pledge of allegiance to Abū Bakr not once but twice. This book is very informative and can be recommended for anyone studying the Saqifa and early Islam.

- Hussam S. Timani

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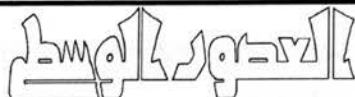
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