

Ceramics and the Social History of Early Islamic Jordan: the Example of Pella (Tabaqat Fah)

by Alan Walmsley

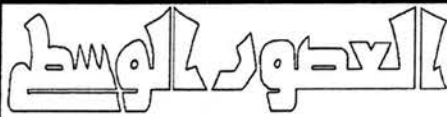
In the last two decades, the early Islamic period in Jordan (c. 635-900 CE) has achieved full recognition as a discrete and legitimate field of archaeological research (see especially the articles by J. Johns, D. Whitcomb and A. Walmsley in *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan IV*. Department of Antiquities of Jordan: Amman, 1992). Old and frequently prejudiced concepts have been challenged and discredited, and problem-oriented archaeological field programs have been initiated to address currently relevant issues of cultural continuity and change in the second half of the first millennium CE. Since the late 1970s a stream of exciting new material, from ceramics to numismatics, has emerged from excavations at a number of major Jordanian urban sites, notably 'Ammān Citadel, Bayt Rās, Jarash, Pella and 'Aqaba. While a complete reappraisal of socio-economic conditions in the early Islamic period requires a thorough assessment of the totality of this data, ceramics constitute a major data source that identifies phases of social equilibrium and change in the formation of the Islamic High Middle Ages.

The potential of pottery studies for helping us to understand the evolving social and economic structures in the ancient world is amply demonstrated by the excavations at Pella in Jordan, conducted under the auspices of the University of Sydney (Australia) and the College of Wooster (Ohio). The Sydney excavations (1979-present) are directed by Emeritus Professor J. B. Hennessy, the author and other co-directors with major funding support from the Australian Research Council, Canberra. Pella, named after the birthplace of Alexander the Great in Macedonia, is a major multi-period site located in the lower eastern foothills of the Jordan Rift Valley, twenty-eight kms south of Lake Tiberias (Figure 1). First settled in the sixth millennium BCE, but with evidence of occupation dating back half a million years, Pella's attractions were three-fold: a copious supply of spring water (c. 1180 m³/hr), tracts of fertile land, and the presence of long-distance trade routes. The excavations have revealed evidence for

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Al-'Usur al-Wusta

The Bulletin of Middle East Medievalists
Volume 9, Number 1 • April, 1997

Editor: Fred M. Donner

Associate Editors: James E. Lindsay (Member News), Michael G. Morony (Book Reviews), Donald Whitcomb (Archaeology)

Editorial Assistant: Tasneem Khokha

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

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PELLA, FROM PAGE 1.

every major historical period, suggesting continuous settlement down until today (for a summary see: the *Archaeology of Jordan 2: Surveys and Field Reports II.2*. Eds. D. Homès-Fredericq and J. B. Hennessy, Peeters: Leuven, 1989, pp. 406-41).

Field excavations and research into the extensive early Islamic strata at the site were undertaken by the author between 1979-1982 and 1988-93. The excavations concentrated on an affluent domestic quarter, where the impressive ruins of well-equipped two-storied houses were exposed, and the Islamic city center built in the mid-eighth century (see most recently A. Walmsley in P. Canivet and J. P. Rey-Coquais (Eds.), *La Syrie de Byzance à l'Islam, VII-VIII siècles: Actes du Colloque International* [Damascus, 1992]). The results of this work are currently being prepared for final publication. Other excavations have identified three Byzantine (fifth-

sixth century) churches, the Byzantine fortress, and another domestic area. Together this work shows that Pella experienced urban renewal in the later fifth and early sixth centuries CE, reaching a maximum size of 21 hectares and embellished with a Cathedral church, two other basilical churches on a grand scale, a hill-top fortress and large domestic quarters. However the city, unlike many other Byzantine municipalities in Palestine, had no fortification wall.

Evidence for a violent conquest of Pella by the Muslim armies in 635 CE is totally absent in the archaeological record, which agrees with surviving historical accounts. Thus the mid-seventh century town was little changed from its Byzantine predecessor. However the earthquake(s) of 659-60 caused great destruction, demolishing the fortress, severely damaging the churches, and forcing a reconstruction of the domestic quarters. The standard of the repair work varied. For the churches it appears makeshift, but houses were more

carefully re-equipped and often substantially remodeled. Two other earthquakes, stronger than the 660 one and dated 747 and 750 CE, abruptly terminated Pella in its late Antique form. The town center, churches and domestic quarters were totally destroyed by the second, stronger, earthquake of 750, and within the limits of the late Antique/early Islamic town only the flat top of the central mound was subsequently reoccupied.

Although undoubtedly devastated by the mid-eighth century earthquakes, recent work has demonstrated that Pella staged a modest recovery during the late eighth and ninth centuries. A new town center was built at the junction of roads to Tiberias, Baysan, Bayt Rās and Damascus to serve the commercial and administrative needs of the city. The center was dominated by two large square building complexes covering an area of 50 m (N-S) by 100 m (E-W). Excavations in the eastern complex have exposed rooms and arched portico around a central courtyard en-

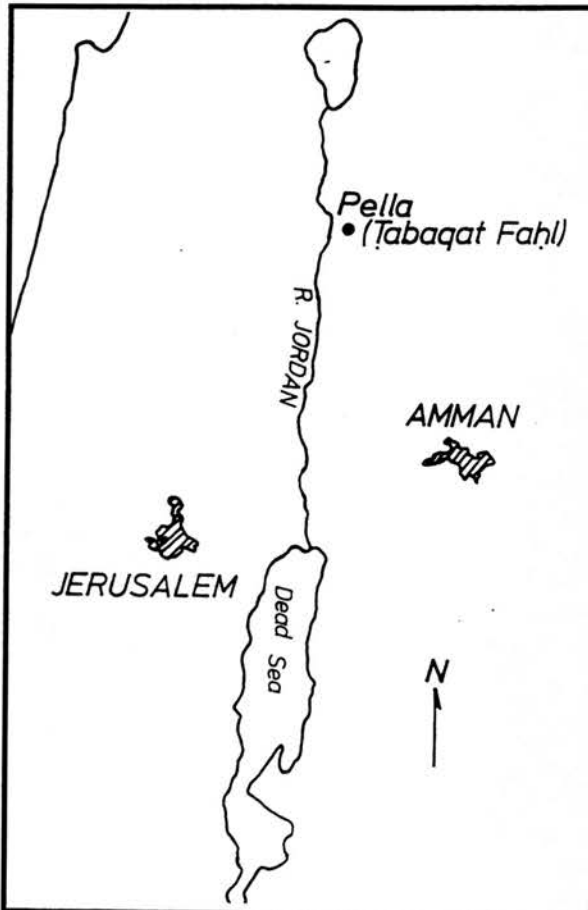


Figure 1. Map of the Jordan Valley and environs showing Pella.

tered by way of a 2.5 meter wide benched gateway. A major discovery was a rich corpus of glass, including many pincer beakers, of probable local production. The pottery, which undergoes significant changes in the ninth century, indicates that the complexes were occupied well into the tenth century.

The earthquake sequence at Pella (the site lies on a secondary fault of the tectonically active Jordan Rift) provides a secure chronology for the ceramics of early Islamic northern Jordan and Palestine. Current research has identified nineteen major wares in the Pella corpus between the earthquake of 659-60 CE and the end of the Islamic city center in the tenth century, although not all of these co-existed (Figure 2). The pottery corpus preserves some very interesting cultural trends in early Islamic times. Major dynastic events, notably the Islamic Conquest and the overthrow of the Umayyad Caliphs (750 CE), had no appreciable impact on the ceramics, further illustrating the error of equating pottery types with dynastic periods. Only after a few decades, when the new ruling elite was firmly in control, did major shifts occur in the wares, shapes and technology represented.

The first major changes took place at the start of the eighth century, when five wares disappeared from the corpus (wares 1-5) and three new ones appeared (wares 6-8). These developments did not alter the essentially local character of the corpus. The pottery of the eighth century clearly originated in the technologies of the preceding Roman-Byzantine periods, with the changes representing a quiet 'internal revolution' rather than radical change imposed from outside. For instance, the popular household wares (10-14) could boast a long Roman and Byzantine ancestry, and experienced gradual changes in ware, firing, shapes, and especially painted decoration in the seventh and eighth centuries. The changes to the corpus are, nevertheless, significant, as they indicate a shift in the socio-economic orientation of Pella, involving an expansion of contacts with eastern centers at the expense of western (Mediterranean-based) connections. This reorientation was probably caused by the wide-ranging social reforms initiated by the Umayyad Caliph 'Abd al-Malik (685-705 CE).

The ceramics from Islamic Pella

demonstrate a strong continuation of local artistic traditions and technologies into the first half of the ninth century AD. Only then, some two centuries after the imposition of Islamic hegemony, is there a clear (yet not complete) break with local potting

technologies. This involved the sudden end of ware 11 and its replacement with the thin-walled, Samarra-style pale cream jars

SEE PELLA, PAGE 12.

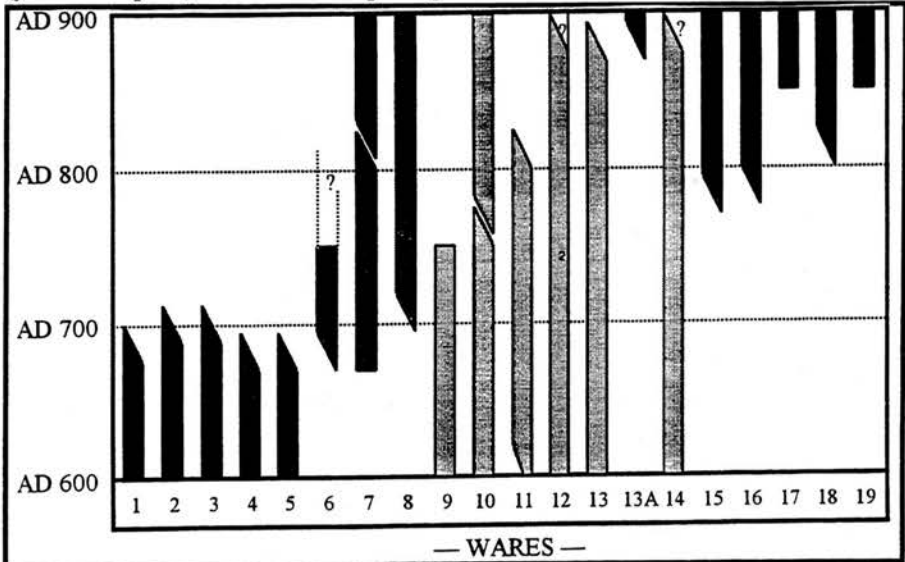
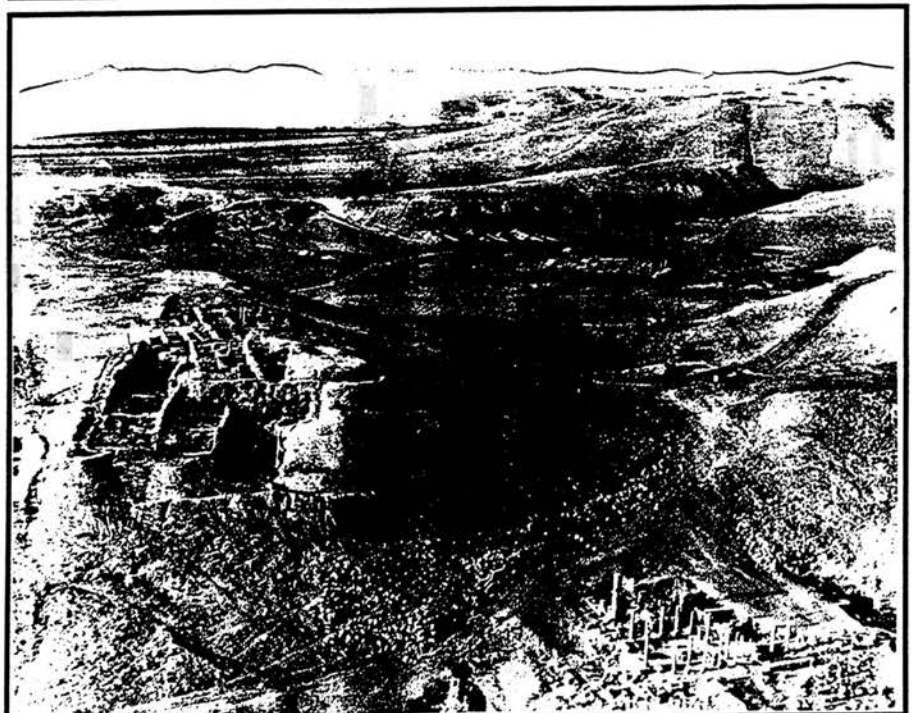


Figure 2. Ware Types and Chronology of Early Islamic Pottery at Pella. Ware 1: Late Roman wares; Ware 2: 'Jerash Bowls'; Ware 3: Buff; Ware 4: Chaff-tempered coarse ware; Ware 5: Gaza amphora; Ware 6: Brown; Ware 7: Pale cream; Ware 8: Red paint on light buff; Ware 9: Biscuit; Ware 10: Hard fine terracotta; Ware 11: White paint on metallic terracotta; Ware 12: Brown slipped white-painted; Ware 13: Coarse terracotta; Ware 14: Dark grey; Ware 15: Turquoise glazed; Ware 16: Incised polychrome glazed; Ware 17: 'Coptic glazed'; Ware 18: Incised pale cream; Ware 19: Cut, incised and painted.



Photograph showing ariel view of Pella looking south-east.

Hieros Gamos: The Motif of Marriage in Some Abbasid Panegyrics

by Beatrice Gruendler

The following essay represents a comparative study of an archetypal marital motif in early Abbasid *madīh* (panegyric) and neo-Sumerian hymns (ca. 2000 BCE.). These ancient hymns illustrate the connotative potential and significance of this motif which tends, in its Abbasid realization, to be rather fleeting and sketchy. This approach is based on Northrop Frye's notion of archetypal symbols shared by different cultures, and does not presuppose any historical nexus between the two literatures, which are themselves divided by over two and a half millennia. The particular form of the motif under discussion is the sacred marriage (*hieros gamos*) between a human and a divine spouse.

Male-female relationships in Abbasid *madīh*

In panegyrics (*madīh*) of the early Abbasid era, we encounter several types of male-female relationships in the different sections of the *qasida* (multi-thematic ode). Some are well-formulated dramatic scenes building on a long tradition, others are abstract images of marriage and filiation which remain vague and rarely outlast the length of a verse. Marital scenes belonging to the first, dramatized kind are rare and usually cast a wife in a negative role, whereas the abstract form of marriage is very positive. This short essay focuses on the latter kind which is extremely elusive due to its short and abstract nature, and its function hard to assess within the structure of the *qasida*. However, as marriage is an ancient and central human bond, one can treat it as a literary archetype and compare its realizations in other works.

The first type of male-female re-

lations within Abbasid *madīh* occurs mostly in the strophe (thematic introduction) of the *qasida*. The poet persona meets face-to-face with certain female dramatis personae, mostly derived from pre-Islamic poetry, such as the beloved (*ḥabīb*), the admonisher (*'ādhila, lā'ima*), the neighbor (*jāra*), and, rarely, the poet's own wife. Her appearance introduces topics such as the domestic dispute or divorce. The salient matter in these encounters is the female character's antagonistic position towards the poet, criticizing or lamenting his comportment. In his retort the poet defends himself and almost always prevails over the woman's grievance, however justified. The poet may even go beyond the immediate argument to proclaim attitudes or ideas pertaining to his relationship with the praised addressee, so that the dialogue scene flows over into the antistrophe (the praise proper). The female personae then disappear abruptly which shows them to be merely dramaturgic devices to set themes and bring out the poet persona's attitudes.

The second type of male-female relations is less explicit, and its function is harder to assess. It consists of a figurative marriage between the praised addressee and a feminine personification of (an aspect of) his rule. It belongs to the antistrophe of the *qasida*, containing the catalogue of virtues the addressee is deemed to uphold, and it is dominated by rhetorical ornament and abstract imagery. At the closure of this section, one often marked by a climax of hyperbolic images, we find the addressee joined in figurative matrimony with personified concepts attaching to his rule. Their union is stated explicitly, such as by the term "bride," or alluded to through an

action, such as the bride's "revealing herself to" or "welcoming" of the groom, wearing "finery," or being "won" by him or "joined" with him by God. Different from the vividly dramatized personae of the first type, the personifications acting as brides do not acquire any life of their own but seem to be growing out of the marital image. Because of its compact and abstract nature the image tends to remain flat and formal and its contribution to the praise difficult to gauge. Moreover it is not set off from contiguous abstract images taken from other semantic fields, such as religion and nature. Its placement within the *qasida*, however, suggests its importance: it marks the climax and closure of the praise section and heralds the dedication of the poem, which is the poet's moment of extolling the merit of his creation. Within this larger scenario, the abstract images recapture and distill all the aforesaid praise before a crucial moment of transference of the poem from author to recipient.

Among the female personifications we find, for example, the Arabian lowlands and highlands as a merism for the *physical realm*:

1. Tihāma and Najd welcome you as brides / in the garb and finery of spring.

If you visited them in the sweltering midday heat, they would sprout / by [virtue of] your face and thunderclouds would dissolve [into rain].

The regions receive the addressee as a bridegroom, though in the encounter their homage to him is inferior to his for them: they honor him with their best adornment, the Spring season; he brings growth and

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rain independent of any season. The line appears in a panegyric by Ibn al-Rūmi (*Diwān*, iii, no. 994, vss. 91-92) for 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir, celebrating his appointment to the governorship of Baghdad in 253/867 while still a young man. Al-Buḥturi had used a similar image in a panegyric for al-Mutawakkil (*Diwān*, iv, 421 no. 915, 34 trans. Sperl, *Mannerism*, 198).

2. When the world reveals herself to him in her finery / she sees her beauty-spots reduced to blemishes.

The marriage image is only alluded to through the bride's revealing herself to the caliphal bridegroom. The hierarchy of their mutual homage is here more accentuated for before the caliph's much superior appearance, the world's beauty is turned into its opposite. Elsewhere the personifications of *noble deeds* welcome the addressee as a consort.

3. Father of glory, may it not lose you in its lifetime, / [being] cherished [by it], as glory will be orphaned after [having lost] you.

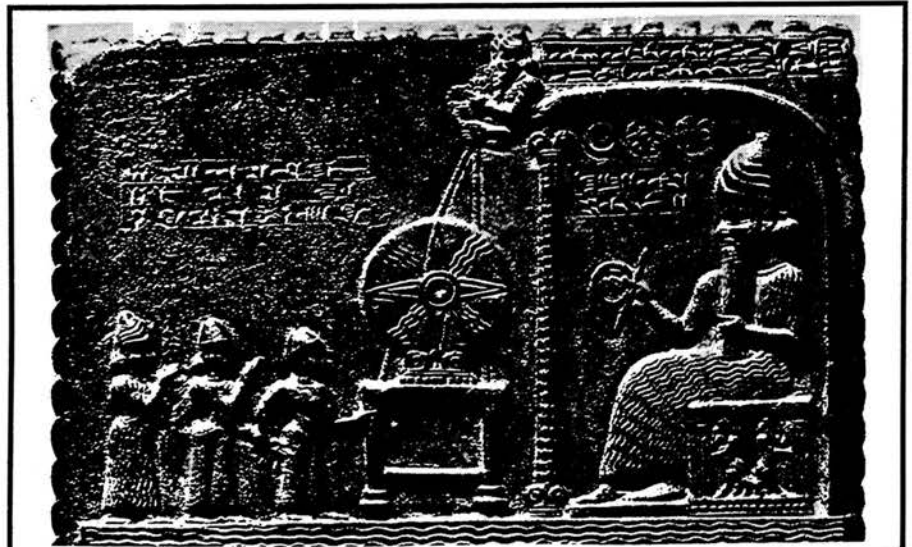
Nor may the noble deeds be widowed from you! / As they have remained unmarried till this day for one like you.

The noble deeds single out the addressee as unique at all times. Before and after him, no suitable consort will be found. These verses appear in Ibn al-Rūmi's long qasida on the occasion of the above-mentioned patron's reinstatement as a governor either in 266/880 or 276/890 (*Diwān*, v, no. 1611' vss. 269-70). Al-Buḥturi pairs the caliph al-Mutawakkil with the personified *caliphate* herself (loc. cit., vss. 32-33):

4. The caliphate, as her rostrum trembles [under his weight], / has in Ja'far been granted her highest hopes.

When he won her, he displayed humility in modest restraint, / whereas she won him and strutted about in pride.

The actual relationship between al-Mutawakkil and his rule is inverted as a causal hyperbole. It is the caliphate who has been yearning for him and rises in status by gaining him as a consort. In



The high priest and a goddess escort the king to the Sun-god sitting in his shrine behind the sun-disk. Assyrian relief, first millennium BCE.

addition, the exultant behavior of the figurative bride makes her inferior to the bridegroom's modest piety. In a further example Ibn al-Rūmi pairs his addressee, 'Ubaydallāh, with the sisters grace of God and grace of Islam (*Diwān*, vi, no. 1250', vss. 167-68). Unfortunately the historical occasion of this poem, dated 261/875, is uncertain.

In sum, the quoted passages describe the ruler as a consort with parts of his physical realm, his rule (the caliphate), or divine and Islamic grace. In all of this, the image is at best sketchy and more often insinuated, such as by the bride revealing herself in her raiment. The female abstractions remain weak or flat metaphors; their human character is in no way emphasized. Indeed, their personification seems to be a secondary outgrowth of the marital image.

But how is the image itself to be understood in the context of the praise? A structural approach contrasts the fulfilled marriage of caliph and caliphate with the broken relationship between poet and beloved (Sperl, *Mannerism*). This is possible in the qasida by al-Buḥturi (examples 2 and 4), which contains such a contrasting scene in the strophe, but not Ibn al-Rūmi's cited qasidas (examples 1 and 3) with descriptive strophes. Similarly their third and final sections (metastrophe) contain pure dedications lacking any argument about the poet's merits and deserts. However, a

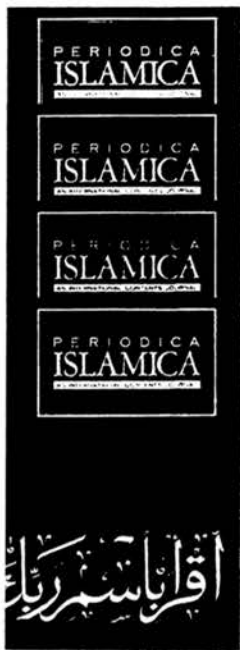
fundamental bond like marriage offers the option of an archetypal approach. The particular parallel example chosen for examination is the rite of sacred marriage in the neo-Sumerian era. This is done for three reasons. Firstly, being an elaborate religious ritual, it is likely to bring out varying religious, legal or sexual aspects of the motif. Secondly, a number of preserved texts document it well. Thirdly, it resembles the Abbasid motif in its basic configuration: pairing a human king with a divine counterpart.

An Ancient Near Eastern Parallel

From the neo-Sumerian period, specifically under the rules of Shulgi of Ur (c. 2050 BCE) and Iddindagan of Isin (c. 1950 BCE), certain texts document the marriage between the king and the goddess Inanna. The ritual was celebrated, or referred to, in hymns, epic hymns (i.e., a hymn containing a narrative) and songs of a high literary style commissioned by the king. The commissioning of hymns, their various forms, beauty and truthfulness, was even something about which King Shulgi boasted; moreover, he ensured, in the texts themselves, their ongoing recitation in sanctuaries and in festivals, as well as their tradition among scribes and temple

SEE HIEROS GAMOS, PAGE 13.

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MEM Scholar Profile

Ahmad Mubarak al-Baghdadi

POLITICAL SCIENTIST, KUWAIT UNIVERSITY

Ahmad Mubarak al-Baghdadi is currently head of the Political Science department at Kuwait University. His teaching and research focus on Islamic political thought with particular emphasis on what he sees as the tension between the "theories" and the historical "realities" of the Islamic state. Al-Baghdadi's work reveals a discerning and often poignant view of both medieval political theory and its relationship to more contemporary Islamist movements.

Ahmad [ibn] Mubarak al-Baghdadi was born in Kuwait in 1951. His father's father came to Kuwait from Baghdad and hence his name "al-Baghdadi" not to be confused with the other "Baghdadi" (without the "al") family of Kuwait. In 1974 al-Baghdadi received his BA in Political Science and Economics from Kuwait University; from there he went to the United States, where he earned his Masters degree in Western Political Thought at Clark University in 1977. His college advisor encouraged him to study Islamic political thought, and suggested that the UK was better for this study. Al-Baghdadi corresponded with Montgomery Watt at the University of Edinburgh where he was accepted and eventually completed his PhD in Islamic thought in 1981. He has two striking memories of Edinburgh. First, he recalls that the building which housed the program in Islamic thought at the university, and the city in general, was all black: the doors, the stairs, the walls. Second, about Watt, al-Baghdadi remembers that during his last years at the university Watt would sometimes close his eyes and seem to nod off in seminars but at the end would embark on an in-depth discussion of the topic addressed.

Al-Baghdadi's research can be divided roughly into two categories, although his overriding interest in the relationship between the historical ideals and realities of the Islamic state remains a constant theme. At Edinburgh Al-Baghdadi wanted to write his dissertation on secularism in Kuwait but was told that if he wanted to get a job in Kuwait he should study something more conservative, and then work on his own interests once he was established in the university. This led to his dissertation, a study of al-Mawardi's political thought, which was recently translated into Arabic and published. In 1989 al-Baghdadi also produced a critical edition of al-Mawardi's *Al-ahkam al-sultaniyah wa al-wilayat al-diniyah* [Principles of Government and Religious Rule] (Kuwait: Dar ibn Qutaybah). His early work also includes the publication (Kuwait: Maktabat al-Sandas, 1990) of an Arabic translation of a dissertation on the origins of the "shurta" in the Umayyad period written by Arsan Musā Rashid who subsequently taught at the Sulaymaniyyah University of Iraq. Unfortunately out of print now is *Dirāsāt fī al-siyāsah al-shar'iyah 'inda fuqahā' ahl al-sunnah* [Studies in Shariah Rule in Sunni Jurisprudence] (Kuwait: Maktabat al-Falāh, 1989) a collection of articles al-Baghdadi published in the 1980's in scholarly journals through-

out the Arab world on political and social ideals found in classical sources.

In his more recent work al-Baghdadi returns to his original graduate-school interest, making decisive critiques of how classical political theories are appropriated by more contemporary Islamist movements. For example, he has published a number of articles on the political theories of Islamist movements, one of the few in the Gulf states to write about such movements. He recently published a review of Sayyid Qutb's political thought, and has done some of the most insightful work on issues related to "democratization" and the history of "liberal" thought in classical Islamic political theory. Perhaps his most important and controversial piece is his *Al-Dawlah al-islamiyah: bayna al-waqa'a al-tarikhi wa al-tanzir al-fiqhi* [The Islamic State: Between Historical Fact and Legal Theorizing]. Although he had some trouble finding a publisher for this piece, it can be found in the journal *al-Bahith* (Beirut, 1993), volume 12, numbers 58 and 59. It has also recently been reprinted and is available in book form from Dar Qirtas in Kuwait (1994). This shorter piece epitomizes al-Baghdadi's keen sense of Islamic political theory. His work should prove to be increasingly important to medievalists not only for its sharp analysis of the classical sources and its recognition of much fiqh scholarship as utopian political theory, but also for the insightful historical perspective it brings to more contemporary political and social issues facing Islamic theorists today.

Professor al-Baghdadi can be reached at the following address: Dr. Ahmad Mubarak al-Baghdadi, Head, Political Science, College of Administrative Sciences, Kuwait University, PO Box 5486 Safat 13055 KUWAIT. Fax (965) 472-1840

The Editor is grateful to Brannon M. Wheeler of the University of Washington for contributing this Scholar Profile.

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Middle East Studies Association (1998 Meeting)	Dec. 3-6, 1998 Chicago, IL [Abstract Deadline: Feb. 15, 1998]	see preceding	see preceding
American Oriental Society (1998 Meeting)	March 14-18, 1998 New Orleans, LA [Abstract Deadline: Oct. 15, 1997]	American Oriental Society Hatcher Graduate Library University of Michigan Ann Arbor, MI 48109-1205	(313) 747-4760 Jonathan_Rodgers @ub.cc.umich.edu
The Medieval Institute (1997 Meeting)	May 8-11, 1997 Kalamazoo, MI [Proposal Deadline: Past]	The Medieval Institute Western Michigan Univ. Kalamazoo, MI 49008-3851	(616) 387-8745 FAX: (616) 387-8750
The Medieval Institute (1998 Meeting)	May 6-10, 1998 Kalamazoo, MI [Proposal Deadline: May 15, 1997]	see preceding	see preceding
American Historical Association (1998 Meeting)	Jan. 8-11, 1998 Seattle, WA [Paper Deadline: Past]	American Historical Assn. 400 A Street, S.E. Washington, D.C. 20003	(202) 544-2422
American Historical Association (1999 Meeting)	Jan. 7-11, 1999 Washington D.C. [Paper Deadline: Feb. 15, 1998]	see preceding	see preceding
College Art Association (1998 Meeting)	Feb. 25-28, 1998 Toronto, Ontario CA [Paper Deadline: Past]	Suzanne Schanzer 275 Seventh Ave. New York, NY 10001	(212) 691-1051 ext. 15 FAX: (212) 627-2381
College Art Association (1999 Meeting)	Feb. 10-13, 1999 Los Angeles, CA [Paper Deadline: April '97]	see preceding	see preceding

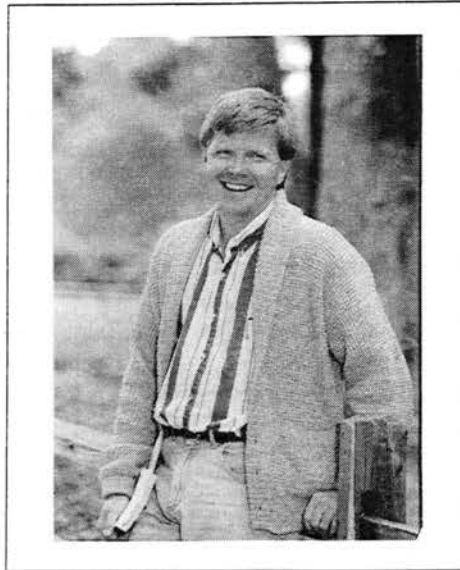
ANNUAL MEETINGS

Organization	When and Where	Information	Telephone No.
American Academy of Religion (1997 Meeting)	Nov. 22-25, 1997 San Francisco, CA [Paper Deadline: Past]	American Academy of Religion 1703 Clifton Rd, Ste. G-5 Atlanta, GA 30329-4075	(404) 727-7920 aar@emory.edu
American Academy of Religion (1998 Meeting)	Nov. 21-24, 1998 Orlando, FL [Paper Deadline: March 1, 1998]	see preceding	see preceding
Byzantine Studies Conference (1997 Meeting)	Sept. 25-28, 1997 Madison, WI [Paper Deadline: Past]	Ralph Mathisen Dept. of History Univ. of South Carolina Columbia, SC 29208	(803) 777-6068 FAX: (803) 777-4494
Byzantine Studies Conference (1998 Meeting)	Fall, 1998 Lexington, KY [Paper Deadline: early Jan. 1998]	see preceding	see preceding
Dumbarton Oaks Conference (1997 Meeting) "The Crusades from the Perspective of the Byzantines and Muslims"	May 2-4, 1997 Washington, DC [Papers: invitation only]	Dumbarton Oaks 1703 32nd St, NW Washington, D.C.	(202) 339-6940
Dumbarton Oaks Conference (1998 Meeting) "The Topography of Constantinople"	May 1-3, 1998 Washington, DC [Papers: invitation only]	see preceding	see preceding
International Congress of Asian and North African Studies (ICANAS), 25th (1997). General Subject: "Oriental Studies in the 20th century: The State of the Art"	July 7-12, 1997 Budapest, Hungary [Proposal deadline: Past]	Tamá Iványi Körösi Csoma Társaság/ ICANAS H-1088 Budapest Múzeum krt. 4/B Hungary	FAX: 361-266-5699 ivanyi@osiris.elte.hu
International Medieval Congress (1997 Meeting) "Conversion"	July 14-17, 1997 Leeds, UK [Proposal deadline: Past]	Axel E. W. Müller/Josine Opmeer IMC, Parkinson Bldg. University of Leeds Leeds LS2 9JT UK	+44 (113) 233-3614 FAX: +44 (113) 233-3616 IMC@leeds.ac.uk
International Medieval Congress (1998 Meeting) "Settlements"	July 13-16, 1998 Leeds, UK [Proposal deadline: Aug. 31, 1997]	see preceding	see preceding

NEWS OF MEM

MEM's New Secretary-Treasurer

At the 1996 Business Meeting of MEM held in Providence, RI, James E. Lindsay was selected to serve as the new Secretary-Treasurer of MEM. He replaces Matthew S. Gordon, whose three-year term expired December 31, 1996. Professor Lindsay received his B.S. in History from Calvin College (Grand Rapids, Michigan) in 1980. He received his Ph.D. in Middle East and North African History from the University of Wisconsin-Madison in 1994, writing a dissertation on "Professors, Prophets, and Politicians: `Ali Ibn `Asakir's Ta'rikh madinat Dimashq." He joined the faculty of Colorado State University in September 1996. He has published several articles on Ibn `Asakir as well as on the Fatimid da'wa in North Africa. He is an Associate Editor of *Al-'Usur al-Wusta* and Assistant Editor of *International Journal of Middle East Studies*. Lindsay's term of office will



expire December 31, 1999. MEM welcomes him aboard.

Graduate Student Prize Winner

The Board of Directors of MEM selected as winner of the 1996 MEM Graduate Student prize **Marianne E. Cameron** of the University of Chicago for her paper entitled "Sayf at First: A Comparison of Conquest Narratives in Ibn 'Asakir's Recension of Sayf b. 'Umar with al-Tabari's Recension of Sayf."

The Board of Directors of MEM will again be offering a prize of \$250 for the best graduate student paper on a medieval topic at the 1997 Middle East Studies Association meeting. The winner will be announced at the annual business meeting of

MEM. Although modest in amount, it is hoped that this award will encourage graduate students with an interest in the medieval period to attend the conference.

Students who are scheduled to present a paper on a medieval topic at MESA-1997 and who wish to have their contributions considered for this year's prize should submit a copy of their paper to MEM's Secretary-Treasurer, James E. Lindsay, by **October 15, 1997**. Send papers to: James E. Lindsay, Department of History, Colorado State University, Fort Collins, CO 80523-1776, USA.

A Word of Thanks . . .

The officers and Board of Directors of Middle East Medievalists wish to thank the Department of History of Colorado State University, and its chairman, Prof. Eugene Berwanger, for their generous support of MEM. The Department has offered to assist MEM's secretary-treasurer, James Lindsay, by underwriting the costs of stu-

dent assistants for routine mailing chores, as well as printing and postal costs for the large membership renewal mailing. MEM is grateful also to Keith Kempke, a CSU Graduate Assistant who has done a tremendous job helping the secretary-treasurer get MEM's all-important data base in order.

Capital Reserve Fund

At the 1996 Directors' meeting, the Board decided to establish a capital reserve account, interest on which shall be used to fund various MEM awards and activities. The officers and members of MEM would like to thank Professor George Scanlon (American University in Cairo) and Professor Franz Rosenthal (Yale University) for their gifts of \$50.00 each. We hope that their generosity in establishing the fund will encourage others to contribute as well.

We encourage all members of MEM to contribute to the Capital Reserve Fund, which we hope will grow to become a significant source of support for MEM's activities. If you would like to make a donation to the fund, please make your check payable to Middle East Medievalists and send it to James E. Lindsay, Secretary-Treasurer of MEM, Department of History, Colorado State University, Fort Collins, CO 80523-1776.

MEMBER NEWS

Hasan al-Naboodah (Sharjah, UAE) has two articles in press — "The Banu Nubhan in the Omani Sources," and "The Forts and Husun of al-Ain."

Khalil Athamina (Birzeit University) has recently published "Some Administrative, Military, and Socio-Political Aspects of Early Muslim Egypt," in *War and Society in the Eastern Mediterranean, 7th-15th Centuries* ed. Yaacov Lev (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997), 101-15; and "The Political Role of Jerusalem in the Early Islamic Period," (in Arabic and in the memory of the Palestinian scholar, the late Kāmil al-'Asali) in *Jerusalem: Kāmil al-'Asali and the Question of Jerusalem* ed. PASSIA. (Jerusalem, 1996), 381-425.

Peri Bearman (Leiden) is a publisher of Islamic studies with E.J. Brill.

M.A.J. Beg (Cambridge) has recently published "The Problems of Teaching Islamic History," in *Issues in Islamic Education* (London: The Muslim Educational Trust, 1996), 51-60; "The Origin and Growth of Hospitals in Islamic Civilization," in *Muslim Education Quarterly* 13, 4 (Cambridge, 1996): 73-77; and "Sirādj," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed.

Michael Bonner (University of Michigan) has recently published *Aristocratic Violence and Holy War: Studies in the Jihad and the Arab-Byzantine Frontier* American Oriental Series, vol. 81 (New Haven, CT: American Oriental Society, 1996); "Definitions of Poverty and the Rise of the Muslim Urban Poor," *JRAS* 3, 6, 3 (1996): 335-44. In addition he has recently translated Heinz Halm's *The Empire of the Mahdi: The Rise of the Fatimids* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996). He is currently working on popular movements, the poor and the concept of poverty in Islamic economic thought.

Robert I. Burns, S.J. (UCLA) has recently published *Jews in the Notarial Culture: Latinate Jewish Wills in Mediterranean Spain, 1250-1350* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996); "Paper comes to the West, 800-1400" in *Europäische Technik im Mittelalter 800 bis 1200: Tradition und Innovation*, ed. Uta Lindgren (Berlin, 1996), 413-22 (a revisionist view); "Almohad Prince and Mudejar Convert; New Documentation on Abū Zayd, in *Medieval Iberia: Essays on the History and Literature of Medieval Spain*, ed. Donald Kagay and Joseph Snow (New York and Berlin: 1996), 180-88. Professor Burns was honored to receive *Iberia and the Mediterranean World of the Middle Ages: Essays in Honor of Robert I. Burns S.J.*, 2 vols. I; ed. Larry J. Simon; II; ed. Paul Chevedden, Donald Kagay, and Paul Padilla. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995-1996).

Paul M. Cobb (Smith College) has recently completed his PhD dissertation, "White Banners: Contention in 'Abbāsīd Syria, 750-877" (University of Chicago, 1997); as well as some translations from Ibn Ḥayyān's *Muqtabis* for the anthology *Text and Commentary in Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Jewish and Mus-*

lim Sources ed. O. R. Constable (University of Pennsylvania Press, forthcoming). He will be occupying a position at Wake Forest University in the Fall.

Michael Fishbein (UCLA) has recently published his translation *The History of al-Tabari, Vol. VIII: The Victory of Islam* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1997).

Sebastian Günther (Martin-Luther-Universität, Halle-Wittenberg) has recently published "Der šāfi'itische Traditionist Abū Sulaiman al-Ḥaṭṭāb und die Situation der religiösen Wissenschaften im 10. Jahrhundert," *ZDMG* 146, 1 (1996): 61-91; "Source Criticism and Isnād Analysis in Classical Arabic Literature," in *History and Historiography in Early Islamic Times. Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam IX*, ed. Lawrence I. Conrad (Princeton, NJ: Darwin Press, forthcoming 1997), 1-36 (an alternative approach to source criticism and isnād analysis.); "Naufalis lost History: A Shiite Source Used by Ṭabari and Abū 'l-Faraj," in *Tabari: The Historian and His Work*, ed. Hugh N. Kennedy (Leiden: E.J. Brill, forthcoming 1997); "Hostile Brothers in Transformation: An Archetypical Conflict Figuring in Classical and Modern (Islamic) Arabic Literature," in *Aspects of Literary Hermeneutics in Arabic Culture: Myths, Historical Archetypes and Symbolic Figures in Arabic Literature*. Beirut Texts and Studien, eds. A. Neuwirth, S. Günther, M. Jarrar (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, forthcoming); and "Lā sami'tu fi kitāb aḥad minhum: Remarks on the Making of the 'K. Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyūn'," in *Volume in Honour of Prof. Sami Makarem's 60th Birthday* (Beirut: American University, forthcoming 1997). He is currently preparing an edition of Ibn as-Sunni al-Dinawari's (d. 364/974) *Kitāb riyādat al-muta'allimīn* as part of "The Beginnings of Pedagogy in Islam: Pedagogical Works and the Educational Philosophy in Classical Arabic Literature.

Peter M. Holt (Oxford) is currently conducting research on the later Qalawunids, 709-84/1310-1382.

Nuha N. N. Khoury (Santa Barbara) has recently published "The Meaning of the Great Mosque of Cordoba in the Tenth

Century," *Muqarnas* 13 (1996): 80-98.

Ann K. S. Lambton (Gregory, Northumberland, UK) was named one of the first Honorary Members of the Society for Iranian Studies on November 21, 1996.

Gary Leiser (Vacaville, CA) is Curator, Travis Air Museum, Travis Air Force Base, CA; he has just published *A History of Travis AFB, 1943-1996* (Sacramento, 1996); his translation and ed. of M. F. Köprülü's *Some Observations on the Influence of Byzantine Institutions on Ottoman Institutions* is forthcoming from Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara; he is currently editing and translating Köprülü's *Early Mystics in Turkish Literature*.

Neil D. Mackenzie (Howell, MI) is currently working on a topographical study of Ayyubid Aleppo. He is continuing as Associate Director of the Sijilmasa project in Morocco and hoping to become involved in the Islamic archaeology of Yemen.

Ingrid Mattson (University of Chicago) continues to work on her PhD dissertation, "A Believing Slave is Better than an Unbeliever: Class and Community in Early Islamic Society."

Julie Scott Meisami (Oxford) has recently published "The Body as Garden: Nature and Sexuality in Persian Poetry," *Edebiyat* 6 (1995): 245-74; "The *Šāh-nāme* as Mirror for Princes: A Study in Reception," in *Pand-o Sokhan: Mélange offerts à Charles-Henri Fouchécour*, ed. C. Balaý et al. (Tehran: IFRI, 1996): 265-73; "Poetic Microcosms" The Persian Qasida to the End of the Twelfth Century," in *Qasida Poetry in Islamic Asia and Africa*, eds. S. Sperl and C. Shackle (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996): 1:137-82. She is preparing a monograph entitled *Structure and Meaning in Arabic and Persian Lyric* for Curzon Press. In addition she is editing, with Paul Starkey, *Companion to Arabic Literature* for Routledge and continues to serve, with Michael Beard, as co-editor of *Edebiyat: A Journal of Middle Eastern Literatures*.

Charles P. Melville (Cambridge) has recently edited a collection of articles entitled *Safavid Persia* (I.B. Tauris, 1996)

PELLA, FROM PAGE 3.

and has just completed an article on Öljeitü's Gilan campaign of 1307. he will be spending a sabbatical year 1997-98 in Princeton and New York to conduct research on the late Ilkhanid period in Iran.

Josef W. Meri (Wolfson College, Oxford) is preparing for publication a study and annotated translation of three late Medieval Syrian pilgrimage (*ziyārat*) guides. He has also recently submitted for publication an introductory article to the *ziyāra* as well as a study entitled "The Medieval Cults of the Prophet Elijah and al-Khadir." Meri is currently preparing a dissertation entitled, "Sacred Journeys to Sacred Precincts: The Cult of Saints in Medieval Syria."

David Morray (University College, Dublin) has recently published "al-Suwaydiyya," and "Tall Bāshir," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed.

Robert Schick (Albright Institute, Jerusalem) continues his teaching at the Institute of Islamic Archaeology at al-Quds University (Jerusalem). His current research focuses on the archaeological sites and architectural monuments of Islamic Jerusalem.

John M. Smith (UC-Berkeley) has recently published "The Mongols and World-Conquest," *Mongolica* (1996); "Ayn Jalut, Battle of" and "Nomads," in *The Reader's Companion to Military History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1996); and "Mongol Society and Military in the Middle East: Antecedents and Adaptations," in *War and Society in the Eastern Mediterranean, 7th-15th Centuries* ed. Yaacov Lev (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997).

Marina Tolmacheva (Washington State University) has recently published "Bertius and al-Idrisi: An Experiment in Orientalist Cartography," *Terrae Incognitae* 28 (1996): 36-45; and "Intercultural Transmission and Selection: Greek Toponyms in Arabic Geography," in *Tradition, Transmission, Transformation*, ed. F.J. and S.P. Ragep (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 419-39.

Cristina Tonghi (University of Florence) recently completed her dissertation for the University of London entitled *Qal'at Ja'bar Pottery: A Study of a Syrian Fortified Site*

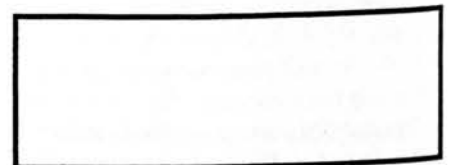
of the 11th-14th Century. She has published with G. King, *A Survey of the Islamic Sites near Aden and in the Abyan District of Yemen* (London: SOAS, 1996); and "I bacini di importazione islamica fra Valdarno e Valdesa," in *La Chiesa, la Casa, il Castello sull via Francigena*, edited by A. Malvolti and A. Vanni Desideri (Fucecchio, 1996): 117-28. She has taken part in a number of archaeological projects in Syria (Euphrates Valley, Raqqa), Yemen (Wadi Abyan), Emirates (Abu Dhabi Islamics), and Jordan (Crusader castles at Petra), concentrating especially on pottery and, more specifically, the so-called fritware in Syria. She is currently conducting research for *Italy and the Mediterranean between the VIII and the XIV Century from the Archaeological Sources*. The project aims at gathering evidence for the contacts between Italy and the eastern Mediterranean world on the basis of material culture, especially pottery. The project will include archaeological research at Amantes (Calabria), an Arab Emirate in the 9th century. She is deputy director of the University of Florence archaeological project at Petra — "Medieval Petra: Settlements of the Crusader and Ayyubid Period in Transjordan."

Mark Whittow (Oriel College, Oxford) has recently published *The Making of Orthodox Byzantium 600-1025* (London: Macmillan, 1996) (published in the US as *Byzantium 600-1025* [University of California Press, 1996]). His survey of medieval castles of Anatolia continues; a report and discussion of Ulubey Kalesi and Çardak Kalesi will appear in *Anatolian Studies* 47 (1997). A brief report on Çarkad Kalesi appeared in *Anatolian Archaeology* 1 (1995). In 1998 he plans to start a small excavation at Yöre kalesi (Kuyucak, Aydın) focusing particularly on the late Byzantine-Ottoman deposits and the evidence for the Byzantine-Turkish transition.

Negin Yavari (Institute of Ismaili Studies) has been a Research Fellow at the Institute of Ismaili Studies in London since September 1996. She is currently revising her dissertation, "Nizam al-Mulk Remembered: A Study in Historical Representation." She is also preparing a study entitled "The Ismailis of Medieval Islamic Imagination."

and strainer jugs of ware 18. These soon came to dominate the ceramic corpus of ninth century Pella. Another change to traditional fabrics is noted with ware 13, where the dark brown cooking vessels are replaced by button-lidded casseroles in a more reddish fabric (ware 13A). The new type appears to be a precursor of the internally glazed Fātimid-period casseroles known from 'Ammān citadel and other sites. Other previously unknown wares appear by the middle of the century, including the reasonably common *Kerbschnitt* bowls (ware 19) and rare examples of glazed wares in an Iraqi or Egyptian style (wares 15-17). The new pottery types, especially the cream jars/jugs and glazed wares, represent a profound artistic and technological break with the past. Traditional styles of pottery were discarded in favor of foreign forms, bringing about an 'external revolution' that marked the start of a new phase in the Islamic ceramics of Jordan. The adoption of cream and glazed wares at Pella suggests growing community awareness of the cultural traditions of the wider Islamic World, an interest that may represent the search for a new identity following the decisive end of the late Antique city and its institutions.

The study of ancient ceramics in modern archaeology goes well beyond the limited antiquarian objectives of the past. The thorough collection and systematic processing of pottery from an archaeological site permit the application of advanced techniques, and can help to trace wider trends within an ancient society by identifying stylistic and technological changes to the corpus. Analysis of the early Islamic pottery from the Pella excavations has recognized two major shifts in the ceramic horizon, each reflecting a broader reform of the socio-economic structure of the town. Of these ceramic 'revolutions' the second was the more profound. Foreign pottery styles came to predominate, perhaps indicating the growing Islamicisation of Pella's community in the early ninth century AD.



HEIROS GAMOS, FROM PAGE 5.

singers.

The procedure of the sacred marriage ritual is minutely depicted in the text "Inanna and Iddindagan." It began with processions on the first day, food preparation in the evening, and Inanna's passing of judgments over the people by night. The next day people brought her their offerings and erected a dais in her temple. She bathed and perfumed herself to receive the king, who consummated the marriage whereupon the goddess pronounced him to be "my truly beloved." (This epithet is reflected in the Sumerian royal title "beloved spouse of Inanna.") Afterwards, the newlyweds reappeared to attend a banquet in the public quarter of the temple. In another text, an epic hymn of King Shulgi (Shulgi X), Inanna receives the king on his return from a triumphant campaign, to recall the pleasures of their past marriage and to decree a good fate for him, which she spells out in great detail. The bulk of her speech is devoted to the king's suitability to his rule.

5. You are suited for leadership;

To hold high the head on the lofty dais you are suited,

To sit on the shining throne you are suited,

To a brilliant crown (placed) on your head you are suited,

According to your body, to the long fleecy garment you are suited,

To be dressed in the royal garb you are suited...

According to your hands, to the holy scepter you are suited,

According to your feet to the holy boots you are suited ...

Here the physical act of consummation and the goddess's verbal declaration of her love for Shulgi underscore his worthiness of kingship. In another text referring to the ritual (CT 42, 2), Inanna's vizier implores her to grant royal powers to an unidentified king. Again these powers are carefully enumerated by the vizier, as shown in the following quote.

6. May the Lord whom you have called to (your) heart,

The king, your beloved husband, enjoy

long days at your holy lap, the sweet,

Give him a reign favorable (and) glorious,

Give him the throne of kingship on its enduring foundation,

Give him the people-directing scepter, the staff (and) the crook,

Give him an enduring crown, a diadem which ennobles (?) the head ...

The passage once again stresses that the physical pleasure the king enjoys through the marriage with the goddess are bound up with his royal authority. Hence the larger significance of this rite, one celebrated at the coronation and the new year's festival, has been explained as an affirmation of the king's powers. However, a further aspect has been recently brought forth by Jerrold Cooper. It is based on one text which gives an explanation of why Inanna's divine parents invested her with multifarious powers as well as giving her King Ishmedagan as a consort, namely as a means to ensure the administration of justice among the subjects and the proper upkeep of the gods' sanctuaries and their sacrifices. The text then promotes the marital bond between king and goddess as a regulation of the *relationship* between people (i.e., administration of justice) and between people and gods (i.e., upkeep of sanctuaries and sacrifices) which Cooper deems to be the ritual's core significance. It not only stipulates the physical, social, and legal ties operative between king and goddess, but establishes both personal and social ties to *all* the gods. Inanna is an appropriate partner for this ceremony, being, firstly, the most powerful goddess in the Sumerian pantheon, secondly, the daughter of the city god of Ur (for the kings of the Ur III dynasty) or the city goddess Ninsina (for the kings of Isin), and, thirdly, as having Dumuzi, a deified mortal king, as a spouse, which gave the king an appropriate figure with whom to identify.

The few cursory quotes already show the association, in the neo-Sumerian hymns, of the individual physical and legal bond of marriage with the legitimation of royal authority. Inanna, the divine bride affirms the king as worthy of his rule, capable of upholding justice among the people and offering service to the gods. Similarly in the Abbasid panegyrics, the abstract personifications greet the caliph (or governor) as (uniquely) suited to lead-

ership. Moreover two of the cited poems celebrate the occasion of an appointment. In sum, both in the Abbasid and the Sumerian case, the marriage bond, whether a religious ritual or a poetic image, seems opportune for establishing firm ties between the divine and the human realm as well as within the human realm.

Meanwhile, there are vast differences between the Sumerian and the Islamic worlds. The Sumerian universe is polytheistic, the king is deified (either during his lifetime or posthumously) and the marriage is actually consummated between the king and a woman (of unclear identity) who impersonates the goddess Inanna as part of a publicly celebrated religious ritual. In the monotheistic cosmology of Islam, the monarch has no counterpart in the divine realm: instead different personifications grow out of extended metaphors. He merely achieves a mediator position between his subjects and God, which is a familiar panegyric topos. The marriage itself is but an abstract literary motif lacking a referent in reality and remains nearly unnoticed as it is set among other abstract and hyperbolic images at the end of the praise section. Through its wider scope, the Sumerian parallel helps to amplify the muted resonance of its Abbasid counterpart, namely legitimation and the affirmation of human-divine ties. The application of external connotations like these ought to be confirmed in each Abbasid panegyric by other factors. In the present examples historical context and poetic tradition substantiate our reading.

On the one hand, several quotes actually derive from poems celebrating an appointment (1 and 3) and show the ideal correspondence between the candidate and his new rank. Accompanying verses reinforce this through other images, such as the one of the shepherd (1 and 2), Christ (3) or direct assertions of the addressee's worthiness. Nonetheless one would need to explore whether this correlation between the marital motif and appointment to power holds true in other panegyrics.

On the other hand, the marital image is still productive within the poetic tradition and recurs in panegyrics by Ibn al-Rūmī and 'Alī b. al-Jahm in the metastrophe, which is the most crucial section in the eyes of the poet. There the addressee again assumes the role of the bridegroom, and the personification of the

poem, that of the bride, who is unveiled to him or gains her eternity through him. Again the marital motif brings out the perfect match between addressee and poem and enumerates concomitant duties of the groom. The recurrence of the same motif, joining the addressee with his realm and with his praise poem, betrays its dynamic force, for we must trust the poets to those effective images in validating their claims and craft.

The above comparison glances, of course, across time, genre and literary or ritual function. However, an insistence on seeing both cases as manifestations of one archetypal symbol has enabled us to glean connotations from the Sumerian motif and test them within the Abbasid Islamic parallel. In the cited cases the poems themselves and their historical occasions support that. Archetypal connotations, when established for entire groups of motifs and matched against the historical context, can

provide valuable leads for investigating the function of the praise qasida's core section, whose abstract and hyperbolic ruler epithets still pose many problems.

Bibliographical Note

The unabridged version of this essay appears in *Myths, Historical Archetypes and Symbolic Figures in Arabic Literature - Towards a New Hermeneutic Approach. (Proceedings of the Symposium held at the Orient-Institute of Beirut, June 25th - June 30th, 1996). Beirut Texts and Studies 64.* eds. Angelika Neuwirth, Birgit Seekamp, Sebastian Günther, Maher Jarrar, forthcoming Beirut 1997.

The following editions of Arabic texts are used: al-Buḥturī, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Ṣayrafī, 4 vols., Cairo, 1977; Ibn al-Rūmī, *Dīwān*, ed. Naṣṣār, 6 vols., Cairo, 1973-81. Some translations are from Stefan Sperl, *Mannerism in Arabic Poetry*, Cambridge, 1989.

For a recent discussion of *hieros gamos* in the Ancient Near East see Jerrold S.

Cooper, "Sacred Marriage and Popular Cult in Early Mesopotamia," *Papers of the First Colloquium on the Ancient Near East—The City and Its Life*, ed. E. Matsushima, Tokyo, 1992, 81-96; for the hymns of King Shulgi, see Klein, *Three Shulgi Hymns: Sumerian Royal Hymns Glorifying King Shulgi of Ur*, Bar-Ilan Studies in Near Eastern Languages and Cultures, Ramat-Gan 1981, p. 139 ls. 56-60, 66-67; for the sacred marriage ritual text, see Willem H. Ph. Römer, "Ein Lied zum Ritus der Heiligen Hochzeit der Göttin Inanna mit dem König Iddindagān von Isin (ca. 1974-1954 v. Chr.)," *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments II: Religiöse Texte*, ed. idem & K. Hecker, Gütersloh: Mohn 1989, 659-673. For the sacred marriage of Inanna with Ishmedagan, see idem, "Sumerische Hymnen," *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 45 (1988), col. 34-35 ls. 31-41. The quotes derive from Klein, *The Royal Hymns of Shulgi*, TAPS N. S. 71 (1981) pt. 7 pp. 18-19 ls. 44-46 and 47-62 (5) and Samuel N. Kramer, "Sumerian Literature and the Literature of the Ancient World," *PAPS* 107 (1963), p. 502 ls. 7-12 (6).

Ya'qubi Translation Project

The Historian al-Ya'qūbī (d. 284/897) is one of the most important authorities for the history of the first three centuries of Islam. Three works from his pen have survived to modern times: his *History*, the *Geographical Dictionary*, and *The Adaptation of Men to their Times*. These comprise a varied corpus of essential source material that has been much used and studied since the publication of most of it in the late nineteenth century. But it is not only professional scholars of early Islamic history for whom these texts are of significance. *The History*, for example, contains valuable material on the transmission of several Greek medical texts and of various parts of the Bible, and as the latter half of the work presents a continuous account of Islamic history that almost entirely dispenses with *isnāds*, it is particularly accessible to students. The richness of al-Ya'qūbī's works in general offers valuable opportunities for assessment of a Muslim historian's vision of the past in the third/ninth century, and he is thus of interest for the study of Islamic historiography and cultural history, and to historians in such adjacent fields as eastern Christian, Byzantine, and medieval European history.

An international project has therefore been launched to establish a regular venue for discussion of al-Ya'qūbī's works, with the ultimate aim of producing annotated English translations of all three texts. These have been divided into sections for study and translation and have been assigned to individual scholars; participating in the project are Paul Cobb, Lawrence Conrad, Elton Daniel, Fred Donner, Matthew Gordon, Sidney Griffith, Tayeb El-Hibri, Wadad al-Qadi, Lutz Richter-Bernburg, and Chase Robinson. Regular, informal meetings at the MESA conference are planned; the first of these gatherings, at the MESA conference in San Francisco in November, 1997, will begin with reports on the textual tradition of the *History* (L. Conrad) and on materials toward a biography of al-Ya'qūbī (M. Gordon).

All persons interested in the project are welcome to attend the meetings of the group at MESA and should put themselves in contact with the project coordinators (below). The project would be grateful for any information that members of MEM may be able to provide about al-Ya'qūbī or his works; suggestions on variant readings of the texts and details on any new articles or discussions of al-Ya'qūbī in scholarly literature would be especially welcome, and will be acknowledged in the final publications.

Project Coordinators:

Lawrence Conrad - Wellcome Institute, 183 Euston Road, London NW1 2 BN, UK. l.conrad@wellcome.ac.uk

Matthew Gordon - Dept. of History, 254 Upham Hall, Miami University, Oxford, OH 45056, USA. msgordon@muohio.edu

Pioneers

IN MEDIEVAL MIDDLE EASTERN STUDIES

Edward E. Salisbury

AMERICA'S FIRST ARABIST

by Benjamin R. Foster

Arabic studies in America found their beginning in the now extinct New England culture and college of the early nineteenth century, so far ahead of their next period of growth as to be forgotten even by loyal professional Arabists, hence this essay.

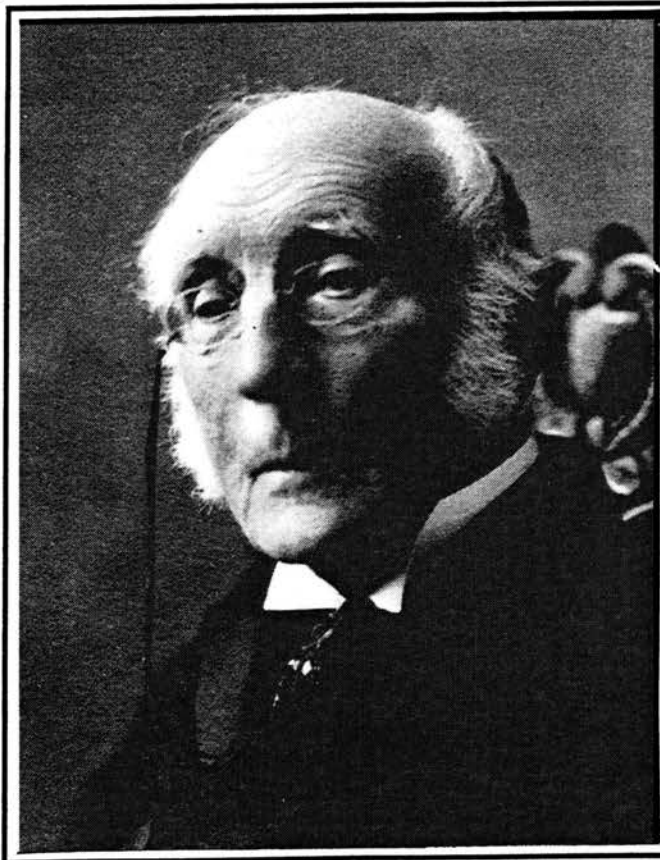
Edward Elbridge Salisbury was born in Boston in 1814, son of Josiah Salisbury, a sometime successful merchant and clergyman of private life, and his wife, Abby Breese. Josiah, having retired as a man of wealth, culture, and leisure, devoted his efforts to schooling his youngster at home. Edward prepared for college at the Boston Latin School and graduated from Yale in 1832. He remained in New Haven, reading Hebrew and theology in preparation for ordination. Although he saw the ideal life for himself as a minister in a New England country town, his career took an unexpected turn.

Salisbury's teacher in New Haven was Josiah Gibbs, professor in the College and the only philological scholar in the Yale Divinity School. Gibbs, under the spell of the great Hebrew teacher at Andover Theological Seminary, Moses Stuart, had been attracted to the "new philology," comparative and historical study of languages based primarily on their phonology, morphology, and grammar. With this he combined a "New England sage's" interest in establishing pre-

cise meanings for words as a rational way of probing human understanding, belief, and experience. Gibbs was a reticent, scrupulous, even tedious mentor, but

language.

In 1836 Salisbury married his cousin, Abigail Salisbury Phillips. To ensure him a proper start in life, his mother divided with him the substantial patrimony, relieving the young couple of any concern about finances; the bride had a handsome fortune in her own right. They set sail for a grand tour, landing first in England, where, in the course of a genealogical and cultural excursion, Salisbury called on Horace Hayman Wilson, first professor of Sanskrit at Oxford, to ask his advice. Wilson offered to teach him, having heard nothing of Yale. Yet the shrewd, good-humored young Yankee was amused to note that the Yale man Moses Stuart's Hebrew grammar (based on Gesenius, published at Andover, Mass.) was the standard textbook at Oxford, one of the English universities that had two centuries before exported Hebrew to Massachusetts Bay. Perhaps Sanskrit seemed rather a heavy pendum for a wedding trip; in any case the Salisburys went on to Italy for six months of visiting museums, ruins, and absorbing



opened his pupil's eyes to possibilities beyond the conventional Hebrew and biblical scholarship of his time. Sir William Jones' Asiatic Researches had reached New Haven and the possibilities of "the nervous and copious" Sanskrit were appreciated, but no one in America could read that

art.

The following year found them at Paris in the Rue d'Alger, where Salisbury decided to begin the study of Arabic with A. I. Sylvestre De Sacy, Europe's premier Arabist, and Garcin de Tassy (better known as a scholar of Hindi), while Abigail worked

on her French and music. Their reactions to Parisian life might come from the pages of a Henry James novel: the French had no idea of "home comforts," were cloyed with their own, overlong history, left their homes before breakfast and returned at midnight, "gadding about and scandalizing," and were destitute of any sense of decency. Yet Arabic claimed many hours of his happy days and Salisbury made excellent progress. He found de Tassy "sprightly and vain ... but most good-natured, complaisant and helpful to a beginner like myself," while "De Sacy, a truly saintly Jansenist in spirit, won all hearts by his perfect learning communicated with the gentlest mildness."

In the summer of 1838, the Salisburys went to Germany, calling on Freytag to ask his advice on Sanskrit and Arabic. Freytag recommended Lassen at Bonn for Sanskrit language and Bopp at Berlin for Indian antiquity, reserving for himself consideration as the best teacher of Arabic in Europe. He filled the elegant young American's ears with his complaints of the French Arabists, claiming Quatremere wanted to reserve for himself the entire discipline. Salisbury tactfully subscribed for a copy of Freytag's forthcoming work on Arabic proverbs. The German professor made it clear that his expectations of the American youth were not high, as he spent too much time touring to accomplish anything. Salisbury found him "a rather rough specimen of humanity ... dogmatical in his disposition, but accurate and fully possessed of what he knew, and he was 'facile princeps', but as his pupils laughed at his farm in the neighborhood of Bonn, calling it 'Arabia Deserta', so one could not expect to find any flowers of literature springing up in his paths." As for the philologist Boeckh, Salisbury remarked in his diary, "his features are not very agreeable, and he is tinctured with vanity," but the Altmeister seemed kind and affable. For the time being, Salisbury remained at Berlin, attending Bopp's lectures on philology and commencing in earnest private study of Sanskrit with him. Bopp "was a pleasant gentleman with a complacent yet modest sense of his high position in the world of learning — on whom all European scholars were in attendance, so to speak, waiting to see what new combinations he might contrive to unlock farther the secrets of the new science."

From his Berlin mentors Salisbury derived his belief that August von Schlegel, Wilhelm von Humboldt, and Bopp "first rent the veil which had until then concealed the Indian world from the clear view of science," a misconception long since the subject of a detailed study by Hans Aarsleff. On the other hand, Salisbury saw De Sacy as "the father of all oriental learning, in the wide sense, in Europe," a parentage often obscured in later nationalistic histories of scholarship, which tend to focus on the local talent.

Upon his return to America in 1841, Salisbury was appointed professor of Arabic and Sanskrit at Yale, the first such appointment in the United States. He expressed sincere misgivings, "the pretension implied in my professional title, I think, discouraged me from the first ... I never advanced much beyond the position where I stood at the start, and not being able to keep the sources filled up I never really welcomed any aspirants to take from me what little I knew." In fact, Salisbury knew Arabic well and translated it with felicity and accuracy. Just as Bopp and Freytag began their linguistic studies in Paris, so too had the young American, who was as well one of the few American students of philology in Germany, prior to the Civil War, to make use of his philological training in an American academic setting. His early essays on Arabic and Islam, detailed consideration of which is impossible here, were the first professional scholarship of their kind published in America.

We must remember that in 1841 there was no such entity in the United States as the "professional scholar" as the term is now understood; there were no universities, no research in the colleges, no graduate schools or degrees; no "doctrine of expertise" in higher education or academic specialization, no professional societies or periodicals in what are now called "the Humanities," no facilities for formal language training outside of Greek and Latin, with occasionally a little French or German; no "research libraries" with collections of orientalist books, periodicals, or manuscripts. Salisbury saw himself as the pioneer, wistfully abandoning his dream of a quiet country parish to begin the creation of professional oriental studies in America.

The major desiderata were identi-

fying and properly training good students and providing employment for them, building a professional society and journal to diffuse European scholarship in America and to present American scholarship, in due season, to Europe, and acquiring books and manuscripts to bring to America for research. Salisbury devoted the next decade of his life to all these objectives, with what seems now like singular foresight, though he might himself have swept aside any such encomium. Upon De Sacy's death, Salisbury had acquired books and manuscripts at the auction of his library, augmenting his collection with purchases throughout his travels. Through a friend in India, he acquired numerous rare Sanskrit books, probably the first of their kind to reach America. He corresponded with missionaries throughout the world, receiving from them books and manuscripts as well.

More study was needed: In 1842 he returned to Europe to read Arabic privately with Freytag and to continue Sanskrit with Lassen. His formal instruction commenced in 1843, with an announcement in the Yale catalogue that "the Professor of Arabic and Sanskrit will give instruction on Tuesdays and Wednesdays in Arabic grammar with the interpretation of the Koran and the Mo'allakas, and on Fridays and Saturdays in Sanskrit grammar with the interpretation of the laws of Manu." Who could offer such a regimen today? Formal provision for graduate study was available after 1847, with Salisbury offering Arabic grammar and "some of the relations of the Arabic to other of the Shemitish dialects." Students in these subjects were but two, but of exceptional talent: the philologist James Hadley and William Dwight Whitney, who was to become America's premier Sanskritist of the nineteenth century.

Salisbury encouraged his pupils to finish their educations in Europe. Hadley was made a professor at Yale, but there was no provision for Whitney. Salisbury therefore resigned the Sanskrit half of his chair in favor of Whitney, and since he had served without salary, offered to endow the position from his own resources. Deeply moved by this generosity, Whitney returned to New Haven from Germany and commenced his brilliant career. Satisfied that his program was launched and uncom-

fortable as a teacher, Salisbury resigned from the Yale faculty in 1856. When Harvard, desirous to inaugurate its own program in Oriental Languages, recruited both Whitney and Salisbury, Salisbury declined and increased the endowment of the Yale Sanskrit chair such that Whitney could be induced to stay in New Haven even in the face of a munificent offer.

When Salisbury had joined the American Oriental Society about the time of its formation in 1842, the Society was little more than a club of like-minded gentlemen and a shelf or two of books. Salisbury took the title of "corresponding secretary," carrying out a worldwide, longhand correspondence and creating a journal. Since the Society had no funds, Salisbury paid the costs of the new periodical himself. Oriental typefonts were not available, so Salisbury commissioned or ordered a wide range of them cast at his own expense. The early numbers of the Journal were densely-set book-length volumes, the editing of which he did himself, besides finding the time and energy to contribute substantially to each volume scholarly papers, notes, and reviews. His intention was to launch the Journal as a serious, scholarly outlet of high standards, based on comprehension of oriental sources and of current European scholarship, free of the dilettantism and theological discourse that passed for oriental scholarship in his student days. Besides major studies of Arabic manuscripts in his collection, Salisbury published the first American scholarly article on cuneiform (Old Persian) and the first serious American essay on Buddhism. He became president of the Society in 1863 and was an active member for nearly sixty years, through the turn of the new century. He established contact in 1852 with the newly founded Syrian Academy of Sciences, then at Beirut, with a view to enhancing educational opportunities in the Ottoman empire and to improving American understanding of contemporary Syria.

Both Abigail and their only child died young. In 1871 Salisbury married Evelyn McCurdy and moved to their old family homestead in Lyme, CT. Thence he reigned as the kindly, gentle, old-fashioned, blind Nestor of American Oriental studies until his death in 1901, eulogized as America's first "university professor." He had long since bestowed his oriental books

and manuscripts upon Yale, confident that a new generation could make better use of them than he could, and beguiled his remaining years with that most New England of researches, genealogy.

His benefactions to Yale made him another sort of "pioneer" as well as the major donor. His gifts in cash and collections alone exceeded, in his lifetime, \$130,000 (we may compare a professorial annual salary of 1854, \$700, or of 1910, \$5500). He was a major contributor to the new Yale library, the Art Gallery, and to other undertakings, nor did Yale scruple to call upon him when important collections of oriental books came on the market. Benefactions on such a scale were by no means common at that time but he preferred to remain anonymous — his name appears on no building, plaque, or bookplate, and on an endowment only long after his death at the behest of his widow.

Salisbury lived to see the formation of first graduate schools, then universities, as well as the awarding of the first American doctorates in what was by then called "Semitic Languages and Literatures." His beloved Society had taken its place with the Societe Asiatique, the Royal Asiatic Society, and the later Orient-Gesellschaft. "Philology" had further subdivided into Classics and Linguistics. Arabic studies had burgeoned from his modest Yale classes and lectures of a half century previous into an independent professional discipline nationwide.

We may conclude with Salisbury's youthful vision of his place in American scholarship, quoting from his discourse to the Yale Faculty in 1843: "You perceive, gentlemen, that my field of study is broad and requires much minuteness of research in order to know it thoroughly. I profess only to have set foot upon it, to have surveyed its extent, to have resolved to spend my days in its research, believing, as I do, that it may yield rich and valuable fruits, and to do what may be in my power to attract others into it, though I am aware I must expect to labor, for a time, almost alone. I would earnestly ask of you all, to bear with my weaknesses, to be patient with my slowness in doing all that I ought to do to honor my place, and to allow me to find refuge from the feeling of loneliness and discouragement in your sympathising recognition, that each de-

partment of knowledge is truly kindred with every other, — the sentiment which should pervade every great Institution of learning ... "

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The author is writing a history of American scholarship on the Near East, 1650-1950.

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Historiography of Islamic Egypt

The University of St. Andrews, St. Andrews, Scotland, presents a conference on the subject of "Historiography of Islamic Egypt." The program will take place on August 23-31, 1997.

The scheduled list of speakers and topics includes the following: G. Frantz-Murphy (Regis University, Denver), "Tulunid and Earlier Sources of the Papyrological Evidence;" M. Gordon (Miami, University, Ohio), "Ibn al-Daya and the al-Balawi on the Tulunids;" P. Sanders (Rice University), "An Aspect of Fatimid Historiography;" A. Fu'ad Sayyid (Cairo), "L'Evolution de la Composition du Genre de Khatat en Egypte Musulmane;" P. Walker (University of Michigan), "Historiography of Fatimid Religious Institutions;" D. Morray (University College, Dublin), "Glimpses of Ayyubid Egypt in Ibn al-'Amin;" L. Guo (Chicago), "Al-Biqā'i's Chronicle and Other Less Known Sources of the Late Mamluk Period;" M. Chamberlain (University of Wisconsin, Madison), "The Document, the Archive and the Politics of Revenue Assignment in the Ayyubid and Early Mamluk Periods;" B. Phillips (Utah), "Ibn Duqmaq;" R. Irwin (London), "Ali al-Baghdadi and the Joy of Mamluk Sex;" D. Little (McGill), "Al-Maqrizi and the al-'Ayni, A Comparison;" B. Martel-Thoumian (Montpellier), "La Chronique d'al-'Ala'i;" M. Fierro (CSIC, Madrid), "Andalusi Material in Egyptian Historical Sources;" R. Amitai-Preiss (Hebrew University, Jerusalem), "Al-Nuwayri as a Historian of the Mongols;" D. Richards (Oxford), "Baibars al-Mansuri's Zubdat al-Fikra;" L. Northrop (Toronto), "Images of the Baybars and Qala'un in the Chronicles and the Sirat Baybars;" U. Haarman (Kiel), "Abu Hamid al-Qudsi;" D. Reisman (Yale), "Ibn Qadi Shuhba's Dhayl;" N. Stillman (Princeton), "The Egyptian Jewish Historiographic Tradition: The Meghillah Genre;" C. Petry (Northwestern), "Decline and the Presence of Disruptive 'Others' as Depicted in the Chronicles of the Late Mamluk Period;" P. Starkey (Durham), "Medieval Egypt in Contemporary Arabic Fiction;" J. Hathaway (Ohio State), "Yemen in Ottoman Historiography;" M. Winter (Tel Aviv), "Ottoman Historiography in Egypt;" D. Crecelius (UCLA, Davis), "Safwat al-Zaman of al-Qal'awi;" and N. Hanna (American University in Cairo), "Ottoman Chronicles: Between History and Entertainment." Also presenting at the conference with topics yet to be announced will be: M. Brett (SOAS), I. Perho (Helsinki), and N. Rabbat (MIT).

For more information contact Professor Hugh Kennedy at University of St. Andrews, Fife KY169AL, Scotland, United Kingdom; (01334) 463315 (phone); (01334) 463334 (fax); hnk@st-and.ac.uk (e-mail).

Cultural Interchange in the Arab Peninsula (Ninth ARAM Conference)

The Ninth International Conference of the ARAM Society for Syro-Mesopotamian Studies will be held at Oxford University on 14-16 July, 1997. The subject will be "Cultural Interchange in the Arab Peninsula." Scholars are invited to submit papers dealing with the cultural interchange of Arabic, Aramaic, Greek, and Syriac cultures in the Arabian Peninsula throughout history. Paper presentations should be limited to 35 minutes, although the full text of the papers on which presentations are based may be longer. The texts of papers may be published in their entirety in the ARAM periodical.

Scholars interested in participating in the conference should contact Dr. Shafiq Abou Zayd, Chairman of ARAM, The Oriental Institute, Oxford University, Pusey Lane, Oxford OX1 2LE, England, U.K. Tel. (0) 1865-514041. Fax (0) 1865-516824. E-mail: 100753.3143@compuserve.com. Please send the proposed title of your paper, your name, address, and telephone, fax, and e-mail

International Congress of Asian and North African Studies

The 35th ICANAS (International Congress of Asian and North African Studies) will take place in Budapest, Hungary, 7-12 July 1997. The general subject is "Oriental Studies in the 20th Century: The State of the Art (Great personalities, discoveries and new developments in the last hundred years)". Papers devoted to the general subject and to any other topic may be read in sections or panels.

ICANAS consists of eight sections, each with several subsections (subsections are shown here only for section II, "Near and Middle East and North Africa."). These are:

- I. Orient and Asia in Antiquity
- II. Near and Middle East and North Africa
 1. Judaic and Hebrew Studies
 2. Islamic Studies
 3. Arabic Studies
 4. Iranian Studies (including Central Asian Areas)
 5. Urdu Studies
 6. Ottoman and Turkish Studies
- III. The Caucasus
- IV. Central Asia and related areas
- V. South Asia
- VI. South East Asia
- VII. East Asia
- VIII. Recent History and Present of Asia and North Africa

Panels may be presented by three or more participants. Ideas and projects are welcome. Those interested in attending are supposed to have completed preliminary registrations by June 1, 1996, but some information suggests that later applications may be considered.

For further information, contact:

Tamas Ivanyi (ICANAS)
ELTE - Koeroesi Csoma Tarasasag
H-1088 Budapest, Muzeum krt. 4/B
Hungary
Fax: 36-1-266-5699;
E-mail ivanyi@osiris.elte.hu

CALL FOR PAPERS FOR AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
**AVODA AND IBADA: WORSHIP AND LITURGY IN
 JUDAISM AND ISLAM**

MARCH 8-10, 1998

INSTITUTE FOR ISLAMIC-JUDAIC STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF DENVER

Denver, Colorado

The Conference welcomes proposals for papers dealing with all aspects of worship, liturgy and ritual in Islam and Judaism, from earliest times to contemporary developments, including such elements as: the evolution and standardization of traditional forms of worship; worship and religious law; mystical (e.g. Hassidic and Sufi) and pietistic devotions; innovation, reform and local variants and practices; the spaces, directions, music, sounds, scents, colors, times and calendars of worship; posture, gesture, movement and the body (e.g. purification, sex/gender roles and spaces, burial, vestments); scripture and prayerbooks; architecture, decoration, furnishings, accessories; ritualization, decorum, ceremony, celebration, mourning; leadership and sex/gender roles, responsibilities and discourses; doctrinal and theological dimensions; and the scholarship of Jewish and Muslim worship, traditional and modern.

Papers may be comparative or contrastive, or focus primarily on one tradition. A broad, interdisciplinary approach is anticipated.

PROGRAM CHAIR: Frederick Mathewson Denny, Professor of Islamic Studies and the History of Religions, University of Colorado at Boulder.

SUBMISSION OF ABSTRACTS: One page abstracts are due in Denver by April 1, 1997. Abstracts should include the presenter's name, title, address, academic affiliation, e-mail, telephone and fax numbers. Completed paper drafts are due no later than October 1, 1997. Abstracts may be sent by mail, e-mail or fax to Dr. Seth Ward, Director, Institute for Islamic-Judaic Studies, University of Denver, Denver, Colorado 80208 USA. E-mail: sward@du.edu. Fax: (303) 871-3037. Dr. Ward may be reached by telephone at (303) 871-3012. Dr. Denny may be reached at the Department of Religious Studies, Campus Box 292, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado 80309 USA. Tel: (303) 492-6358. Fax: (303) 492-4416. E-mail: frederick.denny@colorado.edu

Colloquium on Graeco-Oriental and African Studies

The Institute for Graeco-Oriental and African Studies is organizing its first Colloquium to be held in Neapoli of Laconia on July 24-27, 1997. This Colloquium will be held under the auspices of the Greek Ministry of Culture and will supplement the Sixth International Congress on Graeco-Oriental and African Studies, held last year.

The following are the topics of the Colloquium: **1. Countries above the Sahara in Graeco-Roman and Arabic Sources; 2. Hagiography (in Greek, Latin, and Near Eastern Languages) and History; 3. Warships and Naval Tactics in the Eastern Mediterranean in Medieval Times; 4. Reception of Greek Ideas in the Near East, from Medieval to Modern times; 5. A limited number of topics on Greek-Arabic Studies.** There will also be one round table discussion, on **Christianity and Islam.**

Working languages of the Colloquium will be Greek, English, and French. Presentations will be limited to 20 minutes; papers will be published in *Graeco-Arabica* 8. Those wishing to participate should, as soon as possible, contact Professor Vassilios Christides, Institute for Graeco-Oriental and African Studies, Solomou 39, Kryoneri Attikis, 14565 GREECE. Tel. 8161037. Abstracts should be submitted by April 30, 1997.

Anatolian Archaeology

Anatolian Archaeology (ISSN 1362-3567) is a new annual publication of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara. It will appear each year in January and will contain reports on all Institute-sponsored work in Turkey carried out in the previous twelve months. Current late antique and medieval projects include the excavations at Amorion, at Çiftlik near Sinop on the Black Sea coast, and surveys of the Anastasian Long Walls, medieval castles in the Menderes region of western Turkey, and long-term settlement change in the Konya basin. *Anatolian Archaeology* is sent to all Institute members together with the Institute's main research journal, *Anatolian Studies*. Membership subscription is currently £25 per annum (£15 students and unemployed). *Anatolian Archaeology* is also separately for sale at £5. Volume i (1995) is still available; volume ii (1996) goes to press in December. Orders or enquiries to Gina Coulthard, British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 31-34 Gordon Square, London WC1H0PY. Telephone and fax 0171 388-2361. Make checks payable to BIAA in US dollars, British pounds or DM.

On Fatwas and Social History

by Maya Shatzmiller

In a piece recently published in *al-'Usur al-Wusta* ("Fatwās and Social History," *UW* 8 [1996]), Dr. M. Fadel questions the usage made by historians of *fatwās* for the purpose of social history and cites as an example studies made on the basis of al-Wansharīsī's collection of *fatwās*, the *Mi'yār*. The disparaging disposition of this piece and the misunderstandings which abound there need to be rectified for the sake of readers not familiar with the work in question and in order not to discourage and deter future historians from using it.

Contrary to what the author would have us believe, the *Mi'yār*, to my knowledge, has been unique in its genre as an encyclopedic collection in time and space, and is so far the only such collection to be used continuously and systematically in the reconstruction of the religious, legal, social and economic history of North Africa and Spain. It is an unusual and special resource, both as a historical and legal source, and therefore any inferences made about the use of *fatwās* for social history based on it should be contained and qualified. Nor is the use of the *Mi'yār's fatwās* for social history restricted to "recent years", as Dr. Fadel says in his paper. On the contrary, as these *fatwās* have been used since the beginning of the century by numerous historians of Spain and North Africa. As the partial bibliographical list attached here shows, this includes historians such as J. Lopez Ortiz, Robert Brunschvig, H. R. Idris and Muhammad Talbi. Recently, the Spanish scholar Francisco Vidal Castro wrote his dissertation on al-Wansharīsī and the *Mi'yār*. The *Mi'yār's fatwās* were translated and arranged according to topic by Vincent Lagardère, Idris' successor in Bordeaux, who used the index begun by his predecessor while employing the material in papers dealing with different issues of social and economic events. The work and its contents have now been edited, indexed, trans-

lated, and corroborated, and in all of these works, the "methodological issues" involved with the use of the *Mi'yār's fatwās* are studied, and aspects which are deemed vague are investigated by the authors. The story they tell, whether it concerns legal or social issues and the process by which the records reached us, are scrutinized and correlated with other sources. Needless to say, without this source the reconstruction of the social, religious, legal and economic life of medieval Ifriqiya would not have been possible and to dismiss it in this way constitutes the rejection of a large and basic body of information about the medieval history of the Islamic West.

Dr. Fadel doubts the ability of the *fatwās* to "be representative of a broader society," namely to constitute a reliable historical source in the first place, because of the "selective" way in which they made their appearance in the collection. As far as the *Mi'yār* is concerned, we know exactly how al-Wansharīsī selected the *fatwās* and where he selected the *fatwās* from because we have many of his sources, including the collections of *fatwās* written by individual jurists over the centuries and those collected together in later years. These include a collection of *fatwās* by Ibn Saḥnūn, Ibn Sahl, Yahya ibn 'Umar, al-Ibyāni, Ibn Rushd, al-Burzulī, and Ibn Lubb. Al-Wansharīsī did not have to go very far or to search for less known authors in order to prepare a collection of "weak opinions," divergent from the main stream. The authors whose *fatwās* are included in the *Mi'yār* are all known legal authorities who held positions as judge or mufti in a variety of places for prolonged periods of time. Their *fatwās* are mainstream collections, not "weak opinions," and moreover, have been regularly used and quoted by Māliki jurists, both contemporary and earlier, over the years.

As to the process of historical interpretation, the study of the *fatwās* is no different from that of other sources. The

fatwās are studied within the context of a particular historical issue or framework, and compared with and corroborated by a body of contemporary legal sources, such as law books, notarial formularies, and archival documents, which, in the case of al-Andalus and the Maghrib are numerous and accessible. The story they tell is interpreted, compared and verified according to what we know about the intellectual, religious, and legal history of North Africa and Spain. When consistent with the evidence, they are incorporated into and used in that context.

Dr. Fadel singles out the issue of the distribution of *waqf* revenues, but overlooks the historical context in which the issue is studied, that of women's property rights. The findings indicate that fathers have sometimes taken advantage of the opportunity to deny daughters access to revenues from endowed property. The interpretation of these findings, when made not in isolation but in conjunction with what we know from a whole series of other sources including *fatwās*, is that fathers who were concerned about their married daughters' welfare in the same way as they were for that of their sons, left their daughters properties in many other ways, including making gifts of property and desisting themselves from property when daughters are still minors. Let us examine this particular issue further in the light of the *Mi'yār*. There are at least seven *fatwās*, scattered across the 12 volumes of the *Mi'yār*, written by different jurists, which deal with the question of whether or not a wife can claim rent from her husband when the family resides in the house she brought into the marriage. We learn from one of the *fatwās* that the issue was an important one first because, as the Granadan Ibn Lubb tells us in the fourteenth century, it recurred over several hundreds of years, and second because it dealt with a situation that occurred frequently and was in blatant breach of the marriage contract which speci-

fied that husbands were required to provide a shelter and maintenance for their spouses and not the other way around. Since wives were entitled to hold property and derive income from it without sharing it with their husbands, they contested it. The frequency with which we find *fatwās* relating to how women brought houses to the marriage, and *fatwās* showing women renting out their houses for income, explains why and how this issue became a regular problem in matrimonial relations and why it had to be debated by jurists, even though, as Ibn Lubb admits, it could not very well be resolved to satisfy both the concern of the strict law and that of peaceful conjugal relations. A problem will arise if there is an attempt to single out any of those cases to show that the legal and social system was discriminating against women and to present it as a statement of Islam's attitude to women.

In the case of the *fatwās* of the *Mi'yār*, they are more than any thing else the product of the Muslim societies of North Africa and Spain and they bear the cachet of the Mālikī school of this region. One can legitimately differ about the interpretation of the law, as jurists now and then did, whether or not it is an idealistic framework, and whether or not it was fully or partially applied, or ignored all together. Among modern historians of the medieval Maghreb and Muslim Spain, there is no debate that the law was used as a framework for social, economic and conjugal interaction and relations, and was absolutely necessary as such. To consider these *fatwās* as "weak" or esoteric will endanger the quest for the otherwise very evasive topics of the lives of ordinary people, family relations, and women's status and property rights, which is one of our immediate concerns, and not only denies us access to an important historical source, but also an opportunity to study mentalities and affinities, on a level that has eluded us until now.

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——— "Contribution à l'étude de la vie économique en occident musulman médiéval: glanes de données chiffrées," *Mélanges Le-Tourneau, ROMM* (1972): 2: 75-87.

——— "Commerce maritime et *ḳirād* en Berbérie orientale d'après un recueil de *fatwās* médiévales," *Journal of the Social and Economic History of the Orient*, 4 (1961): 225-239.

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——— "Marriage, Family, and the Faith: Women's Conversion to Islam," *Journal of Family History*, 21/3 (1996): 235-267.

Talbi, Muhammad. "Les courtiers en vêtements en Ifriqiya au IXe-Xe siècle," *Journal of the Social and Economic History of the Orient*, 5 (1962): 160-194.

Mohammad Fadel replies:

I would like to thank Professor Shatzmiller for writing an informative and useful piece in response to my own. I apologize for having appeared to discount *al-Mi'yār*, which I certainly did not intend to do. Nor did I intend to discourage any historian from using it. Instead, I tried to suggest that legal sources such as *al-Mi'yār* raise particular problems for the historian, viz., that the document must be understood first within its context as a legal work, and only secondarily as a historical source. Al-Wansharisi's primary purpose in compiling his work was legal, and unless a historian understands how he used his legal tradition, errors of interpretation may occur.

My main point regarding *al-Mi'yār* was simply that it should not be deemed *the fatwā* source when there are literally hundreds of *fatwā* collections that remain in manuscript. Perhaps *al-Mi'yār* will prove to be qualitatively and quantitatively superior to all these other sources, but that is something we will be able to know only after they have all been consulted. I will guess that these other collections contain information that scholars will find useful. Perhaps scholars will find in them information that corroborates their earlier conclusions; maybe they will find information that challenges them. Either way, I believe that using them is sure to enrich our understanding of medieval Muslim social and legal history.

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.

'Aṭā' ibn 'Abd al-Laṭīf ibn Aḥmad, *Im'ān al-naẓar fī taqrīb: al-Ḥāfiẓ ibn Ḥajar* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Ilm, 1414/1994). 264 pages.

The two-volume *taqrīb* of Ibn Ḥajar (d. Cairo, 852/1449) is the most useful, succinct guide to ḥadīth transmitters, whose names appear somewhere in the Six Books. It is superior to the *Kāshif* of al-Dhahabī in uniformity and in estimating when each transmitter lived (if the date of death is unknown). Naturally, each transmitter's reliability is characterized in a single word. 'Aṭā' ibn 'Abd al-Laṭīf has gone through Ibn Ḥajar's one-word ratings and pointed out unknowns, of whom Ibn Ḥajar says "maqbul," those declared "thiqah" only by the notoriously generous Ibn Ḥibbān, etc. I have discovered no errors in 'Aṭā's catalogue, and it is helpful to be reminded that Ibn Ḥajar's one-word summaries are not particularly reliable; however, a revised edition of the *taqrīb* would have been more useful, and scholars who need to know the reported reliability

of transmitters in the Six Books will probably prefer to consult Ibn Ḥajar's twelve-volume *Tahdhīb*, on which the *taqrīb* is based.

Christopher Melchert

Abū al-Barakāt Al-Anbārī, *Kitāb asrār al-'arabiyya* (Bayrut: Dar al-Jil, 1995). 416 pages. Edited by Fakhr Ṣāliḥ Qadara.

The *Asrār* is a well-known work on Arabic grammar, distinguished by its relative simplicity of style. Its author, al-Anbārī (also known as Ibn al-Anbārī; d. 577/1181) is most known for his study of the differences between the Basran and Kufan schools of grammar. Previous editions of the *Asrār* were published in Leiden in 1886 and Damascus in 1957. The volume under review appears to be a very thorough job of editing, incorporating a number of newly uncovered manuscripts and with very full indices. It will be of interest to all those studying the history of grammatical thought in Arabic.

John L. Hayes

Muḥammad Mu'nis Aḥmad 'Awaḍ, *Al-Jugrafiyūn wa-al-raḥḥālah al-muslimūn fī bilād al-shām zamāna al-ḥurūb al-ṣalībiyah* (Cairo: 'Ayn lil-Dirāsāt wa-al-Buḥūth al-Insāniyah wa-al-Ijtimā'iyah, 1995). 337 pages.

In an earlier work, *Al-Raḥḥālah al-urubbiyūn* (1992; reviewed in *al-'Usur al-Wusta* 6, no. 2 [October 1994]), Professor 'Awaḍ reviewed accounts of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem from European travellers. In the present work, he reviews accounts of Syria from Muslim geographers and travellers (liberally interpreted). Chapters are devoted to Al-Idrīsī (d. 560/1165), Yāqūt (d. 626/1229), Al-Qazwīnī (d. 682/1283), Ibn Shaddād (d. 684/1285),

Ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribī (d. 685/1286?), Abū al-Fidā' (d. 732/1331), Al-Sam'ānī (d. 562/1167), Usāmah ibn Munqidh (d. 584/1188), Al-Shaykh (al-Sā'iḥ) al-Harawī (d. 611/1215), and Ibn Jubayr (d. 614/1217?). 'Awaḍ's chief purpose is to demonstrate that these writers offer important historical information supplementary to what the medieval chronicles tell us of the Crusades. Leading themes include relations between Crusaders and Muslims, the prosperity or decline of various cities, "the confessional map of Syria," local pilgrimage sites, and sites renowned for healing properties.

It would be surprising, indeed, if the works of geographers and travellers turned out to be useless to historians. It seems to me a capital idea to have examined al-Sam'ānī, but he is the only writer on the list likely to have been overlooked by previous historians of the Crusades, and 'Awaḍ deals with the work of previous historians only insofar as they have directly commented on these writers. He never shows that new information from his geographers and travellers explains what had been puzzling. When he digresses to fill in the background to this or that observation from one of his writers, it is usually just to recount the year when the Crusaders captured a particular city or castle and the year when Muslims recaptured it. Copious additional information sometimes turns up in the notes, but one is unlikely to use a book like this as a reference for, say, the biography of Al-Suyūṭī, especially as it lacks an index. Consequently, I would recommend the work primarily to students of one or more of these writers, rather than to those of the Crusades.

Christopher Melchert

Khalil Athamina and Roger Heacock, eds., *The Frankish Wars and Their Influence on Palestine* (Bir Zeit: Bir Zeit University, 1994). 96 English pages, 47 Arabic pages.

This well-produced paperback volume publishes selected papers from a confer-

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ence sponsored by Bir Zeit University in 1992 and includes six articles in English and two in Arabic:

1. Gabi Barmaki, "Then As Now: The Faces of Palestine," pp. 5-8.
2. Stefan Wild, "Open Questions, New Light. Usama Ibn Munqidh's Account of His Battles Against Muslims and Franks," pp. 9-29.
3. Denys Pringle, "Burj Bardawil and Frankish Settlement North of Ramallah in the Twelfth Century," pp. 30-59.
4. Carole Hillenbrand, "Jihad Propaganda in Syria from the Time of the First Crusade Until the Death of Zengi: The Evidence of Monumental Inscriptions," pp. 60-69.
5. D. S. Richards, "Saladin's Hospital in Jerusalem: Its Foundation and Some Later Archival Material," pp. 70-83.
6. Roger Heacock, "The Frankish Wars, Venice, and the Rise of the West," pp. 84-96.
7. Khalil Athamina, "Al-'Alāqāt al-lā-'askariyya bayna al-muslimīn wa-al-Faranja" ("Non-Military Relations between Muslims and Franks"), pp. 3-37.
8. Ra'if Houry, "Faḍl al-maqdisiyyin al-lāji' in ilā Dimashq fi ihyā' al-'umrān wa-al-ḥaḍāra fi hādhihi al-madīna fi al-'uṣūr al-wuṣṭā" ("The Role of Refugees from Jerusalem to Damascus in the Revival of Prosperity and Civilization in that City in the Middle Ages"), pp. 38-47.

Robert Schick

Sha'bān Khalifah & Walid Muḥammad al-'Awzāh, "Fihrist" Ibn al-Nadīm. Dirāsah biyūjrafīyah bibliyūmitriyah wa-tahqīq wa-nashr (Cairo: Al-'Arabī li-l-Nashr wa-al-Tawzi', 1991). 2 vols. 964 pages.

The Fihrist of Ibn al-Nadīm (fl. 377/987) is an essential guide to early Islamic intellectual history. Its publication history is somewhat unhappy. The classic edition has been that of Gustav Flügel, with Johannes Roediger and August Mueller (Leipzig: F. C. W. Vogel, 1872), since reprinted in Beirut. Additional texts from other manuscripts of the Fihrist, especially concerning the Mu'tazilah, were

published by Johann Fück, "Neue Materialien zum fihrist," *ZDMG* 90 (1936): 298-321 (including also quotations of otherwise lost entries in Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān* and *Al-Mizān*); A. J. Arberry, "New Material on the Kitāb al-Fihrist of Ibn al-Nadīm," *Islamic Research Association Miscellany* 1 (I.R.A. Ser., no. 12, 1948): 19-45 (miscellaneous corrections, plus the notice for al-jāhīz); and Fück, again, "Some Hitherto Unpublished Texts on the Mu'tazilite Movement," pp. 51-74 in *Professor Muhammad Shafi' Presentation Volume*, ed. S. M. Abdullah (Lahore: Majlis-e-Armughān-e-'Ilmi, 1955). In 1971-72, there appeared a new edition including Fück's and Arberry's addenda from *Riḍā-Tajaddud Ibn 'Alī ibn Zayn al-'Ābidīn al-Ḥā'irī al-Māzandarānī* (Tehran: Maktabat al-Asadi, 1350). Unfortunately, *Riḍā-Tajaddud's* edition has been hard to find, and at least one later Beirut edition (*Dār al-Masirah*, 1988) appears to have been reset, giving us yet another pagination to contend with in notes. And now there appears the Egyptian edition of Khalifah and Al-'Awzāh.

Volume 1 of this latest edition includes a long study, then a composite text. Volume 2 comprises indices of authors and titles. I have not always found the introductory study persuasive; for example, dismissing the identification of Ibn al-Nadīm as a Shi'i and Mu'tazili, which goes back at least to Ibn Ḥajar. But the work deserves a full-length review essay: suffice it to say here that the editors' study supplants Fück's inevitably short entry for *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Bayard Dodge's introduction to his translation, and other previous literature on Ibn al-Nadīm. The problem of pagination is severe. Citations such as "Ibn al-Nadīm, Fihrist (Beirut, 1978), 175" simply will not do. Henceforward, we should probably follow the example of Khalifah and Al-'Awzāh, using the pattern "maqālah 5, fann 1."

Christopher Melchert

Ḥayāt Naṣīr al-Ḥajji, *Aḥwāl al-'amma fi ḥukm al-mamālik: 678-*

748 A.H./1279-1382 A.D. *Dirāsa fi al-jawānib al-siyāsiyya wa al-iqtisādiyya wa al-ijtimā'iyya [Conditions of the common people during Mamluk Rule: A study in Political Economic and Social Aspects]* (Kuwait: Dār al-Qalam li al-Nashr wa al-Tawzi, 1994).

This book deals with the conditions of the masses in the Mamluk period, more specifically during the reign of Al-Nāsir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn and his immediate successors. Based largely on Maqrīzī's *Sulūk* and to a lesser extent on Ibn Taghribirdī's *Nujūm*, the author chronicles some aspects related to economic and social conditions in Egypt. It is, therefore, a study of Egyptian society in the period of transition from Bahri to the Burji Mamluk and as such describes a turbulent period full of military and factional conflict that is clearly documented throughout the discussion.

The book is divided into three parts. In the first, the author discusses the role of the populace in politics. If one is tempted to view this as an active role in the political decision-making, one's hopes are quickly dashed since the examples of protest that are chronicled were either spontaneous outbursts of violence due to a set of unbearable conditions or the result of outright manipulation of the people's sentiments in favor of one Mamluk faction or another.

The second part is devoted to a retelling of some aspects of the economy, such as prices and their rise and fall, the reasons and consequences of these fluctuations, famines, droughts, and the effects of such conditions on the population, and how state officials and merchants responded to the same conditions (hoarding, confiscation, forced sale, and looting). One is left with a picture of extreme misery and poverty often mitigated (though temporarily) by occasional charity and the financing of religious festivals where food is also distributed.

Social issues such as instances of dhimmi persecution at the hands of the mob (sometimes encouraged by the state when it suited its interests), conditions and instances of forced labor, and the general

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misery, poverty, and oppression felt by the general population are documented in the third and final chapter of the book.

In general, this book contains a great deal of raw data on social and economic issues in Mamluk Egypt (with occasional reference to other regions). This data is useful for those who want to identify the information without recourse to the primary sources. But since the information is presented without any theoretical framework on the system, the book becomes repetitious and tangential.

Mahmood Ibrahim

'Imād al-Dīn Khalīl, *Al-Imārāt al-artuqiyya fi'l-jazīra wa'l-shām* 465-812/1072-1409 (Beirut, 1980). 543 pages.

The Artuqids were a Turcoman dynasty, named after Artuq b. Aksab, a chief of the Döger tribe. In the late eleventh century, Artuq's descendants founded a state in the Jazira centered on the towns of Mardin, Mayyafariqin, Khartpert and Hisn Kayfa, and despite the expansionist policies of their more powerful neighbors, such as the Zangids and Ayyubids, the Artuqids survived in the region until the beginning of the fifteenth century.

Cahen pioneered scholarly interest in the Artuqids in the 1930s, and there has been a steady stream of articles and books on them ever since. The present work, published as long ago as 1980, is in fact the result of research completed even earlier; indeed, it is the text of the author's doctoral thesis awarded at 'Ayn Shams University in 1968. It is therefore only fair to assess this book within the context of its time.

The scope of the book was very ambitious, aiming to cover the whole period of Artuqid rule. After an introduction, which discusses the scope of the research and analyzes the primary sources, there are five chapters. Chapter 1 describes the emergence of the Artuqids and their links with the Seljuqs. Chapter 2 looks in detail at the relationship between the Artuqids and their neighbors, the Zangids and the

Ayyubids. Chapter 3 views the connections between the Artuqids and the Crusaders. Chapter 4 traces the last phases of the dynasty and its contacts with the Mongols and Mamluks. Finally, in Chapter 5, there is a discussion of Artuqid political organization and culture.

The book displays a number of disquieting features. For the careers of the first three Artuqid rulers of Mardin and Mayyafariqin, the major source, the relevant parts of which were still unpublished when Khalil wrote this book, is the town chronicle *Ta'rikh Mayyafariqin wa Āmid* of Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqi. This is extant in two manuscripts in the British Library, and the Marwanid section of the text was edited by Awad in 1959. Khalil's familiarity with Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqi is very dubious; he cites only one manuscript of Ibn al-Azraq in the bibliography, calls it the *Ta'rikh Āmid*, giving it the number of one of the manuscripts of the British Library but says it is at Oxford. He uses Awad's edition from time to time in the main body of the book, but it is very difficult to explain why he does not draw on the first-hand information on the early Artuqids given by Ibn al-Azraq in the later manuscript sections of his chronicle. One is forced to assume that he did not actually look at these manuscripts, since he does not realize that there are two; and that the manuscript text of Ibn al-Azraq, which he cites, for example, in Chapter 5, is being quoted through an intermediate source, such as Cahen's articles and books and Amedroz's excerpts from Ibn al-Azraq's chronicle in his edition of Ibn al-Qalānisi. It is an indisputable fact that a history of the twelfth-century Artuqids without detailed recourse to the whole of the work of Ibn al-Azraq, who worked for the dynasty and wrote from their local perspective, is valueless.

In other respects also the book is very disappointing. It rarely rises above the level of a highly derivative account of political events and is far too heavily dependent on secondary works of European scholarship, such as those of Cahen and Runciman. Whenever there are any sentences written in western script, there are literally scores of errors. In the subtitle to his book, Khalil promises to shed new light

on the "Islamic opposition to the Crusaders and the Mongols," but this never materializes. There is no discussion of the important figural coinage of the Artuqids nor of the implications of the so-called "classical revival" in Syria and the Jazira, in which the Artuqids played a major part. The book contains no illustrations, photos or maps. Khalil almost totally ignores the contribution of modern Turkish scholarship to our knowledge of the Artuqids, and the works of Koprülü, Turan, and Sevim, which had already appeared by the time Khalil was writing this book, are not exploited nor do they even appear in the bibliography. It is regrettable too that during the intervening decade between the award of the doctorate and the point at which the book went to press, Khalil did not update his bibliography, the titles in which do not go beyond the 1960s.

Fortunately, since the publication of Khalil's book, there have been a number of important pieces of research on the Artuqids by scholars such as Ilisch, Vath, Savran, Whelan, and others. Ibn al-Azraq's historiographical contribution to our knowledge of earlier periods has been analyzed by Robinson, and the Artuqids' fascinating coinage has recently been the subject of a detailed monograph by Spengler and Sayles.

Carole Hillenbrand

Huwayda 'Abd al-'Azim Ramaḍān, *Al-Mujtam'a fi miṣr al-islāmiyya: min al-faṭḥ al-'arabī ilā al-'aṣr al-fāṭimi. Al-Juz' al-awwal* [Society in Muslim Egypt: from the Arab conquest to the Fatimid era. Volume I] (Cairo: Al-Hay'ah al-Miṣriyya al-'Āmmah lil-Kitāb, 1994).

After briefly dealing with Egyptian society during the Byzantine period, the author describes various aspects of the social and economic conditions in Egypt during the first centuries of the Islamic era. Divided into two volumes, (the second volume is unavailable to the reviewer but presumably deals with the formation of

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Egyptian society, intellectual life, and buildings and architecture) this volume is organized into two major parts, each of which is further subdivided into three chapters.

The first part covers the economy. Chapter one discusses such issues as land and land ownership, and land reclamation. Financial aspects such as the various taxes and revenue collection are dealt with in the second chapter. The third chapter deals with agriculture and agricultural products, and manufacturing and artisanal production, in particular, textiles where the main textile-producing centers are enumerated. This chapter ends with a discussion of merchants and other mercantile concerns. The second part deals with the administration of Egypt and discusses the various officials and their duties, the army and the method of recruitment. Special sections cover the Tulūnid and Ikshidid military, respectively. This part also deals with the navy and its development. The last chapter deals with the relationship of the Egyptians to the judiciary where the various types of courts are discussed. The chapter ends with a discussion of prisons and their development.

Largely based on the usual primary sources dealing with Egypt, the book contains some annotation for further geographic and biographic detail. Other annotation is lacking as the author finds it sufficient to say "Maqrizi mentions," "Abū l-Fidā' reports" etc. This volume also lacks a bibliography as well as an index. (Apparently this is all available in the original dissertation).

Despite these shortcomings, this volume is an important document on Egyptian society as it underwent a near thorough transformation to be integrated into Arab/Islamic civilization. Short on analysis/interpretation and long on detail, the information collected herein is significant as it forms the bases of our knowledge of the society and economy of Egypt in such a sensitive period.

Mahmūd Ibrahim

Muṣṭafā Hiyārī, *Al-Quds fī zamān al-Fāṭimīyīn wa-al-Faranjah*

[*Jerusalem in the Time of the Fatimids and the Franks*] ('Ammān: Maktabat 'Ammān, 1995). 208 pages, 2 illegible maps. Index.

This reasonably well-produced paper-back book is only a modest contribution to the history of Jerusalem in the Seljuq context. The book begins with a 90-page historical summary covering the Seljuq through Ayyubid periods and then provides excerpts from a variety of historical sources. The historical summary is at a fairly elementary level and the author shows no awareness of the Geniza documents. The book continues with 80 pages of historical excerpts from Arabic and Crusader sources. The author's idiosyncratic selection of historical excerpts is haphazard and unfocused, which lessens the book's value as a text-book collection of primary source readings. The excerpts range from a paragraph to a page or two in length, but include 19 pages from William of Tyre about the Crusader siege of Jerusalem in 1099. The Ayyubid period, in particular Ayyubid-Crusader treaties, receives the most attention.

Robert Schick

Samīr Shammā, *Aḥdāth 'aṣr al-Ma'mūn kamā tarwihā al-nuqūd* [*Events of the era of al-Ma'mūn as told by the coins*] (Irbid: Yarmouk University, 1995). English title page: *The Time of al-Ma'mūn in the Light of Numismatic Evidence*. 907 pages, including 22 pages of coin illustrations.

This solid block of a book is an essential reference for any student of the reign of al-Ma'mūn. Its core is a catalogue of coins which is, unusually, arranged by topic and interspersed with commentary. The catalogue is preceded and followed by lengthy introductory matter and tables. Mr. Shammā is one of the most expert collectors of today, with several previous publications (among others, his book *Al-Nuqūd al-Islāmiyya allatī ḍuribat fī Filasṭīn* [Dam-

ascus, 1980]). As well as a fine scholar in his own right, he is also a substantial patron of Islamic numismatic research, supporting a Samīr Shammā Chair in Islamic Numismatics at Yarmouk University, a combined curatorial-teaching lectureship at Oxford University and its Ashmolean Museum, and an annual visiting Islamic Numismatic Fellowship at Oxford, among other projects.

This book is a vast compilation, listing a total of 931 coin entries. The catalogue is based on the entire published corpus of coins of al-Ma'mūn's era and several unpublished collections (including Shammā's own, now on loan to the Ashmolean). Shammā seems to have covered all the relevant literature in his search for examples and cites it accurately for the most part. His commentary, which draws upon the major medieval histories, is generally judicious and intelligent. He would surely agree that a serious historical researcher ought to confirm statements in any numismatic publication by a direct inspection of the evidence: one has to go back to the publications cited insofar as possible, and one has to look at the pictures! An expert historian is the best possible critic of the numismatic evidence and will often see things that the numismatist overlooks.

This book, however, is a reliable starting point and is safe to use as a quick reference. The best way to describe the book is simply to list its contents. The first section treats the history of al-Ma'mūn's era. It includes chapters on the book's methodology and aims; on geography; on the history of the reign; and on the coin evidence in summary. There are dynastic and genealogical tables and a chronology of events, as well as twenty-eight brief chapters on special topics, many of which correspond to chapters in the coin catalogue itself. The second section describes in general the coinage of al-Ma'mūn's time. The topics of the eleven chapters of the first part include the first appearance of *laqabs* on coins, the weights of coins, the *muḥtasib* and the *dār al-'iyār*, balance weights (*sanajāt*) for weighing coins, exchange rates between the dinar and dirham, base-metal coins, counterfeiting, al-

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Ma'mūn's comparison of jewels and dinars, the abundance of coins of his epoch in our time, and the importance of the archeological context of coin finds.

The second part of this section is on the coinage itself, being primarily tables and lists: of mint places alphabetically, by metal, by province; of earlier mints that no longer struck in al-Ma'mūn's time; of the kinds and development of coins in his time; and of the names and laqabs of al-Ma'mūn and his governors on coins. There are brief notes on the inscriptions *lillāh al-amr* etc. and al-Mashriq; notes on every mint city; and, from pages 301 to 611, the description of the coinage itself. This description includes most of the coins grouped geographically. The chapters treat the coins of: (1) "al-Mashriq" (coins with that inscription from various mints); (2) "al-'Irāq;" (3) Baghdad, Madīnat al-Salām; (4) Kufa; (5) Basra; (6) al-Madā'in (which is probably not really a mint), Wāsiṭ, and Aywān (another dubious mint reading); Bilād al-Shām, from (7) Adhra'āt, (8) Damascus, (9) Tyre, and (10) Palestine; (11) al-Jazīra; (12) Egypt; (13) Ṭabaristān, including its last Arab-Sasanian issue; (14) Arabia from Mecca and Yemen; (15) Khurāsān (a lengthy chapter); (16) Jibāl province (another long series); (17) Arrān, Armenia, and Bajunays; (18) Khuzistān, Fārs, and

Kirmān; (19) Sijistān and Bust; and (20) Māwarā al-nahr.

Part three is on the coins of individuals and ruling dynasties, with chapters on the coins bearing the names of (1) Zubayda the wife of al-Rashīd; (2) al-Amin's son Mūsā al-Nāṭiq bi'l-Ḥaqq; (3) Harthama b. A'yan; (4) Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī; (5) al-Ḥasan b. Sahl; (6) the Ṭāhirids; (7) Abu'l-Sarāyā in Kufa; (8) 'Alī al-Riḍā, al-Ma'mūn's 'Alid designated successor; (9) al-Ma'mūn's son al-'Abbās; (10) Muḥammad b. Bayhas in Damascus; (11) Suwāda b. 'Abd al-Ḥamid (on a dirham of Armenia, 206); (12) Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā b. Ja'far in Ṣan'ā'; (13) the family of al-Sarī in Egypt; (14) the Aghlabids; and (15) the Banū Shu'ayb in Crete. Reference is facilitated by an index of individuals named on the coins which gives the name of the mint of the coin as well as the coin number; a listing of the coins in date order showing metal, mint, and persons named on each issue (but not the coin number); and an index of mint cities showing the dates and metal of their issues. There is a long bibliography with both Arabic and European-language works well-printed.

The last pages have good photos of 195 of the coins in the book. The arrangement and treatment are completely original in the field of Islamic numismat-

ics, and work very well. Shammā's topics are meaningful units that have the merit of bringing together coins with a theme which a rigid classification by mint or date would have separated. Of course, any arrangement both brings together and separates. Shammā's geographical treatment of the bulk of the material is probably the most useful way to arrange a catalogue for historical research, but his reservation of some coins to be treated in chapters on the individuals who are named on them means that these coins are taken out of their position in geographical order. For example, the chapter on al-'Abbās b. al-Ma'mūn (which is quite interesting for its own sake) includes issues of Armenia, Arrān, and Ma'dīn Bajunays that are not to be found in the geographical chapter where the other issues of those mints are described, even though the dirhams with al-'Abbās' name were struck contemporaneously with others lacking his name. Some duplication would have been better in such cases, with a skeleton listing in the geographical section cross-referenced to a fuller treatment in the topical chapter. But no quibbling: this is an awesome achievement, the result of tremendous labor and love for Islamic history and numismatics.

Michael L. Bates

NETWORK FOR EARLY ISLAMIC STUDIES

The Network for Early Islamic Studies is open to all scholars interested in this field. It provides, via the Internet, periodic updates on research activities, conferences, and other news relating to Early Islamic Studies.

Scholars wishing to join the Network should contact Daan van Reenen at the following e-mail address: sofie@let.vu.nl.

MAMLUK STUDIES REVIEW

The Middle East Documentation Center (MEDOC) of the University of Chicago has recently distributed the first issue of the *Mamluk Studies Review*. If you would like to contribute an article or subscribe, contact the editor, Bruce D. Craig, Middle East Documentation Center, The University of Chicago, 5828 South University Avenue, 201 Pick Hall, Chicago, IL 60637, U.S.A. Telephone (773) 702-8426. Fax (773) 753-0569. E-mail: mideast-library@uchicago.edu.

ELECTRONIC DISCUSSION GROUP FOR MAMLUK STUDIES

MEDOC has also initiated an on-line forum for communication among Mamluk specialists. Subscribe by sending a message to majordomo@listhost.uchicago.edu. The body of the message should read: `subscribe mamluk your-address`. Leave the subject line blank. In addition, MEDOC's *Mamluk Studies: A Bibliography*, containing over 3400 citations to secondary literature in the field, is now available in searchable format via the World Wide Web at <http://www.lib.uchicago.edu/LibInfo/SourcesBySubject/MiddleEast/MSR.html>.

International Directory of Middle East Scholars

The International Directory of Middle East Scholars is a free, publicly available online database of Middle East specialists from around the world. This service is being provided by Columbia University through the Middle East Gopher, and is compiled and maintained by Frank H. Unlandherm.

The database contains records of individuals who have identified themselves as being involved in Middle East studies. Each record, submitted by the person listed, contains the name, title, institutional affiliation, mailing address, telephones, fax number, and full e-mail address, and a short statement of the person's activities, teaching and/or research interests, specializations, etc. in the area of Middle East Studies. The entries are free-form text, and

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guages, countries, regions, disciplines and sub-disciplines, historical periods, and ethnic, religious, or political groupings. Remember that others will use "keyword searches" to identify listings of those they do not know by name.

This information can be submitted via regular mail or e-mail to: Frank Unlandherm, Middle East Librarian, 303 International Affairs, Columbia University, 420 West 118th Street, New York, N.Y. 10027.

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To view entries currently in the database, visit the Middle East Studies Home Page at <http://www.columbia.edu/cu/libraries/indiv/area/MiddleEast/>

NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

Michael L. Bates is curator of Islamic Coins at the American Numismatic Society. American Numismatic Society, 156th and Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10032, U.S.A.

Mohammad Fadel (Ph.D. University of Chicago, 1995) is currently attending the University of Virginia School of Law. 2401 Arlington Boulevard No. 67, Charlottesville, VA 22903, U.S.A. Internet: mh4n@faraday.clas.virginia.edu.

Benjamin R. Foster is Professor of Assyriology and Chairman of the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations at Yale University. P.O. Box 208326, New Haven, CT 06520-8236, USA. Internet: bfoster@yalevm.yci.yale.edu

Beatrice Gruendler is Assistant Professor of Arabic Literature at Yale University. Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Yale University, P.O. Box 208326, New Haven, CT 06520-8236, USA. Internet: beagruen@minerva.cis.yale.edu.

John L. Hayes is Lecturer in Arabic and Semitics at the University of California at Berkeley. Department of Near Eastern

Studies, 250 Barrows Hall, University of California, Berkeley, CA 94720, USA. Internet: jlhayes@uclink2.berkeley.edu.

Carole Hillenbrand is Reader in Arabic and Islamic Studies at the University of Edinburgh. Department of Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies, University of Edinburgh, 7-8 Buccleuch Place, Edinburgh EH8 9LW, U.K.

Mahmood A. Ibrahim is Chairman of the Department of History at California State Polytechnic University. Department of History, Cal State Polytechnic University, 3801 W. Temple Ave., Pomona, CA 91768, USA. Internet: mibrahim@csupomona.edu

Christopher Melchert (PhD. 1992, Univ. of Pennsylvania) is an independent scholar specializing in Islamic law and history. 954 South Delaware Ave., Springfield, MO 65802, USA. Internet: cmelcher@mail.orion.org.

Robert Schick is Lecturer in Islamic Archaeology at the Institute of Islamic Archaeology, al-Quds University, Jerusalem. Mail to: The Albright Institute 26 Salah al-Din Street, P.O. Box 19096, Jerusalem, Israel. Internet: rschick@vms.huji.ac.il.

Maya Shatzmiller is Professor of History at the University of Western Ontario. Department of History, University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario N6A 5C2, Canada.

Internet: shatzmiller@sscl.uwo.ca.

Alan Walmsley is ARC Research Fellow, Department of Semitic Studies, University of Sydney, Australia. Internet: alan.walmsley@semitic.su.edu.au.

Brannon M. Wheeler is Assistant Professor of Near Eastern Languages & Civilizations at the University of Washington, Seattle, WA 98195, USA and is currently visiting scholar at the College of Shari'ah & Islamic Studies, Kuwait University. Internet: wheelerb@u.washington.edu.

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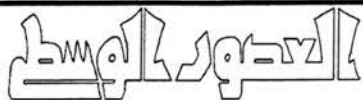
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Bulletin of Middle East Medievalists
The Oriental Institute
1155 East 58th Street
Chicago, IL 60637 U.S.A.