

# Water and Land Management in the Zabid Hinterland

by Ingrid Hehmeyer and Edward J. Keall

**D**uring the hey-day of Zabid as an economic, administrative, and university center on the *Tihama*, or Red Sea coastal plain of Yemen, agriculture played a vital role in contributing to the city's prosperity. Original farming almanacs from the Rasulid era (1229-1454 C.E.) hint at the high level of agricultural prosperity at

that time. The revenues generated during this era reflect the success of contemporary irrigation programs and land management.

Field investigations conducted by the Canadian Archaeological Mission of the Royal Ontario Museum in the environs of Zabid have resulted in the discovery of

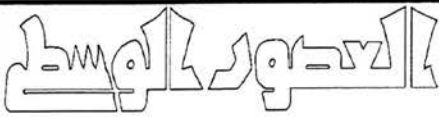
SEE ZABID, PAGE 26.



Figure 1. Wadi Zabid: old field bank buried beneath sediments rising through irrigation.

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### Al-'Usur al-Wusta

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## ZABID, CONTINUED FROM PAGE 25.

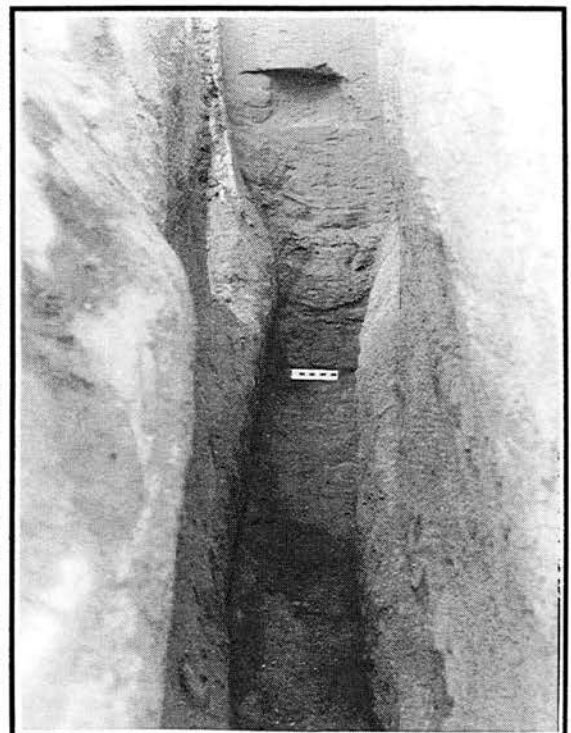
significant features buried out on the plain that help us to understand more about the way in which water resources were manipulated. The marginally desert land was made economically productive through the application of traditional Yemeni irrigation practices that had been developed to take advantage of seasonal floods derived from the spring and late summer rains in the interior highlands. The most celebrated of these systems, of course, are those at Ma'rib, the capital of the kingdom of Saba' (Sheba) in the first millennium B.C.E. The results of studies at Ma'rib by Hehmeyer (*Archäologische Berichte aus dem Yemen*, 5 [1991]) allow the Canadian Mission to make sense of features visible in the eroded "cliff edges" of the Wadi Zabid. These features are former field-banks, now buried deep beneath the alluvium, but exposed to view because a flash flood has cut into them and revealed them in cross-section.

As is usual with other ephemeral flood courses in arid environments, the rain runs off the hills uninterrupted by vegetation; massive amounts of soil are washed away each time it rains. The eroded soil is deposited out on the plain, potentially creating rich arable land. At the same time, however, the abrasive force of the particle-rich run-off causes a deep stream-bed to be carved into the soft sediments, well below the level of what is to be farmed as fields. In time, the stream-bed may become blocked and the floods will find another way to cut through the sediments. The natural process is a constant but erratic pattern of deposition and down-cutting. In the sharply eroded "cliff edges" at the sides of the Wadi Zabid, where the flood course has cut a stream-bed as much as four meters deep, one may see how the alluvium has risen over time. Since one can see in numerous places, quite low down in the exposed banks, the traces of man-made features, it is clear that this accumulation of alluvium has occurred during human history and not from the geological past. One is led naturally to ask what were these structures,

how old are they, and when did they become buried?

Close inspection allows one to see that layers of sediment once accumulated against the bank, commensurate with the way in which thick layers of sediments settled out from the deep flood water at Ma'rib. In the Wadi Zabid, these particular banks were actually thrust out into the stream bed, in order to divert the spate, with the aim of trapping particle-rich flood water and creating a new field from the deposited sediments. In the course of time, as the alluvium rose, the force of the spate proved to be too great and the flood waters cut another path down through the alluvium, exposing a cross-section of the field and its bank which we see in profile at the side of the wadi. [See Figure 1.] These exposed but deeply buried features serve to underline the volatile nature of the Wadi Zabid regimen.

One can imagine that, without any restraint, the wadi may have had a constant tendency to force different routes across the alluvium. For this reason, and based on observations made during the archaeological program, the Zabid Project researchers conclude that the landscape of Zabid's environs must have been quite changeable before the canal networks were put in place. We may deduce from histori-



**Figure 2. Zabid Hinterland: underground water conduit (9th-century foundation).**

cal texts that the system was fully developed by the time of the 14th century heyday of the Rasulid dynasty, when Zabid was the center of a highly productive agricultural region. But how long it took to harness the forces of the Wadi Zabid spate is a question that remains a matter of continuing speculation and the target of future campaigns to resolve.

Other investigations by the Canadian Mission have been very successful in exposing through deliberate excavation other tangible remains that reflect water management in Zabid's hinterland. For instance, at a 9th-10th century site on the eastern edge of Zabid, we have a picture of considerable amounts of silt being deposited by flood water from the wadi. The site in question was a potter's workshop in the 9th-10th century—the source, in fact, of the pottery judged to be diagnostic for Zabid during this period. At first, the project believed the sediments on site reflected irrigation farming before the life of the workshop. It seemed to be a classic example of agricultural land turning industrial on the outskirts of a town. The revised interpretation, however, following extended excavations, was that the potter had deliberately diverted flood water into the area, to allow sediments to settle from which suitable clays were extracted for pot making. A considerable volume of water, flowing with great velocity, was involved in this process. The flood left eddying marks in the sediment, like the effect of a tide on the beach. From time to time, as the height of the deposited sand and silt rose, the volume was too great to contain, and the flood burst from the elevated height and tore out the edge of the settling pond. The damage was repaired by filling the gap with workshop debris, and the process of sediment collection was repeated in subsequent seasons. After perhaps two hundred years, the velocity of the water as it reached the site was still quite strong; the last flood documented was able to carry cobblestones weighing as much as four kilograms.

Excavations have also unearthed remains that reflect, in spirit at least, if not in actuality, the legendary underground water pipes of Zabid. The early 16th century writer Ibn al-Dayba' refers to a certain scholar by the name of Qadi al-Rashid Ibn al-Zubayr, who died in 1167 C.E., and who is said to have built an underground water course from a source east of town. Appar-

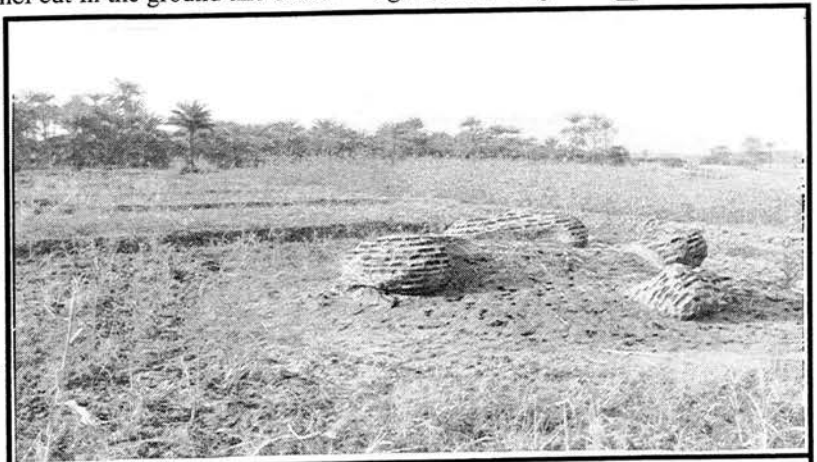
ently this conduit surfaced as it neared Zabid, irrigating the gardens outside the city, as well as inside. Reflecting these apparently real engineering works, Yemeni folklore has given us the colorful image of a lad who, in order to win the hand of the princess, was tricked by the Sultan into building such a conduit all the way from the mountains to the sea. Needless to say, the suitor was too old and ugly for the princess by the time he finished the project, covering as it was a distance of fifty kilometers. Naturally, these stories have some factual basis. They were probably invented to explain what otherwise appeared to be an unnatural phenomenon—the kind of engineering project the country no longer had the resources to build or maintain.

Of course, to come across one of these legendary conduits would be a matter of pure chance unless one had the resources to conduct systematic remote sensing underground exploration over an area as large as 10,000 square kilometers. But, fortuitously, a series of events revealed one of them to the Project. Flood water in a dry stream-bed two kilometers east of the city exposed a feature of brick masonry which was called to our attention. By the time a project budget and official permission were in place to investigate this feature with a formal program of excavation, the land-owner had started to bulldoze a new field in the stream-bed. By chance, the work exposed the top of a continuous stretch of brickwork that had once formed a plaster-lined, underground conduit with a water-channel 25 cm. wide, and at least 1.30 m. deep. [See Figure 2.] Unlike the famous *qanats* of Iran, this was constructed in a channel cut in the ground and subsequently covered

o v e r .  
Twice in its lifetime, the feature was built higher above the remains of the original version. Each time, the

types of bricks employed and the method of construction was distinctly different, a clear indication of its long use. By the presence and absence of different kinds of pottery one may argue that the conduit had fallen into disuse by the 17th century. The earliest phase has been established on the basis of a potsherd distinctly characteristic of Zabid in the 9th-10th centuries, which had been set into the mortar of the conduit's footings. This corresponds well with the date of the foundation of Zabid as a city in 823 C.E.

As a chance discovery, construction work in the area of Zabid exposed a second solid brick feature in an open field. Our attention to the emergency rewarded us with the discovery that it was another water-supply system consisting of three pipelines of glazed tile set into a bed of bricks laid in lime mortar. There were no sediments accumulated in the pipes, and clearly great effort had been taken to ensure that the quality of the water carried in them was good. Small scraps of pottery found in the trench fill allow the feature to be dated at least as early as the 16th century. [See Figure 3.] Was it a conduit only for irrigation, or did it serve also (or only) for drinking water? Ibn al-Dayba' states that Zabid's citizens preferred well water for drinking over that of conduits, which confirms that water was drunk from conduits, but it is not clear whether any conduits were intended solely for this purpose. Lead water pipes unearthed during the excavations, and found in levels dating to about the 15th century C.E., provide an additional piece for this puzzle. Continuing work at Zabid promises to shed more light on this subject. □



**Figure 3. Zabid hinterland: abandoned irrigation distribution tank (13th-16th century).**

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# Reconstructing the Development of New Persian

by Gilbert Lazard

Ever since the works of J. Darmesteter a century ago, it has been known that New Persian (or, as we shall say hereafter, simply Persian) is the descendant of Middle Persian (Pahlavi) and more remotely of Old Persian. That is, through a natural and progressive evolution, the Old Persian of Achaemenid times (ca. 550-330 B.C.E.) became the Middle Persian of the Sasanian period (226-636 C.E.), which, in the first centuries of the Islamic era, became (New) Persian—the language that remains present in all its glory until our own day.

At the beginning, Persian was merely the language of the people of Fars (Persia), who were only one of many Iranian peoples—Medes, Parthians, Soghdians, etc. The Persians had established themselves in the province to which they gave their name, Fars, and Persian became the language of this region. Because of the political supremacy of the Persians, however—first under the Achaemenids, then under the Sasanians—, Persian was gradually imposed as the common language of an increasingly vast area.

After the Arab conquest we find Persian solidly installed on the whole of the Iranian plateau. Very probably the progress of Muslim armies toward the north-east and the east helped spread it into these regions. The expansion of the caliphate into central Asia and the territory of present-day Afghanistan established Persian there as a vernacular language. It is, ironically, in Transoxiana, in the extreme north-east of Iran—a region far distant from its place of origin in the south-west—that Persian literature first takes wing in brilliant fashion.

In the course of this movement toward the north and east, this common

language succumbed to the influence of the languages and dialects that it encountered and progressively supplanted. This is why one finds in Persian many words whose phonology discloses that they were not originally Persian words, but rather words hailing from another Irano-Aryan dialect—generally Parthian, sometimes Soghdian, and probably others as well. As a result, Persian is distinguished from Middle Persian, its immediate predecessor, not only by the fact that it represents a more evolved state of the language, but also by important differences in vocabu-

the process by which Middle Persian or Persian acquired these loanwords. But, it is certain that in expanding toward the north and east, the language developed regional variations. Even today, it is still easy (despite the unifying effects of radio and other modern means of communication) to distinguish some local forms of the common language. These dialect variations show up now and then in the oldest monuments of the Persian language. Numerous ancient texts are full of dialect words, which as a rule the editors of these texts have carefully registered. Thus one

can catch a glimpse of certain varieties of dialect. Rudaki (d. 329/940-41) and his compatriots from Transoxiana, for example, used words that survive in modern Tajik, but which people from western Iran in the 5th/11th century did not understand.

The information we can obtain in this manner is, however, limited, for two reasons. The first is that the majority of texts have been normalized—that is, the copyists of later centuries, after classical Persian had crystallized and become standardized, eliminated forms which seemed to them archaic or dialectal, and replaced them with classical Persian forms. This was especially the case with literary texts that remained in demand for a long period and which, as a result, were much

copied. Consequently, dialectal peculiarities are encountered above all in rare works. These were appreciated in their own time, but were later neglected and forgotten and so have been preserved, if at all, in old manuscripts; they are most frequently scientific treatises, Qur'an commentaries, etc.

The second reason why the old texts inform us only partially about Persian dialectology is because the most ancient (4th-5th/10th-11th centuries) almost all come from the same regions, Khorasan



Figure 1. The Iranian Plateau and environs.

lary. This sometimes has curious consequences. W.B. Henning called attention to two parallel versions of the same Manichaean hymn, one in Parthian, the other in Middle Persian. Anyone familiar with Persian is struck by the fact that in *syntax* the Middle Persian text is undeniably closer to Persian syntax than is the Parthian text, whereas in *vocabulary* the Parthian text coincides more frequently with the usual Persian vocabulary.

We do not have the means to trace

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and Transoxiana; hence they reflect the dialects of these regions, which are close to one another, but tell us nothing, or almost nothing, about dialects in use in the west and south of Iran.

Fortunately, another source offers itself to us: Judeo-Persian—texts written by Iranian Jews in the Persian language, but in Hebrew characters. There exists in this idiom an entire literature which begins quite early; private documents (the oldest dated to the 4th/10th century), and above all religious texts, translations and commentaries on the Bible. These texts are of extraordinary interest for the historian of language.

For one thing, Hebrew letters, being constructed on principles a bit different from those of Arabic script, can render certain details of pronunciation that Arabic script cannot capture. Moreover, the old Judeo-Persian texts contain many peculiarities of language that are completely unknown not only in classical Persian, but also in the language of the ancient texts written in Arabic script. In particular, Judeo-Persian texts contain a large number of words well-known in Mazdaean Middle Persian (Pahlavi).

How are we to interpret this information? Does it reflect the characteristic speech of a religious minority? Was there a “Jewish Persian” distinct from “Muslim Persian”? Absolutely not. It appears, rather, that the Jewish communities that produced these texts lived in regions far removed from those that produced the first Persian texts in Arabic script, and so reflect very different varieties of Persian. Various clues, particularly similarities with the ancient dialect of Shiraz, led me to conclude twenty-five years ago that the linguistic peculiarities of the ancient Judeo-Persian texts are simply those of the Persian spoken in this era in the south-western provinces of Fars and Khozistan.

This conclusion has since been confirmed by a discovery of great importance—the *Qor'an-e Qods*, a Persian translation of the Qur'an splendidly published by A. Ravaqi from a manuscript in Mashhad.

This translation, which is not dated but which I would be inclined to date to the end of the 5th/11th or the beginning of the following century, is cast in a strange Persian abounding in peculiarities of every kind. It is obvious that the author, far from having any literary preoccupation, wished only to instruct his fellow believers by using the language which was most intelligible to them; he wrote as he spoke with them, in the everyday language. This strange form of Persian, then, is nothing other than the reflection of a local dialect. From various hints, one can conclude that this text originated in Sistan or a nearby region.

A most interesting aspect of the *Qor'an-e Qods* is that very few of its linguistic characteristics are found in any of the ancient Persian texts in Arabic script, but many of them correspond with those

lects exemplified by the mass of Persian texts in Arabic script.

The situation in the early centuries of the Islamic era can, then, be represented as follows. Spoken Persian was divided into two main dialects, each of which comprised a great number of local variants. One covered the entire south, from Khozistan to Sistan; this was the dialect of old Judeo-Persian and of the *Qor'an-e Qods*. The other occupied Khorasan and spread into Transoxiana and the northern part of modern Afghanistan; it was the dialect represented by the oldest Persian literary works in Arabic script.

Southern spoken Persian remained very close to Middle Persian in phonetics, grammar, and vocabulary. That of the north-east evolved more quickly in certain points of its structure, and it replaced many words with loan-words derived from ancient local dialects. Under these circumstances, we understand how the language of the Judeo-Persian texts and the *Qor'an-e Qods* can have so strikingly many words and turns of phrase that are identical to those of Pahlavi. This language is, in fact, the direct continuation of Middle Persian in its own territory, southern Iran. On the other hand, the language of other ancient texts in Arabic characters diverges more from Pahlavi. It is based on vernaculars emanating from the dialect of Fars, transported to distant territories, where it supplanted the indigenous languages which, in turn, left their mark on it.

Ibn al-Muqaffa' (d. ca. 139/757), in a famous comment, mentions among the languages of

Iran in the Sasanian period *pahlavi*, *parsi*, and *dari*. The information alluded to above and the conclusions to which it leads permit us to understand better what he said.

There is no space here to elaborate on what Ibn al-Muqaffa' meant by *pahlavi*. We shall say only that it surely referred to the Parthian language, and not to what we today usually call Pahlavi.

“*Parsi*,” says Ibn al-Muqaffa', “is the language spoken by the mobadhs, the scholars and their fellows; it is the lan-



Figure 2. Detail of a page of the *Qoran-e Qods*, showing the beginning of Surat al-Mala'ika. Arabic text in large script, Persian translation below.

which one encounters in Judeo-Persian. One of the most noteworthy is the abundance of words unknown in classical (and pre-classical) Persian, but well attested in Pahlavi. To be sure, the dialect of the *Qor'an-e Qods* is not identical with any of the dialects that appear in the Judeo-Persian texts. There can be no doubt, however, that these diverse variants and the language of the *Qor'an* from Sistan are all varieties of a single comprehensive dialect group standing in opposition to those dia-

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guage of the people of Fars." The language of scholars and priests is certainly literary Middle Persian, which we call Pahlavi. As for the language of the people of Fars, at the end of the Sasanian period, it must not have been much different from that which was spoken there in the first centuries of the Islamic era—that is, our southern Persian. Now, we know that in grammar and vocabulary this southern Persian remained very close to Pahlavi. From this the double identification of *parsi* as the language of scholars and as the language of Fars, a bit surprising at first, becomes intelligible. One may imagine that Ibn al-Muqaffa' simply considered the spoken language of Fars and literary Pahlavi as two stylistic variants of the same language, called *parsi*.

There remains *dari*. "*Dari*," notes our author, "is the language of the cities of Mada'in" (Seleucia-Ctesiphon, the Sasanian capital in Iraq). "It was spoken by those who were at the king's court; [its name] refers to the presence in the court; among the languages of the people of Khorasan and the East, it is that of Balkh that is dominant." This comment is rather enigmatic. *Dari* was the language of the court (*dar*, "the gate") and the capital; this much is clear. What was this language spoken at court? It must have been a vernacular form of Middle Persian, that is, a Middle Persian already very close to spoken (New) Persian. But how, then, was it different from "the language of Fars"? Moreover, he tells us, in quite vague terms, that this language of the capital was also

common in Khorasan and at Balkh. How can all this be reconciled?

What we now know of the dialectology of preclassical Persian suggests a tentative solution. Might not the term *dari* refer to the Persian of the north-east, or rather to its immediate predecessor, spoken throughout the north of Iran, the former territory of the Parthians? What had a better claim to be these "languages of the people of Khorasan" of which Ibn al-Muqaffa' speaks, if not the local varieties of this Persian of the north-east?

There remains one difficulty: how could this language of the north-east also be that of the capital? We may suppose:

- that the language that spread in the north-east was the one in use at Ctesiphon, the capital, which is not unlikely;

- that this language of the capital was already rather different from that of the south, and that a well-defined dialect frontier separated the region of Ctesiphon from Khuzistan—which would be a bit surprising.

In the absence of more detailed information, we must rest content with guesses. Be that as it may, however, the hypothesis sketched above is alluring.

Little by little, we gain a clearer idea of the conditions under which the vernacular and literary language of the Iranian world emerged. We hope that new discoveries will clarify this process even further.

### Bibliographical Note

This article is a slightly modified translation of a French article published originally in *Luqman* 4.1 (1987-88), pp. 9-18. Translation by Fred M. Donner. See also the following studies:

W. B. Henning, "Mitteliranisch," in B. Spuler (ed.), *Handbuch der Orientalistik* 1.4.1 (Leiden, 1958), 103-104; G. Lazard, "Dialectologie de la langue persane d'après les textes des Xe-XIe siècles ap. J.-C.," *Revue de la Faculté des Lettres de Tabriz* 13.2 (1340/1961), 129-145 and 241-258; G. Lazard, "La dialectologie du judéo-persan," *Studies in bibliography and booklore* 8 (1968), 77-98; G. Lazard, "Le judéo-persan ancien entre le pehlevi et le persan," *Transition periods in Iranian history* (= *Studia Iranica*, Cahier 5 [1987]), 167-176; G. Lazard, "Lumières nouvelles sur la formation de la langue persane: une traduction du Coran en persan dialectal et ses affinités avec le judéo-persan," *Irano-Judaica* 2 (1990); G. Lazard, "*Pahlavi, parsi, dari*: les langues d'Iran d'après Ibn al-Muqaffa'," *Iran and Islam, in memory of the late V. Minorsky* (Edinburgh, 1971), 361-391; G. Lazard, "Parsi et dari: nouvelles remarques," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 4 (1990) [*In honor of R. N. Frye*], 239-242. The *Qor'an-e Qods* was edited by A. Ravaqi in two volumes (Tehran, 1364-65/1985-86).

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## -1993 ARAM Conference -

**"Cultural Exchange in the Umayyad Period"**

The Fourth International Conference of the ARAM Society for Syro-Mesopotamian Studies, entitled "Cultural Exchange in the Umayyad Era" met at St. Hugh's College, Oxford, 27-30 September 1993. The following papers were presented:

**Irfan Shahid** (Dumbarton Oaks): "The Umayyad *ajnad*: Byzance après Byzance"; **Zeidoun al-Muheisen** (Yarmouk Univ.): "The End of the Byzantine Period and the Beginning of the Islamic Period in Northern Jordan"; **Fr. Michele Piccirillo** (Studium Biblicum Franciscanum): "The Technical and Artistic Relations between the Mosaics of the Churches Built in the Umayyad Period and the Mosaics of the Umayyad Castles"; **Michael Bates** (American Numismatic Society): "New Developments in the Study of the Arab-Byzantine Coinage of Syria"; **Michael and Neathery Fuller** (St. Louis Community College): "Continuity and Cultural Interchange at Tell Tuneinir, Syria"; **Pamela Watson** (BIAAH): "Pictorial Painting on Pottery and its Demise in the mid-7th Century AD: the Case of the Jerash Bowls"; **Geoffrey Khan** (Cambridge Univ.): "The pre-Islamic Background of Muslim Legal For-

mularies"; **George Kiraz** (Cambridge Univ.): "Current Academic Projects on Syriac Studies Using Computational Evidence"; **W.A. Oddy** (The British Museum): "The Earliest Umayyad Coinage of Gerasa and Scythopolis"; **P. Donceel-Voùtre** (Université Catholique de Louvain): "The Syrian City-Image from Byzantine to Umayyad Times: Politics, Religion and Iconography"; **Claus-Peter Haase** (Universität Kiel): "Is Madinat al-Far - in the Bahik Region of Northern Syria - an Umayyad Foundation?"; **Ahmad Shboul** (Univ. of Sydney): "Umayyad Damascus: Notes on its Population and Culture Based on Ibn 'Asakir's *History*"; **Donald Whitcomb** (Univ. of Chicago): "Were there *amsar* in Syria?"; **W. Harold Mare** (Convent Theological Seminary): "The Christian Church of Abila of the Decapolis of the Yarmouk Valley System in the Umayyad Period"; **Steve Rosen** (Ben-Gurion Univ.): "The Nomadic Periphery: Archaeology of Pastoralists in the South Central Negev during Late Antiquity"; **Barbara Finster** (Bamberg, Germany): "The Fresco Paintings in Qusayr Amrah"; **Claude Vibert-Guigue** (IFAPO): "A

French-Jordanian Project for Copying the Paintings in Quseir 'Amra"; **Lawrence Conrad** (The Wellcome Institute): "Did Walid I Found the First Muslim Hospital"; **Pau Figueras** (Ben-Gurion Univ.): "The Impact of the Islamic Conquest on the Christian Communities of the Third Palestine"; **Daniel Sahas** (University of Waterloo): "Byzantine-Arab Cultural Interaction during the Umayyad Era: the Circle of John in Damascus"; **Elizabeth Savage** (London): "Iraqi Christian Links with an Early Islamic Sect"; **Sidney Griffith** (The Catholic Univ. of America): "The Vita of St. Michael and its Reported Dialogue between St. Michael and the Caliph Abd al-Malek"; **Hans Drijvers** (Rijksuniversiteit Groningen): "*Testamentum domini nostri Jesu Christi*"; **Robert Hoyland** (Oxford Univ.): "The Correspondence between Leo III (717-41) and 'Umar II (717-20)"; **Chase F. Robinson** (Oxford Univ.): "The Shaharija: 'Christian' Pragmatism in an Early Islamic Milieu?"; **Andrew Palmer** (Rijksuniversiteit Groningen): "Two Jacobite Bishops, Theodotus (d. 698) and Simeon (d. 734), and their Relations with Umayyad Authorities".

## Annenberg Research Institute

Center for Judaic Studies, The University of Pennsylvania

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In the self-definition of human societies, historical memory, research, and inven-

tion are important standard elements. A variety of materials (creation myths, foundation legends, sacred history, stories of the lives of religious and national heroes and villains, and the like) preserved, recovered, and embellished, help to determine group identities and group solidarity. How have these processes, and the resultant visions of the past, influence Jewish, Christian, and Muslim societies in previous eras? What roles do they play today in an age of assertive nationalisms, politicized religions, and self-conscious ethnicities.

Preference will be given to projects relevant to this topic, although others may be considered.

Stipend amounts are based on a Fellow's

academic standing and financial need, with a maximum of \$35,000 for the academic year. A contribution may be made towards travel expenses.

Awards will be announced January 15, 1994.

For application material and further information, write to:

Secretary, Fellowship Program  
Annenberg Research Institute  
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420 Walnut Street  
Philadelphia, PA 19106  
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(fax) 215-238-1540  
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# ANNUAL MEETINGS

Organization	When and Where	Information	Telephone No.
<b>Middle East Studies Association</b> (1993 Meeting)	Nov. 10-13, 1993 Research Triangle Park, NC [Paper Deadline: Past]	MESA Secretariat University of Arizona 1232 N. Cherry Ave. Tucson, AZ 85721	(602)-621-5850
<b>Middle East Studies Association</b> (1994 Meeting)	Nov. 19-22, 1994 Phoenix, AZ [Paper deadline: Feb. 15, 1994]	see preceding	see preceding
<b>American Oriental Society</b>	Mar. 20-23, 1994 Madison, WI [Paper Deadline: Oct..15, 1993]	American Oriental Society Hatcher Graduate Library University of Michigan Ann Arbor, MI 48109-1205	(313)-747-4760 Jonathan_Rodgers@ ub.cc.umich.edu
<b>American Oriental Society-- Midwest Branch</b>	Feb. 20-22, 1994 Evanston, IL [Paper Deadline: Jan., 1994]	Mark W. Chavalas Dept. of History Univ. of Wisconsin-LaCrosse LaCrosse, WI 54061	(608)-787-5181 FAX: (608)-785-8530
<b>American Historical Association</b> (1993-94 Meeting)	Jan. 6-9, 1994 San Francisco, CA [Paper Deadline: Past]	American Historical Assn. 400 A Street, S. E. Washington, DC 20003	(202)-544-2422
<b>American Historical Association</b> (1995 Meeting)	Jan.5-8, 1995 Cincinnati, OH [Paper Deadline: Feb. 15, 1994]	see preceding	see preceding
<b>The Medieval Institute</b> (1994 Meeting)	May 5-8, 1994 Kalamazoo, MI [Paper Deadline: Past]	The Medieval Institute Western Michigan Univ. Kalamazoo, MI 49008-3851	(616)-387-4145
<b>The Medieval Institute</b> (1995 Meeting)	May 4-7, 1995 Kalamazoo, MI [Paper Deadline: Sept. 15, 1994]	see preceding	see preceding
<b>College Art Association</b> (1994 Meeting)	Feb.16-19, 1994 New York, NY [Paper Deadline: Past]	Suzanne Schanzer 275 Seventh Ave. New York, NY 10001	(212)-627-2381
<b>College Art Association</b> (1995 Meeting)	Jan. 25-28, 1995 San Antonio, TX [Paper Deadline: April 15, 1994]	see preceding	see preceding
<b>American Academy of Religion</b> (1993 Meeting)	Nov. 20-23, 1993 Washington, DC [Paper Deadline: Past]	Eugene H. Lovering, Jr. Society of Biblical Literature 1549 Clairmont Rd., Suite 204	(404)-636-4744 FAX:(404)-248-0815 BITNET: SBLEXEC@ EMORYU1



# ANNUAL MEETINGS

Organization	When and Where	Information	Telephone No.
American Academy of Religion (1994 Meeting)	Nov. 19-22, 1994 Chicago, IL [Paper Deadline: Feb. 1994]	see preceding	see preceding
Byzantine Studies Conference	Nov. 4-7, 1993 Princeton, NJ [Paper Deadline: Past]	Jeffrey Anderson Art Department George Washington University Washington, DC 22207	(202)-994-6681
Byzantine Studies Conference	Oct. 20-23, 1994 Ann Arbor, MI [Paper Deadline: March, 1994]	see preceding	see preceding
Dumbarton Oaks Symposium: "Byzantine Court Culture: 829-1204"	April 22-24, 1994 Washington, DC [Paper Deadline: Past]	Dumbarton Oaks 1703 32nd St., N. W. Washington, DC 20007	(202)-342-3234
Texas Association of Middle East Scholars (TAMES)	Feb., 1994 Austin, TX [Paper Deadline: Dec. 15, 1993]	Deborah Littrel Ctr. for Middle Eastern Studies Univ. of Texas-Austin Austin, TX 78712	(512)-471-3881 FAX: (512)-471-7834

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## MEM Scholar Profile

## Ibrahim Baydoun

HISTORIAN, THE LEBANESE UNIVERSITY

Professor Ibrahim Baydoun was born in 1941 in Bint Jubayl, Lebanon. He received his early schooling in Bint Jubayl and in Beirut, and began his university education at Beirut Arab University, where he studied history, with a major in Islamic history. He completed his Doctorat (3e cycle) at the University of Grenoble, France, in 1971, with a thesis on the Revolt of Ibn al-Ash'ath.

After returning to Lebanon, he pursued further studies in medieval Islamic history at the Université Saint-Joseph in Beirut, from which he received the Doctorat d'Etat in 1981 with a on "The Hijaz and the Islamic State" (subsequently published in 1983). During his studies he worked especially with Prof. B. Bligny and Prof. Fale-Vert Paravi in Grenoble, and with Prof. Nicola Ziadeh and Prof. J.-M. Fiey in Beirut.

Professor Baydoun taught Islamic history and the history of Islamic Spain at Beirut Arab University (1977-80) and, since 1981, has taught the same subjects in the graduate division at the Lebanese University. He became full professor of history in 1987. In 1985, he served as Visiting Professor of History at Yarmouk University in Irbid, Jordan.

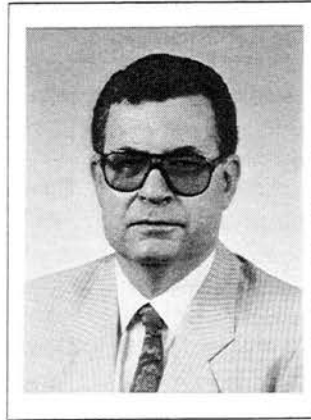
In addition to his activities in teaching and research (see below on his publications), Professor Baydoun served a term as Secretary of the Lebanese Writers Union (1984-85) and is a member of the board of consulting editors for a number of leading Arabic-language periodicals, including *Al-Mu'arrikh al-'arabi* (The Arab Historian) and *Al-Fikr al-'arabi* (Arab Thought). He has participated in numerous conferences and seminars throughout the Arab world, including three sessions of the International Conference on the History of Bilad al-Sham and other scholarly gatherings in Beirut, Homs, Aleppo, Damascus, Irbid, Cairo, and Rabat.

Professor Baydoun's research has focused on early Islamic history, and has appeared in a number of books and articles. These include *Al-Tawwabun* [The Penitents] (Beirut, 1975; reprinted 1978); *Min dawlat 'Umar ila dawlat 'Abd al-Malik: dirasa fi takwin al-ittijahat al-siyasiyya fi l-qarn al-awwal al-hijri* [The formation of political trends from 'Umar to 'Abd al-Malik] (Beirut, 1979, reprinted 1989, 1991); *Al-Hijaz wa l-dawla al-islamiyya* [The Hijaz and the Islamic state] (Beirut, 1983); *Ittijahat al-mu'arada fi l-Kufa: dirasa fi l-takwin al-ijtima'i wa l-siyasi* [Trends of Opposition in Kufa. A study of social and political formation] (Beirut, 1985); *Min al-hadira ila l-dawla fi l-islam al-awwal* [From Metropolis to State in the First Period of Islam] (Beirut, 1986); *Mu'tamar al-Jabiya: dirasa fi nushu' khilafat bani Marwan* [The Conference at Al-Jabiah: A study of

the rise of Bani Marwan] (Beirut, 1988); *Al-Ansar wa l-rasul* [The Ansar and the Prophet] (Beirut, 1989). He also wrote, with Professor Suhayl Zakkar of the University of Damascus, a general history of the Arabs to 1258 C.E. (Beirut, 1974). His translation of the classic study of the Abbasid movement by Van Vloten, with a biographical sketch of that scholar, was published as *Al-Dawla al-Umawiyya wa l-mu'arida: madkhal ila kitab al-saytara al-'arabiyya li-l-mustashriq Van Vloten, ma'a tarjama lahu* (Beirut, 1980 and 1985).

Professor Baydoun also has a strong interest Islamic Spain; his publications on this subject include *Al-dawla al-'arabiyya fi Isbaniya* [The Arab state in Spain] (Beirut, 1978, several reprintings), and *Al-umara' al-umawiyun al-shu'ara' fi l-Andalus* [Umayyad Poet-Princes in al-Andalus. A study of the ruling elite literature] (Beirut, 1987).

Professor Baydoun's numerous articles deal mostly with early and medieval



Islamic history, but some deal with questions of historiography or with the history of more recent periods. Noteworthy among them are "Al-Baladhuri wa 'futuhuhu', dirasa naqdiyya muqarina" [Al-Baladhuri and his "Conquests": a comparative critical study], *Majallat dirasat islamiyya, jam'iyyat al-maqasid*, 1988, and "Masa'il al-manhij fi l-kitaba al-tarikhiyya al-'arabiyya hatta l-qarn al-thalith al-hijri" [Questions of method in Arab historical writing up to the third century A.H.], *Majallat al-fikr al-'arabi* (1989), as well as studies dealing with nationalism in the thought of Shakib Arslan, with the life of 'Adil Arslan, and with the relationship of Lebanon to Arabism.

**Prof. Ibrahim Baydoun can be contacted at the Lebanese University, Faculty of Letters, Department of History, MEHIO Building, UNESCO, Beirut, Lebanon..**

# NEWS OF MEM

## MEM GAINS TAX EXEMPT STATUS

MEM has been provisionally recognized by the U.S. Internal Revenue Service as a tax-exempt non-profit organization. The provisional ruling was received in August, following completion of the lengthy and complex application process.

Recognition of MEM as a tax-exempt organization should make it possible for MEM to apply for certain types of grant funds in support of programs of interest to MEM's membership, such as international scholar exchanges and workshops.

## MEM at AOS

MEM plans to sponsor panels, and perhaps a small reception, at the upcoming meeting of the American Oriental Society. The AOS will convene in Madison, Wisconsin, March 20-23, 1994 at the Concourse Hotel and Governor's Club, One West Dayton Street, Madison, Wisconsin, 53703-2582, tel (608) 257-6000. Individuals who wish to participate in an MEM-sponsored panel should contact board member Maria Subtelny immediately; tel (416) 978-3308 or 3306. Deadline for abstracts is October 15, 1993, but it may be possible to assemble panels somewhat after that date.

## MEM AT MESA

### MEM BUSINESS MEETING

MEM will hold its annual business meeting in conjunction with MESA '93. The meeting will take place on Thurs-

day, November 11, 1993, from 8:00-9:00 P.M. in the Empire E Room of the Sheraton Imperial Hotel, Research Triangle Park, N.C. MEM encourages all members to attend the business meeting. A reception will follow the meeting. See you in North Carolina!

### MEM-SPONSORED PANELS

MEM will sponsor two panels at the upcoming Middle East Studies Association meeting in Research Triangle Park, NC, Nov. 11-14, 1993. MEM encourages all members to attend these panels.

The participants for each panel and the abstracts of their papers are as follows:

**PANEL: Fireships, Firearms, Finances, and Fenévol's**; Friday, Nov. 12, 4-6 PM  
Chair: **Fred M. Donner** (University of Chicago)

Paper 1: **John Masson Smith, Jr.** (University of California, Berkeley), "Overpriced Mamluks and Abbasid Decline"; Paul Kennedy has written of the decline of powers with over-costly military establishments. The military system of the Abbasid Caliphate offers a Middle Eastern case in point. From 833, the Abbasids, to offset their unreliable Arab and Khurasian soldiery, recruited new troops, ostensibly rendered apolitically loyal by enslavement and expatriation that sundered them from attachments to family and clan. These picked slaves, *mamluks*, mostly Central Asian Turks, were formed into a professional army, primarily a cavalry force of some 10,000 men. Soon, however, the mamluks, possessed of an Inner Asian, non-genealogical tribal tradition (of which the Arabs had no equivalent or conception) were retribalized by their commanders into praetorian forces that dominated the caliphs. Realizing their indispensability, the mamluks, like some modern professional athletes, demanded higher salaries. Early Abbasid cavalymen received 24 *dinars* a year in peacetime; the first mamluks probably did too. By the late ninth century pay rose to 84 *dinars*, and by 942 to an extraor-

dinary 500-odd *dinars* (Arib cited by Ashtor)! In consequence, the force had to shrink. The pre-mamluk Abbasid army of Iraq had numbered 125,000 men, paid perhaps 1.65 million *dinars* out of a revenue of 16 millions. By 942, 10,000 mamluk cavalymen would have cost over 5 million *dinars*. The Abbasids could not afford this: their revenues, cut by provincial autonomism, were only 7 million *dinars* in 969. From the mid-tenth century the Abbasid could not afford a first-class army, and became vulnerable to second- and third-rate, but cheap and plentiful, forces from the mountains of Daylam and the steppes of Central Asia.

Paper 2: **Paul E. Chevedden** (Salem State College), "Mechanized Siegecraft during the Reign of Saladin"; Except for a number of celebrated field battles, most of Saladin's military activities concentrated on fortified structures: walled cities, urban citadels, and frontier fortifications. During the twelfth century stone fortifications were the key to defending and controlling territory. To secure and stabilize the territory which he conquered, Saladin had to consolidate his hold on castles and other defensive structures. The warfare of this period was essentially siege-based, since the acquisition of new territories required the obtaining of defensive structures and the subsequent fortifying of these structures to insure their defense. The military historians of the Crusader period have mainly concentrated on aspects of field-warfare and have largely ignored siege warfare. Siege warfare underwent unprecedented advances during the latter part of the twelfth century, a period dominated in the Eastern Mediterranean by Amalric, Nur al-Din, Saladin, Philip Augustus, and Richard the Lionheart. This paper will examine mechanized siegecraft in the Eastern Mediterranean as it was executed by one of its chief practitioners - Saladin. It will investigate the methods, techniques and the means of attack utilized by Saladin's army to take fortified positions. The development and expanded use of the counterweight trebuchet will be discussed, as well as the use of the traction trebuchet. Other

machines and siege weapons, like tension artillery, mobile siege towers, battering rams, mines, mantlets, incendiary devices, and scaling-ladders will be treated. The important military manuals of al-Harawi and al-Tarsusi will be utilized, in addition to the major chronicles of Saladin's reign by 'Imad al-Din al-Isfahani, Ibn Shaddad, Ibn al-Athir, Abu Shamah, and Ibn Wasil. Paper 3: **Douglas Haldane** (University of Texas, Austin), "The Fire-ship of al-Salih and Muslim Use of "Greek Fire"; On the 15th of Sha'ban AH 647 (23 November 1259), al-Malik al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub died in Mansura defending Egypt from the onslaught of the Fifth Crusade under Louis IX. According to al-Maqrizi, al-Salih's death was concealed and his body secretly sent back to Cairo in a *harrāqa* or fire-ship.

In any given period the Muslim navy was composed of a variety of ship types from large galleys to small ship's tenders; use of a *harrāqa* to transport al-Salih's body raises several questions concerning the reason for its use on this occasion, the ship's operation, its relation to Byzantine fire-ships that used "Greek Fire" flamethrowers, and Muslim use of incendiaries in general.

Greek Fire was a weapon with devastating destructive potential as the Arabs learned first hand in the second siege of Constantinople in AD 674. Like nuclear weapons of today, the ingredients and manufacturing process of Greek Fire were initially a closely guarded Byzantine state secret. Severe punishment was promised anyone leaking the secret to the enemy, but these threats did not stop dissemination. By at least AH 220/AD 835, the Aghlabids of Tunisia and Sicily commanded fire-ships as did the Spanish Ommayyads in AH 229/AD 844. In the late 12th century, Muslims were writing manuals on the preparation of incendiaries called 'Greek Fire' by the Crusaders. One compound, described by Murda ibn 'Ali al-Tarsusi for Salah al-Din, terrified the Crusaders at Mansura.

Although Byzantine sources are mute about the Greek recipe for Greek Fire, they are reasonably clear on how it was thrown. Arab sources, on the other hand, offer very little on flamethrower construction, but willingly yield the composition of a variety of incendiaries.

Medieval Arab, Greek, and Euro-

pean sources also reveal that the Muslims knew and used the specialized Byzantine type of Greek Fire, but preferred more easily used bomb-type incendiaries on both land and sea. Moreover, the *harrāqa* could be a large warship, but was most often a small, fast ship with a small, highly specialized crew - ideal for slipping through enemy lines and evading the notice of friend and foe alike.

Paper 4: **Weston F. Cook, Jr.** (Kutztown University, Pennsylvania), "The First Moroccan Gun Foundries: A Context for a Technological Quest"; This paper discusses the spread of indigenous firearms manufacture in early modern Morocco from 1480 to 1540s, CE. Although gunpowder weapons played an increasingly decisive (and visible) role in Moroccan warfare during this period, evidence of domestic manufacture of cannons and hand-held firearms remains elusive. Yet, while we can fix the existence of state-sponsored foundries in the late 1530s, the factors necessary to create these institutions had been present in Morocco for some time. The steady diaspora of Andalusian Muslims and Jews brought men with skills in the new warfare to this area beginning with the Granada Conquest (1481-1492). The role of these marginalized refugees was important in refining Ottoman techniques and tactics as well. Penetration of Morocco by Portuguese, Spanish, and even Ottoman forces, both naval and land expeditions, also provided examples and possible sources. During the sixteenth century, Moroccan towns and tribes, independent of the state structure, also acquired these arms and developed tactics to use them. Finally, the growing conflict between the Wattasid Sultanate and the Saadian movement - as well as conflicts within these state-building cadres - accelerated the adaption of Moroccan warfare to gunpowder firepower realities at a revolutionary pace. Within this context, however, the search for signs of actual manufacture of these weapons and supporting supplies continues to be tantalizing. This paper reviews the signs of a hidden evolution of that technology, suggests some reasons for its apparently long-term delay, and finally looks to growing state-building efficiency and warfare to explain its clear emergence with the foundries of the 1530s and 40s.

**PANEL: "The Latest in Islamic Numismatics";** Saturday, Nov. 13, 1:30-3:30 PM. Chair: **Elizabeth Savage** (The British Museum, London); Discussant: **Elton Daniel** (University of Hawaii at Manoa). Paper 1: **Michael Bates** (American Numismatic Society), "The Mints of the Earliest Muslim Coinage of the Maghrib"; The earliest Muslim coinage in North Africa and Spain, from after 695 until 716, was mainly gold coins with the distinctive fabric and weight standard of the Byzantine mint at Carthage. All the coins have Muslim religious statements in Latin. One group has imperial Byzantine figures and no date or mint name. A second group has inscriptions only, including a date and the mint name AFRIKA for Ifriqiya. A third group has similar inscriptions, with a large multirayed star on one face and the mint name SPANIA for Spain. Until recently these have been identified as the product of two mints, one in North Africa that produced the coins with images followed by those without images, and one in Spain, conquered in 711, that produced the coins with the star. Arrangement of the issues in sequence, however, suggests that there were two mints for these coins, but not the two traditionally identified. First, the inscriptions progress from simple invocations of God to a very close translation of the Arabic *shahada*, on the coins with images as well as those without, showing that these two groups were contemporary issues from two separate mints. Probably the coins with images were struck by the mint at Carthage, while those with inscriptions only came from a new Arab mint, no doubt at al-Qayrawan. This seems to make a total of three mints; but a collation of the dates on coins with the mint names AFRICA and SPANIA shows that African coins were issued before and after but not during the period from 712-15 when the Spanish coins were issued, and when the governor of the Maghrib, Musa b. Nusayr, was there. Probably he brought the essential personnel and equipment of the Qayrawan mint with him to Spain and then back to Ifriqiya, reducing the count of separate mints to two. Paper 2: **Jere Bacharach** (University of Washington), "al-Amin's Designated Successor: the Limitations of Numismatic Evidence"; In AH 189 Harun al-Rashid reconfirmed his plans to have his son al-Amin succeed him as caliph to be followed by al-Ma'mun, but then added that another

son, al-Qasim to whom he gave the honorific title al-Mu'tamin, would be third in line. Five years later, as Caliph, al-Amin announced that al-Qasim al-Mu'tamin would be replaced in the order of succession by his very young son Musa who was given the honorific title al-Natiq bi'l-Haqq and as a successor to al-Amin. Meanwhile in Khurasan, al-Ma'mun used al-Amin's actions to declare his own independence which was followed in 195 by al-Amin dropping al-Ma'mun's name from the khutbah and declaring that his own son Musa was to be his immediate successor. In light of the importance of these political acts and in comparison with other situations where coin inscriptions were used as a forum for public propaganda where is the numismatic evidence? The presentation will argue that the succession crisis was used by the propagandists for al-Ma'mun to justify his declaration of independence from al-Amin.

Paper 3: **Helen Brown** (The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford), "East African Coins: Their Place in Islamic Coinage"; When is a coin not a coin? An attempt will be made to examine models for some East African issues, and to draw some parallels with minor denominations of the Fatimid Caliphs.

Paper 4: **Steven Album**, "Late Ilkhan Numismatics"; From the death of Abu Sa'id in 1335 to the final collapse of the Ilkhanate in 1357, a wide variety of coinages were struck in Iran. Until the 1980's insufficient coins were known to exist, so that reliable analytic study was not feasible. The coinage is remarkable for its consistency of type and weight standard, and for the political and monetary information indicated by the types.

Although types and weight standards changed very frequently, they did so with remarkable consistency, so that undated coins have been usually precisely dated by virtue of type. We can construct sequences of known coins from the more than 150 active mints during the period and relate those sequences to known and inferred political developments. This process not only yields information for local history not recorded in extant written sources, but also provides a measure against which written sources can be evaluated. The result, as demonstrated by J.M. Smith in his work on the Sarbadarid dynasty, is that the coins can greatly augment the often fuzzy and contradictory accounts preserved

in the texts.

Most coin types are closely connected to the factions that vied for power within the collapsing Ilkhanate. The Study of their extent shows the extent of power of those factions, and together with the fragmentary account in the written sources, vastly enriches our knowledge of the tribal and factional elements dominating the power struggles of the day.

Paper 5: **Warren Schultz** (University of Chicago), "The Diminishing Dirhem: Silver Coinage in 14th Century Mamluk Sultanate"; The latter half of the 14th century CE was a period of tremendous political, social, and economic change in the Mamluk sultanate. Contemporary chroniclers were aware of the situation and described many assorted causes for these crises. One historian, al-Maqrizi, put much of the blame for those troubled times on the tremendous increase in debased copper coinage. The effects on the economy were said to be disastrous. Yet until recently, this period has not been the subject of modern numismatic study.

Last year, I presented the numismatic evidence that supports this picture of a copper coinage explosion. In this paper I address the developments that made this economic "catastrophe" possible. First and foremost among these factors are the developments seen in the Mamluk silver coinage. The numismatic evidence from the period indicates that silver dirhems were relatively scarce; they also are of diminishing weight. In this paper, I present the results of my metrological studies of these coins, drawing upon recent research in collections in Britain, Germany, and Israel. I also place this numismatic evidence in the context provided by the Mamluk chronicles.

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## MEMBER NEWS

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**George N. Atiyeh** (Library of Congress, Washington D.C.) recently edited *The Book in the Islamic World* (forthcoming) and continues work on an encyclopedia article, "al-Kindi, The Philosopher of the Arabs".

**Jonathan P. Berkey** (Mt. Holyoke College) recently published *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo: a Social*

*history of Islamic Education* (Princeton UP, 1992), and had a grant from N.E.H. to pursue research for a book on popular culture and popular religion in medieval Cairo.

**Graziella Berti** (Pisa) has recently completed several articles on Italian and Islamic ceramics and their trade in the Middle Ages. These include three articles in *Piazza Dante: uno spaccato di storia pisana* (Pontadera, 1993); "Pisa - A Seafaring Republic. Trading relations with Islamic countries in light of ceramic testimonies (2nd half of the 10th to middle of the 13th Century)," *Colloque d'Archéologie Islamique, IFAO* (Cairo), 1993; and *Lucca - Ceramiche medievali e post-medievali* (*Museo Nazionale di Villa Guinigi*) I. *Dalle ceramiche islamiche alle "maioliche arcaiche"*. Sec. XI-XV, (Firenze, 1993).

**Ibrahim Ali Beydoun** (Lebanese University, Beirut) is working on the volume, *Lebanon in Umayyad and Abbasid Eras* (Paris: Hariri Center, anticipated 1993).

**C. Edmund Bosworth** (University of Manchester) has recently completed *The History of the Saffarids of Sistan and the Maliks of Nimruz (247/861 to 849/1542-3)* (Costa Mesa: Mazda Press, 1993) and is working on an revised and expanded edition of *The Islamic Dynasties, a Chronological and Genealogical Handbook*.

**Robert I. Burns** (UCLA) has recently completed "The Daughter of Abu Zayd, Last Almohad Ruler of Valencia: The Family and Seigniorship of Alda Ferrándiz 1236-1300," *Viator* (1993). He spent the Summer of 1992 conducting research in the Crown Archives in Barcelona.

**Michael M. Chamberlain** (University of Wisconsin, Madison) has recently completed *The Uses of Knowledge in Damascus, 1190-1350: Society and Culture in the Medieval Middle East* (Cambridge UP, forthcoming [1994]). He continues his research for a monograph on the social history of heresy in the Mamluk period.

**Roland-Pierre Gayraud** (CNRS, Paris, and IFAO, Cairo) has recently published "Istabl 'Antar (Fostat) 1987-1989. Rapport de fouilles", *Annales Islamologiques*, XXV, 1991; and "Tebtynis. Quelques notes sur le site islamique", *Itinéraires d'égypte*

(*Mélanges offerts au père Maurice Martin s.j.*), IFAO, 1992; and "Istabl 'Antar (Fostat)1990. Rapport de fouilles", *Annales Islamologiques*, XXVII, 1993 (forthcoming). He continues research on his *doctorat d'état* on the archaeological study of southern Fustat from its foundation to the reign of al-Mustansir billah.

**Avner Giladi** (University of Haifa) recently completed *Children of Islam: Concepts of Childhood in Medieval Muslim Society*, (London: Macmillan/St. Antony's College Series, 1992). He continues his research on children's games, as well as sex differentiation in childrearing and education, in medieval Muslim societies. He is also preparing a review article on women's history in the Middle East and an article on children and childhood in medieval Arabic lexicography.

**Sidney H. Griffith** (Catholic University, Washington, D.C.) has recently completed the articles, "Disputes with Muslims in Syriac Christian Texts", in *Religionsgespräche im Mittelalter*, eds. B. Lewis & F. Niewohner, (Wiesbaden, 1992), pp 247-267; and "Images, Islam and Christian Icons" in *La Syrie de Byzance à l'Islam*, eds. P. Canivet & J.-P. Coquais, (Damascus, 1992), pp. 121-138. His English translation of *Abu Qurrah on Icons* is in press and he is also preparing a monograph on the life and controversies of Abu Qurrah.

**Jessica Rachel Hallett** continues work on her Oxford D.Phil. dissertation entitled: "Early Islamic Basra: a port of the sea, an emporium of the land, and a place of manufacture". She will travel to Fuzhon, P.R.C. to participate in a conference on the Islamic contribution to the Maritime Silk Route, as well as a 3 week expedition to the South China port sites.

**Saleh Hamarneh** (University of Jordan) has recently published works on people and land in the Middle East and *Studies in the History of Southern Syria*. (1991). His current project is a study of Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate.

**Abbas Hamdani** (University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee) recently published "An Islamic Background to the Voyages of Discovery" in Salma K. Jayyusi, ed. *Legacy of Muslim Spain* (Leiden, 1992) and "Expulsion of Muslims from Spain" in (Digest

of Middle Eastern Studies, Mar. 1993).

**Mutsuo Kawatoko** (Middle East Culture Center in Japan, Tokyo) has recently published *Excavations at al-Fustat, 1978-1985* (in Japanese) (Tokyo, 1992); "On the Use of Coptic Numerals in Egypt in the 16th Century", (*Orient* 28, 1993), pp. 58-74; "On the Tombstone found at Badi', Sudan", (*Kush* 17, 1993); and "Preliminary Survey in Aydhab and Badi', (*Kush* 17, 1993); and "On Pepper Trade in the Early 16th Century," (*JESHO*, forthcoming). He is conducting excavations at al-Tur and researching tombstones in Khartoum and paleographs in Yemen, while continuing work on *Red Sea Studies*.

**Timothy J.M. Lynch** (University of San Francisco Law School) is preparing a 5 volume book on Western Classical Philology and the Age of Advanced Medieval Islamic Scholarship (forthcoming, June, 1994).

**Joseph Sadan** (Tel Aviv University) has co-authored (with Sh. Moreh) *Two Medieval Egyptian Plays*. His article "A Legal Opinion on the Sanctity of Jerusalem" is forthcoming in *Israel Oriental Studies* 10, (Leiden, 1993).

**Tsugitaka Sato** (University of Tokyo) has recently completed *The Mamluks: Rulers from the non-Islamic World* (in Japanese) (Tokyo, 1991). He plans research on the history and present situation of Syrian coastal town of Jabala and is preparing a monograph (in English) *State and Society in Medieval Islam: Studies on the Iqta' system in Arabic Society*.

**George T. Scanlon** (American University in Cairo) continues his work collecting data for Supplement 3 to Creswell's *Bibliography*.

**Wolfgang Schwaigert** (Blaubeuren/Asch, Germany) published "Miles und Papa. Der Kampf um dem Primat. Ein Beitrag zur Diskussion um die Chronik von Arbela," *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 236 (1990), and has published a number of biographical entries in Bautz's *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*. He is currently preparing an article entitled "Katholikos Isaak und seine Bedeutung für die ostsyrische Kirche."

**Stuart Sears** continues work on his University of Chicago doctoral dissertation "Money and its Use in Iraq and Iran, 590-720 CE." He delivered a paper entitled, "Late imitations of Sasanian and early Islamic Coinage from Sijistan and Zabulistan" at the Second Numismatic Symposium at the University of Tübingen.

**Maya Shatzmiller** (University of Western Ontario) has recently completed the monograph *Labour in the Medieval Islamic World* (Leiden, 1993) and edited *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth Century Syria* (Leiden, 1993).

**William F. Tucker** (University of Arkansas) recently wrote the introduction to Robert W. Olson's *The Emergence of Kurdish Nationalism* (Austin, TX, 1991). He is currently working on medieval Shiite extremists and a catalog of natural disasters.

**Speros Vyronis, Jr.** (Onassis Center for Hellenic Studies, New York University) has recently published *Byzantine Studies: Essays on the Slavic World and the Eleventh Century* (New Rochelle, 1992); and *The Turkish State and History: Clio Meets the Grey Wolf* (New Rochelle, 1992). He continues research for a monograph on the Greek, Arabic, and Persian sources for the battle of Mantzikert as well as for a monograph on the mystical world of the Mevelevi Dervish Eflaki and Anatolian Society in the 13th-14th centuries.

**Steven M. Wasserstrom** (Reed College) has recently completed *Between Muslim and Jew: The Problem of Symbiosis* (Princeton: forthcoming)

**Brannon M. Wheeler** (Vanderbilt University) defended his dissertation at the University of Chicago, entitled "Applying the Canon: The Authorization and Maintenance of Interpretive Reasoning in Sunni Fiqh Scholarship."

**Ehsan O. Yarshater** (Columbia University) continues his work as editor of the *Encyclopaedia Iranica* and as general editor of the Tabari Translation Project.

**Bassem Saleh Zaki** (Harvard University) has recently completed *Corpus of Islamic Epitaphs from al-Ma'la Site in Makka* (Leiden, forthcoming). □

# 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 in part on the voluntary submission of reviews because review copies of books in Middle Eastern languages are not available on a regular basis.

Reviews should be brief, in no case exceeding 500 words. 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.

## ADDENDUM

Christopher Melchert's review of al-Maqrizi, *Kitab al-Muqaffa al-kabir*, which appeared in the previous issue (*UW* 5.1, p. 22), inadvertently omitted part of one sentence. The first two sentences of the third paragraph should read as follows: "The third and fourth centuries are the period of my own research, so I can characterize the usefulness of *al-Muqaffa* most confidently for them. Other biographers have read and quoted the works of Ibn Qudayd, Ibn Yunus, and Ibn Zulaq, but al-Maqrizi provides further quotations and sometimes even quotes documents; e.g., the deposition of the shadow caliph al-Muwaffaq at Damascus in 269/883, complete with signatures (*Muq.* 2:449f)." The editor apologizes for this omission, and urges readers to note the addendum in their own copies of *UW* 5.1.

**Husayn 'Atwan, *Al-Riwaya al-ta'rikhiyya fi bilad al-Sham fi l-'asr al-Umawi* [Historical reports in Syria in the Umayyad period]. [Beirut]: Dar al-Jil, 1986. 277 pp.**

This book addresses the issue of early Islamic historiography in Syria by marshaling the available information on who related historical narratives and about what subjects. Each of its five chapters deals with the Syrian-based purveyors of information on, and works about, a particular historical topic: the pre-Islamic Arabs, Arab genealogy, the *maghazi* and *siyar* (i.e., the biography of the Prophet Muhammad), the conquest of Syria, and the Umayyad caliphs. The author is especially interested in identifying who the various historians' sources of information were. 'Atwan argues that even the early Umayyads were quite interested in preserving information about the pre-Islamic Arabs and Arab genealogy, but were at first opposed to collecting information about the life of the Prophet, which often showed the Umayyads in a bad light. However, *maghazi* and *sira* material was conveyed in spite of the Umayyads' disapproval by the companions of the Prophet and their followers who settled in Syria, and the Umayyads reversed their negative attitude towards *maghazi* and *sira* accounts at the beginning of the second century A.H. It was mainly companions and followers, 'Atwan argues, who cultivated information on the conquests and on the events of the Umayyad caliphate.

'Atwan's method in compiling these chapters is to cull out all accounts on a particular topic (e.g., the conquest of Syria) by a particular compiler (e.g., al-Awza'i), and after discussing the compiler's apparent interest in the topic, to list all the informants provided in the *isnads* or chains of authorities given with these accounts. This method is fine provided one accepts 'Atwan's assumption that the *isnads* of all these accounts are authentic. Many scholars today will not be so ready to embrace this assumption, and it is hardly surprising to find that 'Atwan quotes hardly any Western scholarship—and then, only things available in Arabic translation—which

means he is innocent of, or wilfully ignoring, much of the critical work on Islamic historiography that has taken place during the past century. The mysterious Yazid b. Asidal-Ghassani (pp. 223-34), for example, frequently provided by the Kufan Sayf b. 'Umar as his informant for the Syrian conquests but as yet unknown anywhere else in the biographical or historical literature, is treated by 'Atwan with the same confidence as indisputably historical figures such as al-Zuhri and al-Awza'i, even though we might wish to handle Yazid and his accounts with considerably more caution. 'Atwan remarks in a footnote that "I have not found a biographical entry on [Yazid] in any of the sources I consulted..." but this does not seem to shake his confidence in Yazid's historicity. 'Atwan's attitude toward the sources, overly trusting in my view, also leads him to make other problematic statements, as when he claims that the accounts of Syrian companions embraced most of the information about the conquests in Syria, "except for a small bit of it relating to some of the minor battles." (p. 221). It never seems to occur to him to ask how the Hijazi and Iraqi historians could have had access to information on these "minor battles" in Syria if the Syrians themselves lacked it—a question that suggests complexities about the whole early Islamic historiographical enterprise that 'Atwan never faces.

Even if one rejects his method, however, 'Atwan's collections provide a useful starting-point for further analysis on particular transmitters, topics, and *isnads*. In some cases, 'Atwan's assemblage of information is very extensive—for example, his long section on the historian al-Zuhri [d. 124/741] and his interest in the life of the Prophet (pp. 105-179), in which he offers some valuable remarks on al-Zuhri's scholarship and the style of his accounts.

The fact that each chapter is devoted to accounts about a certain topic means, of course, that information on a single early historian will be scattered in several chapters, if that historian treated more than one of these topics—as many did. The fact that the volume has no index makes it more difficult to find information

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on a particular historian or transmitter, and almost impossible to trace information on specific early informants, whose names must be hunted down page by page if one is interested in them. One can hope that if this book is ever reprinted, it will be provided with a full index of, at least, names of people.

-Fred M. Donner

**Husayn 'Atwan, *Riwayat al-Shamiyin li-l-maghazi wa l-siyar fi l-qarnayn al-awwal wa l-thani al-hijriyayn* [Reports of Syrians on maghazi and siyar in the first and second centuries A.H.]. [Beirut]: Dar al-Jil, 1986. 192 pp.**

This work is essentially a slightly reworked variant of those sections of the book reviewed above that deal with the life of the Prophet Muhammad (maghazi and siyar accounts). The first chapter explains, again, the Umayyads' early resistance to these accounts and their eventual change of heart; two other chapters identify the Prophet's companions and followers of companions who related this material in Syria. The largest chapter is a study of al-Zuhri, and the final one deals with al-Zuhri's students. Since most of this material, and the method employed to articulate it, are found in the companion volume reviewed above, readers of the former can skip this volume.

-Fred M. Donner

**Jamal Juda, *al-Awda' al-ijtima'iyya wa'l-iqtisadiyya li l-mawali fi sadr al-Islam*. [The Social and Economic Circumstances of the Mawali in Early Islam]. Amman: Dar al-Bashir, 1409/1989. 240 pp.**

For those who consider the status of the *mawali* to have been the central issue in Muslim society in its first century, Juda's work is an analytic study based on Arabic literary sources with copious examples that

concentrates on *mawali* in the Hijaz, Syria, and 'Iraq from the *jahiliyya* to the end of the Umawi period. This volume is actually a somewhat revised Arabic translation of Juda's German dissertation, *Die sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Aspekte der Mawali in frühislamischer Zeit* (Tübingen, 1983). It has a preface by 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Duri; the Introduction is a summary minus the footnotes of the German dissertation; there are some additional references and examples, but the content is virtually the same. There are discrepancies in the spelling of names between the two texts and some 45 discrepancies in the page numbers cited in the footnotes in the first chapter alone; some of these are corrections and some are typographical errors. It would be wise to use both texts together. There is a useful bibliography but no index.

The first chapter identifies four kinds of *wala'* during the *jahiliyya*: mutual aid among relatives (*wala' al-qaraba*); alliance for mutual aid and revenge (*wala' al-hilf*) between persons, tribes, tribes and septs, and septs and clans; refuge (*wala' al-jihar*); and clientage between freed slaves and their former masters (*wala' al-itaqa*). The main sources of Arab, Persian, Abyssinian, Indian, Nubian, Coptic, and Byzantine slaves were commerce and captivity. Slaves were owned by merchants and bedouin, and were employed in agriculture, household service, commerce, and manufacturing. Juda argues that slaves who were artisans or merchants were in a better position than those who worked in agriculture or household service; they were freer, earned money, and paid part of it as taxes to their masters.

The second chapter discusses the transformation of alliance (*wala' al-hilf*) into loyalty based on religious faith (*wala' al-aqida*) by Muhammad but argues that the pre-Islamic *wala' al-hilf* survived as *wala' at-tiba'a* that included the bond between two free men, a non-Arab convert and the Arab who converted him (*wala' al-Islam*), and the bond between a non-Arab convert and an Arab Muslim who had not converted him (*wala' al-muwala'*). Juda notes that not all converts became the *mawla* of an Arab. Clientage (*wala' al-itaqa*) survived among Muslims. Many Arabs were enslaved in the time of Muhammad and during the Ridda Wars, but the large

numbers of non-Arab slaves taken during the early conquests ended the enslavement of Arabs in the time of 'Umar, who freed all Arab slaves (including those enslaved before Islam) and returned them to their tribes; those taken in the Ridda Wars were joined to the armies in the *amsar*. It is not clear whether these freed Arabs became some kind of *mawla*, but Juda argues that, as Arab slaves were freed, *mawla* came to refer only to non-Arabs by the time of 'Ali.

The third chapter describes the economic situation of *mawali* who engaged in all sorts of manual trades and commerce (with multiple examples). They often practiced more than one trade, seem to have dominated marketplaces, and quite a few became wealthy and had bought their freedom. *Mawali* were commercial partners with their Arab patrons and were able to use their *wala'* connection with an Arab to improve their own commercial and economic position. They were overseers of their patrons' property and landowners in their own right. *Mawali* were also moneychangers attached to the *bayt al-mal*, treasurers, employees of the *diwan al-kharaj*, private secretaries for their patrons and for governors and caliphs, chamberlains, bodyguards for governors and caliphs, and members of the *shurta*. Those *mawali* who served in Muslim armies were registered in the military *diwan* under their patrons' tribes and paid stipends from the time of 'Umar I.

The fourth chapter considers the social conditions of *mawali*. In general *mawali* identified with their patrons or with their clans or tribes but did not necessarily live with them and could change their *wala'*. One of Juda's most useful contributions is to note regional differences: *mawali al-itaqa* predominated in Kufa and the Hijaz, *mawali at-tiba'a* in Basra (although he also says they were *mawali al-itaqa*), and *mawali al-islam* in Syria. Regional differences based on type of *wala'* explains why *mawali* were treated differently in different places. It was the *mawali at-tiba'a* who joined the army and were registered in the *diwan* with their tribe. *Mawali al-itaqa* were merchants and artisans and were not registered in the *diwan*. Social differences with Arabs developed in terms of intermarriage: some *mawali* married Arab women, but opinion



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was against it, and such marriages were sometimes broken up. *Mawali* do not seem to have been *qadis* and were not allowed to lead Arabs in worship at Kufa before the time of al-Hajjaj. Arab patrons inherited from their *mawali*, and felt justified in demanding bloodmoney or taking revenge for them. A *mawla* did not inherit from his patron nor was he answerable for bloodmoney. Finally, Juda argues that, as tribal *'asabiyya* waned by the second century, the loyalty of *mawali* to their Arab tribe was gradually replaced by loyalty to political factions, while Arabs imposed a social identity on *mawali*. Thus the origin of *shu'ubiyya* is traced to the social differentiation between Arabs and Persians at Basra by the time of 'Abd al-Malik.

Apart from the rich detail, Juda's main contribution lies in demonstrating the wide differences in circumstances among *mawali* and in suggesting the importance of conditions in different places. It is clearly mistaken to generalize about *mawali* from conditions in Kufa alone.

- Michael G. Morony

**al-Salman, 'Abd al-Majid Ahmad. *Al-Mawsil fi al-'ahdayn al-Rashidi wa al-Umawi* [Mosul in the Eras of the Rashidun and Umayyads]. Mosul: Manshurat Maktabat Bassam, 1985. 265 pp.**

In an earlier issue of *al-'Usur al-Wusta* [UW 4.2, October 1992] I reviewed a volume on the history of Mosul by S. Daywahchi (*Tarikh al-Mawsil*, Baghdad: Matbu'at al-Majma' al-'Ilmi al-'Iraqi, 1982), which covers roughly seven hundred years of the Islamic history of Mosul and its environs. As the title of the present volume suggests, al-Salman's work addresses primarily — although not exclusively — the pre-Abbasid history of the same city. It should therefore be of some interest to those concerned with Islamic northern Mesopotamia or with the experience of one of the empire's peripheral provinces.

Al-Salman's book breaks no new ground. Instead, it brings together information from a variety of Arabic sources,

particularly al-Azdi's *Ta'rikh al-Mawsil*, on which he heavily depends. He also draws heavily from Daywahchi's work on the topography of the city; and in this he has done the reader some service, since much of this early spade work did not make it into Daywahchi's larger volume. He has read these standard sources with admirable diligence, and the result reads something like a compendium; lists and charts abound. The sections on Mosul's revenues (129 ff.) and administrative geography (169 ff.) are especially helpful, since they effectively summarize the confusing testimony of the chronicles and geographies. But considering the relative paucity as well as the problematic character of much of this information, I leave it to the reader to decide if the author's topical approach justifies the resulting sacrifice in narrative coherence. An index would have helped.

I will resist the temptation to undermine the historiographic foundations upon which much of the book is constructed. Suffice it to say that the author's use of the geographers' accounts is reckless; the absence of untranslated western scholarship in the bibliography explains why the historiographic debates that occupy the center of the western study of early Islam have had no impact on his traditional approach. Given the nature of much of this debate, one might admittedly construe this as a merit; but this cannot be said for the occasional errors. It is particularly distressing to see the nebulous *shaharija*, apparently a settled Persian folk who embraced a heretical Christology, counted among the local Arab tribes. An alert reader will also quickly realize that the date of the founding of Rabban Bar Qusra's monastery (p. 67) has been transposed from 570 to 750.

In short, al-Salman's book offers a traditional and occasionally chauvinistic ("the people of Mosul were known for courage and valor..." p. 49) treatment of the early Islamic history of Mosul. Readers interested in the contemporary Arab historiography of Mosul might well be served by sticking with Daywahchi.

- Chase F. Robinson

**Hadi al-'Alawi. *Min Tarikh al-Ta'zib fi al-Islam* [On the History of Torture in Islam]. Damascus and Nicosia: Markaz al-Abhath wa al-Dirasat al-Ishtirakiyya fi al-'Alam al-'Arabi, 1987. 77 pp.**

**Abu al-'Ala' al-Ma'arri. *Al Muntakhab min al-Luzumiyyat: Naqd al-Dawla wa l-Din wa l-Nas* [Selections from al-Luzumiyyat: The Critique of State, Religion and People]. Selected and prefaced by a study on al-Ma'arri by Hadi al-'Alawi. Damascus and Nicosia: Markaz al-Abhath wa al-Dirasat al-Ishtirakiyya fi al-'Alam al-'Arabi, 1990. 249 pp.**

Hadi al-'Alawi belongs to a class of revisionist Arab thinkers who have recently engaged the Arabo-Islamic cultural heritage in rigorous historical inquiries that seek to illuminate some of its unknown aspects or to reinterpret some of its more familiar events in light of modern socio-cultural theories. Many of these non-traditionalist researchers are either alienated from the current popular culture by the mere fact that they primarily live and write in the West and for a Western audience (Arkoun, Djait, al-'Azme) or little known nationally and internationally because of the limiting conditions of their writing and publishing with small presses in the Arabic world (Muhammad Shahrour, and al-'Alawi himself). Al-'Alawi, who is an Iraqi Marxist historian, publishes with a politically committed press with a revealing if somewhat old-fashioned name, the Center of Socialist Researches and Studies in the Arab World. His concise studies on such unusual topics as torture or political assassination in Islam and al-Ma'arri are included in a list of more conventional titles on socialism, labor movements, and the like.

Al-'Alawi's short expose on the history of torture in Islam, though straightforward, scholarly, and at times apologetic, so shocked the censors that it was banned in many Arabic countries, including some of the more secular ones such as Syria. In it, al-'Alawi analyzes the historical, religious, and legal origins of torture in Islam and classifies it as justifications and methods. He collects his examples from the prevailing primary sources but focuses

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on the formative periods from the time of the Prophet up to the end of the Abbasid golden age. He does not examine the more systematic and widespread uses of torture as a political and social disciplinary weapon that characterized the post-Seljukid age and which deserve a separate and comprehensive study. Al-'Alawi's essay has the merit of pioneering a courageous approach to the written Islamic tradition that sifts through it and extracts the relevant material with a critical awareness and a contextual frame of reference.

The second book, *Al-Muntakhab min al-Luzumiyyat*, consists of an annotated selection of stanzas from al-Ma'arri's philosophical diwan, *al-Luzumiyyat*, and a further introductory section on his time, his culture, and his production. The book further affirms al-'Alawi's commitment to a nonconformist historical analysis that offers the sociopolitical background to events and persons. It starts with an excellent interpretive essay on Islamic intellectual history and the development of secular currents in it. The study on al-Ma'arri himself is arranged around the conceptual themes such as his philosophical views, his critique of religion, his comparative views on religion, his relationship to political powers, his historical influence, and an assessment of his intellectual project. Al-'Alawi supports his views and interpretations by direct quotations from al-Ma'arri's writings, but some of his concepts are too deterministic and some are dated, such as his reliance on the theory of Oriental Despotism to explain the behavior of all Muslim rulers. In conclusion, the author reverts to contextual explanations of al-Ma'arri's phenomenon and his influence on all levels. He asserts that al-Ma'arri's philosophical project failed to greatly affect the development of Islamic thinking but he considers it a momentous achievement of the human intellect in the global context. The project's collapse is not due to its own inherent weakness but to the historical conditions that engendered it, which, in the view of the author who depends on the Marxist notion of Evolutionary History, explain the failure of the Islamic culture to produce and sustain its own secular humanism.

- Nasser Rabbat

**Al-Shaykh Taha al-Wali, *Al-Masajid fi al-Islam*. Beirut, Dar al-'Ilm li-Malayin, 1988. 904 pp. including bibliography and 190 fair quality black and white and color illustrations.**

This book is the latest addition to the Arabic literary and historical tradition that focuses on the mosque as Islam's central spiritual, social and urban institution. As is the case in this genre, the history of the mosque is seen as encapsulating the history of Islam; a theme that the author develops in four sections.

This theme is most apparent in the opening section that focuses on the concept of religion and its relation to houses of worship in various traditions. The second section concentrates on Islam, discusses the role of diverse Islamic religious institutions and ends with an account of the mosque's first formal appearance in Madina. In sequence, the third section comprises a discussion of mosque features and presents traditions and conditions that necessitated each of a number of different architectural components. Predictably, it ends with a listing of rules of conduct and behavioral requirements (traditionally titled "ahkam al-masajid wa adabuha"). The book concludes with a discussion of six mosques; al-Masjid al-Haram, al-Aqsa, the Great Umayyad Mosque of Damascus, al-Azhar, Zaytouna and the Mosque of Cordoba.

While the work largely conforms to established tradition, its last two sections in particular offer some important new contributions in the intellectual history of the mosque. The third section's discussion of features whose meaning and history are controversial (for example the *mihrab* and the *maqsurah*) attempts to reconcile historical studies with the requirements of current beliefs and sensibilities from a legalistic religious standpoint. The final section realizes the central thesis of the book: since the author omits large parts of the Islamic world, he presents a specific history of Islam through a series of regional histories each of which begins at the moment of a mosque's foundation and progresses to the present day.

The book's choices and its concentration on the mosque within a personal

Arab-Islamic historical interpretation are not entirely new but do stand as a contemporary reformulation of a genre that includes such works as al-Jarra'i's *Tuhfat al-Raki'* (which the author edited in 1981), combining traditional methods and Islamic opinions with lucid arguments and a wealth of historical and mythological information. Although the book's western sources are not the most up-to-date they define those authors with the greatest impact on Arab scholarship, and the author carries out a dialogue with these works and with contemporary Arab scholars.

This book repeatedly reminds us that mosques do not exist solely as works of architecture. They occupy large social, psychological and mythical spaces that are critical components of their ongoing histories. This is essential reading for anyone concerned with the architectural, urban and social history of Islam, its institutions and its scholarship.

- Nuha N. N. Khoury

**Ahmed Yasar Ocak, *Kültür tarihi kaynagi olarak menakibnameler: metodolojik bir yaklasim* [Stories of the legends of saints as a source for cultural history: a methodological approach]. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1992. 130 pp.**

This short book is a revised and updated version of the author's *Türk halk inanclarında ve edebiyatında evliya menkabeleri* [The legends of the saints in Turkish popular beliefs and literature] (Ankara, 1983). It is an extremely useful introduction and guide to the hagiographical literature pertaining to the history of the Turks in Anatolia from the 13th to the 18th century. This book partially fills a void left by Fuad Köprülü who once promised a similar study but never completed it. Indeed, inspired by some degree by European work on saints, Ocak follows up here on Köprülü's short account of the epics of the deeds of the saints found in his bibliographical essay "Anadolu Selçuklulari tarihinin yerli kaynaklari" [Local sources for the history of the Seljuks of Anatolia, Eng. trans. as *The Seljuks of Anatolia*:

## REVIEWS

*Their History and Culture according to Local Muslim Sources* (Salt Lake City, 1992)]. In this essay, Köprülü stressed the importance of these epics for shedding light on the religious and social history of the Turks in Anatolia, above all because of the lack of more traditional sources, such as chronicles.

Ocak begins with some general comments on the concept of sainthood and the cult of saints in "Muslim-Turkish" sufism. (It should be mentioned that the author keeps the subject of his book fairly strictly within a Turkish context. There is no reference, for example, to Goldziher's work on the veneration of saints in Islam.) He then goes on to discuss the cult of saints in Muslim-Turkish beliefs. In this respect, he first provides some background on the view of the saints among the Turks in Central Asia before Islam and on how shamanism, Buddhism, and other religious systems found there contributed to the formation of cults. Moving to Anatolia, Ocak develops a typology of saints: local saints, regional saints, urban saints, village and tribal saints, warrior saints, missionary saints, saints who were the patrons of pro-

fessions, imaginary saints, saints who were spiritual guides, people who were believed to be saints but in fact were not, saints from the Torah, saints from the Koran, and saints among the early Arab warriors in Anatolia.

After this overview, the author turns to hagiographical literature proper. He begins by focusing on the characteristics of the legends of saints and develops a dichotomy for legends based on historical facts and for those of pure fiction. The latter are divided among those originating from the social values of a group, from a moral theology, and those created for propaganda purposes. Then coming to the actual literary works, Ocak discusses why they were written, when, who wrote them, and their sources. This leads to the heart of the book, an account of the development of hagiographical literature with the emphasis on the periods of the Seljuks in Anatolia, the beyliks, and the Ottomans up to the 18th century. For each period, the author briefly describes the major works that were written. He then discusses their significance as sources for Turkish history. In particular, they provide information on certain historical events and personalities,

on the contemporary religio-psychological atmosphere, on social, economic and cultural life (including various traditions and customs), on the Islamization and Turkish settlement of Anatolia and Rumelia, and on the evolution of Turkish religious practices.

Finally Ocak tabulates the primary motifs found in the most important hagiographical works. These fall into four broad categories: pre-Islamic Turkish, Islamic, Biblical, and other (such as some taken from Farid al-Din Attar's *Tadhkirat al-awliya'*). Admittedly, some motifs are common to more than one category. The author also divides the motifs in this literature between Sunni and non-Sunni. And in the appendices, he presents, side by side, several texts having parallel motifs, such as passages from a work on the life of Hajji Bektash and passages from the Bible. Altogether, Ocak's book is very helpful to anyone wishing to understand this rather formidable literature, which is perhaps the most important, but virtually untapped, source for the early social history of the Turks in Anatolia.

- Gary Leiser

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### GRAPHICS CREDITS

Pages 25, 26, 27: Photographs provided by Edward J. Keall.

Page 28: Map drawn by Fred M. Donner.

Page 29: Detail of the *Qoran-e Qods*, from the edition of A. Ravaqi (Tehran, 1364 H.S./1986 C.E.), page 285 right.

Cornell University

### Mellon Postdoctoral Fellowships in Near Eastern Literature

Mellon Fellowships encourage the academic growth of promising humanists with recent Ph.D. degrees. Fellows spend a year at Cornell teaching half-time in a department and pursuing their research. Applicants must have received the Ph.D. degree after September, 1989, and must be citizens of the United States of America or Canada, or hold permanent residency cards. Near Eastern Literature is one of the fields for the 1993-94 academic year. Stipend: \$28,000. For further information, write to Agnes Surrine, Andrew D. White Center for the Humanities, 27 East Avenue, Ithaca, N.Y. 14853, U.S.A. Tel. (607) 255-9274.



### Institute for Islamic Archaeology, Jerusalem

An Institute for Islamic Archaeology has been established in Jerusalem at al-Quds University, Faculty of the Arts. It offers courses leading to an M.A. degree in Islamic Archaeology. The center also aims to encourage local archaeological research and publication, and hopes to establish an exchange program for faculty and students with similar institutions in the near future. Contact: Institute of Islamic Archaeology, Jerusalem, Sheik Jarrah-Qasr Isaaf Nashashibi, P.O. Box 19377, Jerusalem, West Bank--via Israel. Tel: 828962.

#### EXHIBIT

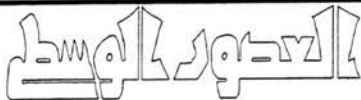
#### YEMEN-A CULTURE OF BUILDERS

Exhibit conceived by the University of Arizona College of Architecture; showing at the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, Illinois, September 27, 1993 to January 7, 1994.

University of Kufa

### Center for Studies of Kufa

The University of Kufa has announced the creation of a "Center for the Study of Kufa" that will concentrate on the history and culture of the greater Kufa region (Hira, Kufa, Najaf). Its goals are to publish works relating to the history of the Kufa region and its contributions to civilization, to gather documents and manuscripts related to this theme, to preserve and analyze such documents, and to collect relevant reference works, monographs, and other modern publications. It wishes to establish cooperative ties with other scientific and research institutes in the human sciences in pursuit of these goals. For information, write to: Center for Studies of Kufa (*Markas dirasat al-Kufa*), University of Kufa, P.O.B. 281, al-Najaf al-Ashraf, Republic of Iraq. Tel. 33/346169.



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