

Castles on the Valencian Border March

by Karl W. Butzer

The Christian reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula that concluded in 1492 was an attenuated process, in no small part due to the system of Islamic border defense. Islamic rural militias had long ago proved unable to withstand the armored warriors of the Christian north, and counter offensives were only feasible with Berber shock-troops. As a result, Islamic strategies were primarily defensive and often static, based on a network of small urban fortresses and strong castles. This arrangement of border "marches" becomes apparent during the 10th century (Fig. 1), and after the original Upper and Middle Marches crumbled, a second tier of de-

fenses was activated about 100 km further south ca. 1125. This included the Eastern March (*al-thaghr al-sharqi*) in the foreland of Valencia (Fig. 2).

Until the recent advent of "castle archaeology," such defensive strategies were only imperfectly understood, on the basis of sparse historical writings. Even architectural sketches or topographic surveys of castles also are no substitute for excavations, which can elucidate function and provide a relative chronology for phases of construction. Furthermore, small rural castles form an integral part of a local settlement matrix, because castles were commonly built and defended by nearby villagers, providing refuge for people, seed

grain, and livestock during times of danger. While spectacular fortresses may provide landmarks and receive historical attention for a famous siege or two, it was the aggregate of smaller "refuge" castles that potentially provided continuity for livelihood and settlement. Given the nature of medieval warfare and military technology,

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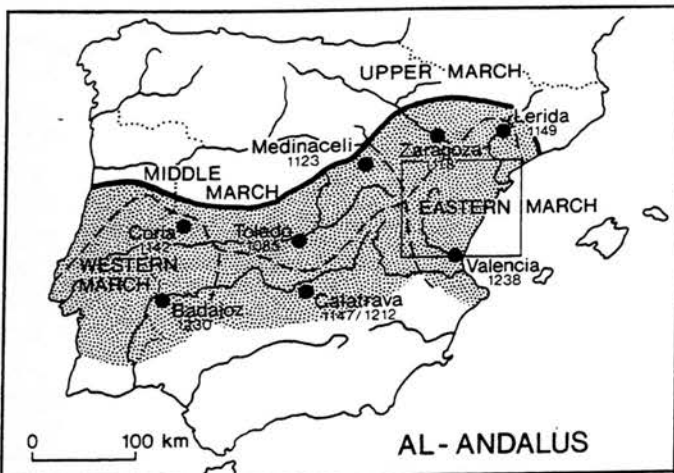


Figure 1. The frontier defense of al-Andalus was originally based on the "Middle" and "Upper" Marches. Dates give year of loss. Inset shows position of Figure 2.

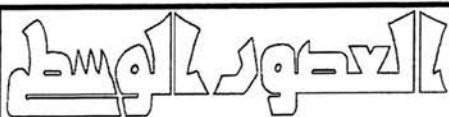
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HELLO, COLUMBUS

Because October, 1992 marks the 500th anniversary of Columbus's arrival in the New World, this issue of *Al-'Usur al-Wusta* has a special focus on Islamic Spain, which in many ways provided the historical background for the momentous events of 1492.

-Ed.



Al-'Usur al-Wusta

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The Board of Directors of MEM is elected annually at the general business meeting, normally held in the fall at the annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association. The next business meeting will take place on Wednesday, October 28, 1992, at 8:00 P.M. in the Forum Room of the Portland Hilton Hotel, Portland, Oregon, U.S.A. The Board of Directors for 1992 consists of the following members:

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border marches were not impenetrable. But some or many of the countless local refuge points would survive any one incursion, to allow rapid revitalization of landscapes savaged by mobile sack-and-burn raiders.

How such defensive networks developed and functioned can be illustrated from my study of the Sierra de Espadán, 50 km north of Valencia, within the inner circuit of the Eastern March. During six seasons in the archives and in the field (1980-87), Elisabeth Butzer and I began to understand a rural landscape in the *longue durée*. The last two seasons were devoted to the castles: seven were surveyed and two, Aín and Xinquér, were partially excavated (Fig. 3). The findings of this part of our project are briefly sketched below. They demonstrate two phases of castle construction in response to the growing threat from the north. First, local villagers built unstandardized defenses, commonly towers, with or without walled enclosures. Subsequently, systematic defensive works, including large fortresses, were constructed with institutional organization and support. Even after the Chris-

tian Conquest of Valencia, the castles were repeatedly reutilized during revolts or regional wars.

A diagrammatic overview is provided by Fig. 4, showing the plans of probable or certain Islamic structures. Afn offers a "model" constructional history: (1) The original nucleus was a round tower of 12m height, with an attached enclosure and cistern—robust walls of mortared rock. (2) A geometric platform, with a thick casing of mortared rock around rubble fill was later added, abutting the inner wall. Islamic pottery, in part derived from the original enclosure, is abundant. (3) Low walls of concrete were poured along the edge of the platform, but raised to form 6m parapets facing the village; at least two small "rooms" were built against the inner wall on top of a cemented floor. (4) Approximately contemporary are exterior, defensive ramps and an isolated, square tower of mortared rock on the same ridge. (5) After protracted light occupation (soil with charcoaled twigs and animal bone), the castle was abandoned and sterile sediment was laid down by rain wash. (6) The site was reoccupied, with much Islamic pottery, coeval with collapse of the eastern wall; The phase ends with a massive

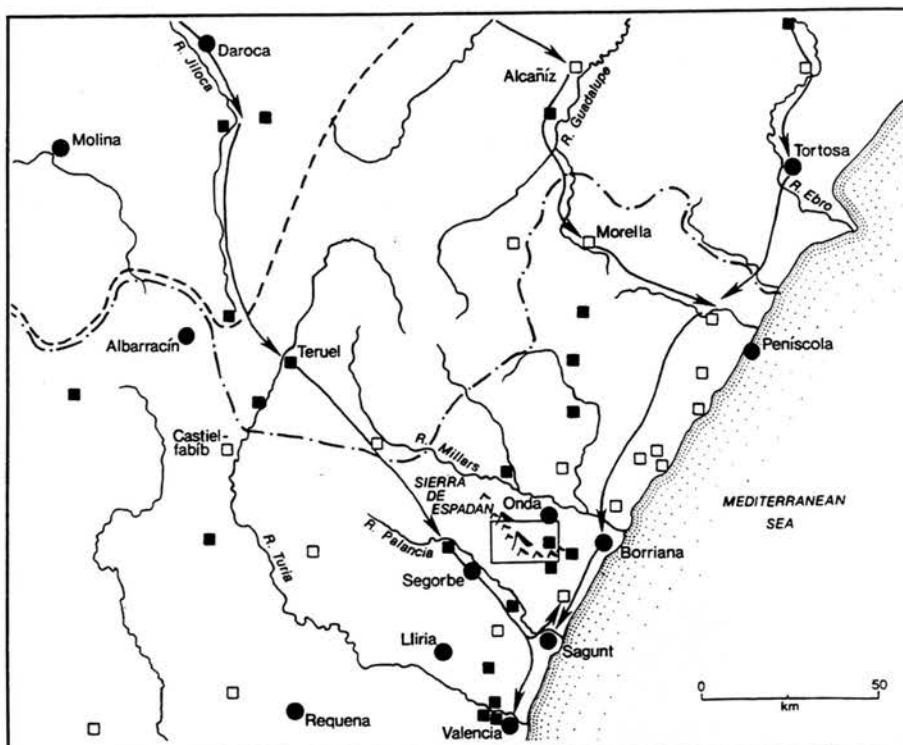


Figure 2. The Islamic topography of the Eastern March is based on Arabic sources of ca. 1050-70. An open square indicates a *hisn* (fortress with settlement); a full square, a *qarya* (village, walled or with castle); a large black circle, a *madina* (urban fortress). Arrows represent invasion routes. Inset shows location of Figure 3.

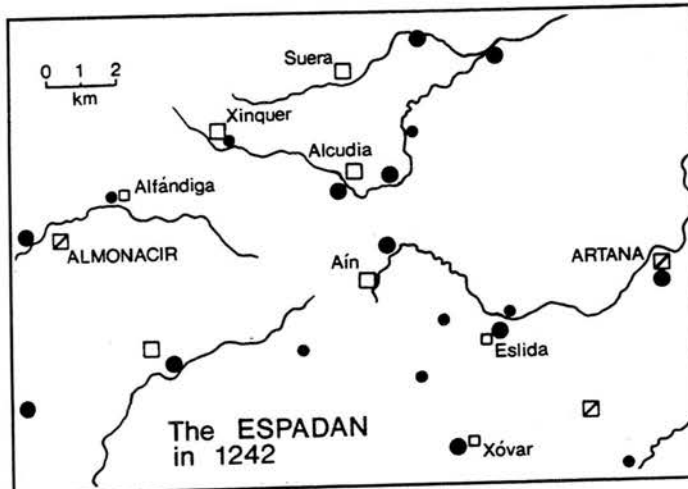


Figure 3. The Sierra de Espadán in 1242 included villages (large circles), hamlets (small circles), fortresses (crossed squares), and castles or towers (large or small squares). Names refer to fortifications of Figure 4.

destruction layer that embeds a cross-bow bolt. (7) The decaying castle was crudely repaired, with goat pens in the inner enclosure; ceramics include some Mudéjar pottery of ca. 1400-1450, mixed with older Islamic sherds. Radiocarbon dates suggest rough ages of ca. 1150 for (5) and ca. 1265 for (6).

With exterior wall heights only 3m above the rocky hilltop, this was a castle of refuge, enclosing some 650m². The absence of luxury table wares and the simple "rooms" suggest a permanent watchpost of low prestige. Pottery of the destruction level (6) is dominated by porous water vessels, with few table wares; since the region capitulated peacefully in 1242, destruction probably relates to the subsequent Sierra Muslim revolt of 1276-77. Late Medieval activity suggests a short-lived, Christian watchpost. In sum, a rustic tower and enclosure were initially built of local rock, followed by an expanded and more systematic structure, employing the North African *tabiqa* technique (pouring mortar and rock into movable casements).

The castle of Alcudia de Veo is similar, with an awkwardly primitive interior precinct, built of mortared rock, less massive than at Aín; this was followed by *tabiqa* construction of a 12m parapet tower, and a stretch of wall and projecting turrets along the most vulnerable side. Strengthened from the inside with mortared rock, this wall was breached in a subsequent siege. Seriation of the surface pottery indicates an age identical to Aín, and there is no trace of Christian reutilization. Even if the greatly expanded outer enclosure

(1900m²) was intended to include village livestock, both Aín and Alcudia imply population growth and some elapsed time between the initial and the expanded structures.

The *castro* of Suera originally was a rock-built enclosure on a high pinnacle, subsequently raised by a concrete parapet; the rock walls of the enclosure below were later re-mortared but are probably also Islamic.

This castle had an appointed castellan 1382-1475, but minimal Mudéjar surface pottery argues for no more than a very small garrison, during times of tension. The tower of Alfándiga, directly above a hamlet abandoned ca.1450, is a strong concrete structure, with basement cisterns but no enclosure, whereas that of Xóvar has remnants of a mortared enclosure wall (340m²); the surface pottery here is Mudéjar, of ca. 1350-1400, possibly reflecting use during the Castilian war of 1363-65.

Xinquér has striking remnants of

a 14th century Christian castle, with a round wall turret; its hall had cut-oak ceiling beams, and the destruction debris has much glass from wine goblets and a potsherd with a Gothic rose—a Christian symbol. Two phases of destruction—in rapid succession—have a radiocarbon date around 1440, despite a pottery age of c. 1350, and I favor a date of 1363-65; the walls were partly rebuilt but the castle was not reutilized. Surprisingly, there is no documentation for this Christian castle. Its walls are anchored on Islamic, concrete roots, with a rectangular wall turret. An even earlier, round tower of mortared-rock was razed in the 14th century; its fill has Islamic pottery with calligraphy, and a radiocarbon date of ca. 1165. At that time the settlement itself was perched on this rock, which also has foundations of a late Bronze Age site. The inhabitants moved down to below the castle by 1300, where surface pottery is compatible with abandonment shortly after the last documentary reference to this Muslim community in 1449.

The castle of Esilda is disappointing, given the archival importance of its castellan until 1475, and the numerous complaints in regard to work services by the Muslim citizenry ca. 1365. The struc-

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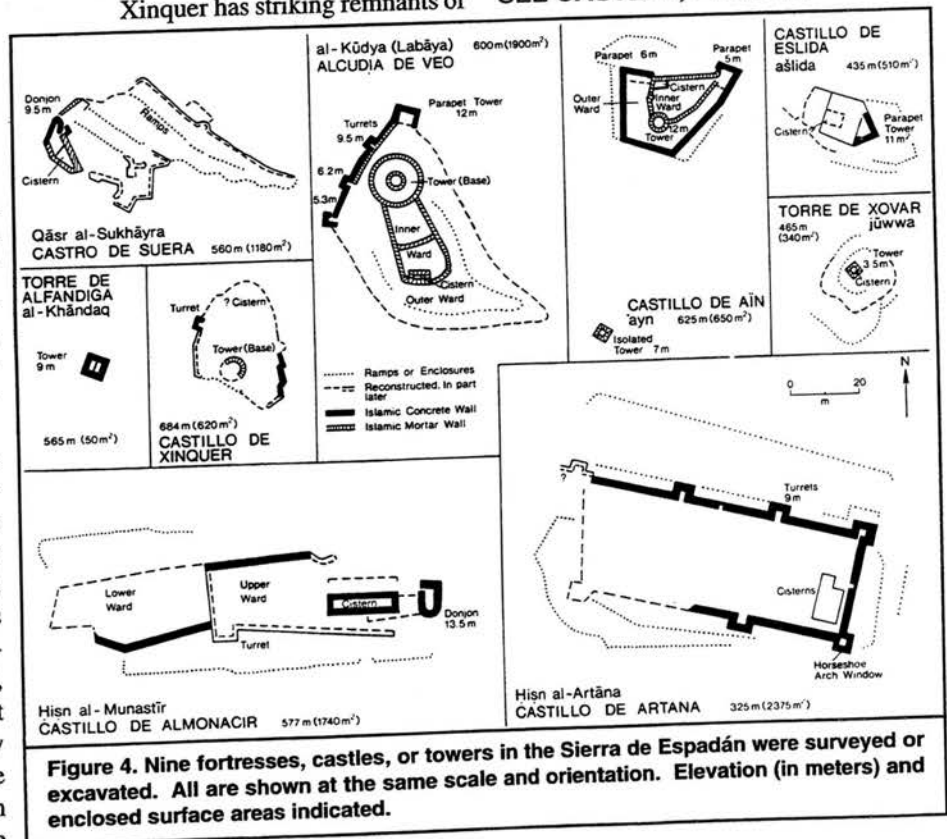


Figure 4. Nine fortresses, castles, or towers in the Sierra de Espadán were surveyed or excavated. All are shown at the same scale and orientation. Elevation (in meters) and enclosed surface areas indicated.

Columbus and the Crescent

by Robert I. Burns, S.J.

When people think of al-Andalus or Islamic Spain today, they are apt to focus on the rump state of Granada, a confined and short-lived sur-

dered to Christian states under formal pacts or constitutions as *ahl al-dajan* or "Mudejars" (*mudajjan*). Under pressure and only at the last did they decline into pseudo-Christian Moriscos, still heirs in

many ways of their survivalist Mudejar forebears. It was here, in relentless and intimate connections with Christian neighbors, and in the very interstices of Spanish Christian society, that Christian Spain acquired its imperial conditioning, its "lordship of the three religions" (as a royal tomb of the thirteenth century proclaimed in the three pertinent languages). In making Islamic connections with the career and generation of Columbus in the

scholars assumed as well a progressive decline and persecution of Mudejars over the centuries until the inevitable expulsions, where today we see a cyclical fall and rise. The flower of this early historiography was the *Mudéjares de Castilla* by Francisco Fernández y González (1866), which held the field almost alone for nearly a century.

By contrast, today's shelf of archival and interpretive studies is quite long, and is focused on what are recognized now as disparate regional and chronological experiences. Typical major contributors today are M. C. Barceló Torres of Valencia, John Boswell of Yale, Mikel de Epalza of Alicante, M. T. Ferrer Mallol of Barcelona, Thomas Glick of Boston University, Pierre Guichard of Lyons, Elena Lourie of Ben Gurion University, and Mark Meyerson of Notre Dame. The large book-bibliography is surrounded by proliferating articles, many by promising young newcomers. Older fields such as Mudejar architecture and the study of Andalusí language have also been galvanized. Periodic congresses of Mudejar studies have so far produced three sets of acts. Two new journals give extended attention to Mudejars within a wider frame-



Cavalry charge between Muslim and Christian warriors.

vival of Islam's Iberian glory. The perception owes much to the seductive combination of tourist palaces and nineteenth-century Romantic echoes in literature and painting. The full trajectory of Andalusí society, in its variant manifestations over eight centuries, makes a far more rewarding object of contemplation—from the Conquest and later Caliphal eras, through the brilliant renaissance in the Taifa emirates, to the tough monolithic Berber empires, and finally to the coda with Granada. This fuller story includes as well the constant osmotic interchange with Spain's Christian states, and through them with Europe.

Missing in this picture is a whole Andalusí society, or rather a constellation of mini-societies, a unique form of Islam subsisting alongside that more normal succession of Islamic polities, from the eleventh century into the seventeenth. These were the Muslim communities that surren-

dered to Christian states under formal pacts or constitutions as *ahl al-dajan* or "Mudejars" (*mudajjan*). Under pressure and only at the last did they decline into pseudo-Christian Moriscos, still heirs in many ways of their survivalist Mudejar forebears. It was here, in relentless and intimate connections with Christian neighbors, and in the very interstices of Spanish Christian society, that Christian Spain acquired its imperial conditioning, its "lordship of the three religions" (as a royal tomb of the thirteenth century proclaimed in the three pertinent languages). In making Islamic connections with the career and generation of Columbus in the

quingentennial year, this Mudejar dimension has been overlooked. Yet this colonialist, expansionist, domineering experience had much to do with decanting Columbus and his successors on the distant American shores.

These Mudejar societies received scant scholarly attention until our own day, most of it focusing on the post-Mudejar Moriscos with the sinister fascination of Inquisitional and Expulsion themes. And until very recently scholars tended to treat Mudejars as a single phenomenon, as though they were much the same in each part of Spain. Earlier



Christian and Muslim commanders embrace.

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work of Andalusí studies: *Sharq al-Andalus*, in its eighth year, and *Aljamía* in its fourth. A synthesis of the final Andalusí societies, with close attention to Mudejars, is now on hand—L. P. Harvey's *Islamic Spain, 1250-1500*.

The multicultural structure of the Christian Spanish kingdoms had always been directed by necessity, despite our temptation to see it as merely a borrowing from Islam's *dhimma*. A formally Islamic society and government logically marginalized in semi-autonomy those Christian and Jewish communities whose own self-definition and public forms were expressions of competing religions. The subordinate communities themselves shrank from assimilation that went beyond the superficial. The only practical option for the subordinates was parallel societies. Just as the actual practices of the Quranic *dhimma* were borrowed from Sasanian antecedents (as Michael Morony argues), so the interactive propinquity in Spain suggests that Christian society was most strongly influenced by familiar Islamic practice. But this in turn reinforced the tradition of other parallel societies in their own past, such as Arian Goths ruling for Rome or the subject Jewish communi-

ties. The Western Christian society emerging and defining itself ever more vehemently from the late eleventh century was impelled to do so by many converging elements—from the Gregorian Reform's religious passions, to the tensions of Crusades and Reconquest, to the Scholastic rationalism of Roman Law, to the imperial traditions inherited from the past. By Columbus' day the resultant Hispano-Christian form of *dhimma* had persisted over four centuries and in many local guises; but it was already showing seismic cracks as a radically new world began to emerge. That new world of proto-national loyalties, unifying monarchy, Inquisition, intra-Christian wars of religion, intensive legalism, and apocalypticism, had little place for a parallel society—and no Quranic imperative to retain it. By this time multiple-track living had already formed the Spanish character, however, and long co-residence had influenced both its public and domestic styles.

In 1492 much of the older world remained in place, however precariously—

as Mudejar communities, as the ubiquitous domestic slavery, as steady commercial contact, and as crusading fervor. Particularly in the kingdom of Valencia, Muslim communities dominated much of the countryside and Muslims could be found in all



Muslim fishermen off the Mediterranean coast.

cities; Muslim slaves worked in Christian homes and shops; and Muslims sailed their cargos into Christian ports and also regularly raided the coasts. As Mark Meyerson has recently shown, interaction between the Mudejar communities and the Christian authorities in Spain during the half-century leading up to the voyage of Columbus was complex and even contradictory, with King Ferdinand pursuing an



James of Aragon receives Murcian Mudejars.

exclusivist and antagonistic policy as king of Castile but an encouraging and promoting policy as king of Aragon.

The Spanish public who welcomed back the returning Columbus had lived immemorially in their little empire of adversarial religions, antipathetic lifestyles, and violence and insecurity in wars with Islam. They had also known the possibilities of coexistence, however reluctant, and had in many cases grown accustomed to

their strange neighbors. At some levels and incidents this wary relationship could rise to admiration. Constant interaction too had led to much borrowing from the ways of the domestic alien. Something of these mixed attitudes might be seen in New World contexts as the century wore on, and the Crown had no difficulty in insisting that Indians were full subjects just as Moors had been. None of this had anything to do with "tolerance" in our modern sense, an Enlightenment concept forged largely in the aftermath of the Wars of Religion, and as out of place in the setting of 1492 as an automobile or any other modern invention. In some ways, however, the tradition and program of coexisting communities had been a significant conditioning as the Old World entered the New.

The Spaniards would progressively absorb the Indian into Spanish religion, structural forms, and language, since the Indian societies were far more vulnerable than the Islamic, while the necessity for autonomous parallelism was lacking. The hybrid colonial society that eventually emerged in Latin America, whatever the intervening trials and even horrors, still owes something to the colonial psychology, colonial administrative and fiscal forms, and colonial accommodation of the Mudejar experience.

The Columbus generation did more than import institutions and lessons from the Mudejar experience—in irrigation and agricultural technology, for example, in medicine and mysticism and educational forms, in architecture and behavioral styles. They entered the New World possessed of a colonial dimension that was already traditional, and as a society subtly acculturated by the Mudejars, with a less provincial or self-regarding stance than, say, the English. In that first arrival in the New World, and in the waves that followed, not one, but two peoples and two civilizations had stepped ashore.

Suggested Reading: J. M. Powell, ed. *Muslims Under Latin Rule, 1100-1300* (Princeton, 1990), with ample bibliographical indications; L. P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain, 1250 to 1500* (Chicago, 1990); R. I. Burns, S. J. *Muslims, Christians and Jews in the Crusader Kingdom of Valencia* (Cambridge, 1984).

MEM BULLETIN BOARD

NOTICE

The Bulletin Board posts short notices by MEM members seeking specific information for research. Notices must be brief enough to fit in one of the boxes. Repetition of notices in subsequent issues will depend upon demand.

-Ed.

POVERTY

I have become interested in the problem of poverty in the early Islamic world. I am currently working through *hadith* works and chronicles for information on this theme. I would appreciate hearing from anyone who encounters interesting information on this theme in sources of whatever kind.

-Michael Bonner, Department of Near Eastern Studies, The University of Michigan, 4076 Frieze Building, Ann Arbor, MI 48109, USA.

ARABIC ALMANACS

I am conducting a long-term study of the almanac genre in Arabic. To a certain extent this is a genre without an identity, as there is no specific term in Arabic that consistently defines an "almanac". Earlier texts sometimes refer to almanacs as *azmina* (literally, seasons) or *anwâ'* (in reference to a seasonal star calendar). In many medieval texts the almanac appears as a series of columns or tables and thus may be styled as a *jadwal* or *taqwîm*. I have also come across tables where the almanac lore is placed under a section called *tawqî'ât*. If anyone has come across an almanac (other than one in the obvious literature), I would be interested in knowing the term used to describe it and the reference to it. If you have worked in libraries in the Middle East and have noticed almanacs in *majmû'a* works, which are often poorly catalogued, I would appreciate hearing from you.

-Daniel Martin Varisco, 43 Mist Lane, Westbury, NY, 11590, U.S.A. Tel. (516) 334-6386.

NATURAL DISASTERS

I am in the middle of a long-term project on natural (and some unnatural) disasters in the Middle East in the period 600-1600 C.E. I would greatly appreciate any information on or references to such phenomena as earthquakes, epidemics, floods, unusual incidences of snow, rain, hail, or other meteorological phenomena, disastrous fires, etc., particularly references coming from late medieval manuscript sources in the Middle East or from other unpublished or poorly-known sources. I am willing to share information.

-William F. Tucker, History Department, Old Main 416, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AK 72701.

MEDIEVAL ASTROLABES

I am currently preparing a comprehensive catalogue of medieval Islamic and European astronomical instruments. This will include about 550 astrolabes, as well as 250 quadrants, sundials and other instruments. For the purposes of this project, all instruments between AD 750 and 1900 will be examined. A description of the project has been published in the *Bulletin of the Scientific Instrument Society* No. 31 (December, 1991), pp. 3-7, and in *Yemen Update* No. 30 (1992). If you are aware of any instruments in obscure collections or if you have come across texts on astrolabes in manuscript collections, please contact me.

-David A. King, Institut für Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften, Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität, 6000 Frankfurt am Main, Germany. FAX 0049-69-596-4286.

THE INVASION OF EGYPT

BY 'AMR B. AL-'AS

The initial invasion of Egypt by the Muslims led by 'Amr b. al-'As is recounted in various accounts in the Arabic sources. Some accounts state that 'Amr invaded Egypt on his own initiative, without securing caliphal approval; others claim that the caliph ordered 'Amr to invade Egypt; still others have a hybrid version, in which 'Amr proposes invading to the caliph, who hesitates, but finally orders 'Amr to invade. I have collected the versions found in the usual historical sources (Tabari, Baladhuri, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, Ibn 'Asakir, Ya'qubi, etc.). If anyone has encountered accounts on this subject found in obscure sources, particularly those in manuscript, I would appreciate knowing about them.

-Fred M. Donner, The Oriental Institute, 1155 E. 58th St., Chicago, IL 60637 U.S.A.

CALL FOR PAPERS

Studies on Any Phase of Societal Violence in an Medieval Islamic Society For inclusion in Volume on European Societal Violence of the Middle Ages

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MEM Scholar Profile

'Abd al-Salam Nur al-Din

PHILOSOPHER, UNIVERSITY OF ADEN

Abd al-Salam Nur al-Din was born in the village of Abu Zabad in Kordofan Province, in western Sudan, in 1943. He attended primary school in his native town, but his early education was also influenced greatly by his father Nur al-Din Hammad, who ran a "masid" (local dialect for *masjid*) for the study of Qur'an in his home. As a result, Dr. 'Abd al-Salam learned the Qur'an by heart at an early age. He also began his study of *fiqh* with his father, who was a *faqih* in the Tijaniyya order, for which he relied especially on Ibn 'Ashir's *Manzuma fi'l-fiqh*, a verse summary of the basic principles of Maliki *fiqh*.

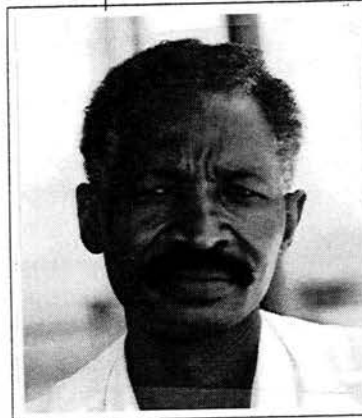
Dr. 'Abd al-Salam attended junior secondary school in An-Nehud (Kordofan Province) and senior secondary school in Al-Fasher, the capital of Darfur Province. These schools offered some modern subjects such as mathematics, English, and a touch of the natural sciences, but like his primary school, the curriculum essentially reflected the *trivium* of traditional Islamic education. Hence he was taught the *Alfiyya* of Ibn Malik for grammar, the Arabic version of the Greek *Isagoge* for logic, and the *Shadha al-Zahr* for rhetoric. The main emphasis in his secondary education, however, was in logic and Maliki-Ash'ari *fiqh*. There was also a hint of Sunni (Maliki-Ash'ari) Sufism of the Tijani variety.

After graduating from secondary school, Dr. 'Abd al-Salam attended Cairo University, where he pursued studies leading to a *license* in Arabic Language and Philosophy in 1966. During this time he taught Arabic language, literature, and some history in secondary schools in Cairo. Subsequently he traveled to Prague, Czechoslovakia, to undertake advanced studies in philosophy at the famed Charles University. His Ph.D. dissertation, completed in 1971, was entitled "The Conflict Between Rationalism and Irrationalism in Arab-Islamic Philosophy, with Special Reference to Al-Ghazzali," and was supervised by Professors K. Petracek, V. Sadek, and M. Sobodka. These were turbulent years in Czechoslovakia; during his studies, Dr. 'Abd al-Salam witnessed the "Prague Spring" of Alexander Dubcek and the subsequent Soviet occupation.

From 1974-1980, Dr. 'Abd al-Salam taught philosophy at San'a' University in Yemen, first in the Department of Philosophy and Sociology and then in the independent Department of Philosophy which he was instrumental in founding. In 1980 he returned to Sudan and joined the Department of Philosophy at Khartoum University. He also taught philosophy part-time at Ahfad University College in Khartoum and at the College of Fine Arts of Khartoum Polytechnic Institute. He again taught in San'a' between 1984 and 1986, returning to Khartoum University a second time from 1986-1989. In 1990 he went to the University of Aden, Yemen, where he is now chairman of the Section of Advanced Studies in the Department of Philosophy and Sociology.

Dr. 'Abd al-Salam's interests can be broadly described

as an effort to explore the relationship between logic and religion on the one hand, and the structure of society on the other, with a strongly historical emphasis. He has published a book (under the name "A. S. Nour al-Din.") entitled *'Aql wa Hadara* ("Intellect and Civilization") (Beirut: Dar al-Tanwir, 1987) in which he criticizes the notion that the decline of Islamic Civilization was the result of class struggle. In Prof. 'Abd al-Salam's view, this decline has more to do with the prevalence of *'asabiyya*—irrational solidarity—based on family, religious, tribal or other ties. It includes a study of al-Mutanabbi's poetry, which reflects the decline, and an analysis of aspects of Sufism. He also attempts



to trace the historical relationship between ownership of property and the possession of political power in Arab countries. He has extended and developed his thoughts on the latter theme in other researches. A paper entitled "Al-Dawla al-kharajiyya" ("The *kharaj* State"), presented in San'a' and Aden, was published in summary form in *Al-Hikma* nos. 184-185 (1991) (*Al-Hikma* is the monthly publication of the Union of Yemeni Writers). "Al-Islam wa'l-mujtama' al-madani" ("Islam and Urban Society"), presented in February 1992 as part of a conference held at the

University of Aden on "Cultural Heritage and the Scope of Progress in Contemporary Arab Society," was published with the Proceedings of the conference. A paper on "Dustur al-Madina" ("The Constitution of Medina"), presented in 1991 at panels in San'a' and Lahj on "Readings in the Sira of Ibn Hisham," was published in part as an independent pamphlet (San'a', 1991). He has also published an article entitled "Al-Judhur al-wathaniyya li'l-hijab" ("The Pagan Origins of Veiling"), *Al-Hikma* (1991).

Dr. 'Abd al-Salam's current work focuses on two areas. The first is a study of the conflict between *Shari'a* and *Haqiqa* in Sufi *fiqh*. The second is a re-examination of the earliest texts about the life of the Prophet and how the evidence in them relates to the question of the agrarian tax-based state.

Besides his native Arabic, Dr. 'Abd al-Salam is fluent in Czech and in English, in which he received extensive schooling and in which he taught courses at Khartoum University. He also reads German for scientific purposes and once studied a certain amount of Biblical Hebrew.

Dr. 'Abd al-Salam Nur al-Din can be contacted at the Department of Philosophy and Sociology, Faculty of Sciences, Arts, and Education, University of Aden, Khor Maksar, Aden.

ANNUAL MEETINGS

Organization	When and Where	Information	Telephone No.
Middle East Studies Association (1992 Meeting)	Oct. 28-31, 1992 Portland, Oregon [Paper Deadline: Past]	MESA Secretariat University of Arizona 1232 N. Cherry Ave. Tucson, AZ 85721	(602)-621-5850
Middle East Studies Association (1993 Meeting)	Nov. 11-14, 1993 Research Triangle Park, N. C. [Abstract Deadline: Feb. 15 '93]	see preceding	see preceding
American Oriental Society	April 18-21, 1993 Chapel Hill, N. C. [Abstract Deadline: Oct. 31 1992]	American Oriental Society Hatcher Graduate Library University of Michigan Ann Arbor, MI 48109-1205	(313)-747-4760 Jonathan_Rodgers@ ub.cc.umich.edu
American Oriental Society-- Midwest Branch	Feb. 14-16, 1993 Toronto, Ont., Canada [Paper Deadline: Unknown]	Mark W. Chavalas Dept. of History Univ. of Wisconsin-LaCrosse LaCrosse, WI 54061	(608)-782-8804
American Historical Association (1992 Meeting)	Dec. 27-30, 1992 Washington, DC [Paper Deadline: Past]	American Historical Assn. 400 A Street, S. E. Washington, DC 20003	(202)-544-2422
American Historical Association (1993-94 Meeting)	Jan. 6-9, 1994 San Francisco, CA [Paper Deadline: Feb. 15, 1993]	see preceding	see preceding
The Medieval Institute (1993 Meeting)	May 6-9, 1993 Kalamazoo, MI [Paper Deadline: Past]	The Medieval Institute Western Michigan Univ. Kalamazoo, MI 49008-3851	(616)-387-4145
College Art Association	Feb. 3-6, 1993 Seattle, WA [Paper Deadline: Past]	Suzanne Schanzer 275 Seventh Ave. New York, NY 10001	(212)-627-2381
American Academy of Religion (1992 Meeting)	Nov. 21-24, 1992 San Francisco, CA [Paper Deadline: Past]	American Academy of Religion 1703 Clifton Rd., Suite G-5 Atlanta, GA 30329-4019	(404)-727-7920
American Academy of Religion (1993 Meeting)	Nov. 20-23, 1993 Washington, DC [Paper Deadline: Feb. 1993]	see preceding	see preceding

ANNUAL MEETINGS

Organization	When and Where	Information	Telephone No.
Byzantine Studies Conference	October 9-11, 1992 Univ. of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign [Paper Deadline: Past]	Dr. Alice-Mary Talbot Dumbarton Oaks 1703 32nd st., NW Washington, DC 20007	(202)-342-3234
International Congress of Asian and N. African Studies	Aug. 22-28, 1993 University of Hong Kong [Paper Deadline: Past]	Dr. Michael Luk History Dept., Univ. of Hong Kong Pokfulam Road, HONG KONG	(852)-859-2871 FAX: (852)-858-9755
Texas Association of Middle East Scholars (TAMES)	Feb., 1993 San Antonio, TX [Paper Deadline: Nov. 15, 1992]	M.-R. Ghanoonparvar Ctr. for Middle Eastern Studies Univ. of Texas-Austin Austin, TX 78712	(512)-471-3881 FAX:(512)-471-7834
Dumbarton Oaks Conference: "Byzantium and the Italians, 13-15th Century."	April 30-May 2, 1993 Washington, DC [Paper Deadline: Past]	Dumbarton Oaks 1703 32nd St., N. W. Washington, DC 20007	(202)-342-3234

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NEWS OF MEM

AN APPEAL TO MEMBERS

MEM is a growing organization, but it is still young and its membership remains relatively small. I urge each of you to do your best to make MEM known to your colleagues--not only those specializing in the medieval Middle East, but also those in other fields who may have a side interest in our field. For there is, perhaps, no better way for the European Medievalist, or the Byzantinist, or the student of late Antiquity, to keep abreast of things in medieval Middle Eastern studies than through *Al-'Usur al-Wusta*.

I also urge you to persuade your university or institute library to subscribe to *Al-'Usur al-Wusta*.

Finally--and most important of all--I ask each of you to take an active part in MEM, particularly by contributing to *Al-'Usur al-Wusta*. Please send items for the Bulletin Board (it works!), reviews of books from the Middle East, or contact me with suggestions for articles or features that are of interest to you. Thank you!

-Ed.

MEM SPONSORS SPECIAL PANEL AT MESA 1992

At the 1992 Middle East Studies Association Annual Meeting held in Portland, Oregon, October 28-31, 1992, MEM will be sponsoring a panel entitled "Backdrop to Columbus: Islamic Spain from Mudejar Transition to Morisco Disintegration." As 1992 marks the quincentenary of the voyage of Columbus as well as the fall of Granada and the subsequent expulsion of its Muslim population, this panel takes as its subject the condition of the Muslim population of Spain under Christian domination during its Mudejar and Morisco phases. The first two papers, "Játiva's Fall and the Mudejar Constitution (1244): Significance, History and Latinate Provisions," by Robert I. Burns,

S.J. (UCLA), and "The Mudejar Constitution of Játiva: Arabic Text and Analysis," by Paul E. Chevedden (Salem State College), will offer a rare glimpse of the Muslim community of Játiva at the point of its transition to subject status through an examination of a new document recently discovered by Fr. Burns. The third paper, by Mikel de Epalza (University of Alicante, Spain), will study Islamic fidelity to pacts between Mudejar/Morisco Muslims and Spanish Christian authorities. The fourth paper, "The Muslims of the Christian Kingdom of Valencia and the Conquest of Granada," by Mark D. Meyerson (University of Notre Dame), will examine the Muslims of the Kingdom of Valencia during the years leading up to and immediately following the conquest of Granada and will describe how Muslim-Christian coexistence remained remarkably stable during this volatile period. The fifth paper, "Outer Conformity, Inner Resistance: Moriscos in Sixteenth-Century Spain," by Mary Elizabeth Perry (Occidental College), will investigate the condition of the Moriscos, or baptized Muslims of Spain, during the sixteenth century and will explore the problems faced by this proud but doomed community. Jon E. Mandaville of Portland State University will chair the panel.

MEM BUSINESS MEETING AND RECEPTION AT MESA 1992

The next general business meeting of MEM will take place in conjunction with the 26th Annual Meeting of the Middle East Studies Association of North America in Portland, Oregon. The business meeting will convene at 8:00 P.M. on Wednesday, October 28, 1992, in the Forum Room of the Portland Hilton Hotel. A Reception sponsored by MEM will be held following the business meeting. All members of MEM and all individuals interested in joining MEM or in finding out more about

MEM and its activities are cordially invited to attend these events.

MEMBER NEWS

CAMILLA P. ADANG has completed "Eléments karaites dans la polémique anti-judaïque d'Ibn Hazm," to be published in the proceedings of the "Coloquio internacional Diálogo filosófico-religioso entre cristianismo, judaísmo e islamismo durante la edad media en la Península Ibérica," S. Lorenzo de El Escorial, 23-26 de junio de 1991, and continues her research on *Los judíos y el judaísmo en la obra de Ibn Hazm de Córdoba*, and *Islamic Writers on Judaism and the Hebrew Bible. From Ibn Rabban to Ibn Hazm*.

STEPHEN ALBUM has completed "An Arab-Sasanian dirham hoard from the year 72 Hijri," forthcoming in *Studia Iranica*.

REUVENAMITAI-PREISS has recently published "Two Notes on the Protocol on Hülegü's Coinage." *Israel Numismatic Journal* 10 (1988-89 [1991]) and "Evidence for the Early Use of the Title *Ilkhan* Among the Mongols." *JRAS*, 3rd Ser., 1 (1991). Other forthcoming publications include "Ayn Jalut Revisited." *Tarih* 2 (1992), "Hülegü and the Ayyubid Lord of Transjordan." *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi*, and "Aims and Motivations of Ilkhanid Strategy Towards Syria and the Mamluks." in D. Morgan, ed. *The Mongol Empire and its Legacy*. Work in progress includes: "Ghazan, Islam, and the Yasa: A View from the Mamluk Sultanate," "A Mamluk Inscription From Rural Palestine," "A Correspondance in Arabic Between Abaqa Ilkhan and Sultan Baybars (AH 667/AD1268)," "Mamluk Perceptions of the Mongol-Frankish Rapprochement," and a book on the Mamluk-Ilkhanid war. If all goes well, he will attend the 6th International Congress of Mongolists, to be held in Ulaan Baator, Mongolia, in August 1992,

and will deliver a paper on "Arabic Sources for the History of the Mongols."

JERE BACHARACH has recently published "The Coinage of Kafur: A Cautionary Tale." *Israel Numismatics Journal* 10 (1988-89 [1991]), and continues his research on al-Baridi. He has stepped down as editor of the *MESA Bulletin* after almost 15 years, and will be travelling to Egypt in the Fall of 1992.

MICHAEL BATES has recently published "Coins and Money in the Arabic Papyri." in Yusuf Raghib, ed., *Documents de l'Islam médiéval: Nouvelles perspectives de recherche* (Cairo: IFAO, 1991), which includes a general survey of the monetary history of Islamic Egypt to 969 CE.

MUHAMMAD ABDUL JABBAR BEG has completed *The Founders of Islamic History: A Chronological Study of the Sahaba*, and continues his research on transport in the Middle East in the Caliphal period and on Middle Eastern chronology. He was recently made a Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

JAMES A. BELLAMY has recently published "Al-Raqim or al-Ruqud? A Note on Surah 18:9," *JAOS* 111 (1992), and has completed "Fa-Ummuhu Hawiyah: A Note on Surah 101:9" forthcoming from *JAOS* and "The Inscription of Dayr al-Qinn," forthcoming from *JSS*.

IRENEBIERMAN has recently published *The Ottoman City and Its Parts*, co-edited with Rifaat A. Abou-El-Haj and Donald Preziosi (New York: Caratzas Bros., 1991).

SONJA BRENTJES has completed "Textzeugen und Hypothesen zum arabischen Euklid in der Überlieferung von al-Haggag b. Yusuf b. Matar (zwischen 786 und 833), forthcoming in *Zeitschrift für Arabisch-Islamische Wissenschaften*, and "On the Arabic Transmissions of Euclid's 'Elements'," in *Tradition, Transmission, Transformation: Ancient Mathematics in Islamic and Occidental Cultures*, forthcoming from Texas University Press (Austin).

HERIBERT BUSSE has recently pub-

lished *Die theologischen Beziehungen des Islams zu Judentums und Christentum. Grundlagen des Dialogs im Koran und die gegenwärtige Situation*, 2. Auflage (Darmstadt, 1991), "Die Versuchung Muhammads. Die 'satanischen Verse' in der islamischen Koranexegese." in the *Festgabe für Hans-Rudolf Singer* (Frankfurt a. M., 1991), and the entry on "Mudjir al-din al-'Ulaymi" for *EI2*. Forthcoming publications include: "Jerusalem in the Story of Muhammad's Night Journey and Ascension." *JSAI* 1992, "The Tower of David/Mihrab Dawud. Remarks on the History of a Sanctuary in Jerusalem in Christian and Islamic Times." *JSAI*, 1993, "Zur Geschichte und Deutung der frühislamischen Harambauten in Jerusalem." *ZDPV* 107 (1992), and "Persepolis als Thron Gamsids oder Moschee Salomos." He continues his research on the death, resurrection, and ascension of Jesus in Islamic tradition.

PAUL E. CHEVEDDEN has completed "A Revolution in Siegecraft: The Origin, Development, and Diffusion of Rotating-Beam Siege Machines," in K. Maghout, ed., *Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Symposium for the History of Arabic Science*, forthcoming from the Institute for the History of Arabic Science, "King Jaume's Artillery," in *Medieval Spain and the Western Mediterranean: A Volume in Honor of Robert I. Burns, S.J.*, a volume which he co-edited with D. J. Kagay, and P. Padilla forthcoming from Univ. of California Press, and *The Artillery Revolution of the Middle Ages*, forthcoming from E. J. Brill.

PAUL M. COBB has completed *Islamic Studies at the Oriental Institute Research Archives*, a small bibliographical guide, and continues his research on "A Note on 'Umar I's Visit to Ayla in 17/638," and "The Topography of Homs in the Middle Ages." He also maintains his post as editorial assistant for *Al-'Usur al-Wusta*.

MICHAEL COOK has completed "The historians of Najd," forthcoming in *Studia Islamica* 76 (1992), "Eschatology, history, and the dating of traditions," forthcoming in B. Lewis and C. Issawi, eds., *Princeton Papers*, vol. 1, "The Heraclian dynasty in Muslim eschatology," forthcoming in *Al-Qantara*, "An early Islamic apocalyptic chronicle," forthcoming in *JNES*, "The

travels of Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab," submitted to *JRAS*. He continues his research on *How to tell people off: al-amr bi'l-ma'ruf wa'l-nahy 'an al-munkar in Islamic thought and practice*, a monograph about 2/3 complete, "Early Islamic eschatology," a short survey now in early draft-form, and a study on early Muslim attitudes towards the writing down of Hadith.

VINCENT CORNELL has recently published "In the Shadow of Deuteronomy: Approaches to Interest and Usury in Judaism and Christianity," *al-Nahda* 10 (1991), and "Jihad: Islam's Struggle for Truth," *Gnosis* 21 (1991). He has completed *The Way of Abu Madyan: Doctrinal and Poetic Works of Abu Madyan Shu'ayb ibn al-Husayn al-Ansari (ca. 509/1115-16 - 594/1198)* forthcoming from The Islamic Texts Society, "Mystical Doctrine and Political Action in Moroccan Sufism: The Role of the Exemplar in the *Tariqa al-jazuliyya*," forthcoming in *al-Qantara*, and "Mirrors in Prophethood in the *Tariqa al-Muhammadiyya: Ibn 'Arabi's Legacy in Reformist North African Sufism*," forthcoming in the *Journal of the Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabi Society*. He continues his research on the translation of vol. 8 of al-Tabataba'i's *Al-Mizan fi tafsir al-Qur'an*, and a comparative study of "alternative" Islamic reform movements in Indonesia, Malaysia, and Morocco.

FRED M. DONNER has recently published "The Sources of Islamic Conceptions of War," in J. Kelsay and J. T. Johnson, eds., *Just War and Jihad* (New York, et al.: Greenwood Press, 1991), and has completed his translation of *The History of Al-Tabari, Vol. X. The Riddah Wars* (Albany: SUNY Press), forthcoming in late 1992. He continues his research toward a monograph on the Origins of Islamic Historiography and maintains his post as editor of *Al-'Usur al-Wusta*.

NADIA EL-CHEIKH continues research on her dissertation at Harvard University on "Byzantium Viewed by the Arabs."

MARIA-ISABEL FIERRO has recently published "Una fuente perdida sobre los ulemas de al-Andalus: el manuscrito del Museo Jalduní de Túnez," *Al-Qantara* 12

(1991), "El derecho malikí en al-Andalus: ss. II/VIII-V/XI," *Al-Qantara* 12 (1991), "Andalusian *fatawa* on blasphemy," *Annales Islamologiques* 25 (1990), and "Sobre los mosaicos de las mezquitas omeyas," in *Homenaje al Prof. Jacinto Bosch Vilà* (Granada: 1991). She has completed "Ibn Hazm et le *zindiq* juif," forthcoming in *Revue du monde Musulmane et de la Méditerranée* (1992), "The polemic about the *karamat al-awliya'* and the development of Sufism in al-Andalus (4th/10th-5th/11th centuries)," forthcoming in *BSOAS* (1992), "Heresy in al-Andalus," in S. Jayyusi, ed., *The Legacy of al-Andalus* (Leiden: 1992), and awaits the publication of her study and translation of Abu Bakr al-Turtushi's *K. al-hawadith wa'l-bida'* (Madrid: CSIC/ICMA, 1992). She continues her work editing the *Historia de los Autores y Transmisores Andalusíes* (H.A.T.A.).

OLEG GRABAR has completed *The Mediation of Ornament*, forthcoming from Princeton University Press in the Fall of 1992. He continues his research towards reconstructing the growth of Jerusalem between 600 and 1100 AD using Computer Assisted Design (CAD).

SEBASTIAN GÜNTHER has recently published *Quellenuntersuchungen zu den "Maqatil at-Talibiyyin" des Abu'l-Farag al-Isfahani* (gest. 356/967) (Hildesheim, et al., 1991). He has also completed "Source-criticism and *isnad*-analysis in Medieval Arabic literature," for the *Late Antiquity and Early Islam* series, forthcoming in 1992. He continues his research toward an edition of the *K. Nasab Al Abi Talib* of Yahya b. al-Hasan b. Ga'far al-'Aqiqi al-Alawi (d. 277/890), and on the *Maqatil*-literature in Medieval Islam.

STEFAN HEIDEMANN has completed (with P. A. Miglus) "Fundmünzen aus Assur und Lokalgeschichte in islamischer Zeit," in P. A. Miglus, ed., *Das Wohngebiet von Assur, Stratigraphie und Architektur* forthcoming from the Deutsche Orientgesellschaft. He continues his research on the economic and political history of Syria and Egypt under the Ayyubids and Mamluks.

LUDVIK KALUS has recently published "Rock-Crystal Talismans Against

Drought," in *Jewellery and Goldsmithing in the Islamic World* (Jerusalem, 1991), "Donations pieuses d'épées médiévales à l'Arsenal d'Alexandrie," *REI*, 50 (1991), "Deux écritoires mameloukes dans les collections nationales françaises," *REI* (1991) in collaboration with Christine Naffah, "A propos des trésors monétaires du début de l'islam trouvés dans les territoires musulmans," *Israel Numismatics Journal*, 10 (1988-89 [1991]), and continues his research on the *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe* (RCEA) and the *Corpus d'inscriptions arabes et persanes en Chine* (in collaboration with Chen Da-Sheng).

NAJDA AL-KHAMMACH has completed "The Agricultural Tax and its Importance," to be presented at a symposium in Damascus about Agricultural Relations. She continues her research on "The Islamic State Under the Umayyads" and "Sayf al-Dawla and his Fiscal Policy."

NUHAN KHOURY has completed "The Mihrab Image: Commemorative Themes in Medieval Islamic Architecture," forthcoming in *Muqarnas* 9 (1992), "The Dome of the Rock, the Ka'ba, and the Ghumdan: Arab Myths and Umayyad Monuments," forthcoming in *The Oleg Grabar Festschrift* (1992).

ELLA LANDAU-TASSERON has completed "The Waning of the Umayyads: Notes on Tabari's History Translated, vol. XXVI" forthcoming in *Der Islam*, the entry on "Banu Murra" for the *EI2*, and the entry on "Du Qar" for the *EIr*. She continues her research toward a translation of Tabari's *Dhayl al-Mudhayyal* (within the Bibliotheca Persica Project) and on Preconquest Islamic armies. She recently presented a lecture on "The Nature and Significance of the Apostasy Wars" for the Congress of the Oosters Genootschap in Leiden.

GARY LEISER has completed several translations from Turkish: A. Zeki Validi Togan, "Economic Conditions in Anatolia in the Mongol Period," *Annales Islamologiques* (1990), M. Fuad Koprulu, *Origins of the Ottoman Empire* (Albany, 1992), Idem, *Local Sources for the History of the Seljuks of Anatolia* forthcoming from Univ. of Utah Press and Idem, *Some Ob-*

servations on the Influence of Byzantine Institutions on Ottoman Institutions forthcoming from the Turkish Historical Society Press.

VERA B. MOREEN has recently published "Moses, the Faithful Shepherd: An Episode from Shahin's Judaeo-Persian Epic *Musa Nama* (14th Century)," *Prooftexts* 11 (1991), "The Legend of Adam in the Judaeo-Persian Epic *Bereshit* [Nama] (14th Century)," *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 57 (1991). She has also completed "Risala-yi sawa'iq al-yahud [The Treatise on Lightning Bolts Against the Jews] by Muhammad Baqir b. Muhammad Taqi al-Majlisi (d. 1699)," forthcoming in *Die Welt des Islams*, 1993, and continues her research on an *Anthology of Judaeo-Persian Texts* to be published by Yale University Press. Most recently, this research took her to Leningrad and to Jerusalem.

NORMAN D. NICOL has recently published "Islamic Coinage in Imitation of Fatimid Types," *Israel Numismatics Journal* 10 (1988-89 [1991]), and continues his research on a Corpus of Fatimid Coinage and a hoard of coins of the Khwarizmshah Muhammad.

JOHNA. NAWAS has recently published "Godsdienst of politiek? De status van de Koran als thema in de vroege Islam [Religion or Politics? The Status of the Koran as a Theme in Early Islam]," *Millenium* 5/1 (1991), and has completed "Toward fresh directions in historical research: An experiment in methodology using the putative "absolutism" of Harun al-Rashid as a test case," forthcoming in *Der Islam*. He continues his research on a re-evaluation of the religious policies of al-Ma'mun.

IAN R. NETTON has recently completed *A Popular Dictionary of Islam*, forthcoming from Humanities Press, *Al-Farabi and His School* forthcoming from Routledge, and he has edited *Golden Roads: Migration, Pilgrimage and Travel in Medieval and Modern Islam*.

LINDA NORTHRUP recently published A. M. Watson, ed., assisted by L. Northrup, *A Review of Literature on Economic Cooperation and Integration in the Middle East* (Toronto, 1991), and "Muslim-Chris-

tian Relations during the Reign of the Mamluk Sultan al-Mansur Qalawun (AD 1278-1290), in M. Gervers and R. Bikhazi, eds., *Conversion and Continuity: Indigenous Christian Communities in Islamic Lands, Eighth to Eighteenth Centuries* (Toronto, 1990). She has also completed "Life in Medieval Jerusalem Based on the Documents of al-Haram al-Sharif (in Arabic)," forthcoming in H. Dajani-Shakeel and B. Dajani, eds., *Aspects of Life in Palestine From the 11th to the End of the 13th Centuries* (Beirut, 1992), and continues her research on *The Career of the Mamluk Sultan Qalawun: Aspects of Mamluk Institutional History*.

VALERIA PIACENTI has recently published *Le Pensiero Militare nel Mondo Musulmano: III Vol: Razion di Stato e Razion Militare* (Rome, 1992) and has completed *Merchants, Merchandise and Military Power in the Persian Gulf (Suriyanj/Shahriyaj-Siraf)*. She continues her research on "Potere Mongolo, potere turco e cristianità occidentale in Levante (sec. XIII AD)." She is currently acting as Director and Scientific Coordinator of the Italian Historical and Archaeological Mission in Makran.

LAWRENCE POTTER has completed his dissertation, "The Kart Dynasty of Herat: Religion and Politics in Medieval Iran."

DAVID S. POWERS has completed "On Judicial Review in Islamic Law," forthcoming in *Law and Society Review*, and continues his research on "The Maliki Family Waqf, ca. AD 1050-1450," and *Law and Society in Medieval Islam: Court Cases From Spain and North Africa*.

NASSER RABBAT has recently published "The Meaning of the Umayyad Dome of the Rock," *Muqarnas* 6 (1990), *The Citadel of Cairo*, a booklet in English and Arabic (Geneva, 1989), and was the recipient of the 1991 Malcolm Kerr Dissertation Award in the Humanities for his 1991 MIT dissertation, "The Citadel of Cairo, 1176-1341: Reconstructing Architecture from Texts." He has also completed "The Dome of the Rock Revisited: Some Remarks on al-Wasiti's Accounts," forthcoming in *Muqarnas*. He continues his research on 13th-Century Mamluk mosaics, and on the

epigraphy and iconography of the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus. He was most recently in Syria and Jordan researching the Umayyad *qusur*.

DAAN VAN REENEN continues his research on his dissertation, "Tradition as Literature and Historical Source for Early Islam; the Prohibition against Pictures."

A. I. SABRA recently published Al-Hasan ibn al-Haytham, *Kitab al-Manazir, Maqalat I-III [Optics, Books I-III: On Direct Vision]*. Translation with Introduction and Commentary by A. I. Sabra. (London, 1989). He is currently preparing a translation and commentary of Books IV-VII of the same treatise for publication.

ROBERT SCHICK has completed *The Christian Communities of Palestine from Byzantine to Islamic Rule: An Historical and Archaeological Study*, forthcoming from Darwin Press. He continues his research on Christianity in Southern Jordan in the Byzantine and Early Islamic Periods, is co-director of archaeological excavations at Humeima, Jordan, and is currently excavating a Byzantine church complex at Petra, Jordan.

SUSAN SIMS continues her research on her MA thesis in Art History at UCLA, "The Role of Women in 14th Century Illustrated *Shahnama*'s."

MARIA EVA SUBTELNY has recently published "A Timurid Educational and Charitable Foundation: The Ikhlasiyya Complex of 'Ali Shir Nava'i in 15th-Century Herat and its Endowment," *JAOS* 111(1991) and "The *Vaqfiya* of Mir 'Ali Shir Nava'i as Apologia," in *Journal of Turkish Studies*, 15 (1991). She has completed "The Symbiosis of Turk and Tajik in Central Asia," in B. F. Manz and J. Critchlow, eds., *Contemporary Central Asia in Historical Perspective*, forthcoming from Westview Press, and "Revival of the Cult of 'Abdullah Ansari Under the Timurids," in C. Bürgel and A. Giese, eds., *God is Beautiful and He Loves Beauty* (Schimmel festschrift), forthcoming from Peter Lang.

YASSER TABBAA has recently published "The Transformation of Arabic Writing I: Qur'anic Calligraphy," *Ars*

Orientalis 21 (1992), and "The Representation of Power in the Ayyubid Palace at the Aleppo Citadel," in G. Necipoglu, ed., *The Pre-modern Islamic Palace* (forthcoming). He continues his research on "Aleppo Citadel: The Palace and Its Links With the City."

MARINA TOLMACHEVA has recently published "Ptolemy's East Africa in Early Medieval Arab Geography," *Journal for the History of Arabic Science*, 9 (1991) and "Toward the Origin of the Term 'Zanj'," (in Russian), *Sovetskaya Etnografiya*, 3 (1991). She has completed "Cultural Perceptions of the Islamic Frontier in Arabic Geographic Literature," forthcoming in the Proceedings of the 33rd International Congress of Asian and North African Studies, vol. 1., and she continues her research on *The Pate Chronicle*, a book-length edition and translation of several versions of an Arabic-Swahili history of the Pate city-state, now in Kenya.

DANIEL MARTIN VARISCO has recently published "A Royal Crop Register from Rasulid Yemen," *JESHO* 34 (1991), and "The Origins of the anwa' in Arab Tradition." He has also completed *Medieval Agriculture and Islamic Science: The Almanac of a Yemeni Sultan* forthcoming from University of Washington Press, "The agricultural marker stars in Yemeni folklore," forthcoming in *Asian Folklore Studies*, and "A Rasulid agricultural almanac for A.H. 808/A.D. 1405-6," forthcoming in *New Arabian Studies*.

MARILYN WALDMAN has recently published "Reflections on Islamic Tradition, Women, and Family," in E. H. Waugh et al., eds., *Muslim Families in North America* (Univ. of Alberta Press, 1991). She has completed "Innovation as Renovation: The 'Prophet' as Agent of Change," in M. A. Williams and M. S. Jaffee, eds., *Innovation in Religious Traditions* forthcoming in 1992, and has edited *Muslims and Christians, Muslims and Jews: A Common Past, a Hopeful Future*, forthcoming from the Islamic Foundation of Central Ohio, as well as *Changing Tradition: Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Women*, vol. 7. She continues her research on *Prophets*

MEMBER NEWS, CONTINUED
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and Power and on Marshall Hodgson as a world historian.

KEITH WEISSMAN recently completed "Mongol Rule in Baghdad, Evidence From the Chronicle of Ibn al-Fuwati." He continues his research on Ibn al-Fuwati's *Al-Hawadith al-Jani'a*, and on urban renewal in Cairo under the Khedive and French. He also continues his work as a "scholar-journalist" at the Center for Middle East Research in Washington, DC.

BRANNON M. WHEELER recently published "Tradition in History: Imagining the Sasanian Capture of Jerusalem,"

Orientalia Christiana Periodica 57 (1991), and has completed "Reading Inside out: A Comparison of the 'Three Worlds of King Ruang' and 'On the Origin of the World'." He continues research toward his Univ. of Chicago dissertation "Applying the Canon: Authority, Definition, and Maintenance of Jama'i-Sunni Fiqh."

DONALD S. WHITCOMB recently returned from a short season of excavation, consolidation and reconstruction at the site of the Islamic city of Ayla at Aqaba, Jordan. He continues his research at Aqaba and on the results of this season, including a hoard of Fatimid *dinars*. He has recently published "Reassessing the Archaeology of Jordan of the Abbasid Period," in M. Zaghoul et al., eds., *Studies in the History*

and *Archaeology of Jordan IV*, and "Excavations in the site of medieval 'Aqaba," in Y. Raghib, ed., *Documents de l'Islam médiéval: Nouvelles perspectives de recherche* (Cairo: IFAO, 1991). In May 1993, he will present a paper at the Medieval Institute meeting in Kalamazoo on "Text and Context: Qusayr al-Qadim and the Indian Ocean Spice Trade

E. SARA WOLPER is completing her dissertation on the dervish lodges of Tokat, Amasya, and Sivas built between 1250 and 1350 AD.

NEGUIN YAVARI is completing his dissertation on "The Life and Times of Nizam al-Mulk."

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ture was totally rebuilt, with Gothic arches, after 1365, but it is very small. Even if better Mudéjar surface sherds have long been picked up, the common wares are late Islamic (13th century), compatible with Muslim refuge during the siege of 1276-77; the pottery does not support a second siege in 1365, and there probably never was a permanent Christian garrison.

Artana and Almonacir are large, systematic concrete structures, representing real fortresses. Common and luxury surface sherds date ca. 1350-1400, although Almonacir is documented from 1238 to 1410 and had a castellan. Artana is mentioned as a *qarya* ca. 1050, but any earlier castle was razed to make way for the "new" fortress, with its horseshoe-arch tower window. The whole western side of the castle of Artana was destroyed, probably in an Aragonese siege in 1365, and never rebuilt. Almonacir was also besieged by the Aragonese, in April of 1365, and the southeastern wall was probably destroyed at that time, to be later rebuilt with mortared stone. Both Artana and Almonacir appear to have provided refuge to rebellious Muslims during the war with Castile.

This suite of sites encodes a complex of military and social history, summarized in three phases: (1) "Home-made" defensive structures, with round towers, small enclosures, and built of mortared rock (earlier than ca. 1150); (2) Geometrical structures with rectangular turrets or towers, built in a standardized *tabiqa* tech-

nique, and with large enclosures (after ca. 1150 but before 1242); and (3) Some rebuilding, by Christian castellans, using mortared rock (ca. 1350-1450), or, alternatively, renewed use as refuges by Muslim villagers in 1276 or 1365. This regional detail illuminates the broader historical picture.

The Islamic topography of the Valencia area and the Eastern March is mainly known from the direct observations of al-Udhri (1003-1085) and al-Bakri (died 1094), whose lost work of 1068 was extensively used by al-Yakut (completed 1224). This topography (Fig. 2) represents the decentralized al-Andalus of the *taifa* period, but before the collapse of the Upper March along the Pyrenean foothills. The rapid Moroccan and Arab conquest of the Iberian peninsula (711-20) was possible because the *pax romana* had induced the population to take up residence in mainly undefended settlements on the best soils of the lowlands or upland plains; the defensible hill-top sites and mountain valleys of the Iberians and Celtiberians had long been abandoned. In fact, there is almost no archaeological evidence of settlement in the mountains during Roman, Visigothic, or even Caliphal times. The forests near Aín only began to be cut c. A.D. 1000, and deforestation in the Júcar watershed led to accelerated flooding downstream after the mid-11th century. The topography recorded by al-Udhri and al-Bakri was in some respects a new cultural landscape.

During the 1060s many a *qarya* was nothing but a minor administrative

village in an isolated agricultural tract, but the ground evidence shows that by 1200 every *qarya* was a minor fortress. At first a *hisn* may have been a tower or small castle, but later it typically was expanded and also served as protection or refuge for an adjacent settlement; originally perhaps built to further petty dynastic ends, it became a link in a system of regional defense against invasion. The concepts of castle and settlement function not only varied from one region to another, but also over time; by 1200 there probably was little difference between the typical *hisn* and the typical *qarya*.

The Espadán castles document this change. New mountain settlements were founded during the 11th century. At some point and in response to increasing danger, simple defensive towers began to be constructed at the local level, to shelter people and animals. Subsequently a systematic effort at fortification was begun. In particular, the *tabiqa* technique requires masses of cement, calcined in high-temperature kilns, implying transport over considerable distances; even the sand and gravel mix meant that local villagers had to carry hundreds or thousands of loaded baskets up steep mountain sides from the valley bottoms. That infers major mobilization of labor and even of capital, and is unthinkable without a larger, regional administrative input. I would argue that the *tabiqa* constructions of the Espadán represent an organized institutional effort, in

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Pioneers

IN MEDIEVAL MIDDLE EASTERN STUDIES

E. G. Browne

by John R. Perry

One hundred years ago appeared a travel memoir that inaugurated the career of the first modern Iranologist and, indeed, the course of Persian studies as an independent discipline in Britain. *A Year amongst the Persians*, E.G. Browne's account of his first (and only) visit to Iran, during 1887-88 as a twenty-five-year-old recent graduate, was rejected twice before its first publication in 1893, and only reissued by Cambridge University Press in 1926, the year of its author's death. In it, ancient monuments and the rigors of the journey (at least 3,000 miles on horseback, via Tabriz, Tehran, Isfahan, Yazd, Kerman and Astarabad) are noted in passing, but the results—summed up in the book's subtitle, *Impressions as to the Life, Character and Thought of the People of Persia*—are a rich sample of Browne's current interests and future scholarship. Folklore, *ta'ziya*, the central dialects of the plateau, poets living and dead, books, manuscripts, princes, dervishes, Zoroastrians, and especially the persecuted sect of the Babis, all find their place.

In Kerman Browne lodged for over a month with Zoroastrian friends and received at least a hundred visitors of all classes and sects. Here, suffering from a painful bout of ophthalmia, he "fled for refuge to that most potent, most sovereign, most seductive, and most enthralling of masters, opium . . . an experience which I would not willingly have forfeited, though I am thankful enough that the chain of my servitude was snapped ere the last flicker of resolution . . . expired in the Nirvana of the opium-smoker" (p. 476). It was while he was still wrestling with incipient addiction that he received a telegram from Cam-

bridge (via Shiraz) inviting him to accept the post of lecturer in Persian (p. 545).

Edward Granville Browne was born in Gloucestershire on 7 February 1862 of a wealthy shipbuilding family, and educated at Eton and Cambridge. Already at the age of sixteen, his sympathies had been aroused for the Turks, as the underdog in the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78. In 1882 he spent the summer in Istanbul—a bribe from his father, on condition that he com-



E. G. Browne in Persian Dress, ca. 1890.

plete his medical studies. This he did, but meanwhile had developed a fascination with Sufism and the Persian poetry that best expressed it, and enrolled in the so-called Indian Languages Tripos to learn Arabic and Persian. In 1887 he was elected a fellow of his college, Pembroke, which enabled him to pursue his real passion by traveling to Iran.

On his return to Cambridge as University Lecturer in Persian, he remained

there for the rest of his life—in his bachelor rooms at Pembroke (once occupied by Pitt the Younger) until he married in 1906, thereafter at a house in Trumpington Road. In 1902 he was appointed Sir Thomas Adams's Professor of Arabic. His wife, Alice Blackburne-Daniell, was a Roman Catholic who enlisted his sympathies for the cause of Irish home rule. Browne suffered a massive heart attack in November, 1924; he lingered for more than a year, during which his wife died, and finally passed away on 5 January 1926.

His published works (some fifty-five major items), though impressively eclectic, reflect only a part of his total achievement in and for Persian studies. Most important of them is the four-volume *Literary History of Persia* (1902, 1906, 1920, 1924), still in print and a mine of useful and accurate information. It digresses broadly into the history of Iran, and includes excerpts in Persian and in translation of major works—both necessary features of a pioneering book based on original sources, most of them as yet unpublished and many available to Browne alone. Inevitably, it perpetuates several prejudices of Browne's, and of contemporary Persian scholars, which subsequent research has tended to revise. These include the tradition that "post-classical" Persian literature of the past three centuries (in particular that of the eighteenth) is with few exceptions of poor quality, all artifice and little art; and the snobbish disdain of the Iranian Persian speaker for "Persian after the corrupt and vicious fashion prevalent in India" (*A Year Amongst the Persians*, p. 481).

Browne also edited significant classical texts in both Arabic and

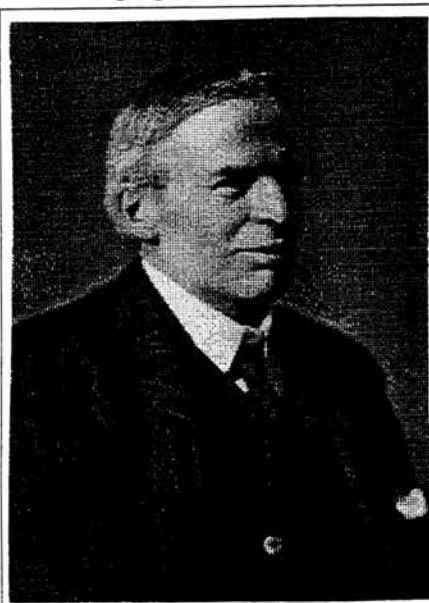
Persian: *Tazkiratu'l-shu'ara'* of Dawlatshah (1901) and *Lubabu'l-albab* of 'Awfi, with Muhammad Qazvini (2 vols., 1903, 1906), and translated several others, including Nizami 'Aruzi's *Chaharmaqala* (1921). But perhaps the bulk of his publications concerns two contemporary social and political movements, the Babis and the Constitutionalists, which engaged his unflagging sympathies for the underdog, and show Browne at his liberal and unselfish best.

Though himself adhering to no organized religion, he had taken a keen interest in the Babi movement even before he went to Iran; and a surreptitious search for the successors of the martyrs of forty years before became the leitmotif of his journey. In 1890 he visited leaders of both the Baha'i and Azali sects in Istanbul, Cyprus and Acre, and published several accounts and translations of Babi history and literature, beginning with several articles for the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1889.

From 1905 to 1911 he was caught up in the Constitutional revolution in Iran, characteristically on the side of the revolutionaries. He sought to influence British opinion through the Persia Committee, comprising writers, journalists and prominent members of Parliament of both parties, and in his own lectures and publications. Indignantly opposing the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 (which had established Russian and British zones of influence in Iran), he lobbied in vain for the withdrawal of Russia from Iran and for the resignation of foreign minister Edward Grey. The principal literary result of E.G.B.'s efforts was *The Press and Poetry of Modern Persia* (1914); no mere supplement to his *Literary History*, this was a celebration of the democratic ideals he saw in the vigorous free press and political songs (*tasnif*) of Constitutionalist Iran, a broadside aimed at those who (in the pages of *The Times*, among other vehicles) dismissed Iranians as decadent and unfit to govern themselves. His book is still an important source for the intellectual life of Iran of the period, since Browne's sources included such nationalist exiles in France and Britain as Sayyid Hasan Taqizada and 'Ali Akbar Dehkhoda.

To these and many other Iranian emigrés and students Browne was unfailingly generous of his time and money. He

also supported Oriental studies at Cambridge in ways both routine and farsighted. He catalogued much of the Islamic collections housed in the University Library and the individual colleges. Upon the early death in 1901 of his Turcologist colleague E.J.W. Gibb, Browne shouldered the task of completing Gibb's monumental *History of Ottoman Poetry* and seeing it through the press. He was instrumental in publishing the invaluable Gibb Memorial Series, from a fund established by Gibb's family in 1904. Browne also attracted candidates in the consular and colonial services to an academic training in the languages and literatures of their areas; these graduates included such later historians of the Middle East as Sir Reader Bullard and Laurence Lockhart. The school of modern Middle Eastern languages thus formed became the



E. G. Browne in English Dress, ca. 1922.

nucleus of the later Middle East Center at Cambridge.

Hitherto, Islamic Studies in Britain had meant classical Arabic; Persian was an ancillary, the borrowed classical language of administration and intellectual contact in India. The best known Persianist before Browne, Sir John Malcolm, exemplifies this as an amateur, an envoy from the Indian Empire who entered by the "back door" of the Persian Gulf and chose to chronicle Persia's past. Browne, a professional academic entering literally and figuratively by the "front door" of contemporary Iran, opened the way to the full range of Islamic and modern Iranian studies.

In some respects he was still a transitional figure. As a wealthy man, he could afford to set his own goals and pay for assistance and publication out of his own pocket. He could also afford to antagonize the government and more conservative colleagues—which he did in his support for Iran's (and Ireland's, and the Boers') right of self-determination. He was apparently in his element as a Cambridge don: a brilliant anecdotist (much more a talker than a listener), an incessant smoker, but little given to fine food or wines. In an age of affected esthetes and affected philistines he was genuinely something of both: he loved Persian poetry, but had no appreciation of other poetry, art, or music. Nor had he any interest in languages other than Persian (with Arabic and Turkish some way behind); and though he spoke Persian fluently, his accent was not of the best.

His anti-establishment attitudes cost him some deserved recognition during his lifetime, though he did become a fellow of the British Academy and of the Royal College of Physicians. In 1922 he was elected Vice President of the Royal Asiatic Society. He was also made a member of Iran's Order of the Lion and Sun. On his sixtieth birthday he received accolades from admirers in Iran, and was honored with a festschrift edited by Sir T. W. Wilson and his friend, colleague and successor at Cambridge, Reynold A. Nicholson. His death was of course the occasion for adulatory obituaries, even from his old adversary *The Times*. In 1962 the centenary of his birth was marked at Cambridge by an address delivered by the then Sir Thomas Adams's Professor of Arabic, Arthur J. Arberry; among the audience was yours truly, then an undergraduate at Pembroke, an E.G. Browne Scholar and a few years shy of my own year among the Persians.

E.G.B. was undoubtedly one of the giants on whose shoulders today's Persianists in Britain and North America have stood. Both as a scholar and a lobbyist he did much to present a sympathetic picture of Iran to a Western public whose view of the region was already being warped by the dictates of geopolitics and oil. Indefatigable, idealistic, opinionated, eccentric to a degree, he was driven most by a sense of justice, which according to the traditional model of Iranian society is what makes the world go round.

REVIEWS • OF • BOOKS

FROM • THE • MIDDLE • EAST

REVIEW POLICY

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

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

Mustafa 'Abbas al-Musawi. *Al-'Awamil al-ta'rikhiyya li-nash'at wa tatawwur al-mudun al-'arabiyya al-islamiyya* [The historical factors contributing to the founding and development of Arab-Islamic cities] (Baghdad: Dar al-Rashid, 1982). 259 pp.+bibliography.

This book appears to have been a thesis submitted to an Iraqi university, but except for the few slips where the author writes "*hadhahi'l-risala*" ("this thesis"), he does not indicate where or when it was done. In essence, al-Musawi has compiled a book on the formation and development of a number of Iraqi cities after Islam, ranging from Kufa and Basra to Karbala and Najaf, and, in a manner similar to many orientologists, has given it an inclusive and ultimately misleading title. He used a vast array of secondary sources, both Arabic and translated, and the customary quotations from primary sources found in his secondary texts and arranged them according to a simple methodological matrix. As such, his book is a well-ordered survey appropriate as a textbook for an introduc-

tory course in urban history, obviously for Arabic speakers, or as a timesaver for someone who needs a reference book on city formation in Islamic Iraq. Otherwise, al-Musawi does not bring any new information, nor does he concern himself with any source criticism or any verification of his mostly textual evidence against the few but valuable material remains from the many Islamic sites in Iraq. This book, in fact, has been superceded by the excellent new studies on Islamic Iraqi cities such as Hichem Djait, *Al-Kufa, naissance de la ville islamique*. (Paris: Maissonneuve et Larose, 1986), and the many short essays on Baghdad by Jacob Lassner.

-Nasser Rabbat

Sa'id al-Daywahchi, *Ta'rikh al-Mawsil*. [The history of Mosul] Vol. 1. Baghdad: Matbu'at al-Majma' al-'Ilmi al-'Iraqi, 1982. 511 pp., incl. maps and photographs.

This volume brings together a lifetime's work on the medieval history of Mosul. Known to western scholars primarily through a handful of articles he published in *Sumer* during the forties and fifties, al-Daywahchi has in fact authored and edited a number of titles, many of which he completed before the publication of al-Azdi's *Ta'rikh al-Mawsil*—that is, before the history of the city was of much interest to western medievalists. Writing with a sympathy that only comes with familiarity, al-Daywahchi is part of a long and storied tradition of Mawsili historians.

Only the first volume of this work has appeared so far, and it covers roughly seven hundred years of history: from the eve of Islam through the rule of the Atabegs to Badr al-Din Lu'lu'. Although al-Daywahchi presents this history within a traditional dynastic framework, his interests go well beyond politics; drawing on the standard texts of Islamic historiography (in addition to several little-known local works), he also explores the administrative, intellectual, and cultural history of the city throughout the period. This is particularly the case for the reign of the

Atabegs, which he catalogs with impressive detail. The volume also includes several maps and photographs that chart the growth of the city and illustrate the author's command of the city's topography.

In short, al-Daywahchi's *Ta'rikh al-Mawsil* provides a sure and dependable guide to the pre-Mongol history of the city, one which is thoroughly conventional in approach. For matters of detail, one will certainly still look to more specialized works such as M. Canard's *Hamdanides*; but for a general synthesis, al-Daywahchi has produced an admirable work.

-Chase F. Robinson

'Adil Nuwayhid, *Mu'jam al-mufassirin min sadr al-islam hatta al-asr al-hadir*. [Dictionary of Qur'an commentators from the origins of Islam until the present era] 3rd ed. 2 vols. Beirut: Mu'assasat Nuwayhid al-thaqafiyya, 1409/1988. xi+1023 pages.

The book contains, in alphabetical order, the names of about two thousand persons who, in one way or another, have to do with *tafsir* or allegedly have to do so. The particular subjects are *qira'a*, *al-nasikh wa'l-mansukh*, *tajwid*, *i'jaz al-Qur'an*, *lughah*, *asbab al-nuzul*, the Qur'an as a juridical source (*ahkam al-Qur'an*), and others. Putting the names in a chronological order according to the date of death, the first one is that of Abu Bakr al-Siddiq, followed by the other Rashidun, 'A' isha, the *sahaba*, *tabi'un* and so on, who are mentioned e.g. by al-Tabari as authorities for the understanding of single verses or coherent passages (a genre traditionally called *tafsir bi'l-ma'thur*). The result is that no less than forty-seven names appear for the Umayyad period, and 167 names for the subsequent period ending with 287/900. This means that besides the *sahaba* all the great scholars have some or another relation to the Qur'an. Since the Shi'a have their own tradition of *tafsir*, Ja'far al-Sadiq and other Imams appear as authors of commentaries. The mystical interpretation of the Qur'an claims Hasan al-Basra and Sufyan al-Thawri as progenitors, just as

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Fiqh claims the founders of the four madhhabs, as Adab claims al-Jahiz, and so on. Muqatil b. Sulayman (d. 150/767) appears as the first author whose work has come down to us as a whole. From the end of the third/beginning of the tenth century onward, the number of authors whose *tafsir* is available in manuscript or printed editions increases. Counting the entries according to chronology, it seems that the production of *tafsir* reached its peak in the eleventh/seventeenth century.

Most of the authors mentioned wrote in Arabic, some in Persian and Turkish. Each name is accompanied by a short biography, including the dates of birth and death, education, functions, sojourns in different places, hajj, etc., and a list of writings, whether printed, known as manuscript or just by title. Unfortunately, place and year of publication of printed editions are not mentioned, nor is the name of the collection in the case of manuscripts. The sources used are well-known biographical and bibliographical works, including Brockelmann and Sezgin, occasionally the catalogues of printed books and/or manuscripts (some not mentioned by Sezgin, *GAS I*, e.g. *Fihris Jamiat al-Riyad*). Nuwayhid does not start from the known books and manuscripts, adding the biographical data as far as is available. His method is the other way round: thus, he mentions quite a number of *mufasssirin* whose names and works are quoted in literature, but whose works are not extant. Taking this procedure into account, and considering the vast amount of data collected, the book under review turns out to be a most useful compendium of *tafsir*, exempting the reader from the most troubling task of leafing through the ocean-like biographical-bibliographical literature. There are indices of the titles of books, of names arranged according to *nisba* and *shuhra*, and a list of the sources.

Finally, it must be mentioned that Nuwayhid broadens our view considerably, for which one subject is particularly significant, namely his contribution to the history of the reception of Baydawi's *Anwar al-tanzil*. He enumerates no less than 202 commentaries, most of them going under the title of *hashiya*, whereas Brockelmann knows eighty-three commentaries only. The first *hashiya* in Nuwayhid's list is that

by Abu Bakr Ahmad al-Sa'igh (d. 714/1314), the last one that by Badr al-Din al-Hasani (d. 1354/1935). It would be a fascinating task to study the reception of Baydawi's commentary, which itself claims to be a revised version of Zamakhshari's *Kashshaf*.

-Heribert Busse

'Aziz al-'Azma, *al-'Arab wa'l-barabira: al-muslimun wa'l-hadarat al-ukhra*. [Arabs and Barbarians: Muslims and other cultures] London: Riad El-Rayyes Books Ltd., 1991. 241pp+index.

This book presents a courageous thesis by the revisionist historian, 'Aziz al-'Azma, who teaches at the University of Exeter and who is known primarily for his work on Ibn Khaldun. The author sets out to investigate the ways by which Islamic medieval culture interpreted other cultures known to it directly or indirectly. His hypothesis is very simple: medieval Muslims dealt with the "Other" in a similar manner, given the time difference, to that with which Europe studied the Muslim East through Orientalist institutions. Al-'Azma backs up his views with a vast array of medieval texts ranging in scope from geography to cosmography to chronicles to pure *adab*. He asserts that these sources used a complex mix of myths and oral reports, in addition to direct observation, to serve preconceived notions by the medieval Muslims.

Through his selected texts and a modern anthropological sensitivity, al-'Azma manages to construct a persuasive argument that highlights the political and ideological framework of the representation of other cultures according to their relative position in a structure that puts the Islamic state in the center of the civilized world. Al-'Azma's book is important because it addresses an Arabic audience using a lucid prose and an overdose of direct quotes to make his point, which is ultimately political, with as much authority as possible.

-Nasser Rabbat

Mustafa Hilmi, *Manhaj 'ulama' al-hadith wa'al-sunna min usul al-din*, "Ilm al-kalam." [The science of kalam: methodology of the scholars of hadith and sunna in the fundamentals of religion]. Alexandria: Dar al-Da'wa, n.d. 301 pp.

Much of western scholarship on hadith literature has concentrated on the relationship of hadith with the origins of Islamic law. Although George Makdisi has alerted students of Islamic thought to the fact that the "ahl al-hadith" was as much a *theological* movement as it was a legal one, we are, nevertheless, often at a loss in expressing the content of this theological movement. Moreover, this overriding concern with hadith and the law has obscured the fact that it was the domain of theology, and not law, in which the use of hadith remained extremely controversial. Professor Hilmi's work serves as an introduction to the theological issues which separated the "ahl al-hadith" from the more familiar rationalist theologians.

Professor Hilmi makes the important point that although the great majority of Muslims held the beliefs of the "ahl al-hadith," it is the rationalist theologians, whether Mu'tazilite or Ash'arite, who have received the vast majority of scholarly attention. One reason for this neglect, according to Hilmi, is the erroneous belief that the "ahl al-hadith" were the intellectual inferiors of the rationalist theologians. As he puts it, they are assumed to be "*ahl riwaya la ahl diraya*." To refute this, he discusses briefly the ideas and the methods of three prominent men of the "ahl al-hadith": Ahmad b. Hanbal, 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Makki, and Ibn Taymiyya. Through the excerpts he provides us from their debates with rationalist theologians, we gain a better insight into the ideas that motivated this movement. For anyone interested in Muslim religious history, then, this book is an important introduction to some of the most important theological concerns of Muslim society.

There are some drawbacks to the book, however. In addition to the numerous printing errors, the work is cluttered by numerous references to the situation of Muslims in the modern world. While the author's appropriation of past figures will certainly be of interest to students of ideology in the modern Muslim world, these

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excursions will just seem to be in the way for the medievalist. Nevertheless, through judicious skimming, the reader should be able to benefit greatly from this work.

-Mohammad Fadel

Safa' Hafiz 'Abd al-Fattah, *Al-Mawani' wa'l-thughur al-Misriyah min al-fath al-islami hatta nihayat al-'asr al-fatimi.* [Seaports and fortress-towns of Egypt from the Islamic Conquests to the end of the Fatimid period] Cairo: Dar al-Fikr al-'Arabi, 1986. 279 pp.

Dr. Safa' 'Abd al-Fattah has compiled in this volume an impressive quantity of thoroughly documented information describing the seaports and fortress towns of Egypt from the seventh to the twelfth centuries. To this end, she has drawn from a variety of sources ranging from al-Jahiz to al-Maqrizi. Perhaps the least known of these is a history of Tinnis, the island town in Lake Manzalah in the northeast delta, entitled *Anis al-jalis fi akhbar Tinnis*, by Ibn Bassam, a *muhtasib* and native of Tinnis, who died in the first quarter of the seventh century AH (ed. Jamal al-Din al-Shayyal, *Majallat al-Majma' al-'Ilmi al-'Iraqi*, vol. 14, 1968). The author includes

an annotated bibliography of "the most important" primary sources, as well as two maps and a standard bibliography of primary and secondary works, neither of which cite the work of Ibn Bassam. Dr. 'Abd al-Fattah's study includes discussion of al-Farama, Tinnis, Dimyat, Rashid, and al-Iskandariyah on Egypt's Mediterranean coast; al-Qulzum, al-Qusayr, and Aydhab on the Red Sea coast; and Aswan on Egypt's southern frontier. Her treatment of the subject begins with a very brief geographical overview of the towns, followed by more detailed discussions of their political conditions, their administrative and economic organization, and their military roles.

While it is clear that these seaports and fortress towns share the common characteristic of location on Egypt's frontiers—whether military, economic, or both—it does not seem to be the author's intention to argue that the circumstances of the frontier distinguished them from Egypt's inland towns. In this respect, the book deals with two distinct groups, the northern and southern frontier towns—the *thughur*—that were important militarily as well as economically, and the Red Sea frontier towns—the *mawani*'—whose significance was primarily commercial. The former group receives the most attention in this study, and Dr. 'Abd al-Fattah presents an interesting and wide-ranging discus-

sion of the parallel civilian and military administrative systems, the growth of the textile and other industries, and the activity of political opposition movements in the *thughur*.

Of the nine towns Dr. 'Abd al-Fattah discusses, the Red Sea *mawani*' receive the least attention, due understandably to the paucity of information in the historical sources. Archaeological data could have proved especially helpful here, particularly in the case of al-Qusayr, mentioned only briefly in three paragraphs. Although she evidently assumes the port's activity prior to the thirteenth century. Although the *EI2* article on al-Qusayr asserts the port's existence during the Fatimid period, the earliest references to the town that Dr. 'Abd al-Fattah cites are from Yaquf (d. 626/1229); I do not know of any earlier reference either. The negative record of earlier sources is noteworthy because survey and excavation of the site found no evidence of occupation between the Roman and Ayyubid periods, indicating that Islamic al-Qusayr was not used as a port before the twelfth century. Aside from this optimistic assumption about al-Qusayr's dating, Dr. 'Abd al-Fattah's book stands as a highly informative survey of these towns, and will serve as a useful tool for further research.

-John L. Meloy

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GRAPHICS CREDITS

Pages 17, 18, & 19: Maps courtesy of Karl W. Butzer.

Pages 20 and 21: Four scenes from stories in Alfonso X el Sabio's *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (13th Century). Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid.

Page 31: From the frontispiece to E. G. Browne's *A Year Amongst the Persians* (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1893). Photo by Palmer Clarke.

Page 32: From the frontispiece of T.W. Arnold and Reynold A. Nicholson (eds.), *A Volume of Oriental Studies presented to Edward G. Browne* (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1922). Photo by Swaine.

CASTLES, CONTINUED FROM PAGE 30.

response to a major perceived crisis.

Here archaeology and history become complementary. Even before the collapse of the Ebro valley towns, El Cid and several allied barons wreaked havoc on the coastal plain around Valencia ca. 1093-1103, first exposing the vulnerability of *sharq al-Andalus*. Then, as Zaragoza was about to fall, a Christian army struck at Alcañiz and then deep into the mountain valleys of the border march, to take Morella (1117), before permanently conquering the upper Daroca plains (1120-28). In 1125-26, the king of Aragon followed the traditional invasion route via Teruel to Sagunt, penetrating southward to Granada, in order to evacuate Andalusian Christians. Perhaps the proliferation of simple defenses, organized at the local level, was a response to the events of 1117-29.

The Aragonese systematically hammered away at the border fortresses from 1146-80, pushing back the frontier by an average of 70 km, while a Catalan force surged down the coastal plain deep into

Murcia, during 1172-79. The situation then stabilized for some 30 years, and one can envision a systematic amplification of defenses in what remained of the Eastern March. The many *tabíqa* castles were probably built during the late 1100s, and subsequent resistance was stiff. The final offensive of Jaime I, begun in 1232, concentrated on besieging and starving out the coastal cities, later securing capitulation of the inland castles by generous treaties. Thus the archaeology of the castles elucidates not only rural landscape history but also the progression of the Conquest.

Bibliographical note: The documentary background on the Sierra Muslims and an outline of the archaeology of the Muslim hamlet Benialí and the castle of Aín are given in K.W. Butzer, E.K. Butzer, and J.F. Mateu, "Muslim Communities of the Sierra de Espadán, Kingdom of Valencia," *Viator* 17(1986): 339-413. For changes after the Muslim Expulsion of 1610, see K.W. Butzer, "Adaptation and change in historical perspective," in: *The Earth as Transformed by Human Action*, ed. B.L. Turner, Cambridge 1990, pp. 685-701.

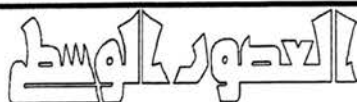
EXHIBITS

Textiles from Egypt, Syria and Spain: Seventh through 15th Centuries. 50 pieces from the museum's collections. Museum of Art, Cleveland, OH, through November 1, 1992.

Art of the Persian Courts: Selections From the Art and History Trust. Manuscripts, paintings, calligraphy and other works of art from a private collection in Liechtenstein. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles, CA, Nov. 5, 1992 through Jan. 24, 1993.

Islamic Art and Patronage: Selections From Kuwait. More than 100 masterworks of Islamic art from the Al-Sabah collection. Museum of Art, New Orleans, LA, Nov. 15, 1992 through Jan. 10, 1993

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