Ottoman diplomats and Shiite scholars at the Safavid court – a contribution that also relates to Sunni–Shiite controversies. In his contribution, Capezzone disputes the thesis that the Sunnite *madrasa* took the place of the Shiite *dār al-ʿilm* when the Saljuqids replaced the Buyids as de facto rulers in the Abbasid Empire. Another subject under consideration is the relationship between Twelver Shiism, Ismailism and the Nuṣayrī-ʿAlawiyya. Bar-Asher sheds light on the rapport between the Nuṣayrī-ʿAlawiyya and Twelver Shiism from the ninth century until Ḥāfiẓ al-Asad's *coup d'état* in Syria in 1970; Daftary shows how al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān created Ismaili law and points to its links with Zaydite and Twelver Shiite rulings; De Smet looks at Adam as first prophet and legislator in early Ismaili thinking. Taking another subject from the vast pool of issues regarding Shiite Islam, Brunner illustrates the importance of dreams in nineteenth-century Shiite thought as a bond between individuals of the past (not least the imams) and the present (mainly Shiite jurists). In relation to the *jihād* theories of early Qajar jurists, Gleave focuses on the work of the Akhbārī Mīrzā Muḥammad and his short Persian essay *Kitāb al-jihād*. Crone goes back to the Islamic source *per se* and analyses how exegetes of diverse times and creeds tried to understand and interpret Quran 2.256 (*lā ikrāha fī al-dīn*). Venturing into the modern world, she explores how Sunni modernists and Islamists cope with the verse and those parts of the tradition that contradict the reading of the verse as a grant of religious freedom, and how a modern historian might read it. Three articles deal explicitly with Shiite–Sunnite controversies: Hakim takes a closer look at how Abū Bakr and ʿUmar are viewed by Sunnites (the question of the ʿUmarān) and Shiites; Ende discusses twentieth-century Shiite thoughts on rapprochement (*taqrīb*) in relation to the third *shahāda* added to the *adhān* by Twelver Shiites; and Litvak considers internet sources to examine current anti-Shiite polemics. Finally, yet importantly, the three remaining contributions attend to political developments in nineteenth–twenty-first century Iran and Iraq. As Nakash demonstrates in his contribution, the Shiite revolt of 1920 should be considered when discussing the highly contested subject of power sharing in today's Iraq. Arjomand analyses Shiite constitutionalism as it developed in the theological setting in Iran beginning with the Constitutional Revolution, and its different stages throughout the twentieth century. Finally, Richard gives a chronological overview of the life and intellectual development of Mojtahed Shabestarī, one of the most interesting thinkers in contemporary Iran.

All contributions to the anthology presented to Etan Kohlberg are worthy of detailed review. Since this cannot be done here, it is left to the scholarly community to appraise each one appropriately.

Anja Pistor-Hatam

Studies on the rituals of royalty have a long tradition in both ethnological and historical research. Whilst Fatimid rituals have already been analysed very thoroughly

(P. Sanders, *Ritual, Politics and the City in Fatimid Cairo*, Albany 1994 and recently J. Oesterle, *Kalifat und Königtum*, Darmstadt 2009), the Umayyad and Abbasid caliphate have received less attention. This may be partly due to the success of 11th and 12th Sunnite theological and legal discourse that described the caliphate as a unique Muslim institution opposed to worldly kingship (*mulk*). However, Aziz al-Azmeh in his seminal study on *Muslim Kingship* (London 1997, 2001) has established the caliphate as an example of late antique and medieval monarchies by not confusing specific concepts of the historical sources (like *mulk* and *khilāfa*) with categories of modern historical analysis (like kingship and monarchy). The work of Andrew Marsham is another important contribution to a historical, not normative, understanding of the early Muslim caliphate that arose in the context of late antique Roman and Sasanian universal monarchy. With this topic, Marsham is faced with the well-known problem of written sources that become extant only from the mid-eighth century onwards conveying and modelling earlier documents in a different context. Throughout his study, Marsham pays particular attention to a critical reading of the sources by a careful and detailed assessment of the degree to which alleged texts of former periods might have been adapted or invented at the time they have been quoted by later compilers.

The Umayyads expressed their claims for universal monarchy by inscribing themselves into the tradition of late antique imperial power. The fresco at the palace of Quṣayr ʿAmra, showing the Umayyad caliph as a world ruler (recalling the Christian *pantokrátōr*) to whom the kings of Rome and Iran and other monarchs pay homage, is a highly pertinent example among other royal media such as coins, clothing and imperial architecture. But the Umayyads also continued a tradition that was shaped on the Arabian Peninsula at the time of the first four caliphs: the pledge of allegiance (*bayʿa*) by which the members of the *umma* acknowledged the new leader of their community. This was a new use of the *bayʿa*. The quranic *bayʿa* had been a religio-political covenant contracted before God, a pledge of loyalty or obedience to the Prophet as God's representative as well as a pledge for obedience in war. As a ritual confirmed by handshake, it was a continuation of pre-islamic practices of tribal alliances described by different concepts (*ḥilf, ḥabl, ʿaqd*) often implying one or several deities and the monotheist notions of covenant between God and humankind. In the conflicts during and after the reign of the third caliph ʿUthmān (d. 35/656), different factions had taken sides by giving or withholding the *bayʿa*. In relying on the *bayʿa*-ritual, therefore, the Umayyads applied the established model of nomad military agreements intrinsically linked to the covenant with God and His earthly representative, the caliph. The *bayʿa* thus became the main ritual of caliphal accession. In so doing, the Umayyads played down the consensual character (*shūra*) of the tribal *bayʿa* and shaped it as an instrument of monarchical power by introducing another element: the reigning caliph appointed one or two successors who took the *bayʿa* as the nominated *wali al-ʿahd* (being in succession to/in possession of the covenant). Umayyad court panegyrics and documents depicted the caliph as the legitimate representative of God's covenant, equating obedience to God with obedience to the Commander of the Faithful who acted as the righteous *imām* according to the archetypes of David and Solomon. In the later Umayyad period, the *bayʿa* and *wilāyat al-ʿahd* were written down in documents that were read publicly in the mosques, like the *khutbas* and other religious epistles. In the mid-eighth century, the written *bayʿa* became more elaborate, following a formal scheme in the framework of the emerging legal text genres. These formulas remained unchanged from the mid-ninth century onwards, but they were embedded in later Sunnite reasoning about the caliphate, when theological and legal scholars claimed an uninterrupted continuity to the time of the

prophet. At the time of the decline of Abbasid imperial power, these canonical texts conflated Arab, post-Roman and post-Sasanian cultural practice into a coherent Islamic sacralized tradition and vision of the past with the Prophet at its centre.

Although Marsham considers other ritual and material elements of caliphal accession, he focuses on the *bayʿa* and *wilāyat al-ʿahd* (the latter not being practised after the ninth century) as the main threads of his analysis. The title of his book, however, evokes the expectation of an exploration of the whole inauguration ritual where the central element of the *bayʿa* is treated as one of its parts and systematically, not occasionally, analysed in relation to other ritual elements such as space, time, movement, emblems, actors, the body of the deceased predecessor and so on. This study, therefore, is less a work referring to methodological outlines and problems of ritual research, and more a meticulous – and much-needed – analysis of textual evidence for the *bayʿa*. This focus allows the author to analyse the *bayʿa* in the context of the changing political, societal, administrative, religious and scholarly conditions. The book impresses particularly because of the author's critical treatment of the sources and resulting historical approach. Andrew Marsham has not only filled an important gap by presenting a comprehensive study of the caliphal *bayʿa* up to the tenth century, his study is also an example of how to deconstruct a normative view of Islamic history that uncritically takes classical sacralizing Sunnite interpretations of the Muslim past for granted.

Almut Höfert

ANNA CONTADINI (ed.):
Arab Painting: Text and Image in Illustrated Arabic Manuscripts.
(Handbook of Oriental Studies. Section 1: The Near and Middle East.)
272 pp. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007. €99. ISBN 978 90 04 15722 4.
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Arab Painting: Text and Image in Illustrated Arabic Manuscripts is a volume of thirteen articles taken from an international conference organized by the editor, Anna Contadini, at the School of Oriental and African Studies in September 2004. The book was awarded the Iranian Ministry of Culture's 2010 prize for the International Book of the Year in Islamic art.

Its focus is on early Arab manuscripts and the relationship between image and text. This approach, which looks at the manuscript as a whole rather than separating image from text, is one which has been developed in European scholarship and particularly in medieval art. In Islamic art, however, images and text have tended to be studied in isolation from each other. In Ettinghausen's groundbreaking book *Arab Painting* (Geneva, 1962) for example, the images have been taken out of their context and divorced from their texts. This new volume places context at the centre of its examination of a variety of early Arab manuscripts and highlights the "indelible" relationship between image, text and book. This approach, Contadini argues in the first article on theoretical issues, shifts the perspective from a traditional, hierarchical, aesthetic (and often chronological) comparison of images which happen to be found within texts, to an approach which insists on the relevance of the economic, political and cultural contexts, for a full understanding of the manuscript as a whole.

The thirteen articles are studies of illustrated Arabic language texts which were made across the Islamic world from the ninth to the fourteenth centuries.