

Book Reviews

Die Mamlūken: Studien zu ihrer Geschichte und Kultur: Zum Gedenken an Ulrich Haarmann, 1942–1999. Edited by Stephan Conermann and Anja Pistor-Hatam. Asien und Afrika: Beiträge des Zentrums für Asiatische und Afrikanische Studien (ZAAS) der Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel, vol. 7 (Hamburg: EB-Verlag, 2003). Pp. 416.

REVIEWED BY DONALD P. LITTLE, McGill University

The extraordinary collegial respect and friendship felt for Ulrich Haarmann are evident from no less than three volumes of articles that have so far been dedicated to his memory: *The Historiography of Islamic Egypt (c. 950–1800)*, ed. Hugh Kennedy (Leiden: Brill, 2001); vol. 6 (2002) of *Mamlūk Studies Review*; and the present work. Of these, *Die Mamlūken* is distinctive as a tribute from German (with one exception) Mamlukists. Appropriately, twelve of the fourteen articles are written in German; two, in English. Some of them were originally presented in remembrance of Haarmann at a special session of the 28th Deutschen Orientalistentag held in Bamberg in March 2001. While the predominant use of German in this festschrift will certainly restrict the number of its readers (a fact which Haarmann himself would readily acknowledge since he studied at Princeton and published extensively in English), cultural considerations evidently held sway—another fact which he would have appreciated. Be that as it may, this volume contains many substantial contributions to our field and, accordingly, should serve as a salient reminder of the need to read German in practically all fields of Islamic studies. Here I shall only allude briefly to the contents of each article, hoping that my linguistic inadequacies have not led me astray.

The articles can be roughly grouped in several categories: bibliographical, historiographical, diplomatic, political/military, and general. Coeditor Conermann gives a rousing introduction to the volume in the form of a survey of the recent state of the art: "Es boomt! Die Mamlūkenforschung (1992–2002)," as a sequel to similar efforts by Peter Thoreau, "Zur Geschichte der Mamluken und ihrer Erforschung," *Die Welt des Orients* 20–21 (1989–1990): 227–40; Ulrich Haarmann, "Mamluk Studies: A Western Perspective," *Arab Journal for the Humanities* 51 (1995): 329–47; and Robert Irwin's "etwas uninspirierten Überblick" (p. 1) "Under Western Eyes: A History of Mamluk Studies," *MSR* 4 (2000): 27–51. Commendably, Conermann lists twenty-two books on the Mamluks published in Arabic since 1992, with the caveat, however, that "the modest quality of Arabic secondary



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literature is a noteworthy problem of Mamlūk research . . .” (p. 2). In this survey Conermann introduces his colleagues’ articles by inserting resume-excerpts abstracting their contents. Here, it seems to me, would have been the perfect opportunity to broaden the usefulness of the volume by casting the abstracts in a language other than German. Conversely, the English abstracts of the two English articles could well have been written in German. Also in the bibliographical category is Thomas Bauer’s “Literarische Anthologien der Mamlūkenzeit.” In an appendix Bauer gives an annotated list of some ninety anthologies of various types of Arabic literature compiled during the Mamluk period. In the body of his article Bauer argues, contrary to the received wisdom, that this era “must be considered as one of the most interesting periods of Arabic literary history” (p. 71), though it has received very little scholarly attention. Characteristically, Rudolf Veselý tackles a technical question in his “Das *Taqrīz* in der arabischen Literatur,” showing that previously unnoticed “blurbs” dating from the fifteenth century “give a glimpse of a little slice of the sociocultural life of Egypt in the last century of the Mamluk epoch” (p. 385).

Closely related to the bibliographical studies are two of a historiographical orientation, both focusing on the nature of biography in Mamluk literature. As indicated by the title, in “Ibn Aġās (st. 881/1476) ‘*Ta’rīḥ* al-Amīr Yašbak az-Zāhirī’ —Biographie, Autobiographie, Tagebuch oder Chronik?” Conermann attempts to define by genre Ibn Aghā’s history (*tārīkh*) of the amir Yashbak, who flourished under Qāyṭbāy. Predictably, perhaps, Conermann concludes that the work combines autobiographical, biographical, annalistic, and, even, journalistic elements. This article also contains a German translation of Ibn Aghā’s long report on his mission for Qāyṭbāy to Uzun Ḥasan, of Aq Qoyunlu fame. In one of the two contributions written in English Otfried Weintritt goes beyond the Mamluks to discuss a work by a chief of the Qādirīyah order in Damascus under the Ottomans during the seventeenth century: “*Ta’rīḥ* ‘Abd al-Qādir: Autobiography as Historiography in an Early 17th Century Chronicle from Syria.” Justification for including this article in a volume devoted to the Mamluks is not provided. In any case, Weintritt provides a useful introduction to an eclectic work still in manuscript that he characterizes as a “‘Personal Historiography,’ which is notably lacking in a certain kind of historiographical professionalism,” whatever that may mean (p. 387). The nature/theory of historiography is addressed in Anja Pistor-Hatam’s “Ursachenforschung und Sinnggebung: Die mongolische Eroberung Bagdads in Ibn Ḥaldūn’s zyklischem Geschichtsmodell.” Here she, the coeditor, examines Ibn Khaldūn’s account of the 1258 Mongol conquest of Baghdad in terms of his cyclic model of history. In addition she situates the model in the context of traditional Muslim universal histories and compares their interpretations of the catastrophe with those of Ibn Khaldūn. Not surprisingly, Ibn Khaldūn’s philosophy of history



accommodates it as a part of his cyclical historical process in contrast to the conventional apocalyptic version of other historians. Also in a historiographical vein is a contribution to Mamluk diplomatic by Conermann and Lucian Reinfandt: "Anmerkungen zu einer mamlūkischen *waqf*-Urkunde aus dem 9./15. Jahrhundert." This is a translation of, and diplomatic commentary on, a family *waqfiyah* for the benefit of one of the *awlād al-nās*, a document which was first studied by Haarmann in "Joseph's Law: The Careers and Activities of Mamluk Descendants before the Ottoman Conquest of Egypt," in *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society*, edited by Thomas Phillip and Ulrich Haarmann (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 174–87, and subsequently edited and published by Conermann and Suad Saghbini, "Awlād al-Nās as Founders of Pious Endowments: The *Waqfiyah* of Yaḥyá ibn Tūghān al-Ḥasanī of the Year 870/1465," *MSR* 6 (2002): 21–52. While the German translation and commentary are expert and certainly helpful, it is awkward to separate them from the textual edition both by venue and language. Surely at this juncture we need not erect such obstacles for ourselves and our students.

Seven articles focus on substantive, as opposed to formal, topics. Two of these treat aspects of Mamluk military activity, or the lack of it. In "Dreikampf um die Macht zwischen Osmanen, Mamlūken und Safawiden (1500–1517): Warum blieben die Mamlūken auf der Strecke?" Albrecht Feuss works from the observation that the Mamluks abandoned a policy of military expansion after defeating the Mongols and Crusaders and correlates this lassitude with the decline of the Mamluks' military power on both land and sea as an explanation of their inability to compete successfully with the Ottomans and Safavids as masters of the Middle East. Internal combat is the subject of Henning Sievert's "Der Kampf um die Macht in Mamlūkenreich des 15. Jahrhunderts," a struggle which resulted from "practically no hereditary succession to the throne and no method of selection fixed in writing" during the Circassian period (p. 335). From his review of the standard sources Sievert recommends using the tool of "network analysis" to illuminate sociological factors, especially the role of faction in Mamluk government and society. Loosely related to Sievert's article is Thomas Herzog's "Legitimität durch Erzählung: Ayyūbidische und kalifale Legitimation mamlūkischer Herrschaft in der populären *Sīrat Baibars*." Both discuss the issue of succession to the sultanate, the main differences being Herzog's reliance on a fictional source rather than the conventional histories and his highlighting of pre-Mamluk—Ayyubid—practice and caliphal sanction in legitimizing the Mamluk sultanate in the eyes (ears) of the popular audience for the *Sīrah*. Gerhard Hoffmann goes back to the roots of the use of mamluks in Muslim armies in "Die Einnahme von Amorium/‘Ammūrīya im Jahre 838—ein Katalysator frühmamlūkischer Tendenzen im ‘abbāsīdischen Militär?" He judiciously concludes that "It remains therefore problematic to seek the



underlying structure of the later, developed, Mamluk system in early Abbasid times, especially in the caliphate of al-Mu‘taṣim” (p. 40). Judicial history is also represented in “Some Remarks on Mālikī Judges in Mamlūk Egypt and Syria,” wherein Lutz Wiederhold uses specific cases involving Maliki judges to shed light on the specific role of Malikis in a profession dominated by Shafī‘is and Hanafis under the Mamluks. Finally, there are two think-pieces which examine certain general aspects of Mamluk culture and society. In “Post-klassisch und prä-modern: Beobachtungen zur Kulturwandel in der Mamlūkenzeit,” Stefan Leder discusses the cultural and social changes effected and reflected during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries by the spread of madrasahs and the popularization of literature, using the writings and careers of scholars such as Abū Ḥayyān, Ibn al-Ḥajj, Tāj al-Dīn, and Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī, among others, as examples. In “Einige kritische Bemerkungen zum sogenannten ‘mamlūk phenomenon,’” Peter Thoreau takes up one of the themes touched upon by Leder, namely decline, but political (as opposed to cultural) decline, which set in during the Circassian period. Re-examining the reigns of Baybars and Qalāwūn in this paradigm, Thoreau concludes that the years 1260–93 should not be regarded as the classic years of Mamluk rule but as a deviation from the norms of two hundred years of Mamluk history.

Taken as a whole, the book clearly offers much food for thought, not least as a compendium of the extensive work on the Mamluks being conducted by German scholars, inspired by Haarmann. As might be expected, the scientific rigor and command of the sources associated with German scholarship are much in evidence and, to labor the point, demonstrate the necessity for those of us born without a German tongue to cultivate one.

ZAMYĀ’ MUḤAMMAD ‘ABBĀS AL-SĀMARRĀ’Ī, *Al-Manhaj al-Tārīkhī ‘inda al-Qalqashandī: Dirāsah Taḥlīlīyah* (Riyadh: Markaz al-Malik Fayṣal lil-Buḥūth wa-al-Dirāsāt al-Islāmīyah, 2001). Pp. 254.

REVIEWED BY LI GUO, University of Notre Dame

This book sets out to “investigate the methodology of al-Qalqashandī’s historical writings through analytical studies aimed at identifying the patterns (*al-masūghāt*) and factors (*ṭabī‘at dawāfi‘ihi*) determining his choice of topics—civilization (*al-ḥadārah*), genealogy and Arab tribes, the succession of dynasties (*al-khilāfah*)—that go beyond the [usual] subjects his contemporaries were preoccupied with, namely



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political history and biography of learned men" (p. 10). The project therefore is "to focus on the methodological principles upon which al-Qalqashandī based [his] historical research; among these are historical criticism (*al-naqd al-tārīkhī*) and extensive use of documents" (p. 11), for which al-Qalqashandī is well known to the readers of this journal and, for that matter, to all students of medieval Islamic history. It is noteworthy here that the scope of inquiry is beyond the *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, arguably the best known and the most important work of al-Qalqashandī, and extends to other lesser known and rarely studied titles, such as the *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Ma'rifat Ansāb al-'Arab*, the *Qalā'id al-Jumān fī al-Ta'rīf bi-Qabā'il 'Arab al-Zamān*, and the *Ma'āthir al-Anāfah fī Ma'ālim al-Khilāfah*, which, unlike the encyclopedic manual-like *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, deal with the history of Arab tribes and dynasties.

The book consists of four chapters, with Preface, Introduction, and Conclusion. The introduction provides a sketch of al-Qalqashandī's life and work. Chapter One, "The Form and Content of al-Qalqashandī's Historical Writings," begins with an outline of the organizational principles that guided al-Qalqashandī's presentation and choice of materials. The author suggests that al-Qalqashandī's method in treating his primary sources is one of cautious liberty, in that he might have edited, or "polished" (*taṣarrafa fī*), these sources for the sake of consistency in style; but the author assures us that this was usually carefully executed without bowdlerizing the essential information contained in these sources.

For me, more interesting is Chapter Two, which is on al-Qalqashandī's sources. This is a particularly thorny issue insofar as several hundred works, many of which are lost today, were used by al-Qalqashandī, who in turn had a tendency to shorthand, and at times to shortchange them in his citations. The authors are, more often than not, mentioned by nicknames and pen names, whereas the titles are not always given in full. Therefore, the painstaking effort to delineate and sort out the details of these sources in this chapter is to be commended. Particularly helpful is the chart of the hitherto unpublished and lost sources cited by al-Qalqashandī (pp. 122–23).

Titled "The Foundations (*usus*) of al-Qalqashandī's Historical Research," Chapter Three situates al-Qalqashandī's writings within the context of medieval Muslim historiography. The author is of the opinion that while al-Qalqashandī distinguished himself by his "characteristic method" (*manhajuhu al-khāṣṣ*) and "unique perspectives" (*ru'yatuhu al-khāṣṣah*), he is essentially a product of the historical thought and historical philosophy in Egypt during the ninth/fifteenth century. His intensive use of the documents (*al-wathā'iq*) is a hallmark of his tremendous success and significant legacy. A lengthy discussion of al-Qalqashandī's use of documents (pp. 136–47) concludes with yet another useful chart of the documentary sources utilized in al-Qalqashandī's major writings (704 for the



Ṣubḥ al-A‘shá, ten for the *Qalā‘id*, four for the *Nihāyah* and the *Ma‘āthir*, respectively). Al-Qalqashandī’s achievement is also seen in his role in systematically preserving and standardizing technical terms (*al-muṣṭalaḥ*) for Arabic historical writing and documentation as a whole in the later Middle Ages. A third chart, of the terms used and standardized by al-Qalqashandī (pp. 154–55), constitutes a handy tool for students, although the list itself is far from being exhaustive. The chapter concludes with a layout of al-Qalqashandī’s system of abbreviations and cross-referencing (pp. 156–69), which is also very helpful, especially for those navigating al-Qalqashandī’s monumental *Ṣubḥ al-A‘shá*.

The last chapter deals with “Al-Qalqashandī’s Historical Criticism” (*al-naqd al-tārīkhī*). It discusses his critique of primary sources (*al-maṣādir*), *khabar*-material and historical narratives, and documents. The author points out that al-Qalqashandī’s critical use of documents extends from simply quoting the contents of a given document to commenting on the form and formulaic features of the text, an aspect usually ignored by many of al-Qalqashandī’s fellow historians (pp. 202–7). By and large, al-Qalqashandī’s historical criticism, according to the author, stemmed from his deep belief in employing the principle of *ijtihād*, or “individual reasoning,” in the study of Islamic jurisprudence, for historical research. In historiographic terms, this method of *ijtihād* has to do with tracing, and describing, new patterns and trends in history, based on independently verified proofs. In this connection, al-Qalqashandī’s understanding of “history” was essentially an exercise of *tahqīq al-khabar*, that is, critically investigating and vigorously verifying the raw data. This getting-to-the-bottom-of-the-truth approach to history is, according to the author, a further step on the part of al-Qalqashandī that goes beyond the historians prior to him. Furthermore, al-Qalqashandī’s critical method also has to do with his “flexibility” (*murūnah*) in accepting, and respecting, various explanations and narratives of a given historical event; and this, according to the author, is in accordance with the general cultural atmosphere in al-Qalqashandī’s time when the four Sunni legal schools came to share the landscape of intellectual discourse and the ulama and *mu‘arrikhūn*, many of whom wore both hats, worked together in fostering a milieu of competition and free exchange of data, and ideas, among themselves. In the final analysis, al-Qalqashandī’s era saw the maturity of medieval Muslim historiography, thanks to him, and to the collective efforts of his fellow historians.

The book is descriptive in nature and at times lacks rigorous in-depth analysis. For example, in describing the devices used by al-Qalqashandī in citing his sources, the author singles out, among others, the use of *qāla* and *qultu* to mark the end of a quote and the beginning of al-Qalqashandī’s own comment (pp. 51–52). This technique, however, is by no means al-Qalqashandī’s innovation at all, but rather a device frequently seen in Ayyubid and early Mamluk sources. And with regard



to al-Qalqashandī's treatment of sources, he is, according to the author, characterized for his "careful collection and verification of raw data," "his reliance on more than one source for the same story, and his educated guessing (*al-iḥtimāl wa-al-tarjīḥ*)" (pp. 122–35); but weren't such things done by any respected historian? What is so special about al-Qalqashandī? This remains unclear.

That said, the book is overall a work of diligent research. It is encouraging to see a young Iraqi woman historian joining the small, but ever-growing, club of scholars working on Mamluk historiography today. She is well versed in primary sources and current scholarship in the Arab world, and is reasonably familiar with Western literature, albeit mostly through Arabic translations. With valuable observations regarding al-Qalqashandī's source criticism and methodology, and, more importantly, with detailed analysis of his lesser-known works, the book under review is a welcome contribution to our understanding and assessment of this great Mamluk historian.

MAḤMŪD SĀLIM MUḤAMMAD, *Ibn al-Wardī: Adīb Bilād al-Shām* (Damascus: Dār Sa'd al-Dīn, 2002). Pp. 289.

REVIEWED BY KONRAD HIRSCHLER, University of Kiel

The fact that a monograph on the Syrian man of letters Zayn al-Dīn 'Umar Ibn al-Wardī (d. 749/1349) has now been published is to be welcomed, especially as he is usually assigned a minor role in the surveys of Mamluk literature, such as Mūsā Bāshā's *Tārīkh al-Adab al-'Arabī, al-'Aṣr al-Mamlūkī* (Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1989). The author, professor of Mamluk literature at the University of Damascus, has previously published on the subject of Mamluk poetry, for example his strongly-criticized monograph on Ibn Nubātah (see review by Thomas Bauer, in *MSR* 6 [2002]: 219–26). The present work is structured in the same way as that previous work: the standard summary of medieval dictionaries relevant to his biography (pp. 7–20) is followed by sections on the "Content of the Poetry" (pp. 21–149), "The Poetical Style" (pp. 151–202), and "Prose" (pp. 207–76).

This monograph certainly reflects the author's work on Ibn al-Wardī's *Dīwān*, an anthology of poems, discourses, treatises, epistles, and *maqāmāt*. However, the implication of the title, which suggests a study of the scholar's contributions in general, is misleading, as the author rarely discusses Ibn al-Wardī's other writings.



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JAMĀL FAWZĪ MUḤAMMAD ‘AMMĀR, *Al-Tārīkh wa-al-Mu’arrīkhūn fī Bilād al-Shām fī ‘Aṣr al-Ḥurūb al-Ṣalībīyah (521–660 A.H.)* (Cairo: Dār al-Qāhirah, 2001). Pp. 340, tables, (missing) maps.

REVIEWED BY NIALL CHRISTIE, University of British Columbia

This book presents an examination of historical writing in the Bilād al-Shām region during part of the Crusading period, from 521/1127 to 660/1261–62. Through the consideration of a number of historical sources for the period, the author explores the relationship between historians and their texts and the historiographical movements of which these writers were members.

‘Ammār opens his study with a brief survey of previous literature in Arabic on these topics. He then lays out the historical and cultural background to his study, discussing the various dynasties that dominated the area, the external enemies that attacked it, the various ethnic and religious groups that occupied it, and the mercantile and cultural activity that took place in it. He also carefully defines the limitations of his study; he is examining historical writing from the Shām region, from the period beginning with ‘Imād al-Dīn Zangī’s takeover of Mosul in 521/1127 and ending with the establishment of Mamluk supremacy in Shām in about 660/1261–62, and is examining a limited number of sources, none of which are in any language other than Arabic. In defining his limits in this way, ‘Ammār wisely acknowledges that his study is intended to be selective rather than comprehensive; a full study of historical writing in this region in the Crusading period would certainly require considerably more space than the author has at his disposal! Unfortunately, the temporal limits do mean that ‘Ammār’s book will be of limited use for the majority of the readership of this journal, but this should not be regarded as a criticism of the inherent value of the work itself.

Having established his limits, ‘Ammār then proceeds to the meat of his work: the examination of the texts themselves. He divides his sources into three major genres and devotes a section of his study to each genre. He opens the first section, on universal histories, with a definition of what is meant by “universal history,” along with a history of the genre and a discussion of its positive and negative features. He then proceeds to the texts themselves, the first of which is the *Midmār al-Ḥaqā’iq wa-Sirr al-Khalā’iq* of the Ayyubid amir of Ḥamāh, Muḥammad ibn ‘Umar (d. 617/1221). He presents a short biography of the author, followed by a consideration of the work’s content, the types of sources the author uses, the way in which the work is written, the author’s style, and how the work compares with those of contemporaries. These are, broadly speaking, the same topics he addresses with regard to the other works considered in his study, although when discussing longer or more significant works he examines other topics as well; thus, when



considering his next text, the *Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh* of Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233), ‘Ammār also addresses Ibn al-Athīr’s treatment of his sources, significant features of his text, his critical and philosophical approaches to history, flaws in his chronicle, and its importance and impact. The remaining texts discussed in this section are the *Tārīkh al-Manṣūrī* of Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī al-Ḥamawī (d. after 633/1235), the *Tārīkh al-Islāmī* (or *Tārīkh al-Muḥaffarī*) of Ibn Abī al-Dam (d. 642/1244), and the *Mir’āt al-Zamān fī Tārīkh al-A’yān* of Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī (d. 654/1256).

In the second section, ‘Ammār turns to histories of regions, states, families, and cities, again defining the genre and discussing its origins and history before proceeding to the texts themselves. In this section he examines the *Tārīkh Dawlat Āl Saljūq* of ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī (d. 597/1201), the *Tārīkh al-Bāhir fī al-Dawlah al-Atābikīyah* of Ibn al-Athīr, the *Dhayl Tārīkh Dimashq* of Ibn al-Qalānisī (d. 555/1160), and the *Zubdat al-Ṭalab fī Tārīkh Ḥalab* of Ibn al-‘Adīm (d. 660/1262).

The third section of ‘Ammār’s work addresses biographies and memoirs, again discussing the origins and development of the genre before proceeding to discuss two texts, the *Kitāb al-I’tibār* of Usāmah ibn Munqidh (d. 584/1188) and the *Nawādir al-Sulṭānīyah wa-al-Maḥāsīn al-Yūsufīyah* of Bahā’ al-Dīn ibn Shaddād (d. 632/1234).

‘Ammār finishes his work with a fourth section, in which he makes a number of general comments on historians and the production of histories in the region during the period. This section is followed by three pages with space and headings for maps (the maps themselves appear to have been accidentally omitted). A bibliography and list of contents follow.

In addition to the omitted maps, there are other problems with ‘Ammār’s work. His use of *hijrī* and *mīlādī* dating is inconsistent; at times he will use one, or the other, or both, but is not systematic in this regard. More serious, however, is the fact that he makes use of only seven works of Western scholarship, none of which were published after 1981. This is unfortunate, as more recent work has been carried out on a number of the texts he discusses; for example, Robert Irwin’s article on Usāmah ibn Munqidh¹ would have been helpful when discussing the *Kitāb al-I’tibār*. That said, ‘Ammār’s study still provides a useful survey of a number of sources from the Crusading period and will be of interest to scholars working with the texts discussed in its pages.

¹“Usāmah ibn Munqidh: An Arab-Syrian Gentleman at the Time of the Crusades Reconsidered,” in *The Crusades and Their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, ed. John France and W. G. Zajac (Aldershot, 1998), 71–87.



ṬĀHĀ ṬHALĪ ṬARĀWINAH, *The Province of Damascus during the Second Mamlūk Period (784/1382–922/1516)* (Kerak: Mu'tah University, 1994). Pp. 200.

REVIEWED BY BETHANY J. WALKER, Grand Valley State University

Specialists of the Middle Islamic period will benefit from recent publications by Jordanian historians, who are increasingly turning to provincial and local studies. One of the first Jordanian monographs in English on a specifically Mamluk topic is Ṭāhā Ṭarāwinah's *The Province of Damascus during the Second Mamlūk Period (784/1382–922/1516)*, published by Mu'tah University in southern Jordan. The author chose Damascus province as a model for all of Greater Syria (p. 13) and intends the work to be an introduction to provincial history. As such, the monograph appears to have been influenced by Muḥammad 'Adnān Bakhīt's *The Ottoman Province of Damascus in the Sixteenth Century*, a work that has guided Jordanian scholarship on the Ottoman period since its publication in 1982. Ṭarāwinah's book is based on his largely unedited doctoral dissertation, written in 1987. It follows the organization and scope of inquiry of most graduate theses written in Jordan today and reflects the state of Mamluk studies in that country in the 1980s.

The monograph opens with a layman's introduction to the Mamluk dynasty and an explanation for the provincial focus of the book. It is divided into six chapters, each of which highlights a theme that is found in most modern Jordanian scholarship on the Middle (Ayyubid-Mamluk) and Late (Ottoman) Islamic periods: administrative and military structures, the educated and tribal elite, social classes and their economic power, Mamluk decline, and education. Very few manuscripts were consulted for this study. The majority of Ṭarāwinah's sources consist of contemporary Syrian chronicles, biographical dictionaries, administrative manuals, local histories, and a few travelogues, all published and edited, and an assortment of related secondary sources in Arabic and English. He makes little use of early Ottoman sources, which is unfortunate given the fact that the Ottoman administration of Syria was largely modeled on late Mamluk practices.

Chapter I ("The Mamluk Administration of the Province") is a summary of earlier scholarship on the structure of Mamluk government. For the physical structure and administrative divisions of the Syrian provinces, the author relies primarily on al-'Umarī, al-Dimashqī, al-Qalqashandī, and al-Zāhirī, in the end restating many of the arguments made in Nicola Ziadeh's 1953 study on the same topic: *Urban Life in Syria under the Early Mamluks*. In his description of military and civilian offices, Ṭarāwinah relies on both Egyptian (al-Maqrīzī, Ibn Taghrībirdī) and Syrian (Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, Ibn Ṭūlūn) sources. The only new contribution in this chapter is Ṭarāwinah's concern for the instability and unevenness of provincial administration, particularly in terms of regularly shifting borders, short terms of



office, and shortsighted financial practices. While he explores financial concerns in Chapter V, the author merely mentions, and does not account for, the possible factors behind such fluid administrative structures.

The second chapter, "The Military Force and its Role," acknowledges the seminal work of David Ayalon on the structure of the Mamluk army, while highlighting those amiral rebellions against the sultan that punctuated the Burji Mamluk period in Syria. The role of Jordanian tribesmen in the rebellions against (and in support of) Sultans Barqūq and Faraj, in particular, have captured the attention of this author, as well of many other Jordanian historians of his generation.

Civilian society is the focus of the following chapter, entitled "The Population and Local Power Groups." Here Ṭarāwinah is concerned primarily with the political role of the Shi'i and Druze minorities in today's Lebanon and various clans and tribal confederations in the Golan, Ḥawrān, and Balqā'. Once again, the focus on Jordanian tribal history is apparent in this chapter and should be of interest to anthropologists. However, the author's almost complete reliance on biographical dictionaries and chronicles, to the exclusion of travelers' accounts and modern ethnographic and archaeological reports, strips the narrative of methodological depth and vigor.

In perhaps the most interesting and thought-provoking chapter of the book (Chapter IV: "The Socio-Economic Structure") Ṭarāwinah documents the class conflicts of urban Damascene society and explains, in very modern and politically relevant terms, the organization, leadership, platform, and methods of what might today be called terrorist groups. These "criminal gangs" include the *zu'r* ("scoundrels"), *ḥarāfīsh* ("hoboes"), *ballāṣīyah* ("confidence men"), and *ḥarāmīyah* ("robber bands") (p. 13). Ṭarāwinah extends his analysis to the state's inconsistent policies towards these gangs, which varied from suppression to co-option. That the modernist political critique subtly used in this chapter was intentional may be indicated in the book's introduction. Here the author rightly describes the late Mamluk period as a transitional one that "contained the legacy of the past and the root causes of a number of modern Syrian problems" (p. 13).

Many readers will be disappointed with Chapter V, "The Mamluk Financial Policy and its Effects on the Province." The main arguments of this chapter concerning the *dirham-fulūs*, provincial mints, arbitrary taxes and monopolies, and the general process of Mamluk decline during the fifteenth century are today out-of-date and contribute nothing new to our understanding of the roots of this process in Syria. The author, however, does document in detail how state officials, merchants, and a pre-modern urban "mafia" colluded in confiscation of property, embezzling, and the sale of offices and how these practices directly impacted the Syrian economy. The effect of Mamluk financial policies on Syrian industries could be a promising new focus of research for provincial specialists.



In his final chapter, "The State of Learning and the Intellectual Life," ʿArabīnāh predictably scours biographical dictionaries and specialized sources on education (namely Nuʿaymī's *Al-Dāris fī Tārīkh al-Madāris*) to trace the careers of Damascus' academic elite. His descriptions of the top hadith scholars, Quranic reciters, and legal minds of the day are arguably the most useful and colorful social commentaries in his study. The book then concludes with a sobering assessment of the government corruption and educational stagnation of late Mamluk Syria, a point of view primarily informed by his interest in financial policy and structure of education in the province.

The present work presents some significant shortcomings. This first edition, which came out in 1994, was not edited and updated to reflect important scholarship by Jordanian historians in the 1980s and 1990s. Numerous books and articles published by Yūsuf Ghawānīmāh, Jordan's leading Mamlukist, and four volumes of early Ottoman tax registers translated into Arabic by Muḥammad Bakhīt, the country's most prolific Ottomanist, are not consulted in this study. Furthermore, ʿArabīnāh does not make use of the extensive microfilm archives of Mamluk and early Ottoman manuscripts housed at the University of Jordan (available since the 1980s) and Ahl al-Bayt University (since the 1990s), sources rich in data on provincial administration. Similarly, the author makes no reference to the extensive scholarship on Syrian Mamluk art and architecture, archaeological reports for Greater Syria, extensive secondary literature on Syria's sugar industry in this period, and many late medieval travelers' accounts that would have given depth to his description of Syrian trade, industry, and culture. As a result, the monograph, while strong in elements of political and social history, is weak on general culture and does not touch those topics of growing interest today to students of Mamluk provincial history, such as environmental and agricultural history, demographic transformations, and local exchange networks.

The editing and publication quality of the copy available to this reader was unfortunately poor, with numerous misspellings in English and faulty pagination. Several pages in Chapter III were missing (pp. 81, 84, 85, 88, 89, 92, 93, and 96) and replaced with duplicate pages from Chapter I. These are the responsibility of the publisher/printer, however, and not the author. Future printing of the text will need to address this and should, in addition, include an index.

Nonetheless, ʿArabīnāh's monograph is a very readable and most welcome contribution to Mamluk provincial studies, an area of inquiry that has received little attention to date. While it is far from a comprehensive work on the subject, readers will find its broad coverage of political and social history a good general introduction to the Mamluk's Damascus province, highlighting Syrian-based sources that are often neglected in Cairo-based studies. Its focus on the "Burji" Mamluk period, furthermore, fills in a chronological void in Mamluk historiography and in



this sense could supplement Carl Petry's *Twilight of Majesty: The Reigns of the Mamlūk Sultans al-Ashraf Qāyṭbāy and Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī in Egypt* as a textbook or seminar reader.

OLIVIA REMIE CONSTABLE, *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World: Lodging, Trade, and Travel in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). Pp. 427.

REVIEWED BY STUART BORSCH, Assumption College

This book strikes one, from the very start, as an astounding endeavor in the scope and scale of the topic. In this age of globalization, when huge food and hotel conglomerates dominate the marketplace, Remie Constable has taken up the task of exploring their predecessors in the medieval world. Drawing on a wide variety of sources, philological, archaeological, and documentary, she explores the various manifestations of the *funduq*, that space for storage, commerce, lodging and boarding that dominated most areas in the Mediterranean at one time or another. For any scholar interested in travel, trade, or the socioeconomic structure of Mediterranean life, this book is a must read.

The parable of the Good Samaritan is a brilliant starting point; the *pandocheion* mentioned is the etymological root for *funduq*, as she establishes in an exploration of sources from late antiquity. The *pandocheion* serves as a Christian metaphor for the life of a pilgrim and the transit of body and soul through this world to the next. Tracing the evolution of the *pandocheion*, she goes on to analyze the purpose and function of *funduqs* as they matured in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. She describes the economic and social functions of *funduqs* and their relationship to other institutions, particularly *sūqs*.

She illustrates how *funduqs* served as loci for government taxation of imports and exports. The nature of taxation served in many cases to raise the price of goods sold in *funduqs*, an item of complaint for some contemporary observers. Constable details the interconnection of high-quality long-distance trade items, such as silk, and the role that *funduqs* played in providing merchants with an opportunity to fetch premium prices for the sale of these goods to wealthy households and local merchants who purchased them for resale. Concerning the sale of staple goods, such as grain, fruit, salt, and other bulk items, she describes how governments in the Mediterranean often sought to regulate prices and used *funduqs* as a means to do so. Interestingly, the market inspector, the *muḥtasib*, seems to have had little



to do with *funduqs*, a fact that further distinguishes *funduqs* from *sūqs*. It seems that the owners, or renters, of the *funduqs* were responsible for many of the functions that would be carried out by the *muḥtasib* in a *sūq*.

Of particular interest to scholars of the medieval Islamic world is the way in which *funduqs* were commonly used to generate incomes for pious endowments. Some *funduqs* served directly as charitable institutions, providing lodging, food, and medicine for poor travelers, in addition to money that would allow them to return home. Others generated funds that were then used to support other charitable institutions. In any case, it would seem that the *funduqs* were often not unlike *waqfs* in the role they played in Muslim societies.

Not surprisingly, *funduqs* were focal points for government taxation and regulation of trade. The government use of *funduqs* for this purpose seems to have grown over time, in Egypt from the Fatimid through Ayyubid to Mamluk eras. However, it seems that the taxes and tariffs were not so onerous as to disrupt trade, and merchants were willing to put up with the taxes in exchange for an orderly institution that they could rely upon for a reliable center of their activities.

Constable describes the architecture of the *funduqs* in detail, using both illustrations and descriptions provided by travelers and endowment deeds. The security provided by *funduqs* was clearly paramount in their economic function, and the practice of using a single gate which was locked at night is noted, along with the surprising role that *funduqs* sometimes played in sequestering suspected criminals for a short period. The basic layout of *funduqs* is well known to most scholars of the medieval Islamic world, but Constable's section on architecture provides a vivid exploration of the various structural elements of the *funduq* and *khāns* that offers a stunningly clear illustration of the ways in which the *funduq* served the medieval traveler.

The overall architectural description provided by Constable goes a long way to reveal the impressive scale and scope of the *funduq*, where there were sometimes as many as ninety-nine rooms provided for travelers' quarters in the upper story of the structure. She goes into great detail in describing the functions of the lower story of the *funduq*, which was used to store goods, sell wares, and stable pack animals. She provides accounts of travelers' sleeping arrangements on the upper stories, including unroofed rooms that allowed for relief from the summer heat at night, as well as areas on the flat roof to which travelers could retire in the heat of the summer night, and describes the use of latrines and the provision of fresh water by underground conduits serving the *funduqs*.

Provision for access to, or the inclusion of, mosques at the *funduq* is also explored. Facilities for prayer were not confined to Muslim travelers solely, but were also provided for Christian and Jewish *funduqs*, in which a chapel or synagogue was often located within the *funduq*. One of the interesting features of this book is



that it illustrates the divergence between accommodations provided by the Dār al-Islām for foreigners and the utter lack thereof for any Muslim who wanted to live as a merchant in the Latin West. Facilities such as churches and communal living were provided for by Muslim rulers in the Dār al-Islām while there was almost no parallel to be found for such accommodations in the European world.

She describes the way in which *funduqs* acquired their own judicial status, independent of laws for Muslims and local religious minorities. They were allowed to settle legal disputes within their own *funduq*, with the exception of capital crimes. She also traces the process by which *funduqs* (Italian = "*fondacos*") were designated by "nationalities" as Italian city-states began to assert their own independence and identity. At the same time, she demonstrates how states in the Muslim world limited the scope in which *fondacos* could operate, restricting their activities to focal points of international trade (e.g., Alexandria) while prohibiting them from operating in key domestic markets (e.g., Cairo).

She also outlines how the growth of Italian city-states paralleled the development of commercial concessions in Muslim cities, where, by the thirteenth century, consuls were chosen to represent the interests of and administer justice in the *fondaco*. Churches were another concession to the merchants in the *fondacos*. The pattern of consul representation and church activities became standard features of the *fondacos* over time. She details the advance of concessions by which *fondacos* were owned by Italian city-states, adumbrating the later development of *fondacos* in the early modern period.

She also explores the development of *fondacos* in Christian Spain and Sicily, demonstrating the similarities and differences with *fondacos* and *funduqs* in the Islamic world. The adaptation of a Muslim institution can be seen in this period in Mediterranean history. She explains how the *fondacos* came to concentrate more on the shipment and taxation of goods, rather than on housing merchants, as they did in the Islamic world.

She explains how the *fondacos* and *funduqs* changed over time, as Christian states became the dominant power in the Mediterranean. Christian *fondacos* dominated the loci of maritime international trade while Muslim *funduqs* continued to dominate overland trade. She details the rise and fall of the institution known as the *khān*, an institution which served rural areas rather than urban ones.

More strikingly, she describes the replacement of the *funduq* and the *khān* by the *wakālahs*, which served the commercial needs of traveling merchants, but did not serve as housing facilities for merchants. The emergence of the *wakālah* was also associated with the rise of more centralized government intent on profiting from regional and international trade. This was particularly true in Mamluk Egypt.

She goes on to explore the different characteristics of *fondacos* in countries north of the Mediterranean. She observes that *fondacos* there, although derived



from the Arabic *funduq*, did not usually house traveling merchants, only their cargo. The impulse for segregating the merchant population was not very strong within a society in which both merchants and their hosts were Christian. In exploring the difference between *fondacos* on the northern and southern shores of the Mediterranean, she focuses on one particular example, the Fondaco dei Tedeschi, in which the *fondaco* of the southern Islamic sphere of influence was replicated by a *fondaco* of the north. She shows how the particular socioeconomic structure of Venice put it in a position to mimic the centralized trading foci of the Islamic south. However, most of the Christian *fondacos* went their own way, drawing away from the function of *fondacos* on the other side of the Mediterranean.

This is a fantastic survey of the cultural and economic terrain of travelers in the middle Ages. Every detail of this institution is explored. This text will serve as a valuable resource for scholars, as well as a text for graduate and undergraduate surveys of the medieval economic world.

RICHARD J. A. MCGREGOR, *Sanctity and Mysticism in Medieval Egypt: The Wafā' Sufi Order and the Legacy of Ibn 'Arabī* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2004). Pp. 246.

REVIEWED BY TH. EMIL HOMERIN, University of Rochester

Richard J. A. McGregor significantly advances his earlier studies of the Wafā'īyah Sufi order with extensive new research on the order's two most important figures, its founder Muḥammad Wafā' (d. 765/1363), and his son 'Alī (d. 807/1405). Together they authored nearly thirty works, most of them still only in manuscript, and McGregor is to be commended for the diligence required for his pioneering study. He focuses, in particular, on notions of sanctity that were central to the thought of Muḥammad Wafā' and 'Alī, and on the possible influences on them of Ibn al-'Arabī and his school. As such, McGregor's study is concerned primarily with mystical philosophy in the Mamluk period.

McGregor reviews Muslim conceptions of sanctity (*walāyah*) from al-Ḥākīm al-Tirmidhī (d. ca. 300/910) to Ibn al-'Arabī (d. 638/1240). He notes that al-Tirmidhī distinguished between prophetic revelation (*wahy*) and saintly inspiration (*ilhām*), both clearly in contact with the divine. The superior revelation of the prophet brings God's message and law to humanity, while mystical inspiration may reveal spiritual realities, and insights into the law. Al-Tirmidhī and later Sufis constructed various hierarchies of saints, whose assemblies insured the proper functioning of



the cosmos and life on earth. Just as Muḥammad culminated the era of prophecy, so too the seal of the saints will come at the end of saintly rule, along with the Judgment Day. A similar doctrine circulated in Shi‘i circles, though the saints and their seal were replaced by the imams. Al-Tirmidhī’s ideas were also taken up and elaborated by Ibn al-‘Arabī, who detailed numerous classes and classifications of saints according to their prophetic inheritance and spiritual function. In Ibn al-‘Arabī’s complex system, *walāyah* “is the hyle in which all else operates” (p. 24). Ultimately, all prophets, messengers, and saints are manifestations of the Muḥammadan Reality whose prophetic seal was the historical Muḥammad. As to the saints, the Seal of Universal Sainthood is Jesus, while the Muḥammadan Seal of Sainthood was, hardly a surprise, Ibn al-‘Arabī himself.

Not all Muslims embraced Ibn al-‘Arabī’s doctrines and elaborate saintly hierarchy, as McGregor notes in a chapter on the Shādhilīyah order, where Muḥammad al-Wafā’ began his religious career. McGregor sketches the origins and development of this order in North Africa and Egypt, especially Alexandria. The Shādhilīyah order was widespread and quite influential in Mamluk domains, producing important mystics, scholars, and preachers such as Ibn ‘Aṭā Allāh al-Iskandarī (d. 709/1309) and Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 756/1355). Lesser known was Dā’ūd Ibn Bākhilā (d. eighth/fourteenth c.), Muḥammad al-Wafā’’s spiritual master and teacher. For Ibn Bākhilā and other early Shādhilī Sufis, sanctity results from proximity (*qurbah*) to the divine. Muslims who undertake spiritual disciplines may acquire a share of sanctity, though only a rare few attain spiritual vision. These saints have been annihilated mystically into God yet abide in creation to guide others, thus serving as a bridge (*barzakh*) between humanity and God. Sainthood, then, is the remnant of prophecy, which was sealed by Muḥammad. The saints are his spiritual heirs, each with a share of the Muḥammadan Reality, like moons reflecting the light of the sun.

Notably absent from this early Shādhilī system is a doctrine of a seal of the saints as found in al-Tirmidhī and Ibn al-‘Arabī, though this would be addressed by Muḥammad Wafā’ and ‘Alī. McGregor discusses the hagiographic traditions surrounding Muḥammad Wafā’, which declare him to be the seal of the saints and superior to al-Shādhilī and other great Sufis and saints. Recorded here are accounts of Muḥammad Wafā’’s visions of the prophet Muḥammad, who commanded him to recite the Quran much as Gabriel had commanded him. These and similar accounts establish Muḥammad Wafā’’s privileged place and that of ‘Alī. However, a different view of ‘Alī is given by his younger contemporary Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī (d. 852/1449). He remarked that ‘Alī was quite intelligent, cultured, and a talented preacher, though Ibn Ḥajar disapproved of the excessive veneration shown to ‘Alī by his followers. Further, according to Ibn Ḥajar, ‘Alī spent most of his time with his followers at the Wafā’ family home in Roda, where he had a minbar constructed



for the Friday prayers to be said there. Sometime after ‘Alī’s death, the Wafā’īyah order left Roda for a large *zāwiyah* containing the graves of Muḥammad and ‘Alī in the al-Qarāfah cemetery. Still, despite ‘Alī’s great popularity, and that of his father, their Wafā’ī order does not seem to have spread beyond Cairo. There, however, direct descendents of Muḥammad and ‘Alī maintained the family’s saintly prestige well into the nineteenth century. McGregor also mentions in passing that ‘Alī’s grandson was a teacher and companion of the Sultan Jaqmaq (d. 857/1453). Though outside the scope of this book, I would encourage McGregor to pursue further research on Wafā’ī relations with other members of the ulama as well as their social and economic relations with Mamluk sultans and amirs.

Next, McGregor surveys many writings by Muḥammad Wafā’ and ‘Alī. Both were said to have composed poetry “in the style of Ibn al-Fāriḍ,” which generally means poetry on mystical union and oneness. McGregor cites a few verses of Muḥammad’s poetry, which resemble the enigmatic verse of al-Niffarī (d. 354/965) and Ibn al-‘Arabī as well as sections of Ibn al-Fāriḍ’s *Nazm al-Sulūk*. Muḥammad also composed prayers and a work on jurisprudence, while ‘Alī wrote a treatise in defense of popular preachers, recently discussed by Jonathan Berkey in his *Popular Preaching and Religious Authority in the Medieval Islamic Near East* (Seattle, 2001). Their most important works, however, are a series of mystical treatises on a number of topics including the underlying oneness of being, the perfect human (*al-insān al-kāmil*), God’s self-disclosure (*tajallī*) to creation, and, of course, *walāyah* or sanctification. McGregor carefully details the nuanced positions of both mystics on this topic. In short, Muḥammad Wafā’ developed the Shādhilī doctrine of sainthood as an extension of prophecy by adding to it notions of cyclical renewal. He declares that there will be seven one-hundred-year cycles, each with a saint who will renew the religion of Islam. These seven cycles will be completed by the eighth, whose renewer will be the final seal of sainthood who is, no surprise, Muḥammad al-Wafā’ himself. ‘Alī builds upon his father’s teachings, maintaining that the shaykh, or spiritual guide, reflects God’s self-disclosure and so serves as the student’s door into mystical experience and divine life. Further, in discussing the relationship of sanctity to prophecy, ‘Alī posits a “spirit of saintly inspiration.” Whereas Gabriel comes to each prophet in some form, a spirit of saintly inspiration likewise comes to them, and to the saints. This spirit is a manifestation of God’s self-disclosure, and ‘Alī cites as examples the figure Khaḍir (Khiḍr), who spoke with Moses, and the handsome man who breathed God’s spirit into Mary, the mother of Jesus. Finally, ‘Alī picks up the idea of cyclical renewal, to which he adds a final ninth cycle signaling the apocalypse. By his calculations, this final seal is, to no surprise, ‘Alī himself.

McGregor’s study gives us a fascinating view of some of the religious beliefs and doctrines circulating during the Mamluk period, and he has presented the



teachings of Muḥammad Wafā' and 'Alī in some detail. Less convincing, however, is his claim that Muḥammad and 'Alī "relied heavily on [Ibn al-'Arabī's] philosophy" (p. 75). As McGregor himself notes, neither Muḥammad nor 'Alī ever mention Ibn al-'Arabī or his works, and many of their ideas and terms involving sanctity differ substantially from Ibn al-'Arabī's on the subject. Given Ibn al-'Arabī's importance and influence on Islamic mysticism at the time, it is difficult to believe that Muḥammad and 'Alī knew nothing of his ideas. Further, as McGregor points out, passages from the works of Muḥammad Wafā' and, especially, 'Alī resonate at times with Ibn al-'Arabī's writings or those of his students, including al-Qūnawī (d. 672/1273), al-Qāshānī (d. 735/1334), and, I would add, al-Qayṣrī (d. ca. 748/1347). However, a number of Muḥammad's and 'Alī's ideas can also be found in the verse of Ibn al-Fāriḍ, and the writings of al-Tirmidhī and other earlier mystics. Therefore, McGregor must undertake a more extensive and exacting comparison if he wants to assess the scope and strength of Ibn al-'Arabī's influence on Muḥammad and 'Alī.

Finally, readers owe Richard McGregor thanks for providing in his notes Arabic passages to his translations. Unfortunately, there are many typos in these passages, though the Arabic reader will have little problem correcting them.

