

Islamic Settlements in the Plain of Akkar/Northern Lebanon

Preliminary Results

by Karin Bartl

(in cooperation with Anis Chaaya)

Northern Lebanon represents a region which is divided by its topography into several units: the rather narrow coastal strip, bordered by a hilly region and the high mountains to the east, the highest peak being Qornet es Saouda. Like the adjacent regions to the south and north the coastal and hilly regions offer very favourable settlement conditions which led to the assumption of a rather dense occupation since the earliest times.

However, systematic archaeological research focused only recently on northern Lebanon, beginning during the early seventies with archaeological fieldwork at Tripoli, Tell Ardé and Tell 'Arqa. Archaeological surface investigations of the entire area were also carried out during that period, but had to be discontinued because of the political situation and could not be continued for a long time. The results of this research, which already had

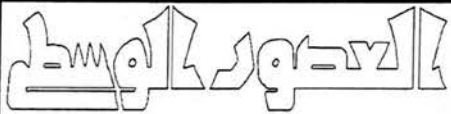
shown the rich archaeological potential of the region, led to the systematic survey of one of the most favourable settlement areas of northern Lebanon, the plain of Akkar, which was carried out in 1997 as a joint project of the Direction Générale des Antiquités du Liban and the Free University Berlin.

The plain of Akkar is a very fertile landscape which is nowadays divided into two parts: the northern region in Syria and the southern part in northern Lebanon (fig.1). The Lebanese part of the Akkar plain is a nearly triangular area between the villages of Camp de Nahr el Barêd, 'Arida and 'Abbūdiya with an extent of ca. 15 (N/S) x 20 (S/W-N/E) x 17 (E/W) km. The most important village to the south-east is the rural center of Halba. The Akkar region descends gently from West to East

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AKKAR, FROM PAGE 29.

and is bordered by a chain of flat hills which forms the northern spur of the Lebanese mountains. The permanent water supply of the region is mainly guaranteed by large springs and several rivers which traverse the plain in a southeast-northwest direction. The most important of the perennial water courses is the Nahr el Kebîr, today the border line between Lebanon and Syria. Together with the adjacent Buqaiya plain, the Akkar region forms one of the most important routes connecting the Mediterranean coast and inland Syria.

From the 2nd millennium BC onwards, the area is mentioned repeatedly in written sources which show the involvement of the region in international political affairs. At various periods the plain of Akkar became a border region between different spheres of influence or was incorporated into larger political units. It seems that for only a few centuries it was politically autonomous and independent. Concerning the written evidence, periods of special interest are the second half of the 2nd mill. BC when the area was involved in the Egyptian-Hittite struggle for domination in Syria and later became part of the newly established kingdom of Amurru, the period of Assyrian presence since the end of the 8th century BC and the later periods since the formation of the Roman province Syria. The last period of supra-regional importance was the Crusader period, when the plain of Akkar became part of the county of Tripoli.

During the 1997 survey campaign 41 archaeological sites, i.e. settlements, single houses, tombs, necropoleis and worked rocks were investigated. Due to the fact that almost the entire plain is an intensively cultivated area with dense plant cover and many fenced plantations a complete investigation of the region is almost impossible. Very small sites like single houses, farmsteads or one-phase villages can hardly be found. The investigated settlements are mostly larger sites, quite often covered by modern villages. Although this limits the following assertions to a certain degree, specific trends of occupation are nevertheless discernable. One of those is the distinct increase of settlement intensity during the post-Iron age periods when all of the larger sites were inhabited. This

concerns mainly the Hellenistic to Late Roman/Early Byzantine time, the pottery of which, the main surface material, is rather easy to recognize. Much more problematic is the recognition of the different Islamic periods. It is especially the time span between the 11th and the 14th century for which excavated sites offer comparisons. Still extremely difficult, if not impossible, is the identification of the early Islamic period (7th-10th century) through the pottery, because little comparative material is available. One of the most important early Islamic sites in the Levant, 'Anjar, located in the central Beqa'a valley, was excavated intensively by M. Chehab (1963), but unfortunately, no information about the pottery of the site has yet been published. Therefore, the find of an Early Islamic coin at the site of Dahr el-Biara is of special importance as it is the only archaeological surface evidence for occupation during that period until now (see the appendix by S. Heidemann). However, a more detailed analysis of the material might change these initial impressions.

Among the surface sherds it is above all the glazed material which is of diagnostic value. Besides a large quantity of monochrome glazed pottery, which is difficult to date, several kinds of sgraffito wares (fig.2-3) and slip-painted wares (fig.4) were found. These types are well known from stratified contexts of the 13th to the 14th century in the region of Tripoli (groups AI.3, AI.5 and A II.1 of the classification of H. Salamé-Sarkis (Salamé-Sarkis 1980: pl.LXXII) and Tell 'Arqa (Hakimian, Salamé-Sarkis 1988). Comparable types are found at 'Atlîl, al Mina and Apameia. Stratified pottery types of the 11th century are known mainly from the sûq area at Beirut. Almost completely missing are luxury pottery types like lustre wares which are frequent at medieval Ḥama, for example.

According to the preliminary pottery analysis only four sites show traces of the Fatimid period of the 11th century. An increase of settlements is reported for the 12/13th century (10 sites), and a rather dense occupation is testified for the 14th century as well (11 sites). Due to the lack of comparative material, a differentiation of later periods, i.e. Late Mamluk and Early Ottoman times is not yet possible. Diagnostics of the Late Ottoman period (19th century) are mainly specific kinds of clay

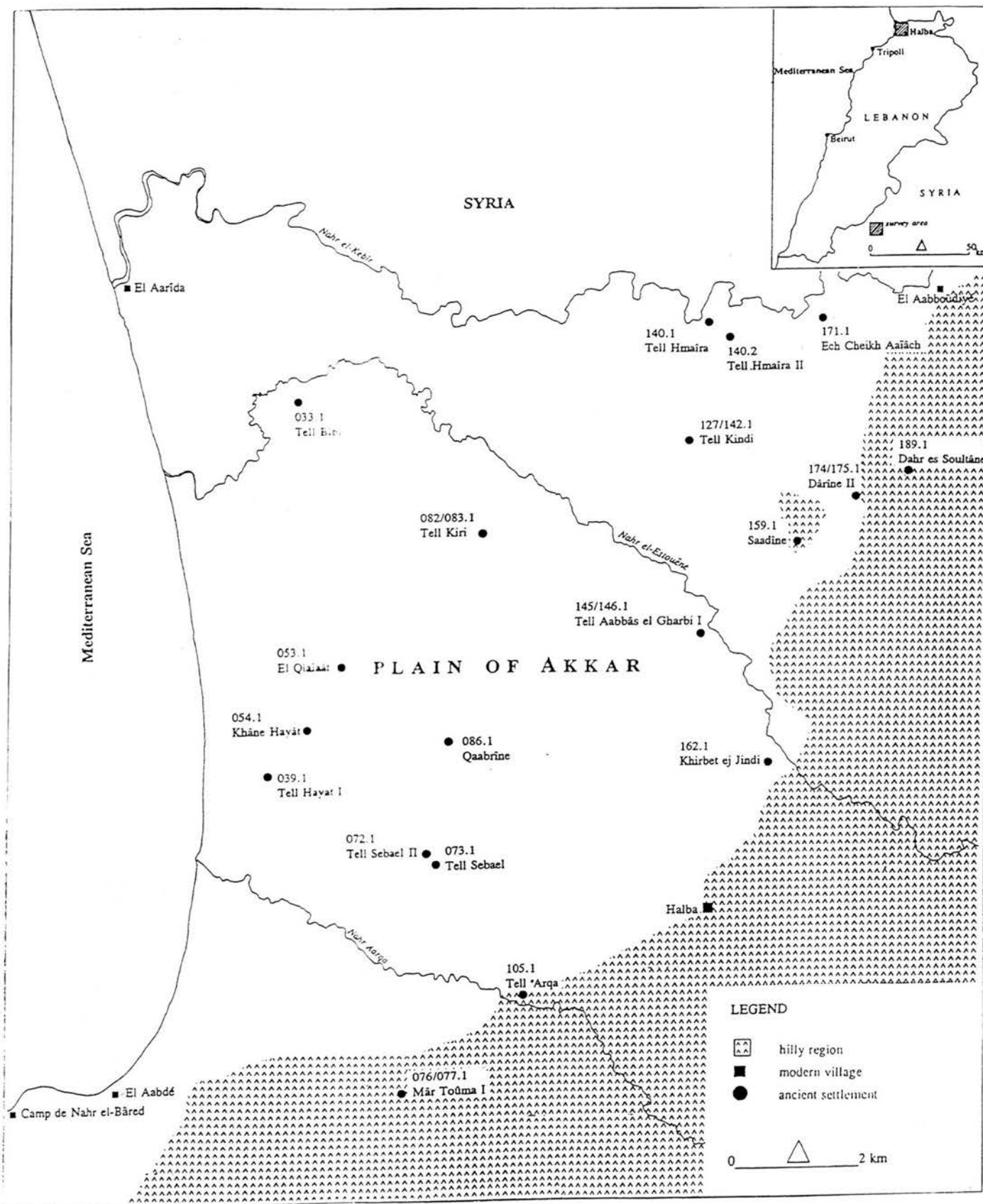


Figure 1. Settlements of the Islamic period in the plain of Akkar.

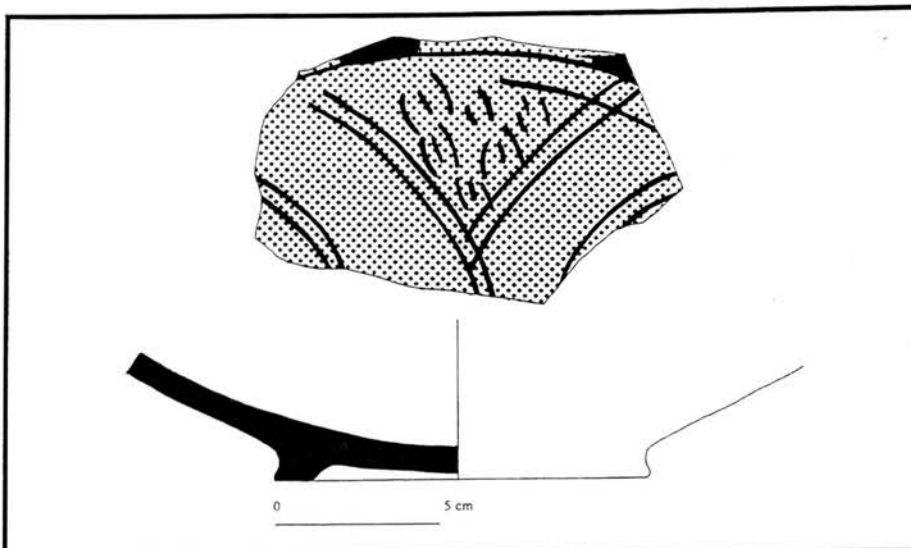


Figure 2. Sgraffito ware, yellow glaze with brown decoration, green splashes.

pipes (fig.5). To sum up, 18 settlements show traces of Islamic and Late Ottoman period occupation, 12 of which could be roughly dated (fig.1).

With regard to the type of settlements it can be stated that only a few sites of the Middle Islamic period are new foundations. Most of them seem to have been inhabited periodically or continuously since the Hellenistic/Roman period or even earlier. The sizes of the sites are mostly difficult to determine. Since there are few large (2-3 ha) settlements in the area at all, almost all of the places might have been small to medium-size villages or single farmsteads. The most important places during the Islamic era were 'Arqa ('Irqa according to Islamic sources) and Halba (Albe of the Crusaders), both situated at the southern fringe of the Akkar plain. The site of 'Arqa seems to have dominated the plain since the first urbanization during the Early Bronze Age and was inhabited almost continuously since then (Thalman

1997). The ancient site of Halba is completely covered by the modern village, so that archaeological traces are hardly to be found on the surface.

The political history of the plain of Akkar during the Islamic period is strongly connected to the history of Tripoli since, in a broader sense, it was part of its hinterland. During the Early Islamic period the region formed the northwestern part of the Jund Dimashq and came under Fatimid rule at the beginning of the 11th century. A short period of autonomy began with the reign of the Banū 'Ammār in 1070. In 1099 the crusaders under Raymond de St. Gilles started a substantial attempt to conquer Tripoli, which succeeded in 1108. In both years 'Arqa was besieged as well. After the fall of Tripoli the plain of Akkar became part of the county of Tripoli, which

remained an independent political unit for nearly 200 years. During the Crusader period estates of 'Arqa as well as several other sites in the Akkar plain were given as casale to the Hospitallers. The most important was Coliath/Qulei' at which is to be identified with Qlaiaât, today a huge ruin on top of a rock. Others were Manacusine, Merjemim, Castrum Rubrum and Somaquie, probably all of them located north of the Nahr el-Kebîr. Difficult to localize are the forts of Babiya, Loutouros, and Hişn el-Hamâm mentioned by Idrisi. It was suggested they might be at Tell Bîbî, Tell Kîrî and Qlaiaât (Dussaud 1927:90), an assumption which could not be verified until now. However, with the Mamluk reconquest in 1266 the most important sites of the region like 'Arqa, Albe/Halba and Qulei'at came under their dominion.

To conclude, it can be stated that during 12th to 14th centuries the plain of Akkar was a rather densely settled area dominated on a local level by 'Arqa/'Irqa and on the regional level by Tripoli. Probably, the ancient settlement pattern might have been similar to the recent occupation, characterized by only a few larger villages in the plain and a chain of villages at the hilly fringes of the east and south. However, it might well be that further research will modify these preliminary results.

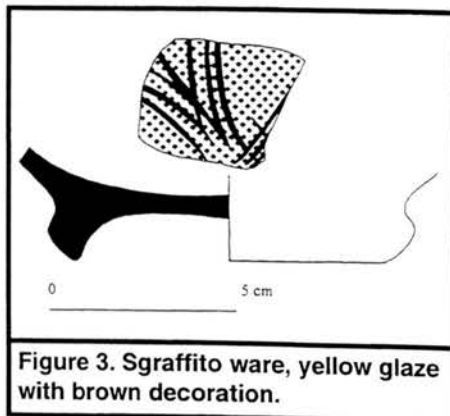


Figure 3. Sgraffito ware, yellow glaze with brown decoration.

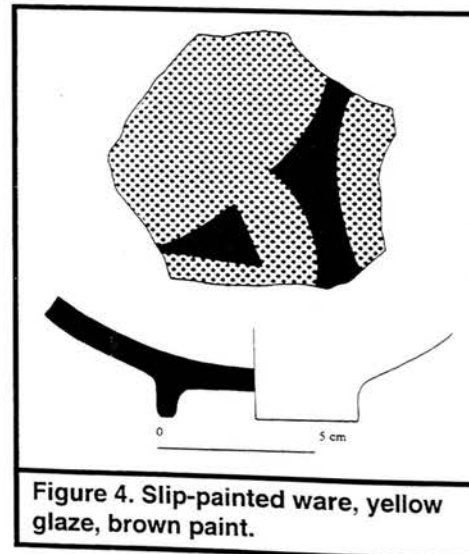


Figure 4. Slip-painted ware, yellow glaze, brown paint.



Figure 5. Clay pipe.

Appendix

An Early Islamic Coin from the Plain of Akkar

by Stefan Heidemann

The Akkar survey produced few early Islamic finds other than pottery. One of the exceptions was a coin, found in Dahr al-Biara, a site known for several rock-cut tombs. It is situated ca. 3.5 km west of Tell 'Arqa/'Irqa. The coin is a typical product of the mint of Ba'labakk (17mm; die-axis 5h) (Walker, no.766). Following the newly proposed sequence of issues for Palestinian mints, this particular Ba'labakk issue dates probably into the 120s/740s or 130s/750s (Ilisch, no.496ff). On the basis of the diameter and the photographs examined, this coin belongs to the early issues of this type, which runs well into the early 'Abbāsid decades. Ba'labakk was one of the two major mints, beside Ḥimṣ, active in the immediate region in the early Islamic period, and probably influencing the circulation within the plain of Akkar.

The neighboring town of 'Irqa also served at this time as a mint, for at least two copper coin issues. (This mint was identified by Lutz Ilisch to whom I gratefully owe this information.) The first issue corresponds to this Ba'labakk issue, which indicates that 'Irqa belonged to the administrative district of Ba'labakk in the late Umayyad or early 'Abbāsid period. The second issue was published by H. Lavoix and newly attributed by L. Ilisch (Lavoix, no.1665). Both issues indicate the impor-

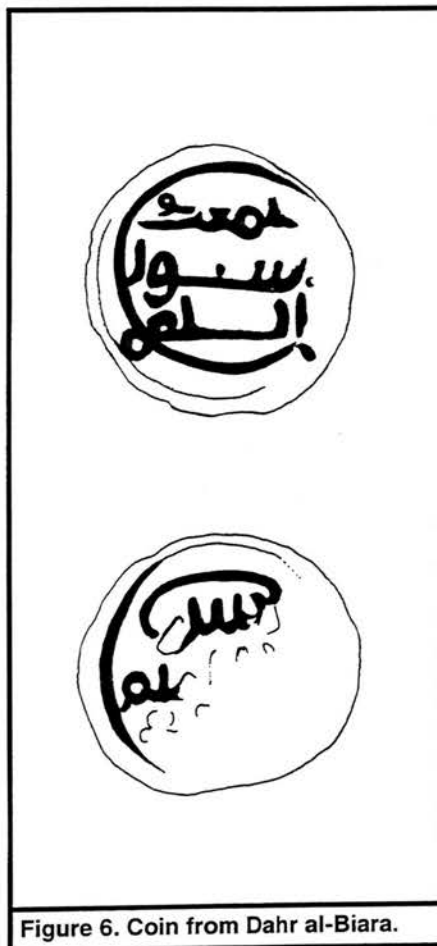


Figure 6. Coin from Dahr al-Biara.

tance of 'Irqa as a local market and administrative center. Further coin discoveries from the survey will yield additional information on the political and administrative organization of the Akkar plain during the early Islamic period.

Bibliographical Note:

We are grateful to Sami el-Masri, currently working on the Mamluk of Beirut,

for his hints concerning the glazed pottery types.

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If you would like to join H- MIDEAST MEDIEVAL send this email message to listserv@h-net.msu.edu: sub H-MIDEAST-MEDIEVAL your name, institution. Example: sub H-MIDEAST-MEDIEVAL Jane Smith, Illinois State U. Follow the instructions in the reply that LISTSERV will send you in response to this command.

The Islamic Cult of Saints and Medieval Popular Culture

by Josef W. Meri

Inspired by devotion to God and the Prophet Muḥammad, medieval Sunni and Shi'i Muslims, like Jews and Christians, venerated holy persons whom they regarded as intercessors with God. In so doing, they sought comfort, fulfillment of spiritual and material needs, cures and blessing (*baraka*). Holy persons inspired medieval Muslim writers, theologians and devotees to search Tradition and recount the stories and legends of their past to preserve their sacred history and perpetuate for future generations the memory of holy persons and sacred places. The *iyāra* (lit. visit), a pious visit to a tomb, was transformed over the centuries into pilgrimage to locally and universally recognized sacred cult centers and shrine complexes throughout the Near East from North Africa to Persia. Sometimes this involved following specific routes, observing and even partaking in rituals and customs. Unlike the Hajj, or canonical pilgrimage, which is incumbent upon all Muslims (Qur'an 3:97), the *iyāra* as it came to be associated with the veneration of prophets and saints (here a designation for all holy persons) lacked the authority of Scripture and the Sunna of the Prophet. On this basis alone, the *iyāra* can not merely be regarded as a part of popular culture. *Ziyāra* and the veneration of saints, like popular festivals (i.e., Nawrūz, Khamīs al-'Adas, Khamīs al-Ruzz, etc.) are often regarded as part of popular culture. The *iyāra* was far from a popular phenom-

enon. In its most fundamental sense *iyāra* refers to visiting the tombs of the deceased. The Prophet Muḥammad enjoined *iyāra* for remembering God and the Hereafter, reciting the *fātiha* or opening chapter of the Qur'an, and remembering the deceased and seeking God's intercession on his behalf. Indeed, some Sunni theologians and pilgrimage guide writers took the Hadith traditions referring to visiting tombs as a justification for making *iyāra* to the tombs and shrines of saints and other holy persons. However, this did not legitimize certain practices, such as resting on and rubbing against tombs, taking soil from them, lighting candles and making votive offerings.

Is the cult of saints as it is reflected in the writings of medieval Muslims popular in its conception and articulation? Shoshan has demonstrated in his presentation of festivals like the *mawlid al-nabawī*, which commemorates the birth of the Prophet, and Nawrūz that an interchange existed between the common people and the elite. All segment of society played a socially defined role which brought them together to partake in the public festivities. Whereas festivals, like the *mawlid*s celebrating the birth or death of a saint, occurred annually, sometimes in conjunction with *iyāra*, the *iyāra* was performed whenever the devotee had a need and in certain instances, at particularly efficacious times. Although it is convenient to relegate the veneration of saints and pilgrimage to

shrines to aspects of popular culture, this distinction does not account for the complex relationship that existed between various elements of society. The cult of saints was previously thought to be a peripheral phenomenon existing at the margins of Islamic society and borne of the common people. This popular misconception arose through a false comparison with Late Antiquity and Christian Europe, where an ecclesiastical hierarchy exercised control over the veneration of saints through creating cults. By contrast, Muslim devotees established shrines through physical and dream encounters with the saint and through popular consensus. Indeed, Egyptian pilgrimage guides contain stories of encounters with saints which were recorded posthumously. Occasionally, historical works mention common people partaking in processions at times of crisis and during official and popular celebrations. Yet, the significance of those elements, which comprise "high" and "low" culture, is not fully understood. Another approach is to examine the development of traditions and the forms of ritual behavior, which they depict. One relatively unexplored corpus is the pilgrimage guides (*kutub al-iyārāt*) and *iyāra* traditions. Islamic pilgrimage literature provides insight into the nature of the devotional practices of different segments of Islamic society. Pilgrimage guides are a devotional genre, which devotees sometimes employed while making *iyāra*. Sometimes they were written for a

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mentor or a ruler, while at others they were meant for learned guides who led pious devotees on tours of shrines. Shi'i guides were meant for the learned who instructed the common people in the traditions of the imams. Shi'i guides often include a section of supplications intended for memorization. Apart from pilgrimage guides, travelers like Ibn Jubayr (d.1217) and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (d.1368/69), theologians and traditionists like Ibn 'Asākir (d.1176), and historians like Ibn al-'Adīm (d.1262) and Ibn Shaddād (d.1285) commonly refer to the traditions and beliefs of a region's inhabitants which often include popular elements and occasionally, rituals which pilgrims performed. Learned shaykhs and common people orally transmitted stories and anecdotes found in pilgrimage literature.

Among the ranks of devotees who performed *iyāra* were scholars and theologians, sultans and caliphs, Sufis and common people. Each contributes a unique perspective to our understanding of the Islamic veneration of saints. Similarly, the writings of opponents of the veneration of saints and making *iyāra* reveal an important dimension of *iyāra* practice. The Hanbali theologian Ibn Taymiya (d.1328) and his disciples regarded certain ritual acts such as lying on or kissing tombs as heretical innovation (*bid'a*) and the veneration of saints at shrines as polytheism (*shirk*). Since writers and theologians associated such ritual practices with ignorant and misguided individuals, they could be labeled as "popular." However, this also implies that such practices were widespread, which is not the case. Pilgrimage guides which discuss the etiquette (*adab*) of *iyāra* generally

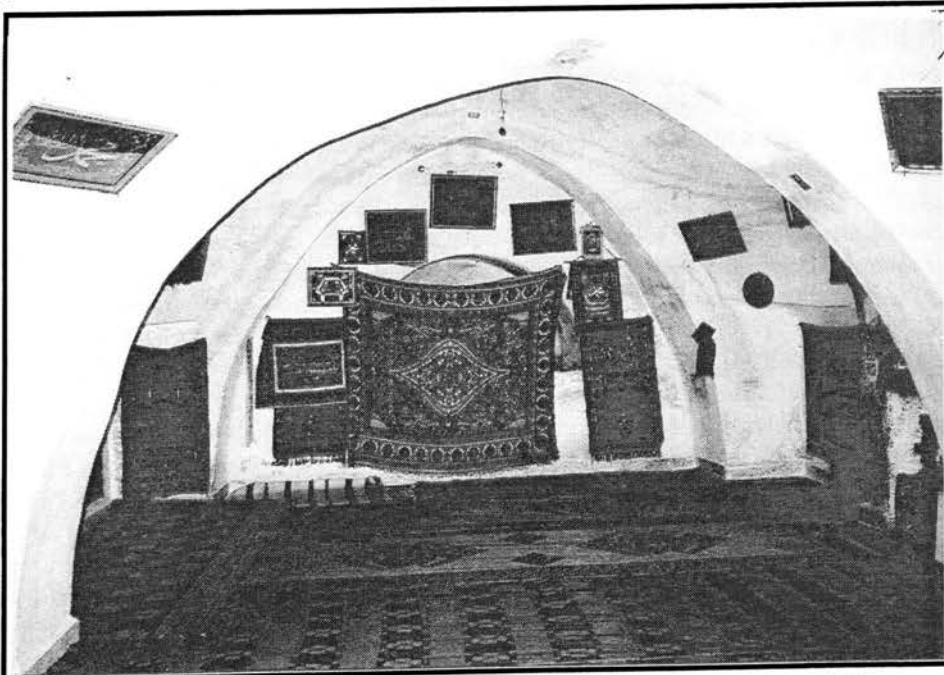
refer to prohibited and commendable practices. The latter includes lying on and kissing tombs. Mention of certain ritual acts may give the impression that *ziyāra* was a popular phenomenon. Performing immoral acts at shrines or the intermingling of the sexes is often mentioned in the writings of Hanbali and occasionally, Shafi'i theologians and in pilgrimage guides.

Pilgrimage guides -- A survey of pilgrimage guides for Egypt, Syria and Iraq reveals a heterogeneous genre composed of traditions of the Prophet, oral traditions, and local historical traditions. The Umma and its prophets, Companions, Followers, and righteous saints become an ever-present reality in the conception of pilgrimage guides.

The earliest known pilgrimage

ety of rituals performed at the shrines of the imams, most notably those of the Prophet Muḥammad's cousin and son-in-law 'Alī and the latter's son Ḥusayn. The level of institutionalization of the *iyāra* was unparalleled anywhere else in the Islamic world. By the tenth century, the *manāsik* (sacred rights) of *iyāra* (in contrast to the Sunni *adab al-iyāra*) were institutionalized in the writings of prominent Shi'i theologians. Indeed, the Shi'i veneration of saints was much more a central part of religious doctrine and belief than in the Sunni case. For all Shi'is wherever they resided, *iyāra* was enshrined in the traditions of the imams, most notably, the sixth imam Ja'far al-Ṣādiq (d.765). Every Shi'i partook in these traditions and believed in the merits of performing *iyāra*. At the

center of the Shi'i veneration of the 'Alids was the murder of 'Alī and especially, his son Ḥusayn, which reflect the internalization and deep spiritual affliction suffered by all devotees during *iyāra*. From the time the Shi'i devotee set out to the shrines and on every stage of the journey, he prayed and performed other devotional acts, such as wearing a white garment and ritual immersion in the Euphrates. Guides instruct Shi'is to re-



Shrine of the pious caliph 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, Qal'at Sam'an, Syria.

guide was compiled by the Shi'i theologian Ibn Faḍḍāl (d.838/39) and the earliest surviving guide was composed by Ibn Qūlūya (d.978/79) and served as a basis for many later Shi'i guides. Shi'i guides contain Hadith and the traditions of the imams, *fada'il* traditions in praise of holy cities like Kufa and Karbalā' and generally, do not contain popular stories about miracles performed by the imams. Above all, these guides illustrate the complexity and vari-

cite certain prayers and perform certain rituals such as alternately laying both cheeks on the tomb. Devotees performed *iyāra* at certain sacred and historically significant days, such as the day the Qur'ān was first revealed or the birthday of the Prophet. They also followed a specific itinerary. By contrast, Sunni guides generally recom-

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Obituary

Albrecht Noth (1938-1999)

by Lawrence I. Conrad

In June of this year I travelled to the University of Hamburg to deliver a lecture at the Seminar für Geschichte und Kultur des Vorderen Orients. My topic, ironically enough, was the question of suffering in medieval Islam, and was to be delivered less than four months after the death of my close friend Albrecht Noth in the wake of a long and difficult struggle against cancer. The continuing presence of Noth in the Seminar was ubiquitous. His office door and department mailbox still bore his name plate, such and such a book was "in Mr. Noth's room", and students and colleagues spoke of him almost constantly: "well, Professor Noth said that...", "that reminds me of when Albrecht...", "Noth always wanted to...", and so forth. Clearly the loss was not just of an extraordinary scholar, but of an extraordinary personality as well.

Noth was born on the eve of the Second World War in 1938 in the East Prussian city of Königsberg. He was the second of four siblings, and his father was the world-famous biblical scholar Martin Noth, who taught at the University. As the war progressed Professor Noth became increasingly apprehensive for the welfare of his family; early in 1945 they moved to Dresden, and soon thereafter endured the great fire bombing that destroyed the city. After the war the Noths lived in the Rhineland. The young Albrecht Noth soon developed an interest in European history, which he studied at Freiburg and then Bonn. His main influence at Bonn was the medievalist Reinhard Elze, who worked primarily on Italy and Germany in the high Middle Ages and instilled his student with an enduring interest in historiography, diplomatic, and chancery practice.

Noth studied Latin and gained a mastery of the sources and scholarly literature for medieval European history, but while professional scholarship beckoned he did not follow Elze into a career in his field. The European Middle Ages were well-trodden scholarly turf, and as he put it to me more than once: "I did not want to write the 1000th article on Charlemagne or the 100th book on the Holy Roman Empire." Of more interest to him was the medieval Middle East, which was taught at Bonn by Otto Spies, a Turkologist with broad interests in the pre-modern Islamic world. Encouraged by Spies, Noth took up the study of Arabic and eventually combined his European and Middle East interests in a dissertation entitled *Heiliger Krieg und heiliger Kampf in Islam und Christentum. Beiträge zur Vorgeschichte und Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, completed in 1964 and published in Bonn two years later. In this work Noth examined the relationship between the ideas of holy war and sacred struggle in medieval Islam and Christianity and concluded that while there are major similarities, the ideas on both sides at first developed independently; in medieval times Islamic ideas of jihad may have been known to and influential in Christian Europe. The book was a rich ground-breaking study that also explored such themes as relations between the secular and religious spheres and thinking on martyrdom; further, it on the one hand demonstrated how efforts were made to legitimate the perceptions of a given period by retrojecting them back into an earlier time, and on the other suggested methodologies for reconstructing this process of development historically. As a dissertation the study won Bonn's Universitätspreis for its author.

Research on this subject intensified Noth's interests in early Islam and the historiography of the period and left him with a large corpus of notes and other materials on the Arab conquests. For his Habilitationsschrift he decided to explore further the ways in which accounts of the conquests had been recast and elaborated in subsequent times. The result of this investigation was his *Quellenkritische Studien zu Themen, Formen und Tendenzen frühislamischer Geschichtsüberlieferung*, submitted for his Habilitation in 1970; the first half was published at Bonn in 1973, while most of the rest of the work, originally envisaged as a second volume, appeared as articles shortly thereafter. Reaction to this groundbreaking work was muted at first, and Noth remembered wryly that the only review that aroused his interest was one by Gautier Juynboll, whose reference to his title as "sesquipedalian" (i.e. characterized by the use of many long words) sent him hurrying for his dictionary.

Quellenkritische Studien was important in several ways. It disproved the prevailing Wellhausen thesis, which had argued that early Muslim scholars transmitted historical accounts and compiled historical works according to thematic and critical approaches typical of different regions. Noth agreed that general tendencies could in fact be identified, but demonstrated that strictly speaking these could be found in the materials of tradents from all regions, and hence that a proper assessment of these features required investigation of sources across the whole range of early historical writing. His emphasis on reading sources horizontally, across boundaries of different regions, events, authors, texts, and genres, as opposed to

vertically, in chronological order within a given category, also served to highlight how stereotypical motifs were used to articulate stories about the past or fill in older accounts that lacked the detail sought by later generations.

But Noth was first and foremost a historian (and proud of the fact that he had been trained as such), and more important in his own estimation was the book's potential as a guide to ways in which research could move past the difficulties posed by the sources. For him *Quellenkritische Studien* was a practical manual, and in his assessment of primary and secondary themes, for example, his main concern was to indicate domains in which historians should and should not expect to find reliable material. Views of him as a pessimist or methodological extremist dismayed and irritated him; while he considered that the required re-evaluation of the early Arabic historical tradition would expose much as baseless, in so far as its narration of historical fact was concerned, he was convinced that much could still be known about early Islamic history. As for the rest, inventions did not become less so by refusal to recognize them, while their proper understanding offered valuable new insights into the thinking and perceptions of the times in which they emerged.

The importance of the work was obvious, and Noth was soon appointed to a position in the Seminar für orientalische Sprachen at Bonn, from which he later moved on to a post in the Near East department. His teaching responsibility in Bonn was wide-ranging, and included instruction in Arabic and courses on the modern as well as medieval Near East. This diversity of interests was often missed by others, his contributions to early Islamic historiography being of such importance that they often overshadowed his other work. This sometimes irked him, and in 1996, as he returned to me the proofs of an article on the "sahaba topos", he told me that he intended to write nothing more on historiography and planned to move on to his other interests. These included work on minorities in the Islamic world, a topic upon which he had touched in *Quellenkritische Studien* and to which he devoted several important articles subsequently; in 1972 he and Tilman Nagel initiated a major project to study this question. His other great interest, a continuing influence from his days as a student of Elze, was medieval chancery practice, and in 1975 he took responsibility for the editing of the Arabic and Arabic-Greek documents from Norman Sicily for the Codex diplomaticus regni Siciliae; unfortunately, he was able to publish only a few short studies before his last illness. Very few colleagues knew of or appreciated his interests and abilities in historical studies beyond the domain of the Near East, or in historical applications of the social sciences. He was co-editor of the world history journal *Saeculum* and participated in projects of the Institut für historische Anthropologie on such themes as the rise and development of legal traditions, childhood, youth and family, and casualties of war. Beyond this, he often spoke of work on medieval Islamic social structure, a theme to which he hoped to devote at least part of his retirement. The trend of his thinking on this last topic can be seen in two studies he published just before his death, dealing with the dynamics of group formation and the development of a sense of an Islamic world order out of the early Medinan idea of umma (in Albrecht Noth and Jürgen Paul, eds., *Der islamischen Orient. Grund üge seiner Geschichte*, Würzburg 1998, 81-149).

His career was hampered by repeated and serious health problems. He did not complain about these, but as they hampered his work he took them as signs of personal failing and was extremely self-critical on this point. Nevertheless, much of importance was achieved. A project to organize and conserve the ancient Qur'an fragments discovered in the Great Mosque of Sanaa was pursued to a successful conclusion between 1979 and 1987; cataloguing of the vast materials collected, sorted, and photographed in Yemen has since been entrusted to his colleague Gerd-Rüdiger Puin at Saarbrücken. In collaboration with this writer he undertook what we liked to call "the Nothbook" -- a new edition of *Quellenkritische Studien*, published in English translation (by Michael Bonner, at the University of Michigan) as *The Early Arabic Historical Tradition: a Source-Critical Study* in 1994. Noth was in fact quite fond of collaborative work and derived great satisfaction and intellectual stimulation from close interactions with colleagues. This was already evident at Bonn, where there emerged an increasingly well-known and close circle of colleagues in the field of medieval Middle East history: Heinz Halm, Tilman Nagel, Noth, Puin, Gernot Rotter, and Werner Schmucker. Noth was a frequent participant in conferences, and in particular valued his contacts with the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas in Madrid, the Late Antiquity and Early Islam Project in London, and the Institute of Asian and African Studies at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. He also took up a number of visiting professorships that he enjoyed enormously: 1973-74 at UCLA, 1989 at the University of Sanaa, and 1990-91 at the University of Bordeaux. In 1982 he became co-editor of the Hamburg journal *Der Islam* and eventually took on sole editorship.

Personally Albrecht Noth was a complex individual. He was very close to his family and spoke often of his son Florian, now a physician in Hamburg. But he had mixed memories of his own childhood as the son of a German professor of the old school: Martin Noth's study and much of his life were forbidden to all but his colleagues, and when Albrecht and I were planning sessions in London and Hamburg for work on the "Nothbook" he insisted that my children should have complete freedom in his house -- he only slightly winced when he retired to his cherished "coffee corner" to discover that my daughter had mixed, in his favourite mechanical ashtray, a custom-made cocktail of tobacco, cigarette papers, coffee, cream, sugar, paper clips, erasers, and whatever else happened to be less than a metre off the floor. Some of our best family

memories include him, and he seemed to be as fond of them as we were: trips through the woodlands of Hertfordshire searching for a Brompton collapsible bicycle for him to the tunes of Strauss, evening barbecues in the parks of Winterhude, extravagant birthday cakes and Lego pirate ships for my son, paddle-boats on the canals of Hamburg full of Arabists and beer, dinner in an elegant English country pub -- just too solemn for words until my son brought the house down, and Noth along with it, with a shrill warning to his sister concerning the menu: "Lisa, Albrecht's restaurant kills ducks!"

Noth's complexities were evident in his professional life. Where his own writing was concerned he was extremely demanding and critical. He read voraciously and widely (e.g. the *Mi'yār* of al-Wansharīsī 'for information'), and worked to a meticulously detailed standard; his research materials for *Quellenkritische Studien*, for example, included a complete file-card isnad index for the reports transmitted by Sayf ibn `Umar. Nevertheless, he was always prepared to question not only whether his conclusions were correct, but also whether scholarship would in any real way be advanced by what he had to say. His eventual decision to leave the field of historiography, for example, was in part based on his feeling that henceforth what he had to offer would simply comprise further illustrations of paradigms and ideas he had already put on record. His readiness to find fault with his own work was in my view excessive, but in at least one case it did have positive repercussions. The "Nothbook" was the direct result of a visit of his to London, when, as he pored over the bookshelves in my office, he spied my copy of *Quellenkritische Studien* and, to my absolute horror, pulled it out to have a look. Page upon page of marginal notes and comments from my graduate student days at the American University of Beirut, some rather uncharitable and many simply naive, excited his amusement, but also his interest. My efforts to reclaim the incriminating tome were in vain: "No, I must see it all," he insisted. At the end he suggested that we work together on an updated edition, incorporating additional source material and taking into account more recent scholarship and opportunities to clarify and elaborate various points.

With colleagues and students, on the other hand, and as the above example indicates, Noth was endlessly encouraging and willing to see the best side of things. He was exceptionally affable, good-humoured, very informal, and ever ready to help and encourage with advice or assistance -- all qualities that facilitated his contacts with colleagues and students. During breaks at conferences he was almost instantly surrounded and engaged in discussions on a myriad of topics, and he was always on the prowl for excellent articles for journals with which he was affiliated, or for materials that might be of interest or benefit to his students.

Noth's time in Bonn was extremely positive and invigorating period, but what really brought him into his element was his appointment in 1980 to the professorship of Near Eastern culture and history at Hamburg. His predecessor was Bertold Spuler, who had held the post for 32 years, longer than any other incumbent to this chair. Trained in classical philology, history, and Slavic and Oriental studies, Spuler was a profoundly learned scholar who in April 1948 came to a city and university struggling to recover from the physical and intellectual devastation of the Second World War. It was Spuler who restored the heritage of Becker, Ritter, Krenkow, and the others who had contributed so much to the establishment of Middle East studies at Hamburg, and this, coupled with Spuler's phenomenal record of publication, made for a very tough act to follow.

Noth plunged into his task with his usual energy and associated Hamburg with some of the most important scholarly endeavours in Middle East studies being undertaken in Germany, most notably the Qur'an project in Sanaa and more recently a major study of the contemporary Palestinian press. The standards of the Seminar and its journal *Der Islam* remained very high, and it was to Noth's credit that neither were allowed to narrow to mirror his own personal interests. But he more than once commented that a university is as much about teaching as it is about research; the former loomed large in his conception of his role, and as a teacher and head of the Seminar he especially excelled. Under Noth the Seminar became an extraordinarily positive and cordial place to study and work; an "open door" policy granted students greater access to teachers, and many old traditional formalities -- a favourite target of Noth's in any case -- were discarded. He was frequently to be seen in one of the many pleasant cafes, restaurants, or Weinstuben of Hamburg with students, and good ones were often given important responsibilities in the Seminar. Ph.D. students chose their subjects rather than working on topics of an advisor's choosing, and Noth was especially pleased when an outstanding student decided to pursue a perspective with which he personally disagreed. It was typical of him to comment that a student was making important discoveries where he had not expected much to emerge. "Today I shall again learn something," he once said with evident relish as he headed off for a meeting with a student working on early hadith.

In a way that I never could understand, he managed to make what must have been a gruelling schedule look very relaxed. Part of this had to do with his insistence that two aspects of his personal life remain inviolable. In the morning, often at the crack of dawn, he would rise for his daily run, usually of many kilometres. Hamburg, Beirut, Jerusalem, London, Oxford, Madrid -- it mattered not; on this he simply would not be denied, even by the foulest weather that England could hurl against him. His other sacred cow was his afternoon siesta. He frequently joked at how he preferred invitations from universities within his self-proclaimed "zone of civilization", i.e. in lands where such a siesta is a daily adult

requirement. In Hamburg he simply returned home, disconnected the street-level doorbell to his flat, took the telephone off the hook, and retired.

At this early point, and perhaps especially for this observer, it is difficult to assess the ways in which Noth's legacy will prove to be a lasting one. His *Quellenkritische Studien* has already established itself as a seminal contribution to early Arabic historiography, and this will surely be remembered as his greatest work. There is still hesitation to embrace its sweeping scepticism, not so much because of perceived flaws in his arguments, I suspect, as because of their implications -- if Noth was right, then vast expanses of the historical landscape of early Islam, as construed by traditional positivist scholarship, are called into serious doubt. But Noth did not believe that his paradigm would point the way to discovery of an Islamic history unrecognizable from the early sources, and he would have been the first to admit that his work leaves many questions unanswered and much room for alternative explanation. During work on the "Nothbook" I once commented how refreshing it was that he was not adopting a "Horatio at the bridge" attitude. His immediate response was of course not; a scholar ought to welcome challenges and debate as part of the contribution of his work. He was in fact immensely stimulated by the work of scholars -- Fred Donner, M.J. Kister, Michael Lecker, and Harald Motzki ranked among his favourites -- who put the fox among his chickens.

In time, however, other work may well come to prominence. *Heiliger Krieg und heiliger Kampf*, the enthusiastic work of a young scholar aware of the importance of the new vistas he was revealing, is an extraordinary work with suggestive implications for topics well beyond those obvious from its title. I suspect that its limited original circulation, as a Bonn Ph.D. dissertation printed by a small local firm, has been a factor in its rather restricted influence thus far. His studies on minorities deserve greater attention, as does his lengthy "Früher Islam," published in the late Ulrich Haarmann's collaborative *Geschichte der arabischen Welt* (Munich 1987, 11-100); this latter study demonstrated that within Noth's vision of early Arabic historiography it is still possible to write history. And the Sanaa Qur'an project promises to yield results of tremendous significance, though the exact import of these must await the cataloguing now proceeding at Saarbrücken.

I suspect, however, that Noth would have said that scholarship moves on, and that what counts is a scholar's impact on his students and university. The fruits of Noth's efforts in this regard are readily to hand. His Seminar currently prepares to move to new quarters in Rothenbaumchaussee, and it is hardly difficult to see why. There are nearly 200 undergraduate students at Hamburg majoring in Islamic studies, and over the past ten years the pace of post-graduate work, measured in terms of advanced degrees granted, has more than quadrupled. The sense of momentum and direction is almost palpable. Among those closest to these developments there is no doubt as to where the credit for this belongs. The greatest tribute that Albrecht Noth could receive, I would suggest, comes not from this writer, or any other professional colleague who benefitted from his learning and friendship, but rather from a former student of his who had gone on to a career in electronic communications. One evening during my last visit to Hamburg I was invited to join a group for drinks at a local restaurant. Corks popped, candles flickered, and the group suddenly went quiet as this student raised her glass, paused for a moment as she looked around the table, and proposed a toast. "To Albrecht Noth".

ANNUAL MEETINGS

Organization	When and Where	Information	Telephone/Fax/Email/Web
Middle East Studies Association (1999 Meeting)	Nov. 19-22, 1999 Washington, DC [Paper Deadline: Past]	MESA Secretariat University of Arizona 1232 N. Cherry Ave. Tucson, AZ 85721	(520)-621-5850 mesa@ccit.arizona.edu http://www.mesa.arizona.edu
Middle East Studies Association (2000 Meeting)	Nov. 16-19, 2000 Orlando, FL [Abstract Deadline: Feb. 15 2000]	see preceding	see preceding
American Oriental Society (2000 Meeting)	March 12-15, 2000 Portland, OR [Abstract Deadline: Oct. 31 1999]	American Oriental Society Hatcher Graduate Library University of Michigan Ann Arbor, MI 48109-1205	(734)-764-7555 http://www.umich.edu/~aos/
American Historical Association (2000 Meeting)	Jan. 6-9, 2000 Chicago, IL [Paper Deadline: Past]	American Historical Assn. 400 A Street, S. E. Washington, DC 20003	(202)-544-2422 http://www.Theaha.org/
American Historical Association (2001 Meeting)	Jan. 4-7, 2001 Boston, MA [Paper Deadline: Feb.1 2000]	see preceding	see preceding
The Medieval Institute (2000 Meeting)	May 4-7, 1999 Kalamazoo, MI [Paper Deadline: Past]	The Medieval Institute Western Michigan Univ. 1201 Oliver Street Kalamazoo, MI 49008-3801	Tel.: (616)-387-8745 or (616)-387-8717 Fax: (616)-387-8750 mdvl_congres@wmich.edu http://www.wmich.edu/medieval/
College Art Association (2000 Meeting)	Feb. 23-26, 2000 New York, NY [Paper Deadline: Past]	Suzanne Schanzer 275 Seventh Ave. New York, NY 10001	(212)-691-1051 ext13
College Art Association (2001 Meeting)	Feb.28-Mar.3, 2001 Chicago, IL [Paper Deadline: May 15 2000]	see preceding	see preceding
American Academy of Religion (1999 Meeting)	Nov. 20-23, 1999 Boston, MA [Paper Deadline: Past]	American Academy of Religion 1703 Clifton Rd., Suite G-5 Atlanta, GA 30329-4019	(404)-727-7920 aar@emory.edu

ANNUAL MEETINGS

Organization	When and Where	Information	Telephone/Fax/Email/Web
Byzantine Studies Conference (1999 Meeting)	Nov. 4-7, 1999 Univ. of Maryland College Park, MD [Paper Deadline: Past]	Ralph W. Matheisen Dept. of History Univ. of South Carolina Columbia, SC 29208	Tel.: (803)-777-5195 Fax: (803)-777-4494 http://www.sc.edu/bsc/
International Medieval Congress (2000 Meeting) "Time and Eternity"	July 10-13, 2000 Leeds, UK [Paper Deadline: Past]	M. O'Doherty/J. Opmeer IMC, Parkinson 1.03 University of Leeds Leeds LS2 9JT UK	Tel.: +44 (113) 233-3614 Fax: +44 (113) 233-3616 IMC@leeds.ac.uk
Dumbarton Oaks Conference: (2000 Meeting) "Byzantine Pilgrimage"	May 5-7, 2000 Washington, DC [Paper Invitation only]	Dumbarton Oaks 1703 32nd St., N. W. Washington, DC 20007	(202) 339-6940 http://www.doaks.org/
International Congress of Coptic Studies (2000 Meeting)	Aug. 27-Sep. 2, 2000 Leiden, The Netherlands	Jacques van der Vliet IACS Congress Secretary TCNO, sectie Egyptologie & Koptologie Postbus 9515, NL-2300 RA Leiden, The Netherlands	copt2000@rullet.leidenuniv.nl
International Congress of Asian and North African Studies (2000 Meeting)	Aug. 27-Sep. 1, 2000 Montreal, Canada	ICANAS 2000 Secretariat Bureau des congrés Université de Montreal P.O. Box 6128, Station Downtown Montreal, Quebec H3C 3J7 Canada	514-343-6492 congres@bcoc.umontreal.ca

NEWS OF MEM

MEM's New Honorary Member

The Board of Directors of MEM has announced the selection of Dr. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Dūrī, Professor of History at the University of Jordan, as an Honorary Member of MEM. Honorary Membership in MEM, a gratis lifetime membership, is extended by the Board to a very small number of senior scholars in recognition of their outstanding contributions to the study of the medieval Middle East through their publications and teaching. Professor Duri's selection brings the number of living Honorary Members of MEM to five. MEM's other Honorary Members are Professors David Ayalon (d. 1998), Claude Cahen (d. 1991), Ann K. S. Lambton, Bernard Lewis, George Makdisi, and Franz Rosenthal.

Professor Duri (who publishes in English as A. A. Duri) grew up in Iraq and received his elementary and secondary education there. In 1938, he traveled to England to attend the University of London's renowned School of Oriental and African Studies, where within four years he completed his B.A. and Ph.D., completing his dissertation, "Studies on the Economic Life of Mesopotamia during the Fourth Century A.H." under the direction of Professor Bernard Lewis in 1942.

After completing his doctorate, Professor Duri returned to Iraq to teach at the Teachers' Training College (Dār al-Mu'allimīn al-'Āliya) in Baghdad, at that time the highest educational institution in the country. In 1957, he was invited to serve on the board charged with founding the University of Baghdad, and given responsibility for establishing its College of Arts and Sciences. After a two-year stretch (1958-60) when he was Visiting Professor at the American

University in Beirut, Professor Duri returned to the new University of Baghdad as Professor of History. From 1963 until 1968, he served as President of the University. During this time, he oversaw the creation of new universities in Mosul and Basra; both institutions initially operated under

University of Jordan in Amman, a position which he has held ever since. There he has been instrumental in training a whole generation of historians, a number of whom took their MA degrees under his tutelage and subsequently went to other Arab countries, to Europe, or to North America to earn the doctorate.

Professor Duri's publications are noteworthy for their outstanding quality and their range. His dissertation was published in Arabic as *Ta'rikh al-'Irāq al-iqtisādī fil-qarn al-rābi' al-hijrī* (Baghdad, 1948; reprinted several times), and he has continued to do pioneering work in the area of the economic history of the medieval Middle East, particularly in his book *Muqaddima fi l-ta'rikh al-iqtisādī al-'arabī* [Introduction to Arab Economic History] (Beirut, 1969). He has published extensively on early Islamic history, notably his monographs *Muqaddima fi ta'rikh ṣadr al-islām* [Introduction to the History of Early Islam] (1961) and *Al-Judhūr al-ta'rikhiyya li-l-shu'ūbiyya* [The Historical Roots of the Shu'ūbiyya] (Beirut, 1962). In 1950 he published a monograph on *Al-Nuzūm al-islāmiyya* [Islamic Institutions], essentially a teaching text.

Professor Duri has also shown a deep interest in the themes of historiography and Arab identity. The former he dealt with in his classic work *Baḥṭh fi nash'at 'ilm al-ta'rikh 'inda l-'arab* (Beirut, 1960), translated into English by Lawrence I. Conrad under the title *The Rise of Historical Writing among the Arabs* (Princeton, 1983). The latter, so closely related to the former, he dealt with first in a short monograph entitled *Al-*



the supervision of the University of Baghdad, but became fully autonomous after several years in operation.

Professor Duri left Iraq in 1969, during a period of political turmoil. He spent the academic year 1969-70 once again as Visiting Professor at AUB. In 1970, he was appointed Professor of History at the

Judhūr al-ta'rikhiyya li-l-qawmiyya al-'arabiyya [The Historical Roots of Arab Nationalism] (Beirut, 1960), and then revisited much more extensively in his important work *Al-Takwīn al-ta'rikhī li-l-umma al-'arabiyya*, subsequently translated by L. I. Conrad as *The Historical Formation of the Arab Nation* (London, 1987). He has also edited a large volume of papers, originally delivered at a conference held in Ṣan'ā', Yemen, in 1988, on *Al-Waḥda al-'arabiyya* [Arab Unity] (Beirut, 1989).

Finally, we should note that Professor Duri combines philological skill with his talents for historical interpretation, and has prepared fine editions of two Arabic texts of crucial importance for medieval Islamic history: the *Akhbār al-dawla al-'abbāsiyya* [Reports of the Abbasid revolution] (1971), a unique text describing "from the inside" the inner workings of the Abbasid movement, and a volume of al-Balādhuri's biographical dictionary *Ansāb al-ashrāf* dealing with the Abbasid family.

Professor Duri can clearly be called the doyen of Arab historians, and MEM is proud to number him among its Honorary Members.

MEMBER NEWS

Josef Meri (University of California-Berkeley) is currently a research fellow in Near Eastern Studies at U.C. Berkeley. He is currently revising for publication his doctoral thesis, entitled "Sacred Journeys to Sacred Precincts: The Cult of Saints Among Muslims and Jews in Medieval Syria" (University of Oxford, 1998). He has recently published two articles: "Aspects of Baraka (Blessings) and Ritual Devotion among Medieval Muslims and Jews," in a special issue of *Medieval Encounters: Jewish, Christian and Muslim Culture in Confluence and Dialogue* (March 1999); "The Etiquette of Devotion in the Islamic Cult of Saints," in *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown*, edited by James Howard-Johnston and Paul A. Hayward (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999). A third article: "Re-appropriating Sacred Space: Medieval Jews and Muslims Seeking Elijah and al-Khadir," is currently being published by the Institute for Islamic-Judaic Studies, University of Denver. He has also contributed to the entry: "Ziyara" for *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

Paula Stiles (Shelburne, Vermont) Recently completed her Masters thesis, "Between Two Worlds: The Arabization of the Knights Templar during the Crusades," at the University of Rhode Island.

Princeton University Library Short-Term Fellowships

The Friends of the Princeton University Library anticipate awarding up to ten short-term fellowships for 2000-2001 to promote scholarly use of the research collections. The fellowships, which have a value of up to \$2,000 each, are meant to help defray expenses in traveling to and residing in Princeton during the tenure of the fellowship. The length of the fellowship will depend on the applicant's research proposal, but is ordinarily one month. This round's fellowships are tenable from May 2000 to April 2001. The deadline is 15 January 2000. Applicants are asked to submit a completed application form and budget form, a résumé, and a research proposal not exceeding three pages in length. Application forms are available from our website (<http://libweb.princeton.edu:2003/friends/fr.fellowships.html>) or by writing to the address given below. Applicants must also arrange for two confidential letters of recommendation to be sent directly to the Fellowship Committee at the Library address. The proposal should address specifically the relevance of the Princeton University Library collections to the proposed research. Prospective fellows are invited to consult the Library's home page at <http://libweb.princeton.edu:2003> for detailed descriptions of the collections, especially those in the Rare Books and Special Collections Department, and for the names of curators and reference staff. A committee consisting of members of the faculty, the library staff, and the Friends will award the fellowships on the basis of the relevance of the proposal to unique holdings of the library, the merits and significance of the project, and the applicant's scholarly qualifications. Awards will be made before 1 April 2000. Application materials and letters of recommendation are to be mailed to: Fellowship Committee, Princeton University Library, One Washington Road, Princeton, NJ 08544. Materials mailed to the committee must be postmarked no later than 15 January 2000. Facsimile transmissions may be sent to (609) 258-2324. Electronic communications to the committee may be sent to delaney@princeton.edu. Materials submitted by E-mail or facsimile must be received no later than 15 January 2000. For further information, please write to: Fellowship Committee, Friends of the Library, Princeton University Library, 1 Washington Road, Princeton, NJ 08544. E-mail: delaney@princeton.edu, or check our website at <http://libweb.princeton.edu:2003/friends/fr.fellowships.html>.

SAINTS, FROM PAGE 35.

mend certain supplications to God performed away from the tomb while facing the *qibla*. However, this was not always the case. Sunni supplications were not systematically recorded as in the Shi'i case.

The language of pilgrimage texts reveals that common people believed in certain saints and practiced certain rituals often involving seeking intercession, cures and *baraka*. Writers and travelers routinely describe devotional rituals at shrines and often regard certain places as efficacious. Sometimes such forms of behavior were isolated, while at others, they were commonplace. While in ascribing certain *iyāra* beliefs and practices to the common people, writers did not necessarily distance themselves or the elite from these practices. For they too often visited these places, witnessed gatherings, partook in *mawlid*s and other activities and sought *baraka*. At other times, they even decried the authenticity of certain places or questioned whether a saint was actually buried therein. Shaykhs recited the Qur'ān and related Hadith and Sufis held *dhikr* sessions at shrines and other sacred places. Inherent contradictions in traditions, for instance, those pertaining to the existence of multiple shrines of a saint, suggest that certain cults were universal as in the case of the prophets and patriarchs. Stories of saints working miracles in their lifetimes such as making grain multiply or flying through the air often appear in biographical accounts. Such details are often combined with personal encounters and more sobering details of the saint's life. These popular elements enhanced the miraculous qualities of saints and their tombs.

Monuments -- The architectural history of the cult along with the legal traditions concerning *iyāra* and the veneration of saints indicates that the elite, whether rulers, prominent families or individuals played as significant a role in the veneration of saints as did the common people. They often contributed to the costs of constructing shrines. Generally, wealthy individuals and dynasties and powerful families endowed shrines. During Nūr al-

Dīn's rule in the twelfth century, the construction of a shrine of Ḥusayn in Aleppo, which took over a decade, was a collaborative enterprise under the supervision of a pious man who was responsible for its planning, determining the appropriate astrological sign for its construction and supervising workers. Pious individuals donated property to construct various portions of the shrine, including the *iwān*, or chamber at its center. In fact, the city's population was involved in its construction, including the artisans who volunteered a day to work on the shrine and merchants who provided provisions for workers and contributed to the construction expenses.

The shrines of Ezra and Ezekiel in Iraq were pilgrimage places for Jews and Muslims alike. Jews and Muslims frequently visited common shrines throughout Palestine and Iraq as well as a number of shrines in Syria. One may also speak of other universal shrines such as the Cave of the Patriarchs in Hebron and the Cave of Elijah on Mt. Carmel. Might a popular shrine be one to which Muslims and Jews or Christians (sometimes all three communities) made pilgrimage? Some shrines drew more crowds than others and were constructed on a grander scale providing food and lodging for visitors, while others symbolizing the forgotten past lay abandoned. Shrines were transformed into institutions to the extent that they superceded mosques as places for the fulfillment of supplication, seeking cures and participating in festivals. Although the shrines of Damascus figured prominently in special events on holy days, during droughts, plagues, etc., the Umayyad mosque remained the communal focus on such occasions.

The line between reality and the profound belief in the realization or emplacement of elements of popular origin is a fine one, often breaking where the scholar simply regards the devotee's reality as a popular construct. A medieval historian may record that a miracle occurred at a shrine and that God knows best, hence leaving the veracity of the matter to God. But, for the narrator to mention the participation of a witness (i.e., a ruler and the

inhabitants of a village) and specify the location of the holy place means the realization of miracle and the emplacement of holiness. Perhaps, the characterization of *iyāra* as "universal," rather than "popular" might be more apropos. Indeed, the sanctity of place which pilgrimage accounts and guides depict suggests that holiness and the devotee's encounter with the holy defy labeling them as "popular" phenomena in the modern sense of the word. The absence of a narrator does not necessarily suggest an incident born of the popular imagination. Perhaps, more than in other literary or devotional context, the common people (e.g., the inhabitants of a village, the keeper of a shrine, a pious man, a beggar, an old woman, a manumitted slave) are almost always present. The *iyāra* is a reflection of the collective conscience of Islamic society on the local and universal levels. To the reader local elements no longer remain in the local realm. They assume a new meaning as they are expounded in an Islamic framework.

The interplay between popular (low) and high culture occurred on various levels. To say that the literary sessions of the learned were a part of a high culture would be accurate. By contrast, making *iyāra* and participating in a saint's *mawlid* can not be labeled as one or the other. It would be fair to say that more common people than elite participated in many of these rituals as they constituted the populace and that the learned instituted certain practices, such as transmitting Hadith at sacred places. However, rulers, notables and their families were also an integral part of this devotional culture and were often the patrons of shrines and monuments. Rulers, religious elite, Sufis, and common people helped define the *iyāras* they created sacred places and made journeys to these sacred centers. Popular should be understood to mean "widespread" or "universal," not merely the culture of the common people.

Pioneers

IN MEDIEVAL MIDDLE EASTERN STUDIES

Michele Amari

(1806-1889)

Sicilian Nationalist and Pioneer European Orientalist
by Leonard C. Chiarelli

The study of Muslim rule in Sicily began in the nineteenth century with the pioneering work of Michele Amari (1806-1889). He brought the study of Arab Sicily from local Sicilian folklore into the area of European and Middle Eastern history. By studying the medieval Arabic texts relevant to Sicily, he began to use the historical record to reconstruct the period of Muslim rule on the island. Prior to his work, historical interest in the period was relegated to local Sicilian scholars who sought to bring to light an exotic period of their history. The presence of the Arabs was part of the consciousness of all Sicilians, but the details of this presence eluded them. Hardly any of the relevant Arabic historical accounts on medieval Sicily were known to Sicilian historians before Amari, and their interests were focused only on the island's history. Amari not only brought to light a period of Sicily's history that had been obscure but placed it within the larger context of medieval Europe and the Middle East.

Michele Amari was born on July 7, 1806 in Palermo, and spent his teenage years in the ranks of revolutionaries who were seeking Sicilian independence from the Bourbons in Naples. It was the age when all of Italy was in the grip of its struggle to end foreign rule and seek unification, the Risorgimento. His father's anti-Bourbon activities during the insurrection of 1820 at Palermo led to his imprisonment, leaving Michele sole provider for the family. This rebellion brought to the surface his political aspirations for Sicilian

independence, and inspired him to later write his *Storia del Vespro* (1842), the most detailed account until today of the Sicilian uprising of 1283 against Angevin French rule.

To support his family, he became a clerk at the Ministry of Internal Affairs. This employment, however, did not stop him from continuing his education. As a lover of philosophy and literature, he took it upon himself to learn English, leading him to translate some of the works of Shakespeare, Lord Byron and Sir Walter Scott into Italian.

While working at the ministry, Amari's outspokenness and anti-Bourbon political activities, especially after the cholera epidemic in Sicily in 1837 when he wrote a scathing report critical of the government's handling of the crisis, caused the Bourbon administration to transfer him to Naples. During his stay in Naples he searched the Angevin archives for materials on the Sicilian Vespers. It was at this time that he realized the paucity of resources on the history of medieval Sicily, especially the primary sources covering the Arab period.

On his return to Palermo in 1840, he began writing his book *Storia del Vespro* with its blatantly anti-Bourbon message of Sicilian rebellion. With its publication in 1842, the government banned the book and summoned him to appear before the authorities in Naples. Fearing imprisonment, Amari, with the assistance of the British and French consuls, fled to Paris.

On arriving in Paris, he was warmly welcomed by other Sicilian and

Italian exiles. The book on the Sicilian Vespers gave him notoriety and he was hailed by Italians and French alike. Amari was astounded by the new world of learning he found there, especially by the orientalist who inspired him to study the Arab period of Sicily. In 1841 Noel des Vergers published extracts from the work of Ibn Khaldun entitled *Histoire de l'Afrique et de la Sicile*. This work gave Amari the impetus to learn Arabic and search for Arabic texts on Sicily.

Amari was not, however, the first Sicilian historian to address Muslim rule on the island. In 1649 Agostino Inveges (d.1667) mentioned the Muslim presence in a history of Palermo entitled *Annali della felice città di Palermo*. Later two works would appear that were entirely devoted to a history of Muslim Sicily: Giambattista Caruso's (d.1724) *Historiae saraceno-siculae varia monumenta* published in 1720, and seventy years later, Rosario Gregorio's (d. 1809) *Rerum arabicarum, quae ad historiam siculam spectant varia monumenta*. In 1822 a Milanese historian, G.B. Rampoldi (1761-1836), published a twelve volume history of Islam entitled *Annali musulmani*, which hardly mentioned Sicily at all. These works used the few Arabic sources known at the time, and in Latin translation.

Amari found the intellectual atmosphere in Paris perfect for his historical pursuits. He befriended the most noted orientalist of the period: J. T. Reinaud (1795-1867), Étienne Marc Quatremère (1782-1857), Mac Guckin De Slane (1801-1878) and Reinhart Dozy (1820-1883). He

learned Arabic from Reinaud and De Slane, and then buried himself studying the medieval works of the Muslim historians. In order to sustain himself while in exile he took a post at the Bibliothèque nationale cataloguing Arabic books.

At first, Amari studied the rise of Islam and the history of the Arab empire, especially North Africa and Spain. He then began to focus on Sicily and the Arabic sources that mentioned the island or mainland Italy, which at the time knew little of its relations with the Muslims during the early Middle Ages. Exhausting the materials in the French libraries, Amari went on to search the libraries of Europe, and had friends seek out materials relevant to Sicily all over Europe and North Africa. He collected the Arabic sources relevant to Sicily, and after studying them he began writing in 1854 his work, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*. The three volume history chronologically traces the political, economic and social events that transpired from the period of Byzantine rule to the end of Hohenstafen rule in the thirteenth century. He also gives an account of the impact of Arab rule on the Sicilian dialect, place names, and material culture that have remained until the present. Amari approached the subject without religious or cultural bias, portraying the years of Arab rule as one of the most glorious periods in Sicilian history. His praise for the island's Arab heritage was once questioned by an Italian. Amari answered that did not the French identify with the Franks, or the English with the Saxons, and did not the Italians recognize their Lombard origins? For him and Sicilians, one could not conceive of Sicily without thinking of the Arabs and their legacy.

Completion of the book would take eighteen years since he constantly changed the text as he acquired new sources and reassessed his views on the significance of events. Not long after he started his narrative, however, he published the Arabic texts he compiled in a two volume book, *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*. It remains the mainstay of the Arabic sources on Muslim Sicily even today.

During his years in exile, Amari undertook short trips to Sicily and Italy in order to participate in the political developments that would form a united Italy. In

1859 he ended his exile after being asked by the new provisional government of Tuscany to establish and head a department of Arabic and Islamic history at the University of Pisa. In the following year he founded another program and chair at the Istituto di Studi Superiori in Florence. The teaching position in Tuscany gave him the opportunity to search the local city archives of Tuscany for Arabic materials. His findings were then published in 1863 as *Diplomi arabi dell'Archivio fiorentino*. Together with A.H. Dufour, he published a geographical study and map of Arab Sicily entitled *Carte Comparée de la Sicile Moderne avec la Sicile au XIIe Siècle d'après Edrisi et d'autres Geographes arabes*. In 1861 the new government of a united Italy made him Senator and in the following year he was appointed Minister of Education.

Amari's scholarship had a profound impact upon the study of Islamic history in Europe, and by the 1860's his work on the history of Muslim Sicily along with establishing the study of Islamic history in all of Italy, made him renowned among the scholars of Europe. In recognition of his work he received honors and honorary degrees from the various institutions of learning in Austria, Denmark, England, France, Germany and Russia.

The two works, his *Storia* and *Biblioteca*, are still the foundations upon which the history of Muslim Sicily is built. The second edition of Amari's *Storia* was revised by Carlo A. Nallino beginning in 1933 and completed in 1939, and a second edition of the *Biblioteca* was completed in 1980 by Umberto Rizzitano of the University of Palermo.

Amari passed on his historical pursuits to his students Celestino Schiaparelli (1841-1919) and Ignazio Guidi (1844-1935). Both had moved to the University of Rome to continue their teaching and expand the Oriental program there. They taught Leone Caetani (1869-1935), who became one of the foremost Italian orientalist of the twentieth century.

In 1910, on the hundredth anniversary of Michele Amari's birth, a special collection of articles was put together concerning medieval Sicily. Most of the two volume work, *Centenario della Nascita di Michele Amari*, was devoted to Muslim

Sicily and included Arabic texts previously unknown or unpublished. The contributors to the *Centenario* included the foremost medievalists of the time. Among them M. Asín Palacios, J. B. Bury, E. Fagnan, H.H. Abdul Wahhab, and Muhammad Ben Cheneb. The publication of the *Centenario* was indicative of Amari's achievement by bringing the history of Muslim Sicily to international recognition. His work not only brought to light a significant period in the history of Sicily and Italy, but broadened the history of Arab civilization for scholars in Europe and the Middle East.

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Conferences and Call for Papers

Medical Ethics and Medical Law in Islam

University of Haifa, Haifa

19-21 March 2001

The Department of Arabic Language and Literature and the Center for Health, Law and Ethics at the Law School, both of the University of Haifa, Israel, will sponsor an international conference that will be held at the University of Haifa, in Haifa, Israel between 19-21 March 2001.

Participants and speakers from various disciplines of Islamic studies, including law, history, sociology, medicine and philosophy are welcome. The main subjects of interest are:

- 1) The beginning of life, assisted procreation and abortion.
- 2) Organ transplants and donations.
- 3) Bedside manners - doctors and patients.
- 4) Malpractice.
- 5) Sexual mutilation and sex-change surgeries.
- 6) Health and religious duties.
- 7) Health and social norms.
- 8) Genetic manipulation.
- 9) End of life, euthanasia and assisted suicide.
- 10) Postmortem examinations.

The formal call for papers will be in February 2000. For more information please contact:

Dr. Vardit Rispler-Chaim, Chairperson of the Organizing Committee, Department of Arabic, University of Haifa, Haifa, Israel 31905.
Tel: 972-4-8249789; Fax: 972-4-8249710. Email: rhla103@uvm.haifa.ac.il.

15th Annual Middle East History and Theory Conference

Center for Middle Eastern Studies at the University of Chicago

April 28-29, 2000

The Middle East History and Theory Conference provides a forum for students and faculty in the social sciences and humanities to present papers treating Middle Eastern/Islamic history, culture, society, and politics from the 7th century to the present. Graduate students are particularly urged to participate: both individual papers and pre-arranged panels can be accommodated.

A one page abstract and curriculum vitae must be received by Monday February 25, 2000. Working papers must be received by April 1, 2000. If audio/visual facilities are needed, please specify when submitting papers.

Send abstracts and papers to: Scott C. Lucas, MEHTW Coordinator, Center for Middle Eastern Studies, The University of Chicago, 5828 S. University Avenue, Chicago, IL 60637, USA. For more information contact Scott Lucas at the above address or by email: sclucas@midway.uchicago.edu.

The Sinai A Multidisciplinary Conference

**Church House, Westminster,
London
13 November 1999**

Wind, Sand & Stars is organizing a conference on the Sinai to be held at Church House, Westminster, London on the 13th of November 1999.

Some of the papers to be delivered are: Robin Cormack (The Courtauld Institute of Art, London University), "Icons and Artists at St Catherine's Monastery;" Emma Loveridge (Director, Wind, Sand & Stars), with Rabia Barty (Director, Abanoub Travel, Sinai), "Bedouin Families of South Sinai;" Gary Nichols (Royal Holloway University of London), "Geological History and Highlights of Sinai;" Francis Gilbert (Nottingham University), with Samy Zalut (Suez Canal University), "The Flora and Fauna of Sinai." For more information please contact: Wind, Sand & Stars, 2 Arkwright Road, London NW3 6AD, UK. Tel: 0171 433 3684. Fax: 0171 431 3247. Email: office@windsandstars.co.uk.

The Convivencia in Medieval Spain: Poetry

**Thirty-Fifth International Congress on Medieval Studies
Kalamazoo, MI
4-7 May 2000**

Middle East Medievalists is sponsoring a session for the Thirty-Fifth International Congress on Medieval Studies to be held on May 4-7, 2000 at Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan, USA, entitled "The Convivencia in Medieval Spain: Poetry." The papers presented will be: Mustapha Kamal (University of Chicago), "Revisiting al-Andalus;" Sharon Albert (University of Chicago), "But Where are the Women?: The Abstraction of Female Imagery in the Medieval Hebrew Poetry of al-Andalus;" Amy Aronson-Friedman (North Georgia College and State University), "A Plea for Convivencia: Rabbi Santob de Carrion and His *Proverbios Morales*."

3rd International Conference on Islamic Legal Studies

**Cambridge, MA
4-6 May 2000**

The Third International Conference on Islamic Legal Studies will take place on May 4-6, 2000, at Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, with the special theme "The Madhhab." The deadline for paper abstracts is November 1st, 1999. For more information please contact: Peri Bearman, Harvard Law School, Islamic Legal Studies Program, Pound Hall 501, Cambridge, MA 02138, USA. Email: pbearman@law.harvard.edu.

International Conference on Middle Eastern Popular Culture

**University of Oxford, UK
17-21 September 2000**

The International Conference on Middle Eastern Popular Culture will take place on 17-21 September 2000 at Oxford University, UK. For more information please contact: Marie-Claire Bakker, Administrator, Near Eastern Studies Programme, University of Oxford, UK. Email: neareast@orinst.ox.ac.uk. Website: users.ox.ac.uk/~neareast/middle.htm.

2nd International Congress on the Archeology of the Ancient Near East

**Copenhagen, Denmark
23-27 May 2000**

The 2nd International Congress on the Archeology of the Ancient Near East will take place in Copenhagen, Denmark, on 23-27 May 2000. For more information please contact: Secretary of the 2ICAANE, Carsten Niebuhr Institute, Snorresgade 17-19, DK-2300, Copenhagen S., Denmark. Tel: +45 35 32 89 00. Email: 2icaane@coco.ihi.ku.dk. Website: www.hum.ku.dk/2icaane.

Some Features of a Village Architecture in Transition from Antiquity to Islam

by Alexandrine Guérin

The evolution of urbanism between the antique and the Islamic periods, in general, is difficult to understand from existing towns in the Middle East. We may, however, tackle the problem through the study of village architecture, focusing especially on material techniques and spatial organization. One area which is favorable for this study of rural communities is the district of Laja (or Leja) in Southern Syria. The occupation of this region has been documented for the Nabataean, Roman and Byzantine periods but not for the Islamic period. The historian is confronted with the inescap-

able obstacle of the lack of knowledge concerning the rural world, since the existing texts - of urban origin - are not very informative. It is, therefore, essential to make precise archaeological studies of rural zones. In research conducted over the past several years, I have tried to study the village, its territory and its inhabitants, setting out the postulate that housing conditions give a social and economic account of a population. I used surveys in the Laja area and excavations at the village of Msayké for dating the settlements. For a better understanding of the housing conditions and the way of life, I have used

anthropological and architectural research that was carried out in the Near Eastern area (Syria and Jordan). In this way, the archaeological analysis is enriched with an ethnoarchaeological and geographical approach which allow us to take inspiration from the present. Thus, I define my work as a study of Islamic archaeology, whose results are linked to an historical and ethnological framework.

Geographical Introduction

The Laja is a triangular basaltic plateau whose angles are defined by the towns of Burāq in the North, Izra' in the

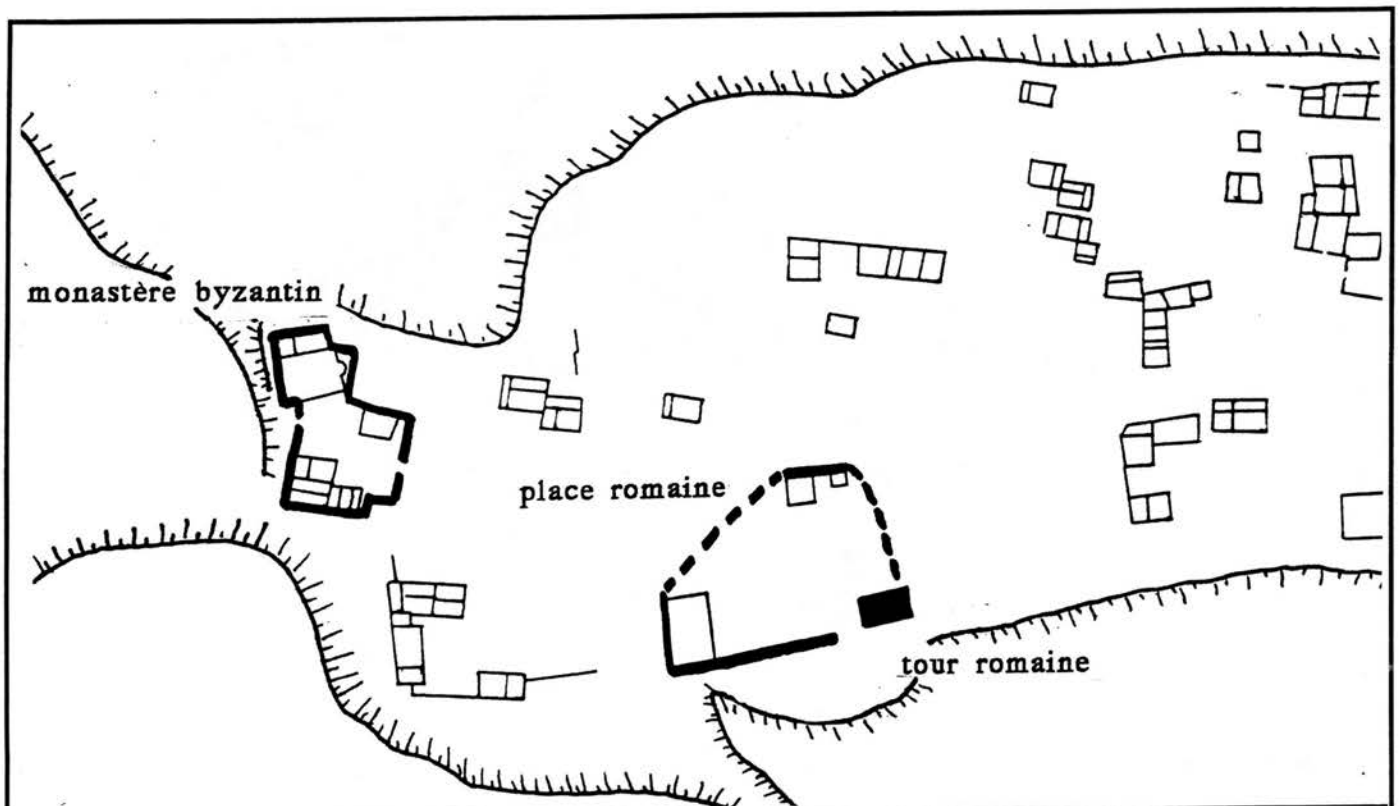


Figure 1. Ancient settlement pattern of Msayké (al-Laja, Southern Syria).

West and al-Shahbā' in the East. At the North and East of the Jabal Arab a series of volcanos, the most recent of the region, have modified the relief, creating a lunar landscape: turbulent, stormy, with black colored stone. The Laja falls between the isohyets 250 mm and 150mm and the climate is semi-arid to arid, with insufficient rain to fill up the tanks that are essential for the life in the villages. The summer months (May to September) are without precipitation. A high level of variability in annual rainfall means that the water supply is very uncertain and plant life is fragile. The Laja is fed by two wadis which bound the eastern and southern edges of the basaltic plateau.

Generally, the villages can be reached via a number of permanent paths that wind through the broken terrain. Travel is on foot or by pack animal. Two Roman roads have been discovered leading from Damascus to Suwayda. The first, called "the road of the Laja" proceeds south from Damascus. At the branch road of Kisweh,

this road turns aside to Mismiyyeh, the antique Phaena, where the Third Gallica and the Sixten Flavia Firma legions were once billeted. From Mismiyyeh, the road cuts across the plateau from North to South in a straight line. This section of the road is dotted with milestones/markers commemorating military building programs under Commodus (180-192), Septimus Severus (193-211) and Diocletian (284-305). The second road extends along the eastern border of the plateau paralleling the wadi Liwa. A single marker provides a date in the fourth century.

Description of the archaeological site: Msayké

After the survey (eighteen sites, surveyed in 1991-1992), I chose the village of Msayké for excavation. This village was a useful point of reference because it was abandoned and contained a large number of buildings in a very good state of preservation. As the largest village in the entire region, it provided a large and

varied sample.

Butler, who visited the site at the beginning of this century with the Princeton University Expedition, gives some information about a few dispersed buildings on the site and took an inventory of Greek and Roman inscriptions, the oldest of which dates to 133 A.D. The village sits on a lava plateau at an altitude of 600 meters and covers the entirety of this plateau, 550 meters long East to West and 220 meters wide North to South. It has an area of 110 000 square meters. As it stands today, the village contains remains from different periods (antique and Islamic). It numbers fifty-eight houses of diverse size which are comprised of four hundred fifty rooms built exclusively with volcanic rock. The houses are preserved to the first or second story.

A. Roman and Byzantine Msayké

The settlement is attested since the second century A.D. Three inscriptions from altars gave dates of 133 and 136 A.D.

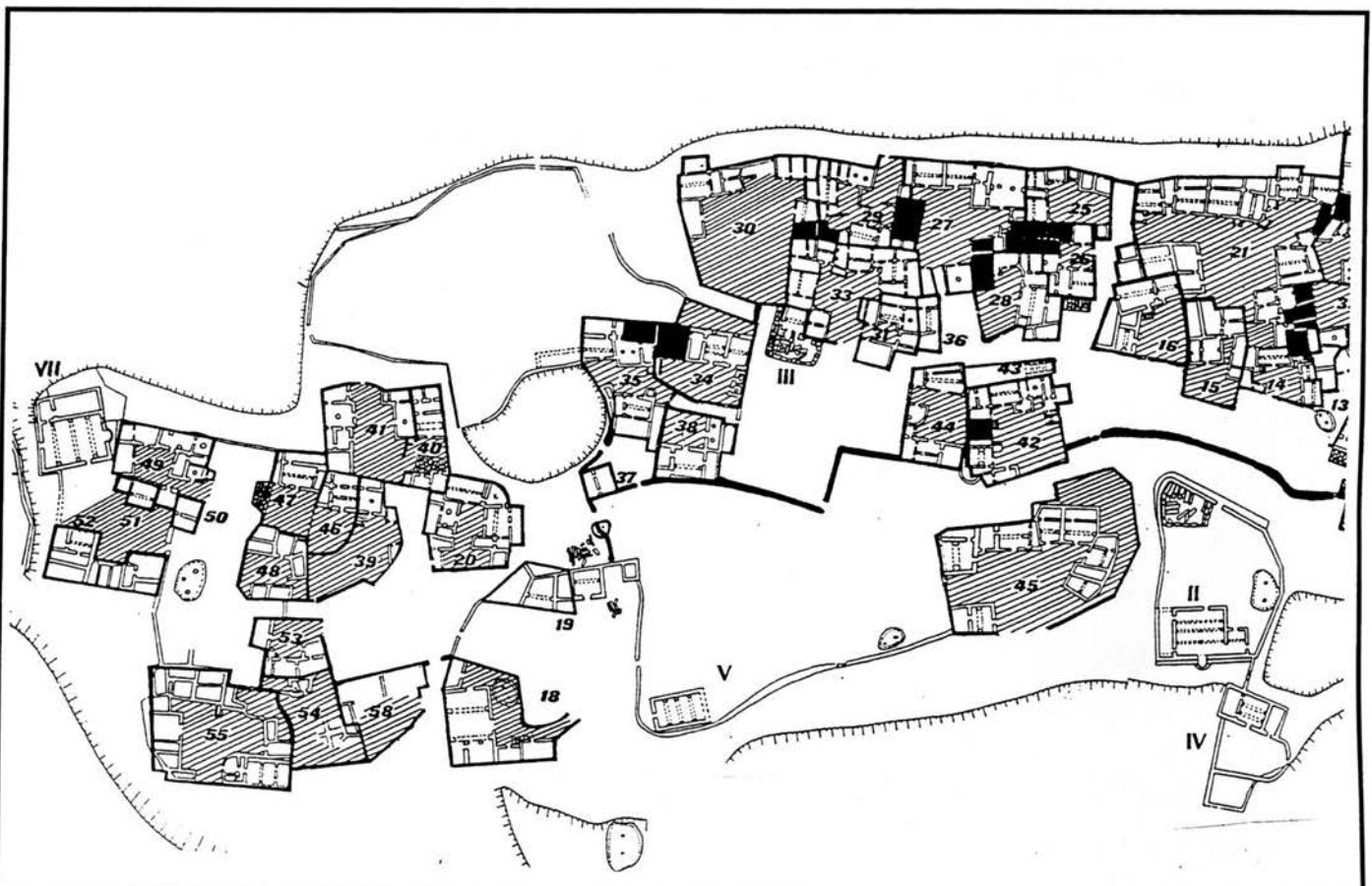


Figure 2. Islamic settlement pattern of Msayké. (Area II = central/principal mosque; III = smaller mosque; IV = khan (?); V = Roman town; VII = Byzantine monastery. Black areas indicate communicating rooms.)

A Roman tower, dated by two inscriptions to the second century, testifies to a military presence, apparently for protection of the *limes*. Clustered around this tower we found two important buildings whose arrangement formed a central square during the Roman period. With all doors giving onto the interior square and blank walls around the perimeter, the whole has the aspect of a fortified place. During the Byzantine period, a monastery was built to the west of this square. The church had painted decorations on plaster, seen by Butler but no longer surviving. The monastery is made up of three elements joined by a wall with a gate: thus, the complex is comprised of the church, two annexes, and a courtyard. The gate opens onto a road leading to the cemetery outside of the village. The monastery is located on the extreme western limit of the plateau.

During the Roman period, the character of the site was defensive and centered on the tower complex, but during the Byzantine period the center shifted west to the monastery with its religious focus. It is impossible, given the present state of knowledge, to distinguish between Roman and Byzantine houses. For this reason, in this paper we talk about antique houses. All the houses have been built of volcanic rock: walls, doors, and roofs. The roof is supported by an arch or pillar for the largest room: the breadth of the room is determined by the length of the stone beam (2,50 meter). We have identified three basic types or models of room, which were combined in various ways to make houses. First is the reception room, the principal room, with an arch or a pillar which allows a doubling of the floorspace (5 m.). Second, is a room composed of two short stories, of which the bottom was generally used as a stable, while the top served as storage or living space. Such rooms were always attached to the sides, never to the back, of the reception room. The third room is always joined to the back of the main room. As this room was used to store fodder, it could be entered from the principal room and from a roof access, and its exterior walls are blank to protect against the elements. Neither of these auxiliary rooms have a central roof support (2,50 m. breadth). We have identified, in compari-

son with the typology of Butler and Villeneuve, twenty antique houses of three or four rooms, some of which abut one another in an "L" formation. The antique settlement is scattered all over the site, with large empty spaces between each house.

Due to later settlement and construction, we can not definitely determine whether houses had a courtyard at this time. On the other hand, it is difficult to imagine a protective wall all around this settlement: the houses are too scattered. But during the Byzantine period the population could have found protection inside the enclosure of the monastery.

B. Islamic settlement

The majority of the artifacts from the Islamic period, and the most significant of them, date from the XIIth to the XIVth centuries, as do the coins discovered during the excavations. We can assume a downturn in outside contacts for the site during the Umayyad and Abbasid periods, followed by an upswing at the time of the Fatimids, and finally a rapid expansion during the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods.

The Islamic period remains include three mosques which were constructed from earlier houses: in each case, a second south wall was added onto the original construction to achieve a thick wall suitable for the mihrab. Each of these three mosques possesses a zone of influence which defines a district in the town. The Islamic house picks up the model of the antique house, with some variants in the technique of construction. The architectural model is constant from Antiquity to Islam. The distinction between an antique house and an Islamic house is based on social parameters.

Two new room types are discovered on the site of Msayké. Firstly, a small room has been added on to the façade of the principal room. If we make reference to ethnological works of this region, this structure should be a bread oven. Secondly, another structure, unknown to Butler and Villeneuve's inventories for the antique period, is attested five times at Msayké: a hall or vestibule. It is a rectangular room which permitted going from the street to the courtyard, that is, from public space to

private space. This element is known in Arabic sources of the Abbasid period.

The most important result is a new spatial organization of the village. The entire plateau is occupied by new houses, constituting an important increase in the density of construction: ninety-one rooms comprising twenty antique houses in the early period as compared to four hundred fifty rooms in the Islamic period. The houses are organized in enclosed districts with paved streets and gates closing the surrounding wall of each district. We suppose some houses were abandoned, for example in the western or monastery district, where a lot of houses were partially dismantled for building materials (thresholds, frames, lintels, etc) to be used in the new Islamic houses.

Finally, there are two phenomena which we see exclusively in the Islamic period, and which have implications for the social organization of the settlement: the *mastaba* and communicating houses. The *mastaba* is a platform made of cut stone raised 50 centimeters from the ground, with an area of 7,50 m² to 19 m². It is a space of conviviality, where people can sit and meet others from the same district or greet outsiders. This sort of platform is attested from the XIIth century in urban contexts (Aleppo and Damascus) and in textual Arabic sources. We now also have an example from the excavation at Msayké, a rural settlement, for the same period. The *mastaba* is present inside the house, in the courtyard or in the principal room. In the last case, this platform divided the room into two levels. This is a private development. Another possibility is a semi-private/semi-public *mastaba* built along the street or on a square. It is a public space inasmuch as the construction is outside the house, but it is still partly private because the platform belongs to the house: the cut stones are built into the stones of the courtyard. The courtyard and the *mastaba* were constructed at the same time. The *mastaba* also exists as a public space: the biggest central mosque is in an enclosed square, and a *mastaba* has been erected inside this square; in the case of the remaining two mosques, *mastabas* were constructed around them.

The other innovation in the social space of Msayké during the Islamic period

concerns the communicating rooms. Previously, houses were only accessible by the courtyard door or by the vestibule. In the Islamic period we find a new system: some rooms permitted passage between two or more houses. This situation implies that familial organization extended through several houses. The central district, containing the largest mosque, consisted of two groups: we discovered one group of nine communicating houses gathering together one hundred rooms, and a second group of three communicating houses joining twenty-four rooms. Each district consisted of two or three groups of communicating houses. The district thus appears to be the space of an extended family. The architectural entity reflects a social reality. Using an ethnoarchaeological and geographical approach, we hypothesize that the village was inhabited in the Islamic period by nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes.

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REVIEWS • OF • BOOKS

FROM • THE • MIDDLE • EAST

REVIEW POLICY

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

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

Muhammad al-'Arabī al-Khaṭṭābī, *al-Ṭibb wa'l-aṭibbā' fī al-Andalus al-islāmīya: dirāsa wa-tarājim wa-nuṣūṣ* [Medicine and Physicians in Islamic Andalusia: A Study with Biographies and Texts] (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1988). 2 vols.

Like numerous other branches of medieval Islamic historical studies, the history of medicine in the medieval Islamic world has long lacked many of the basic desiderata essential for research in the field. Numerous key texts remain unedited or available only in unreliable printings, important institutions and individuals are poorly known, and guides to technical terminology and vocabulary remain inadequate. The situation for al-Andalus, however, has been improving dramatically over the past two decades, largely due to the energetic encouragement provided by a few key institutions (in particular the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas in Madrid), and perhaps also to the relative ease with which

access to library and manuscript resources in Spain can be gained. Al-Khaṭṭābī's *al-Ṭibb wa'l-aṭibbā' fī al-Andalus* is one of the more important contributions that has appeared, and though available now for just over a decade it is worth commenting on this very useful book since it does not yet seem to have gained the attention it merits.

The book opens with a survey of the history of medicine in al-Andalus (I, 11-36) and stresses the features that characterized the development of the field there: broad-ranging advances in pharmacology and surgery, and special interest in the medical disorders common in the region, public health, and in the wake of the Black Death, epidemic diseases. Al-Khaṭṭābī also draws attention to the fact that many of the medieval Andalusian medical works are of an extraordinarily high literary standard and rightly observes that the characteristic features of Andalusian medicine were of special importance since al-Andalus was one of the main channels in the transmission of scientific humoral medicine to the Latin West. This discussion is followed by a section of *tarājim* for over 200 Andalusian physicians (I, 37-82), arranged chronologically and based on accounts in a very wide range of sources. At the end of the work al-Khaṭṭābī provides a valuable glossary of 750 medical and technical terms used in the book (II, 287-353).

The main substance in between these sections comprises ten textually oriented chapters on leading Andalusian physicians, beginning with 'Abd al-Malik ibn Ḥabīb (d.238/853), whose *Mukhtaṣar fī al-Ṭibb al-'arab* is published in part (under the title *Ṭibb al-'arab*) with a useful introduction. This is followed by a long (164 pages) account of al-Zahrāwī (d. after 400/1009) and his place in the history of medicine and pharmacology, with extracts from his *Taṣrīf*, and similar treatments of Abū Marwān ibn Zuhr (d.557/1162), Ibn Rushd (d.595/1198), Ibn Ṭulmūs (d.620/1223), Ibn Khalsūn (d.ca.700/1301), Ibn Faraj al-Qirbilyānī (d.722/1322), Ibn Khātima (d.ca.770/1369), Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d.776/1374), and al-Shaqūrī (fl. mid-8th/14th c.). Texts on medical theory, Prophetic medi-

cine, surgery and surgical instruments, materia medica, preventative medicine and public health, epidemic disease, and contagion are included, and of particular importance are al-Khaṭṭābī's discussion of Ibn Rushd's dependence on al-Zahrāwī (I, 330-80), and his full critical edition of al-Qirbilyānī's *Kitāb al-istiṣā' wa'l-ibrām fī 'ilāj al-jirāhāt wa'l-awrām* (II, 35-150). Al-Khaṭṭābī's extensive experience in working with Arabic scientific manuscripts in Rabat has served him well, and his extracts include texts from several little-known authors not recorded, for example, in Ullmann's *Die Medi in im Islam*.

This book does have its own share of shortcomings. Its approach is narrative and chronological, which is not always advantageous to the reader. The chronological arrangement of the section on Andalusian physicians, for example, obliges a reader who does not know the death date or floruit of his subject to scan the entire chapter in order to find the individual in question. Opportunities to make valuable points are also sometimes missed. Comment on the high literary standard of some medical texts, for example, provides a valuable opportunity to stress that medicine was not an isolated profession to which practitioners devoted themselves exclusively; physicians were frequently active in other fields, and Andalusian physicians were not uncommonly savants of such other pursuits as philosophy, poetry, and belles lettres. One must also regret the lack of indices, which would have greatly enhanced the book's reference value.

This said, however, the fact remains that al-Khaṭṭābī's two volumes mark a major advance in our knowledge of the history of Andalusian medicine. A number of important texts are published for the first time, a wide range of information on individual physicians is collected, and important new conclusions are to be found throughout the book. The text selections will also be of value to students coming newly to the field, since al-Khaṭṭābī's work includes much of the other material required to comprehend and contextualize the source materials he provides. This is therefore a most welcome contribution,

REVIEWS

and a work that all researchers in the history of al-Andalus and the history of medicine will need to take seriously into account.

- Lawrence I. Conrad

As'ad al-Qāsim, *A mat al-Khilāfa wa al-Imāma wa Āthārihā al-Mu'āshira* [The Crisis of the Caliphate and the Imamate and its Contemporary Effects] (Beirut: al-Ghadir, 1418/1997). 350 pages.

This book is a propaganda work against the Umayyads in particular, and the Sunnis in general. The author's main argument is that the blunders committed by the early Umayyad caliphs, namely 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān and his son Yazīd, changed all the equations in the Muslim land, and caused a decline in Islam. The author argues that the turmoil which took place in the early Islamic state, i.e. the crisis of electing a successor to the Prophet, left a long lasting impact on today's Muslims.

In the introduction, the author gives a general definition of the caliphate and the imamate. He asserts that the two terms can be used interchangeably to mean the leadership of the Islamic state (*umma*) after the death of the Prophet. Although all Muslims have accepted the caliphate and the imamate as defined above, when it comes to the study of the peculiarities of the definition in the thought of the various Muslim sects "we find that the question of the caliphate and the imamate has been the center of controversy amongst the Muslims throughout their history." (p.29)

In part one, the author discusses the Sunni viewpoint of the caliphate and the imamate and then compares it with the Shi'i theory. Then, he moves to discuss the identity of the caliphs and imams in the thought of the Sunnis and the Shi'a, and how the caliphate and the imamate came into practice in the early Muslim community. The first part ends with a chapter dedicated to a discussion of the qualifica-

tions of the caliphs and imams.

Part two discusses the caliphate and the imamate from a historical perspective. To the author, the period from the caliphate of Abū Bakr to the caliphate of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr was considered the period of Islamic history, and that era in particular had witnessed major events in Islamic history.

Part three gives a brief discussion of the lives and politics of the twelve Shi'i imams, and part four analyzes the effects of the crisis of the caliphate and the imamate on Islamic jurisprudence and Muslims in general. The primary effects of the crisis of the caliphate and the imamate deviated the *umma*, and halted the reform that was commenced by the Prophet, the author argues. He adds that the crisis led to the disintegration of the *umma*, and divided its Islam into sects and groups. The author claims that the crisis of the caliphate and the imamate affected the recording of the prophetic sunna, and changed historical facts. Because of the rise of various Islamic sects, scholars throughout Islamic history have interpreted historical events according to their ideological inclinations.

This is not all. The author goes on to claim that the crisis led to the separation of Islam from the state, and drove some sects to extremism and to the rejection of reason and analogy in interpreting the Qur'ān. The crisis also caused ignorance and backwardness in the Muslim mind to 1) understand beliefs, 2) practice Islamic jurisprudence, and 3) understand historical, economic, social, political, and moral issues.

Although this work does not offer anything new, it is recommended to students interested in the fundamental issues that gave birth to the two major sects of Islam, the Sunnis and the Shi'is.

- Hussam S. Timani

Nash'ah wa-Khaṣā'iṣ [The Andalusian Māliki school to the End of the Third Century: Its Growth and Peculiarities] (Al-Muḥammadiyah, al-Mamlakah al-Maghribiyah: Wizārat al-Awqāf wa-al-Shu'ūn al-Islāmiyah, 1418/1997). 443 pages.

Students of the Māliki school in Andalusia may wish to read this book. Beginners will see what lies ahead when they turn to Ibn al-Farādī, al-Qāḍī 'Iyād, and the other usual sources, here conveniently arranged by topic. The copious quotations are fun to read. Others may be reminded of data they had overlooked. One section treats juridical problems concerning which the Andalusian branch of the school disagreed with others. Discussions are not exhaustive, but they seem a good introduction; for example, whether it is permissible to change schools concerning a particular question, where Harrūs mostly reproduces al-Zarkashī.

Perhaps it was to be expected that nothing disparaging might be said about the Māliki school. For example, Harrūs is to be thanked for a list of nine men identified by biographers as combining hadith with *fiqh* or *ra'y*, but one misses an explanation of how Baqī ibn Makhlad's and Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Salām's devotion to hadith provoked persecution. More disappointing is that odd expressions are not explained; e.g., what it meant for Mālik to deny having written anything on *alwāḥ* (22, I'd guess this has to do with taking notes as an aid to memorizing hadith), what it meant for someone's *madhhab* to be *naẓar* (117, presumably rationalism of some sort), the difference between *masā'il* and *nawā'il* (344).

Harrūs speaks alternately of *madhhab* and *madrasah*, by the way, although the latter term looks to me like an alarming calque.

- Christopher Melchert

Muṣṭafā al-Harrūs, *Al-Madrasah al-Mālikīyah al-Andalusīyah ilā Nihāyat al-Qarn al-Thālith al-Hijrī:*

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GRAPHICS CREDITS

Page 31-33: Figures 1-6 provided by the authors.

Page 35: Shrine of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, Qal'at Sim'an, Syria, September, 1999. Photograph by Fred M. Donner.

Page 42: Professor 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Dūri, 'Ammān, September 1999. Photograph by Fred M. Donner.

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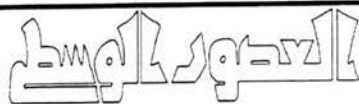
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