

BOOK REVIEWS

Sahar Amer. *Esope au féminin: Marie de France et la politique de l'interculturalité*. Etudes de langue et littérature françaises, 169. Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, 1999. Pp. 243.

In a series of recent articles and the present book, Sahar Amer argues that in order to contextualize the vernacular literature of medieval Europe adequately, it is necessary to look beyond the bounds of the Latin literary heritage of the Christian West. In making this effort, Amer situates herself within a community of modern readers that includes Dorothee Metlitzki, Maria Rosa Menocal, and John Tolan, each of whom has sought to demonstrate the extent to which literary genres, poetic forms, and narrative content infiltrated the European vernacular literatures nascent in the twelfth century. Moreover, Amer places her source study within a theoretical framework that invites the reader to understand the assimilation of eastern material within the context of Marie de France's own identity as a female writer and hence to observe the contiguity of "la voix culturelle de l'Autre (arabe) et de la femme" (194).

The majority of modern scholarship on the twelfth-century poet Marie de France has focused on her *Lais*, a collection of oral tales of Breton origin transformed by Marie into octosyllabic couplets. Such attention seems to reflect modern rather than medieval sensibilities, for Marie's *Fables* (or *Esope*) survives in twenty-three manuscripts from the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries (compared with only five manuscripts of the *Lais*), attesting to the popularity and wide dissemination of these moralized animal stories. The comparatively few extant studies of the *Fables* center on its relationship to other comparable collections produced in the West, whether sources that might have been reworked by Marie, or later compilations whose authors might have been influenced by her. While the textual source for the first forty of Marie's *Fables* was identified in the nineteenth century as the Latin prose *Romulus Nilantii*, determining the source of the remaining sixty-three has proved much more difficult. Amer argues that looking beyond the Latin literary heritage of

the West makes it possible to discover both the source of Marie's remaining *Fables* and the origins of what Amer identifies as the "théorie orientale de l'interprétation" (21) that Marie brings to bear throughout the collection. This approach allows Amer to account for Marie's unorthodox application of different morals to the otherwise standard tales she bases on the *Romulus*, and to explore how Marie recasts the expectations of the fable genre, especially with regard to the interpretive role of the reader. As Amer points out, the earlier Latin fable is didactic, addressed to an essentially passive reader (45); by contrast, Marie's fables (like the Oriental analogues described by Amer) invite the reader to participate in the extraction of a moral from the tale. The Latin fables are characterized, as Amer puts it, by a virtual "manichéisme épistémologique" (44); the Oriental fables, by contrast, invite interpretation and thus contribute to "la naissance du lecteur dans la création du sens du texte" (61).

Amer's *Esopé au féminin* is well structured: following an introduction which includes an account of previous scholarship on Marie's *Fables* (including a sound assessment of the merits of various modern editions and translations), she offers a survey of the "grand nombre d'hypothèses, toutes incertaines" (26) concerning both the identity of Marie herself and the possible modes of transmission of the collections of fables she drew upon. Amer suggests that the Oriental fable tradition formed a crucial aspect of Marie's enterprise, providing her not only with (at least in part) the "source thématique" (21) of those that have no identifiable western analogue, but also with a new mode of interpretation, a new role for the reader, and a new focus on the social and ethical responsibilities of the individual in society (50-51). The first chapter describes the Latin text long identified as Marie's main source, the *Romulus Nilantii*, and the Oriental text Amer identifies as being of crucial importance, the fourth-century *Kalilah wa-Dimnah*. Although, as Amer notes (20 n. 42), *Kalilah wa-Dimnah* was not translated into western languages until the mid-thirteenth century, Amer argues that the text may have been orally transmitted at a much earlier date. She makes the intriguing suggestion that such fables may have passed orally into western culture along with the written translations of scientific works carried out during the twelfth century (8, 11). Yet without evidence of such transmission, some readers will remain unconvinced of the likelihood of this essential link in Amer's argument.

The second chapter, "La construction poétique et interculturelle de l'*Esopé*," explores in depth the nature of Marie's integration of the

interpretive modes found in *Kalilah wa-Dimnah*. This chapter is both the longest in the book and the most densely argued. Amer suggests that the *mise-en-page* of Marie's *Fables*, lacking individual titles to identify each tale, reflects "la fluidité narrative du discours fabulesque arabe" (79), while Marie's reassignment of morals from one fable to another enables "une subversion de l'autorité du narrateur" (117) found previously only in the Oriental fable tradition. The third and fourth chapters, based in part on Amer's earlier articles on individual fables (157 n. 42, 187 n. 16), explore Marie's presentation of animals and women, showing how in each case the existence of a fixed, immutable, essential identity is rejected (159); instead, each creature exhibits behaviors which vary depending upon circumstances, developing a more flexible notion of the individual.

These final two chapters, full of rich and detailed analyses of individual fables in the context of medieval bestiaries, the *Roman de Renart*, and misogynistic writing, are cogently presented and insightful. The second chapter, because it is more speculative, begs a number of questions, the most important of which concerns interculturality. Amer argues that Marie's text grows out of a *mélange* of various cultures that came together to form the *Fables*, a text that would exert a strong influence on subsequent writing both within the genre and outside it. This concept of interculturality, potentially so useful to the understanding of medieval culture in general (and, in particular, to the hybrid Anglo-Norman/English culture of the twelfth century) is treated somewhat more reductively in practice. Instead of "interculturalité," Amer focuses on the *biculturalité* of Latin West and Arab East (1; cf. "deux discours" [63], "deux traditions" [28]). Amer correctly recognizes the danger of essentializing the Orient, especially in the form of a text such as *Kalilah wa-Dimnah*, which is the complex product of Indian, Persian, and Arab cultures, as well as Hindu and Islamic systems of thought (19). In spite of this awareness, however, the Manichean binarism that Amer identifies in the Latin fable emerges as well in Amer's own analytical framework: a world characterized as western, Christian, Latin, and theologically oriented collides, as it were, with a world characterized as eastern, Islamic, Arabic, and socially oriented. (What, for example, is "une perspective islamo-arabe du monde" [27]? Is it the same as "la littérature arabe post-islamique" which is "nourrie par une pensée islamique" [48]?) In spite of Amer's warnings against essentializing Orient and Occident, the study in practice focuses on the interaction "entre deux cultures et entre deux systèmes de signes" (202). It comes as no surprise that the didac-

tic Latin fable, with its passive, receptive reader, succumbs to the allure of the ambiguous Oriental tale and its interpretive fertility.

Perhaps it is necessary to be somewhat reductive (and even essentializing) in order to discuss the flow between cultures that takes place in the act of translation, which is always both linguistic and cultural. Yet Amer herself points to avenues of inquiry that might offer insights into the nature of medieval interculturality. What, in particular, is the role of Greece in the intercultural dynamic?— not as an actual locus of transmission, but rather as an imaginary cultural site. Surely it is too simple to conclude, following Joseph Jacobs, that to speak of Greece in the twelfth century is to speak of Greece as mediated by Arab culture (25). In claiming a Greek source for her *Fables*, does Marie herself participate in the foundation of a western myth of Greek ancestry of the European West, as Amer almost seems to suggest (203)? In what ways does Marie's assertion of a Greek origin for her *Fables* correspond to her claims to have used a Breton source for her *Lais*? In both cases, the cultures drawn upon are seen as ancient, and consequently rich and authoritative; yet both are simultaneously represented as effaced by the dominant cultures of Marie's time. On the Occidental side as well as the Oriental, interculturality still has much left to reveal about how certain works of literature crystallize, as it were, moments of cultural flux and exchange.

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Robert I. Burns S.J. and Paul E. Chevedden with a contribution by Mikel de Epalza. *Negotiating Cultures: Bilingual Surrender Treaties in Muslim-Crusader Spain under James the Conqueror*. The Medieval Mediterranean, 22. Leiden: Brill, 1999. Pp. xviii, 279, with color and b/w plates.

Seldom are the edition of particular medieval documents subject to the fanfare which greeted the publication of the two bilingual treaties studied in *Negotiating Cultures*, a book which combines the talents of Father Robert I. Burns, the godfather of *mudéjar* studies, his disciple, the Arabist Paul Chevedden, and veteran Valencian historian Mikel de Epalza. Both of the documents originate in James I's (ruled 1213-1276) campaigns of conquest in the Andalusí Levant. The first, a truce of

1245 with al-Azraq, has been known to scholars for some time, but the second, a treaty with Islamic Játiva, only recently came to light. This latter Burns qualifies as “one of the most important archival finds of the century for students of the Middle Ages” (Scribe News press release, 16 November 1999). The book itself consists of an exhaustive forensic study of the charters, Burns providing contextual chapters and a study of the physical documents and Latin text, and Chevedden analyzing the Arabic. In a third part Epalza contributes further contextual discussion and Burns ruminates on the wider significance of the treaties.

The first chapter, “Al-Azraq’s World,” provides a definitive account of the last great Muslim resistance-leader in the Valencian lands and establishes the year of the latter’s surrender as 1245 (rather than 1244, as held by some). Chapter two, “The Al-Azraq Treaty,” begins with a discussion of the scholarly confusion surrounding this date, then wades into the familiar territory of the “*hişn/qarya*” debate, disputing, as Burns’ readers will expect, the Guichard-Glick interpretation. Next Burns contrasts the conceptual differences inherent in the Arabic and Romance texts, showing how they reflect the respective leader’s aims and aspirations—“a bifurcation of tone and intent” (34). Finally, in the third chapter, Chevedden presents an extremely detailed description, transcription, transliteration and translation of the Arabic text, followed by very precise discussions of the morphology, orthography and syntax. Occasionally irregularities in the transcription, such as “al-r.m.n” for “al-Raḥman” (41), are not noted and are assumed by the reviewer to be typographical errors.

The Játiva document is given even a fuller treatment. In chapters four and five, “Játiva: Key to the South,” and “The Tightening Noose: A Sequence of Sieges,” Burns embarks on a detailed description of the castle itself, and then turns to smooth out another historical wrinkle, the date of the surrender. Recounting the military and diplomatic maneuvers by which James took the kingdom of Valencia, Burns comes into his own as a political historian, with his incredible grasp of the king’s movements, familiarity with the royal retinue and conveyance of the spirit of the times. The Conquerer’s sense of urgency comes across vividly: Játiva was almost within the king’s grasp, but French attacks on his Occitan dependencies and the machinations of scheming Castile forced him to make concessions to the desperate Muslims. The attention Burns devotes to both the Catalano-Aragonese and Játivan political situations underlines the differences in the agenda which each party carried to the table, and shows how these programs manifested themselves

both in the text of the treaty and in subsequent events. The next chapter continues the narrative with a minute reconstruction of Islamic Játiva's last years, emphasising how it slipped under Christian dominion in stage—again, a dramatic presentation of personalities and events that only Burns could have managed. With chapters seven and eight, he addresses physical aspects of the document, its provenance, and presents a transcription of the Latin text. His discussion of its possible resemblance to other treaties is disappointingly short, but the investigation of the identity of the charter's witnesses is thorough. In chapter nine, "The 1244 Treaty: Arabic Text and Analysis," Chevedden provides a treatment similar to that which he gave the first document, then discusses at length the implications of the treaty's contents vis-à-vis Islamic law.

Mikel de Epalza contributes with chapter ten an essay on the Arab-Islamic concept of *'ahd* ("pact"). Tracing its etymology and its appearance in the *Qur'ān*, he surveys its application in Iberian history jumping from the eighth-century "Pact of Tudmūr" to treaties of the eighteenth century. Finally, in "Crusader Perspective, Islamic Perspective," Burns recapitulates his position that the treaties were "not truly a meeting of minds but rather a clash of concepts, cultures, and opposing political philosophies" (213) before embarking on a series of interesting digressions regarding seige-warfare, the cross-bow, the role of the commoner in the armies of the day, and *mudéjares* as soldiers of the Crown.

The painstaking detail with which the two documents are studied is impressive, but distracts at times from the thread of the work. Burns does well to warn that "the general educated reader . . . may wish to skip or pass lightly over more technical and philological parts" (p. xvi). Aside from its philological and diplomatic precision, the book is at its best when reconstructing the complex political-military events surrounding the documents. Surprisingly, none of the three authors makes any substantial comparison to the *mudéjar* experience of Aragon proper, where similar treaties which date back to the eleventh century doubtless provided a model. Granted these do not survive in Arabic versions, but their resemblance to the treaties discussed merits comment and comparison (for example, Lourie's recently "discovered" Jalón charter of 1210).¹ Such comparisons would have dampened the occasional regional

¹ E. Lourie, "An unknown charter given by king Peter II "the catholic" in 1210 to Mudéjars in the Jalon and Jiloca valleys," in *VII Simposio Internacional de Mudéjarismo: Actas* (Teruel: Centro de Estudios Mudéjares, 1999), 113-22.

particularism which surfaces in the analysis. The two treaties reflect the specific circumstances of James, al-Azraq and the Játivans, as the authors demonstrate, but they also fit snugly in the longer Aragonese tradition of “mudejarism.” *Negotiating Cultures* is in fact many works: a detailed revision of James’ conquest of the kingdom of Valencia, a multi-faceted analysis of two documents, and a series of illuminating contextual essays. Burns and Chevedden indeed throw open wide “these two narrow windows” on “the larger confrontation of cultures” (213).

BRIAN CATLOS
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Kate Fleet. *European and Islamic Trade in the Early Ottoman State: The Merchants of Genoa and Turkey*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. Pp. x, 204.

This volume will be an invaluable reference resource for any researcher investigating trade, and especially the articles of trade, between Genoa and the Ottoman world in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It is not, however, a book for the general reader. Six of its ten relatively brief chapters are dedicated to detailed investigations of traffic in particular commodities—slaves, grain, wine, alum, cloth, and metals. Two further chapters are devoted, respectively, to a more general discussion of commodities and a careful examination of money and prices. Throughout, the information is mainly based on western, and primarily Genoese, sources, since relevant Turkish data are scarce. The chapters on specific items of trade provide meticulous details on the different varieties, standards, and markets for these goods, as well as information on transactions and merchants. In her discussions of grain and alum, for example, Fleet takes pains to distinguish between various types and qualities of these commodities, and to investigate the particular regional origins and direction of trade. In some cases, these chapters distill large quantities of information, but in others—as Fleet admits—information is harder to come by. Her discussion of trade in metals is innovative in this regard, suggesting that the paucity of data may stem not, as it is usually explained, from suppression of information owing to papal bans on traffic in iron and other metals to Muslim buyers, but from the fact that Ottoman lands produced sufficient quantities of metal locally to make trade unnecessary; thus “lack of evidence in this case

is due to there being a lack of anything to evidence" (121). Information in these chapters is further supplemented by appendices giving details of prices for slaves, alum, and cloth, and exchange rates. The volume ends with an edition of twelve Latin documents from the Archivio di Stato in Genoa, dating 1364 to 1414, providing further particulars on Genoese commercial activities in Ottoman lands.

As Fleet states at its outset, the book has two main foci: an investigation of the commodities of trade and an inquiry into the possible role of Genoa and Genoese traders in the development of the early Ottoman State. The first goal is much more easily addressed than the second, and in consequence gets considerably greater coverage. As to the second, the evidence is less clear and Fleet has difficulty presenting a strong case. Despite initial disruptions in the wake of 1453 and the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople, Fleet concludes that commercial relations soon resumed and Genoese merchants continued to traffic in Ottoman lands. Trade was highly beneficial to both sides, and both were eager to pursue relations despite shifting politics. Although Mehmet II may have imposed new commercial taxes and attempted more stringent controls over trade, Fleet sees little in the commerce of the late fifteenth century that was radically different from the situation a century earlier. One development to which she does point was the likelihood that Genoese merchants acted as tax farmers for customs dues in the early Ottoman State, although this too seems to have been a continuation of earlier practices. Unfortunately, the data here are scanty, and this leads to sentences overloaded with qualifiers and hesitant conclusions. On the penultimate page of the volume, for example, Fleet states that "It seems, therefore, that in the reign of Murad I, and probably before, the Ottomans were using Latin, probably Genoese, tax farmers in their ports presumably to collect customs dues" (140). Likewise, her final conclusion notes only that "the importance of the Genoese contribution to the early economic development of this state seems, from the available sources, to have been of significance" (141). On the one hand, these statements demonstrate admirable honesty and unwillingness to push conclusions beyond what the sources will reasonably support. On the other hand, their tentativeness suggests that the true strength of the volume lies in its detailed information on commodities rather than its secondary focus on the impact of Genoese-Ottoman commercial relations.

OLIVIA REMIE CONSTABLE
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Jean Richard. *The Crusades, c. 1071-c. 1291*. Translated by Jean Birrell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. Pp. xiv, 516.

The translation of Jean Richard's *Histoire des croisades* is a welcome addition to the growing number of crusade syntheses now available to the Anglophone world. In this volume, Richard encapsulates a lifetime of study on the crusades and on the life and reign of the crusading king, Louis IX. Jean Birrell's translation is always clear and captures well the style and mood of the original.

According to the publicists at Cambridge University Press, "the aim of this book is to provide for the student and general reader a concise history of the crusades—whose chief goal was the liberation and preservation of the 'holy places' of the Middle East." Weighing in at over five hundred pages, Richard's book can only be considered "concise" when compared to behemoths like Steven Runciman's three-volume *History of the Crusades*. It, however, dwarfs every other general history of the crusades now in print. It is also not quite right to say that Richard's history treats the liberation of the Holy Land as the "chief goal" of the crusades; instead, it treats it as the only goal. Despite its size, this book has a precise and very limited temporal and geographic focus. As the title forthrightly states, Richard's history addresses only the period between the Council of Clermont in 1095 and the fall of Acre in 1291. There is no mention here of the long and important history of crusading after the collapse of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. The focus, too, is primarily on France and the Frankish Levant. It is around these two poles that Richard weaves his narrative. As a result almost no attention is paid to the numerous expeditions during the "age of the crusades" that were not bound for the East. The Albigensian Crusade and the "Children's Crusade" receive brief mention, perhaps because they occurred in France. Completely left out is a discussion of crusading in the Baltic, Italy, Hungary, or Spain.

I mention these omissions not to criticize, but only to point out what is and is not in this book. Within his scope, Richard provides a masterful treatment of the "traditional" crusades as well as the history of the Frankish East. The level of detail throughout is impressive and the various thematic sections help to bring it all together, pointing the reader to considerations of greater significance. For solid information on the expeditions to the East and the crusader states this is clearly the best single-volume work available today. Detailed chronological and genealogical tables further augment its usefulness. The index, however, lists only

persons, which is a shame given the breadth and depth of the material and the organization of the book. Scattered throughout are excellent maps. Particularly revealing is the map of the Fourth Crusade, which includes the expeditions of the “neglected majority” who did not travel to Constantinople at all.

This is a book that crusade historians will love, but it is not for beginners. From the first page to the last, it is clear that Richard expects his reader to be versed in the history of medieval Europe. He tackles a host of complex subjects, like the nature of feudalism in the Frankish East or the question of proto-colonialism, in a deft and perceptive manner. Graduate students will benefit from these discussions, but as for undergraduates, well, at least in the United States I suspect that Richard’s erudition will be beyond the grasp of most of them. (Perhaps that is an indictment more of our schools than Richard’s approach.)

Returning to Cambridge’s publicists, they write that “Jean Richard is the doyen of crusade historians. . . .” On that score I think they are quite right, and we all richer now for having his expertise and wisdom brought to bear on the history of the eastern crusades. All medieval historians will benefit by reading this book and keeping it close to hand.

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Scripta Mediterranea. Toronto: Canadian Institute of Mediterranean Studies. Vols. 19-20 (1998-1999). Guest edited by Brian Catlos and Karla Mallette. Pp. 291.

This is a special double issue of the “journal of the Canadian Institute for Mediterranean Studies, an international learned society based in Canada and devoted to the study of all aspects of Mediterranean culture and civilization, past and present, with a special interest in interdisciplinary and cross-cultural investigation.” Perhaps the Institute and its journal have devoted most of their attention to modern studies, or perhaps the presence of Don Cherry and the Canadian Broadcasting Company on the local cable outlet masks a border less porous in the post-North American Free Trade Association era than one realizes, but I had heard neither of the Institute nor its journal and I fear this ignorance is widespread. This is regrettable, especially if the present issue is representative of usual offerings; there is an abundance of interesting

and well-executed studies in this most recent issue, and they deserve greater publicity and a wide readership. Two issues ago *Medieval Encounters* reviewed issues of the journal *Sharq al-Andalus*, the reviewer Robert I. Burns, S.J. remarking that “occasionally a journal needs to be reviewed as a book, especially when it appears as a single volume all at once, with its contributions focused on a single topic, where subject and treatment seem of elevated rather than ephemeral interest, and where archival documentation is generously provided.” Several of these criteria clearly apply here.

There are sixteen original studies, eight literary and eight historical, as well as a personal reflection and four short “responses” to the sequel of the book prompting the reflection, in this double volume. The language of the introduction—“this volume presents a range of Western scholarly readings of Islamic society,” one author using “new literary critical methodologies to read responses,” while another offers “rigorously philological readings,” and yet another “re-reads” nineteenth-century Sicilian historians—alerts the traditional reader to prepare for some self-reflexive, repetitive, occasionally ponderous prose eschewing neither obfuscation nor cliché. Fortunately, however, such language is not universal, almost all of the studies are well worth the effort they require, and one’s pleasure and enlightenment increase the longer one reads—several of the most interesting and original of the articles are found in the latter half of the volume.

Suzanne Akbari, “Imagining Islam: The Role of Images in Medieval Depictions of Muslims” (9-27), studies the *Chanson de Roland*, Johan Bodel’s *Jeu de Saint Nicolas* of c. 1200, the fifteenth-century *Sowdone of Babylone*, and the Digby *Mary Magdalene* play; she finds a fascinating inversion: “Muslims, whose devotion is centered on the unity of God are seen as polytheists, while Christians, who venerate a triune God, are represented as monotheists; Muslims, who reject the use of images, are seen as idolaters, while Christians, who use images in worship, communicate with the divine more directly” (20). Karla Mallette, “The Idea of Vernacular Culture in the Arabic- and Romance-Speaking World during the Middle Ages (30-44), examines Ibn Khaldūn’s treatment of Arabic poetic forms in his *al-Muqaddima*, Dante’s *De vulgari eloquentia* (as well as Gianfranco Contini’s and Erich Auerbach’s reading of Dante), and Mallette’s own reading of Auerbach. Vernacular culture as seen by Auerbach may be quite other than merely “anomalous in the Arabic context,” though Mallette makes a case for the parallel between the vernacular “avant garde” of the troubadours in the “Christian West” and new poetic forms

of the Muslim East and West. Language and the idea of language in Ibn Khaldūn and also in Dante are huge fields of study, each with massive bibliographies treated lightly here, but one looks forward to future installments exploring further some of the tantalizing suggestions proffered here. Otto Zwartjes, “The Andalusī *Kharijas*: A Courtly Counterpoint to Popular Tradition?” (45-54), is a lightly-revised conference paper by a philologist and one of the world’s authorities on the *kharijas*, the non-classical, colloquial Arabic, or usually Romance closings to the strophic *muwashshahāt*, increasingly popular or surviving in greater number from the period after the fall of the caliphate in Spain. *Kharijas* are a “further development of conventional technique” with the poets reproducing “the vernaculars as best they could, except in those cases where they deliberately misrepresented the original speech for humoristic purposes” (54).

María Rosa Menocal, “Ten Years After: The Virtues of Exile” (55-61), presents in English the introduction which will appear in the Arabic translation of her award-winning and widely-read *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987). Menocal argues that “the best work that has been done in the past decade, and that is likely to be done in the near future, on “Muslims” and “Arabic culture” in medieval (or, for that matter, modern) Europe, must be either implicitly or explicitly rooted in the rejection of the simplicities and isolations of its own categories and terms, in an appreciation of the profound ambivalences of such readily nameable identities, and of the necessary interconnectedness with other (equally ambivalent) identities” (58). One often finds that the world view or even the medieval world view held by one’s fellow medieval scholars is more constricted than the world view of the medieval people they study; the work of Menocal, and indeed the studies presented in this volume, make this less and less acceptable. Menocal pleads for the translation and publication of Arabic and Hebrew language texts so that they may be accessible to more scholars, including those not possessing these languages, and in two parenthetical blasts, which I wish she had developed more fully, she indicts “the ‘orthodoxies’ of national-language departments that claim that we can only know and read in ‘original’ languages” and also “the disciplinary orthodoxy that makes scholars write in languages that are only readable to the minuscule clan of which they are a part” (59). The latter sounds agreeable enough, though I wish Menocal had elaborated further, but I must dissent mildly from the former, or at least from its applicability to life in the provinces. Western Michigan

University, home to the largest annual medieval congress in the world, and several thriving graduate programs in things medieval, offers no Portuguese, no Catalan, no Hebrew, until recently offered no Arabic, and its Italian is still not taught by tenure-line faculty. A course on Dante is offered but by a faculty member in the English Department, a faculty member who speaks little Italian, though undoubtedly teaches the course with the utmost sensitivity to the language of Dante's several fine translators. I share Menocal's concern but at times only a rigid orthodoxy can compete with the mind-numbing narrowness, unfortunately not limited to the Midwest, of budget-conscious academic administrators. Elizabeth Pérez, Cynthia Robinson, Haun Sausy, and Mallette then offer reviews and reflections on Menocal's more recent *Shards of Love: Exile and the Origins of the Lyric* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1994).

Arnold Cassola, "The Vision of the Muslim in Early Maltese Poetry (Eighteenth-Nineteenth Centuries)" (77-92), studies the image of the Muslim in the early writings—throughout most of its history it had been only a spoken language—of this only European language of Semitic origin. Cassola examines various eighteenth-century works, including a ballad relating the kidnapping of a Maltese maiden by the Turks and a poem about a Muslim slave uprising in Malta, and the writing of Giovanni Antonio Vassallo (1817-1868), who wrote in Italian and Maltese, and arrived at "the concept of acceptance, or at least tolerance, of the Muslim" in his 1843-work *Mannarino*, a work which also voiced the author's "total aversion to the concept of slavery." Oliver Friggeri, professor and head of the Department of Maltese at the University of Malta, and editor of several fundamental collections of Maltese poetry, explores "Points of Contact between Italian Romanticism and Maltese Literature" (93-108). Antonio Pellitteri, "Reflections on the Study of Muslim Sicily: History, Politics, and Nineteenth-Century Sicilian Historiography," offers an all-too brief (109-18) discussion of the development of Sicilian writing on Sicilian Muslims, with attention to Arabist and Orientalizing influences and the works, in particular, of Saverio Scrofani (d. 1835) and Carmelo Martorani (d. 1870).

Patrizia Onesta, "Lauzengier *Wāshī*-Index, Gardador—Custos: The "Enemies of Love" in Provençal, Arabo-Andalusian, and Latin Poetry" (119-41), traces the particular motif of slanderer and guardian or watchman through these three poetic traditions, quoting and translating amply from the originals, but concluding that as to the "possible witness of

literary contact between Provence and al-Andalus . . . a clear image does not emerge" (139).

María Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, former head of the medieval section of the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas in Barcelona, editor of the *Anuario de estudios medievales*, and author and editor of numerous volumes on the Mudejars in the fourteenth-century lands of the Crown of Aragon, contributes "The Muslim *Aljama* of Tortosa in the Late Middle Ages: Notes on Its Organisation (144-66). Based almost exclusively on unpublished material from the royal chancellery section of the Archives of the Crown of Aragon in Barcelona, Ferrer gives a detailed history of the officials and taxation of the Muslim *aljama* of Tortosa. Space constraints obviously prevented the multiplying of comparisons with neighboring communities, comparisons which Ferrer would be eminently, perhaps uniquely, able to make. The discussion of a cooperative butcher shop arrangement between Tortosa's Muslims and Jews (156-58) is one of several fascinating highlights offered by this article. Brian Catlos, 'Four Kidnappings in Thirteenth-Century Aragon: Christian Children as Victims of Christian-Muslim Domination' (165-79)," is a fascinating study bringing wide-ranging knowledge of the law and the contemporary social situation, including recognition of the powerful corporative identity of various religious organizations (the Order of Calatrava appears here as kidnappers) to bear on four peculiar, but not apparently all that uncommon, cases of Christian boys being kidnapped and sold or held as Muslim slaves, one even being forcibly circumcized. Catlos appends to his study and translates five documents relating to these four cases.

Thomas E. Burman, "Exclusion or Concealment: Approaches to Traditional Arabic Exegesis in Medieval-Latin Translations of the *Qur'ān*" (182-97), continues his fruitful exploration, begun with his "*Tafsīr* and Translation," *Speculum*, 73 (1998), 703-32, of the manuscripts and methods of Robert of Ketton who produced in 1142-43 a Latin translation for the Peter the Venerable corpus, and Mark of Toledo who completed in 1211 his Latin translation of the *Qur'ān* for Rodrigo Jimenez de Rada, archbishop of Toledo. Mark produced a faithful version by "translating it with mechanical literalism, following the Arabic syntax closely, paraphrasing only rarely, periodically even introducing neologisms based on Arabic models (183, citing Norman Daniel, and Marie-Thérèse d'Alverney and Gerges Vajda), an approach flawed mainly in that it was "cut off from the tradition of interpretation according to

which it was always understood by Muslims.” Robert of Ketton “is much better at getting across the meaning of the text” but his translation is marred by the fact that “the text itself and the interpretative tradition have been conflated—scripture and exegesis have been collapsed into each other” (193). Robert’s willingness, however, to consult Arabic glosses, explanations, and commentaries stands “as a massive refutation of the widespread contemporary view that pre-modern Europeans were simply not capable of learning from Muslims themselves about what the Qur’ān means” (195). Hava Lazarus Yafeh’s “A Seventeenth-Century Hebrew Translation of the Qur’ān” (199-211) is a wide-ranging, fascinating, and unfortunately unfocused and difficult to follow exploration of five Hebrew manuscripts containing translations of the Qur’ān, all perhaps containing a copy of the same translation; this translation itself, in the author’s view, is not a direct translation, but a Hebrew translation from an Italian version based on a Latin edition based on Robert of Ketton’s translation.

Michael C. Weber, “The Adoption of Al-Farabi’s ‘Mathematical Sciences’ in the Medieval West: A Study in Cross-Cultural Borrowing” (213-27), studies al-Farabi’s *Kitāb Ihṣā’ al-‘ulūm* (*Book of the Enumeration of the Sciences*), “primarily an education text,” and its life in the Christian West after it was translated into Latin by both Dominicus Gundisalvus and Gerard of Cremona. Even though these translators “understood him imperfectly and had a limited command of the subject matter he laid out,” and “while it is difficult to prove the precise and direct influence of al-Farabi’s *Enumeration*,” Weber concludes that one can “see its wider influence in both the divisions of the sciences and reform of the curriculum as practised at Oxford in the thirteenth century and in earlier curricular lists created by Englishmen for the other fields of the mathematical sciences” (227), as well as in an expanded vision of the quadrivium encompassing optics, statistics, and study of the astrolabe, quadrants, and Alfonsine Tables. Charles Burnett, a scholar who has contributed much to knowledge of the transmission of Arabic learning to the West, argues in “The *Sortes regis Amalrici*: An Arabic Divinatory Work in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem? (229-37) that the divinatory *Sortes*, notwithstanding its attribution to a doctor of King Amaury, apparently served by at least one Arab doctor, belongs to a “genre that was well established in the West” and “provides another example of the prevalence of Frankish culture in the Frankish colony of the kingdom of Jerusalem” (237).

Manuela Marín, senior research fellow at the Consejo Superior de

Investigaciones Científicas in Madrid, provides with “Biographical Dictionaries and Social History of al-Andalus: Trade and Scholarship” (239-57) a detailed and well-documented introduction to the Arabic genre of biographical dictionaries, which survive in abundance for al-Andalus. As an illustration of the dictionaries’ usefulness as a source of social history Marín explores attitudes, generally positive but occasionally ambivalent, concerning trade, scholarship, and the relationship between them. Important information on the social backgrounds and economic activities of Andalusī ‘*ulamā*’ is contained in the dictionaries, and as long as one is cognizant of the evolution of the genre and predilections of individual compilers the dictionary material “serves to underline the evolution of social practices, the variety of attitudes inside the world of scholarship and the construction of ideals of behaviour” (257). Biography provides the major source material for William Granara’s short “Ibn Sabil: Crossing Bondaries in the Biography of Asad ibn al-Furāt” (259-67), a study of the son of a soldier who pursued scholarship, achieved fame as an independent-minded chief-judge at Qayrawan serving the Aghlabids, and died a martyr in the first year of *jihad* in Sicily.

Harry T. Norris’s “Early Medieval Islamic Folk Epic and Romance among the Muslim Peoples of the Caucasus Regions of Eastern Europe” (269-85) stands alone at the volume’s end, orphaned by only a few affinities to other studies (and these located early in the volume) and by the geographical region (not represented elsewhere in the volume) which it studies.

The inveterate school teacher and professional copy-editor cannot help but read with pencil in hand; firmer editorial control would have enhanced the final version of the present collection of studies. One encounters Quran and Qur’an (both on p. 6), as well as Qur’an and Qurān, and Qur’ān and Qura-n elsewhere. Typographical and grammatical errors mar the information on the contributors, including two errors in the entry of one of the editors. Commas come before parentheses in many studies’ notes, the notes themselves an uneasy and inconsistent mixture of MLA and Chicago Manual format. Free-floating hyphens, like apostrophes in the work of our undergraduates, are found hither and thither, including on pages 51, 61, 68, 84, 109 n., 176, 192, 197, 213, 262, 287, 290. One assumes this was the problem of typesetting margin-justified manuscripts followed by a lack of proofreading. An equally profuse number of places where spaces are lacking, spaces are missing or added between lines, em dashes, en dashes and hyphens

are confused, or text is inexplicably superscripted can be found, and a half line of text is mysteriously blank on page eighty-six.

The converting of manuscripts between various word processing formats is presumably the culprit for errors like “Ru_çar” (108), “▲sud” (138), “col(laboradors)” (154) rather than col·laboradors, “3Abd” (290) rather than ‘Abd, and other errors which a limited knowledge of my keyboard precludes me from duplicating. Only human carelessness can explain, however, the presence of “through” (11) when throughout was meant, “provintialist” (113) for provincialist, the running header “talian Romanticism” (101-7), erratic use of boldface (140-41), “Juame” (145) for Jaume, Empúries (153) and Xàtiva (154) lacking their appropriate accents, Samsó and Samsò existing on the same page (217), “form” (218) for from, “eighth” (242) for eight, “later” (249) for latter, “Com-pultense” (291) for Complutense. O.R. Constable’s *Trade and Traders in Muslim Spain* is identified as being published in Massachusetts rather than in England. One article makes reference (216) to a non-existent Table I. A few pages later we read that “otherwise, I can think of no explanation for the an intentional change of terms” (223), followed unfortunately only four sentences later by a decrying of the fact that “several passages, especially in Gerard’s work, look as though they received no editing at all.” Some of the translations, especially from the Italian, appear particularly stilted and overly literal. In one piece, what must have been the word *proceso* if translated from the Spanish (or *procès* if from a Catalan original) is translated to create “despite a process” when “despite a brief” or perhaps “despite legal action” is meant.

If Ibn Khaldūn, the most celebrated of all Islamic historians, had died in 1382 of the Common Era (31) rather than in 1406 he would have spent very little time in Egypt; I cannot say how much of his monumental work might not have been written, but at minimum we would lack his celebrated account of a diplomatic mission to Tamerlane. Four of the edited documents in a different article are dated 18 September 1281, 25 June 1296, 18 March 1297, and 18 March 1297; the originals, however, list the dates as XV kalends (sic: “kalendas”) Septembris, VIII kalendas Junii, XII kalendas Martis, and XII kalendas Martis. The proper dates are of course therefore 18 August 1281, 25 May 1286, 18 February 1297, and 18 February 1297. One might assume this is one of those errors which shames neophytes, except I suspect the intrusion of a misinformed editor; if the error were the author’s not only the months but also the days of the month would be incorrect as well, i.e. if the errors were the author’s the two documents of March would likely

would have been erroneously listed as 21 March. No year is given in the one remaining document original, listing only V nonas Januar[ie], but the translation of 1 January 1293 ignores the ambiguity of the incarnational year in all documents dated between 1 January and 24 March; this ambiguity extends to the two documents dated 18 March or rather February as well.

If it is the professional copy-editor who most notices these errors, it is also the professional editor who best understands how, despite the best laid schemes o' mice an' men, they occur. The studies here, however, deserve a better, more attractive showcasing. They are on the whole a brilliant lot, and it is the professional editor, also, who can best appreciate the wonderful work of guest editors Catlos and Mallette in bringing to fruition this diverse yet cohesive collection of studies. If other issues of *Scripta Mediterranea* approach the quality evident here, no serious college or university library in the world should be without a subscription. The collection stands as further testimony to the increasingly obvious fact that it was the Mediterranean and its hinterland which formed throughout the Middle Ages the dynamic heartland of Europe, and that it was in the interaction of Muslim, Christian, and Jew that the most interesting and bitter, yet culturally productive, human interchange took place.

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YOSEF TOBI. *The Jews of Yemen: Studies in Their History and Culture*. Leiden: Brill, 1999. Pp. 302.

The book comprises sixteen chapters, divided into three parts: History (chapters one to five); Society (chapters six to ten); and Culture and Judco-Arabic Literature (chapters eleven to fifteen). The last chapter (sixteen) is entitled "Trends in the Study of Yemenite Jewry." The book constitutes in the main an English-language rendering of a selection of works published by the author in Hebrew over a period of more than twenty-five years; some are presented here in a slightly expanded or revised form. Especially worthy of note are chapters two, four, five, six, eight, and fifteen.

Chapter two provides an in-depth, coherent and definitive treatment of Imam Yaḥyā ibn al-Ḥusayn, later known as al-Ḥādī ilā al-Ḥaqq, and

his attitude toward the Jews of Yemen. It also includes a detailed discussion of the different levels of the *jizyah* (poll-tax) imposed by this Imam upon the *dhimmīs* (Jews and Christians). This chapter is highly significant, because Imam al-Hādī was the establisher of the Zaydī imamate in Yemen and the founder of the Rāssīd dynasty which ruled Yemen with varying degrees of success from the end of the ninth century until 1962. As such, al-Hādī's treatment of Jews served as blueprints for succeeding Yemeni rulers. The image of Imam al-Hadī that emerges from our author's careful, balanced and well-documented treatment is that of a shrewd and just ruler who displayed tolerance towards the Yemeni *dhimmīs* (Jews and Christians). As such, it differs widely from that of the nineteenth century Yemeni Jewish chronicler Ḥayyim Ḥibshush. Ḥibshūsh erroneously depicted al-Hādī as an extremely fanatical Muslim ruler, intolerant of non-Muslim religions, a ruler who sought to cleanse the land of Yemen of all non-Muslims. Chapter four provides an incisive analysis of the impact of the Sabbatean movement on the Jews of Yemen, focusing mainly on the unique response of Yemeni Jews to this messianic phenomenon. In chapter five, the author discusses the social, religious, and economic status of the Jews of Yemen under the Ottoman rule (1872-1918). Chapter six focuses on the life of the large Jewish community of Rāda' in the eighteenth century. Based on some fifty documents, this chapter provides significant insights into the life of this community, including its communal organization, religious court, its President, administration, internal intrigues, livelihood, demography, economics, relations with Muslims and authorities, and with other Jewish communities, particularly that of San'a, the capital of Yemen. Chapter eight provides deep insights into the juridical system in Yemen, the status of the Jews and their relations with the Yemeni Muslims. In chapter fifteen, the author dexterously analyses both the historical content and artistic form of a Yemeni Judeo-Arabic Muwashshah.

Professor Tobi is one of the few leading scholars in the field of Yemeni Jewry, including the community's history, language, literature, liturgy, and culture. He is a very prolific writer who authored or edited more than twenty books and published more than one hundred articles and reviews. The present work, like his previous studies, is well-balanced, instructive, and richly documented, displaying a mastery of both primary and secondary sources and an impressive application of a rigidly scientific treatment of his topics. Events are placed in proper perspective and historical context.

As indicated above, the present work constitutes mainly a selected

collection of the author's works, published earlier in Hebrew. Unfortunately, the book is marred by numerous orthographic, grammatical and syntactical errors and awkward formulations, in contrast to the author's Hebrew works, models of lucidity and precision. The English-language rendering is generally poor, littered with typos. Consider, for example, the following sentences: "The remark made by that Jew is interesting—that the custom of the some of the local Jews was to copy the Bedouins in their dress when they went out or to the markets . . ." (149). Referring to the President of the Jewish community of Rāda⁶, the author writes: "The President's situation was specially onerous because he hesitated to make use of his proximity to the government and approach it over Jews who did not heed him lest he be indicted and found guilty at the Jewish court of informing, which was a serious crime according to Jewish tradition (111). Or, "Philby also writes of the exclusivity of the Jews as rifle repaireres (sic!) and arms makers, although he notes that this circumstance changed in the mid-1930s owing to the Sa⁷udi conquest and the ending of warfare and the need for arms." (147); "Moreover, they suffered a profound social and moral crisis in consequence of the exile, as the temporal and spiritual leadership was insufficiently respected by the members of the community" (6-7).

In addition, the transliteration adopted in this work is less than satisfactory. There is a lack of consistency in the use of diacritical marks. For example, while the long vowels in Hādī are marked with diacritical marks, the long vowels in several other words are ignored (Zaydī, for example, should be Zaydī). Moreover, the role and content of the first chapter is quite puzzling: while it bears the presumptuous title, "The History of Yemenite Jewry," it comprises only five pages without a single footnote. The chapter sticks out as an anomaly. Strangely enough, the important historical event relating to the rise and fall of the Ḥimyatīe kingdom is given very short shrift, far less than it deserves, given its historical significance and profound impact upon the Jews of Yemen. The ideal depiction of the life of the Jews of the northern districts of Yemen (chapter eight) is highly generalized and grossly exaggerated. It certainly overstates the case to suggest that the Jews of those districts were on an equal footing with Muslims, enjoying "absolute freedom." Furthermore, while the author includes thirty works of his in the Bibliography (279-94), he fails to include significant works pertaining to the topics under discussion. Particularly baffling is the absence of the following studies: Norman Stillman, *The Jews of Arab Lands: A History and Source Book* (1979); Bernard Lewis, *The Jews of Islam*, (1984); Steven

Wasserstrom, *Between Muslim and Jew: The Problem of Symbiosis Under Early Islam* (1995); and Tudor Parfitt, *The Road to Redemption: The Jews of Yemen 1900-1950* (1996).

These comments are minor, however, in comparison to the magnitude of the author's achievement. He is to be congratulated for yet another stimulating contribution to the field of Yemeni studies and for bringing significant insights into diverse aspects of the lives of the Yemeni Jews to the purview of readers who are not proficient in Hebrew. This is a book from which both layman and specialist can profit.

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