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ecy, community, hegemony, and leadership. He builds his case carefully for his traditional-critical approach to the sources of Islamic origins, and, more important in terms of the thrust of the book, I think, for his quarrel with the skeptical approach to the sources by Wansbrough, Cook, and Crone, in particular. One of the most interesting points at issue between Donner and the skeptics is how to explain the consensus about Muslim origins that eventually emerges. The skeptics generally concluded that it was, as Donner puts it, “the process of myth-making in the Islamic community at a much later date . . . fabricated during the second and subsequent centuries AH as a way of explaining both the community identity of Muslims and their internal divisions” (p. 287). Against this view, Donner proposes that we “assume that the consensus exists because events actually did happen in the way described by our sources, and were so well known in the early community that all groups were required to accept the basic ‘script’ of events” (p. 289). The book can also be said to be about the early formation of Muslim identity over and against Christians, Jews, pagans, and others, as reflected in such debated points as: was Muhammad truly a prophet? Why did Muslim scripture differ from the scriptures of Christians and Jews? Those who are familiar with New Testament scholarship will recognize in this work a familiar problem—namely, what was the impact of time (history) on a community that presumably originally had organized itself around a dire message of judgment?

Narratives of Islamic Origins makes an important contribution to our thinking about Islamic origins. It will be seen—I think correctly—as a work of conservative scholarship on the question of the reliability and historical accuracy of the sources that purport to be about the formation of the Muslim *umma* in the first century of its existence. It is a well-argued work, and on the whole it is well documented. In the second part of the book, dealing with major themes of early Muslim self-awareness, the chapters tend to be illustrative of such themes as *nubuwwa* (prophecy) rather than analytical or definitive in the discussion of the texts. If this is a criticism, then one might go on to say that Donner deserves to be praised for offering a cogent counter-argument to his critics and for mapping out a way to make a case for early Muslim history “wie es eigentlich gewesen.” One thing *Narratives of Islamic Origins* will not do is end the debate. Each side of the present historiographical dispute is perforce much too speculative to trump the other in our present state of historical knowledge about the first decades of Islam.

MAYA SHATZMILLER, *The Berbers and the Islamic State: The Marinid Experience in Pre-Protectorate Morocco* (Princeton, N.J.: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2000). Pp. 217. \$69.95 cloth, \$26.95 paper.

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Histories of the medieval Maghrib mention that the three dynasties (the Almoravids, Almohads, and Marinids) that ruled the region of present-day Morocco were founded by Berbers (or “Imazighen”). How this affected the dual processes of religious Islamization and cultural-linguistic Arabicization in the region is a question that has largely gone unexamined due to a dearth of documents written in the Tamazight (Berber) language. Indeed, there is little scholarship addressing the question of what it meant to “be” Berber in the pre-modern period, or whether an Amazigh (Berber) culture or Tamazight language in itself served as grounds for forging group solidarity. In July 2001, King Mohamed VI announced the creation of the Institut Royal pour la Culture Tamazight to integrate the Tamazight language into Moroccan schools. This decision came in the wake of the Kabyle uprisings in neighboring Algeria over police brutality and discrimination against Imazighen. Negotiations over the role of Tamazight in Maghribi state

institutions and national sentiments date back a thousand years. Clearly, the long-established Islamicization of North Africa has not led to an uncontested Arabicization.

The medieval historian Maya Shatzmiller's *The Berbers and the Islamic State* thus makes a timely appearance. This study of 12th–15th-century Islamic institutions as tools of empire distinguishes between the religious and cultural-linguistic processes of assimilation. Shatzmiller argues that Berber rulers and laypeople were invested differently in Islamic and Arabic symbols; the Marinids' adoption of Islamic institutions (primarily *waqf*, land reform, and the *madrasa*) did not signal a mass cultural-linguistic assimilation of the populations under their rule. Instead, the process, which her book sets out explicitly to capture, was one of "interaction and resistance, creativity and digression, evolution and disruption, a continuous process of negotiation between the individual and society over identity and the state's power." Shatzmiller posits the book as "not only the story of what happened to an ethnic identity, expressed in particularities such as local origins, language, social structures [relevant to] Persians, Turks, Indians" but also the story of "what happened to their essential characteristics with the advent of the new religion and the new state" (p. xvii). How, that is, did many Muslims of non-Arab heritage come to associate closely with Arabic language and Arab culture? Berbers, Shatzmiller argues, articulated their resistance to Arab and Islamic hegemony through Arabic and Islamic symbols themselves. For this reason, the use of these symbols does not indicate assimilation. The Marinid state brought Berbers into the mainstream of Islamic statehood through bilingual practices and by introducing what Shatzmiller calls "Islamic norms," or Islamic institutions. From this perspective, she argues, the paucity of documents written in Berber does not in itself substantiate the widespread claim that no medieval Berber intellectual or literary traditions existed.

Shatzmiller is the author of, among other impressive works in both English and French, the meticulously researched and compellingly written *Labour in the Medieval World*. Her recent monograph also deftly culls information from manuscript sources and makes original historiographic as well as substantive contributions. *The Berbers and the Islamic State*, however, hangs together only loosely as a monograph; all but one of the nine chapters were published separately between 1978 and 1991. The book's provocative Introduction establishes a conceptual framework that will interest social scientists, yet the chapters scarcely address it. Claims such as, "The story told here is that of the acculturation and alienation of the Berbers to the Islamic state under the Marinids" (p. xix) and their "individual and group malaise" (p. xvi) remain unsubstantiated, and the terminology is often vague. What besides native language, the reader is left wondering, made a medieval Maghribi a "Berber"? How does one assess "malaise" and "alienation"?

The book compensates for such shortcomings with intriguing discussions spread over three sections of three chapters each, each valuable in its own right. In Part 1, "The Berbers' Search for Their Place in Islamic History," Chapter 1 treats a compilation of fragments in the *Kitab an-Ansab li-Abi Hayyan* manuscript (Rabat K1275) that attests to a Marinid-era interest in Berber history. Thematic unity among the fragments, cross-referencing, and chronological continuity suggest that these fragments, part of which were first published by Levi-Provencal in 1925, constituted a history and historiography of the Berbers dating from the 8th to the 13th centuries. An appendix details the origins and dates of the document's fifty historians. These writings indicate the importance of Berber language in Islamic institutions and practices—most importantly, prayer—suggesting that Arabic hegemony was not yet in place. Chapter 2 asks how the myth of Berber origins in the Arab East became so compelling. Familiar to Moroccans and Moroccanists today, the myth was not adapted by the Moroccan sultan until the 16th century. The masses had their own origins myths, the author claims, with little access to history books or traditions written in Arabic. This line of inquiry hints at a gap between an elite minority and the popular majority "who were still very Berber" (p. 27), although it is unclear how Shatzmiller or the people themselves understood such a Berber–Arab continuum. Chapter

3 supports the widespread claim that the Marinids, like their predecessors the Almohads, used Islam to build consensus among tribes. Although the Marinids staffed their administrations with Berber-speakers and used Berber in religious contexts, tensions persisted with Arabized elites in the quasi-autonomous towns. Praise for the “Berber race” appearing in 14th-century writings contrasts importantly with earlier writings praising the Zenata, Sanhada, or Masmuda Berber groups. Shatzmiller thus deduces that “race” had by then become a historical and historiographic criterion, but she offers none of the manuscripts’ original Arabic terms that would help the reader assess the validity of this claim. Although she states that “The majority of North African Berbers remained Berber speaking much longer than the Andalusian Berbers did, and were also exposed to the Arab–Islamic notions of race and religion” (p. 35), it is unclear what was specifically Arab or Islamic about these notions.

Part 2, “Devising an Islamic State,” considers the process of Islamic state formation under the Marinids through the development of Islamic institutions. In Chapter 4, “Rural and Urban Islam in 13th-Century Morocco,” a rediscovered document appears to attest to a factional rivalry for control of the Marinid dynasty grounded in the conviction that the Marinids lacked the ideological and religious bases of legitimacy. The document suggests that the victorious faction cloaked itself in Islamic piety, and that this aided its rise to power, countering scholars’ prevailing view that the Marinids’ initial rise to power was devoid of ideology and religious conviction. Chapter 5, on the status of Jews in Fez, and Chapter 6, on the fall of a Qarawiyyin *khatib*, concern the Marinid capital of Fez but otherwise are marginal to the book’s stated theme.

Part 3, “Implementing Islamic Institutions,” argues that Marinid rule was grounded in Islamic institutions rather than religiosity or spirituality. The Almohads replaced Arabic-speakers with Berbers who were able to recite the *tawhid* in Berber. But while Marinid rulers continued to speak mostly Berber in court, as did the tribesmen, there were exceptions. One poet of the 13th-century sultan mixed Arabic and *al-lisan al-zanati* when addressing the sultan, suggesting a shift toward Arabic in formal contexts. Further, Ibn Al-Khatib remarked that although Arabic was spoken in the courts of Granada, rulers in Fez were still addressed in both languages well into the 14th century. The royal *waqf*, or pious endowment, in Fez, introduced under the Marinids, is the topic of Chapter 8. “Enculturation to Islamic norms,” as Shatzmiller terms it, meant that Islamic institutions were regulated by Marinid rulers who struggled with the religious clergy over the management and control of *waqf* revenues. Chapter 9 is the book’s most substantive chapter, with material not published previously on land tenure and taxation under the Marinids, prior to whom little is known about Maghribi landholdings. Shatzmiller compares Marinid control over the land sector and production and commerce to other pre-industrial states. In contrast to states outside the Muslim world, Islamic “norms” allowed jurists to operate according to a universal Islamic legal code that lent the state economic and social stability. In the Maghrib, land distribution and ownership differed from that in the East, where Islamic institutions originated. Property rights in the Maghrib were largely dependent on whether inhabitants converted to Islam before or after the Islamic conquest. Yet the conquest itself did not precipitate radical change in land tenure, Shatzmiller argues; the imposition of Islamic norms based on Eastern models changed property ownership. Shatzmiller states that the “acculturation of the Marinid state to public institutions and especially the domain” did not cause “malaise” among Berbers, whereas acculturation to Arabic language and Islamic history did (p. 132). Shatzmiller’s anthropomorphizing and psychologizing of the state is troubling, as it leads her to evaluate actions of the state alongside those of individuals.

Medieval historians, Moroccanists, and scholars of ethnicity should find material of interest in *The Berbers and the Islamic State*. The framework outlined in its Introduction suggests points of departure for future investigations into the relationship between ethnic assimilation and Islamization both in North Africa and throughout the Muslim world. The book suffers

from poor editing, typographical errors, and an uneven style that divert the reader's attention. These issues should be addressed prior to future printings. Yet Shatzmiller makes an original contribution that merits the attention of scholars. For instructional purposes, Brett and Fentress's *The Berbers* remains more accessible.

FRÉDÉRIQUE SOUDAN, *Le Yémen ottoman d'après la chronique d'al-Mawza'i*, Texts arabes et études islamiques 37 (Cairo: Institut Français d'archéologie orientale, 1999). Pp. 626. \$45.00.

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During commentary at a conference recently in Istanbul, a well-known scholar of the late Ottoman Empire blurted out something to the effect that Yemen had been under "continuous Ottoman occupation since the 16th century." To my chagrin, when I looked around, the audience did not seem to react to such a statement. The failure of the expert audience to note a colleague's mistake reinforced my long-held suspicion that the history of Yemen, and the history of Ottoman affairs in Yemen in particular, is a misunderstood, unappreciated, and even forgotten area of study. It is in this context of academic neglect that one begins to appreciate Frédérique Soudan's massive work.

Within its covers we find the previously unstudied chronicle of Qadi Shams al-din 'Abd al-Samad ibn Isma'il ibn 'Abd al-Samad al-Mawza'i entitled, *al-Ihsan fi dukhul mamlakat al-Yaman taht zill 'adalat al-'Uthman*. (The Arabic text is provided in full at the back of the book.) The work, commissioned by the Ottoman governor of Ta'iz, Safar, sometime during the reign of Sultan Uthman II (1618–22), provides rare insight into how locals in Ta'iz interpreted Ottoman rule. Soudan does us the favor of providing an internally logical and highly readable annotated French translation (pp. 43–229) that can be studied independently from the rest of the book, giving readers an important look into the first period of Ottoman rule in Yemen (1536–1635). I found many of the annotations non-intrusive, and they adequately dealt with the geographical and biographical details that needed outside referencing. What all this amounts to is a most welcome introduction to a source that brings together otherwise dispersed details of the first period of Ottoman rule in Yemen.

Unfortunately, Soudan fails to provide some important guides that would help the reader appreciate the text under study. First, a map is desperately needed to help guide the otherwise overwhelmed reader, as many of the geographical place names are so obscure that only the most knowledgeable expert of Yemen would know where to locate them. I wish this were my only concern with the annotated translation, but there are more substantive issues that need to be raised. The annotations at times revealed a limited range of knowledge of the primary and referential material, a shortcoming that affects the overall quality of scholarship. I was disappointed, for instance, that more effort was not put into using sources centered on, in particular, Ottoman historiography, which are numerous for this, the height of Ottoman expansion. A more sound background in the Ottoman conquest of the Arabic-speaking lands and the various operational and administrative approaches of Ottoman statecraft could have helped Soudan flesh out some of the significant interventions noted in al-Mawza'i's text. It is also quite clear that Soudan's lack of knowledge of Ottoman or Turkish limited the scope of her research, a shortcoming that is fortunately being overcome by a new generation of scholars who can actually research in both Arabic and Ottoman. That said, I am sure historians of the period will consider the text important for understanding how this province was incorporated into the Ottoman state during the height of its expansion.