

*Sonderdruck aus:*

# Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

Im Auftrag der Gesellschaft herausgegeben von  
Florian C. Reiter  
unter Mitwirkung von  
Christian Bauer, Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst, Lutz Edzard,  
Patrick Franke, Jürgen Hanneder, Herrmann Jungraithmayr,  
Karénina Kollmar-Paulenz, Jens Peter Laut,  
Joachim Friedrich Quack und Michael Streck

Band 167 – Heft 1  
2017



Harrassowitz Verlag

Daß dennoch hie und da Fehler stehen geblieben sind (z. B. S. 63/3), ist hinnehmbar. Anders sieht das etwa mit Varianten von Eigennamen im Text („Idaumīnī“ S. 317/11, „Idaumīnī“ S. 319/-2) und im Personen-Index (Bd. II, S. 23 wieder „Idaumīnī“; ähnlich im „Qabā'il“-Index, S. 23–26, „aulād Aǧraiyr“ 317, es fehlt aber „abnā' Aǧraiyr“ S. 319/-2) aus. Insbesondere der Index ist voller Ungereimtheiten: Da stehen die „Anmād“, die Nemadi-Jäger des östlichen Haūd, unter dem Buchstaben „nūn“, als Referenz folgen „302, 306“, es fehlt jedoch die Referenz auf S. 318/15. Dies sind nur Stichproben. Sie sind aber geeignet, das Vertrauen in die Verlässlichkeit der Indizierung zu erschüttern. Dazu trägt auch der Umstand bei, daß der beige-sellte Indexband, der Indices zu Personen (*a'lām*), Buchtiteln (*kutub*), Stämmen (*qabā'il*), Kämpfen (*ma'ārik*) und Naturereignissen (*zawābir*) enthält, offenbar (auf kritische Nachfrage?) als Ergänzung sekundär erstellt wurde. Der Textband enthält ja bereits einen unvollständigen(!) Personenindex: Er ist aber nur halb so umfangreich wie der nachgebesserte. Ärgerlich ist, daß bei sämtlichen Indices nur an wenigen Einträgen die oft für eine Identifizierung unerläßliche Vokalisierung (bei den *ma'ārik* hat man es fast durchweg mit berberischem Namensgut zu tun) vorgenommen wird, und wenn, dann selten vollständig.

Die vorliegende Edition liefert – soweit das überhaupt beurteilt werden kann – eine hinreichend korrekte Transkription der arabischen Handschrift (von der leider auch keine faksimilierte Seite beige-fügt ist). Ihr Inhalt ist – gemessen am literarischen Standard des maurischen Schriftguts – kompetent und informativ. Insofern komplettiert sie eine inhaltliche Lücke in der jüngeren soziokulturellen Geschichte Mauretaniens. Die Qualität der Edition ist indiskutabel. Die Methode der Behandlung des Stoffes durch den Herausgeber läßt sich nur mit dem hermetischen Wissensverständnis der gegenwärtigen traditionellen islamisch-arabischen Wissenschaft erklären. Das Gestern ist hier „schon“ Moderne. Insofern ist es ein Unglück, daß diese „durch Gottes äußere und innere Gnade“ (S. 8/8) zustande gekommene Arbeit einem möglichen Ansporn für eine seriöse Edition und Kommentierung im Wege stehen wird.

ULRICH REBSTOCK, Freiburg i. Br.

MAHMOUD HADDAD/ARNIM HEINEMANN/JOHN L. MELOY/SOUAD SLIM (eds.): *Towards a Cultural History of the Mamluk Era*. Würzburg: Ergon Verlag 2010. XII, 164 S. + alif-kāf, 152 S. (Arabic section), 32 pl. (Beiruter Texte und Studien 118.) ISBN 978-3-89913-734-7. € 68,-.

Over the past twenty years or so, academic interest and publications on the Mamluk period (1250–1517) have witnessed a boom to such an extent that it is now one of the most studied periods of Islam, both in the West and the Arab world. Various initiatives like the Mamluk Bibliography, managed and continually updated by the Middle East Documentation Center of the University of Chicago under the direction of MARLIS SALEH, the *Mamlūk Studies Review* published by the same center, and the School of Mamlūk Studies established in 2014, just to mention a few, are evidence that the period has now become a field in itself and is attracting more and more students. The book under review is part of this movement, as it contains the proceedings of a conference held at the University of Balamand from May 4–7, 2005, under the auspices of the Said University and the Orient-Institut Beirut. As the editors state in the introduction, the organizers put special emphasis on the cultural history of the Bilād al-Shām during the Mamluk era. In particular, the focus was on engaging with such dichotomized concepts as prosperity and decline or tolerance and preservation. The conference aimed to consider “the cultural history,

broadly conceived, of the era of the Mamluk Sultanate” and, especially, to investigate “the relations of the state to the various social groups within Bilād al-Shām” (p. ix).

The focus of the conference organizers on the Bilād al-Shām is fully justified by the fact that this region of the Mamluk sultanate is often neglected in studies devoted to this period. Naturally, the capital of the sultanate, Cairo, played a centripetal role that has drawn the attention of historians. Moreover, the sources (documentary or narrative) on Egypt are more numerous than those for the other regions and it is not surprising that, thus far, modern researchers have been more attracted by what was considered the center of Mamluk power. Nonetheless, historians living in the Bilād al-Shām during the Mamluk era produced a wide gamut of works that can be exploited by modern scholars. The organizers’ wish to initiate a centrifugal research trajectory was thus, more than ever, comprehensible and reasonable. However, as they confess, the results met their expectations only in part. A large number of contributions to the conference and, consequently, of the articles published in this volume of proceedings did not take into consideration the focus on the Bilād al-Shām and in fact the majority of the papers deal with Egypt exclusively or consider Egypt and the Bilād al-Shām together. This explains why “Bilād al-Shām” does not feature in the title of the book. Fortunately, the organizers were more successful with regard to the second point of focus: various social groups of the region were taken into consideration. Understood in religious terms (minorities like Christians, Shiites or Druzes) or in social terms (lower classes, those living on the border of society or the marginalized), these groups feature in two-thirds of the articles.

The volume gathers eighteen papers written in English and Arabic, with the exception of one article that is in French. The editors organized the papers in five parts according to the main themes covered by the authors. Unfortunately, they opted to separate the articles in Arabic from those in Latin characters. Moreover, each section functions independently, with its own introduction and its own index. This choice, undoubtedly made for practical reasons, is infelicitous because it interrupts the dialogue between the articles of each section. The separate indices are also inappropriate; each covers only the section to which it is attached and this means that the reader must consult both in order to locate an entry. The five parts are as follows: religious communities and their interaction; fields of cultural production—arts, literature, science; cultural contexts of political practice and social relations.

The first part gathers six papers, among which three are in Arabic. The part opens with an article by JØRGEN NIELSEN (pp. 3–13) on the participation of members of religious minorities (Christians and Jews) in the Ayyubid and Mamluk states from a historiographical point of view. In fact, NIELSEN gave a keynote at the conference in order to stimulate the reflections of the other contributors. NIELSEN puts forward various arguments on the question of the *dhimmīs* and their role in Muslim society, and delineates future topics of research. DAVID THOMAS, in “Christian-Muslim Misunderstanding in the Fourteenth Century: The Correspondence between Christians in Cyprus and Muslims in Damascus” (pp. 13–30) revisits the aim, meaning, and impact of an apologetic letter sent by a Christian author settled in Cyprus to Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Dimashqī. THOMAS notices that the answer provided by the two Muslim authors, though separated by some years, is identical (negative), but that the reasons behind the responses are different in nature. In the meantime, THOMAS has published, together with R. EBIED, a book on the issue: *Muslim-Christian Polemic during the Crusades: The Letter from the People of Cyprus and Ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Dimashqī’s Response* (Leiden 2005). RAY MOUAWWAD’s “Christian Martyrs in Tripoli in the Mamluk Era” (pp. 31–41) explores sources rarely considered by historians of the Mamluk period. These were written either in Karshūnī (Arabic in

Syriac characters) or in Syriac and deal with events concerning the Christian communities their authors represent: Melkites, Maronites, and Greek Orthodox. The examples analyzed demonstrate that the usual Mamluk sources are advantageously weighed against texts stemming from other milieus. ILYĀS AL-QAṬṬĀR addresses the dialectics of oppression and tolerance with regard to the religious minorities of Mount Lebanon (Maronites, Jacobites, Shiites, and Druzes) in his “al-Mawārīna wa-l-Ya‘āqība wa-l-Shī‘a wa-l-Durūz fī l-jabal al-lubnānī fī l-‘ahd al-mamlūkī: jadaliyyat al-idṭihād wa-l-tasāmuh” (pp. 3–27), while AḤMAD HUṬAYṬ examines the place and role of another religious minority, this time in Egypt, through the lens of a case study on the Copt Sharaf al-Dīn al-Nashw (“al-Aqbāt wa-l-idāra al-mamlūkiyya fī ‘ahd al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn: Sharaf al-Dīn al-Nashw namūdhajan”, pp. 29–40). The latter study has now been superseded in terms of deep analysis by AMALIA LEVANONI’s article entitled “The al-Nashw Episode: A Case Study of ‘Moral Economy’” (*Mamlūk Studies Review* 9 [2005], pp. 207–220). The last article in this part is by ANDRĪH NAṢṢĀR; it is a study of the place of Christians in Damascus and Aleppo: “Awḏā‘ al-masīhiyyīn fī Dimašq wa-Ḥalab fī l-‘aṣr al-mamlūkī” (pp. 41–75). NAṢṢĀR evaluates the various positions occupied by Christians in the administration and their living conditions in the cities considered. He concludes that their roles in city governance secured their rights as *dhimmīs*.

The next three parts all deal with cultural production, in arts, literature, and science respectively. Arts are treated in four articles. MAT IMMERZEEL and ADELINÉ JEUDY concentrate on “Christian Art in the Mamluk Period” (pp. 45–66), taking as the starting point of their research the question of the continuity of this kind of art after the accession of power by the Mamluks. The authors take into consideration various items like wall painting, icons, liturgical objects, and wooden church furniture, both in Egypt and the Bilād al-Shām. They reach the conclusion that “due to the lack of evidence, the Mamluks must be cleared of the charge of iconoclasm” (p. 52) and that the situation in the regions differed: in the Bilād al-Shām, they note a discontinuity in the production of Christian art; on the other hand, in Egypt, Coptic art flourished until the end of the Mamluk rule, when it slowly began to decline. DORIS BEHRENS-ABOUSEIF’s article, entitled “Craftsmen and Upstarts in the Late Mamluk Period” (pp. 67–75), was later published in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* (73,3 [2011], pp. 375–395) under a slightly different title (“Craftsmen, Upstarts, and Sufis in the Late Mamluk Period”), and is here printed “without the authorisation of the author and copyright owner,” as stated on a slip of paper inserted in the book by the editors. It appears that the text published here is closer to the version of the paper she read at the conference, a paper that she later expanded for publication in a peer-reviewed journal. In the paper here, she devotes herself to the careers of craftsmen in the administration and their establishment during the Circassian period. Her analysis demonstrates that in previous periods, such careers had been much more difficult, and that under the Mamluks the lower social groups had “unprecedented opportunities ... to fill gaps which the Mamluk establishment could not” (p. 75). HOWAYDA AL-HARITHY’s study (“Writings on the Wall: Mamluk Monuments of Tripoli”, pp. 77–84) is a slightly revised version of a text already published in 1999 and does not add anything new to the subject. The same holds true for ILYĀS AL-ZAYYĀT’s “al-Fann al-masīhī fī Bilād al-Shām wa-l-ḥiqba al-mamlūkiyya” (pp. 79–89).

Literature is the subject of two articles which in fact concern two historians: al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Iyās. In “The Chronicle of Ibn Iyās as a Source for Social and Cultural History from Below” (pp. 87–98), AXEL HAVEMANN investigates the representation of individuals or groups who do not belong to the Mamluk caste, their criminal acts and small scandals as well as stories about beggars. In his approach, HAVEMANN sees the possibility of writ-

ing a history of society and he is indeed right: since the time of the conference, two major books dealing with the Mamluk criminal underworld have been published (one by CARL PETRY and the other by BERNADETTE MARTEL-THOUMIAN) and both are based in part on the material provided by Ibn Iyās. ANṬWĀN ḌŪMIṬ's article, "al-Tajdid fī manhaj Taqī l-Dīn Aḥmad al-Maqrīzī (766–845/1364–1442)" (pp. 93–111), is supposed to establish the way in which al-Maqrīzī renewed the writing of history; unfortunately it turns out to be disappointing; rather than a thorough analysis of al-Maqrīzī's capacity to innovate in ways that superseded his predecessors and contemporaries, it is merely a catalog of the themes he developed. It fails to demonstrate what the author proposed to put forward.

Science is at the core of three articles. The first one, by GEORGE SALIBA ("Gathering the Stars: Scientific Activities during Mamluk Times", pp. 101–125), is an excellent presentation of the progress made by scientists under the Mamluks in the field of astronomy. Usually considered a period of decline in the sciences, SALIBA stresses that scientists of that period improved the theories of their predecessors to such an extent that they reached a level comparable to the one achieved in Europe during the Renaissance. At the same time, medicine underwent a major development with the canonization of the medical tradition attributed to the Prophet. FLORÉAL SANAGUSTIN ("La Codification du savoir médical dans la tradition dite « prophétique » à l'époque mamelouke", pp. 127–137) sees the Mamluk period as a key moment for the codification of popular practices and, at the same time, the re-appropriation of sciences inherited from the Greeks, Persians, and Indians. ANĪS SHA'YĀ's study is devoted to the question of the fortifications on the Lebanese coast, as seen through the example of the city of Tripoli ("Taṭawwur al-taḥṣīnāt al-askariyya bayn al-fatratayn al-ṣalibiyya wa-l-mamlūkiyya 'alā l-sāhil al-lubnāni: al-Taṭawwur al-mudunī fī Ṭarābulus 'ibra dirāsāt taḥṣīnāt al-madīna", pp. 115–123).

Finally, the last part of this volume, dedicated to political practice and social relations, consists of three articles. ALBRECHT FUESS, in "Legends against Arbitrary Abuse: The Relationships between the Mamluk Military Elite and their Arab Subjects" (pp. 141–151), takes as his starting point a story concerning a Mamluk governor of Tripoli "who cared about the rights of the common people." As he tentatively demonstrates, this case was quite exceptional given that Mamluks were usually above the law, even in the case of criminal affairs involving non-Mamluks, and generally when authorities reacted, it was out of fear that the hegemony of the state would be put at risk or that the integrity of the leading representatives would be tarnished. The second article, by ALIYA SAIDI ("Marriage and Mental Illness in the Mamluk Period", pp. 153–157), addresses the issue of the effects of polygamy on other wives. The author bases her article on the biographies dedicated to women in al-Sakhāwī's *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*: she noticed that this historian mentions marital status in the case of 590 women and that nearly 30 percent of these were married multiple times. She then gives a few examples of women who became insane when they knew that their husband already had a wife. It is, however, difficult to accept her argument when she declares that "the fact that Sakhāwī clearly linked mental illness with polygamy shows that polygamy was considered scandalous". The evidence is too narrow to allow such general conclusions. YOSSEF RAPOPORT's monograph, *Marriage, Money and Divorce in Medieval Islamic Society* (Cambridge 2005) is now the standard reference on this issue, though, as he himself recognizes, "polygamy and concubinage ... deserve a monograph of their own" (p. 11). The *ḥisba* is the subject of the last article in this part; penned by AḤMAD 'ABD AL-SALĀM, it is entitled "al-Ḥisba fī l-'aṣr al-mamlūkī bayn al-tawzīf al-dīnī wa-l-siyāsī wa-l-idāra l-madaniyya" (pp. 127–143). The author considers three stages, each corresponding to a significant evolution in the position of the market inspector. This has been known for many years now and the question has been reconsidered recently by KIRSTEN

STILT in her *Islamic Law in Action: Authority, Discretion, and Everyday Experiences in Mamluk Egypt* (Oxford 2011).

All in all, this book leaves its reader with a mixed impression. While some articles are significant and excellent contributions to the study of cultural history in the Mamluk period, others are mere sketches (and, in some cases, not even that) of issues which have been examined elsewhere in articles and books since the conference was organized. It is a pity that the authors were not invited to reconsider their views in light of these recent publications. It is difficult to believe that the articles were peer-reviewed. The imbalance in the overall quality of the various contributions is further exacerbated by the editors' decision to allow authors "some latitude with regard to citation style" (p. xii). As they acknowledge, "these decisions may not conform to the usual standard of scholarly practice". The reader is left with the impression that they simply preferred not to devote time to practices that are indeed very helpful to the reader: coherence should be found not in a single article but in the whole volume. The rules, if given to the contributors, should have been applied to all the articles. For instance, one notices that the bibliography is given in the footnotes by most authors, but in two articles it appears at the end.

To conclude, this volume contributes, in a certain imbalanced way, to a better understanding of cultural aspects of Mamluk society, and particularly of some categories of people usually neglected or little studied.

FRÉDÉRIC BAUDEN, Liège

APRIL D. DECONICK / GREGORY SHAW / JOHN D. TURNER (Hrsg.): *Practicing Gnosis. Ritual, Magic, Theurgy and Liturgy in Nag Hammadi, Manichaean and Other Ancient Literature. Essays in Honor of Birger A. Pearson*. Leiden/Boston: Brill 2013. IX, 571 S. (Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 85.) ISBN 978-90-04-25629-3. € 184,-.

Das größte Verdienst dieser Anthologie besteht darin, daß sich die Herausgeber der Festschrift für den Religionswissenschaftler BIRGER A. PEARSON endlich eines Themas angenommen haben, das in unterschiedlichen Fachbereichen (Christlicher Orient, Liturgiewissenschaft, Alte Kirchengeschichte, spätantike Philologie und anderen) seit einiger Zeit schon in der Luft lag: das Verhältnis der Gnostiker zum Ritual. Nachdem in den letzten Jahrzehnten die vermeintliche Ritualfeindlichkeit der Gnosis zunehmend fragwürdig geworden war, stand schon längst eine Studie an der Tagesordnung, die diesem Perspektivenwechsel gerecht wird und die eminente Bedeutung der gnostischen Quellen für die Geschichte der christlichen Liturgie, aber auch für das Verstehen spätantiker Religiosität überhaupt herausstellt. Dieses dringenden Desiderats, das sicherlich noch etliche Überraschungen in sich birgt und die bisherige Geschichtsschreibung grundlegend reformieren könnte, nehmen sich die US-amerikanischen Verantwortlichen an. Allein schon für diese zeitsensible Entscheidung gebührt ihnen seitens der Kollegenschaft Dank.

Bemerkenswert ist die breite Perspektive, welche die Herausgeber gewählt haben: Sie nehmen sich nicht nur im engeren Sinne liturgische Fragen vor, sondern sammeln Beiträge aus einem weiteren Feld ritueller Praxis und ihrer Deutungen, die in einem wenigstens indirekten Zusammenhang zur Gnosis stehen. Vorab systematisiert erscheinen diese Untersuchungen in fünf Sektionen des Buches: Den ersten inhaltlichen Teil markieren Studien über die Initiationsliturgien der Gnostiker und zeitgenössischer anderer Kulte; dieser einmaligen Gottesdienstform sind in *Section 2* Beispiele wiederkehrender ritueller Lebensbewältigung zugeordnet (beispielsweise die hiesigen zwei Beiträge über Bußakte). Der dritte Abschnitt wird *Therapeutic Practices* überschrieben und umfaßt Probleme an-